SPOKEN FRISIAN: LANGUAGE CONTACT, VARIATION AND CHANGE

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SPOKEN FRISIAN: LANGUAGE CONTACT, VARIATION AND CHANGE

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aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam
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door

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geboren te Wrocław

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Faculteit der Geesteswetenschappen

Het hier beschreven onderzoek/de uitgave van dit proefschrift werd mede mogelijk gemaakt door steun van de provincie Fryslân en de Campus Fryslân.

Fryske Akademy no. 1130

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Author contributions

Chapter 1

This chapter was authored by Nika Stefan.

Chapter 2

This chapter is adapted from: Stefan, M.H., E.L. Klinkenberg & A.P. Versloot. 2015. Frisian sociological language survey goes linguistic: Introduction to a new research component. In A. J. Brand, E. Hoekstra, J. Spoelstra, & H. Van de Velde (eds.), *Philologia Frisica Anno 2014. Lêzings fan it tweintichster Frysk Filologekongres fan de Fryske Akademy op 10. 11 en 12 desimber 2014*, 240-257. Leeuwarden/Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy/Afûk.

Chapter 2 is an introduction to the general goals of this PhD project and the planned methodology to achieve them. It is based on a presentation given by Stefan (Philologia Frisica Anno 2014). The presented research design is developed by Stefan, with feedback and support from her supervisors, and the linguists at the Fryske Akademy: Pieter Duijff, Sybren Dyk, Eric Hoekstra, Frits van der Kuip, Hindrik Sijens and Willem Visser, Klinkenberg and Versloot acted as supervisors, gave feedback on both the preliminary (presented) and final selection of research items, and on earlier versions of the article.

Chapter 3

This chapter is adapted from: Stefan, M.H., E.L. Klinkenberg & A.P. Versloot. [accepted with revisions]. L1 and L2 speakers' competence in a minority language (Frisian) compared. *Taal en Tongval.*

As the principal investigator, Stefan posed the research question and developed the (online) language test, assisted by her supervisors and colleagues at the Fryske Akademy (cf. research design procedure for chapter 2). Klinkenberg and Stefan recruited the participants, supported by the provincial government (Provinsje Fryslân), who made an online survey application (Socratos) available for the purpose of the sociolinguistic language survey which this PhD project is a part of (see chapter 1). Stefan and Klinkenberg also processed the data. Stefan performed the analyses and wrote the first version of this article. Based on the feedback from Klinkenberg and Versloot, she rewrote and revised the manuscript until it was ready for submission.

Chapter 4

This chapter is adapted from: Stefan, M.H., E.L. Klinkenberg & A.P. Versloot. [submitted]. Self-reported language proficiency and actual language use.

The study presented in chapter 4 is based on an online language survey and

subsequent interviews. The procedure for online data colleting and processing is identical to the procedure for chapter 3. The interview tasks are developed by Stefan and adjusted based on the comments from her supervisors. For the purpose of the interview, Klinkenberg selected a representative group of participants who had previously completed the online survey. They were recruited by Tjallien Kalsbeek and interviewed by Klinkenberg and Stefan, and by test assistants: Anne de Boer, Tjallien Kalsbeek, Joke Schollema-Weening and Anke Wagenaar. Stefan processed and analyzed the recordings. The data from the online survey and the interviews were linked in the data base (SPSS) by Tineke Klinkenberg and, subsequently, compared by Stefan, who wrote the first version of the article. Based on comments and suggestions from Klinkenberg and Versloot, she then rewrote and revised the manuscript, making it ready for submission.

Chapter 5

This chapter is adapted from: Stefan, M.H. & A.P. Versloot. [accepted]. Conditions for the Borrowing of Irregular Plurals in an Intense Language Contact Situation. *Us Wurk*.

Stefan and Versloot posed the research question on borrowability of irregular plurals and various factors that can affect it. The research data are gathered by means of an oral language task developed by Stefan and included in the online interview (for the recruitment and recording tasks, see the interview procedure for chapter 4). Stefan processed the data and performed the analyses. Based on the results, Stefan and Versloot introduced a basic borrowability model that shows which factors can stimulate or deter the borrowing processes. Stefan wrote the first version of the article, which she rewrote and revised later on, based on the feedback from her supervisors (with Versloot acting as the main supervisor).

Chapter 6

This chapter is adapted from: Stefan, M.H., E.L. Klinkenberg & A.P. Versloot. [submitted]. Developing a survey methodology based on positively and negatively worded questions in sociolinguistics.

Based on oppositely worded multiple choice questions implemented in the online survey (the tasks and interview procedure are identical to the procedure for chapter 3), Stefan proposed a new methodology in (socio)linguistics. Prior to that, she organized and analyzed the data. Due to the data complexity, she planned multiple brainstorm sessions with Klinkenberg and Versloot before writing the first version of the article. Based on feedback from her supervisors, Stefan rewrote and revised the manuscript and made it ready for submission.

Chapter 7

This chapter was authored by Nika Stefan.

Foaropwurd

Hoewel ik als enige auteur vermeld sta op de omslag van dit boek, zijn er uiteraard meer mensen bij betrokken geweest. Veel van hen hebben een essentiële rol gespeeld in het schrijfproces en zonder hun steun en bijdrage had dit proefschrift nooit tot stand kunnen komen. Graag spreek ik mijn dank uit aan deze mensen die ervoor hebben gezorgd dat mijn missie als promovendus met succes is voltooid.

Yn it foarste plak wol ik Pieter Breuker betankje foar de ynspiraasje om Frysk te learen en te (be)studearjen, en foar alle help en fertrouwen dat ik dat ek koe. Sûnder dy hie ik nea stien dêr't ik no stean! Myn promotor, Arjen Versloot, betankje ik graach foar syn fertrouwen, feedback, stipe en begelieding. By in grut projekt as dit, dat in hiel soad mooglike rjochtingen en mooglikheden mei him meibringt, moat men ferskate opsjes besjen om in seleksje fan ûnderwerpen te meitsjen. It falt ommers net ta om de Fryske sprektaal, mei al syn aspekten en rike fariaasje, yn in pear jier yngeand te ûndersykjen. Mei dyn stipe is it dochs slagge om in dúdlike rjochting te kiezen en in nijsgjirrige seleksje te meitsjen út it suver ûnmjitbere tal ûndersyksfragen dat men betinke kin. Edwin Klinkenberg wol ik betankje foar de deistige begelieding by it realisearjen fan it projekt, syn eachweid ferromjende ynfolling út de sosjologyske ynfalshoeke wei, de ynspirearjende petearen en de gesellichheid op kongressen. Dêrneist wol ik Arjen en Edwin betankje foar harren stipe by statistyske analyzen. Dy hie ik oars, in statistyske 'noob' dat ik bin, nea útfiere kinnen. Fansels hie der hielendal gjin analyze mooglik west sûnder in rike dataset. Myn projekt wie keppele oan dat fan Edwin, nammentlik de fjirde edysje fan it sosjologyske taalsurvey yn Fryslân. Dêr moatte fansels in soad data foar sammele wurde. Hoewol't it ûndersyk foar in grut part digitaal útfierd waard, hienen wy in soad stipe nedich by it opnimmen fan 'e ynterviews.

Neist de projektlieder, Edwin Klinkenberg, wol ik graach Anke Wagenaar, Tjallien Kalsbeek, Joke Schollema en Anne de Boer betankje foar it byinoar garjen fan dy prachtige data. Anke, tige tank foar dyn stipe by it gearstallen en testen fan it ynterview en foar alle wille dy't wy dêrby hienen! Fansels wol ik oare Fryske Akademy-kollega's ek betankje foar harren stipe en alle gesellichheid op de wurkflier. In tal kollega's hawwe in ûnmisbere rol spile by it ûntwerpen fan de online-fragelist: Pieter Duijff, Sybren Dyk, Eric Hoekstra, Frits van der Kuip, Hindrik Sijens en Willem Visser. Tige tank foar jimme ekspertize en weardefol kommentaar! Hindrik Sijens en Pieter Duijjff wol ik fan herten betankje foar alle help dy't ik fan harren krige, al dy jierren dat ik op de Fryske Akademy wurke. Oft it om allegearre praktyske saken gong, it bepraten fan nijsgjirrige ûndersyksresultaten of om tekstkorreksjes, jimme wienen der altyd foar my, al wie ik somtiden wolris wat brûkel. Sûnder jimme stipe hie ik it nea foarinoar krigen!

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Serdeczne podziękowania dla moich rodziców. Chociaż byliście tak daleko, Wasze duchowe wsparcie zawsze było ze mną. Gdyby nie Wy, nigdy nie zdecydowałabym się na podjęcie takiego wyzwania i najprawdopodobniej nawet nie na studiowanie najpierw Niderlandzkiego, a następnie Fryzyjskiego. Mijn schoonouders wil ik bedanken voor alle morele steun en het vertrouwen dat ze in mij hadden, wat dikwijls veel groter was dan het vertrouwen dat ik in mezelf had.

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1 General introduction

The scope of this dissertation is quite broad, as its aim is to offer more insight into the use of and variation in spoken Frisian and shed light on different factors that may affect it. This subject is of great sociological and linguistic relevance, given the rather special situation of West Frisian, spoken in the Dutch province of Fryslân, namely that of a long-term language contact, bilingualism and rich (both inter- and externally triggered) linguistic variation in the speech community, next to the established standard version of the language. Other than the Frisian standard, which is mainly used in writing, spoken Frisian is primarily dialectal, i.e. the standard variety is hardly ever spoken. Similar situations can be found in Norway and Luxembourg. Even though these Frisian dialects are mutually intelligible, there are phonological and lexical differences among them. While usually three main dialects are distinguished, they are not monolithic and very few isoglosses actually overlap. It is more correct to consider the language area as a continuum with some focus points. Additionally, virtually all Frisians are at least bilingual. They come in contact with Dutch - the main language of instruction - before they enter school, similarly to Faroe Islanders who are exposed to Danish, next to Faroese, at a very young age through various media and Danish friends or relatives (cf. Petersen 2010). Growing up with Frisian exclusively is hardly or not possible (see also Dijkstra 2013). Dutch is not only the national language but also the dominant language in official domains, especially in education, despite the ongoing attempts to increase the weight and importance of Frisian as a school subject. Therefore, Frisian cannot be fully separated from Dutch, but it operates in a fully bilingual context and bilingual environment, with Dutch playing a very important role. This is not just a recent development, but a long-term reality reaching back to at least the 15th century (Blom 2008; Bloem et al. 2019; Bloem 2021: 155-190), although its scale and scope have changed over time. This reality of long-standing intensive language contact affected the Frisian language, resulting in numerous Dutch loanwords and loan constructions being used in spoken Frisian. Many of them have become a natural and an inseparable part of the Frisian language. Others, often but not always the more recent ones, are perceived as "Dutch interferences" from a normative point of view (e.g. Sjölin 1976; Breuker et al. 1984; De Haan 1995, 1997, 1998, Meyer et al. 2015). Accordingly, the Frisian language is characterized by dialectal variation and bears many traces of language contact as a result of long-standing diglossia and bilingualism. This is nothing new, but just a well-known fact: there are numerous contributions to Frisian dialectology and many papers devoted to Dutch interferences in Frisian, including various examples of loanwords and loan constructions. The Frisian standard is well described in dictionaries and grammars (e.g. Zantema 1984; Visser 1985;

Tiersma 1999; Popkema 2006; Duijff et al. 2008; Wurdboek fan de Fryske taal [WFT] 1984-2011; Taalportaal; Taalweb Frysk). There is thus a lot of information available about the Frisian language. However, this information does not fully reflect the actual reality concerning the every-day use of Frisian and its variation, in particular the interaction between language knowledge and language use, linguistic choices of the speakers and various sociological factors that may affect it. In other words: various phenomena in spoken Frisian are well-known, as well as different factors that may affect them, but not the interplay between them. The goal of this dissertation is to enhance the knowledge of the Frisian language by shedding more light on the complex linguistic reality in Fryslân, while also providing implications/suggestions and showing possibilities for future research to address various particular sociolinguistic research questions in more detail.

Due to its interesting position, often referred to as a bilingual laboratory, Fryslân has drawn ample attention from sociologists and sociolinguists. Factors such as language background, language proficiency, language behavior and language use have been thoroughly investigated in a couple of extensive sociological language surveys (Pietersen 1969; Gorter et al. 1984; Gorter and Jonkman 1995) and sociological quick-scans executed by the government (Provinsje Fryslân 1997, 2011 & 2015). The latest extended sociological survey in Fryslân, was carried out in 2015-2017 and featured a linguistic component, designed as part of this PhD project. The sociological project (language suvey) and the linguistic (PhD) project were executed in close cooperation, with shared participants and allowing data analysis based on both linguistic and sociological factors. **Chapter 2** will provide more information about this collaboration, as well as the research design. Additionally, we will give more background information about Fryslân and its language varieties in the rest of chapter 2. Due to the complex linguistic reality concerning spoken Frisian, the survey consists of various components reflecting a series of aspects of the language, e.g. (dialect) variation and influence from Dutch. The advantage of such an extensive approach is a very rich and varied dataset, providing information on multiple topics. However, the same data can be experienced as diffused and shallow, as it fails to provide more examples and detailed information on particular aspects of the language. Therefore, we opted for a broad analysis including sociological and methodological factors, which will provide more information on the use of the Frisian language, the Frisian speaking community, their language knowledge, proficiency and linguistic choices they need to make while speaking Frisian. The overarching research question can therefore be formulated as: **what are the linguistic characteristics of native and non-native spoken Frisian, and what factors and variables affect its linguistic shape against the background of Standard Dutch and Standard Frisian?** The theme of the research is thus sociolinguistic variation in spoken Frisian, not the normative language use, envisaged

by the Standard Frisian rules. Standard Frisian "is first and foremost a written language, but its influence is also very limited: there are too few Frisians who write their own language" (Breuker 1993: 276). The number of speakers who do write Frisian has recently increased due to the growing popularity of various social media, as WhatsApp or Facebook, mainly used for informal communication (Jongbloed-Faber 2015, 2016; Klinkenberg et al. 2018: 96-99). However, "their own language" differs from Standard Frisian, which often makes room for local varieties and 'phonetic' spelling (i.e. according to the more familiar Dutch sound-character conventions; Jongbloed-Faber et al. 2016). In other words: people write as they speak it, without Standard Frisian being any more influential nowadays than in previous centuries. At least, that can be expected based on the general assumptions that knowledge of the Frisian standard is very limited within the society (e.g. Breuker 2001: 128). That would naturally lead to an extensive violation of its rules (e.g. interferences from Dutch). 'Would', because the information regarding knowledge of the Frisian standard, its influence and the linguistic choices of the speakers is as limited as the information about the sociolinguistic variation in Frisian. We will argue that both of these topics are important aspects of the language as used by the Frisian speaking community in Fryslân and, accordingly, address them in this dissertation. Additionally, we will cover some methodological concerns related to data collection in a large-scale sociological and sociolinguistic research. The former has particularly been criticized in the Frisian context, carried out in the form of sociological surveys in Fryslân, as its data is based on self-reports of the interviewees (De Haan 2010). Therefore, we will also address the reliability of studies based on self-reports, their advantages and disadvantages in the context of language use and variation.

Our analysis and results contribute to the general knowledge of the actual linguistic reality in Fryslân, as opposed to a more theoretical, descriptive approach. These outcomes will be presented in chapters 3-6.

In **chapter 3**, we investigate the self-reported use of Frisian by native and non-native speakers of Frisian. About a third of all speakers of Frisian are second-language learners (e.g. Provinsje Fryslân 2015: 10, 13), thus forming a great part of the Frisian speaking community. It is plausibly argued that they use the language differently compared to native speakers, while leaving a mark on spoken Frisian due to their numbers. Therefore, it is important to include both groups of speakers in a research on spoken Frisian to reveal more information about the spoken language as opposed to the Frisian standard. By doing that, we need to take into account that not all speakers of Frisian are equally proficient. In this study, we will distinguish between four speaking proficiency levels: very well, well, quite well and with difficulty, as traditionally indicated in the sociological surveys, and highlight the differences.

An important factor that may affect the use of Frisian, especially by the non-native community, results from the fact that most of the non-native speakers of Frisian have Dutch as their mother tongue. Accordingly, it's interesting to know how they use the Frisian language, especially with regard to similarities to and differences with Dutch. As mentioned before, both languages are in constant interplay due to language contact and bilingualism in Fryslân, whereby Dutch is known to affect spoken Frisian on multiple linguistic levels, which results in numerous loanwords and loan constructions. The scope, variation and popularity of these borrowings have not been thoroughly investigated yet, neither have the potential differences in their application between native and non-native speakers or speakers representing different proficiency levels. The aim of chapter 3 is to address these differences and, accordingly, to broaden the knowledge about the Frisian/Dutch bilingualism. Additionally, it will focus on the popularity of various Dutch loans in Frisian in order to see if they can all be equally easily implemented into the Frisian vocabulary and grammar or if there are some limitations to their use. This will add some nuance to the concept of *ynterferinsje-Frysk* 'interference Frisian', as spoken Frisian is often referred to.

In **Chapter 4** we will continue the theme of self-reported language use, while revealing more information about the use of Frisian words and constructions. Whereas chapter 3 focuses on the correlation between one's self-reported language proficiency and the answers given to the questions about personal language use, in this chapter, we will investigate the consistency between one's reported and tested language use in order to verify whether self-reported language use can be a good indication of the general language use in Fryslân. This is an important topic, given that studies based on self-reports are not always, surely in the Frisian context, considered to be sufficiently reliable (e.g. De Haan 2010). We can think of at least two factors that can make the results of such a research questionable:

- *Are people actually aware of the words and constructions they are spontaneously using?*
- *Do people tend to be fully honest while asked about their abilities or habits?*

The latter could be a potential problem, especially in case of sensitive questions. Language proficiency in Frisian and the proper use of the Frisian language is made an explicit topic in Fryslân on various occasions. One of the most frequently mentioned features in popular discussions is the word order in verbal clusters. Would speakers of Frisian willingly admit to using the Dutch verb order, which is probably one of the most (in)famous "Dutchisms" and generally regarded to be wrong? In the context of the latest sociological language survey in Fryslân, we had the opportunity to ask the respondents about their personal language use in the online questionnaire (various words and grammatical con-

structions: self-reported language use) and, subsequently, to test their performance during an in-depth interview. Since the interviews were recorded more than a year after the completion of the online questionnaire, the participants were unlikely to recall the research items, or their own answers to the questions given, thus making it nearly impossible to consciously adjust the answers to be alike in both parts of the research. Additionally, the interviews require a quicker reaction, which makes the potential adjustments more challenging.

Chapter 5 is devoted to a particular instance of a contact-induced language change in Frisian, which has not been investigated so far. As shown in the previous chapters, numerous language changes in spoken Frisian are related to the language contact with Dutch. Not only content words are being borrowed, but also function words, syntax and morphology. The latter includes derivational processes, like diminutive formation. Both Frisian and Dutch diminutives are formed by nominal suffixation. There are some differences, however, which in spoken Frisian can lead to the replacement of (Standard) Frisian diminutive suffixes by their Dutch equivalents (e.g. the Frisian suffix *-ke*, which doesn't exist in Standard Dutch spoken in the Netherlands, can be replaced by *-t(s)je*). This points at a high degree of language contact and bilingualism in general (cf. Thomason and Kaufman 1988; Van Bree, Versloot and Bremmer 2008; Van Balen et al. 2015). In chapter 5, we will investigate if irregular morphology can be borrowed as well and by which language internal factors it is controled. Our research is based on in-depth interviews (picture-naming task) and concerns the implementation of Dutch irregular plurals into the Frisian system, as in Dutch *dak* (short vowel: [dak]) 'roof' - *daken* (long vowel: [da:kə(n)]) 'roofs', instead of the Standard Frisian plural variant *dakken* [dakn̩]. Such variants require a vowel alternation (from a short to a long vowel) and may perfectly or not as perfectly fit Frisian phonotactics. An example of the latter is the plural of *slot* '(pad)locks': Dutch - *sloten* (long vowel: [slo:tə(n)]/, (Standard) Frisian - *slotten* (short vowel: [slɔtn̩]). The Dutch plural form of *slot* does not fit Frisian phonotactics, as the [o:t] combination is uncommon in Frisian (otherwise we would expect the diphthong [o.ə] before the consonant /t/: [o.ət]). We will also pay attention to form similarity and different frequency effects that may affect the borrowability of Dutch irregular plurals and on some general tendencies regarding their usage in Frisian.

The final study of this dissertation, presented in **chapter 6**, is dedicated to methodology, while revealing intriguing facts about language use, knowledge and preference in Frisian. The main subject of this chapter is the phenomenon of positively and negatively worded questions. Such questions have often been investigated in social sciences (e.a. Schuman and Presser 1981; Narayan and Krosnick 1996; Holleman 2000; Kamoen 2012) and are generally known not to be complementary (cf. Holleman 1999). In general, people tend to disagree with the

negatively worded questions more often than to agree with the positively worded ones. We will demonstrate the utility of positively and negatively worded questions in a (socio)linguistic research, by asking our survey participants to judge the (in)correctness of certain Frisian words and grammatical constructions. Not only will this study show what kind of information can be obtained by combining positive and negative questions in a (socio)linguistic survey in general, but also in the more specific context of a minority language, like Frisian, and in the context of language contact (Frisian/Dutch) and contact-induced changes.

1.1 Structure of this dissertation

This thesis is based on five articles that have partly been submitted to peer-reviewed journals. It results in some information overlap between chapters 2-6, especially with regard to methodology and general information about the Frisian language and Frisian society. Chapter 2 provides background information about the research project and its methodology and is a slightly reworked version of an article published in *Philologia Frisica Anno 2014* (Stefan et al. 2015). Chapters 3-6 are devoted to various topics and research fields: from (socio)linguistics to research methodology. All of them contribute to the knowledge of the linguistic situation in Fryslân as the main topic of this dissertation, whereby the order of the presented studies is arranged from general information about spoken Frisian and its speakers to concrete examples of a contact-induced language change and methodological tools. In chapter 3, we are looking at the relationship between self-reported language proficiency and self-reported language use, as well as differences between L1 and L2 speakers of Frisian. Subsequently, the relationship between self-reported language use and tested language use is covered in chapter 4. Chapter 5 is devoted to a particular phenomenon in spoken Frisian, namely Dutch irregular plurals and various factors that may affect their borrowability. Finally, chapter 6 is more methodology-oriented and introduces a common method in social sciences, but this time applied in a (socio)linguistic context. The dissertation closes with a summary of the research findings, general conclusions and a discussion (chapter 7). Formulations that are relevant for the presented studies have been reused on various occasions.

2 Frisian sociological language survey goes linguistic: a new research component[1]

2.1 Introduction

In the course of 2015, a wide sociological language survey has been conducted in Fryslân. Unlike the previous sociological surveys held in this northern province of the Netherlands, the current survey includes a linguistic enquiry with the aim to shed more light on language use and language variation in Fryslân. This broadening of the research focus results from the combination of two projects into one extensive study: the sociological language survey and a (socio)linguistic PhD project.

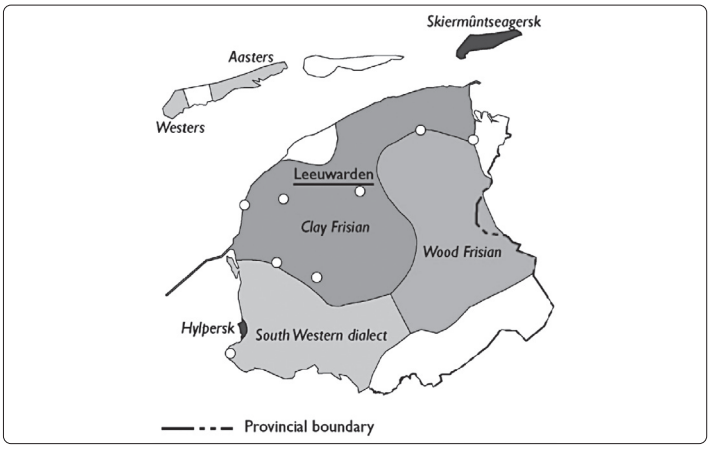
The language situation in Fryslân has been the object of language sociological research for a long time, due to its special character. Fryslân is a bilingual province with both Dutch and Frisian as official languages. However, Dutch is dominant to Frisian in nearly all life domains and especially in public ones. As not every inhabitant of Fryslân is a (native) speaker of Frisian and almost everyone living in this province is a (native) speaker of Dutch, different language backgrounds as well as language attitudes shape Fryslân's language landscape. While virtually the whole Frisian population can understand, speak, read and write Dutch fluently, the average proficiency in Frisian is lower, even if Frisian is one's mother tongue. Mother tongue speakers of Frisian who are clearly dominant in Frisian and with a more limited proficiency in Dutch are nowadays presumably only found among people of the older generations. According to the most recent research conducted by the provincial government (Provinsje Fryslân 2015), a so called quick scan, more than 80% of the Frisian population can understand Frisian well, but only 2/3 understand it *very* well. While 2/3 of the inhabitants of Fryslân can speak Frisian well, less than half speak it fluently. For the two other language skills, the results are even more striking: ca. 18% can read Frisian very well and less than 5% can write it very well.

Besides the contrast in language proficiency, there is another big difference between Frisian and Dutch. Even though Dutch has many regional dialects and accents, almost all Dutch speakers can use the standard language in everyday life. For Frisian, this is not the case. Standard Frisian is almost exclusively used in writing, whereas spoken Frisian is a collection of dialects and is strongly influenced by Dutch (De Haan 1997: 64). In general, there are three main Frisian dialects: Klaaifrysk 'Clay Frisian', spoken in the western and northern part of Fryslân, Wâldfrysk 'Wood Frisian', a variety spoken in the eastern region and Súdwesthoeksk 'South-Western', spoken in the South West of the province (see Figure 2.1). Other than the

1 This chapter is based on Stefan et al. 2015.

name Súdwesthoeksk, referring to a geographical region in Fryslân (South West), Klaaifrysk points at the type of soil in the area where it is spoken (clay) and Wâldfrysk refers to a wooded area with sandy soils. The borders between these dialects are based on a number of isoglosses, but the transitions are gradual. These differences give rise to interesting linguistic variation, especially in combination with an external factor that affects the language use: the dominant Dutch language. Although there is quite a lot of information available on the Frisian dialects (e.g. Hof 1933; Van der Veen 1981, 1986, 1994; Heeringa 2005) and a lot of literature referring to the influence of Dutch (e.g. Sjölin 1976; Breuker et al. 1984; De Haan 1995, 1997, 1998), the actual linguistic situation in Fryslân is not well known and its description is often of an anecdotic nature.

Figure 2.1: Frisian dialect map



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Westers, Aasters, Hylpersk en Skiermûntseagersk refer to minor varieties that are not part of the dialect continuum.

The current Frisian language survey focuses on Fryslân and its inhabitants, especially on their (language) background, language use and proficiency, but also on the variation in spoken Frisian. In this way, both the sociological and linguistic fields of interest have been included. The new research consists of two parts: an online questionnaire, including a Frisian online language test, and in-depth interviews. In this chapter, the online language test will be presented (the development of which required the most time, effort, choices and creative thinking), preceded by a short introduction of the new sociological language survey in Fryslân and the PhD project *Language preservation and language loss in Frisian: A sociolinguistic profile*. In the last paragraph (2.5), we will give a brief description of the in-depth interviews, where topics and item choices are largely based on and adjusted to the online-questionnaire.

2.2 Sociological language survey

The Fryske Akademy has a long history of language sociological research by conducting face-to-face interviews with inhabitants of Fryslân. Three extended sociological language surveys have been carried out so far. The first survey focused particularly on the reading skills and habits of the Frisians (Pietersen 1967). The second sociological survey was more extensive (Gorter et al. 1984) and included the following sections: social and demographic characteristics, language background, language behavior, language attitude, language proficiency. The same sections could also be found 11 years later, in the most recent sociological survey (Gorter & Jonkman 1995). The latter met some criticism, particularly related to language proficiency (see De Haan 2010). The participants self-reported proficiency in Frisian by judging their understanding, speaking, reading and writing skills. As there hasn't been any test which would verify the reliability of this evaluation or could provide any objective bench-marking, the test results only presented a self-reported language proficiency that possibly does not match the factual competence. It has previously been shown that people tend to overestimate their language skills (see Janssen-van Dieten 1992, 1993).

In the trend of the previous language sociological surveys, a new research has been conducted in 2015 (Klinkenberg et al. 2018). However, the new survey follows a different path. The first difference is the research method. In order to recruit more participants, the new survey is conducted mainly online, followed by in-depth interviews at a later time. Most of the research questions remain the same to enable a direct result comparison, but are formulated differently or merged together in order to suit an online examination. Some previous questions have been left out and new ones added to address the current situation, which has slightly changed in comparison with twenty years ago. For instance, the explosive growth of the Internet, and particularly the social media, has literally changed the life of many people as they communicate with their friends and make acquaintances online. Another difference with the previous projects is extending the research field by adding a new component: a linguistic enquiry. The latter is part of a PhD project that has been linked to the new language survey in order to enrich the original sociological research with the information on the factual language use of the participants, besides their self-reported language proficiency. However, people's language level is not tested directly. The aim of the linguistic research is to give more information about the non-standardized, spoken Frisian language. Proficiency tests based on the knowledge of Standard Frisian would not indicate one's language proficiency properly as the Frisian standard is almost only limited to written language. This means that there is no language model that would illustrate the average proficiency of spoken Frisian.

2.3 Extension of the scope

The linguistic enquiry included in the new sociological language survey is part of the PhD project *Language preservation and language loss in Frisian: A sociolinguistic profile*. This project has been linked to the sociological language survey in order to examine the relationship between one's sociological and linguistic characteristics. Sociological, geographical and demographical variation in the Frisian society along with people's language background, proficiency and attitude are all factors that may affect one's language use.[2] As the sociological and the linguistic research use the same participants, a direct comparison of the test results will be possible, allowing us to investigate whether and how these sociological aspects relate to spoken Frisian and its variation.

The **linguistic** part of the project is most extensive and will provide information on language variation in spoken Frisian and its relation to the Frisian standard. Unlike the quite puristic standard language, spoken Frisian is characterized by rich dialect variation and is strongly influenced by Dutch, meaning that there are a lot of lexical and grammatical interferences. Therefore, spoken Frisian is often considered to be *min Frysk* ('bad Frisian'; Sjölin 1976: 13). Furthermore, spoken Frisian undergoes changes that are not directly related to contact with Dutch. These changes will also be investigated in the linguistic part of the project, beside the dialect research and the examination of Dutch interferences (see also the description of "Frisian phenomena"; par. 2.4.2.2).

The linguistic research involves two stages: an online language test and in-depth interviews. Both stages are linked to the sociological language survey, meaning that the research participants are requested to answer both sociological and linguistic questions. For the online test, 30.000 inhabitants of Fryslân, spread over the whole province, have been addressed. They received a letter with a login code, which they can use to complete an online questionnaire. The selection for the in-depth interviews comprised a selected group of about 250 participants who fully answered the questionnaire and agreed to participate in further research. The aim of the **sociolinguistic part** of the project is to examine the relationships between different sociological factors (like age, education, language background or language attitude) and language use in Fryslân.

2.4 Online language test

The main goal of the online language test is to give an impression of the variety in the language use of the speakers of Frisian. As spoken Frisian is not standardized, this is not a normative language test that would test one's proficiency in Standard

2 As part of a bigger project, this dissertation only focuses on a selection of the given factors. For a more detailed overview of and further research on various factors and their influence on the Frisian language and society, see Klinkenberg et al. 2018 and Stefan & Klinkenberg 2019.

Frisian. Much attention is paid to dialect variation and language contact with Dutch, as these two factors are known to characterize the spoken language.

2.4.1 Type and number of questions

Similarly to the sociological questionnaire, the online language test uses a multiple-choice response format, which is reader-friendly and supports easy processing, analysis and comparison of the results. Depending on the type of questions, one or more answers can be selected. The test items are divided into four questionnaires containing approximately 30 various questions about one's language use and preference. Each questionnaire consists of a variant A and B, which results in eight different test versions (1A/B - 4 A/B). Variants A and B are in principle identical, the only difference being an opposite formulation (positively or negatively; see par. 2.4.2.1). The participants are randomly assigned one of the eight test versions, provided that they have completed the sociological questionnaire and indicated that they can speak Frisian. The estimated completion time for the test was 10-15 minutes and the total time needed to fill out both questionnaires approximately 30 minutes. To make them easier to complete, test participants are able to save their progress and start again at a later time from where they stopped.

In order to increase the probability that one would actually choose the answers that correspond with their own language use, an extensive instruction has been provided to emphatically inform the participants that the test is about their personal language use and preferences and not about their language proficiency. However, there is still a risk that the participants may tend to choose the answers that are closer to Standard Frisian than to Dutch (Dutch interferences are often considered "bad Frisian"). As the influence of Dutch on Frisian is not the only subject included in the online language test, it is possible to make these questions less recognizable by embedding them among the other ones. In order to do that, all test questions have been randomized. This way, the participants would less likely focus on the question subjects as these vary. It is particularly important that the sensitive questions concerning language contact with Dutch are not asked within one question block, but rather put between less sensitive ones, for example those devoted to dialect variation (see also Dörnyei & Taguchi [2010: 45], who refer to Aiken 1997). This lowers the still existing risk that people select the Standard Frisian form and not the one that they personally use in everyday life.

2.4.2 Test content

The online language test doesn't measure language proficiency and therefore most answers should not be interpreted as right or wrong. The main focus is to obtain detailed information on language variation in spoken Frisian and to shed more light on its relation to Standard Frisian. It is designed to cover most

aspects of spoken Frisian: vocabulary, grammar and phonology, together with the internal and external factors that influence them. The internal factor refers to language variation not (directly) affected by language contact, e.g. dialect variation. The dominant Dutch language is an external factor that affects spoken Frisian by replacing original Frisian words and grammatical constructions by Dutch ones as a result of extensive linguistic borrowing.

The test consists of five different parts:

- *Vocabulary (2.4.2.1);*
- *"Frisian phenomena" (2.4.2.2);*
- *Dialect variation (2.4.2.3);*
- *Lexical interferences (2.4.2.4);*
- *Grammatical interferences (2.4.2.5).*

Prior to completing the sociological part of the research, the respondents can choose between Frisian and Dutch as the instruction language. As the target language of the linguistic test is Frisian, it contains Frisian vocabulary and sentences regardless of the participants' language choice. However, the Dutch version of the test is regularly provided with a Dutch translation to make sure that speakers of Frisian with a limited Frisian reading proficiency are able to understand the questions properly. In this chapter, examples from the Dutch version of the test are presented, including a translation in English.

2.4.2.1 Vocabulary

The goal of the first part of the test, ***Vocabulary***, is to obtain information on Frisian vocabulary in the context of a language contact situation. Since virtually all speakers of Frisian are bilingual, implying that their proficiency of Dutch is as good or even better than their proficiency in Frisian, the lexicons of both languages can affect each other (see also Dijkstra 2013). It is argued that bilinguals have a complex language repertoire at their disposal, rather than two separate language systems (see Matras 2009: 2-6). The fact that Frisian and Dutch are closely related, and thus many Dutch and Frisian words are similar, can strengthen the effect of a shared vocabulary. The question is how Frisian speakers deal with the language differences, like for example false friends, synonyms that are different for Frisian and Dutch or words with different meanings that not entirely match the meanings in the other language. The latter means that a Dutch word can for instance have only one meaning, while its Frisian equivalent has two or more meanings, or the other way round. Such words are selected for the *Vocabulary* part of the test, as in Test example 2.1. The selected items represent different lexical categories, because they are not equally susceptible to contact induced language changes (see Haugen 1950: 224; Muysken 1981;

Winford 2003: 51; Matras 2007). Another factor we took into account is word frequency as infrequently used words tend to change quicker than words used with a high frequency if the word modification doesn't concern physiologically motivated sound changes (according to Kunnas [2011: 185], who refers to Hooper 1976: 95, 99, 101; Phillips 1984: 323; Nahkola 1986, 1987: 42-43; Nahkola & Saanilahti 1990). In order to check the item frequencies, Dutch lexical databases[3] have been consulted as no frequency lists are available for Frisian yet. However, Frisian and Dutch are closely related to each other and the primary information needed for the online test was how often people spoke and wrote about particular things, events or phenomena, rather than exact frequencies of a particular word form. Therefore, the frequencies as indicated for Dutch words can be considered sufficient for the test purpose.

Test example 2.1

What is in your opinion the right Dutch word for the Frisian "útstel" [delay/suggestion]?
- afstel [adjustment]
- uitstel [delay]
- voorstel [suggestion]
- opstel [composition/essay]
- All words are right.
- I am not familiar with the word "útstel".

[multiple answers possible]

The Frisian word "útstel" has two meanings: "delay" or "suggestion". In terms of form, it is similar to the Dutch word "uitstel". "Utstel" and "uitstel" also share a meaning, namely that of a "delay". However, the second meaning of "útstel", a "proposoal", doesn't match the Dutch "uitstel". The Dutch word for "proposal"

3 WebCelex, Corpus Gesproken Nederlands, SUBTLEX-NL.

is "voorstel", which matches another Frisian word both in form and meaning: "foarstel". This raises the question whether speakers of Frisian still know the second meaning of "útstel" (proposal) or only the one that matches the meaning of the Dutch "uitstel". The latter would mean that one of the original meanings has been lost as a result of language contact with Dutch. However, if both meanings of "útstel" are still (well) known, the second question is, which of the two Frisian words is preferred in the meaning of a "suggestion": "útstel", which cannot be associated with Dutch, or "foarstel", which is very similar to the Dutch "voorstel". Thus, there are two aspects to the vocabulary questionnaire: word knowledge and preference / acceptance. The questions are formulated in two ways that are randomly generated: *What is in your opinion the right Dutch/Frisian word for Frisian/Dutch…* (positive questions) and *What is in your opinion NOT the right Dutch word for…* (negative question). Research has shown that participants respond differently to positive and negative questions as they are more likely to disagree with a negative question than to agree with a positive one (see Rugg 1941; Clark & Schober 1992; Kamoen 2012; Kamoen, Holleman & Van den Bergh 2013). When asked about the right word, test participants are likely to select only a word/words that they personally use or hear a lot from others. In case of the other formulation, when asked to point out words that are not right, they will possibly ignore all words that they do accept (= disagree with the suggestion that they are wrong), even if they wouldn't use them themselves. Additional questions about vocabulary knowledge, preference and acceptance will be asked in the in-depth interviews based on the given answers.

2.4.2.2 "Frisian phenomena"

The "**Frisian phenomena**" section includes grammatical variation and grammatical features that are characteristic for Frisian and different for Dutch (Popkema [2006] and Tiersma [1999] often point at those differences), as well as shifts not necessarily related to language contact with Dutch. The test item selection is based on a literature study and observations of linguists at the Fryske Akademy. One of the most typically Frisian morpho-phonological phenomena is the so-called Frisian breaking (see Visser 2002). This phonological feature indicates that falling (unbroken) and rising (broken) diphthongs alternate in spoken Frisian (see Tiersma 1999:17-20, Popkema 2006: 73-76). Breaking is common in noun plurals and diminutives, which replace the fallen diphthong in a word's root by a corresponding rising diphthong, e.g. *oa* [oə] (falling) → *wa* (rising: *doar* 'door' [doər] → *doarren* 'doors' [dwarən] / *doarke* 'small door' [dwarkə]. However, in some cases the realization of a falling or a rising diphthong depends on the speaker and can vary across Fryslân. So can the word *moaier* 'more beautiful' be pronounced as [mɔːjər] or [mwajər]. Other examples of Frisian grammatical phenomena are the different forms of the past participle, e.g. *fer**g**etten* or *fer**j**itten*

'forgotten', alternative constructions, e.g. *do **of** ik* / *do **as** ik*, both meaning 'you or me', or alternative plural forms, e.g. *feroaring**en*** or *feroaring**s*** 'changes' (see Test example 2.2). Various shifts in the Frisian language refer to phonological and to morphological changes, such as the change in the pronunciation of the word *tiid* 'time': *tiid* [t**iː**t] (long vowel) → *tied* [t**iə**t] (diphthong) or the transition of one-syllable strong past participles into two-syllable ones: *praat* 'spoken' → *praten*.

Test example 2.2

How would you complete the following sentence?
Takom jier komme der _____ op ús ôf. [Frisian sentence]
[Next year, changes are coming towards us.] [Dutch translation]
- feroarings
- feroaringen

2.4.2.3 Dialect variation

The third section of the online language test, the "**Dialect variation**", addresses the regional differences in spoken Frisian. As this short dialect research is only a part of the whole project, it is mostly limited to the well-known phenomena in spoken Frisian. These are often related to pronunciation (see Hof 1933; Van der Veen 1981). A good example of such a variation is the Frisian pronunciation of the word 'Sunday' as *snain*, *snein*, *snoin* or *sneen* [snaɪn, snɛɪn, snɔɪn, sneɪn] or 'to have' as *hawwe*/*ha*, *hewwe*/*he*, *habbe*/*ha* or *hebbe*/*he* [havə/ha, hɛvə/hɛ, habə/ha, hɛbə/hɛ] (see Test example 2.3). The distribution of these variants can vary, as some of them grow more or less popular over time (as in case of 'to have'; see Figure 2.2). The goal of this examination is to give a picture of the present-day dialect differentiation and to see whether the dialect borders have become more vague as a result of increased mobility.

Test example 2.3[4]

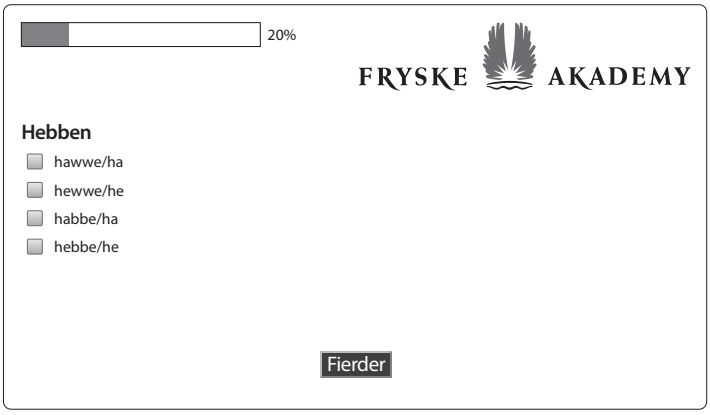
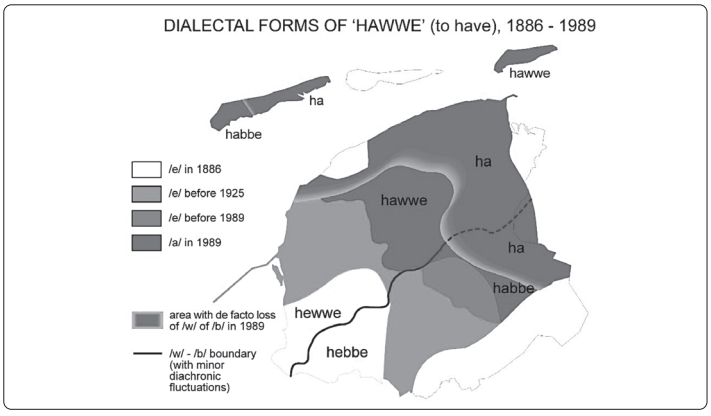


Figure 2.2: Dialect variants of *hawwe* 'to have', 1886-1989.



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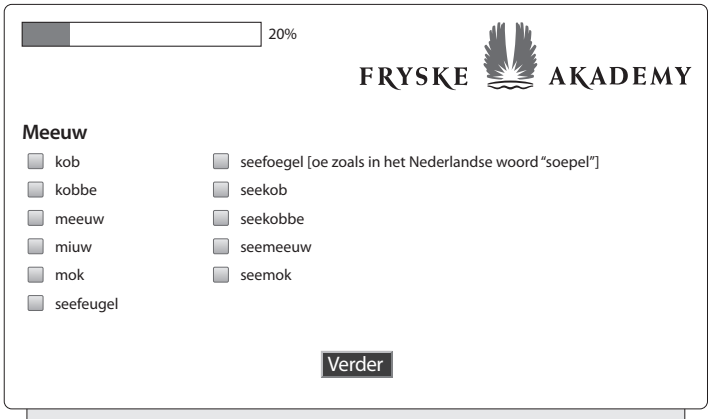
Each of the four test versions contains one question about language variation on the so-called micro level. The selected items are common words that have multiple variants in spoken Frisian and occur all over Fryslân rather than being bound to a particular dialect or region. This variation is of a particularly interesting nature as it involves Frisian vocabulary, morphology and phonology (see Test example 2.4 and Figure 2.3). A language's lexicon is claimed to be the least and phonology one of the most stable elements of a language (see Van Coetsem 1988: 34; Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 74-76). It is interesting to see what happens if a language variation involves various linguistic levels at the same time.

4 Most questions including differences in pronunciation are preceded by a short instruction that the participants are expected to choose the alternative closest to their own articulation.

Furthermore, including these micro level questions will provide comparative information on the (in)stability of the geographical-bounded and the cross-area variation. The item selection is based on the written dialect surveys carried out by the Fryske Akademy in the years 1978-1996 (not published).

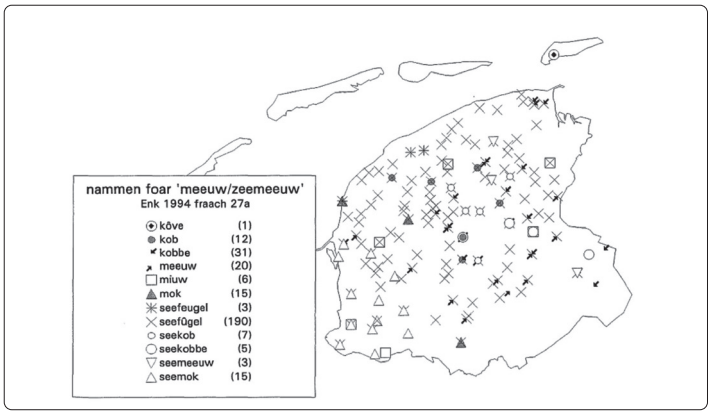
Test example 2.4



Seagull

- kob
- kobbe
- meeuw
- miuw
- mok
- seefeugel
- seefoegel [oe as in the Dutch word "soepel"]
- seekob
- seekobbe
- seemeeuw
- seemok

Figure 2.3: "Seagull" in spoken Frisian.



Written dialect surveys, Fryske Akademy 1978-1996

2.4.2.4 Lexical interferences

The fourth part of the online language test, "**Lexical interferences**", contains questions related to Dutch words that are known to replace the original Frisian words (see Sjölin 1976; Breuker et al. 1984; De Haan 1997, 1998). As in case of the "Vocabulary" section, the item selection is based on lexical categories and word frequency. The goal of this research part is to investigate the speakers' preference for an original Frisian word or a Dutch interference and to see what kind of Dutch words have a greater chance to be imbedded into Frisian.

Test example 2.5

How would you complete the following sentence?
Jim moatte der net te folle tiid oan _____. [Frisian sentence]
[You mustn't spend too much time on it.] [Dutch translation]

- besteegje [original Frisian word]
- bestege [grammatical modification]
- bestede [Dutch interference]

2.4.2.5 Grammatical interferences

The fifth and final part of the test, "**Grammatical interferences**", addresses Dutch grammatical constructions as a common phenomenon in spoken Frisian, e.g. inverted verb order in a verb cluster (like in Test example 2.6), using an alternative diminutive suffix (mostly *-t(s)je* instead of *-ke*) or another article than prescribed by the Standard Frisian grammar rules (common *de* instead of neuter *it* or the other way round). This examination must show which of the grammatical interferences are more likely to be taken over and whether and how they relate to the lexical interferences and the internal language variation in spoken Frisian.

Test example 2.6

How would you complete the following sentence?
Dat hiest wol _____. [Frisian sentence]
[You should have done this.] [Dutch translation]

- dwaan moatten [Frisian order]
- dwaan moatte [grammatical modification]
- moatte dwaan [Dutch interference]
- moatten dwaan [grammatical modification]

2.5 In-depth interview

Upon completion of the online questionnaire, participants who indicated that they could speak Frisian at any level (very easily, well, quite well or with difficulty) were asked if they would be willing to participate in an interview. From all participants who agreed to the second, live part of the research, approximately 250 were approached, based on a random selection, but taking into account their age, sex and place of residence for a fairly equal representation (cf. Klinkenberg et al. 2018). The interviews were mainly conducted at participants' home, as in case of the previous language surveys in Fryslân (Pietersen 1969; Gorter et al. 1984; Gorter and Jonkman 1995). For the purpose of the linguistic part of the research (this PhD project), about 250 interviews have been processed and analyzed, considering different study requirements (see chapters 4 and 5).

Correspondingly to the online questionnaire, the live interview consisted of a sociological and a linguistic part, allowing us to ask for personal opinion and explanation and to ask more (detailed) questions on one hand, and to verify the answers given in the questionnaire on the other (cf. chapter 4). The linguistic part of the survey included a narrative (not yet transcribed or analyzed; see also chapter 7), a picture naming (chapter 5) and a translating task (chapters 4 and 5). We asked the participants to speak their own variety of Frisian during the interview, as they would in an everyday life conversation and, again, emphasized that there was no right or wrong, only their own way of speaking.

3 L1- and L2-speakers' competence in a minority language (Frisian) compared[5]

3.1 Introduction

The language knowledge and use of a second language speaker often differs from that of a native speaker. While numerous studies show the inability of an L2 speaker to reach a native-like proficiency level, other studies suggest quite the opposite (see par. 3.1.3). This discrepancy may result from many factors as research design, participants' sample or tested items. Another factor that may affect the outcomes are personal background of the participants (such as mother tongue or place of residence) as it plays an important role in shaping language norms, along with the linguistic situation in a region where the languages are spoken. Accordingly, differences between L1 and L2 will not be the same in a (predominantly) monolingual and in a bilingual or multilingual environment, and also not the same for non-related or (closely) related languages. Modern Dutch and (West) Frisian, the focus of this article, are an example of two closely related languages. We will look at the language use of L1- and L2-speakers of Frisian, who are also highly proficient in Dutch, and examine the differences in language use in order to find out how bilingualism and linguistic similarities can affect language use and proficiency. L2 Frisian is particularly important to investigate, next to L1, since approximately one third of all active speakers of Frisian are non-native (cf. Provinsje Fryslân 2015). L2 Frisian is thus not an exception. Quite the opposite, it co-determines the shape and development of the Frisian language spoken in the province of Fryslân.

Frisian and Dutch are languages spoken in the Netherlands: Dutch, the national language, throughout the whole country and Frisian in the officially bilingual province of Fryslân, beside Dutch. Historically, Frisian is the closest relative to English. However, it grew more and more towards Dutch during a shared history of long-term language contact. Dutch has been dominant to Frisian, which is a minority language from the national perspective, at least since the Late-Middle Ages. The role of Frisian is limited compared to Dutch, especially with regard to language use in official domains (cf. Gorter et al. 1984; Breuker 1993; Gorter and Jonkman 1995). This limitation contributes to the process of linguistic borrowing triggered by the intense language contact. Numerous Dutch words and grammatical constructions are used in spoken Frisian, often in a phonetically and phonotactically adjusted form. We will refer to the totality of loan words and loan formations and constructions from Dutch as "(lexical/grammatical) interferences" or, as they originate from Dutch: "Dutchisms". They occur not (only) in L2, but have actually been observed in L1 as a result of the language

5 This chapter is based on Stefan et al. [accepted with revisions].

contact situation (e.g. Sjöllin 1976; De Haan 1997). These borrowings, along with limited to no dialect selection in spoken Frisian (Breuker 1993), have led to a distinct gap between spoken Frisian and the standard language, whose use is mostly confined to writing. The knowledge of the latter is told not to be optimal due to the limited education in Frisian and little social, political or economic need to master Standard Frisian. As a result, the L1 norm of an average native speaker of Frisian differs substantially from the established norm of a standard language (Breuker 2001: 123). L1-speakers of Frisian are known to use borrowings from Dutch, which is the mother tongue of most of the L2 speakers of Frisian. Accordingly, both groups of speakers rely on Dutch while borrowing 'foreign' words and constructions and implementing them in their Frisian repertoire. However, their borrowing choices and frequencies may still vary. Furthermore, (both L1[6] and L2) proficiency level can also affect the type and amount of Dutch words and grammatical constructions. In this chapter, we compare language proficiency and use of Dutch loanwords and loan constructions in Frisian in L1 and L2.

3.1.1 Bilingualism in Fryslân

Frisian has a long history of language contact with Dutch, the first official language of the Netherlands. All speakers of Frisian, living in the Dutch province of Fryslân are bilinguals. Those who learn Frisian as their first language come into contact with Dutch already at a very young age. The (compulsory) education in the Netherlands starts at the age of five with Dutch as the main language in all schools, including those in Fryslân. However, most Frisian children come in contact with Dutch even earlier through television, radio and other media, pre-school education and/or contact with Dutch speaking people living in their neighborhood. Growing up with Frisian as the only language is nowadays virtually non-existent and, as a consequence, inhabitants of Fryslân usually have better language skills in Dutch than in Frisian. While most of them can understand and speak Frisian well to very well, respectively about 85% and 65% of the population (Provinsje Fryslân 2015), reading and especially writing skills are rather low with approximately half of the population reading Frisian (very) well and 10%-15% writing Frisian (very) well. This is in contrast to the generally high proficiency in Dutch, including all the passive and active language skills, which is expected from every (native) inhabitant of the Netherlands. While all primary schools in Fryslân are obliged to provide some education in Frisian, beside Dutch, it is usually not sufficient to equip pupils with language skills that equal their skills in the national language (cf. Benedictus-van den Berg 2012: 171). This is not very surprising, since in many schools only one hour per week is dedicated to Frisian (Dutch Inspectorate of Education 2010). As a result, native speakers of

6 Native speakers of Frisian can be more proficient in Dutch than in Frisian; see par. 3.1.1.

Frisian are often barely familiar with Standard Frisian vocabulary and grammar, which differs in various respects from the spoken language. Accordingly, it would be more difficult to define a native norm for Frisian than for Dutch.

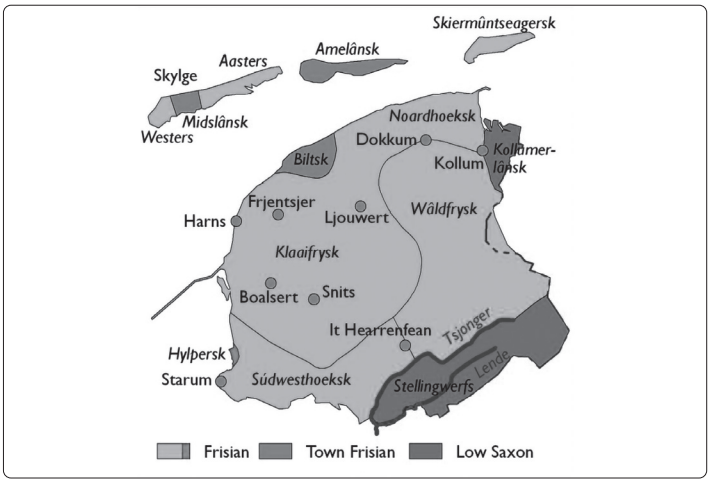
3.1.2 Spoken Frisian vs. Standard Frisian

Frisian spoken language consists of different dialects and is highly influenced by Dutch (De Haan 1997: 64) as a result of the long-term language contact (cf. Jonkman and Versloot 2008). There are three main dialects *Klaaifrysk*: 'Clay Frisian', with its name referring to the dominant soil type in the region where it is spoken (roughly the western half of Fryslân), *Wâldfrysk* 'Wood Frisian', referring to a (formerly) wooded area with swampy soils and spoken in the eastern region, and *Súdwesthoeksk* 'South-Western', spoken in the South-Western part of the province, as its name suggests (see also Figure 3.1). These dialects have an equal social status and are perfectly mutually intelligible with most salient differences based on speakers' pronunciation (see Hof 1933; Tiersma 1999: 4; Popkema 2006: 24-25). They are also affected by Dutch on all possible linguistic levels (cf. Sjölin 1976; Breuker et al. 1984; De Haan 1995, 1997, 1998). However, the spread and general acceptance of various Dutch interferences among native speakers of Frisian is unknown, which raises necessary questions about the "native norm". In Standard Frisian, on the other hand, dialect selection is applied and most recent Dutch interferences are avoided (in contrast to historical borrowings). Moreover, inherited Frisian words that are similar to Dutch and thus can be identified with the dominant language are usually dispreferred in favor of other variants (cf. Breuker 1993). This is in opposition to the natural language and the general tendency of Frisians to borrow words and grammatical constructions from Dutch. The fact that Frisian and Dutch are linguistically similar can only strengthen this effect (cf. Sjölin 1976; Dijkstra 2013; Bosma et al. 2016). Standard Frisian, the Frisian language described in dictionaries and grammars (e.g. Zantema 1984; Visser 1985; Tiersma 1999; Popkema 2006; Duijff et al. 2008), differs thus from every-day Frisian and is particularly used in writing. While this is not unique, but rather a characteristic of standard languages in general, the influence of Standard Frisian on the general language use in Fryslân is quite limited, although not non-existent (cf. Stefan & Klinkenberg 2019). Apart from insufficient education, little to no need for a Frisian standard is another factor contributing to the limited knowledge of Standard Frisian. One can say that Dutch fulfills the role of a standard since all Frisians are proficient in this language, matching or even outclassing their proficiency in Frisian, and Dutch is dominant to Frisian in official domains (cf. Breuker 1993: 72-93).

Besides the three main Frisian dialects (see Figure 3.1), a couple of other dialects are spoken in the province of Fryslân, most of them with strongly declining numbers of speakers. Some of them are Frisian dialects as Hindeloopen

Frisian (Frisian: *Hylpersk*), spoken in Hindeloopen (Frisian: *Hylpen*) – a small port on the west coast of Fryslân, or dialects spoken on two Frisian Islands: *Westers* and *Aasters*, spoken on Terschelling (Frisian: *Skylge*) and Schiermonnikoogs (Frisian: *Skiermûntseagersk*), spoken on Schiermonnikoog (Frisian: *Skiermûntseach*). The other dialects/vernaculars in Fryslân are Low Saxon dialects, as the Stellingwarfs dialect (Frisian: *Stellingwerfsk/Oertsjongersk*), spoken in the municipalities Ooststellingwerf and Weststellingwerf, and Dutch-Frisian contact languages, such as Bildts (Frisian: *Biltsk*) – spoken in the former municipality Het Bildt, Amelands (Frisian: *Amelânsk*), spoken on the Frisian island Ameland (Frisian: *Amelân*), or Stadsfries ('Town Frisian', Frisian: *Stedsk* / *Sted[s]frysk*) – spoken in seven of the historical eleven cities (i.a. in the capital Leeuwarden [Frisian: *Ljouwert*]). These dialects are generally regarded as Dutch with various traces of language contact with Frisian (Van Bree and Versloot 2008) and are not considered in this study. The speakers of the above-mentioned dialects are bi- or even trilingual, since they are also native speakers of Dutch and some of them are proficient in Frisian as well.

Figure 3.1: Frisian dialect map.



3.1.3 L1 vs. L2

Second-language speakers usually have lower language proficiency compared to native speakers. It is often argued that L2 speakers are unable to achieve native-like proficiency, but at most a near-native level if they are particularly talented and motivated. Various studies on second language acquisition have confirmed and explained crucial differences between L1 and L2 (e.g. Hyltenstam 1992; Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson 2000; Bialystok 2001; Clahsen and Felser 2006; Clahsen et al. 2010; Ellis and Sagarra 2010). However, there is extensive research pointing in the opposite direction, suggesting that an L2 learner is actu-

ally capable of reaching a native-like proficiency level (Birdsong 1992; White and Genesee 1996; Bongaerts 1999; Montrul and Slabakova 2001; Angelovska and Hahn 2009; Jegerski 2016). This discrepancy definitely suggests that there is substantial variation among L2 learners, not only caused by their capacity to learn a second language, but also by various situations and circumstances that may depend on the linguistic distances between L1 and L2. The complexity of this subject is not exclusively related to the variety within the L2 group, but also within the L1 group. While there can be substantial differences between speakers and their proficiency levels in L2, native speakers are not homogeneous in their L1 proficiency either. Naturally, the variety in the L1 group will not be as conspicuous as in case of L2 as virtually all native speakers are able to communicate in their L1 very easily. However, there are considerable differences among the L1-speakers of Frisian - probably much bigger than for a language with a well-established and socially dominant standard variety - which are triggered by the minority language context, regional variation and the long-term language contact. Or, to cite Jaspaert et al. (1986: 43): "Full competence simply cannot be defined in an absolute sense, without taking into account the sociological, geographical and historical position each language user is in". The position of Frisian is quite complex, whereby there is no unified native norm that L2 speakers can compete with or strive to achieve. In the current research, we investigate how their language use relates to native performance by looking into differences between L1 and L2 Frisian and including different proficiency levels.

3.2 Research goal and hypotheses

The goal of this research is to gain more information about the differences in knowledge and use of a minority language (Frisian) between **L1** bilinguals (Frisian and Dutch: two closely related languages, with a biographical dominancy of Frisian as language of the childhood family) **and L2** speakers (with Dutch as the mother tongue), as well as differences between **various proficiency levels** in both L1 and L2. Second language speakers often acquire their proficiency in Frisian as a result of living and/or working in a Frisian language environment. As this is quite a natural way of acquiring a language, their L2 "acquisition" will be similar to the "acquisition" of L1 – a subconscious process (as suggested by Krashen [1977, 1981, 1982]). However, in most cases, L2 learners also undergo a conscious process of language "learning" (e.g. by attending a language course), resulting in a linguistically articulated knowledge of L2 and awareness of its differences compared to their mother tongue. Although Krashen suggests that (subconscious) "acquisition" is more important than (conscious) "learning", the latter does matter. The learned system functions as a "monitor" or "editor" that guards one's language use and adjusts it to the rules of L2. Thus, it provides a correcting function. In case of Frisian, the learned system will be the Frisian

standard, which may result in an increased number of Standard Frisian words and/or constructions in one's language use. Additionally, L2 speakers may tend to avoid borrowings from Dutch, even those commonly used in L1, as they will possibly consider them wrong. Since native speakers usually don't have a "monitor", they will possibly use more elements from Dutch in their Frisian than L2 speakers. Such an outperforming of L1 by L2 speakers of Frisian will probably be easier in case of vocabulary than in case of grammar rules as both native speakers (e.g. Gentner and Boroditsky 2001) as well as second language learners acquire (usually content) words first (VanPatten 2004, and VanPatten 2007). Moreover, L2 grammar is difficult to master, since one has already acquired a grammatical system (L1), which may be different. Especially low frequent L2 structures that differ from L1 structures are vulnerable, meaning that they are susceptible to interferences from the L1 due to the speaker's habit (Dulay et al. 1982; Baetens Beardsmore 1986). If an L2 speaker finds a linguistic feature particularly difficult to learn or even to understand due to a gap in L2 knowledge, he or she is likely to fall back on L1 (e.g. Dulay et al. 1982; Bialystok 1990; Dordick 1996; Tajeldin Ali & Van Heuven 2009; Lee 2016). Accordingly, it will be much more difficult to outperform L1 speakers with regard to Frisian grammar and, therefore, we expect L2 speakers of Frisian to use grammatical interferences from Dutch more often than L1 speakers.

In addition to using more grammatical interferences from Dutch, L2 speakers are likely to make other mistakes by introducing L2-specific interferences. These interferences do not have to match the common loan words and constructions from Dutch in the spoken language of L1, which are a result of the language contact. Accordingly, L2 speakers may tend to use Dutch words and grammatical constructions that would never or rarely be used by a native speaker. They may also overgeneralize certain Frisian rules (cf. Richards 1971, and Richards 1974; James 1998; for an overview of L2 errors, see Heydari and Bagheri 2012) and create unusual word forms (cf. Mauranen 2012). As the latter would be clear competence errors (Chomsky 1965) resulting from systematic (Corder 1967: 166) gaps in language knowledge, they are likely to occur more often in L2-speakers representing lower proficiency levels than in proficient speakers.[7]

While previous research has pointed out similarities between language knowledge and use of second-language learners and L1 speakers who have not fully acquired their mother tongue, it has also shown that the latter display a significant advantage above L2 speakers. This advantage can be observed at the lower proficiency levels (Montrul 2005). Consequently, proficiency level is expected to affect one's performance. The lower the proficiency level, the more lexical and gram-

7 Grant and Ginther (2001: 141-142) also point at decreasing word choice errors at higher proficiency levels.

matical interferences from Dutch are likely to occur in both L2 and L1. Native speakers of Frisian who did not reach the highest proficiency level in that language during their primary language acquisition, acquired the "lacking" part in a later stage through Dutch, which became their main language. This applies to both Frisian vocabulary and grammar. Hence, these speakers are likely to use more lexical and grammatical interferences from Dutch than L1 speakers who have reached a higher proficiency level. Due to the lacking "monitor", they are also expected to use more loanwords from Dutch than L2 speakers representing a comparable level of language proficiency. However, they will usually outclass L2 in case of Frisian grammar, except particular grammar rules that they may never have acquired.

To summarize (see also Table 3.1), we expect L1 speakers and L2 speakers to use the Frisian language differently and the general performance to be affected by the proficiency level. Both L1 and L2 speakers representing lower proficiency levels will supposedly use more "established" interferences (=commonly used in spoken Frisian) from Dutch. Additionally, L2 speakers at lower proficiency levels are expected to use other (uncommon) interferences from Dutch and to make different mistakes, like introducing non-existent word forms. At this point, L1 speakers of Frisian are likely to have an advantage over L2 speakers. L2 speakers representing higher proficiency levels, on the other hand, will supposedly outperform L1 speakers in the knowledge and use of Standard Frisian vocabulary, due to the Frisian standard being a reference point during their learning process, possibly supplemented by some degree of formal education or instruction. Since L2 grammar is more difficult to master than lexicon (see below), we do not expect to see such an L2 "advantage" in case of the Frisian grammar on a structural basis, but rather assume that L1 will outperform L2.

Table 3.1: Hypotheses.

Differences between L1 and L2		
Lexical interferences from Dutch	L1 > L2	
Grammatical interferences from Dutch	L1 < L2	
***Differences between proficiency levels**	**L1**	**L2**
Lexical interferences from Dutch	** **HPL < LPL**	**HPL < LPL**
Grammatical interferences from Dutch	**HPL < LPL**	**HPL < LPL**

* *Expected in both L1 and L2. However, the differences between various proficiency levels may not be parallel for L1 and L2.*

** *HPL = Speakers representing higher proficiency levels (generally "very easily" & "well", but there may also be a difference between these two levels).*

LPL = Speakers representing lower proficiency levels (generally "quite well" & "with difficulty", but there may also be a difference between these two levels).

3.3 Methodology

In this paragraph, we will focus on the research design and data (3.3.1), the participants' sample (3.3.2), methodological issues (self-reported language proficiency, 3.3.2.1), choices and the analysis (3.3.3).

3.3.1 Research data

The research data is based on an online survey (Klinkenberg et.al. 2018), following a long research tradition (see Pietersen 1969; Gorter et al. 1984; Gorter and Jonkman 1995). The survey consisted of two questionnaires, a sociological and a linguistic one, and was completed by 3.700 inhabitants of Fryslân. Questions were mostly multiple-choice. The first part of the survey, a sociological questionnaire, included inquiries related to one's language proficiency, language behavior, language background and language attitude. In this research, we are focusing on language background (L1 or L2) and proficiency in speaking. The second part of the survey, the linguistic one, focused on the personal use of and preference for various Frisian words and grammatical constructions. It consisted of diverse multiple-choice questions[8] about the Frisian language, including dialectal and other variation in Frisian, and influence of Dutch (see Example 3.1 and Example 3.2). The latter will be most important for our data analysis.

This research is based on an online questionnaire, meaning that it provides an indication of what can be expected in spontaneous language use, even if not matching it entirely[9].

In the questionnaires, the participants could choose between Dutch (as in Example 3.1) or Frisian (as in Example 3.2) as the language of instruction. The Dutch version of the questions was regularly provided with an additional translation of Frisian sentences in order to prevent mistakes due to one's limited proficiency in reading Frisian (see also par. 3.1.1).

8 Several (opinion) questions in the linguistic part of the online questionnaire allowed the participants to select multiple options (see also chapters 2 and 6). This study includes only questions with one possible answer.

9 In chapter 4 of this dissertation, we focus on the reliability of self-reported language use and argue that it provides a solid indication of the actual language use.

Example 3.1

How would you complete the following sentence?
Jim moatte der net te folle tiid oan _____. [Frisian sentence]
[You mustn't _spend_ too much time on it.] [Dutch translation]

- besteegje [original Frisian word]
- bestege [grammatical modification]
- bestede [Dutch interference]

Example 3.2

How do you say "official/civil servant" [Dutch word] in Frisian?

- amtner [original Frisian word]
- amtenaar [Dutch interference]
- amtenier [non-existent word form]

3.3.2 Participants

The sociological part of the language questionnaire has been completed by approximately 3.700 respondents varying in age (≥18 years old) and living in different parts of Fryslân. Accordingly, many regional varieties of Frisian (three main dialects and their varieties) are included in the research. In order to complete the linguistic questionnaire, participants had to be able to use Frisian actively (speaking), irrespectively of their proficiency level. Participants who reported not to speak Frisian at all were only asked to complete the sociological questionnaire and were not included in this research (the research sample consists of roughly 3.000 speakers of Frisian).

Based on the answers given in the sociological questionnaire, test participants were divided into two groups depending on their mother tongue. The question was: "What was the first language you learned as a child?", with answers as Frisian, Dutch, Town Frisian, Bildts, Stellingwerfs, other (multiple selections were allowed). All participants who selected "Frisian" are considered L1 speakers. Based on another question included in the sociological questionnaire, both groups were further divided into four subgroups representing different levels of proficiency in Frisian: "Can you speak Frisian?" – very easily, well, quite well, with difficulty. The fifth answer option was "not at all", but, as mentioned before, those respondents were not included in the linguistic part of the research. The highest proficiency level has deliberately been indicated as "very easily" instead of "very well" in order to avoid confusion with the knowledge of Standard Frisian, which is rather limited in the Frisian society.

Most participants who completed the linguistic questionnaire were native speakers of Frisian (L1): 70%. L2 participants usually had Dutch as the first language (standard Dutch or a Dutch dialect; >80%). Others were native speakers of Stadsfries (Town Frisian, approximately 10%) or different dialects across Fryslân (see par. 3.1.2). There were only a couple of participants representing a foreign language community (1%).

The vast majority of native speakers of Frisian (almost 90%) reported to speak Frisian very easily, while the others said they could speak Frisian well. Second language speakers represent the four proficiency levels more evenly, with a slight underrepresentation of participants reporting to speak Frisian well (16%) and a slight overrepresentation of respondents who were able to speak Frisian with difficulty (32%).

3.3.2.1 Self-reported language proficiency

The indicated proficiency level of the participants is based on self-reports. Generally speaking, these cannot be regarded as entirely valid as they are based on a psychological definition if not further operationalized (De Haan 2010: 303).

We will argue that this is not a concern in the context of this study. First of all, while it has been proven that people tend to overestimate (cf. Janssen-van Dieten 1992, and Janssen-van Dieten 1993) and in some circumstances (like anxiety) underestimate their abilities, which may be accompanied by lower performance (cf. MacIntyre, Noels and Clément 1997; Crowell 2015), it has also been shown that self-reports are quite a good indication of the real skills, even if not matching them entirely (e.g. Bachman and Palmer 1985; Ross 1998; Shameem 1998; Marian, Blumenfeld and Kaushanskaya 2007; Mistar 2011). The recent sociological survey - *Language in Fryslân: The next generation* - is the fourth one conducted in Fryslân, along with short language polls (quick scans) held by the provincial government (Provinsje Fryslân 2007, Provinsje Fryslân 2011, and Provinsje Fryslân 2015), also including questions about language proficiency. The results of these studies are quite similar. While this doesn't prove the absence of bias, it does indicate that the bias is rather stable and will likely not affect the association between linguistic knowledge, choices and preference of groups of speakers representing the four proficiency levels included in this research. For the purpose of this study, we do not need to know the real proficiency of the respondents. What we do need, is a clue that will help us find out whether there are differences between speakers representing various proficiency levels of Frisian and if so, what kind of differences. It is self-evident that most native speakers of Frisian will indicate that they can speak Frisian very easily (= the highest level). Those who report not to speak it that well, must have a good reason to indicate this. As already mentioned, all proficiency levels are represented quite evenly by non-native speakers of Frisian involved in this research and the self-reporting method applies to all of them, not only to some. Finally, without a clear definition and useful operationalization, it would be difficult to test one's real proficiency of spoken Frisian, which strongly differs from Standard Frisian. The Frisian "standard" for spoken language is not known and might be hard to establish due to the rich language variation. Therefore, testing one's proficiency in spoken Frisian based on their knowledge of the Frisian standard would not give valid results either. The relation between self-reported language proficiency and actual language use is addressed in par. 3.4.

3.3.3 Instrument development and data analysis

The items included in the linguistic questionnaire cover both Frisian vocabulary and grammar. They were carefully selected based on an extensive literature study and observations of linguists at the *Fryske Akademy* research institute. Additionally, the items were thoroughly discussed and tested in a pilot study to make sure that the selection was valid.

In order to verify the hypotheses, the linguistic questionnaire includes originally Frisian words and constructions, Dutch interferences and also non-existent word forms (e.g. *amtenier* in Example 3.2). The purpose for including such words were twofold. In some cases, an artificial word had to create some distraction in order to reduce the participants' focus on borrowings, as these might appear too "wrong" to be selected, even if commonly used in spoken Frisian. Putting various questions in a random order (see also Dörnyei and Taguchi [2010: 45], who refer to Aiken 1997) and giving multiple possible answers to select from, reduces the focus on Dutch influence on Frisian from people's attention. The other reason to include artificial words in the questionnaire was to test how participants would react to them. A person who is fluent in Frisian, especially a native speaker, would in all probability ignore these forms and choose another one, while asked what he or she would use in everyday life. However, this could be different for non-native speakers, especially those representing lower proficiency level. These speakers may not know the "right" (=commonly used) Frisian word, whether an originally Frisian one or a borrowing from Dutch. Accordingly, they are more likely to select a non-existent word instead. Selecting artificial words can thus, among other linguistic aspects, potentially show a difference between higher and lower proficiency level groups. This does not imply that people would actually use these words in their speech.

Besides such non-existing, artificial word forms, some questions contain Dutch words (e.g. *ruimte* 'space') next to the Frisian variants (*romte* and *rûmte*), not adapted Dutch word forms next to the common borrowings that are adapted to the Frisian pronunciation (e.g. *buitje* '[short] rain shower' next to the adapted, valid variant *buitsje* and the originally Frisian *buike*) or archaic variants, which are not or hardly used anymore (0-5%), e.g. *(do) hopeste* '(you) hoped' (2nd pret.) instead of *(do) hopestø*.

The selected items were divided into four categories. The first two are strongly related to language contact with Dutch, namely lexical and grammatical interferences. The other two represent dialect and other variation in Frisian. Some questions fell under two different categories, as in case of verb conjugation, where some preterit forms were Frisian variants, e.g. strong or weak: *bliek* (strong) / *blykte* (weak) 'turned out (to be)', and the other one was a Dutch borrowing: *bleek*. Such forms were analyzed separately, e.g. as grammatical interferences from Dutch and other variation in Frisian. The answers have been compared for L1 and L2 speakers, with due consideration of their self-reported language proficiency. In this way, we could find out whether there was a difference between L1 and L2 for different proficiency levels and if and how one's language proficiency affected the answers.

Most attention has been paid to influence from Dutch (lexical [as in Example 3.1] and grammatical interferences), but the study includes also other variation in Frisian, such as 'pseudo' interferences and dialectal variation. As to the first type, many Frisian variants are similar to their Dutch pendants, while the others are not. The former ones are often not preferred in Standard Frisian as they can be identified with Dutch (*distancing*; Breuker 1993: 129-149, 277-278). For the same reason, such variants can be mistaken for borrowings as it is difficult to differentiate between such "pseudo" and the "real" interferences, both showing similarities with Dutch. Additionally, we looked into the preference for different, more or less common, dialect variants.

3.4 Results

In this section, the results are presented for lexical interferences from Dutch (3.4.1), grammatical interferences from Dutch (3.4.2) and dialect and other variation in spoken Frisian (3.4.3). In case of interferences, both lexical and grammatical, Standard Frisian is used as a reference point. General differences between L1 and L2 are shown first (3.4.1.1, 3.4.2.1), followed by differences between various proficiency levels (3.4.1.2, 3.4.2.2) and a discussion of uncommon interferences and word forms encountered during the analysis (3.4.1.3, 3.4.2.3). Finally, in paragraph 3.4.3, general findings are presented with respect to dialect and other variation. Additional questions that arose during the analysis, regarding Frisian verb order and past participles of strong verbs optionally attaching a weak suffix as a regional variant, are briefly discussed in paragraph 3.4.4.

3.4.1 Lexical interferences

3.4.1.1 L1 vs. L2

Comparing preferences for different variants in spoken Frisian revealed that native speakers chose for a Dutch borrowing more often than non-native speakers. As these results could vary for the four proficiency levels (see par. 3.4.1.2), the summary of the outcomes (Table 3.2) is based exclusively on the respondents representing the highest level ("very easily"). Table 3.2 shows the percentage of the questions (out of 14) where L2 speakers used respectively more or less lexical interferences from Dutch than L1 and the percentage of questions showing (nearly) no difference between the two speaker groups (<10%).

Table 3.2: Lexical interferences in L2 (highest proficiency level).

less lexical interferences than L1	**85%** of the questions
no difference	**15%** of the questions
more lexical interferences than L1	**0%** of the questions

There is a substantial difference in the use of commonly observed Dutch loanwords in Frisian between L1 and L2 speakers. While second language speakers generally conform to the common language norm among the native speakers - whether it is an originally Frisian word or rather a borrowing - they use Standard Frisian variants more often than L1 speakers. The average difference in the preference for a Standard Frisian word among L2 speakers as opposed to a lexical borrowing is 15% in the direction of the official standard (see the example in Table 3.3). Accordingly, we can say that L2 speakers of the highest proficiency level score better than native speakers of Frisian in case of the ongoing competition between Standard Frisian words and borrowings from Dutch.

Table 3.3: 'Entirely, completely' in spoken Frisian (L1 & L2; highest proficiency level): Frisian variants hielendal/helendal or a Dutch loan word helemaal.

	hielendal	helendal	helemaal
L1	70%	6%	23%
L2	88%	4%	8%

3.4.1.2 Differences between various proficiency levels

The general word preference has been compared for both L1 and L2 representing four different proficiency levels: (the ability to speak Frisian) very easily, well, quite well and with difficulty. Since there are only a few L1 speakers representing the two lowest levels ("quite well" and "with difficulty": 3%), they are clustered (labeled as "quite well" in the given examples). The emphasis of the analysis was upon the differences between speakers representing the highest and speakers representing the three lower levels. According to the results, the latter have an increased chance to use a lexical interference from Dutch. Table 3.4 shows the percentage of the questions (out of 14) where L1 and L2 speakers representing lower proficiency levels used respectively more or less lexical interferences from Dutch than speakers representing the highest level ("very easily"), and the percentage of questions showing no difference between the four levels. The differences could manifest at all lower levels (starting with the second highest one: "well") compared to the highest one ("very easily"), but also at the two lowest or even only the lowest one.

Table 3.4: Choice for lexical interferences at lower proficiency levels (lumped together as one category) compared to the highest level.

	L1	L2
less lexical interferences	**20%** of all cases	**0%** of all cases
no difference	**20%** of all cases	**50%** of all cases
more lexical interferences	**60%** of all cases	**50%** of all cases

In general, both L1 and L2 speakers of Frisian at lower proficiency levels than the highest one tend to opt for a borrowing from Dutch more often than people who can speak Frisian very easily. The other way around - using Standard Frisian words more often at lower proficiency level - is an uncommon phenomenon. For both L1 and L2 speakers of Frisian, there is usually no difference between the highest and the second-highest proficiency level ("very easily" and "well"). While these results show a general tendency, different proficiency levels in L1 and L2 are not always parallel (cf. Table 3.8).

3.4.1.3 Uncommon interferences and other forms

A couple of tested loanwords turned out not to be commonly used Dutch interferences in Frisian. It concerned Dutch words selected by no more than 3% of native speakers representing the highest proficiency level. Some of them may be used only in collocations, but not as separate words, e.g. *suer* [Dutch: zuur] instead of Frisian *soer* 'sour' is possibly only used in combinations as *suere room* (Dutch: zure room 'sour cream'; Breuker et al. 1984) instead of Frisian *soere rjemme*. However, such 'uncommon' interferences can be observed in L2 (see Table 3.5). These results not only confirm the differences in language proficiency, but also point at an L1 advantage compared to L2 as such interferences do not occur in the responses of native speakers, not even at lower levels. Still, the outcomes do not indicate a poor L2 performance. On the contrary: the correctness ratio exceeds 80% for all L2 levels but the lowest one.

Table 3.5: Choice for the loanword *suer* [Dutch: zuur] 'sour' in Frisian.

ZUUR						
Proficiency	L1			L2		
	soer	**suer**		soer	**suer**	
very easily	100%	0%	100%	96%	4%	100%
well	97%	3%	100%	87%	**13%**	100%
quite well	100%	0%	100%	85%	**15%**	100%
with difficulty				78%	**22%**	100%
	523	3	526	176	29	205
	99%	1%	100%	86%	14%	100%

Besides Dutch interferences almost only occurring in L2, we also found Dutch loanwords in both L2 and L1-speakers representing a lower proficiency level than "very easily" (the highest one). For example, the Dutch *allemaal* 'all, everything, everyone' is known to replace the originally Frisian word *allegear[re]*. The respondents representing the highest proficiency level did not confirm this, as virtually all of them chose for the Standard Frisian word. However, the use of *allemaal* increased for decreasing proficiency, this time in both L1 and L2 (see Table 3.6).

Table 3.6: Choice for the loanword *allemaal* 'all, everything, everyone' in Frisian.

ALLEMAAL						
Proficiency	L1			L2		
	allemaal	allegear(re)		allemaal	allegear(re)	
very easily	3%	97%	100%	3%	97%	100%
well	**13%**	88%	100%	**12%**	88%	100%
quite well	**27%**	73%	100%	**17%**	83%	100%
with difficulty				**24%**	76%	100%
	26	543	569	34	208	242
	5%	95%	100%	14%	86%	100%

Besides choosing uncommon loanwords as in Table 3.5, participants representing lower proficiency levels, especially L2 speakers who reported to speak Frisian with difficulty, selected non-existent word forms more often than other respondents. An example of such a word is the verb **snoepje* 'to eat sweets'. Other than Dutch, Frisian has two classes of weak verbs: verbs with infinitives ending in *e* (class I) and verbs with infinitives ending in *-je* (class II). The latter does not exist in Dutch, which has only one class in *-en* (typologically corresponding to the Frisian *-e* class). The original Frisian word for 'to eat sweets' is *snobje*, a class II verb. In spoken Frisian, however, *snobje* is commonly replaced by the Dutch loanword

snoepe (Dutch: *snoepen*), class I. The word form **snoepje* is thus a contamination of *snoepe* with a class II weak verb infinitive ending. While speakers at a lower language proficiency level may not know the original Frisian word, *snoepe* may sound too Dutch for them. As a result, they may opt for a more Frisian sounding form (cf. Table 3.7).[10] A similar situation can be seen in case of the non-existent word **amtenier* instead of the Frisian *amtner* or the commonly used borrowing *amtenaar* (Dutch: ambtenaar) 'civil servant, official'. An artificial noun variant as **amtenier* sounds very unnatural to a proficient speaker of Frisian and it is therefore not very surprising that only L2 speakers representing the lowest proficiency level selected that variant (see Table 3.8). While it does not mean that they would say **amtenier* in spontaneous language use - rather that they simply did not know the right answer due to their limited language proficiency - they may tend to (occasionally) "invent" other (non-existent) word forms.

Table 3.7: Choice for the odd verb form *snoepje* 'to eat sweets' in Frisian besides *snobje* and *snoepe* (Dutch: snoepen).

TO EAT SWEETS								
Proficiency	L1				L2			
	snoepe	snoepje	snobje		snoepe	snoepje	snobje	
very easily	44%	2%	53%	100%	28%	2%	71%	100%
well	49%	2%	49%	100%	34%	**6%**	60%	100%
quite well	50%	**8%**	42%	100%	55%	**11%**	34%	100%
with difficulty					45%	**33%**	22%	100%
	242	12	283	537	86	29	98	213
	45%	2%	53%	100%	40%	14%	46%	100%

10 There are no sources to confirm or discard the actual existence of a form snoepje, but the impression of Frisian linguists active in the region is that it is definitely not very common.

Table 3.8: Choice for the non-existent noun form **amtenier* in Frisian instead of *amtner* or *amtenaar* (Dutch: ambtenaar) 'civil servant, official'.

CIVIL SERVANT, OFFICIAL								
Proficiency	L1				L2			
	amtenier	amtner	amtenaar		amtenier	amtner	amtenaar	
very easily	0%	60%	40%	100%	0%	78%	22%	100%
well	0%	49%	51%	100%	3%	86%	11%	100%
quite well	0%	42%	58%	100%	4%	66%	30%	100%
w. difficulty					**13%**	52%	34%	100%
	2	313	223	538	11	148	55	214
	0%	58%	41%	100%	5%	69%	26%	100%

3.4.2 Grammatical interferences

3.4.2.1 L1 vs. L2

Not only Frisian vocabulary, but also its grammar is affected by Dutch. This concerns both Frisian morphology, e.g. diminutive formation or verbal inflection, and syntax: especially word order in verb clusters (see also par. 3.4.2.3). L2 speakers were shown to choose for a lexical borrowing less often than L1 speakers of Frisian in par. 3.4.1. For Frisian grammar, however, which is arguably more challenging for L2 than vocabulary (see par. 3.2), this contrast does no longer exist. The results show that L2 speakers generally use grammatical interferences from Dutch as often as native speakers. Table 3.9 shows the percentage of the questions (out of 15) where L2 speakers used respectively more or less grammatical interferences from Dutch than L1 and the percentage of questions showing no difference between the two speaker groups. As in the case of lexical interferences (par. 3.4.1.1), the summary is based on the respondents representing the highest proficiency level ("very easily"), since the results could vary for the other ones (par. 3.4.2.2).

Table 3.9: Grammatical interferences in L2.

less grammatical interferences than L1	**10%** of the questions
no difference	**80%** of the questions
more grammatical interferences than L1	**10%** of the questions

3.4.2.2 Differences between various proficiency levels

One's language proficiency may affect one's choice between an originally Frisian or rather Dutch grammatical construction as demonstrated in the case of Frisian vocabulary. Table 3.10 shows the percentage of the questions (out of 15) where L1 and L2 speakers representing lower proficiency levels used respectively more or less grammatical interferences from Dutch than speakers representing the highest level ("very easily") and the percentage of questions showing no difference between the four levels. Similarly to lexical interferences, the differences with respect to the highest level ("very easily") are visible at the second highest level ("well") or lower, but can also manifest exclusively on the lowest one(s). These level differences can vary for L1 and L2 (see also Table 3.11 and Table 3.12). L1 speakers representing the two lowest levels ("quite well" and "with difficulty") have been clustered together and labeled as "quite well" (see also par. 3.4.1.2.).

Table 3.10: Choice for grammatical interferences at lower proficiency levels compared to the highest level.

	L1	L2
less grammatical interferences	**10%** of all cases	**10%** of all cases
no difference	**40%** of all cases	**50%** of all cases
more grammatical interferences	**50%** of all cases	**40%** of all cases

The results reveal that speakers representing lower proficiency levels use more grammatical interferences in approximately 50% of the cases while compared to those representing the highest level. This applies to both L1 and L2. The opposite effect (less interferences on lower levels) is hardly observed, but this time also in L2 (cf. Table 3.4 and Table 3.10).

In a few cases, the differences between the proficiency levels were remarkably strong and manifested on all levels except the highest one (also on the second highest level, "well", which is usually comparable with "very easily"); e.g. in case of the diminutive formation in L2 as in *bui-ke* / *bui-t(s)je* (Dutch: buitje) '(short) rain shower' (cf. Table 3.11) and gender marking. The latter concerns the choice between the common article (*de*) and the neuter article (*it* [Dutch: het]). Frisian and Dutch have a very similar gender system. Most nouns have the same gender (common or neuter), but there are some exceptions (cf. Popkema 2006: 152-153). There are a few lexical cases with different gender in Frisian and Dutch, e.g. FR ***de*** *mar* / Dutch ***het*** *meer* 'lake', FR ***it*** *skouder* / Dutch ***de*** *schouder* 'shoulder' (cf. Table 3.12).

Table 3.11: Dutch interference *bui-t(s)je* in spoken Frisian.

(SHORT) RAIN SHOWER [dim]								
Proficiency	L1				L2			
	buitje	**buitsje**	buike		**buitje**	**buitsje**	buike	
very easily	1%	21%	78%	100%	0%	23%	77%	100%
well	0%	26%	74%	100%	0%	54%	46%	100%
quite well	8%	58%	33%	100%	0%	51%	49%	100%
with difficulty					5%	69%	26%	100%
	4	120	414	538	3	103	108	214
	1%	22%	77%	100%	1%	48%	50%	100%

Table 3.12: Transfer of Dutch gender to Frisian.

MAR 'lake'						
Proficiency	L1			L2		
	de	it		de	it	
very easily	66%	34%	100%	57%	43%	100%
well	53%	47%	100%	71%	29%	100%
quite well	42%	58%	100%	46%	54%	100%
with difficulty				26%	74%	100%
	346	190	536	101	109	210
	65%	35%	100%	48%	52%	100%
SKOUDER 'shoulder'						
Proficiency	L1			L2		
	de	it		**de**	it	
very easily	25%	75%	100%	29%	71%	100%
well	38%	62%	100%	40%	60%	100%
quite well	50%	50%	100%	54%	46%	100%
with difficulty				59%	41%	100%
	142	394	536	95	115	210
	26%	74%	100%	45%	55%	100%

3.4.2.3 Uncommon interferences and L1 advantage

Speakers of Frisian, especially those who represent the lower proficiency levels, can also make different "errors" (cf. par. 3.3.3), besides using commonly known interferences from Dutch. Such errors can occur in both L1 and L2, like selecting the archaic verb form *(do) hopeste* [2nd pret.] 'you hoped' instead of *(do) hopest* or the Dutch interference *(do) hooptest* (cf. Table 3.13).

Table 3.13: *(You) Hoped* (2nd pret.) in spoken Frisian.

(YOU) HOPED								
Proficiency	L1				L2			
	hooptest	hopest	**hopeste**		hooptest	hopest	**hopeste**	
very easily	56%	40%	4%	100%	57%	40%	3%	100%
well	51%	42%	8%	100%	34%	63%	3%	100%
quite well	8%	75%	17%	100%	57%	36%	8%	100%
w. difficulty					42%	48%	10%	100%
	291	220	27	538	104	96	13	213
	54%	41%	5%	100%	49%	45%	6%	100%

In some cases, however, the errors are more frequent in L2, e.g. past participle *sneden* 'cut'- a calque from Dutch (gesneden) - instead of the common Frisian variants *snien* [strong variant] or *snijd* [weak variant] (cf. Table 3.14).

Table 3.14: Past participle *cut* in spoken Frisian.

CUT								
Proficiency	L1				L2			
	snien	snijd	**sneden**		snien	snijd	**sneden**	
very easily	42%	56%	2%	100%	48%	49%	3%	100%
well	33%	60%	6%	100%	24%	68%	8%	100%
quite well	53%	33%	13%	100%	21%	48%	31%	100%
w. difficulty				100%	29%	43%	29%	100%
	234	317	16	567	75	122	42	239
	41%	56%	3%	100%	31%	51%	18%	100%

Such examples may point at an L1 advantage, which, however, only emerges on the lower proficiency levels. While the results generally show a similarity between L1 and L2 speakers representing the highest proficiency level (in our case "very easily"), a few examples show an overall L1 advantage. The most remarkable example concerns a morphophonological feature that is apparently quite difficult to master for many L2 speakers. Unlike Frisian, Dutch displays the so called IPP-effect (Infinitivus Pro Participio) in a perfective construction. This means that modal verbs show up as infinitives and not as past participles, resulting in two infinitives in the clause-final verb cluster (main verb + modal):

(1) a. *Dat had je niet **moeten** **doen.***
That had you NEG should.INF do.INF
'You should not have done that.' IPP

b. **Dat had je niet **gemoeten** **doen.***
That had you NEG should.PART do.INF
'You should not have done that.' *No IPP

There are two differences between Frisian and Dutch perfective sentences. Frisian has a different verb order in the clause-final verb clusters, with the main verb preceding the modal, and it does not display the IPP-effect, meaning that the modal verbs show up as participles:

(2) a. *Dat hiest net **dwaan** **moatten.***
That have.2SG.PST NEG do.INF should.PART
'You should not have done that.' No IPP

b. **Dat hiest net **dwaan** **moatte.***
That have.2SG.PST NEG do.INF should.INF
'You should not have done that.' *IPP

While most respondents did not have any difficulties with the verb order,[11] some of them, especially L2 speakers, chose for the (incorrect) IPP-construction in Frisian. Additionally, there is a strong proficiency effect (cf. Table 3.15).

Table 3.15: IPP in Frisian as a grammatical interference from Dutch.

	Dat hiest net … .				'You shouldn't have done that.'			
Proficiency	L1				L2			
	Dutch[12] order	**dwaan moatte**	dwaan moatten		Dutch order	**dwaan moatte**	dwaan moatten	
very easily	4%	4%	92%	100%	2%	21%	77%	100%
well	11%	8%	82%	100%	3%	32%	65%	100%
quite well	8%	17%	75%	100%	5%	39%	56%	100%
w. difficulty				100%	2%	52%	46%	100%
	24	24	481	529	6	79	125	210
	5%	5%	90%	100%	3%	38%	60%	100%

11 Reversing the verb order is a frequently mentioned Dutch interference in Frisian.

12 Both L1 and L2 speakers at the two highest levels ("very easily" and "well") chose to use the participle instead of IPP in the Dutch order: moatten dwaan, not *moatte dwaan.

Frisian participles, e.g. *moatten* as in … *dwaan moatten* (cf. Table 3.15), are quite unmarked compared to Dutch participles: ***ge**moeten* (INF *moeten*). The verbal prefix *ge-* that commonly marks a participle in Dutch, is not productive in Frisian verb conjugation. The only difference between the infinitive *moatte* and its participle form *moatten* is the ending *-(e)n* marking the participle. However, the ending *-en* is also common in Dutch verbs, not only in participles as in *gemoeten* (PART), but also in infinitives: *moeten* (INF). The final *-n* in Dutch can, but does not have to be pronounced. Its pronunciation varies between regions and speakers, regardless of the form of the verb (infinitive or participle). Accordingly, the final *-n* is not a marker of a Dutch participle. For that matter, Frisian follows different rules that can be challenging for L2 speakers as the difference between *-ø* and *-n* is rather subtle and may be perceived with difficulty by speakers of Dutch. The results show that L2 speakers are likely to omit the final *-n* also in other situations that require its pronunciation in Frisian, e.g. when an infinitive follows the preposition *te* 'to' (cf. Table 3.16).

Table 3.16: Final-n omission as a(n uncommon) grammatical interference from Dutch.

	Hy komt by ús te …			'He'll sleep with us.'		
Proficiency	L1			L2		
	sliepe	sliepen		**sliepe**	sliepen	
very easily	1%	99%	100%	21%	79%	100%
well	5%	95%	100%	27%	73%	100%
quite well	33%	77%	100%	47%	53%	100%
with difficulty			100%	64%	36%	100%
	5	234	239	42	57	99
	2%	98%	100%	42%	58%	100%

3.4.3 Dialect and other, free variation

The previous sections demonstrated many similarities between the language behaviour of highly proficient ("very easily" level) L1 and L2 speakers in the domain of lexicon and grammar. There also exist remarkable differences between the two groups of speakers, as will be illustrated. Such differences can be found in case of dialectal (see Table 3.17) and other, not necessarily regionally bound variation (see Table 3.18). While asked about the (personal) use of such variants, L1 and L2 speakers of Frisian representing the highest proficiency level often gave different answers (in more than 40% of the instances, where the difference in the variant choice was 10% or higher). L2 speakers tend to select the more frequent (and usually also the standard) variant more often than L1, while still confirming to the current norm among native speakers of Frisian (the preferred variant remains the same for both groups; cf. Table 3.17).

Table 3.17: Variants of 'to have' in spoken Frisian.

TO HAVE										
Proficiency	L1					L2				
	hawwe [Standard Frisian]	hewwe	hebbe	habbe		**hawwe** [Standard Frisian]	hewwe	hebbe	habbe	
very easily	72%[13]	18%	8%	2%	100%	**84%**	12%	2%	2%	100%
well	55%	37%	8%	0%	100%	90%	3%	3%	3%	100%
quite well	42%	33%	8%	17%	100%	70%	27%	3%	0%	100%
w. difficulty					100%	72%	25%	3%	0%	100%
	368	106	40	12	526	158	39	6	2	205
	70%	20%	7%	2%	100%	77%	19%	3%	1%	100%

L2 speakers seem to be more consistent in their choices regarding variants that follow similar phonological patterns, although the differences are not statistically significant, e.g.: standard variant includes û [u*(:)*], the regional one *u* or *uu* [ø]/[y:]:[14] L2 *butter* (11%) /*huus* (14%) [standard: *bûter*/*hûs* 'butter/house'] vs. L1 *butter* (11%) /*huus* (30%). The isoglosses for these two words do not coincide in the traditional dialects, as was already noticeable in Hof (1933: 177, 250-1). We therefore expect a contrast between these two lemmas among L1 speakers. L2 speakers seem to be less sensible to these dialect-geographical subtleties and have a stronger preference for the standard form.

There can also be differences between L1 and L2 in case of other, mostly grammar-based variation, which is optional in Standard Frisian. While looking at numerous Frisian variants, we can see that some of them are similar to Dutch and the others are not, e.g. plurals formed by the suffix *-en* or *-s*. Both suffixes are also productive in Dutch. Their lexical distribution in Frisian, however, differs sometimes from the one in Dutch. In some cases, Frisian allows both *-en* or *-s*, varying for different speakers, while Dutch only allows *-en*: FR *feroaring-<u>en</u> / feroaring-<u>s</u>*; NL *verandering-<u>en</u>* 'change-s'. Frisian plural variants ending in *-en*

13 This percentage seems a bit high compared to other dialect studies and charts (e.g. Fryske Akademy. 1978-1995). Although the use and role of Standard Frisian remains limited, it does seem to affect language use in Fryslân (see also par. 3.4.4), since people are exposed to it more than ever due to digitization and various media, which increases their language awareness. Speakers of Frisian tend to adjust their language use to the Frisian standard, which is, however, rather occasional than very consistent and results in personal variation. The percentage of speakers who would spontaneously use other variants than the Standard Frisian hawwe 'to have' is arguably higher than indicated by our results, but the regional variants can be (occasionally) interchanged with the standard one (see also chapter 4).

14 Characteristic for the South-Western dialect (Súdwesthoeksk); see Popkema 2006: 24.

are no (grammatical) interferences, but can be experienced as such due to their correspondence with the Dutch plurals (cf. par. 3.3.3). The results reveal that L2 speakers generally show the same variant preference as L1 speakers of Frisian. However, they choose for the variants that differ from Dutch (*feroarings*) more often than native speakers as they probably regard them to be the better Frisian forms (cf. Table 3.18).

As in case of lexical and grammatical interferences from Dutch, the research outcomes can differ for lower proficiency levels in both L1 and L2 (cf. Table 3.17), but this is not always the case (cf. Table 3.18).

Table 3.18: 'Changes' [plural] in Frisian: *feroaring* [sg] → *feroaringen* / *feroarings* [pl].

CHANGES [PL]						
Proficiency	L1			L2		
	feroaringen	feroarings		feroaringen	feroarings	
very easily	41%	**59%**	100%	29%	**71%**	100%
well	42%	58%	100%	31%	69%	100%
quite well	42%	58%	100%	25%	75%	100%
with difficulty				34%	66%	100%
	218	317	535	63	147	210
	41%	59%	100%	30%	70%	100%

3.4.4 Verb order and "seened"

There are two test items that raised additional questions given the respondents' answers: Dutch order in Frisian verb clusters (not regionally bound; see also par. 3.4.2.3) and past participles of strong verbs attaching a weak suffix to their irregular form in the western part of the Clay Frisian/northern part of the South-Western area (according to earlier dialect surveys [e.g. GTRP-data]; inf. *sjen* 'to see' → past.part. *sjoend [sjoen + -d]* 'seen' [*seened]). While both instances concern well-known, frequently mentioned phenomena for spoken Frisian, hardly any of our participants mention using such constructions (approximately 5%). There are two possible explanations for this. To begin with, speakers of Frisian may be fully aware of the existence of such phenomena in spoken Frisian and consider them wrong. Accordingly, they try to correct themselves, which is much easier in case of a questionnaire than spontaneous language use. The other possibility is that these phenomena are remarkable enough to get noticed by linguists and, therefore, they make an impression of being very common in spoken Frisian, while they are in fact not. According to previous research (Van der Veen et al. 1991), more than 15% of Frisians used forms as *sjoend*. This suggests a decrease of roughly 10%, possibly (partly) caused by Standard Frisian. This decrease is confirmed in the survey by Merkuur et al. (2019: 205). Despite the limited knowledge of Standard

Frisian, nowadays people get in touch with the written form of Frisian way more often than in the previous century (thanks to various media). Further research on spontaneous language use will help us understand these differences.

3.5 Discussion

In accordance with our expectations, the results show linguistic differences between L1 and L2 speakers of Frisian, and also between speakers representing different proficiency levels, although the latter are not always parallel for native and non-native speakers (see the summary of the results in Table 3.19). L2 representing the highest level generally comply with the language use and preferences of native speakers, but their linguistic choices do not match in every situation. The biggest difference between native and non-native speakers was found in case of lexical borrowings from Dutch in a way that is in line with our hypothesis: non-native speakers tend to use fewer loanwords compared to native speakers of Frisian, but overall, they keep pace with L1. A similar pattern can also be found in case of dialectal and other variation in Frisian where one variant shows form similarities with Dutch and the other does not. Again, L2 speakers choose variants similar to Dutch less often than native speakers and more in line with Standard Frisian. Such outcomes can plausibly only be found in case of languages that are similar, which allows second-language speakers to rely on their mother-tongue while making linguistic choices in L2. In case of Frisian, word variants that can be associated with Dutch are believed to be wrong, irrespectively of their historical-linguistic origin (being a Dutch interference or not; most speakers would likely not even know the difference). L2 speakers are inclined to use more words and word forms that differ from Dutch and thus more Standard Frisian words instead of borrowings. Choosing a "more Frisian" form seems to be a good learning strategy, which is supported by possible familiarity with Standard Frisian as a part of the learning process, e.g. by consulting dictionaries and grammars or following a Frisian language course. The same trend is also quite common in Standard Frisian vocabulary, where words and constructions different from Dutch are preferred over dialect variants that can be identified with the national language as a rule of distancing (Breuker 1993: 129-149, 277-278). It appears that Frisian cannot entirely be separated from Dutch: neither for L2 speakers who will still rely on L1, which can only get strengthened by the similarities between Frisian and Dutch, nor for L1 who use numerous borrowings in their Frisian, and not even for linguists, teachers and other users of Standard Frisian. Otherwise, such a distancing bias would be redundant.

While looking at the use of Standard Frisian vocabulary, one could say that L2 speakers perform even better than native speakers. Nonetheless, these outcomes point at different language use between L1 and L2, although the differences cannot be interpreted in terms of right or wrong. This leads to the

conclusion that there are differences between an L1 and L2 speaker, even if the latter has reached a native-like proficiency level. It is also confirmed by linguistic choices in case of dialect variation, where L2 speakers use more Standard Frisian forms and are more consistent in their choices regarding phonological patterns away from the dialectological reality among L1 speakers. Such differences may possibly never get noticed in a spontaneous conversation.

Unlike the expectation, L1 speakers of Frisian do not outclass L2 speakers in case of Frisian grammar. There is virtually no difference between the two speaker groups. Apparently, in cases where the grammar of one language affects that of another, there is not much of a difference between L1 speakers of the source and L1 speakers of the recipient language. However, even if not directly noticeable from the overall results, there may actually be an L1 advantage compared to L2. While L2 speakers correct their language use with respect to Standard Frisian and Dutch lexical interferences, which results in outperforming L1 in those fields, they obviously put the same effort also in the Frisian grammar. This effort, or "monitor" (Krashen 1977, Krashen 1981, and Krashen 1982; see par. 3.2), enables them to catch up with L1 and, as such, to compensate for their disadvantage as a non-native speaker. Therefore, we can say that, in some cases, L2 speakers can show a native-like performance, even when there are underlying differences, while they are less successful in others, e.g. morphological ones. This last point surfaces in an explicit L1 advantage when a subtle interaction of phonology and syntax requires a grammatical use of what is a free variant in Dutch (the realization of the final *n*). The outcomes of this study suggest that studies on L2 and their proficiency can give divergent results, depending on the linguistic domain under consideration (besides other factors; cf. par. 3.1.3).

The results confirm that one's language proficiency level affects one's choice between a Standard Frisian word/construction or a Dutch interference. Both L1 and L2 speakers representing the second highest ("well") or a lower proficiency level, especially the lowest ones ("quite well" and "with difficulty"), use more lexical and grammatical interferences from Dutch than speakers representing the highest level ("very easily"). In case of lexical interferences, there is no difference between the highest ("very easily") and second-highest proficiency level ("well"). In case of grammatical interferences, on the other hand, the results can differ for all levels. The same is true for dialectal and other variation that covered various grammatical phenomena, which points to the fact that grammar of a language may be more difficult to master than its vocabulary.

Both L1 and L2 speakers, particularly those who haven't reached the highest proficiency level (yet), have more difficulties with assigning definite articles to nouns that differ in gender for Frisian and Dutch. These results suggest that acquiring gender in L2 is particularly difficult and also that L1 speakers at lower

proficiency levels acquired the gender system through Dutch rather than Frisian. L1 speakers who only can speak Frisian quite well, which is a rather low level for a native speaker, also acquired a part of their vocabulary through Dutch as they tend to use Dutch words in Frisian more often than L1 speakers at higher levels (see for this concept of 'interrupted lexical acquisition' already De Haan [1997: 820]). Additionally, while L2 speakers representing the same level try to adapt to L2 vocabulary as a part of a learning process, L1 speakers tend to stick to what they naturally learned, irrespective of its nature (Frisian or Dutch).

The results of the current research show differences between L1 and L2 speakers of Frisian at different proficiency levels, although not depicting the exact language use, nor covering the whole range of language variation. For instance, L2 at the lowest proficiency level may in fact never use a form like **amtenier*, which is a non-existent form the respondents randomly chose as they didn't know the "correct" Frisian word. However, they are likely to introduce other odd forms that native speakers would never use. Future studies should focus on spontaneous language use in both L1 and L2. Additionally, more focused research will be necessary in order to gain data on specific linguistic phenomena in spoken Frisian, like (contact-induced) changes in Frisian vocabulary, semantics, morphology, syntax and phonology. In case of lexical phenomena, for instance, lexical category and words' frequency were taken into consideration during the selection process for the online questionnaire. However, as the research also focused on many other phenomena, the number of questions related to Dutch loanwords was too limited to make such effects clearly visible. In general, less frequent words seem to be affected by Dutch more often than frequent ones. However, there are also words that do not show any signs of a language change, irrespective of their frequency.

Besides more topic-specific research on L1 and L2 at different proficiency levels, case studies on language knowledge, preference and use of Frisian would be a welcome enrichment in Frisian linguistics, e.g. regarding foreigners and L1 speakers who report to speak Frisian with difficulty. Within the current research, there were not enough members of these two groups to make a comparison with other speakers possible.

3.6 Summary and conclusions

Table 3.19: Short summary.

Differences between L1 and L2	Expectations	Results
Lexical interferences from Dutch	L1 > L2	L1 > L2
Grammatical interferences from Dutch	L1 < L2	L1 = L2
*Differences between proficiency levels		
Lexical interferences from Dutch	** HPL < LPL	** HPL ≤ LPL
Grammatical interferences from Dutch	HPL < LPL	HPL ≤ LPL

* *Not always parallel for L1 and L2.*

** *HPL = Higher Proficiency Levels in both L1 and L2 (generally "very easily" & "well", but there may also be a difference between these two levels).*

LPL = Lower Proficiency Levels in both L1 and L2 (generally "quite well" & "with difficulty", but there may also be a difference between these two levels).

The research results point towards dissimilarities between L1 and L2 speakers of Frisian, and between speakers representing various proficiency levels. In general, L2 speakers use fewer loanwords and Frisian variants that are similar to Dutch. They consider them wrong (too Dutch) and/or are more familiar with Standard Frisian (through language courses and/or consulting dictionaries and grammars) than native speakers. In case of grammatical borrowings from Dutch, however, virtually no difference has been found for L1 and L2, with even a clear L1-advantage in complex structures. These outcomes suggest that learning L2 grammar can be quite successful, especially in case of two similar languages. While L2 speakers outclass L1 in the use of (Standard) Frisian words, they do not score better on Frisian grammar. They can arguably catch up with L1 due to the effort to learn a (foreign) language as well as possible. However, this is only confirmed for L2 speakers of Frisian who are native speakers of Dutch. Future research could focus on the use of Frisian by non-native speakers of Dutch, especially with regard to various borrowings. There is also a lot of space for research on specific Frisian/Dutch phenomena and spontaneous language use by L1 and L2 speakers at different proficiency levels.

While no (easily detectable) L1 advantage has been found in case of Dutch borrowings in general, such an advantage is clearly visible in case of grammatical and variation phenomena in Frisian, where L2 speakers cannot easily rely on their knowledge of Dutch. These cases are particularly difficult for L2 at lower proficiency levels, who may also tend to use uncommon or even non-existent words and grammatical forms while speaking Frisian. In case of L2 speakers representing higher proficiency levels, the difference with L1 is more subtle, sometimes likely unnoticeable in spontaneous language use. Nonetheless, the research results show that there is a difference. Additionally, while L2-speakers

manage to outperform L1 in case of the lexical competition between Frisian words and borrowings from Dutch, they do not score better in case of grammatical borrowings, whereas obviously putting the same effort to monitor their language use. The fact that L1-speakers achieve the same result without a "monitor", points at a benefit. Accordingly, there is an overall L1 advantage, although it may not always be easily detected, thus explaining differences in outcomes of multiple scientific studies.

4 Self-reported language proficiency and actual language use[15]

4.1 Introduction

Self-reports in (language) research are often regarded as not entirely valid and reliable as not being an objective research measure to determine language vitality. Especially in a small speech community, such as the one of speakers of (West) Frisian (a minority language spoken in the Dutch province of Fryslân), research outcomes based on self-reported language proficiency and use are often received with skepticism, partly due to their self-reported nature; cf. De Haan (2010). In this article, we will investigate and discuss the relevance of self-reported speech, its advantages and challenges by comparing it with results from recorded interviews. Among other factors that can negatively affect the validity and reliability of a research instrument based on self-reports (see further in this section), the applied methodology of data-gathering is of paramount importance. When using an on-line questionnaire, there is no direct interaction between the informant and the surveyor, and subjects have ample time to think. In a recorded interview, informant and surveyor engage in direct interaction and the subject has less time to think. The former setting can lead to undesired influence due to overthinking, strengthened by a desire to choose "correct" answers or demonstrate "appropriate" language. The latter diminishes the ability of the informant to deliberately steer the results, while also offering the surveyor the opportunity to ask clarifying questions. The principal issue is: does the difference in method lead to substantially divergent results? This study aims to investigate the relevance of that difference by comparing the self-indicated use of several linguistic variants in an online questionnaire with the variants realized during the subsequent in-depth interviews.

While choosing for a study method, one has to pay attention to the research design, particularly to the formulation and order of the questions, but also to issues like various interviewers and their abilities or the selection of participants (age, sex, level of education etc.; e.g. Sudman & Bradburn 1983; Briggs 1986; Kvale 1996; Rubin & Rubin 2004; Hammer et al. 2009; Dörnyei & Taguchi 2010). Additionally, there are a couple of potential threats that cannot easily be coped with. These threats concern the question whether people are always willing to share information, and if so, whether they are capable of sharing the right information. The willingness to tell the truth may be limited, especially in case of delicate questions (Medhi 1992: 10; Tourangeau & Yan 2007). In a language context, questions may be experienced as "delicate" while (directly or indirectly)

15 This chapter is based on Stefan et al. [submitted] b.

referring to one's perceived proficiency and quality of the language or opinions and perception about its variability. This may potentially lead to particularly biased results. The sociological research on language background, proficiency, use and attitude in Fryslân have raised some questions in the scholarly world (De Haan 2010) and met a lot of criticism in regional public debates. Especially one's willingness to correctly indicate their language proficiency and use has often been questioned, as well as one's capability of giving reliable information. On the one hand, skepticism can very well be expected, given many challenges and disadvantages of various survey methods in general (cf. Nunnally & Bernstein 1994: 357-360, 376-385; Dörnyei & Taguchi 2010: 6-9; Edwards & Holland 2013: 91-94). On the other hand, similar bias threats apply to all kinds of research based on self-reports, meaning that differences in results between various studies cannot be explained in terms of bias exclusively if a similar methodology has been applied to the same population multiple times (as is in case in the Frisian situation; Pietersen 1969; Gorter et al. 1984; Gorter and Jonkman 1995; Klinkenberg et al. 2018).

In (socio)linguistics, research on self-reports usually concerns the relationship between the self-reported and measured language proficiency by means of various tests. While it has been proven that the latter can differ from the former (Janssen-van Dieten 1992, and Janssen-van Dieten 1993; MacIntyre, Noels and Clément 1997; Crowell 2015), multiple studies showed a similarity between self-reported and tested language proficiency (e.g. Bachman and Palmer 1985; Ross 1998; Shameem 1998; Marian, Blumenfeld and Kaushanskaya 2007; Mistar 2011). Frisian, however, functions mainly as a spoken language, whereby its speakers are fully bilingual (Frisian and Dutch). Spoken Frisian is not standardized, but exists of a couple of regional varieties, all affected by language contact (see further par. 4.1.1). The standard version of the language, formally established in dictionaries and grammars, is mainly used in writing and its influence is quite limited. This raises the question of what a tested proficiency of Frisian, measured by a language test, would be: actual language skills and experience, including the use of regional variants and borrowings from Dutch, or rather knowledge of standard Frisian vocabulary and grammar, which is not self-evident and can vary, even, or, perhaps, particularly for native speakers[16]. For that reason, we chose to examine the relation between self-reported and recorded language use of Frisian, which will provide information on reliability of self-reports in the complex Frisian situation, without (directly) judging speakers' proficiency.

16 Standard Frisian often serves as a reference point for non-native speakers, who tend to consult Frisian dictionaries and grammars during their learning process; see also chapter 3.

4.1.1 Language variation in spoken Frisian

Fryslân is a bilingual province in the north of The Netherlands. The main two languages are Dutch, the national language, and Frisian, a language spoken only in that specific province. Virtually all Frisians are bilingual as they grow up with Frisian and Dutch (cf. Dijkstra 2013). While Dutch is commonly used both as a spoken and written language, Frisian is particularly used in speech. Only 10%-15% of the inhabitants of Fryslân report to be able to write Frisian (very) well (against almost 90% and 70% who can respectively understand and speak Frisian [very] well; Provinsje Fryslân 2015; Klinkenberg et al. 2018). The use of Frisian in writing has recently increased thanks to social media like WhatsApp or Facebook. However, most people who write Frisian on social media do not consistently follow the Standard Frisian spelling as they are not familiar with the normative rules (cf. Jongbloed-Faber et al. 2016). Dutch is also more standardized than Frisian; several dialectal varieties of Frisian are used in the public sphere, whereas Dutch dialects are not. The Frisian standard is almost exclusively used in (the more official) writing, dictionaries and grammars (e.g. in Zantema 1997; Visser 1999; Tiersma 1999; Popkema 2006; Duijff et al. 2008). The language area is traditionally divided into three main dialects: *Klaaifrysk* 'Clay Frisian', *Wâldfrysk* 'Wood Frisian' and *Súdwesthoeksk* 'South-Western'. Even within these three dialects, there is a lot of linguistic variation, but all the variants are mutually intelligible. Besides dialect variation, there is other variation in spoken Frisian, which is related to language contact with Dutch. Since Dutch has been the dominant language in Fryslân since the late Middle Ages, especially in official domains (e.g. education), it has affected the Frisian language on various linguistic levels, hence resulting in numerous lexical and grammatical borrowings from Dutch in spoken Frisian (cf. Sjölin 1976; Breuker et al. 1984; De Haan 1995, De Haan 1997, and De Haan 1998; Breuker 2001). Accordingly, Frisian lends itself perfectly for variationist research.

4.2 Research goal and hypotheses

The goal of the current research is to examine if and to what extent self-reported linguistic choices align with one's language use in a semi-structured interview. Although such interviews do not fully reflect spontaneous language, they require prompter action while compared to an on-line questionnaire. Additionally, participants do not focus on one particular linguistic feature at a time, but rather on their language use as a whole, which makes the potential language adjustments more challenging. In Frisian, adjusting one's language use would indicate that speakers are aware of using specific variants and, in some (especially more formal) situations, are able to spontaneously replace them with another equivalent, either a more general one - in case of a regional word or construction, or a Frisian variant in case of a borrowing from Dutch. Adjusting one's language is easier in case of a written survey, where the informant has more time to think, than in

an interview. Therefore, semi-spontaneous oral tasks are likely to resemble one's language use more closely than written/online tasks.

Besides the well-known error or bias accompanying every test (psychometric theory; cf. Eggen & Sanders 1993; Nunnally & Bernstein 1994), there are a couple of other factors that may affect the research outcomes:

- *1.Bias related to the participants' awareness of their own language use:*
  When asked about their language use, Frisians are often unsure of what they would use in everyday Frisian (bias related to the participants' awareness of their language use);
- *2.Response bias:*
  In the questionnaire, people may tend to select (one of) the variant(s) they regard to be better than the one they would actually use/they think they would use. However, the variant used in the interview will probably reflect fairly spontaneous language choice;
- *3. Content validity:*
  If people are familiar with two or more synonyms, they may not consistently choose to use only one of them (e.g. Lepley 2018). The item selection will not always cover such a personal variation. Furthermore, the general knowledge of Standard Frisian is limited compared to the knowledge of Standard Dutch (Breuker 1993: 98; Benedictus-van den Berg 2012: 171). This suggests that people may not be consistent in their choices, especially in instances of competition between Frisian and Dutch linguistic phenomena.

On account of the aforementioned norm uncertainty, partly resulting from the limited knowledge of Standard Frisian, the participants are not expected to consequently choose the same variant in the questionnaire and the subsequent interview. During the interview, they may, e.g., spontaneously use more borrowings from Dutch. In case of dialect variation, supra-regional or standard language variants are expected to be observed more often in the questionnaire than in the interview, where the participants may use more regional words. Although there can also be a bias in the opposite direction for specific individuals, it is expected to be less frequent.

Based on the findings of previous studies on self-reports (cf. par. 4.1), we expect the test bias not to change the direction of the results. This means that if one of the variants appears to be the most common one based on the results of the questionnaire, it will also be commonly used during the interviews: if not as the dominant variant, then, at least, as a very frequent one. While we do expect to see some difference between the results of the online questionnaire and the in-depth interview,

the magnitude of the difference is likely to differ for various items. There may be a bias towards the normative constructions in the online-survey, due to awareness about the surveyed phenomenon and enough time for conscious consideration when filling in the survey. Accordingly, in case of well-known borrowings, like Dutch verb order in Frisian verb clusters (e.g. Wolf 1995; De Haan 1996; Koeneman and Postma 2006; Hoekstra and Versloot 2016), the bias is likely to be larger than in case of other interferences that people may be not or less aware of.

Due to the different factors that can affect the results and the high probability of varying item bias, we do not expect a questionnaire to be a perfectly reliable way of investigating one's personal language use nor reflecting the exact use of Frisian in everyday life. However, we do expect it to indicate the general tendencies in spoken Frisian, even if not matching the speakers' language use entirely. Besides, it should be realized that the latter is not monolithic but differing per situation and can for that reason not be captured 'entirely' per definition.

4.3 Methodology

This research is based on an online questionnaire and in-depth interviews held as a part of the large-scale sociological language survey, *Language in Fryslân: The next generation* (Klinkenberg et al. 2018). While following a long tradition of sociological research in Fryslân (Pietersen 1969; Gorter et al. 1984; Gorter and Jonkman 1995), the latest survey introduced a new research component: a linguistic part next to the sociological part. Besides traditional questions about language background, proficiency, behavior and attitude, it included (multiple-choice) questions regarding personal use of Frisian. A couple of linguistic items, words and grammatical constructions appeared in both the questionnaire and the subsequent interview, allowing us to compare the self-reported language use and the actual realization in the semi-spontaneous context of the interview. The items included particularly lexical (e.g. *karnemelk* instead of *sûpe* 'butter milk') and grammatical borrowings from Dutch (e.g. *[hy] hoop**te*** instad of *[hy] hope* '[he] hoped', but also a few regional and other variants (e.g. *hawwe/hewwe* [havə]/[hɛvə] 'to have' [regional variation]; *tiid/tied* [tiːd̥]/tiːəd̥] 'time' [variation not known to be bound to a particular area, but rather age-dependent]).

The first part of the language survey, the online questionnaire, was completed by approximately 4.000 participants who volunteered out of 30.000 randomly chosen candidates, living in different regions of Fryslân and thus covering multiple language varieties. The participants who reported to speak Frisian (ca. 3.000) were asked whether they were willing to participate in the second part of the project (in-depth interviews). About 250 were invited for an interview, based on their place of residence, sex and age to ensure a representative spread across the province.

The recorded interview consisted of a sociological and a linguistic part, comparable to the online questionnaires. While the first part allowed us to ask more detailed questions about one's language background, proficiency, behavior and attitude, the second part consisted of a couple of linguistic tasks: a narrative, picture naming and translating from Dutch into Frisian. The participants were instructed to speak their own variety of Frisian as they would in an informal conversation with family or friends. A couple of items included in the picture naming and, especially, in the translating task had previously been surveyed in the online questionnaire. However, the number of respondents per item varies from 9 to 104. The reason for that are the four, randomly generated versions of the questionnaire (due to a large amount of linguistic questions) and four versions of the interview. A couple of items appeared in all versions, but most of them did not. Additionally, some items were accidently omitted during the translating task, thus prohibiting the comparison. The list below includes the research items and the number of participants for the items present in both the questionnaire and the interview.

1) Frisian variant or a borrowing from Dutch
   a. Lexical borrowings
      i. *Helemaal* (Dutch: helemaal) / *hielendal* or *helendal*[17] 'all, completely, entirely' [20[18]] ;
      ii. *Karnemelk* (Dutch: karnemelk) / *sûpe* 'butter milk' [49];
      iii. *Weareld* (Dutch: wereld) / *wrâld* 'world' [11];
      iv. *Tidens* (Dutch: tijdens) 'during'/ other word (there are a couple of possibilities in Frisian, depending on the context, e.g. ûnder de ekskurzje 'during the excursion' [online questionnaire; Dutch: tijdens de excursie], *yn 'e twadde wrâldoarloch* 'during WW2' [in-depth interview; Dutch: tijdens de tweede wereldoorlog]) [9];
      v. *Erch* '1: horrible, terrible' (Dutch: erg) / *slim* [12];
         '2: very, terribly' (Dutch: erg) / other word (various possibilities, e.g. *slim siik* 'very sick' [online questionnaire; Dutch: erg ziek]), *hiel/tige/o[ch]sa/bot jaloersk* 'terribly jealous' [in-depth interview; Dutch: erg jaloers] [11].[19]

17 Hielendal and helendal are regional Frisian variants.

18 Number of participants for whom the same items were presented in both the questionnaire and the interview.

19 There are even more synonyms for erch/erg in both Frisian and Dutch. In case of the online questionnaire, however, the choice was limited as the goal of the research was to investigate whether the participants would prefer a Dutch interference or rather another (more Frisian) word.

b. Grammatical borrowings
   i. Paradigm alternation /a/ → /a:/[20] in *dak* 'roof' SG → *daken* (irregular Dutch plural) [da:k(ə)n] vs. *dakken* (regular Frisian plural) [dakn̩] 'roofs' PL [49];
   ii. *[hy] hoopte* Dutch: [hij] hoopte) / *hope* '[he] hoped' 3SG.PST [9];
   iii. Frisian/Dutch verb order in a subordinate clause [104], e.g.:[21]

Dat	*hiest*	*net*	***dwaan moatten.***	Frisian ("green") order
That	have.2SG.PST	NEG	do.INF	should.PART
Dat	*hiest*	*net*	***moatte***	***dwaan.*** Dutch ("red") order[22]
That	have.2SG.PST	NEG	should.INF	do.INF
[*Dat*	*had*	*je*	*niet* ***moeten***	***doen.*** Dutch]
[That	had	you	NEG should.INF	do.INF]

2) Regional variants
   a. *Hawwe* [a] */ (habbe)/ hewwe* [ɛ] */ (hebbe)* 'to have' [44];
      The variants *habbe* and *hebbe* are not very frequently used (respectively about 2% and 8% according to the results of the questionnaire). In 2SG and 3SG, there is only a difference between the *-a-* and the *-e-* variants (*do hast/hest* 'you have [got]' and 3SG *hy/sy hat/het* 'he/she has [got]' 3SG). Additionally, many speakers do not differentiate between *hawwe* and *habbe*, and between *hewwe* and *hebbe* in 1SG (*ik ha/he* instead of *ik haw/hab/hew/heb* 'I have [got]'), 1PL and in the infinitive (*ha/he* rather than *hawwe/habbe/hewwe/hebbe* 'we have [got]'/'to have'). Therefore, we only make a distinction between *a* and *e*variants in our analysis.
   b. *West* [ɛ] */ weest* [e:] */ wist* [ɪ] 'been' PART [13];
   c. Strong participles without/with an additional weak suffix (seen vs. "seened" [16]), e.g.:
      Sjoen, hân, dien / sjoend, hând, diend 'seen, had, done'.

3) Other variation
   a. *Tiid* (monophthong [tiːd̥]; the older variant) / *tied* (diphtong [tiˑəd̥]; younger variant; De Graaf 1985: 27, Visser 1997: 24) [33].

20 See also chapter 5.

21 If a participant applied both orders during the interview, ≥50% of "red" cases were counted as red order.

22 The labels 'green' and 'red', also known as descending and ascending word order in syntactic literature, are widely used in Dutch linguistics and derive from the colours on a language map in Pauwels (1953).

The results of the online questionnaire have been compared with the outcomes of the interview, whereby two analyses, primary and additional, were performed upon the data. In the primary analysis, self-reported language use (questionnaire) has been compared with the actual realization from the same speakers in the interview, referred to as the 'dependent group'. However, since not all participants were confronted with the same items in both the questionnaire and the interview, we performed an additional analysis including two independent groups of participants. The first group was formed by the participants who filled in the questionnaire but did not participate in the interview. The second group was a group of participants who completed both steps of the research, but without any overlap in the items. In both analyses, we applied Fisher's Exact Test in order to see whether the observed distributions were significantly different.

In case of any doubts about the variant actually realized in the interview (due to unclear articulation, high speech rate or background noises), other parts of the interview (either linguistic or the sociological part) were examined. Since the research items were usually quite frequent words (e.g. *hawwe/hewwe*) 'to have', finding them in the (more) spontaneous language use was not particularly challenging nor time consuming.

Some items were exactly the same in the questionnaire and the interview, while others appeared in a slightly different form or context during the interview (e.g.: *wrâld/weareld* in a compound *wrâld-/weareldoarloch* 'world war'; questionnaire: *wrâld/weareld* 'world'), 3SG.PAST instead of 2SG.PAST (*[hy] hope/hoopte* 'he hoped'; questionnaire: *[do] hopest/hooptest* 'you hoped'; in both cases, the question relates to the conjugation of the second class of Frisian weak verbs, which does not exist in Dutch; see Popkema 2006: 187-189, Tiersma 1999: 64-65. The lexical interferences *erch* 'horrible, terrible; very, terribly' and *tidens* 'during' appeared in different sentences in the questionnaire and in the interview (see item list above). Additionally, the subordinate clauses requiring a particular verb order were different for the questionnaire and the interview. They contained different verbs, which may have consequences for the preferred order in Dutch (cf. Bloem 2016a, and Bloem 2016b) and therefore result in more or less numerous borrowings from Dutch in Frisian. In case of strong participles regionally adding the weak suffix *-d*, the questionnaire included only the variants of 'seen' (*sjoen/sjoend*), while the interview added additional participles: *dien/diend* 'done', *hân/hand* 'had', *jûn/jûnd* 'given' and *wûn/wûnd* 'won'. In addition to the comparison between the outcomes of the questionnaire and the interviews, we monitored whether such differences in the form or context can actually affect the results.

4.4 Results

Our data show a couple of differences between language use as self-reported by the participants in the online questionnaire and the actual variant realization during the interview (dependent group of participants; see par. 4.3). However, both research methods give **comparable results**, thus confirming our expectations. Only in two out of the twelve investigated items, there is a significant difference between the outcomes of the online questionnaire and the subsequent interview (Table 4.1 and Table 4.2). As expected, one of these phenomena was the Frisian verb order in a subordinate clause (cf. par. 4.2 and 4.3). The other one was the noun 'butter milk', which has non-cognate lemmas in Frisian (*sûpe*) and Dutch (*karnemelk*). While the differences in these two cases prove to be significant, their effect sizes are small (ϕ = 0.15/0.22; Table 4.1 and 4.2). Additionally, both the questionnaire and the interview **indicate the same variant** as the preferred one, thus - as foreseen (par. 4.2) - not changing the general direction of the results.

Table 4.1: Dependent group: Verb order variation in sentence-final verb clusters.

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
VERB ORDER	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
green	101	**97%**	93	**89%**
red	3	**3%**	11	**11%**
Total	104	100%	104	100%

$p = 0.025$, $\phi = 0.15$

Table 4.2: Dependent group: Variants of the noun 'butter milk'.

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
BUTTER MILK	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
sûpe	48	**98%**	42	**86%**
karnemelk	1	**2%**	7	**14%**
Total	49	100%	49	100%

$p = 0.029$, $\phi = 0.22$

Based on the analysis, we can conclude that the results of the questionnaire and the interview are similar for the participants as a group. Their individual results, however, may strongly vary per item (cf. Appendix 1), e.g.: in the group-figures for the *dakken-daken*-contrast with n = 49, the group-wise difference between the questionnaire and the interview is only one observation. However, on the individual level 15 informants produced a different variant in the questionnaire than in the interview, but the impact from these deviations was levelled out (see factor 3 in par. 4.2). Another such example where the variant realized during

the interview often did not match the choice from the questionnaire is the form of the past tense of *hoopje* 'to hope' (*hope/hoopte* 3SG.PST or *hopest/hooptest* 2SG.PST), where only 4 out of 9 informants produced a similar answer across the two observation instances. This large discrepancy may have been caused by the 3SG/2SG difference between the questionnaire and the interview (see also Merkuur 2021) or by general difficulties with conjugation of the second class of Frisian weak verbs (ending in *-je*, e.g. *hoopje* 'to hope'), which do not exist in Dutch.

During the interview, the participants often corrected themselves, even though they had been requested to speak their own variety of Frisian as they would do in a conversation with their family or friends. This was particularly remarkable in case of the regional Frisian variants of the verb 'to have': *hawwe/habbe* and *hewwe/hebbe* (see also par. 4.3). Almost 50% of the *hewwe/hebbe* users chose for the Standard Frisian variant *h**a**wwe* during the translation task but failed to do that consistently in the rest of the interview. The other way around was rarely the case (ca. 5%).[23] While some participants corrected the "wrong" word/construction they realized first (Dutch interference) into a "better" Frisian variant, others stated they were aware of the existence of "better" Frisian words, but that they never used them in everyday life. For the purpose of this interview, the first reaction was taken into the analysis.

For the two *independent* groups of participants, the research outcomes are quite similar (cf. Appendix 2). Two out of eleven tested items (excluding the verb order, which will be discussed later) show a significant difference between the results of the online questionnaire and the interview. However, as previously observed, the dominant variant is always the same in both research methods and the effect sizes are small (see Table 4.3 and 4.4). Interestingly, the items showing a discrepancy are different than in case of the dependent group, namely the adverb 'all, completely, entirely' (Frisian *h(i)elendal* or Dutch *helemaal;* Table 4.3), with the standard Frisian variant occurring more often in the questionnaire, and the regional variants of to *have*. In case of the latter the standard language variant *hawwe* shows higher numbers based on the questionnaire than the outcomes of the interview (cf. Table 4.4). Other than in case of the dependent group, there is no significant difference for 'butter milk' (Frisian *sûpe* or Dutch loanword *karnemelk*).

23 This phenomenon could be partly explained by the historical vowel variation between the infinitive *hawwe* [a] 'to have' and its finite forms *hest / het* [ɛ] '(you) have / (he/she/it) has' instead of *hast / hat* [a] (cf. Versloot 2020: 424-427). However, our study points at an inconsistent use of the finite forms as well, which are required in the translation task and also frequently used in the rest of the interview.

Table 4.3: Independent groups: Variants of the adverb 'entirely'.

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
ENTIRELY	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
h(i)elendal	428	**78%**	35	**59%**
helemaal	120	**22%**	24	**41%**
Total	548	100%	59	100%

p = 0.002, ϕ = 0.13

Table 4.4: Independent groups: Variants of the verb 'to have'.

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
TO HAVE	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
hawwe	411	**75%**	82	**64%**
hewwe/hebbe	137	**25%**	46	**36%**
Total	548	100%	128	100%

p = 0.009, ϕ = 0.10

Due to the various versions of the online questionnaire and the subsequent interview (see par. 4.3), the verb order was more difficult to compare for the two independent groups as most participants had to deal with this phenomenon in both the questionnaire and in the interview. The results of the three (out of four) versions of the questionnaire which included a question regarding Frisian verb order have been compared with the outcomes of the interview for participants who had completed a different version of the questionnaire; in order to make sure the participants do not overlap (otherwise the groups would not be independent). For two of the three versions, a significant difference was found (with the Dutch order occurring more often in the interview, as was to be expected; cf. Appendix 3). Finally, the interview results of the participants who had completed the fourth version of the questionnaire, which did not contain any questions regarding the Frisian verb order, have been compared with the outcomes of the three other versions of the questionnaire (separately in order to avoid a huge difference in numbers). This comparison, however, did not show any significant differences.

4.5 Discussion

As expected, the research results show a couple of (statistically significant, but in terms of effect size moderate) differences between the questionnaire and the interview for both test groups: participants for whom the test items appeared in both the questionnaire and in the interview (the dependent group), and the two independent groups of speakers. However, the items showing different results for the questionnaire and the interview do not entirely match for the two groups. This points at quite a random character of the bias as it can occur in case of different items and for different groups of participants. The general outcomes of

the questionnaire and the interview are highly comparable and, accordingly, it is likely that one's reported language use will give a good indication of their tested performance, even if not matching it entirely. More importantly, the observed differences do not affect the direction of the research results, with the dominant/preferred language variant remaining unchanged. Accordingly, we can confirm that a self-report method is suitable to indicate the general tendencies within a speech community (see also chapter 3), although it may be less suitable for studies on individual language use.

In general, borrowings from Dutch occurred more often in the interview than in the questionnaire, thus matching our expectations (cf. Appendix 1 and 2).[24] This suggests that speakers of Frisian regard Standard Frisian better than Dutch loan words and constructions, although they would not consequently use them in a (more spontaneous) conversation. However, as only a couple of the differences between the questionnaire and the interview are statistically significant, we can assume that the participants generally tried to give an answer in the questionnaire fitting their personal language use. As we had assumed (cf. par. 4.2), this was not always an easy task. Besides the competition between standard Frisian variants and borrowings from Dutch, speakers are unsure about dialect and other variants they would use in every-day life. A good example of the former is the discrepancy between the outcomes of the questionnaire and the interview for the dependent group of speakers in case of the conjugation of the verb *hoopje* 'to hope'. As mentioned before, the second class of Frisian weak verbs (ending in *-je*) does not exist in Dutch and many speakers are, apparently, not entirely familiar with the (standard) Frisian grammar. The explanation can be sought in the generally limited knowledge of the Frisian standard. This knowledge should, however, not be underestimated either: the results of the linguistic questionnaire and the in-depth interviews suggest that Frisians have various linguistic repertoires and can adjust their language use to different situations, like more or less formal situations or the language use of the interlocutor (e.g. different dialect or [frequent] use/avoidance of Dutch loanwords and loan constructions). In the sociological part of the online survey, most participants (> 60%) had already reported to occasionally adjust their language use with regard to vocabulary and grammar. This also appeared to be the case during the interview, which is, more formal than an everyday life conversation with family or friends. Even if asked to speak their own dialectal variety of Frisian, many participants found that quite a challenging task. They would alternate dialect variants and borrowings from Dutch with words and constructions aligning with Standard Frisian (written language) or even try

24 The only exception is the loanword *weareld* 'world', which appears more often in the questionnaire for the two independent groups of participants. However, in the questionnaire it appeared in the compound 'world war', a term that as a historical concept may be more associated with a Dutch speaking and writing context.

to use as many standard Frisian variants as possible, but often failed to do so by falling back to their own variety (as in case of 'to have'; cf. par. 4.4). Many participants explicitly pointed out that they were familiar with standard Frisian words (e.g. *boarterstún* instead of *speeltún* [Dutch: speeltuin] 'playground'; *gearkomste* instead of *fergadering* [Dutch: vergadering] 'meeting'), but that they personally used Dutch words instead or, as suggested by Sjölin (1976: 56-57), familiarity with standard Frisian vocabulary does not guarantee their actual usage in a conversation. At the same time, one can conclude that the dominant use of Dutch-based forms does not imply that standard Frisian words are not part of the Frisian linguistic reality. In some cases, the participants admitted they were not sure what they would actually say in a spontaneous conversation, which suggests that the interview made them think about the possible language choices they would normally not think about. Accordingly, it can be difficult to say what variant(s) one actually uses and whether their choices are consistent or rather varying. Speakers in a volatile linguistic context as the bilingual Frisian-Dutch situation are likely to exhibit subtle 'Labovian' variation in their spontaneous informal language use. The general uncertainty during the interview also points at the fact that speakers of Frisian do not often think about their own language use. However, it appears that they do have enough language knowledge to be able to use different linguistic variants, depending on the situation. While this does not mean that most Frisians have a thorough knowledge of the Frisian standard, they may know more about their language than can be concluded based on their common language use, and more than previously suggested (e.g. Breuker 2001: 128).

This research is based on twelve items representing three different linguistic categories (see par. 4.3). Despite the small numbers of the participants with overlapping items in the questionnaire and the interview ('dependent group'), the results of the independent groups of speakers, which are much bigger, confirm the general findings. Including more various items in a future research, or focusing on one category at a time, could prove advantageous in terms of gaining more insights in the language mechanisms and knowledge of the participants. That would also help to determine more accurately what kinds of items can lead to more bias in a research based on self-reports and what aspects can play a role in that process. Additionally, samples of spontaneous speech production, next to a questionnaire and semi-spontaneous language use, would provide an enrichment. Next to tracing people's actual language use in various situations, one could also ask people deliberately to choose what they think is the 'best' form, in order to measure the level of knowledge of Standard Frisian. This is an important aspect in language planning and language preservation.

4.6 Conclusions

Our study confirms that tested language use in an interview setting largely aligns with the self-reported performance in a written tests and, accordingly, provides quite reliable information on general linguistic trends within a speech community. The results show a couple of significant differences (with small effect sizes) in relative distributions of variants between the outcomes of the questionnaire (self-reports) and the interview (tested language use). As the pairs of items showing technically significant contrasts differ for the two comparisons made, one gets the impression that crossing the significance threshold of 5% is the result of random events, rather than specifically relevant for the pairs under consideration. Therefore, it can be concluded that even when a self-report method may not be ideally suitable for a detailed investigation on personal language use, it can still give a solid indication if other methods (resulting in a test score) are not available. For the speech community as a whole, the results are reliable.

As expected, language elements that can easily be regarded a better choice from a normative perspective (originally Frisian words against borrowings from Dutch or Standard Frisian forms against dialectal variants) are generally overrepresented in the questionnaire compared to the interview, where elements of typically spoken language occur more often.

During the interview, the participants were frequently unsure about their language choices, which probably results from the stronger position of Dutch as a majority (national) language and, accordingly, generally better knowledge of Standard Dutch than Standard Frisian. It is assumed that the knowledge of the latter is quite limited, since Frisian mainly functions as a spoken language. The uncertainty of the speakers reflects in a way the 'normal' situation of language variability, which may come out as hesitation when asked for categorical choices. It is the fairly artificial construct of a standard language that eliminates a lot of this variability and enables people to give clear and straightforward answers. While the general uncertainty of our participants regarding their language use seems to confirm their unfamiliarity with Standard Frisian, we have also pointed at their high language awareness, an ability to correct themselves and, in many cases, their familiarity with Standard Frisian words/constructions alongside the borrowings from Dutch they would use in an everyday conversation. This suggests that the general knowledge of Standard Frisian - a minority language mainly used in speech - may actually be higher than anticipated.

5 Conditions for the Borrowing of Irregular Plurals in an Intense Language Contact Situation[25]

5.1 Introduction

West Frisian, a minority language spoken in Fryslân - a bilingual province in the north of the Netherlands - is known to be affected by the national language, Dutch, resulting in numerous lexical and grammatical borrowings (cf. Sjölin 1976; Breuker et al. 1984; De Haan 1995, 1997, 1998). In this article, we will look into some mechanisms behind the borrowing processes by investigating the use of Dutch irregular plurals in Frisian and considering different factors that may affect their borrowability. Grammatical borrowings, in particular morphological ones, take a low ranking on the borrowability scales as they have been formulated by e.g. Van Coetsem (1988; further differentiated in: Van Bree and Versloot 2008: 21-31, 234-235) or Thomason and Kaufman (1988). It is concluded that they can only be borrowed in a situation of intensive language contact. The current situation in Fryslân, with no monolingual speakers of Frisian and full Dutch-Frisian personal bilingualism, may be considered such an instance of intensive language contact.

Grammatical borrowings from Dutch in spoken Frisian, as opposed to the Frisian Standard, which is predominantly used in writing, have frequently been investigated, with special attention being paid to syntax (e.g. Wolf 1995; De Haan 1996; Koeneman and Postma 2006; Hoekstra and Versloot 2016). Additionally, numerous morphological borrowings have been signaled in spoken Frisian, e.g. in verb conjugation and in derivational processes in case of diminutive formation (e.g. Breuker 1993; De Haan 1997). Plural formation, however, has not received much attention so far. Hoekstra and Versloot (2019) have investigated historical changes in early-modern Frisian irregular plurals, most of them changing from being irregular in the 16th century to displaying a fully regular formation in present-day spoken Frisian. A few irregular plurals are more resistant to change, like *bern* (sg & pl) 'child, children' and *skiep* (sg & pl) 'sheep'. The latter, however, has been reported to be used in a regularized form as *skieppen* by many speakers (cf. Goeman, Taeldeman and Reenen 2003; see *schapen*). While the retention of the plural *bern* can possibly be explained by the word's high frequency or the typical ending in [_n][26], which matches output-oriented schemas (Bybee 2007: 103; Hoekstra and Versloot 2019: 34), two other factors may be of importance: the

25 This chapter is based on Stefan & Versloot [accepted].

26 E.g. *skuon* [skwon] 'shoes', *beaen* [bI.ən] 'prayers', *krieën* [kri.ən] '(carrion) crows', *hinnen* [hInn̩] > [hIn:] = /hIn/ 'chickens'.

lack of analogical Frisian plurals matching a regular **bernen* *[bɛ(:)nn̩] (only: *teannen* 'toes' [tjɛnn̩]) and, perhaps more importantly, the lack of formal agreement between Frisian and Dutch for this semantic concept, as the Dutch word for a child is completely different: *kind* (sg) - *kinderen* (pl). Accordingly, if *bern* were less frequent, it would probably have been supplanted by *kind - kinderen* under the influence of Dutch.[27] The Frisian word *skiep*, on the other hand, matches the Dutch *schaap*, with the typical phonological correspondences between the two languages (Frisian *sk* - Dutch: *sch*; e.g. ***sk**ip - **sch**ip* 'ship'; Frisian: *ie* - Dutch: *aa*; e.g. ***ji**er - **ja**ar* 'year'). The regular formation of the Dutch plural form *schapen* undermines the retention of the irregular Frisian *skiep*, given the intense language contact.[28]

The productive plural formation in contemporary Frisian is very similar to the one in Dutch (see also Versloot 2017: 121-122). In both languages, plural suffixes *-en* and *-s* are added to the noun's root in order to create a plural (cf. Table 5.1 and for additional information Tiersma 1999: 49-52, Popkema: 2006: 148-150, Hoekstra 2011, Audring 2018, Dyk 2020). However, there are some differences. The use of the suffix *-s*, for instance, is more frequent in Frisian than in Dutch. More importantly for this research, both languages have a couple of irregular plural forms. While some of them overlap (cf. Table 5.2), most of them do not (for Dutch irregular plurals, see Stern 1984: 18-20 and Audring 2018). Compared to contemporary Frisian, Old Frisian had more irregular plurals. Only a couple of them retained their irregular character throughout the language area and speakers' community (the others developed a regular (by)form), e.g. *bern* 'child(ren)', *dei - dagen* 'day(s)', *wei - wegen* 'way(s)' and *ko - kij* 'cow(s)' (cf. Hoekstra and Versloot 2019). As mentioned before, *bern* does not have a cognate in Dutch (*kind* [sg] - *kinderen* [pl]), which supposedly contributes to its retention, independently supported by its high frequency of occurrence. The plurals *dagen* and *wegen*, on the other hand, are exactly the same in both languages. This supports their retention as well (besides the fact that they are also frequently used) as the bilingual Frisian/Dutch speakers are confronted with these variants more frequently due to cross-linguistically overlapping input. Accordingly, retention or change of Frisian irregular plurals seems to be connected to language contact with Dutch. This raises the question, whether irregular Dutch plurals can

27 Or rather **kyn – *kiners* *[kin - kinəs], which is the common form in the so-called Town Frisian dialects, Hollandish based contact varieties, traditionally spoken in some of the historical cities and a few other regions in Fryslân. The word *kind*, pl *kindar/-an*, is attested in Old Frisian, but it became obsolete in Frisian after the Middle Ages.

28 We take the socio-linguistic situation of full Frisian-Dutch bilingualism, with no monolingual speakers of Frisian, as a starting point for this study. For the extensive literature on the socio-linguistic situation, see e.g. Dijkstra 2013 or Klinkenberg, Jonkman & Stefan 2018 with further references.

be taken over and implemented in spoken Frisian, similarly to numerous other loanwords and loan constructions. We will address this question by investigating a couple of potential borrowings.

Table 5.1: Productive Frisian plural formation.

Frisian plural suffixes	Example	Meaning	Dutch equivalents
-en	boek - boeken	*book*	boek - boeken
	dream - dreamen	*dream*	droom - dromen
	hoed - huodden[29]	*hat*	hoed - hoeden
	park - parken	*park*	park - parken
	strjitte - strjitten	*street*	straat - straten
-s	artikel - artikels	*article*	artikel - artikelen/artikels
	biezem - biezems	*broom*	bezem - bezems
	skriuwer - skriuwers	*writer*	schrijver - schrijvers
	tafel - tafels	*table*	tafel - tafels
	woartel - woartels	*carrot*	wortel - wortels/wortelen
-en/-s	earm - earmen/earms	*arm*	arm - armen
	helm - helmen/helms	*helmet*	helm - helmen
	feroaring - feroaringen/feroarings	*change*	verandering - veranderingen
	liening - lieningen/lienings	*loan*	lening - leningen

Table 5.2: Irregular Frisian plurals and their Dutch equivalents.

	Singular	Plural	Meaning	Dutch equivalents
Irregular Frisian plurals	bad /a/[30]	baden /a:/	*bath*	bad - baden /a/ - /a:/ (irregular)
	bern	bern	*child*	kind - kinderen (irregular)
	dei	dagen	*day*	dag - dagen /a/ - /a:/ (irregular)
	ko	kij	*cow*	koe - koeien /u/ - /uj/ (irregular)
	lid	leden	*member*	lid - leden /ɪ/ - /e:/ (irregular)
	skiep	skiep	*sheep*	schaap - schapen /a:/ - /a:/ (regular)
	skoech	skuon	*shoe*	schoen - schoenen /u/ - /u/ (regular)
	wei	wegen	*way*	weg - wegen /ɛ/ - /e:/ (irregular)

29 Many Frisian nouns undergo the so-called breaking in the plural (cf. Tiersma 1999: 17-20; Popkema 2006: 73-76; Visser 2002). In this case, the falling diphthong [u.ə] in singular *hoed* [hu.ət] changes ("breaks") into the rising diphthong [wo] in plural *huod*den [(v)wodn̩].

30 The Frisian *bad* 'bath' is arguably a historical borrowing from Dutch, which, however, has become a commonly used variant and is not classified as an 'interference' by Frisian dictionaries. While there are more Frisian alternatives for a bath(tub), as *baaikûp* or *tobbe*, there are none for the compound swimbad (Dutch: zwembad) 'swimming pool'.

As in most cases of language change (e.g. Hooper 1976; Phillips 2006; Sloos 2013; Bybee 2015), frequency effects play an important role in the retention or change of Frisian plurals. Next to the absolute and proportional (token) frequencies mentioned by Hoekstra and Versloot (2019),[31] we will take morphophonological and phonotactic factors in case of contact-induced changes into account as well. Phonology of a language is known to be susceptible to change due to bi-/multilingualism and language contact (e.g. Matras 2009: 221-233). It has also been shown that people tend to rely, among others, on linguistic similarities (L2 acquisition, e.g. Ringbom 2006, 2007; Otwinowska 2015; Bosma et al. 2016). We hypothesize that Dutch irregular plurals matching Frisian phonotactics are more easily adopted in Frisian than those that do not. Additionally, various types of morphophonological alternations in Dutch plural formation can differently affect the borrowability of these plurals in Frisian. We will investigate and discuss the role of different analogy-based factors, in addition to the frequency that may favor retention of the older Frisian plurals or their substitution by new (Dutch) ones.

5.2 Research goal and methodology

This study is devoted to the implementation of Dutch irregular plurals in spoken Frisian, next to their standard, regular variants. Its goal is not only to show that the irregular, 'Dutch' plurals can occur in spoken Frisian (as opposed to Standard Frisian described in dictionaries and grammars [e.g. Zantema 1984; Visser 1985; Tiersma 1999; Popkema 2006; Duijff et al. 2008]), but also to demonstrate that their borrowability may vary. Since this is the first study to explore this topic, it must be seen as a general exploration, rather than a detailed borrowability model.

The research is part of the fourth sociological language survey in Fryslân (Klinkenberg et al. 2018; see also Pietersen 1969; Gorter et al. 1984; Gorter and Jonkman 1995), which includes a new, linguistic component (Stefan, Klinkenberg and Versloot 2015). From a large group of participants who completed an online sociological and linguistic questionnaire, about 250 have been invited for a subsequent in-depth interview. The results of this study are based on circa 175 applicable recordings, covering different age groups and regions of Fryslân. The exact numbers per item can vary as the participants occasionally used other variants than intended. All participants indicated to speak Frisian (very) well and most of them (nearly 90%) considered themselves as first language speakers

31 Hoekstra and Versloot also mention salience as an important factor. In our research, however, the older (Standard) Frisian plurals and the potential interferences have equally salient endings with a root vowel alternation being the only difference (except *skiep* [Standard Frisian] vs. *skiep(p)en* [neologism] 'sheep', which has potentially also changed due to language contact with Dutch).

of Frisian (compare Stefan [forthcoming] for the relation between first language speakers and advanced second language learners of Frisian).

With the purpose of capturing various plurals in Frisian, a picture test has been administered, where the participants were asked to name different objects shown to them. Besides the desired plurals, they were shown the same objects in singular (e.g. one roof, multiple roofs), along with multiple pictures depicting other things that mainly served as control questions. The tested plurals have been analyzed separately in order to find out which of them can change, to what degree and how that compares to our expectations. Subsequently, the association between various plural forms (chi-square test of association) was investigated, as well as general patterns in their usage in order to examine how a change in one plural correlates with changes in other plurals.

Since spoken Frisian exhibits a lot of regional variation, the outcomes have been compared for various regions of Fryslân to determine whether there are any regional differences in the use of the tested plurals.

5.3 Hypotheses

Inflectional morphology is believed to be affected by language contact less easily than derivational affixes (according to derivational scales, e.g. Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 74-76). The intense language contact situation must be held responsible for the fact that there are various morphological interferences from Dutch in present-day spoken Frisian. Frisian diminutive formation, for instance, is known to be affected by Dutch. Additionally, Dutch can affect Frisian verbal morphology (e.g. De Haan 1997). The initial state of borrowing is normally in the form of single words. These words may contain derivational or inflectional affixes or other morphological formative features from the donor language. When many single words have been borrowed, the affixes or morphological patterns, represented in the loan words can gain a productivity in the recipient language that goes beyond the stock of single loan words, or replace indigenous morphological structures. That is the point where lexical borrowings turn into grammatical borrowings. In the light of the evidently intense language contact between Frisian and Dutch, Frisian plural formation is likely to be affected by Dutch as well. However, such interferences may be less salient than in case of diminutive formation due to entirely overlapping suffixes, namely *-en* and *-s*. Their application may differ, i.e. some Dutch words require *-en* whereas their Frisian pendants ask for *-s* or vice versa. Accordingly, the suffixes *-en* and *-s* can often be used with the same noun, whereby a possible shift in Frisian towards the commonly used Dutch suffix may be difficult to separate from a purely language-internal shift. This would be different in case of irregular Dutch plurals, formed by means of a vowel alternation, which are absent in Frisian. In such cases, the short vowel in the singular is substituted by a long vowel in the plural, e.g.

Dutch: *slot* /slɔt/ '(pad)lock; castle' - *sloten* /slo:tən/ '(pad)locks; castles';
Dutch: *schip* /sxɪp/ 'ship' - *schepen* /sxe:pən/ 'ships'.

In Frisian, vowel lengthening in the plural is uncommon and only happens in (historical) borrowings (e.g. god 'god' /gɔt/ - goaden /go.ədn/, lid/lɪt/ 'member, lid, limb'- /le:dn/). Although the Frisian language does have numerous contemporaneous irregular plurals as well, many equivalents of Dutch plurals formed by vowel alternation are fully regular in Frisian:

Frisian: *slot* /slɔt/ '(pad)lock; castle' - *slotten* /slɔtən/ '(pad)locks; castles'
Frisian: *skip* /skɪp/ 'ship' - *skippen* /skɪpən/ 'ships'.

Even though Dutch irregular plurals can be expected to appear in spoken Frisian as lexical items, we hypothesize that the borrowability of these words is not a purely lexical issue, but interacts with various factors of the Frisian grammar, including morphological ones.

This study of various plural variants is based on the outcomes of a broad investigation among speakers of Frisian (see chapter 2), where the following representative items were elicited:

1) *dak/**daken*** /a:/ (Dutch: *daken*) instead of *dakken* /a/ 'roofs';
2) *skip/**skepen*** /e:/ (Dutch: *schepen*) instead of *skippen* /ɪ/'ships';
3) *slot/**sloten*** /o:/ (Dutch: *sloten*) instead of *slotten* /ɔ/ '(pad)locks; castles' (in our case: padlocks);
4) *gat/**gaten*** /a:/ (Dutch: *gaten*) instead of *gatten* /ɔ/ 'holes'.

An additional item included in the study is the plural of the noun 'sheep', which is irregular in (Standard) Frisian (*skiep - skiep*) and fully regular in Dutch (schaap - schapen). However, the regular plural variant of 'sheep', *skiep(p)en* has already been reported in spoken Frisian (see further in the text; Figure 5.1), possibly resulting from language contact or internal analogy. In case of the former, the other possible outcome would be *skapen*, which is also included and tested in this study. Such a scenario, where only one of the two items (sg./pl.) is borrowed, is not entirely imaginary. In some parts of Fryslân, people use the Dutch loanword *gâns* 'goose' in the singular, but the Frisian form *guozzen* 'geese' in the plural (cf. Versloot 2020: 429).[32]

32 Another example is the plural of *lid* 'limb; member' developed into *lea* through regular sound change (< OFri. *litha*) and was replaced by the Dutch plural form *leden* 'members', or *lidden* 'limbs' by internal analogy. In the latter example, *lid* is homophonous in Frisian and Dutch.

We tested the likelihood of such borrowings expressed in their frequency of use by the speakers in the survey for the following factors:

1) Paradigm alternation: alternation type and type frequency (see Table 5.3);
2) Phonotactics: phonotactic constraints and their frequencies (see Table 5.4);
3) Analogical attraction (form similarity between Frisian and Dutch in singular, strengthened by absolute frequencies; cf. Versloot and Hoekstra 2017; Table 5.5 and Table 5.6);
4) Relative frequency of the plural (see Table 5.6)

Table 5.3: Paradigm alternation.

Singular	Standard Frisian	Tested borrowing	Alternation in case of a borrowing	Alternation type valid in Frisian?	Alternation type valid in Dutch?	Analogical cases in Frisian plurals (frequency)	Analogical cases in Dutch plurals (frequency)
dak 'roof'	dakken (regular)	d**ak**en	**a → a:**	yes	yes	1 (bad → baden)	>10
skip 'ship'	skippen (regular)	sk**e**pen	**ɪ → e:**	yes	yes	1 (lid → leden)	<10
slot 'padlock'	slotten (regular)	sl**o**ten	**ɔ → o:**	no	yes	-	>10
gat 'hole'	gaten (regular)	g**a**ten	**ɔ → a:**	no	no	-	-
skiep 'sheep'	skiep (irregular)	sk ***ap*** en	***i.ə → a:***	no	no*	-	-
		sk ***iep*** (p)en	***i.ə → jɪ/i.ə***	yes	no*	*Multiple examples of the Frisian breaking.*	-

* The combinations /i.əp/ and /jɪp/ do not exist in Dutch.

Example:

The singular *dak* has a regular plural *dakken* in Standard Frisian, but daken with /a:/ in Dutch. Borrowing of the irregular Dutch plural will result in a Frisian sg.-pl. alternation ɑ → a: an alternation type that is found elsewhere both in Frisian and Dutch. This concerns just one analogical case in Frisian (*bad* → *baden*), whereas in Dutch there are multiple (>10) analogical cases that include the ɑ → a: alternation type (ANS: Haeseryn et al. 2019).

Table 5.4: Phonotactic constraints.

Singular	Standard Frisian	Tested borrowing	Vowel/ diphtong-consonant combination in case of a borrowing	Vowel/ diphtong-consonant combination valid in Frisian?	Vowel/ diphtong-consonant combination valid in Dutch?	Analogical cases in Frisian plurals (frequency)	Analogical cases in Dutch plurals (frequency)
dak 'roof'	dakken (regular)	d**ak**en	**a:k**	yes	yes	>10	>10
skip 'ship'	skippen (regular)	sk**e**pen	**e:p**	yes	yes	<10	>10
slot 'padlock'	slotten (regular)	sl**o**ten	**o:t**	no	yes	-	>10
gat 'hole'	gatten (regular)	g**a**ten	**a:t**	yes	yes	>10	>10
skiep 'sheep'	skiep (irregular)	sk ***ap*** en	***a:p***	yes	yes	<10	>10
		sk ***iep*** (p)en	***jɪp/i.əp***	yes	no*	*None, but [skjɪpkə] is the diminutive form of skiep as a result of the Frisian breaking*	-

* The combinations /i.əp/ and /jɪp/ do not exist in Dutch.

Example:

The singular *dak* has a regular plural *dakken* in Standard Frisian, but *daken* in Dutch, with the vowel/consonant combination /a:k/. Borrowing of the irregular Dutch plural will result in /a:k/ combination in Frisian as well: a combination type that is found elsewhere both in Frisian and Dutch (in both languages, there are multiple analogical cases [>10] that include /a:k/ in the plural).

Table 5.5: Form similarity between Frisian and Dutch.

Noun	Frisian	Dutch	Difference
roof	dak /dak/	dak /dak/33	-
ship	skip /skɪp/	schip /sxɪp/	1 phoneme
(pad)lock	slot /slɔt/	slot /slɔt/	-
hole, gap	gat /gɔt/	gat /xat/	2 phonemes
sheep	skiep /ski.əp/	schaap /sxa:p/	2 phonemes

33 The short vowel /a/ may slightly vary for Frisian (generally indicated as [a]) and for Dutch ([ɑ]). However, the studies on Frisian phonetics have been limited so far and the exact pronunciation of various sounds is yet to be examined. In our field survey, we observed that Frisians frequently prolong the short vowels in closed syllables. In such cases, the vowel /a/ is pronounced as [ɑ:] and not as [a:], suggesting that the difference between /a/ in Frisian and Dutch in closed syllables may be rather subtle and possibly varying for different regions and, accordingly, that the differentiation between [a] and [ɑ] in this case may not be fully justified. While preceding coronals, the Frisian /a/ is generally pronounced as [ɔ], with bad being one of the exceptions.

Example:
The singular form of 'roof' is identical in Frisian and Dutch (/dak/), whereas the singular of 'ship' is not. Although similar in form, the Frisian /skɪp/ and Dutch /sxɪp/ differ by one phoneme: k/x.

Table 5.6: Token frequency.

Plural	Frisian	Absolute PL-frequency	Proportional PL-frequency
roofs	dakken	133	11%
ships	skippen	1082	22%
(pad)locks	slotten	56	3%
hole, gaps	gatten	655	21%
sheep	skiep	1192	67%

Explanation:
The plural *dakken* is attested 133 times in the Frisian Language Corpus (TDB: Taaldatabank), including sub-corpora for Modern and Early Modern Frisian. These 133 tokens constitute 11% of all tokens of the lemma *dak* in the corpus.

In general, we can expect that positive/attested alternation type (Table 5.3) and vowel/diphthong-consonant validity (Table 5.4) will positively affect the borrowability of Dutch irregular plurals, thus increasing the chance that they will be used in spoken Frisian. The more similar in singular form (Table 5.5), the higher the chance that the Dutch plural will be analogically applied. Finally, the less often the tested nouns are actually used in the plural as a result of interrupted L1-acquisition (De Haan 1997; Table 5.6), the higher the chance that they will be replaced by their Dutch equivalents. Accordingly, our predictions are as follows (see also Table 5.7):

/a/ → /a:/ sg *dak* 'roof' → pl *dakken* (Frisian) or *daken* (Dutch interference)

Replacing the short vowel /a/ by the long /a:/ would fit the Frisian morphology and phonotactics, even if there is only one example showing such a vowel alternation in a Frisian noun plural. This concerns the noun *bad* 'bath', which is arguably a historical borrowing (bad /bat/[34] → baden /ba:dən/). Moreover, there are multiple Frisian plural nouns that include /a:k/ in both singular and plural, e.g. *saak/saken* 'case(s)', *taak/taken* 'task(s)', ôfspraak/ôfspraken 'appointment(s)'. Although not undergoing any vowel alternation in plural formation, these plurals

34 If originally Frisian, the noun bad would be pronounced as *[bɔt]; cf. Popkema (2006: 64, Tiersma 1999: 36).

contain the same rime as *daken* (cf. Table 5.4). The alternation itself is valid in both Frisian and Dutch (although much more common in the latter; see Table 5.3). There are two more factors that contribute to the likeliness that the borrowing will occur in spoken Frisian: the Frisian and Dutch 'roof' are identical in their singular forms (*dak*; see Table 5.5), whereby the token frequency of the plural is quite low (Table 5.6).[35]

/ɪ/→/e:/ sg *skip* 'ship'→pl *skippen* (Frisian) or *skepen* (Dutch interference [Dutch: schepen])

As in case of the /a/ → /a:/ alternation, there is only one Frisian example showing an /ɪ/ → /e:/ shift, namely the historical borrowing *lid* → *leden* 'member(s)'.[36] Also, similarly to *daken*, there are other Frisian plural nouns showing the same vowel-consonant combination in the plural as (*skip*)*/skepen*, like *greep/grepen* 'grip(s)', *reep/repen* 'strip(s); bar(s)', *streep/strepen* 'stripe(s)' [37]. However, there are fewer corresponding combinations while compared to the previous potential interference and they are usually less frequently used (Frisian Language Corpus). Additionally, the plural variant of *skip* is more frequently used than that of *dak*[38], which suggests that it may be less susceptible to borrowing; high frequency words appear to be more resistant (e.g. Bybee 2001), except in some phonetic processes (assimilation or reduction; e.g. Hooper 1976; Phillips 2006). On that account, the interference *skepen* will probably be less common than *daken*, but it is still likely to occur.

/ɔ/ → /o:/ sg *slot* 'lock' → pl *slotten* (Frisian) or *sloten* (Dutch interference)

The potential Dutch interference *sloten* is likely to occur less often than both *daken* and *skepen* as it does not fit the Frisian phonotactics. Not only does Frisian lack the /ɔ/ → /o:/ alternation in a sg-pl pair, but the vowel-consonant combination *-oot* /o:t/ does not exist in Standard Frisian either. While both the long vowel /o:/ and the consonant /t/ belong to the Frisian phonological system, the combination [o:t] does not exist for phonotactic reasons. Frisian equivalents for Dutch words including /o:t/ usually contain a diphtong [o.ə]/[ɪ.ə], which is absent in Dutch, e.g. Dutch b**oo**t = Frisian b**oa**t 'boat' or Dutch s**loo**t = Frisian

35 The word *dak* is a 19th century borrowing from Dutch, partly replacing the inherited form *tek* which was specialized in the meaning 'thatched roof'. The regular Frisian plural form *dakken* underlines the word's full integration in the native lexicon.

36 The singular *lid* also means 'limb' and has the regular plural *lidden* in that particular meaning.

37 All historical borrowings that are commonly used in contemporary Frisian; originally Frisian words: *gripe, reap, streek/stripe*.

38 Both absolute and proportional token frequency (cf. Hoekstra and Versloot [2019]); Frisian language database (for internal use).

sl**ea**t 'ditch'. Also in international words, which often come into the Frisian vocabulary through Dutch, the /o:/ is frequently substituted by /o.ə/, e.g. Dutch *pil**oo**t* → Frisian *pil**oa**t* 'pilot'. The combination /o:t/ does not occur in Frisian[39], except in *motor* 'motor(cycle); engine' (['mo:tɔr], in older speech rather [mə'tɔr], still avoiding /o:t/[40]), *foto* [fo:to:] 'photograph' and, possibly, a few morphological borrowings from Dutch, e.g. the Dutch preterite of the verb *genietsje* (Dutch *genieten*) 'enjoy' - *genoot* (see Jongbloed-Faber 2014 and Jongbloed-Faber et al. 2017). However, as the latter concerns written use of Frisian on social media and no research has been done on the pronunciation of such potential borrowings yet, it is unclear whether *genoot* is pronounced with the vowel /o:/ as [ɡənoːt], following the Dutch pronunciation, or rather with the Frisian diphthong /o.ə/ as expected in the Frisian variant *genoat*: [ɡənoˑət]. The two syllable combination *-oten* [o:tn̩], as in the potential interference *sloten*, does not exist in Frisian.

/ɔ/ → /a:/ sg *gat* 'hole, gap'→ pl *gatten* (Frisian) or *gaten* (Dutch interference)

While all three previously mentioned irregular Dutch plurals have at least some likelihood to replace the Frisian variants in spoken Frisian, we consider the Dutch plural *gaten* to be highly unlikely to replace the Frisian form *gatten*. The singular noun *gat* 'hole' is spelled identically in both languages, but they sound differently. Besides the common difference in the pronunciation of the consonant /g/ in Frisian and Dutch (Frisian: [g], Dutch: [x/ɣ]), there is the difference in the pronunciation of the <a> of *gat*: [ɑ] in Dutch against [ɔ] in Frisian. Accordingly, the potential interference **gaten* in spoken Frisian would introduce a new vowel shift, [ɔ] → [a:], an alternation that does occur neither in Frisian nor in Dutch.[41] The combination /a:tən/ does exist in Frisian: *maat - maten* 'friend(s)', *kaart - kaarten* 'card(s)' (with mute <r>). *Gaten* itself occurs in Frisian only in one set phrase: *yn 'e gaten hâlde* 'keep an eye on'. Hence, the form is certainly possible from a phonological and lexical point of view, but rather unlikely from a morphological perspective.

39 The only exception is the loanword petticoat 'petticoat' (also spelled as pettikoot; pl petticoats/pettikoots), which is very rarely used and therefore not commonly known (not even present in the Frisian language corpus, only to be found in dictionaries). Additionally, this concerns a closed syllable. The combination /o:t/ does not occur in open syllables.

40 Cf. https://taalweb.frl/wurdboekportaal/ebce0cc9-6119-429a-98f4- 19ccfd8002dd?previous_search%5Bpage%5D=&previous_search%5Bq%5D=wynmotor (accessed August, 31th 2020).

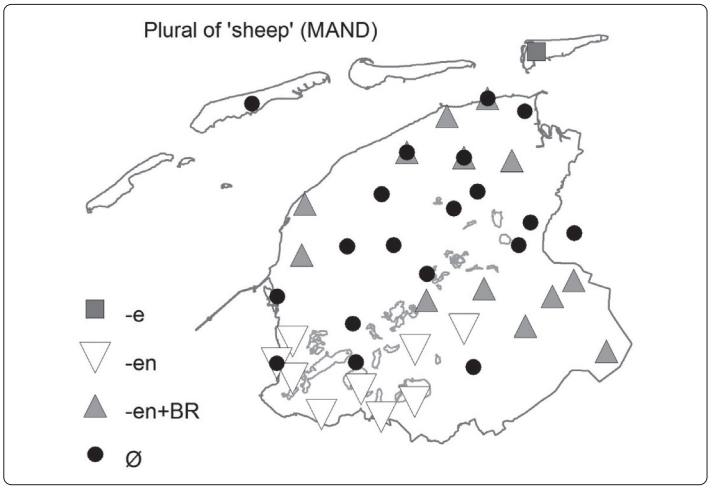
41 Only in Súdwesthoeke, the South West region, where generally more word variants corresponding to the Dutch vocabulary are used than in other parts of Fryslân (cf. Hof 1933), the pronunciation of *gat* possibly matches the Dutch articulation of the word. In the so-called Lytse Súdwesthoeke (including 't Heidenskip, Hemelum, Koudum, Molkwerum and Warns), the pronunciation [a] is a dialectal archaism.

In addition to the irregular Dutch plurals, all displaying a stem vowel alternation, we examined the use of the regularized form of *skiep* 'sheep', *skieppen*, either resulting from language contact or internal analogy:

sg *skiep* 'sheep' → pl *skiep* (Frisian) or *skapen* (Dutch interference
[regular: *schaap* → *schapen*] / *skiep(p)en* (Dutch interference or internal analogy)

Similar to English, the Frisian noun *skiep* has the same form in singular and plural (*skiep* → *skiep* 'sheep → sheep'). This is one of the two exceptions where a Frisian noun does not change its form in plural, the other one being *bern* 'child'. Such exceptions do not exist in Dutch (*schaap* 'sheep' → *schapen*; *kind* 'child' → *kinderen*).[42] In case of *skiep*, the regular plural form would be *skiepen* [ski.əpm̩] or, more likely, *skieppen* [skjɪpm̩] as the Frisian diphthong /i.ə/ usually changes to /jɪ/ in the diminutive and the plural; *skiepke* '(little) sheep' is pronounced as [skjɪpkə] and not *[ski.əpkə] (Frisian breaking; cf. Tiersma 1999: 17-20; Popkema 2006: 73-76; Visser 2002). Accordingly, such a plural form would perfectly fit the Frisian vocabulary and phonotactics and it can be expected in spoken Frisian. Additionally, its existence has already been confirmed (Goeman, Taeldeman and Reenen 2003; cf. Figure 5.1). The variant **skapen* is less likely to appear as the alternation *i.ə* → *a* is valid neither in Frisian nor in Dutch and would represent an instance of purely lexical borrowing (see Table 5.3).

Figure 5.1: The regular plural skieppen according to MAND (Goeman, Taeldeman and Van Reenen 2003)



42 Exceptions can be found in both languages in measure indication. Frisian *trije jier* 'three years', for instance, and Dutch *drie jaar* both have a regular plural in other syntactic contexts: *jierren*; *jaren*.

- +BR = with breaking of the rout vowel: [skjɪpm̩];
- The plural without breaking ([ski:pm̩]) is found in the south-west of the province, because of the monophtong in the singular ([ski:p] instead of [ski.ɘp]), which is not sensitive to the process of breaking.

Table 5.7

Regular → irregular formation	**Expected interference?**
d**a**k/d**a**ken	very likely
sk**i**p/sk**e**pen	likely
sl**o**t/sl**o**ten	unlikely
g**a**t/g**a**ten	highly unlikely
sk**ie**p/sk**a**pen *or*	highly unlikely
sk**ie**p/sk**ie**p(p)en (regular formation)	likely

The outcomes of three extra questions concerning plural forms that overlap with the Dutch plurals, will be presented in the results section and contrasted with the main results:

1) *helm - helmen/helms* 'helmet, helmets'
   Both *helmen* and *helms* are regional Frisian variants. The former matches its Dutch equivalent (Dutch: *helmen*), without being a borrowing. Its similarity to Dutch, however, may cause doubts regarding its correctness in (Standard) Frisian;
2) *bad - baden* 'bath, baths'
   In both Frisian and Dutch, the word *bad* shows an alternation in stem vowel between /a/ and /a:/. However, *bad* rarely occurs in the plural and, accordingly, participants may be unfamiliar with it and have doubts about the correct Frisian plural;
3) *bak - bakken* 'bin, bins'
   Bak is very similar in form to *dak*, but follows the regular formation rules, with *bakken* (no vowel lengthening) being the only possible plural form in both Frisian and Dutch. It is not expected to be (wrongly) pronounced as **baken* (with /a:/ instead of /a/), but rather forms a control and reference question.

5.4 Results

5.4.1 Primary test items

The outcomes confirm most of the hypotheses (cf. Table 5.7 and 5.8). As anticipated, the Dutch plural *daken* 'roofs', following the stem vowel alternation /a/ → /a:/, turns out to be the most common borrowing among the tested items. More than 40% of the participants used it during the interviews: a percentage nearly as high as in case of the standard (regular) Frisian variant (*dakken*). This is rather remarkable, considering that *daken* is not mentioned as a common borrowing in the literature, where, otherwise, multiple types of possible borrowings are reported. The Dutch-based plural *skepen* 'ships' (/ɪ/ → /e:/) seems to be a commonly used variant as well as almost 30% of the participants produced it during the interview, thus confirming our expectations. Also, as anticipated, the next following interference in terms of frequency is *sloten* 'padlocks' (/ɔ/ → /o:/), replacing the regular form *slotten*. In this case, the numbers are actually higher than expected, namely 20% - not even 10% lower than in case of *skepen*. This is surprising, given the fact that the vowel-consonant combination /o:t/ does not exist in Standard Frisian. Some participants (12% of the participants who used the Dutch borrowing) realized *sloten* not as [slo:tn̩], but as [slo.ətn̩], thus changing the Dutch vowel /o:/ into the Frisian diphthong /o.ə/, in accordance with the Frisian phonotactics.

Table 5.8: Results.[43]

Plural		Frequency	Percentage
	roofs		
Frisian plural	**dakken**	94	**56%**
Dutch interference	**daken**	73	**44%**
		167	100%
	ships		
Frisian plural	**skippen**	105	**72%**
Dutch interference	**skepen**	41	**28%**
		146	100%
	padlocks		
Frisian plural	**slotten**	132	**80%**
Dutch interference	**slo(a)ten**	34	**20%**
		166	100%
	holes, gaps		
Frisian plural	**gatten**	172	**100%**
Dutch interference	**gaten**	0	**0%**
		172	100%
	sheep		
irregular Frisian plural	**skiep**	156	**91%**
regularized form	**skiep(p)en**	15	**9%**
		171	100%

Our expectations are also confirmed in the case of the Dutch plural *gaten* 'holes, gaps'. We considered *gaten* unlikely to be implemented in the Frisian vocabulary as there is no analogical alternation /ɔ/ → /a:/, neither in Frisian nor in Dutch. Notably, none of the participants used the Dutch plural *gaten*, even though *gaten* does appear in Frisian in a figurative way: *yn 'e gaten hâlde* 'keep an eye on'. Very rarely, the Frisian plural *gatten* [gɔtn̩] was pronounced as [gatn̩], which is possibly a phonological interference from Dutch (sg [gɑt]; Frisian: [gɔt]). However, this phenomenon is marginal (1%). More interestingly, we noticed that Frisian vowels only known to be short, were often prolonged during the interview in

43 We tested the most relevant contrasts in a Fisher's Exact Test: *dakken x skippen*: $p < 0.01$; *skippen x slotten*: $p = 0.14$; *slotten x gatten*: $p < 0.001$; *slotten x skiep*: $p < 0.01$; *gatten x skiep*: $p < 0.001$. This means that only the contrast between *skippen* and *slotten* is not statistically significant, but the observed bias complies with the direction that we hypothesized.

both singular and plurals nouns (e.g. [dɑ.k], [dɑ.kn], [gɔ.tn]).[44] However, since the same participant could pronounce such vowels both in a short and a prolonged form, we assume that their realization is determined by prosodic factors, which seems to be more often the case in Frisian (see Visser 1997; Sloos, García and Van de Weijer [submitted]).

The last of the tested items reflects the change from an irregular (endingless) plural, *skiep* 'sheep', into a regularized form, *skie(p)pen*. In line with our hypotheses, the variant *skapen*, more resembling the Dutch *schapen*, did not appear during the interview. Therefore, we can conclude that it is not or only incidentally used in spoken Frisian. Other than anticipated, however, the regularized form *skie(p)pen* seems not to be very frequent either as only 9% of the participants chose to use it. That is in contrast with previous findings suggesting that the regularized form *skieppen* is widely used in spoken Frisian (Goeman, Taeldeman & Reenen 2003), although our outcomes do confirm its existence. The pronunciation of *skieppen* as [skjɪpm̩] (with Frisian breaking; > 60%) was dominant, but the variant [ski.əpm̩] (without breaking) was also quite common.

As the results show, language contact with Dutch leads to more variation in Frisian plural formation with both Frisian and Dutch variants being used. In all the mentioned examples in Table 5.8 (in particular *dak, skip, slot, gat*) the new form is unambiguously a loan from Dutch.

5.4.2 Bin, bath and helmet: control questions

Next to the noun *dak* 'roof', which shows a clear change in its plural formation (*dakken* → *daken*), the noun *bak* 'bin' has been tested. While being very similar in form, *bak* displays only the regular plural formation in both Frisian and Dutch (*bakken*; see also par. 5.3). This is reflected in the interviews, as none of the participants used the plural variant **baken* – */ba:kən/, which would point at an analogical plural formation, insufficient language proficiency or both. This result confirms that *daken* is an obvious borrowing from Dutch, resulting from bilingualism. In case of the noun *bad*, on the other hand, the irregular plural *baden* should be expected in both Frisian and Dutch. However, as mentioned before, *bad* is rarely used in the plural. This is also confirmed by our results. Most participants were unsure about the correct plural and stated that they never used it. This uncertainty led to many "mistakes" as 25% of the participants used a regularized form *badden*, which is a reverse process compared to *dak - daken* and the other tested plurals. While clearly resulting from a very low frequency[45],

44 *daak* is also attested in the dialect of Molkwerum/Molkwar in 1856 (Miedema 1983).

45 Matching the results by Versloot & Hoekstra (2017) that show a correlation between frequency and attraction (the lower the frequency, the lower the attraction - in this case from Dutch *baden*).

badden arguably fits better in with Frisian than with Dutch morphology, since the former has considerably fewer irregular plurals with a lengthened vowel. About 30% of the respondents who chose for the regular plural, pronounced it as [baɐ̯tn̩] instead of [baɐ̯dn̩], analogically to the singular form that undergoes final devoicing (*baɐ̯d* [baɐ̯t]) and thus following the plural formation pattern as in e.g. *rot* 'rat' [rɔɐ̯t] - *rotten* [rɔɐ̯tn̩]. Another observation about *bad* is that nobody realized it as [bɔɐ̯t]. That should otherwise be expected given the fact that in Frisian, /a/ is commonly pronounced as [ɔ] before coronals, e.g. *kat* 'cat' [kɔɐ̯t] (Dutch: [kɑɐ̯t]), *man* 'man' [mɔn] (Dutch: [mɑn]). This suggests that *bad* was apparently only borrowed after the application of the sound change and has not been fully adjusted to the Frisian phonotactics.[46]

In case of the noun *helm* 'helmet', its plural form *helmen*, which is identical for both languages, is the preferred variant used by ca. 3/4 of our participants. Previous results, however, showed a virtually equal frequency of *helmen* and *helms* with only a slight preference for the former (55% vs. 45%; Van der Veen et al. 1991). This is quite a big difference, most likely caused by language contact as well. We looked at another noun showing a similar variation in Frisian, which was also included in the linguistic questionnaire (prior to the interview): *earm* 'arm'- *earms/earmen* (Dutch: *arm - armen*). In this case, however, the current results match the previous outcomes, showing a preference for the variant that differs from the Dutch plural (*earms,* 60%). The discrepancy between *helm* and *earm* can plausibly be explained in terms of frequency, with the latter being more frequently used than the former (especially in Frisian, which is rather confined to the spoken and private registers, where very few 'helmets' are found) and in terms of analogical levelling as the Frisian noun *helm(en)* fully matches its Dutch equivalent and *earm(en)* does not.

5.4.3 Correlation and general patterns

The results show a significant correlation in the individual use of the three plurals formed by means of a vowel alternation (*daken*, *skepen*, *sloten*; $p < 0.0001$). Apparently, speakers of Frisian are inclined to generalize this pattern and consequently apply the irregular plural formation as they would do in Dutch. However, as the results above already suggest, the occurrence of the various irregular plurals is not random but governed by various factors. For our three irregular plurals, the cline of decreased likelihood of borrowing is as follows:

DAKEN → SKEPEN → SLOTEN (→ *GATEN).

46 A similar phenomenon can be seen with the loss of /r/ before the same consonants as for the /a/-[ɔ]-rule: younger loanwords tend to keep the /r/ in these positions, such as in *sport*, pronounced [sport].

If a speaker happens to use only one of these variants, it is most likely to be *daken* (cf. Table 5.9). The probability of someone saying *skepen* or *sloten* without using at least one of the other variants is much lower. Additionally, at least half of the participants who used the variant *skepen* or *sloten*, also used the two other irregular plurals (cf. Table 5.9). This pattern is common for the whole province, meaning that Dutch irregular plurals can easily be used anywhere in Fryslân, with only limited geographical variation. In the South-Western region (Súdwesthoeke), the irregular plurals seem to be less frequent than in other parts of the province, with a significant difference compared to the Eastern part (De Wâlden; 23% vs. 35% for *daken*, *skepen* and *sloten*).[47] This seems also to be true for the North-Eastern region (Noardhoeke), however, the number of participants living in that region was not sufficient to fully substantiate it.

Table 5.9: Number of irregular plurals used during the interviews by informants.

Nr. of irregular plurals	lemmas	frequency	percentage
1	*daken*	23	32%
1	*skepen*	3	4%
1	*slo(a)ten*	3	4%
2	*daken, skepen*	14	20%
2	*daken, slo(a)ten*	6	8%
2	*skepen, slo(a)ten*	3	4%
3	*daken, skepen, slo(a)ten*	19	27%
Total		71	100%

Interestingly, there is also a significant relation between the use of the irregular variant *sloten* 'padlocks', and the Frisian variant *helmen* 'helmets' corresponding to the Dutch plural *helmen* (the other one being *helms*), and the irregular plural *baden* 'baths' as opposed to the regularized form *badden*: participants who used the variants *slotten* and *helms*, chose more often for the regularized variant *badden* than participants who chose for *sloten* and *helmen* and who gave strong preference to the (default) irregular variant *baden*.

47 For the South-Western region, these results are quite surprising as the dialects of this region are generally known to have more Dutch elements than the other Frisian dialects (e.g. Hof 1933).

5.5 Conclusion and discussion

The outcomes of the analysis confirm that irregular Dutch plurals are used in present-day spoken Frisian and that various factors - morphological paradigm schema, formal similarity with Dutch and type frequency (cf. par. 5.3) - play a role in their borrowability. Phonotactic factors seem to be the only exception as the /o:t/ combination in the irregular plural *sloten*, not matching Frisian phonotactics, does not appear to be a borrowing restriction. The variant *sloten* occurs less often than *daken* and also less often than *skepen* 'ships'. The frequency difference with the latter, however, is rather small and not statistically significant. There are two potential explanations: first, both the absolute and proportional token frequency of the plural of *slot* are lower than for *dak* en *skip*, and second, the plural *sloten* is hardly used at all (Frisian language database). This is confirmed by our participants who often had doubts when asked about the plural of *slot*. In order to avoid it, many of them used the plural of its diminutive form: *slotsjes* (Dutch: *slotjes*) 'little padlocks' instead, which is easier to form and virtually the same in Frisian and Dutch. The relatively frequent occurrence of *sloten* in Frisian can also point at the fact that /o:t/ is (no longer) perceived as un-Frisian, which may result from other existing loanwords including /o:t/, such as *motor* 'motorcycle', *foto* 'photograph', but also *genoot* foar *geniete* 'enjoyed'. The spread of these borrowings has not been properly investigated yet (e.g. do speakers of Frisian pronounce *genoat/genoot* 'enjoyed' as [genoːət] or [genoːt] and are there any other words including /o:t/ resulting from [most likely morphological] borrowings from Dutch), so more research is needed to confirm this. Regardless, the low frequency of the plural form *sloten* most likely contributes to its borrowability.

The paradigm alternation seems to be decisive for the possible occurrence of a borrowing and, accordingly, a good predictor of which innovative plurals can actually be implemented into the Frisian vocabulary. Since the vowel alternation /ɔ/ → /a:/ does not appear in any other inflectional or derivational processes, neither in Frisian nor in Dutch, the Frisian noun *gat* [gɔt] 'hole, gap' seems to resist the adoption of [ga:tn̩] in the plural, even though the word variant [ga:tn̩], in the idiomatic expression *yn 'e gaten hawwe* 'to notice', exists. In this expression, *gaten* is apparently perceived as a figurative element, rather than a noun plural. The other tested plurals do match an existing sg-pl-alternation and, accordingly, can occur in spoken Frisian. The regularity of their occurrence, however, depends on factors as form similarity between Frisian and Dutch and frequency. The noun *dak* 'roof [sg]', for instance, is exactly the same in Frisian and Dutch. It is not very often used in the plural (Frisian: *dakken* / Dutch: *daken*; cf. Table 5.6), which increases the chance that it can be affected by language contact. Additionally, the irregular Dutch plural *daken* has a lot of analogical word-forms (more than the other plurals included in this research; cf. Table 5.3). Therefore, *daken* occurred more often during the interview than any other tested borrowed plural.

The regularized plural form of 'sheep', *skieppen*, as an alternative variant to the irregular *skiep*, does not seem to be very frequently produced (<10%). In the singular, the Frisian noun *skiep* is quite different from its Dutch equivalent *schaap* (see also Table 5.5). The frequency of its plural is (slightly) higher than the frequency of the other tested plurals and, additionally, 'sheep' occurs more often in plural than in singular (proportional frequency; Table 5.6), thus contributing to its stability. However, we do not want to exclude the possiblity that the regular form *skieppen* occurs more often in spontaneous speech as opposed to semi-spontaneous language use during the interview (cf. the MAND-data in Figure 5.1).[48]

To summarize, the research results show that:

1) **Dutch irregular plurals** are quite commonly used in spoken Frisian;

However, not all of them can (easily) be included into the Frisian vocabulary as:

2) different factors can affect their borrowability;

Additionally,

3) there is an interdependency between their use.

In general, speakers tend to use more than just one of such plurals, meaning that the irregular formation is applied in quite a consistent way. Both the overall figures as well as the individual choices are in line with the borrowability cline as presented in Table 5.7. However, more research including a bigger number of irregular Dutch plurals will be needed to fully examine this process, together with its geographical implication and its relation to the use of other plurals in Frisian, which may or may not resemble their Dutch equivalents. Additionally, more attention should be paid to the influence of Dutch on Frisian plurals ending in the choice for *-s* or *-en* (such as *helm*) and to the prolonged pronunciation of the short vowel /ɑ/ in spoken Frisian.

While Dutch plurals in Frisian can potentially be regarded as lexical rather than grammatical interferences, meaning that single words are borrowed instead of derivational rules, there are a couple of arguments to claim that such borrowings are grammar-related in speakers' perception. First, in case of purely lexical borrowings, influence of phonotactics can be expected. In our case, phonotactics turns out not to be a strong factor. Second, since the investigated plural forms are irregular in Dutch as well, we cannot expect this pattern of vowel lengthening in the plural to become productive in Frisian. However, given the fairly

48 The MAND-data were collected in interviews, using a list with Standard Dutch words, which may have triggered the use of the *-en*-plural in *skieppen*.

consistent use of these forms (cf. Table 5.9), we can conclude that many speakers implemented this type of plural formation as a lexicon-based schema (e.g. Bybee 1995), rather than random single word implementations, which would be in line with the interpretation of purely lexical borrowings. Additionally, the word form *gaten*, already existing in Frisian as a lexical item, was entirely ignored by the informants in this survey, pointing away from a purely lexical basis for the borrowings. The lack of a borrowing **skapen* implies, moreover, that paradigmatic relations are relevant, which would be less so in the case of isolated lexical borrowings (paradigmatically asymmetrical borrowings are otherwise fundamentally possible, e.g. *gâns* 'goose' [Frisian: goes, Dutch: gans] - *guozzen* 'geese' [Dutch: ganzen]).

Although the tested borrowings are initially lexicalized plural forms (as they are in Dutch, judging by their irregularity and unpredictability), their borrowability in Frisian is controlled by various factors, whereby two of them (2 and 3) are grammatical, rather than purely lexical:

1) frequency of use (both relevant for the input of the Dutch form and the stability of the Frisian one);
2) formal overlap between the Dutch and Frisian singular, triggering the adoption of the corresponding Dutch paradigmatic plural form;
3) existing patterns of plural pairs in Frisian itself, blocking singular-plural pairs that violate too many constraints of Frisian grammar.

6 Developing a survey methodology based on positively and negatively worded questions in sociolinguistics[49]

6.1 Introduction

Central issue in this study are the differences between positively and negatively formulated multiple-choice questions and their application in (socio)linguistic research as a new survey methodology. In sociological contexts, these two question types are known not be complementary as respondents tend to disagree with a negative question more often than to agree with a positive one. Probably the best-known example of such a discrepancy comes from Rugg (1941: 91-91), where the author uses polar opposition to formulate the same question in two different ways:

(1) Do you think the United States should forbid public speeches against democracy? [negative]
(2) Do you think the Unites States should allow public speeches against democracy? [positive]

Forbid and *allow* are obvious antonyms. This does not mean, however, that *forbid* fully matches the negation of *allow*, *not allow*, its meaning or cognitive processing. Something may not be allowed, but not strictly forbidden either (a real act of opposition; see also Clark and Schober 1992: 31), thus belonging to the so-called gray area of tolerance. Accordingly, there might be a different connotation to the given terms and their negations, causing different reactions. As an answer to Rugg's questions, 75% of the respondents rejected public speeches against democracy in case of the positive question by indicating that they should not be allowed. However, only 54% of the respondents agreed that they should be forbidden in case of the first (negatively formulated) question. The 21% difference indicates that questions 1 and 2 are not complementary, thus giving different results depending on the formulation.

After Rugg's example, the *forbid/allow* discrepancy has been studied by many researchers (e.g. Schuman and Presser 1981; Hippler and Schwarz 1986; Bishop et al. 1988; Krosnick and Schuman 1988; Waterplas et al. 1988; Narayan and Krosnick 1996; Holleman 2000; Reuband 2001; Kamoen 2012; Holleman et al. 2016). While the results varied for different studies, likely caused by differ-

49 This chapter is based on Stefan et al. [submitted] a.

ences in experimental methods, contextual variation and/or respondent samples, Holleman (1999) has shown that this tendency of discrepancy may be generalized (see also Kamoen, Holleman and Van den Bergh 2013: 182). The wording of the opposite question itself may vary as well, as one can choose to formulate it by means of negation (*forbid/not forbid* and *allow/not allow*) instead of polar opposition as presented by Rugg. According to Schriesheim, Eisenbach and Hill (1991), unlike polar opposition, simple negation will not impair reliability or validity of the response if the negated words are positive (rather *[not] nice* than *[not] nasty*; possibly due to the uncommonness of the latter in daily language use). However, cognitive processing of the exact meaning of negated items is quite demanding and therefore may (sometimes) result in errors (cf. Dörnyei and Taguchi 2010: 42). Moreover, there may be a gray area between *forbid* and *not forbid*, or *allow* and *disallow*, which can only increase if a respondent does not have a strong opinion or is not sure what to answer.

Positively and negatively worded questions are generally tested on and applied in sociology and psychology (especially attitude questions). We will argue that opposite wording can be a useful method in (socio)linguistic studies as well by demonstrating how negation and polar opposition affect speakers' judgment regarding correctness and incorrectness of various words and grammatical constructions, and what that can tell us about their language use and knowledge.

6.1.1 Frisian case

The combination of positively and negatively formulated questions has been implemented and tested in a sociolinguistic survey on the (West) Frisian language: a Germanic language spoken in the province of Fryslân. From the national perspective, Frisian is a minority language. In Fryslân, Frisian and Dutch (the national language) have equal rights, meaning that the linguistic situation in this province is not that of a language diglossia. In official domains, however, Dutch is dominant to Frisian, with education as a major example. While all schools in Fryslân are obliged to offer lessons in Frisian, their amount is not sufficient to provide Frisian language education on the same level as Dutch (cf. Benedictus-van den Berg 2012: 172-173). As a result, both native and non-native speakers are generally more proficient in Dutch than Frisian. Based on self-reports, only half of the inhabitants of Fryslân can read and less than one-fifth can write Frisian (very) well, although two-thirds report to speak and most of them to understand the Frisian language (very) well (Provinsje Fryslân 2015; Klinkenberg et al. 2018). Additionally, whereas both languages have multiple regional differences and dialects, Dutch has a standard variant that virtually every speaker is familiar with and able to use. The use of the Frisian standard, on the other hand, is largely confined to dictionaries and grammars (e.g. Zantema 1984; Visser 1985; Tiersma 1999; Popkema 2006; Duijff et al. 2008) and to (official) written communication.

Frisian is mainly used in speech and most speakers are not (very) familiar with, nor educated in Standard Frisian. They use their own regional variety instead (cf. Breuker 1993: 112-116), although their knowledge of the Frisian standard may be underestimated and their language use partly based on deliberate choices (see chapter 4). Additionally, Frisian is prone to influence from Dutch due to a long-term language contact (see also Jonkman and Versloot 2008). Since the split-up of Proto-Germanic, the closest related language to Frisian was English (Old English and Old Frisian showed many similarities; cf. Nielsen 2005), while Old Dutch was closely related to Old High German. However, in the course of time, Frisian grew more and more towards Dutch, adopting Dutch vocabulary and grammatical structures. Most of the historical borrowings are nowadays fully accepted and considered to be part of the Frisian language. Other loan words and constructions, especially more recent ones, are avoided in the Frisian Standard language, but commonly used in spoken Frisian (cf. Sjölin 1976; Breuker et al. 1984; De Haan 1995, 1997, 1998). The exact linguistic situation, along with the spread, popularity and acceptance of what is called a Dutch interference (Frisian: *ynterferinsje*; words and grammatical constructions taken over from Dutch and replacing the older variants) among the (native) speakers of Frisian is not known. This makes the Frisian language and speech community a perfect case for studying attitude questions regarding various linguistic variants – both Frisian/Dutch words and grammatical constructions – in spoken Frisian.

6.2 Research goal and hypotheses

The aim of the present sociolinguistic study is to propose a new survey methodology in (socio)linguistics. Therefore, we will evaluate the use of two types of multiple-choice questions that are an expression of opposite mental concepts: positively (what is right?) and negatively formulated ones (what is not right/wrong/odd?). We will argue that a combination of both positively and negatively worded questions within a study can provide valuable information about a language and its properties by tapping into knowledge, preference and acceptance of the speakers.

The relationship between oppositely worded questions has already been investigated in social sciences, where they have been shown not to be complementary. We expect to see a similar pattern in case of linguistic items, which can help to enhance our knowledge about preference and acceptance of different elements of (written and spoken) Frisian. Respondents are likely to show a more positive attitude towards different linguistic variants in case of a negative question as it is proven that people tend to disagree with negative questions more often than to agree with positive ones. In case of the latter, respondents are expected to select variants they would either use themselves or variants they hear a lot in their surroundings or in the media, and to ignore all the words that are less common/uncommon in spoken Frisian. On the other hand, in case of the

negatively formulated questions, they may accept all variants they are familiar with, even the less common ones, and reject only those they do not know or think to be wrong in the given context, for instance words with an opposite or a completely different meaning than suggested in the question (see also par. 6.3). A negative formulation may also be viewed through normative lenses, whereby a variant's correctness is determined according to the Frisian standard. Positively and negatively worded questions combined in one research can furthermore give more insight in specific linguistic situations, like influence of language contact on bilingual speakers.

6.3 Methodology and detailed expectations

The present study is part of the fourth Frisian language survey: an extended sociological and sociolinguistic research on languages spoken in Fryslân, with the main focus on the Frisian language and its speakers (Klinkenberg et al. 2018; see also Pietersen 1969, Gorter et al. 1984, Gorter and Jonkman 1995). The respondents were all inhabitants of Fryslân, living in different parts of the province. They were asked to complete an online questionnaire, which was divided into two parts: sociological (multiple-choice and open questions) and linguistic (multiple-choice questions). The former included various questions about language background, proficiency, behavior and attitude. The second part, only meant for respondents with active proficiency in Frisian, focused on language variation in spoken Frisian, e.g. dialectal variation and contact-induced language changes. Besides looking into personal language use, there were a number of (positively and negatively worded) questions about knowledge, preference and acceptance of various linguistic variants, both words and grammatical constructions.

In order to avoid differences in response patterns related to language background (L1 or L2) and language proficiency, only L1 speakers of Frisian who indicated to speak Frisian 'very easily' (the highest proficiency level; other options: well, quite well, with difficulty, not at all) are included in the analysis. This group is most numerous and therefore most representative for speakers who are highly proficient in Frisian (cf. chapter 3).

The questions focusing on language knowledge, preference and acceptance differ from the questions concerning language use: instead of indicating which of the given forms the respondents would use themselves, they are supposed to judge their correctness. These questions are formulated in two ways (positive and negative), to be answered by different groups of respondents randomly assigned to one of eight versions of the linguistic questionnaire (1A/B - 4A/B). While versions 1 - 4 contain different items, the only difference between A and B is the positive or negative formulation of some questions. All items that are either positive or negative in A, are formulated in the opposite way in B. In case of posi-

tively formulated questions, the respondents must indicate which of the given variants is/are right (see Test example 6.1). Negative questions are formulated either by means of polar opposition (wrong/odd[50]) or negation (not right) (see Test example 6.2 and Test example 6.4), depending on the question category.

In the survey, two types of questions were asked: questions with a single response option, where two language variants are included (pick 1/n; 3.1.), and questions with multiple response options (pick any/n; 3.2.) with a couple of possible synonyms to choose from. Additionally, the formulation of the negative version of the questions varies for the two categories (see below) in order to include negation and polar opposition in the research. In both cases, positive questions have been compared with their negative pendants. In order to make sure that the expected differences between positive and negative questions are not related to different population samples (they have been answered by two random respondent groups), we also analyzed the results of other questions that were identical for both groups. These results were largely comparable, with the differences not exceeding 10% points.

6.3.1 Single response option (pick 1/n)

Test example 6.1: A positively worded question.

In your opinion, which sentence is right? *[She is much older than HIM]*	*Question in Frisian / Dutch (depending on the participant's choice)*[51]
❍ Sy is folle âlder as/dan HIM.	*Variant 1*
❍ Sy is folle âlder as/dan HY.*	*Variant 2*
❍ Both sentences are right.	

** Similar to (Standard) Dutch: Zij is veel ouder dan HIJ.*

Test example 6.2: A negatively worded question.

In your opinion, which sentence is wrong? *[She is much older than HIM]*	*Question in Frisian / Dutch (depending on the participant's choice)*
❍ Sy is folle âlder as/dan HIM.	*Variant 1*
❍ Sy is folle âlder as/dan HY.*	*Variant 2*
❍ Both sentences are right.	

** Similar to (Standard) Dutch: Zij is veel ouder dan HIJ.*

50 In case the respondents are unsure what is 'right' or 'wrong' according to the Frisian standard, *odd* may describe a variant they are unfamiliar with, or find unusual, better than *wrong*; hence our choice to include both.

51 The explanations in italics have been added afterwards, for the purpose of this chapter.

The first question category consists of multiple-choice questions formulated by polar opposition. The respondents are instructed to choose between two Frisian variants - either words or grammatical constructions - they consider right or wrong/strange (depending on the version: positive or negative). They can also choose to accept both by selecting the third option ('Both words/sentences are right'). One of the given variants is similar to Dutch, without necessarily being a borrowing. The other one is different, meaning that it is specific to Frisian. Some of the given linguistic forms may be wrong or even non-existent, but most of them are valid dialect or other variants (not bound to a specific region in Fryslân). The response options for each question are displayed in a random order.

In case of this question category, three different scenarios can be expected:

(a) Both variants are (nearly) equally popular;
(b) Preference for one variant, rejecting the other (mirror image);
(c) Preference for one variant, but accepting the other as well;

6.3.2 Multiple response options (pick any/n)

Test example 6.3: A positively worded question.

In your opinion, what is the right Frisian word for the Dutch "beginnen" *[to begin]***?**	
❍ begjinne	*Similar to Dutch*
❍ úteinsette	
❍ oangean	*limited application (also in Dutch: aangaan)*
❍ oantrúnje	**oantrúnje = to encourage/urge*
multiple answers possible	

Test example 6.4: A negatively worded question.

In your opinion, what is NOT the right Frisian word for the Dutch "beginnen" *[to begin]***?**	
❍ begjinne	*Similar to Dutch*
❍ úteinsette	
❍ oangean	*limited application (also in Dutch: aangaan)*
❍ oantrúnje	**oantrúnje = to encourage/urge*
❍ All words are right	
multiple answers possible	

The second question category is formulated by negation and includes multiple-choice questions based on various synonyms in Frisian. At least one of those resembles in form a Dutch word, whether or not semantically related. As in case of the single response-category, given options include non-existent, artificial words

or words with an entirely different meaning. Respondents can choose to accept or reject one or multiple variants in both the positive and the negative worded question (the negative question adds an additional option saying that all of the variants are right; cf. Test example 6.4): a feasible option for a participant who does not believe that any of the answers given are wrong and should be rejected. The questions themselves ask for a possible Frisian translation of a Dutch word or the other way around. In case the respondents are asked to indicate the right Dutch translation for a Frisian word they are unfamiliar with, they can choose the option 'I am not familiar with the word …..' instead (see Test example 6.5).

Test example 6.5

In your opinion, what is the right Dutch word for the Frisian "faaks" *[maybe, perhaps]***?**

- ❍ vaak **vaak = often (Frisian: faak)*
- ❍ misschien
- ❍ bijgeval *by chance (can be regarded a synonym to maybe/perhaps)*
- ❍ even **even = equally, even / for a while, momentarily (Frisian: even, e(e)fkes)*
- ❍ I am not familiar with the word "faaks".

multiple answers possible

The potential answer patterns are:

(a) All given variants, excluding the ones with a different meaning, are equally popular;
(b) Preference for one (or more) variant(s), accepting the other (ones) as well.

Due to multiple different options within one question, a perfect mirror image of the positive and negative variant of the question, namely 'Preference for one variant, rejecting the other (mirror image; cf. scenario b in par. 6.3.1) is unlikely to occur. It may occasionally occur for a particular variant, but we are particularly interested in relevant, recurring patterns, and less so in all potential occurrences.

6.4 Results

In this section, we will present the results for two types of multiple-choice questions, by looking at the (non)complementarity of positively and negatively worded questions and various patterns involved (cf. par. 6.3.1 and 6.3.2). Section 6.4.1 is devoted to questions allowing only one answer, while section 6.4.2 shows the outcomes for the questions with multiple answers possible.

6.4.1 Single response option (pick 1/n)

The linguistic questions worded in a positive or a negative way show a similar asymmetrical response behavior to the opinion questions examined in sociological studies. In case of the single response option, the participants always showed a preference for one of the two variants they could choose from, thus discarding the first of our hypothesized outcome patterns (par. 6.3.1). Our second pattern - preference for one variant, rejecting the other - was not very common either, but rather an exception, of which we have found one example in our data (see Table 6.1). In that particular case, the number of respondents who chose for one of the two given variants in case of the positive wording, and the number of respondents who rejected the other one in the negative version of the question were nearly equal, thus showing a mirror image.

Table 6.1: Preference for one variant, rejecting the other (mirror image).

A:	**dat liket my in goede saak *(-)***	'that *seems* like a good idea [to me]'
	[NL dat *lijkt* mij/me een goede zaak][52]	
B:	**dat *liket* my in goede saak *ta***	'that *seems* like a good idea [to me]'

n(pf)* = 227; n(nf) = 243	**A = correct**	**both correct**	**B = correct****
positive formulation	37%	39%	24%
negative formulation	30%	43%	26%

* *pf - positive formulation;*
nf - negative formulation.

** *Dark fill indicates the standard Frisian variant, light the Dutch one. Note that the results from the two types of questions have been aligned in order to make their implications more easily comparable. The 'correctness' of e.g. variant A in the second row with the 'negative formulation' was expressed by rejecting variant B, etc.*

The third and the last of our hypothesized patterns turned out to be most common (Table 6.2): the respondents generally had a preference for one of the two variants in the positively worded question, but accepted both as correct Frisian in de negative version. There was no general preference for Frisian variants that differ from, nor variants similar to Dutch. Either of them could be preferred in spoken Frisian, as illustrated by the two examples in Table 6.2.

52 The Dutch equivalent is given directly under the Frisian variant most similar to it. The other one of the two Frisian variants differs from Dutch and can therefore be regarded as typical Frisian.

Table 6.2: Preference for one variant but accepting the other as well.

2a

A:	**ik ha(w)** ***it net oan tiid***	'I don't have time for this'
B:	**ik ha(w)** ***gjin tiid***	'I have *no time*'
	[NL Ik heb geen tijd]	

n(pf) = 245; n(nf) = 265	**A = correct**	**both correct**	**B = correct**
positive formulation	36%	51%	13%
negative formulation	19%	70%	11%

2b

C:	**ik ha(w)** ***der*** **50**	'I have 50 *of them*'
	[NL Ik heb *er* 50]	
D:	**ik ha(w)** ***(-)*** **50**	'I have 50 [of them]'

n(pf) = 258; n(nf) = 219	**C = correct**	**both correct**	**D = correct**
positive formulation	48%	32%	20%
negative formulation	28%	43%	29%

Two of the three hypothesized outcome patterns (par. 6.3.1) have been confirmed by the results and one of them has been discarded. However, our data show two different patterns we had not anticipated for. Both of them resemble the most common pattern, with the respondents showing a preference for one of the variants, but accepting the other as well. However, in some cases, an unexpectedly high rejection rate of the positively preferred variant has been observed in the negatively worded version of the question, meaning that it actually exceeded the positive preference rate for the competing one. As a result, the positively preferred variants seem to lose their preferred status in the negative version of the question, as shown in Table 6.3. All of these variants were the ones showing similarities to Dutch.

Table 6.3: Relatively high rejection rate of the positively preferred variant in the negatively formulated question.

3a

A:	**(…) is der net, *dus* jo moatte wachtsje**	'(…) is not present, *so* you have to wait'
	[NL (…) is er niet, dus u moet wachten	
B:	**(…) is der net, *dat* jo moatte wachtsje**	'(…) is not present, *so* you have to wait'

n(pf) = 245; n(nf) = 229	**A = correct**	**both correct**	**B = correct**
positive formulation	49%	24%	27%
negative formulation	32%	29%	39%

3b

C:	**it liket my in goed idee (ta) *om ôf te praten***	'it seems like a good idea *to meet*'
	[NL het lijkt mij/me een goed idee *om af te spreken*]	
D:	**it liket my in goed idee (ta) *en praat wat ôf***	'it seems like a good idea *and let's meet'*

n(pf) = 220; n(nf) = 261	**C = correct**	**both correct**	**D = correct**
positive formulation	65%	26%	9%
negative formulation	34%	38%	28%

The second of the unanticipated scenarios is in fact an extreme version of the previous one and shows even stronger rejection of the preferred form. The main difference with most of the previous examples are the fairly low scores for 'both correct'. The rejection rates for both of the given variants are about 40-50%, thus showing a nearly 50-50 distribution (cf. Table 6.4). This suggests that the respondents, on average, could not say which variant was actually correct according to the Frisian standard, even though they clearly knew what variant they would use themselves as they had quite a strong preference for one of them.

Table 6.4: High rejection rate for both variants.

4a

A:	**sy is folle âlder as/dan *him***	'she is much older than *him*'
B:	**sy is folle âlder as/dan *hy***	'she is much older than *he* [is]'
	[NL zij is veel ouder dan *hij*]	

n(pf) = 229; n(nf) = 245	**A = correct**	**both correct**	**B = correct**
positive formulation	68%	10%	21%
negative formulation	51%	6%	43%

4b

C:	**myn broer hie wurk yn de horeka *socht*** 'my brother had *searched* for a job in hospitality'
	[NL mijn broer had werk in de horeca *gezocht*]
D:	**myn broer hie wurk yn de horeka *sike*** 'my brother had *searched* for a job in hospitality'

n(pf) = 223; n(nf) = 262	**C = correct**	**both correct**	**D = correct**
positive formulation	88%	5%	6%
negative formulation	53%	7%	40%

Although the preferred variant was not always similar to Dutch - as in the previous scenario -, the results are arguably related to language contact with Dutch and differences between Standard and spoken Frisian. Example 4a in Table 6.4 shows a very common construction in Frisian (similar to English): *sy is folle âlder **as/dan him*** [object pronoun; emphatic use] 'she is much older **than him**', which is correct in Standard Frisian and even the preferred normative variant. Standard Dutch, on the other hand, chooses a subject pronoun in this position: *zij is veel ouder **dan hij***. However, many Dutch speakers tend to use an object pronoun in colloquial speech as well, which is considered to be wrong according to the Dutch normative Standard. While speakers of Frisian are familiar with the latter, they are, due to the limited education, less familiar with Standard Frisian. Accordingly, they are unsure whether Frisian follows the same grammar rule as Dutch here and thus do not know which variant is actually considered to be correct. The second example shown in Table 6.4 (4b) includes the past participle of a strong verb *sykje* 'to search': *socht* 'searched'. If *sykje* were a weak verb, its past participle would be *sike*, following the Frisian inflection rule for the second class of weak verbs (ending in *-je*; absent in Dutch). Because of a limited knowledge of the standard, speakers of Frisian do not know whether *sykje* is (officially/normatively) a strong or a weak verb. The fact that *socht* is similar to Dutch (gezocht) may strengthen the uncertainty. The weak past participle *sike* is an existing, but rather uncommon variant (attested in Hindeloopen Frisian and in the recording from Echten; Goeman, Taeldeman and Van Reenen 2003).

6.4.2 Multiple response options (pick any/n)

Questions allowing multiple response options show the same tendency as the questions allowing only one answer: the respondents had a rather positive attitude towards multiple linguistic variants, meaning that they were not too keen on rejecting any of them. However, as in case of the previous question category (par. 6.4.1), factors as (dis)similarity to Dutch equivalents or one's familiarity with various words/constructions could affect the respondents' attitude. For most of the variants tested, informants were more tolerant towards various options in

case of the negatively worded question than in the positively worded one. Only in case of variants that are highly favored (>65% chosen in the positive question), the preference (positive question) and rejection (negative question) rates were often complementary (with a deviation of 0-10%), as we will demonstrate below.

As in the previously discussed category of questions (single response option; 4.1), equal popularity between different variants was rare. Only one item was close to such a scenario, namely the different variants of the verb 'to squabble' (cf. Table 6.5).

Table 6.5: Equal popularity, equal acceptance.

'To squabble'				
A bekfjochtsje	[Dutch: bekvechten]			
B hakketakje	[Dutch: hakketakken]			
C tsiere				
D kreauwe				
n(pf)* = 243 ; n(nf) = 264	**A = correct**	**B = correct**	**C = correct**	**D = correct****
positive formulation	42%	42%	39%	16%
negative formulation	68%	70%	64%	54%

12% accepted all forms in the negative version of the question.

* *pf - positive formulation;*
nf - negative formulation.

* *Blue color indicates the standard Frisian variants.*[53] *In this case, all of the given words are considered standard Frisian, but some of them are similar to Dutch and can therefore be confused with loanwords.*

Note that the results from the two types of questions have been aligned in order to make their implications more easily comparable. The 'correctness' of e.g. variant A in the second row with the 'negative formulation' was expressed by rejecting one or more other variants, or by indicating that all of the given variants are correct, etc.

Three of the given variants of the verb 'to squabble' show nearly identical preference and acceptance rates. Note that the acceptance rates through 'not rejecting' in the negatively formulated questions are higher, which is in line with the observations from sociological studies. The fourth one, *kreauwe*, is regionally bound (the Klaaifrysk 'Clay Frisian' area, roughly the North-Western part of Fryslân) and, thus, not widely known, which can possibly explain its lower preference and acceptance. Nonetheless, these results show that multiple (well-known) linguistic variants can be equally popular. In most cases, however, speakers have a clear preference for one or two variants as shown in Table 6.6.

53 In tables 6.9 and 6.10, blue color indicates the right (Dutch) translation of the Frisian word.

Table 6.6: Preference for two variants, accepting the others as well.

Different ways to say 'It keeps raining'.		
A It reint mar troch.		[Dutch: Het regent maar door.] 'It won't stop raining.'
B It bliuwt mar reinen.	*loan-construction*	[Dutch: Het blijft maar regenen.] 'It keeps [*bliuwt* = stays] raining.'
C It bliuwt wiet.		'It remains wet.'
D It hâldt oan mei reinen.		'It keeps [*hâldt oan* = keeps] raining.'

n(pf) = 244; n(nf) = 229	A = correct	B = correct	C = correct	D = correct
positive formulation	77%	75%	52%	36%
negative formulation	85%	86%	86%	67%

47% accepted all forms in the negative version of the question.

Despite of the preference for two variants, A and B, in the positively worded question, all of the options in Table 6.6 seem to be acceptable when asked whether to reject them. The fourth variant is less common in spoken Frisian, which is reflected by both a bit lower preference and acceptance.

Multiple choice questions can also help pinpoint less common variants (e.g. *in bult* for 'many, a lot') and hardly ever used (*in heap* for 'many, a lot', c.f. Table 6.7). Their popularity appears to be very low (<10%) and the rejection rate is higher compared to the other variants, although the respondents' judgment is always more favorable towards the given variants if the question is worded negatively.

Table 6.7: Low popularity, low acceptance.

'Many, a lot'		
A in soad		
B in protte		
C folle	*loanword*	[Dutch: veel]
D in bult		
E in heap		

n(pf) = 245; n(nf) = 265	A = correct	B = correct	C = correct	D = correct	E = correct
positive formulation	76%	71%	25%	9%	1%
negative formulation	89%	89%	66%	59%	22%

3% accepted all forms in the negative version of the question.

As in case of questions allowing only one answer, some distribution patterns are unexpected and arguably the result from language contact between Frisian and Dutch (Table 6.8-6.10). Different variants for 'horrible, terrible' (Table 6.8) are a good example of such a pattern.

Table 6.8: Differences and similarities between Frisian and Dutch: case 1.

'Horrible, terrible'
A ferskriklik [Dutch: verschrikkelijk]
B ôfgryslik
C freeslik [Dutch: vreselijk]
D ferskuorrend

n(pf) = 229; n(nf) = 245	A = correct	B = correct	C = correct	D = correct
positive formulation	66%	35%	29%	18%
negative formulation	74%	84%	67%	78%

28% accepted all forms in the negative version of the question.

The respondents seemed to have a positive preference for *ferskriklik*. The other variants are quite well-known and generally accepted as well, but their respective acceptance rates show differences. All of the words in Table 6.8 are Frisian, meaning that they are not (recent) loanwords. However, two of them are similar to their Dutch equivalents, while the other ones are not. The variants corresponding to Dutch (*ferskriklik* and *freeslik*) meet a slightly higher rejection, even though one of them (*ferskriklik*) appears to be the preferred variant in spoken Frisian. Its similarity to Dutch causes doubts regarding its origin and correctness. The variants that differ from Dutch (*ôfgryslik* and *ferskuorrend*), on the other hand, "feel" somewhat more Frisian, regardless of their popularity.

Similar results could be found for questions where respondents were asked to indicate whether listed multiple Dutch variants matched the meaning of one Frisian word (instead of the other way around; see also par. 6.3.2), as in the case of the verb *harkje* 'to listen, hark' (cf. Table 6.9). Besides *harkje*, Frisian has another verb meaning 'to listen', namely *lústerje*, which is more common and matches its Dutch equivalent *luisteren* in both form and meaning. The variant *harkje*, on the other hand, matches the Dutch verb *harken* formally but shares only one of its two meanings: Frisian *harkje* and Dutch *harken* have a shared meaning 'to rake [e.g. dead leaves]', but the meaning 'to listen' is confined to the Frisian verb only, which makes it more complicated and, potentially, more challenging for the bilingual speaker of Frisian and Dutch.

Table 6.9: Differences and similarities between Frisian and Dutch: case 2.

Frisian: *harkje* 'to listen & to rake'		
[Dutch translation]		
A luisteren	'to listen'	[Frisian: also *lústerje*, besides *harkje*]
B harken	'to rake'	
C *hurken	'to crouch, squat'	
D *inkleuren	'to colorize'	

n(pf) = 243; n(nf) = 228	**A = correct**	**B = correct**	**C = correct**	**D = correct**	**Unfamiliar with *harkje***
positive formulation	98%	17%	0%	0%	0%
negative formulation	94%	40%	10%	9%	1%

1% accepted all forms in the negative version of the question.

The results show that virtually all respondents are familiar with the Frisian *harkje* as of 'to listen', even if they would probably say *lústerje* in everyday life[54]. They were also right by rejecting the Dutch translations *hurken* and *inkleuren*, which have an entirely different meaning (see also par. 6.3.2). However, only 40% of the respondents did not reject *harken* 'to rake', whereas even fewer opted for this meaning in the positively worded question (17%). One reason for this may be the fact that Frisian also has another verb for 'to rake', namely *klauwe*. While *harkje* is mostly used in the western part of Fryslân (40% of the speakers; Van der Veen et al. 1991), *klauwe* is more spread-out across the province and thus quite common in both western and eastern part (60% of the speakers). Notwithstanding, *harkje* still covers a vast area in the traditional dialectal distribution, so it is unlikely that all Frisians who say *klauwe* are unfamiliar with its synonym *harkje*. Considering our earlier outcomes, which show that respondents generally tend to accept the given variants, even less common ones, it is also quite improbable that all the "*klauwe*-speakers" (60%) would reject *harkje* (60% of the respondents rejected *harkje* in the meaning of 'to rake'). The aforementioned dialect research conducted by the Fryske Akademy dates from the previous century and the distribution of *harkje* and *klauwe* may have changed since then. *Harkje* may have become less common, but that is a speculation. The rejection of the meaning of *harkje* as 'to rake' may result from language contact, as in case of other tested variants. While virtually all Frisians know that *harkje* means 'to listen' (=difference with Dutch) - which is possibly affected by Omrop Fryslân (the provincial broadcaster in the Frisian language) - *harkje* as 'to rake' may feel too Dutch (*harken*) to be correct.

54 Based on general observations and knowledge of the experts in Frisian linguistics, not on the results of this research.

Unlike the not too frequently used, but still well-known Frisian word *harkje,* another Frisian word, *faaks* 'maybe' (Table 6.10), seems no longer be recognized by the speakers. *Faaks* is a synonym for the commonly used *miskien* (similar to Dutch: *misschien* 'maybe, perhaps'). However, in form, it strongly resembles the word *faak*, which has a different meaning: 'often'.

Table 6.10: Differences and similarities between Frisian and Dutch: case 3.

Frisian: *faaks* 'maybe, perhaps'		
[Dutch translation]		
A *vaak	'often'	[Frisian: *faak*]
B misschien	'maybe, perhaps'	[Frisian: also *miskien*, besides *faaks*]
C bijgeval	'by chance (synonym)'	
D *even	'for a while, momentarily'	

n(pf) = 265; n(nf) = 245	**A = correct**	**B = correct**	**C = correct**	**D = correct**	**Unfamiliar with faaks**
positive formulation	59%	25%	17%	2%	8%
negative formulation	72%	55%	55%	47%	6%

11% accepted all forms in the negative version of the question.

Most respondents seem to presume that *faaks* may just be a (dialect) variant of *faak* 'often'.[55] The negatively worded version of the question leads to rather random guesses (+/- 50%), whereby none of the given options are rejected by the majority of the respondents. The fact that Frisian *faak,* unlike *faaks*, corresponds to the Dutch *vaak,* both formally and semantically, may contribute to the loss of *faaks* and its original meaning.

6.5 Discussion

In accordance with previous findings from social sciences, and with our expectations, the outcomes of the current socio-linguistic study show that positive and negative questions are generally not complementary. This is true for both question categories, respectively allowing only one answer and multiple answers, and, accordingly, for the two types of negation applied in these categories: negative questions formulated by means of polar opposition (right <→ wrong/odd), as well as by negation (right <→ not right). As expected, our respondents show a rather positive attitude towards different linguistic (dialect and other) variants in the Frisian language. They do tend to favor some words or constructions above the others (positive question), but rarely choose to reject the less popular ones by

55 In fact, *faaks* is also known to be pronounced as *faak*, but its meaning remains 'maybe' (Frysk Wurdboek 2008). It seems that this meaning is not widely known anymore, irrespective of the pronunciation variant.

marking them as wrong/odd or not right in the negatively worded version of the question (the sentence *dat liket my in goede saak (ta)* 'that seems like a good idea [to me]' is the only exception; Table 6.1).

By combining a positively and negatively worded version of a question within a (linguistic) study, one can obtain knowledge that would otherwise not be easily available. The reason for this is that the two question versions provide different kinds of information. Positive questions generally indicate which of the given variants is the preferred one within the speech community (in our case the active speakers of Frisian in the province of Fryslân) and, presumably, also the most frequent one. As the respondents are asked to give their judgment about various linguistic forms, not to indicate what they would say themselves, they are likely to select one(s) they would either use personally, or one(s) they frequently hear in everyday life. A positive question is thus sufficient to know which of the variants is the preferred/most common linguistic form. However, it provides no information about the other variant(s), except that they are generally less popular (that can vary for different regions) than the most favored one. In case of questions testing language knowledge (in our case translation from Frisian into Dutch), a positive question will only indicate whether the respondents are familiar with a particular word (= the right translation). That may be sufficient for the research purpose, but the results of the negatively worded version of the question can provide additional information (see also Table 6.10). Negative questions, namely, provide information about acceptance of different forms and, to some extent, also about language knowledge of the respondents by revealing their [un]familiarity with different variants. Accordingly, combining both question types within a study can give more insight into actual properties of various words and grammatical constructions in a contemporary language.

While this method provides information about general language knowledge in a speech community, it is arguably less suitable for testing individual proficiency (since one person would be asked the same questions in two ways, which would be rather confusing) or for small studies including only a couple of respondents (two representative population samples are needed in order to get reliable results).

As mentioned before, speakers tend to accept multiple variants in a language, even if these are not frequently used. Some Frisian variants, however, got rejected by quite a lot of respondents, like the verb *kreauwe* 'to squabble' (Table 6.5). This is not very surprising, since *kreauwe* is a dialect form, restricted to a particular area. For some other variants, however, the rejection rate was higher than anticipated, resulting in unexpected outcome scenarios, arguably related to a particular linguistic situation: language contact and a limited knowledge of the Frisian standard, which differs in some points from spoken Frisian. Speakers are often

not sure which variants are normatively accepted Frisian and which are considered to be Dutch interferences (see par. 6.1.1). Additionally, they are not always familiar with the (normative) grammar rules of Frisian. Even if they choose to use the normatively right variant in the positively formulated questions, they are not sure about its correctness, as evinced by sometimes unexpectedly high rejection rates of the positively preferred variants or the reverse: surprisingly low rejection rates of in fact only marginal variants. The conjugation of the verb *sykje* 'to search' (in the sentence *my brother had searched for a job in hospitality*) is here a good example (Table 6.4). By asking both a positive and a negative question, we have discovered that virtually all Frisians will conjugate it correctly, but that they are not familiar with the standard Frisian rules regarding verb conjugation. In such a case, where the respondents do not know the right answer, they tend to pick one at random. Besides *sykje*, there were more items the respondents had doubts about, e.g. *him* or *hy* 'him' (Table 6.4) or the meaning of the Frisian word *faaks* 'maybe' (Table 6.10). While language contact clearly stimulates frequent borrowing of words and constructions from Dutch and casts doubts about the correctness of various linguistic forms in Frisian, borrowings and other forms that can be identified with Dutch are not always the preferred variants, which points at a varying borrowability of different words and constructions.

The research results bring up some issues for future study, like the formulation of the negatively worded version of the question. In this study, question pairs based on negation and polar opposition show similar patterns with regard to correlation between the positive and negative version of the question. However, this does not mean that the answers *not right* and *wrong/odd* truly are interchangeable. More research is required to examine the relationship between negation and polar opposition, particularly with regard to (socio)linguistic research. While in social sciences, negative questions formulated by polar opposition or negation may not be experienced as having the same meaning (e.g. *forbid* ≠ *not allow*), it might be different in case of semantics. For example, stating that the Dutch word *inkleuren* 'to colorize' (Frisian: ynkleurje) is not the right word for the Frisian *harkje* 'to listen/rake' (cf. Table 6.9) would be equivalent to stating that *inkleuren* is a wrong word for *harkje*, although not every participant may share this experience. In case of our polar opposition, the term *odd* has been used besides *wrong*. The reason for this choice was the assumption that many Frisians would not dare to state that something is wrong because of their limited knowledge of the Frisian standard. In that case, *odd* can be a better indication of a word or grammatical construction that in one's opinion does not belong in (spoken) Frisian. In a future study, it would be interesting to see whether it actually works that way.

Besides the relationships between negation and polar opposition, there are more implications for future research. In the current examination, positive and negative questions have been tested on L1 speakers of Frisian, but this method is also likely to work in research on L2 language use, differences between L1 and L2 and various types of bi- and multilingualism in general. However, its effect may differ for (closely) related languages (like Frisian and Dutch) and between languages that are (very) different. Furthermore, additional research is needed in order to find out whether cultural diversity may result in different reactions to positive and negative questions and if so, whether it can also affect language awareness and choices.

6.6 Conclusion

This study provides evidence with respect to the application of positively and negatively formulated multiple-choice questions as a new survey method in (socio)linguistic research. While confirming the earlier findings that such questions are generally not complementary and that test respondents are inclined to agree with positive (agree that something is right) rather than with negative questions (agree that something is not right/wrong), our results suggest that this difference can be used advantageously by combining both types of questions within the same study. The positive question, where a group of respondents are asked to indicate which of the given items - in our case words or grammatical constructions - is/are right, will reveal the preferred and/or most common linguistic variant. The negative question, on the other hand, where another group of randomly chosen respondents are asked to select items that are not right/wrong, will give information about their acceptance, but also about the informants' language knowledge. Accordingly, a combination of both positively and negatively worded questions will provide information about language properties by exposing the preference, acceptance and, to some extent, knowledge within a speech community. Additionally, based on the results from bilingual speakers of Frisian and Dutch, we are led to the conclusion that this method can give more insight into particular linguistic situations, such as language contact. In case of the Frisian-speaking community, it sheds more light on the (bilingual) knowledge of Frisian as a minority language, which seems to be strongly related to the knowledge of the national language, Dutch. Differences and similarities between the two languages, as well as limited knowledge of and uncertainty about the Frisian Standard, appear to play an important role in linguistic choices of the speakers.

While revealing a lot of information, the results of the current study open up space for future research, like the application of positive and negative questions in a study on L2, possible differences in answer patterns for related and not (closely) related languages, and also across various cultures and their languages. Finally, the relationship between negative questions formulating by negation and polar opposition, especially with regard to (socio)linguistic research, deserves a future study.

7 Summary and general discussion

The overall aim of this thesis was to provide general information about the use of and variation in spoken Frisian, in contrast with the established standard and against the background of the Dutch-Frisian bilingualism. The (West) Frisian Standard language is well described in terms of dictionaries (Zantema 1984; Visser 1985; Tiersma 1999; Popkema 2006; Duijff et al. 2008; Wurdboek fan de Fryske taal [WFT] 1984-2011) and grammars (Tiersma 1999; Popkema 2006; [online] Taalportaal and Taalweb), whereas the spoken language has either been studied from the perspective of the tradition-oriented dialectology (Hof 1933; Van der Veen et al. 1991; Goeman et al. 2003) or from a normative perspective, labelling non-standard forms of Frisian as 'interference' or even 'bad' Frisian (*Min-Frysk*) (e.g. Sjölin 1976, Breuker et al. 1984; De Haan 1997) and focusing on 'errors'. This thesis aimed to consider spoken Frisian in its entirety, acknowledging traditional diatopic variation and speakers' exposure to Dutch in nearly every aspect of daily life, as well as different levels of knowledge of the written Frisian standard language as sources for in-group variation. For that goal, an extended online multiple-choice questionnaire has been designed, including multiple lexical and grammatical items. The questionnaire was implemented into the fourth sociological survey in Fryslân (*Taal yn Fryslân, de folgjende generaasje* 'Language in Fryslân, the next generation'; Klinkenberg et al. 2018) and completed by approximately 3.700 participants, of whom 3.000 declared themselves to be Frisian speaking. Subsequently, in-depth interviews with about 250 speakers - a subgroup of the participants who had completed the online questionnaire - were recorded and analyzed. In this dissertation, four different subjects have been presented, based on the outcomes of the online questionnaire and/or the interviews. While varying in nature, all of the subjects contribute to better knowledge and understanding of spoken Frisian and the Frisian speaking society. In this final chapter, we will give a brief summary of the previous sections (par. 7.1) - the overall information about this research project and the four studies included in this dissertation -, as well as general conclusions based on the four studies, implications for future research and some practical recommendations (7.2).

7.1 Overview and main conclusions of the chapters

Chapter 2 is an introduction to this PhD project as a sub-element of the fourth sociological survey in Fryslân, conducted by the Fryske Akademy (Klinkenberg et al. 2018). Our research follows an innovative approach and, therefore, deserves special attention. Its theme follows the tradition of the previous surveys (Pietersen 1967; Gorter et al. 1984; Gorter & Jonkman 1995), focusing on the Frisian language and including four main subjects: language background, language proficiency,

language behavior and language attitude. The methodology, however, is slightly different. First, personal interviews with research participants, as conducted in the other surveys, were replaced by an online questionnaire. At a later stage of the project, the results of the questionnaire were supplemented by the outcomes of an in-depth interview with a smaller (sub)group of Frisian-speaking participants. Another difference, compared to the previous surveys, was the introduction of a linguistic component designed in the context of this PhD project. The two complementing studies, the sociological and (socio)linguistic one, were conducted simultaneously on the same participants, ensuring that all linguistic analyses could be supplemented by background information provided by the sociological inquiry or the other way around.

Similar to the fourth sociological survey in Fryslân, the PhD project was largely based on an online questionnaire. Its purpose was to provide information about the use of and the rich variation in spoken Frisian, as opposed to the (written) Standard. Due to its wide focus on the many aspects of Frisian, the design of the questionnaire was quite complex and required an extensive literature study, expertise from colleagues in the field of Frisian linguistics and testing. The selected topics represent the important sources of variation within spoken Frisian, such as dialect (and other) variation and language contact with Dutch (resulting in numerous loan words and constructions, in the Frisian context generally known as *ynterferinsjes* 'interferences'; e.g. Sjölin 1976; Breuker et al. 1984; De Haan 1997, 1998) and are described in detail in chapter 2: vocabulary, "Frisian phenomena" (grammatical features characteristic for Frisian in comparison to Dutch), dialect variation, lexical interferences and grammatical interferences.

Chapter 2 reflects the wide focus of the study and choices that have been made in order to include as many (socio)linguistic domains as possible and meet the initial plans and requirements. The applied design led to a massive and varied data collection, which confronted us with yet another challenge. It soon became clear that processing all the data within this project was an impossible task and that we would have to limit the study to a couple of topics, out of numerous possibilities. By selecting the topics (chapters 3-6), we made sure that they would contribute to the general understanding of the (socio)linguistic landscape in Fryslân, while broadly reflecting on the findings and suggesting possibilities for future research. The afore-planned comparison between the outcomes of the four sociological surveys in Fryslân, as mentioned in chapter 2, has not (yet) been conducted due to time constraints encountered during the projects (sociological survey and PhD project).

In **chapter 3**, we investigated differences between L1 and L2 speakers, and between speakers representing different proficiency levels. For Frisian, this is a relevant topic as approximately one third of all speakers are second language speakers,

which in itself is an expression of its sociological strength and relevance. The L2 speakers shape the language alongside the native speakers, but their contribution to Frisian language use may differ and has never been investigated before. Many researchers have highlighted substantial differences in language proficiency between native and non-native speakers, with the former outperforming the latter (e.g. Hyltenstam 1992; Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson 2000; Bialystok 2001; Clahsen and Felser 2006; Clahsen et al. 2010; Ellis and Sagarra 2010). However, other studies show that a non-native speaker can achieve a native-like proficiency (e.g. Birdsong 1992; White and Genesee 1996; Bongaerts 1999; Montrul and Slabakova 2001; Angelovska and Hahn 2009; Jegerski 2016). What is the 'truth' and why do various researchers contradict each other? Judging by the discrepancy in the outcomes, we assume that a substantial variation among both native and non-native speakers, their language backgrounds and environments, as well as language elements investigated in various studies, can be held responsible for the contradictive findings. In case of (West) Frisian and its speakers, one has to take into account factors such as language background and environment, as well as similarities between Frisian and Dutch. Additionally, all speakers of Frisian are involved in a language contact situation, which strengthens this linguistic interaction. Our study explicitly focuses on (L1 and L2) bilingual speakers of these two linguistically related languages (cf. Dijkstra 2013), who vary in proficiency levels. The participants completed an online sociological inquiry, providing us with background information, and information about their language use, particularly about different words and grammatical constructions that may or may not be affected by Dutch (Frisian words/constructions or Dutch "interferences", as described in chapter 2).

The outcomes show that all participants representing self-reported lower proficiency levels tend to use more borrowings from Dutch than the highly proficient respondents, irrespective of their language background (L1 and L2). They may also occasionally use divergent form variants. One's proficiency in Frisian is thus one of the factors affecting the amount of 'interferences' in spoken Frisian. Language background is the other important factor as our results indicate that there definitely are differences between L1 and L2 speakers. This does not mean, however, that a non-native speaker is unable to reach a native-like proficiency[56]. The differences we found do not apply to all domains of the language, or apply to them to a different extent. This implies that focusing in a study on some linguistic domains would not necessarily show any (significant) differences and could (partially) explain the contradictive results of the previously mentioned research on L2. Since non-native speakers often rely on Standard Frisian and/

56 In case of Frisian, native-like proficiency does not mean normative language use (cf. chapter 3).

or are convinced that anything similar to Dutch is wrong, they generally use fewer lexical borrowings from Dutch than native speakers do. However, no L1/L2 differences could be found in the use of grammatical interferences. On one hand, this suggests that Frisian grammar can pose more of a challenge to second-language speakers: they are able to largely eliminate lexical, but not the grammatical Dutch interferences from their language use, while arguably putting the same effort to correct themselves. On the other hand, the results indicate that L2 speakers can achieve a native-like proficiency, or even outperform native speakers (in case of Frisian vocabulary). We do point at an L1 advantage, however, as L1 speakers outperform L2 in cases where the latter cannot easily rely on their knowledge of Dutch (either in an explicit contrastive approach or by positive transfer), e.g. the (non)realization of the final *-n* in Frisian, which is allophonic in Dutch but grammatical in Frisian. L2 proficiency can thus be native-like, with a few differences which can be very hard to detect. Such differences will not always affect their performance and ability to express themselves in the same or a very similar way as native speakers would.

Besides the main findings, the outcomes of the study presented in chapter 3 show a wide variation in the use of borrowings from Dutch in spoken Frisian, whereby the popularity of some loanwords and loan constructions seems to be very low (for more information about borrowability and popularity/acceptance of 'Dutchisms', cf. respectively chapter 5 and 6).

In **chapter 4**, we looked into self-reported language use. Although wildly used in social sciences, research methods including self-reports are often criticized and are not believed to be fully reliable, which is also the case in the Frisian context (cf. De Haan 2010). Doubts regarding such methods are to be expected given multiple design challenges and disadvantages of survey research in general (e.g. Nunnally & Bernstein 1994) and the fact that various studies show contradictory results. Chapter 4 is our contribution to this subject, where pros and cons of self-reports in the Frisian context are investigated.

In the previous chapter of this dissertation, chapter 3, we operated on the assumption that self-reported proficiency provides a good indication of the actual abilities, even if not matching them entirely. Now, we delve further into self-reports, while focusing on the use of various linguistic items in spoken Frisian. The main focus is on various lexical and grammatical borrowings from Dutch, thus further contributing to the general knowledge of language use and contact in the Frisian/Dutch context. The two-step research method, an online questionnaire followed by an in-depth interview, allowed us to compare the self-indicated use of a number of words and constructions with the tested use of these items by means of a number of tasks, such as translation and picture naming tasks.

The results show that self-reported language use largely aligns with the tested use of various linguistic items, thus confirming that self-reports are quite valid in the Frisian context. However, we did find a couple of significant differences between the self-reported and tested language use and therefore can say that self-reports are more suitable for indicating general patterns and directions in a society than for a (detailed) study of personal performance. In general, various borrowings from Dutch occurred (slightly) more often during the interview than in the questionnaire, which suggests that speakers of Frisian consider standard Frisian variants to be better than Dutch loan words and constructions and preferred to use them in the questionnaire, where they had time to consider. In the more spontaneous speech situation of the interviews, on the other hand, they tend to use borrowings from Dutch more often than they would like to indicate. However, only a couple of these differences were actually statistically significant, which means that the participants were generally inclined to select the questionnaire option closely corresponding to their personal language use. Most differences between the self-reported and tested language use seem to result from uncertainty or deficiencies in the knowledge of Standard Frisian, such as the conjugation of the second class of weak verbs (non-existent in Dutch). However, the overall knowledge of the Frisian language, including its written standard form, should not be underestimated. Our participants frequently tried to adjust their language use by choosing more neutral Frisian variants instead of regional ones, and were able to correct themselves. Additionally, they often pointed out that they were familiar with various standard Frisian variants, but did not personally use them, e.g. colloquial Frisian *speeltún* 'playground' (Dutch: *speeltuin*) rather than Frisian *boarterstún*. As already concluded in chapter 3, the results show that the popularity of various "Dutchisms" and the corresponding standard Frisian variants may strongly vary and, additionally, that the choice for a Dutch loan word does not always result from the limited knowledge of Standard Frisian.

The third study of this dissertation, described in **chapter 5**, is devoted to an "unusual" grammatical borrowing from Dutch, namely irregular plurals; e.g. *da**a**k* 'roof' (short vowel) → *da**a**ken* 'roofs' (long vowel) instead of the regular form *da**k**ken* 'roofs' (short vowel). These plurals are formed by means of a vowel alternation (short → long), unlike their genuine Frisian equivalents, which are usually regular (identical stem form with a short vowel in both singular and plural). Although these are not commonly known or described borrowings from Dutch, we expect them to appear in spoken Frisian, similarly to other grammatical borrowings (cf. De Haan 1997), which may involve derivational processes (diminutive formation). Speakers generally tend to rely on linguistic similarities and analogical correspondences (e.g. Ringbom 2006, 2007; Otwinowska 2015; Bosma

et al. 2016) and therefore, we hypothesize that multiple factors can affect the borrowability of irregular plurals and, accordingly, the frequency of their occurrence in spoken Frisian. Besides analogical factors, frequency effects are known to play a role in language change, just as they did in case of the change of some historical Frisian plurals: from being irregular in the 16th century to displaying a fully regular formation in the contemporary Frisian (Versloot and Hoekstra 2019). For that reason, different factors are included in our study: form similarity between Frisian and Dutch in singular, strengthened by absolute frequencies ('analogical attraction'; Versloot and Hoekstra 2017), relative frequency of the plural, (alternation) type frequency and phonotactics (does the Dutch irregular plural form fit the Frisian phonotactics or not?).

The research data was collected during the interviews (second stage of the language survey), by means of a picture naming task. The participants were asked to name various objects, in either singular or plural. The selection of tested plurals was based on potential use of an irregular (Dutch) form as an alternative variant to the regular Frisian plural: 'roofs' (*daken* instead if *dakken*), 'ships' (*skepen* instead of *skippen*), 'padlocks' (*sloten* instead of *slotten*), 'holes' (*gaten* instead of *gatten*); or the other way around 'sheep' (morphologically regular *skiep(p)en/skapen*, based on Dutch *schapen* instead of the irregular Frisian plural form *skiep*). The results confirm that Dutch irregular plurals can occur in spoken Frisian and are, in fact, quite a common phenomenon (e.g. >50% of the participants used the irregular form *daken*). Their use is not random, but interdependent: there's a great chance that a speaker will use more than just one of them. However, as hypothesized, various factors play a role in the borrowability of irregular Dutch plurals. While the role of phonotactic aspects appears to be minimal, the alternation type frequency is decisive in terms of likeliness that a potential interference will occur in spoken Frisian. For example, the plural of 'holes' is unlikely to change from *gatten* (short vowel: regular formation) to *gaten* (long vowel: irregular formation) as the vowel in the singular (*gat*) is different in Frisian /ɔ/ than in Dutch /ɑ/, and the alternation type /ɔ/ → /a:/ - other than /ɑ/ → /a:/ - is non-existent in both languages.

Similar to what was shown in chapters 3 and 4, the results indicate that not all "Dutchisms" can easily be implemented into the Frisian vocabulary and grammar, and that their popularity may vary, based on language-systemic factors. Additionally, a couple of interesting observations concerning spoken Frisian were presented; e.g. regarding the pronunciation of short vowels.

In **chapter 6**, the most methodological one in this dissertation, we presented a research method based on positively and negatively worded survey questions. Such questions are shown not to be complementary - and thus giving different results - by Rugg and many researchers that came after him. In 1941, Rugg for-

mulated seemingly the same question in two different ways: ''Do you think the United States should forbid public speeches against democracy?" and "Do you think the Unites States should allow public speeches against democracy?". His respondents were inclined to disagree with the negative question (56%), rather than to agree with the positive one (25%), which means that 75% were against public speeches against democracy in case of the positively worded question and not more than 54% in case of its negative equivalent. While opposite wording usually appears in social sciences, we tested its utility and possible advantages in (socio)linguistics and, specifically, in the Frisian/Dutch context.

In the online linguistic questionnaire as a part of this project, numerous (multiple choice) questions were formulated in two opposite ways, positive and negative, and answered by two independent groups of participants. The questions themselves concerned variation in spoken Frisian, such as dialect variants and contact-induced language change (borrowings from Dutch), similarly to the other studies presented in this dissertation. Some questions allowed only one option (e.g. Which sentence is in your opinion right/wrong? 1) *Sy is folle âlder as/dan HIM* 'She is much older than HIM'; 2) *Sy is folle âlder as/dan HY* 'She is much older than HE (is)'; 3) Both sentences are right.), while the other ones allowed multiple answers (e.g. What is in your opinion (not) the right Frisian word for the Dutch "beginnen" ['to begin']*?* 1) *begjinne*; 2) *úteinsette*; 3) *oangean*; 4) *oantrúnje*; 5) All words are right[57]).

The two question types provided us with different outcomes, thus confirming the results of the previous studies in social sciences. Our participants generally tended to disagree with the negative questions (they were unwilling to admit that a language variant is wrong/not right), while giving a clear preference towards one (or more) of the given variants in case of the positive question. More importantly, our results show that these two types of questions, formulated in the opposite way, can provide new insights if combined and interpreted together within one study. The positively worded questions reveal the preferred/most commonly used variant(s) in the speech community. The negative questions, on the other hand, not only give information about acceptance of different language variants, but also about language knowledge of the participants. In this case, the non-complementarity proves advantageous by showing different patterns of interdependence and exposing uncertainty regarding correctness of different linguistic variants. In some cases, the participants found it difficult or were even nearly completely unable to point out which (of the given) variant(s) was/were not right (negative question; e.g. *socht*: 40% against *sike*: 53% 'searched, sought'), while the results of the positively worded question clearly show which one is the most common (e.g. *socht*: 88% against *sike* 6%). Accordingly, if combined

57 Option 5 is available in the negatively worded version of the question.

together, positively and negatively worded questions can broaden the measurement goal and provide information about preference, acceptance and, to some extent, knowledge of the speakers.

Besides the methodological findings, this study provides more information about the Frisian language and its speakers. The aforementioned uncertainty regarding correctness of different Frisian variants strongly corresponds to the outcomes of the other studies presented in this book. This uncertainty results not only from limited knowledge of Standard Frisian, but also from language contact and bilingualism in general. As mentioned before, bilingual speakers tend to rely on linguistic similarities. This can be advantageous in terms of language learning strategies, but creates doubts and confusion at the same time. For example, the Frisian variant *socht* 'searched, sought' is the strongly preferred one and virtually the only one used in Frisian. However, as it is very similar to the Dutch *gezocht*, it can easily be mistaken for a borrowing. The outcomes of other questions regarding various Frisian words and constructions show the same tendencies, whereby the participants' answers are often affected by (dis)similarity of the corresponding Dutch variants. However, as already suggested in the previous chapters, Dutch loan words/constructions and variants similar to Dutch are not automatically the preferred ones in spoken Frisian. On the contrary: the results show a lot of variation in language use and preference.

7.2 General findings and discussion

Although varying in subjects, the four studies presented in this dissertation all contribute to the knowledge about spoken Frisian, as well as to language use and knowledge of its speakers. The gathered information can be divided into following categories:

1) language vitality;
2) language knowledge;
3) language contact and variation;
4) survey landscape;
5) challenges and opportunities for the Frisian language.

The first category, language vitality, can easily be regarded the most important one as the other ones are all related to it. As opposed to the commonly researched components of language vitality in social sciences, e.g. language transfer, the extent of use in different fields, attitudes (for these and more socially related subjects, see the sociological part of the survey; Klinkenberg et al. 2018), we refer here to the core meaning of the word vitality, namely that of *strength* and *energy* as opposed to language attrition. While thinking and talking about the Frisian language, a few weaknesses and problems do come into mind, which are partly confirmed by our results. However, we prefer to see those as challenges:

with some effort, they can be turned into opportunities, as suggested by our fifth category (see above). Let us first see what results point towards the vitality of the Frisian language. They can be found in all studies included in this dissertation.

Despite the L1 advantages and differences between L1 and L2 shown in our first study (chapter 3), second-language proficiency of Frisian proved to be high, in many cases even native- or almost native-like. This is quite an important observation. While sociological studies on the Frisian language point at a slow, but gradual decrease of the number of L1 speakers, with Dutch playing an increasingly important role within Frisian households (although these results can be interpreted in terms of an ongoing shift towards bilingualism and bilingual mindset, rather than Frisian losing ground to Dutch; cf. Klinkenberg et al. 2018), the outcomes of our study show that second-language speakers can largely compensate that loss. Apparently, they have enough reasons and motivation to put a lot of effort into acquisition of the Frisian language (approximately one third of all speakers of Frisian are L2-speakers!) despite the fact that knowledge of Frisian is often not necessary from the practical point of view (L1 Frisians are bilingual). This alone points towards the vitality of the Frisian language and an overall feeling of its importance. Furthermore, L2-speakers of Frisian, with their ability to reach a (nearly) native-like proficiency, can be seen as a balancing element in the bilingual Frisian/Dutch landscape. On the one hand, more Frisians (inhabitants of Fryslân) learn Dutch as their first language, compared to decennia ago, when children learned Frisian first and acquired Dutch as their second language at school age. On the other hand, it became quite normal for monolingual speakers of Dutch to acquire Frisian as well and even "compete" with native speakers, given their native-like proficiency. In other studies presented in this dissertation, we have shown that both L1 and L2 speakers have a rather high language awareness, an ability to correct themselves and, in many cases, familiarity with standard Frisian words and constructions, even though they would not use those in everyday life (cf. chapter 4). Speakers of Frisian use numerous borrowings from Dutch. However, language contact and interaction between the two languages is quite a complex process involving different factors. Not all Frisian words can easily be replaced by their Dutch equivalents, nor become "Dutchisms" automatically the most common and preferred variants in spoken Frisian (cf. chapter 6). The borrowability of Dutch words strongly vary, meaning that not everything can (easily) be borrowed, as shown in chapter 5. Besides, borrowing from other languages is not a unique privilege of (endangered) minority languages. Overall, we can thus say that our results support the image of West Frisian as a highly vital language.

Our participants have showed language awareness, familiarity with numerous Standard Frisian words, and an ability to adjust and correct their language use and to consider different linguistic possibilities (as mentioned in chapter 5). This suggests that general knowledge (2) of Standard Frisian throughout the

society, although certainly not comparable with the knowledge of state languages, may actually be higher than generally anticipated (see also chapter 4). However, speakers of Frisian tend to doubt their language abilities. The existence of numerous borrowings from Dutch in spoken Frisian, but also the fact that Frisian and Dutch are linguistically similar, can lead to general uncertainty regarding one's language use and correctness of various linguistic forms. This counts for both L1 (cf. chapter 6) and L2 (chapter 3). L2 speakers tend to even deliberately avoid Dutch words in Frisian. They prefer to use Frisian variants that are different from their Dutch equivalents rather than cognates. The same linguistic similarities that cause quite a confusion for speakers of Frisian, prove to be advantageous in the L2 acquisition process. L1 advantage is particularly visible in case of linguistic features that are specific for the Frisian language, whereby second-language speakers cannot (easily) rely on their proficiency in Dutch (chapter 3). Otherwise, L2 speakers are able to achieve a (nearly) native-like proficiency, arguably (partly) due to linguistic similarities, which people are generally proven to rely on (see chapters 3, 5 and 6). In case of L1, correspondences between Frisian and Dutch can potentially be put into advantage as well by stimulating acquisition of various grammar rules in both languages at the same time and profiting from a double input in schools across Fryslân (cf. Stefan en Klinkenberg 2019).

The results of our studies give a lot of information about language contact and variation (3) in spoken Frisian. They confirm that a lot of linguistic variants used in an every-day conversation are lexical and grammatical borrowings from Dutch, resulting from language contact. These borrowings are commonly used in the language of both L1 and L2 speakers and often are an integral part of the language, learned during the (natural) acquisition process (as opposed to borrowing defined from a perspective of two contrastive standards). They do not always result from a limited knowledge of the Frisian Standard, but can also be a conscious choice of the speaker. In such a case, the speaker is familiar with the standard Frisian alternative to the commonly used borrowing, but does not choose to personally use it. The usual reason for that is considering that variant to be (too) old-fashioned, dignified or belonging to the written language. However, the popularity of various borrowings from Dutch varies as well, as do standard Frisian variants (see chapter 3). Loanwords and loan constructions are not always the first choice of the speakers and some are rather unpopular (chapter 3 and 6). In this respect, we can say that speakers of Frisian create their own language norm, which deserves further investigation. Besides differences in popularity of various "Dutchisms", there is also variation in their borrowability, which appears to be affected by a couple of language-internal factors (cf. chapter 5).

To summarize: the results of the presented studies do confirm the common appearance of various loanwords and loan constructions in spoken Frisian and its difference with regard to the Frisian standard, but also show that language contact is a complex process, whereby not everything is equally easily borrowed or accepted.

Bilingual society, language variation and contact are important factors making the province of Fryslân an interesting survey landscape (4) from both a sociological and a (socio)linguistic point of view, where quite a lot of research has been conducted in the last couple of decennia. So is *Language in Fryslân, the next generation* (Klinkenberg et al. 2018) - the study this PhD is linked to (see chapter 2) - the fourth large-scale sociological study conducted in Fryslân. This dissertation contributes to the Frisian survey landscape in two ways. The results of the linguistic inquiries presented in this book highlight a couple of characteristics of the Frisian language and society that give even more reasons for future studies: from learning strategies in case of closely related languages (chapter 3), language knowledge and linguistic choices of bilingual speakers (chapter 6) to different factors affecting borrowability of *ynterferinsjes* (Frisian: [Dutch] interferences; chapter 5). The other contribution to the survey landscape relates to sociological methodology that can be applied in (socio)linguistic research. The outcomes of the study presented in chapter 4 confirm that a survey method based on self-reports gives a fairly accurate picture of the reality, particularly of the general tendencies in the speech community. For a study on individual participants, such a method would be less suitable, but, although not fully accurate and therefore not preferred, could arguably be used as an indication as well if other methods are not available. In chapter 6, we introduce a survey methodology based on positively and negatively worded questions, showing how these can be used in (socio)linguistic research and what kind of information they would provide. Additionally, the various subjects presented in this dissertation, all related to the Frisian language and its speakers, indicate that Fryslân lends itself perfectly for diverse studies as a bilingual laboratory.

Besides countless sociological and (socio)linguistic research possibilities in Fryslân (some of them mentioned above), which, from the scholarly point of view, are a great opportunity, we can think of even more opportunities with regard to the Frisian language. These opportunities, however, are often accompanied by some challenges (5), whereby the main focus is usually on the latter in public discourse. Language contact is a good example here. In the Frisian/Dutch context, language contact is generally associated with borrowings from Dutch in spoken Frisian and therefore often seen exclusively as something negative, spoiling the quality of Frisian (*min Frysk* 'bad Frisian'; cf. chapter 2) and therefore posing a great danger to the Frisian language. While concerns about Frisian are fully

understandable and following the developments around this subject advisable, language contact, combined with the fact that Frisian and Dutch are linguistically related, can be put to an advantage as mentioned before. In our research on L2 Frisian (chapter 3) we have shown that the similarities between Frisian and Dutch can contribute to a successful language acquisition, even leading to a (nearly) native-like proficiency. Additionally, as already suggested, the correspondences as well as the systematic differences between Frisian and Dutch can be used to stimulate the simultaneous acquisition of both languages in primary schools (see also Stefan and Klinkenberg 2019). Language education can also play an important role in strengthening the speakers' confidence in their own abilities. Main focus on possible mistakes, usually related to language contact, is counterproductive and can potentially lead to more doubts, even in case of entirely correct Frisian variants (especially if they happen to resemble Dutch words; cf. chapter 6). While we do not imply that standard Frisian words and grammatical rules should not be taught (on the contrary), we do suggest that borrowings from Dutch should be put into the perspective of language variation and change, which is not good or bad, but simply a process that, to some extent, all world languages undergo and that can hardly be stopped or reversed. Seeing it this way and focusing on the advantages and opportunities instead of detriments may potentially be the biggest challenge for the Frisian(-speaking) society. And, as we have shown in our studies, there are quite a lot of assets that came to light, including high language awareness and abilities of the speakers to navigate between different options, and the fact that their knowledge of Standard Frisian may actually be higher than anticipated. Despite the challenges, Frisian is a very vital language and there is no evidence to suggest that this is going to change any time soon.

In the introduction chapters (chapters 1-2), we mentioned the broad theme of this PhD project and the choices we had to make along the way: not only during the instrument development, but also during the data analysis. We opted for a wide approach in order to generate a couple of key insights with regard to (spoken) Frisian and its speakers. This means that our data potential has not been fully tapped yet and, accordingly, that there are, besides the above mentioned options for future studies, many more research possibilities based on our (online) survey and interview data (alone or combined with new material), including dialect variation on a macro and micro level (cf. par. 2.4.2.3), various borrowings in (semi-)spontaneous speech (next to the selected items, triggered by language tasks; cf. chapters 4 and 5) and other (lexical, grammatical, phonological, phonetic or prosodic) shifts and innovations in spoken Frisian (see chapter 2 for an overview of the survey components). Fryslân is perfectly suitable for many kinds of research on bilingualism, L1 vs. L2, language contact, variation and change, as we have also demonstrated in this dissertation. At the same time, Frisian is a

minority language, which brings an even larger scale of research opportunities, e.g. use of (and also variation in) Frisian on social media, compared to other minority languages. However, we would like to point at the fact that Frisian is a minority language from the national perspective and that its situation may differ from that of many other minority languages in the world. In the province of Fryslân, Frisian is the mother tongue of the majority, despite the fact that the same majority is bilingual and, thus, that there are more people proficient in Dutch than in Frisian (speakers of Frisian can also speak Dutch, but not [necessarily] the other way around). Additionally, there are only limited legal restrictions to use the Frisian language in the province of Fryslân. On the contrary: Frisian receives a lot of support from both the national and local government and can be used in all situations. The limitations in the use of the Frisian language, particularly in official domains and in writing, are thus hardly caused by any form of restrictions or repression from the outside. The main reason for that can be found in the lacking necessity from the practical point of view, other than in case of the national language, Dutch, which is used throughout the whole country and therefore regarded as more important. In public and business communication, Frisian may be unwanted or even forbidden[58], which can be experienced as (highly) undesirable and disappointing for anyone committed to promoting and protecting the Frisian language. However, language is much more than a practical communication tool and the vitality of Frisian, as shown in our studies, confirms that. Proving the practical importance of the Frisian language does pose a challenge though as it can be difficult to support without any hard evidence as financial, cognitive or status-related advantages for those who acquire Frisian. Especially in case of a financial deficit, e.g. in education, Frisian will therefore not receive priority. Shifting the focus from stand-alone, competing languages, Frisian and Dutch, towards exploring and profiting from the opportunities of bilingualism and bilingual language acquisition (double input, as mentioned above) can offer a solution.

The general findings of the four studies presented in this dissertation can be summarized by answering our overarching research question as formulated in chapter 1. This question concerns the characteristics of spoken Frisian, as well as the speakers themselves, their knowledge and linguistic choices. While confirming the use of numerous (lexical and grammatical) borrowings from Dutch in the spoken variant of the West Frisian language, our results show that language contact is a complex process, whereby multiple factors are involved. Not only

58 Cf. Trouw 2007: https://www.trouw.nl/nieuws/friese-ouderen-mogen-geen-fries-praten-b70c9b76/?referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F (accessed September, 18th 2020); Leeuwarder Courant 2016: https://www.lc.nl/friesland/Fries-spreken-met-Belastingdienst-blijft-taboe-21317198.html (accessed September, 18th 2020).

can the borrowability of different Dutch words and constructions strongly vary, but also their popularity and acceptance among the speakers. With language knowledge and awareness actually exceeding the general assumptions, speakers of Frisian appear to make deliberate choices and adjust their language use to different interlocutors and situations. Accordingly, not all borrowings from Dutch in spoken Frisian result from limited knowledge of the standard language, although language knowledge surely matters and should be stimulated if Frisian wants to maintain its position in the longer run. Speakers representing lower proficiency levels, namely, tend to use a greater number of various borrowings from Dutch in their Frisian. The more proficient speakers use loanwords and loan constructions as well, but their choices and preferences are often clearly different due to more advanced knowledge and stronger linguistic feeling. This concerns not only native, but also L2 speakers of Frisian who are, in many cases, able to reach a (nearly) native-like proficiency.

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Appendix 1: Dependent groups

Item 1 Roofs

General results

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
ROOFS	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
dakken	29	**59%**	28	**57%**
daken	20	**41%**	21	**43%**
Total	49	100%	49	100%

Individual results and coherence

ROOFS	INTERVIEW	
QUESTIONNAIRE	dakken	daken
dakken	21	8
daken	7	13

p = 0.010

QUESTIONNAIRE	INTERVIEW
dakken 29	→ 21 (72%)
daken 20	→ 13 (65%)

Item 2 Entirely

General results

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
ENTIRELY	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
h(i)elendal	18	**90%**	13	**65%**
helemaal	2	**10%**	7	**35%**
Total	20	100%	20	100%

Individual results and coherence

ENTIRELY	INTERVIEW	
QUESTIONNAIRE	h(i)elendal	helemaal
h(i)elendal	13	5
helemaal	0	2

QUESTIONNAIRE	INTERVIEW
h(i)elendal 18	→ 13 (72%)
helemaal 2	→ 2 (100%)

Item 3 Butter milk

General results

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
BUTTER MILK	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
sûpe	48	**98%**	42	**86%**
karnemelk	1	**2%**	7	**14%**
Total	49	100%	49	100%

p = 0.029

Individual results and coherence

BUTTER MILK	INTERVIEW	
QUESTIONNAIRE	sûpe	karnemelk
sûpe	42	6
karnemelk	0	1

QUESTIONNAIRE	INTERVIEW
sûpe 48	→ 42 (88%)
karnemelk 1	→ 1 (100%)

Item 4 [he/she] Hoped

General results

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW		
[YOU] HOPED	Frequency	**Percent**	**[HE/SHE] HOPED**	Frequency	**Percent**
hopest	5	**56%**	hope	4	**44%**
hooptest	4	**44%**	hoopte	5	**56%**
Total	9	100%		9	100%

Individual results and coherence

HOPED	INTERVIEW	
QUESTIONNAIRE	hope	hoopte
hopest	2	3
hooptest	2	2

QUESTIONNAIRE	INTERVIEW
hopest 5	→ 2 (40%)
hooptest 4	→ 2 (50%)

Item 5 to have

General results

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
TO HAVE	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
hawwe	33	**75%**	29	**66%**
hewwe/hebbe	11	**25%**	15	**34%**
Total	44	100%	44	

Individual results and coherence

TO HAVE	INTERVIEW	
QUESTIONNAIRE	ha	he
ha	27	6
he	2	9

p < 0.001

QUESTIONNAIRE	INTERVIEW
ha 33	→ 27 (82%)
he 11	→ 9 (82%)

Item 6 Seen

General results

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
SEEN	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
sjoen	14	**88%**	14	**88%**
sjoend	2	**13%**	2	**13%**
Total	16	100%	16	100%

Individual results and coherence

SEEN	INTERVIEW	
QUESTIONNAIRE	sjoen	sjoend
sjoen	14	0
sjoend	0	2

p = 0.008

QUESTIONNAIRE	INTERVIEW
sjoen 14	→14 (100%)
sjoend 2	→ 2 (100%)

Item 7 Time

General results

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
TIME	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
[ti:t]	31	**94%**	26	**79%**
[ti.ət]	2	**6%**	7	**21%**
Total	33	100%	33	100%

Individual results and coherence

TIME	INTERVIEW	
QUESTIONNAIRE	[ti:t]	[ti.ət]
[ti:t]	25	6
[ti.ət]	1	1

QUESTIONNAIRE	INTERVIEW
tiid 31	→ 25 (81%)
tieëd 2	→ 1 (50%)

Item 8 World

General results

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
WORLD	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
wrâld	5	**45%**	4	**36%**
weareld	6	**55%**	7	**64%**
Total	11	100%	11	100%

Individual results and coherence

WORLD	INTERVIEW	
QUESTIONNAIRE	wrâld	weareld
wrâld	4	1
weareld	0	6

p = 0.015

QUESTIONNAIRE	INTERVIEW
wrâld 5	→ 4 (80%)
weareld 6	→ 6 (100%)

Item 9 During

General results

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
DURING	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
tidens	2	**22%**	3	**33%**
other	7	**78%**	6	**67%**
Total	9	100%	9	100%

Individual results and coherence

DURING	INTERVIEW	
QUESTIONNAIRE	tidens	other
tidens	7	1
other	0	2

QUESTIONNAIRE	INTERVIEW
tidens 7	→ 6 (86%)
other 2	→ 2 (100%)

Item 10 Been

General results

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
BEEN	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
west	10	**77%**	12	**92%**
weest/wist	3	**23%**	1	**8%**
Total	13	100%	13	100%

Individual results and coherence

BEEN	INTERVIEW	
QUESTIONNAIRE	west	weest/wist
west	10	0
weest/wist	3	1

QUESTIONNAIRE	INTERVIEW
west 10	→10 (100%)
weest 2	→ 1 (50%)
wist 1	→ 0 (0%)

Item 11 Bad

General results

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
BAD	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
slim	6	**50%**	6	**50%**
erch	6	**50%**	6	**50%**
Total	12	100%	12	100%

Individual results and coherence

BAD	INTERVIEW	
QUESTIONNAIRE	slim	erch
slim	5	1
erch	1	5

p = 0.040

QUESTIONNAIRE	INTERVIEW
slim 6	→ 5 (83%)
erch 6	→ 5 (83%)

Item 12 Very, seriously

General results

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
VERY, SERIOUSLY	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
Frisian variant	6	**55%**	7	**64%**
erch	5	**45%**	4	**36%**
Total	11	100%	11	100%

Individual results and coherence

VERY, SERIOUSLY	INTERVIEW	
QUESTIONNAIRE	Frisian var.	erch
Frisian variant	6	0
erch	1	4

p = 0.015

QUESTIONNAIRE	INTERVIEW
Frisian variant 6	→ 6 (100%)
erch 5	→ 4 (80%)

Item 13 Verb order

General results

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
VERB ORDER	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
green	101	**97%**	93	**89%**
red	3	**3%**	11	**11%**
Total	104	100%	104	100%

p = 0.025

Individual results and coherence

VERB ORDER	INTERVIEW	
QUESTIONNAIRE	green	red
green	92	9
red	1	2

p = 0.029

QUESTIONNAIRE	INTERVIEW
green 101	→ 92 (91%)
red 3	→ 2 (67%)

Appendix 2: Independent groups

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
ROOFS	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
dakken	382	61%	70	57%
daken	243	39%	53	43%
Total	625	100,0	123	100%

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
ENTIRELY	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
h(i)elendal	428	78%	35	59%
helemaal	120	22%	24	41%
Total	548	100%	59	100%

p = 0.002

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
BUTTER MILK	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
sûpe	604	97%	116	94%
karnemelk	21	3%	7	6%
Total	625	100%	123	100%

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW		
[YOU] HOPED	Frequency	**Percent**	**[HE/SHE] HOPED**	Frequency	**Percent**
hopest	271	46%	hope	11	41%
hooptest	320	54%	hoopte	16	59%
Total	591	100%		27	100%

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
TO HAVE	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
hawwe	411	75%	82	64%
hewwe/hebbe	137	25%	46	36%
Total	548	100%	128	100%

p = 0.009

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
SEEN	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
sjoen	56	92%	23	88%
sjoend	50	8%	3	12%
Total	613	100%	26	100%

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
TIME	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**

[ti:t]	428	74%	109	81%
[ti.ət]	153	26%	26	19%
Total	581	100%	135	100%

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
WORLD	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
wrâld	374	68%	24	77%
weareld	177	32%	7	23%
Total	551	100%	31	100%

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
DURING	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
tidens	450	73%	25	78%
other	168	27%	7	22%
Total	618	100%	32	100%

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
TO HAVE	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
west	494	91%	28	88%
weest/wist	49	9%	4	13%
Total	543	100%	32	100%

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
BAD	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
slim	365	63%	16	50%
erch	210	37%	16	50%
Total	575	100%	32	100%

	QUESTIONNAIRE		INTERVIEW	
VERY, SERIOUSLY	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
Frisian variant	401	69%	18	64%
erch	181	31%	10	36%
Total	582	100%	28	100%

Appendix 3: Verb order

	QUESTIONNAIRE 1		INTERVIEW	
	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
green	568	96%	104	92%
red	24	4%	9	8%
Total	592	100%	113	100%

	QUESTIONNAIRE 2		INTERVIEW	
	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
green	525	95%	95	88%
red	25	5%	13	12%
Total	550	100%	108	100%

P = 0.004

	QUESTIONNAIRE 4		INTERVIEW	
	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
green	490	94%	95	89%
red	31	6%	12	11%
Total	521	100%	107	100%

P = 0.045

	QUESTIONNAIRE 3		INTERVIEW	
	Frequency	**Percent**	Frequency	**Percent**
green	-	-	36	90%
red	-	-	4	10%
Total	-	-	40	100%

Summary - Spoken Frisian: Language contact, variation and change

This dissertation is the result of a large-scale project in which variation and ongoing changes in spoken Frisian were investigated, along with their interplay with different sociological and (socio)linguistic factors. The main aim is to provide more insight into the use of and variation in spoken Frisian against the background of the Frisian standard and language contact with Dutch (see **chapter 1**). The research was conducted in the context of a larger study in Fryslân - a sociological language survey - which this PhD project is a part of. For the purpose of the two projects, an online questionnaire was developed that has been completed by 3.700 participants, varying in age (≥18 years old) and living in different parts of Fryslân. The questionnaire itself consisted of two parts: a sociological and a linguistic one. About 250 out of 3.000 Frisian-speaking participants who had completed the linguistic part of the questionnaire, were invited for an in-depth interview later on. The outcomes of the linguistic part of the survey and of the interviews form the basis for the dissertation. A detailed survey and item choices are presented in **chapter 2**.

Frisian is a minority language spoken in the Dutch province of Fryslân, where it is recognized as an official language, next to Dutch, the national majority language. Most Frisians are bilinguals, but their general language proficiency, especially reading and writing skills, is higher in Dutch than in Frisian. Dutch is also dominant, particularly in the official domains (cf. Gorter et al. 1984; Breuker 1993; Gorter and Jonkman 1995). For most inhabitants of Fryslân, Frisian is mainly a spoken language and a collection of dialects. Spoken Frisian, as opposed to the Frisian standard mainly used in writing, is also known to be strongly influenced by Dutch (De Haan 1997: 64). However, little is known about the actual situation of Frisian as used in everyday-life. In this dissertation, we shed more light on the sociolinguistic complexity of Frisian, competition between Dutch loanwords or loan constructions and more genuine Frisian forms, and on the factors that can affect language change. We do that on the basis of four case-studies. The topics to be examined are:

- The relationship between self-reported language proficiency and self-reported language use, and differences between L1 and L2 speakers of Frisian (chapter 3);
- Self-reported vs. tested language use (chapter 4);
- Dutch irregular plurals in spoken Frisian and factors affecting their borrowability (chapter 5);

- Chapter 6, although methodology-oriented, contributes to the knowledge of spoken Frisian by deepening our understanding of bilingual language use, contact-induced changes and variation, proficiency and preference in Frisian.

In **chapter 3**, we investigate the differences between L1 and L2 speakers of Frisian with regard to the use of lexical and grammatical borrowings from Dutch, which are often referred to as lexical and grammatical interferences in the Frisian language. Alongside the differences between native and non-native speakers, four levels of (self-reported) proficiency were compared. Approximately 3.000 Frisian-speaking respondents were asked to fill in an online multiple-choice questionnaire about Frisian words and constructions they would use in an everyday-life conversation. L2 speakers of Frisian are generally native speakers of Dutch and their L2 acquisition is more conscious and (partly) based on language comparison. They are thus expected to correct their language use with regard to borrowings from Dutch. This would be easier in case of lexicon, which is acquired earlier (content words) and generally experienced as less challenging to learn than grammar rules. Therefore, we hypothesized less lexical, but more grammatical interferences in L2 than in L1 Frisian. More frequent use of various lexical and grammatical interferences was expected at lower proficiency levels in both L1 and L2. While the latter was in most cases confirmed by the outcomes, the results for the (most proficient) L2 speakers were surprising. As anticipated, L2 speakers tended to use less lexical interferences than L1 speakers. They were, however, expected to use more grammatical interferences, but little to no difference was found between L1 and L2 grammar with regard to borrowings from Dutch, but for one morpho-syntactic feature, where an L1-advantage was observed. This suggests that, despite (more or less evident) L1 advantage and L1/L2 differences, L2 proficiency of Frisian is generally high or even native-like.

The results presented in chapter 3 are based on self-reported language use. Since such an approach often meets skepticism, we chose to verify this method in the study presented in **chapter 4**, while also presenting insights into the use of different linguistic variants in spoken Frisian. Studies based on self-reports, such as surveys, do require a careful approach in order to prevent unnecessary bias. At the same time, self-reports are, although not fully reflecting the reality, proven to be reliable by multiple studies. In case of Frisian, individual differences between self-reported and tested language use are to be expected, with the former still giving a good impression of the general language use of the whole group. About 250 respondents who previously completed the online questionnaire, were invited for an in-depth interview. A selection of research items from the online survey was included in the interview tasks, allowing for a direct comparison. The selected items comprised lexical and grammatical borrowings

from Dutch, and regional and other variation in spoken Frisian. The results show some statistically significant differences between the questionnaire and the interview. However, these differences are moderate in terms of effect size. The general results are highly comparable, thus matching our hypothesis. Despite the evident uncertainty of the respondents with regard to language "correctness" and slight overrepresentation of normative variants in the questionnaire compared to the fairly spontaneous language use, the outcomes of the study confirm that self-reports can provide quite reliable information on general (linguistic) trends within a speech community .

In **chapter 5**, we investigate a particular case of Dutch/Frisian language contact, namely borrowing of Dutch irregular plurals formed by means of a vowel lengthening; e.g. *dak* [d**a**k] 'roof' - *daken* [d**a:**kə/d**a:**kn̩] 'roofs' instead of Frisian *dak* [d**a**k] - *dakken* [d**a**kn̩]. Irregular plural formation is unproductive in Dutch and uncommon in Frisian (except in a couple of historical borrowings). Although the appearance of irregular Dutch plurals in Frisian had not previously been described or investigated, we hypothesize their existence in spoken Frisian, based on analogical cases. However, they would not be borrowed without any limitations as various factors would affect their borrowability; e.g. word's frequency, phonotactic constraints or paradigm alternation. The study is based on approximately 175 interview recordings. The participants were asked to name different objects shown to them during the interview picture task. The results confirm both the (quite frequent) use of Dutch irregular plurals in Frisian and the involvement of different (morphological) factors in the borrowing processes. Accordingly, borrowing of such plurals is not only a lexical matter, but also a grammatical one. Phonotactic factors do not appear to play any significant role, but paradigm alternation seems to be decisive in whether a plural can successfully be borrowed or not. Correspondingly, the Dutch irregular plural *gaten* 'holes' (its Frisian pronunciation would be [ga:tn̩]) is expected not to appear in spoken Frisian, because it would require a /ɔ/ → /a:/ alternation (sg [gɔt] → pl [g**a:**tn̩]), which is absent in both Frisian and Dutch inflectional and derivational processes.

Chapter 6 is largely methodology oriented. It is based on either negatively or positively worded multiple-choice questions in the online survey. While answering those questions, the respondents had to select language variants they regarded right or odd/not right/wrong (depending on the question type). In social sciences, the responses to oppositely worded questions are known not to be complementary, which was also to be expected in case of our study and confirmed by the outcomes. More importantly, the results show that combining positively and negatively worded questions within one research can provide unique information with regard to preference, acceptance and, to some extent, knowledge within a speech community, and thus be very useful in (socio)linguistic research projects. In our case, the results also shed more light on the (bilingual)

knowledge of Frisian, which appears to be strongly related to the knowledge of the national language, Dutch.

The studies presented in this dissertation contribute to knowledge about variation in spoken Frisian and about language use and knowledge of the speakers. While various lexical and grammatical borrowings from Dutch are a common phenomenon in spoken Frisian, their borrowability and popularity among the speakers strongly vary due to different factors involved in the (quite complex) borrowing and adapting processes. This implies that not everything in Frisian can easily be "Dutchified", contrary to what is often implied in popular discussions, and that spoken Frisian varies not only with respect to its dialects, but also with respect to influence from Dutch. Moreover, both L1 and L2 knowledge of the Frisian language is higher than previously suggested and the language use of Frisian-Dutch bilinguals is partly based on deliberate choices.

Samentvatting - Gesproken Fries: Taalcontact, taalvariatie en taalverandering

Deze dissertatie is het resultaat van een grootschalig project waarin taalvariatie en voortdurende veranderingen in het gesproken Fries werden onderzocht, alsmede hun interactie met verschillende sociologische en (socio)linguïstische factoren. Het hoofddoel is meer inzicht te verschaffen in het gebruik van (en de variatie in) de Friese spreektaal tegen de achtergrond van de Friese standaardtaal en het taalcontact met het Nederlands (zie **hoofdstuk 1**). Het onderzoek is uitgevoerd in de context van een grotere studie in Fryslân - een sociologische taalsurvey - waar dit promotieproject aan gekoppeld was. Ten behoeve van de twee projecten werd een online-enquête ontwikkeld die werd ingevuld door 3.700 deelnemers, variërend in leeftijd (≥18 jaar) en afkomstig uit verschillende delen van Fryslân. De enquête zelf bestond uit twee gedeelten: een sociologisch en een taalkundig gedeelte. Ongeveer 250 van de 3.000 Friestalige respondenten die het taalkundige deel van de enquête hadden ingevuld, werden in een later stadium van het onderzoek uitgenodigd voor een in-depth interview. De uitkomsten van het taalkundige deel van de enquête en van de interviews vormen de basis van deze dissertatie. Tijdens de ontwikkeling van de enquête en de selectie van testitems werden verschillende keuzes gemaakt die gedetailleerd beschreven zijn in **hoofdstuk 2**.

Fries is een minderheidstaal gesproken in de Nederlandse provincie Fryslân. Het is erkend als een officiële taal, naast de nationale meerderheidstaal: het Nederlands. De meeste inwoners van Fryslân zijn tweetalig, maar hun algemene taalvaardigheid, met name lees- en schrijfvaardigheden, is beter in het Nederlands dan in het Fries. Het Nederlands is tevens de dominante taal, hetgeen vooral in officiële domeinen merkbaar is (Gorter et al. 1984; Breuker 1993; Gorter and Jonkman 1995). Het Fries fungeert hoofdzakelijk als spreektaal en bestaat uit verschillende dialecten. In tegenstelling tot de Friese standaard, die vooral als schrijftaal wordt gebruikt, is de Friese spreektaal daarnaast beïnvloed door het Nederlands (De Haan 1997: 64). De feitelijke situatie rondom het gebruik van het Fries in het dagelijks leven is echter niet goed bekend. In deze dissertatie wordt meer licht geworpen op de sociolinguïstische complexiteit van het Fries, de competitie tussen Nederlandse leenwoorden en leenconstructies en de meer authentieke Friese vormen én op de factoren die taalcontact kunnen beïnvloeden. Dat wordt gedaan op basis van vier casestudy's, waarbij de onderzochte onderwerpen zijn:

- De verhouding tussen zelfgerapporteerde taalbeheersing en zelfgerapporteerd taalgebruik en de verschillen tussen L1- en L2-sprekers van het Fries (hoofdstuk 3);
- Zelfgerapporteerd vs. getest taalgebruik (hoofdstuk 4);
- Nederlandse onregelmatige meervoudsvormen in de Friese spreektaal en factoren die hun leenbaarheid kunnen beïnvloeden (hoofdstuk 4);
- Hoewel hoofdstuk 6 zich meer richt op methodologie, draagt het bij aan de kennis van de Friese spreektaal, door meer inzicht te verschaffen in het tweetalig taalgebruik, door taalcontact bevorderde taalveranderingen en -variatie, alsmede taalvaardigheid en taalvoorkeuren in het Fries.

In **hoofdstuk 3** worden verschillen tussen moeder- en niet-moedertaalsprekers (L1 en L2) van het Fries onderzocht met betrekking tot het gebruik van lexicale en grammaticale ontleningen aan het Nederlands, die in het Fries dikwijls als lexicale en grammaticale interferenties worden aangeduid. Naast de verschillen tussen L1- en L2-sprekers van het Fries wordt er gekeken naar vier niveaus van (zelfgerapporteerde) taalbeheersing. Ongeveer 3.000 Friestalige respondenten werd gevraagd een online enquête in te vullen met multiplechoicevragen over Friese woorden en constructies die ze zouden gebruiken in alledaagse gesprekken. L2-sprekers van het Fries hebben doorgaans het Nederlands als moedertaal en hun L2-taalverwerving is bewuster en (gedeeltelijk) gebaseerd op taalvergelijking. In hun taalgebruik kunnen dus correcties worden verwacht met betrekking tot ontleningen aan het Nederlands. Zulke correcties zijn echter makkelijker toe te passen in het geval van woordenschat, die in een eerder stadium wordt verworven (inhoudswoorden) en meestal als minder uitdagend wordt ervaren dan het aanleren van grammaticale regels. Om die reden werden er in het onderzoek minder lexicale en meer grammaticale interferenties verondersteld in L2- dan in L1-Fries. Voor beide groepen sprekers gold dat er meer verscheidene interferenties werden verwacht op lagere taalvaardigheidsniveaus, zowel lexicale als grammaticale, hetgeen ook bevestigd werd door de onderzoeksresultaten. Meer verrassend waren de resultaten voor (de meest taalvaardige) L2-sprekers. Zoals verwacht, hebben L2-sprekers van het Fries de neiging om minder lexicale interferenties te gebruiken vergeleken met L1-sprekers. Er is echter (haast) geen verschil gevonden tussen L1 en L2 met betrekking tot grammaticale ontleningen aan het Nederlands, terwijl L2-sprekers daar naar verwachting meer van zouden gebruiken. Het verwachte L1-voordeel blijft dus uit, met uitzondering van een enkel morfosyntactisch kenmerk. Deze resultaten wijzen erop dat, ondanks de (meer of minder evidente) L1-voordelen en verschillen tussen L1 en L2, L2-taalvaardigheid in het Fries over het algemeen hoog of zelfs vergelijkbaar is met die van moedertaalsprekers.

De resultaten uit hoofdstuk 3 zijn gebaseerd op zelfgerapporteerd taalgebruik. Aangezien een dergelijke aanpak dikwijls sceptisch wordt ontvangen, is hoofdstuk 4 gewijd aan verificatie van zelfrapportage in de Friese context. Tegelijkertijd biedt de studie van hoofdstuk 4 inzichten in het gebruik van verschillende taalkundige varianten in de Friese spreektaal. Onderzoek gebaseerd op zelfrapportage, zoals een enquête, vereist inderdaad een zorgvuldige aanpak om onnodige bias te voorkomen. Tegelijkertijd hebben meerdere studies aangetoond dat zelfrapportages betrouwbaar kunnen zijn, hoewel ze de realiteit niet volledig weerspiegelen. De studiehypothese in hoofdstuk 4 luidt dus dat zelfgerapporteerd taalgebruik enigszins kan afwijken van het feitelijke gebruik van het Fries op het individuele niveau, maar wel een juiste indruk kan geven van het algemene taalgebruik in de taalgemeenschap. Om dat te verifiëren werden ongeveer 250 respondenten die de online enquête hadden ingevuld uitgenodigd voor een interview. Een aantal items uit de enquête werd herhaald in het interview, waardoor een directe vergelijking tussen die twee methodes mogelijk was. De geselecteerde items bevatten lexicale en grammaticale ontleningen aan het Nederlands, alsmede regionale en andere variatie in het gesproken Fries. De resultaten tonen een paar statistisch significante verschillen tussen de enquête en het interview. Deze verschillen zijn echter matig in termen van effectgrootte. De algemene resultaten zijn overwegend vergelijkbaar, hetgeen overeenkomt met de gestelde hypothese. Ondanks de duidelijke onzekerheid van de respondenten omtrent "taalcorrectheid" en een geringe overrepresentatie van normatieve varianten in de enquête - vergeleken met het meer spontane taalgebruik - bevestigen de uitkomsten van deze studie dat zelfrapportage een vrij betrouwbare informatiebron kan zijn omtrent taaltrends en algemeen taalgebruik in een taalgemeenschap.

In **hoofdstuk 5** wordt een concreet geval van Nederlands/Fries taalcontact onderzocht, namelijk het gebruik van Nederlandse onregelmatige meervoudsvormen die door middel van klinkerverlenging worden gevormd; b.v. *dak* [d**a**k] - *daken* [d**a:**kə/d**a:**kn̩] 'roofs' i.p.v. de regelmatige (Standaard)Friese meervoudsvorm *dak* [d**a**k] - *dakken* [d**a**kn̩]. Onregelmatige meervoudsvorming is onproductief in het Nederlands en ongebruikelijk in het Fries (m.u.v. enkele historische ontleningen). Hoewel het gebruik van Nederlandse onregelmatige meervoudsvormen in het Fries niet eerder is onderzocht of beschreven, wordt in deze studie - gebaseerd op soortgelijke gevallen - verondersteld dat dat wel degelijk het geval kan zijn. De verwachting is echter dat het lenen van zulke meervoudsvormen onderhevig is aan beperkingen, aangezien meerdere factoren een rol in hun leenbaarheid kunnen spelen, o.a. woordfrequentie, fonotactische beperkingen of paradigma-alternantie. De studie is gebaseerd op ongeveer 175 interviewopnames, waarbij deelnemers gevraagd werd verschillende objecten te noemen die ze te zien kregen op een aantal plaatjes. De resultaten bevestigen

dat Nederlandse onregelmatige meervoudsvormen (geregeld) voorkomen in de Friese spreektaal en dat verschillende (morfologische) factoren een rol spelen in de faciliterende leenprocessen. Ontlening van zulke meervoudsvormen is dus niet slechts een lexicale, maar ook een grammaticale kwestie. Fonotactische factoren lijken in dit geval niet significant te zijn. Paradigma-alternantie lijkt daarentegen bepalend te zijn voor de mogelijke ontlening. We kunnen dus niet verwachten dat een Nederlandse onregelmatige meervoudsvorm als *gaten* gebruikt wordt in het Fries. Een dergelijke ontlening zou namelijk een /ɔ/ → /a:/ alternantie vereisen (sg [gɔt] → pl [g**a:**tn̩]) en die bestaat noch in het Fries, noch in het Nederlands.

Hoofdstuk 6 is hoofdzakelijk methodologisch en gebaseerd op positief en negatief geformuleerde multiplechoicevragen in de online-enquête. Om die vragen te beantwoorden dienden de respondenten varianten te kiezen die ze als goed of als raar/niet goed/verkeerd beschouwden (afhankelijk van het type vraag). In de sociale wetenschappen zijn tegengesteld geformuleerde vragen bekend als vragen die niet complementair zijn, hetgeen ook in deze studie werd verwacht. De onderzoeksresultaten bevestigen dat dat inderdaad het geval is. Echter, wat nog belangrijker is, de resultaten laten zien dat het loont om beide typen vragen (positief en negatief) te combineren in een onderzoek. In het bijzonder kan dat goed van pas komen in (socio)linguïstische projecten, aangezien het unieke informatie kan opleveren met betrekking tot taalvoorkeuren, acceptatie en, tot op zekere hoogte, taalkennis binnen een taalgemeenschap. In deze studie werpen de resultaten bovendien meer licht op de (tweetalige) kennis van het Fries, die sterk verband lijkt te houden met de nationale taal Nederlands.

De studies die in deze dissertatie gepresenteerd zijn, dragen bij aan kennis over variatie in het gesproken Fries en over taalgebruik en taalkennis van de sprekers. Terwijl verschillende lexicale en grammaticale ontleningen aan het Nederlands een veel voorkomend verschijnsel is in de Friese spreektaal, kunnen hun leenbaarheid en populariteit onder de taalgebruikers sterk variëren door verschillende factoren die betrokken zijn bij de (vrij complexe) ontlenings- en aanpassingsprocessen. Dit houdt in dat, in tegenstelling tot wat vaak beweerd wordt in populaire discussies, niet alles in het Fries gemakkelijk "vernederlandst" kan worden en dat de Friese spreektaal heel divers is, niet alleen ten opzichte van Friese dialecten, maar ook door invloed van het Nederlands. Bovendien is zowel L1- als L2-kennis van de Friese taal hoger dan eerder gesuggereerd werd en is het taalgebruik van tweetaligen (Fries en Nederlands) gedeeltelijk gebaseerd op bewuste keuzes.

Gearfetting - Sprutsen Frysk: Taalkontakt, taalfariaasje en taalferoaring

Dizze dissertaasje is it resultaat fan in grutskalich projekt dêr't taalfariaasje en oanhâldende feroaringen yn it sprutsen Frysk yn ûndersocht waarden, tagelyk mei harren ynteraksje mei ferskillende sosjologyske en (sosjo)linguistyske faktoaren. It haaddoel is om mear ynsjoch te jaan yn it brûken fan (en de fariaasje yn) de Fryske sprektaal tsjin de eftergrûn fan de Fryske standerttaal en it taalkontakt mei it Nederlânsk (sjoch **haadstik 1**). It ûndersyk is útfierd yn de kontekst fan in gruttere stúdzje yn Fryslân - in sosjologysk taalsurvey - dêr't dit promoasjeprojekt oan keppele wie. Foar de twa projekten waard in online-enkête ûntwikkele dy't ynfolle waard troch 3.700 dielnimmers, fariearjend yn leeftiid (≥18 jier), dy't út ferskate kriten fan Fryslân kamen. De enkête sels bestie út twa parten: in sosjologysk en in taalkundich part. Likernôch 250 fan de 3.000 Frysktalige respondinten dy't it taalkundige part fan de enkête ynfolle hiene, waarden yn in letter stadium fan it ûndersyk útnûge foar in "in-depth" ynterview. De útkomsten fan it taalkundige part fan de enkête en fan de ynterviews foarmje de basis fan dizze dissertaasje. By it ûntwikkeljen fan de enkête en by de seleksje fan testitems waard keazen út ferskillende opsjes en dy binne yn detail beskreaun yn **haadstik 2**.

Frysk is in minderheidstaal dy't yn de Nederlânske provinsje Fryslân praat wurdt. It is erkend as in offisjele taal, neist de nasjonale mearderheidstaal: it Nederlânsk. De measte ynwenners fan Fryslân binne twatalich, mar harren algemiene taalfeardigens, foaral de lês- en skriuwfeardigens, is better yn it Nederlânsk as yn it Frysk. It Nederlânsk is ek de dominante taal, dat foaral yn offisjele domeinen waar te nimmen is (Gorter et al. 1984; Breuker 1993; Gorter and Jonkman 1995). It Frysk fungearret foaral as sprektaal en bestiet út ferskate dialekten. Oars as de Fryske standert, dy't foaral as skriuwtaal brûkt wurdt, is de Fryske sprektaal dêrneist beynfloede troch it Nederlânsk (De Haan 1997: 64). De feitlike situaasje om it brûken fan it Frysk yn it deistich libben hinne is lykwols net goed bekend. Yn dizze dissertaasje wurdt mear ljocht smiten op de sosjolinguistyske kompleksiteit fan it Frysk, de kompetysje tusken Nederlânske lienwurden en lienkonstruksjes en de mear autentike Fryske foarmen én op de faktoaren dy't taalkontakt beynfloedzje kinne. Dat wurdt dien op basis fan fjouwer "casestudy's". De ûndersochte ûnderwerpen binne dêrby:

- De ferhâlding tusken selsrapportearre taalbehearsking en selsrapportearre taalgebrûk en de ferskillen tusken L1- en L2-sprekkers fan it Frysk (haadstik 3);
- Selsrapportearre taalgebrûk tsjin taalgebrûk dat test is (haadstik 4);

- Nederlânske ûnregelmjittige meartalsfoarmen yn de Fryske sprektaal en faktoaren dy't de mooglikheid ta it lienen dêrfan beynfloedzje kinne (haadstik 4);
- Hoewol't haadstik 6 him mear rjochtet op metodology, draacht it by oan de kennis fan de Fryske sprektaal, troch mear ynsjoch te jaan yn it twatalich taalgebrûk, troch taalkontakt befoardere taalferoaringen en -fariaasje en ek taalfeardigens en taalfoarkarren yn it Frysk.

Yn **haadstik 3** wurde ferskillen tusken memme- en net-memmetaalsprekkers (L1 en L2) fan it Frysk ûndersocht oangeande it brûken fan leksikale en grammatikale ûntlieningen oan it Nederlânsk, dy't yn it Frysk gauris as leksikale en grammatikale ynterferinsjes oantsjut wurde. Neist de ferskillen tusken L1- en L2-sprekkers fan it Frysk wurdt der sjoen nei fjouwer nivo's fan (selsrapportearre) taalbehearsking. Likernôch 3.000 Frysktalige respondinten waarden frege om in online enkête yn te foljen mei multiplechoicefragen oer Fryske wurden en konstruksjes dy't sy brûke soene yn it deistige praat. L2-sprekkers fan it Frysk hawwe ornaris it Nederlânsk as memmetaal en harren L2-taalwinning is bewuster en (foar in part) basearre op taalferliking. Yn harren taalgebrûk kinne dus korreksjes ferwachte wurde oangeande ûntlieningen oan it Nederlânsk. Sokke korreksjes binne lykwols makliker om ta te passen yn it gefal fan wurdskat, dy't yn in earder stadium wûn wurdt (ynhâldswurden) en meastal as minder útdaagjend as it oanlearen fan grammatikale regels ûnderfûn wurdt. Om dy reden waarden yn it ûndersyk minder leksikale en mear grammatikale ynterferinsjes ûndersteld yn L2- as yn L1-Frysk. Foar beide groepen sprekkers jilde dat der mear ferskate ynterferinsjes op legere nivo's fan taalfeardigens ferwachte waarden, sawol leksikale as grammatikale. Dat waard ek befêstige troch de ûndersyksresultaten. Mear ûnferwachts kamen de resultaten foar (de meast taalfeardige) L2-sprekkers. L2-sprekkers fan it Frysk hawwe wol de oanstriid om minder leksikale ynterferinsjes te brûken ferlike mei L1-sprekkers. Dat waard ek ferwachte. Lykwols, der is (hast) gjin ferskil fûn tusken L1 en L2 oangeande grammatikale ûntlieningen oan it Nederlânsk, wylst L2-sprekkers dêr neffens ferwachting mear fan brûke soene. It ferwachte L1-foardiel bliuwt dus út, mei útsûndering fan in inkeld morfosyntaktysk skaaimerk. Dy resultaten wize derop dat, nettsjinsteande de (mear of minder evidinte) L1-foardielen en ferskillen tusken L1 en L2, L2-taalfeardigens yn it Frysk oer it algemien heech of sels ferlykber is mei dy fan memmetaalsprekkers.

De resultaten út haadstik 3 binne basearre op selsrapportearre taalgebrûk. Sa'n oanpak wurdt lykwols gauris skeptysk ûntfongen en dêrom is **haadstik 4** wijd oan ferifikaasje fan selsrapportaazje yn de Fryske kontekst. Tagelyk biedt de stúdzje fan haadstik 4 ynsjoch yn it gebrûk fan ferskate taalkundige farianten yn de Fryske sprektaal. Undersyk basearre op selsrapportaazje, lykas in

enkête, freget yndied om in krekte oanpak om ûnnedige bias foar te kommen. Tagelyk hawwe ûnderskate stúdzjes oantoand dat selsrapportaazjes betrouber wêze kinne, hoewol't dy de realiteit net folslein werjouwe. De stúdzjehypoteze yn haadstik 4 is dus dat selsrapportearre taalgebrûk op it yndividuele nivo wat ôfwike kin fan it feitlike gebrûk fan it Frysk, mar wol in goede yndruk fan it algemiene taalgebrûk yn de taalmienskip jaan kin. Om dat te ferifiearjen waarden likernôch 250 respondinten dy't de online enkête ynfolle hiene, útnûge foar in ynterview. In tal items út de enkête waard yn it ynterview nochris ôffrege en dêrtroch wie in direkte ferliking tusken dy twa metoaden mooglik. De selektearre items befetsje leksikale en grammatikale ûntlieningen oan it Nederlânsk en ek regionale en oare fariaasje yn it sprutsen Frysk. De resultaten litte in pear statistysk signifikante ferskillen tusken de enkête en it ynterview sjen. Dy ferskillen binne lykwols matich yn termen fan effektgrutte. De algemiene resultaten binne foar it measte part ferlykber en dat komt ek oerien mei de stelde hypoteze. Nettsjinsteande de dúdlike ûnwissens fan de respondinten om "taalkrektens" hinne en in lytse oerrepresintaasje fan normative farianten yn de enkête - ferlike mei it mear spontane taalgebrûk - befêstigje de útkomsten fan dizze stúdzje dat selsrapportaazje in frij betroubere ynformaasjeboarne wêze kin oangeande taaltrends en algemien taalgebrûk yn in taalmienskip.

Yn **haadstik 5** wurdt in konkreet gefal fan Nederlânsk/Frysk taalkontakt ûndersocht, nammentlik it brûken fan Nederlânske ûnregelmjittige meartalsfoarmen dy't troch middel fan lûdsferlinging foarme wurde, bgl. *dak* [d**a**k] - *daken* [d**a:**kə/d**a:**kn̩] y.s.f. de regelmjittige (Standert)Fryske meartalsfoarm *dak* [d**a**k] - *dakken* [d**a**kn̩]. Unregelmjittige meartalsfoarming is ûnproduktyf yn it Nederlânsk en ûngebrûklik yn it Frysk (m.ú.f. in pear histoaryske ûntlieningen). Hoewol't it brûken fan Nederlânske ûnregelmjittige meartalsfoarmen yn it Frysk net earder ûndersocht of beskreaun is, wurdt yn dizze stúdzje - basearre op soartgelikense gefallen - ûndersteld dat dat wol deeglik it gefal wêze kin. De ferwachting is lykwols dat sokke meartalsfoarmen net ûnbeheind liend wurde kinne, omdat ûnderskate faktoaren in rol yn harren lienberheid spylje kinne, û.o. wurdfrekwinsje, fonotaktyske beheiningen of paradigma-alternânsje. De stúdzje is basearre op likernôch 175 ynterviewopnamen, dêr't dielnimmers yn frege waard om ferskillende objekten te neamen dy't se te sjen krigen op in tal plaatsjes. De resultaten befêstigje dat Nederlânske ûnregelmjittige meartalsfoarmen (geregeld) foarkomme yn de Fryske sprektaal en dat ferskillende (morfologyske) faktoaren in rol spylje yn de fasilitearjende lienprosessen. Untliening fan sokke meartalsfoarmen is dus net inkeld in leksikale, mar ek in grammatikale kwestje. Fonotaktyske faktoaren lykje yn dit gefal net signifikant te wêzen. Paradigma-alternânsje liket dêrfoaroer bepalend te wêzen foar in mooglike ûntliening. Wy kinne dus net ferwachtsje dat in Nederlânske ûnregelmjittige meartalsfoarm as *gaten* brûkt wurdt yn it Frysk. Sokke ûntliening soe nammentlik om

in /ɔ/ → /a:/ alternânsje freegje (sg [gɔt] → pl [g**a:**tn̩]) en dy bestiet noch yn it Frysk, noch yn it Nederlânsk.

Haadstik 6 is yn 'e haadsaak metodologysk en basearre op posityf en negatyf formulearre multiplechoicefragen yn de online-enkête. Om dy fragen te beäntwurdzjen moasten de respondinten farianten kieze dy't sy as goed of as raar/net goed/ferkeard beskôgen (ôfhinklik fan it type fraach). Yn 'e sosjale wittenskippen binne tsjinoersteld formulearre fragen bekend as fragen dy't net komplemintêr binne en dat waard yn dizze stúdzje ek ferwachte. De ûndersyksresultaten befêstigje dat it yndied it gefal is. Lykwols, wat noch wichtiger is, de resultaten litte sjen dat it leannet om beide typen fragen (posityf en negatyf) te kombinearjen yn in ûndersyk. Yn it bysûnder kin dat goed fan pas komme yn (sosjo)linguistyske projekten, omdat it unike ynformaasje opsmite kin oangeande taalfoarkarren, akseptaasje en, oan in hichte ta, taalkennis binnen in taalmienskip. Yn dizze stúdzje smite de resultaten boppedat mear ljocht op de (twatalige) kennis fan it Frysk, dy't sterk ferbân liket te hâlden mei de nasjonale taal Nederlânsk.

De stúdzjes dy't yn dizze dissertaasje presintearre binne, drage by oan kennis oer fariaasje yn it sprutsen Frysk en oer taalgebrûk en taalkennis fan de sprekkers. Wylst ferskate leksikale en grammatikale ûntlieningen oan it Nederlânsk in ferskynsel is dat faak foarkomt yn de Fryske sprektaal, kinne harren lienberheid en populariteit ûnder de taalbrûkers sterk fariearje troch ferskillende faktoaren dy't behelle binne yn de (frij komplekse) ûntlienings- en oanpassingsprosessen. Dat hâldt yn dat, oars as wat gauris yn populêre diskusjes útholden wurdt, net alles yn it Frysk maklik "fernederlânske" wurde kin en dat de Fryske sprektaal in soad ferskaat hat, net allinnich wat Fryske dialekten, mar ek wat ynfloed fan it Nederlânsk oanbelanget. Boppedat is sawol L1- as L2-kennis fan de Fryske taal heger as earder suggerearre waard en is it taalgebrûk fan twataligen (Frysk en Nederlânsk) foar in part basearre op it bewust kiezen.