

Language Change on the Dutch Frisian Island of Ameland

Linguistic and sociolinguistic findings

Published by
LOT
Janskerkhof 13
3512 BL Utrecht
The Netherlands

phone: +31 30 253 6006
fax: +31 30 253 6406
e-mail: lot@let.uu.nl
<http://www.lotschool.nl>

Cover illustration: VVV Ameland

ISBN: 978-94-6093-016-4
NUR 616

Copyright © 2010: Mathilde Jansen. All rights reserved.

VRIJE UNIVERSITEIT

Language Change on the Dutch Frisian Island
of Ameland

Linguistic and sociolinguistic findings

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad Doctor aan
de Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam,
op gezag van de rector magnificus,
prof.dr. L.M. Bouter,
in het openbaar te verdedigen
ten overstaan van de promotiecommissie
van de faculteit der Letteren
op donderdag 8 april 2010 om 15.45 uur
in het auditorium van de universiteit,
De Boelelaan 1105

door Mathilde Maria Jansen

geboren te Den Burg, Texel

promotoren: prof.dr. F.L.M.P. Hinskens
prof.dr. M. van Oostendorp
prof.dr. R.W.N.M. van Hout

Acknowledgements

First of all, I wish to thank my *promotors*, who supervised the progress of this dissertation: Marc van Oostendorp (Meertens Institute, Leiden University), Frans Hinskens (Meertens Institute, VU University Amsterdam) and Roeland van Hout (Radboud University Nijmegen). My greatest debt of gratitude is to *Marc van Oostendorp*, who helped me to draw up the research proposal and was involved in the project from the very start. Marc, you were my constant source of support. Whenever we met, your wonderful stories kept my interest in linguistics alive, and you were always able to inspire me when the research seemed to bog me down. We have also been able to cooperate well outside this particular project, and I hope we can continue this cooperation in the future. *Frans Hinskens* has also contributed greatly to the completion of this dissertation. Frans, from the moment you became involved you made your mark, and especially the methodological part has benefitted as a result, both in terms of thoughtfulness and in terms of structure. *Roeland van Hout* did not become involved until the end of the project. Nevertheless, he supervised an essential part, namely the statistics. Roeland: for me this part was often a nightmare, but your vast knowledge and quick thinking turned SPSS into an exciting challenge. I also very much enjoyed our meetings, including the time we took our laptops to the Burger King.

This dissertation would not have been possible without the cooperation of 60 Ameland dialect speakers. Here I wish to thank everyone again who agreed to be interviewed: for your patience (because completing the questionnaire took quite a bit of time), your enthusiasm and your hospitality. The moments I felt most immersed in the Ameland community were during the evenings when preparations were made for the Sunneklaas celebrations. That I was allowed to be present was exciting (because they were held at secret locations) and unique (because they were actually forbidden territory for women). I especially wish to thank *Anke Nagtegaal* for her willingness to supply me with oral stories, all kinds of newspaper clippings and informants. Anke, I wish to thank you again for your endless hospitality: the many visits (and some longer stays) to you and Barend were a source of information and warmth to me. I also have vivid memories of the discussions between Anke, me and *Anton Oud*, author of the Ameland dictionary. Unfortunately, he died in 2006. A very important contribution to

this research project was also made by *Pieter Jan and Tineke Borsch*, not only as a result of their immense knowledge of the Ameland dialect and history, but also because of their support for my research project. You often replied to my questions, sent by email, within the hour, and I will not forget the many, many hours you spent in selecting the informants. You also took a kind interest in my private life, which I appreciated enormously.

And then I wish to thank all my colleagues at the Meertens Institute, as well as the PhD students and other researchers who I met during conferences and research visits (in Joensuu, Uppsala, Newcastle, Limerick, Aberdeen, and Moncton). I thank *Leonie Cornips* for her support in building up a network in sociolinguistics. Leonie, thank you for your company and support during conferences abroad but also at the Meertens Institute. I wish to thank *Jeroen van de Weijer* for correcting my English and for some useful suggestions. *Piet van Reenen* also helped me revising the manuscript. My paranimphs *Vivien Waszink* and *Frank Landsbergen* have always been very supportive in many ways.

Finally, I wish to thank my dear parents. *Gelein* for the linguistic genes and *Ria* for the philosophical genes. And – best comes last – my greatest source of happiness: my darling *Sven* and of course *Silje* – who arrived before the dissertation –, with whom I hope to share my love for the Wadden.

Abbreviations and styles

The phonetic transcription of the Dutch/Frisian/Ameland words is based on Heemskerk & Zonneveld (2000). Spelling of the written Ameland examples: according to Oud (1987). Other abbreviations and styles which are not explained in the text:

e.g. for example (Lat. *exempli gratia*)
cf. compare (Lat. *confer*)
i.e. that is (Lat. *id est*)
viz. that is; namely (Lat. *videlicet*)

p. page
ps. person
sg. singular
DIM diminutive
du. Dutch
Owfr. Old West Frisian
Mwf. Modern West Frisian
Germ. Germanic
MD Middle Dutch
NH Noord-Holland
FR Friesland
US United States
UK United Kingdom

Italics written form
<...> written form
[...] IPA transcription for phonetic details
/.../ IPA transcription to mark off phonemes

No responsibility can be assumed for the stability of internet links (URLs) given in the text.

Contents

Chapter 1. The island of Ameland. The why and how of a sociolinguistic project

1.1.	Locating the Wadden Sea Islands	1
1.1.2.	The island of Ameland	3
1.1.3.	East versus west	4
1.1.4.	Rural lifestyle	6
1.2.	The present study	6
1.2.1.	Related work	7
1.2.2.	Structure of the study	8

Chapter 2. Describing dialect change. Developing the research questions

2.1.	Dialect change in contact situations	12
2.1.1.	Models of language change	12
2.1.2.	Linguistic factors influencing contact-induced change	17
2.1.3.	Dialect-standard language situation	20
2.1.4.	Differences between contact linguistics & contact dialectology	25
2.1.5.	Concluding remarks and hypotheses	25
2.2.	Dialect change in post-isolated communities	26
2.2.1.	The significance of natural change	28
2.2.2.	Types of change in remote areas	28
2.2.3.	The impact of local and supralocal norms	31
2.2.4.	Concluding remarks and hypotheses	33
2.3.	Extra-linguistic factors that play a role in dialect change	34
2.3.1.	Social networks	34
2.3.2.	Attitudes	39
2.3.3.	Concluding remarks and hypotheses	41
2.4.	Summary of the hypotheses	42

Chapter 3. Ameland and its dialect

3.1.	The research area	43
------	-------------------	----

3.1.1.	Political history	44
3.1.2.	Socio-economic developments	44
3.2.	The Ameland dialect	50
3.2.1.	Ethnolinguistic vitality of the Ameland dialect	50

Chapter 4. Research design and linguistic variables

4.1.	The selection of the speakers	60
4.1.1.	Geographical background	60
4.1.2.	Age	61
4.1.3.	Gender	62
4.1.4.	Control variables	62
4.1.5.	Number of speakers	62
4.1.6.	Sample taken at random	63
4.2.	Data collection	64
4.2.1.	Fieldwork 2004/2005	64
4.2.2.	In-group conversations	64
4.2.3.	Sociolinguistic questionnaire	64
4.2.4.	The selection of linguistic variables	66
4.2.5.	The linguistic questionnaire	69
4.3.	The linguistic variables	70
4.3.1.	Variable 1: Vowel alternation du. /ei/	70
4.3.2.	Variable 2: Vowel alternation du. /ou/	72
4.3.3.	Variable 3: Diminutive formation	74
4.3.4.	Variable 4: Clitic 3rd sg pronoun	76
4.3.5.	Variable 5: Vowel alternation du. /œy/	78
4.3.6.	Variable 6 : Vowel alternation du. /ɛi/	80
4.3.7.	Variable 7: The suffix /əxɛ:t/	82
4.3.8.	Variable 8: The distribution of -n in plural verb forms	83
4.3.9.	Variable 9: R-lessness	85
4.3.10.	Variable 10: D-lessness	88
4.3.11.	Variable 11: Prefixless past participle	90
4.3.12.	Variable 12: Second ps. sg / clitic pronoun suffix –st	91

Chapter 5. The sociolinguistic context

5.1.	Language skills	93
5.2.	Language use	97
5.3.	Identity	101

5.4.	Attitude, evaluative language judgements	106
5.5.	Attitudes, function and position of the language varieties	109
5.6.	Concluding remarks	113

Chapter 6. The linguistic variables: Results

6.1.	Variable 1: TIJD ('time') <i>A-type</i>	116
6.2.	Variable 2: OUD ('old') <i>A-type</i>	120
6.3.	Variable 3: Diminutive (DIM) <i>A-type</i>	126
6.4.	Variable 4: Clitic 3 singular <i>A-type</i>	129
6.5.	Variable 5: HUIS ('house') <i>B-type</i>	129
6.6.	Variable 6: GEIT ('goat') <i>B-type</i>	133
6.7.	Variable 7: Suffix –HEID ('-ness') <i>B-type</i>	134
6.8.	Variable 8: E/EN <i>B-type</i>	140
6.9.	Variable 9: HART ('heart') <i>C-type</i>	141
6.10.	Variable 10: HAND ('hand') <i>C-type</i>	145
6.11.	Variable 11: Prefix GE- <i>C-type</i>	146
6.12.	Variable 12: Clitic 2 singular <i>C-type</i>	150
6.13.	Conclusions	153

Chapter 7. Discussion and perspectives

7.1.	Summary of the linguistic and sociolinguistic findings	159
7.2.	Broader perspective and questions for further research	169

Appendices

Appendix I.	Linguistic characteristics of the Ameland dialect	173
Appendix II.	Invitation letter for participation (in Dutch)	195
Appendix III.	The questionnaire	197
Appendix IV.	Frequency tables for the linguistic variables	217
Appendix V.	Examples of spectrograms	233

References	235
-------------------	-----

Samenvatting in het Nederlands	251
---------------------------------------	-----

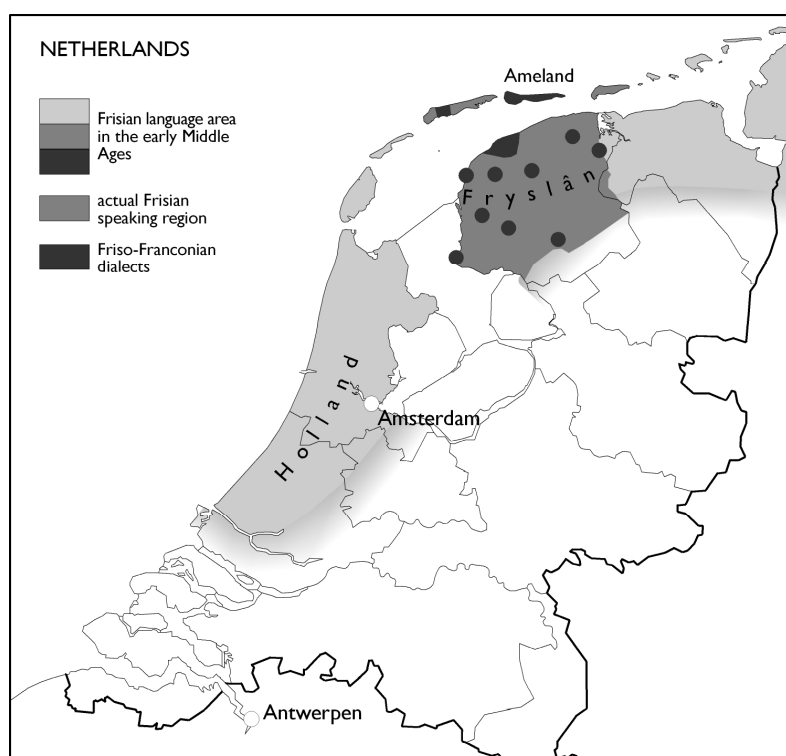
Curriculum Vitae	259
-------------------------	-----

Chapter 1. The island of Ameland. The why and how of a sociolinguistic project

1.1. Locating the Wadden Sea Islands

The Wadden Sea Islands are situated in the northern periphery of the Netherlands, separated from the mainland by the Wadden Sea. Before regular boat services were started in the early 20th century, it was difficult to get to and from the islands. Due to the tourist-dependent economy of the islands nowadays, modern ferries have made the islands much more easily accessible.

Figure 1.1. The Wadden Sea Islands in the Netherlands. From left to right: Texel (NH), Vlieland (FR), Terschelling (FR), Ameland (FR), and Schiermonnikoog (FR). © Arjen Versloot



Of course, it is exactly the island character which makes the Wadden Sea region an attractive holiday destination, which is also the reason why earlier initiatives to connect island and mainland by a dike did not succeed (Bakker 1970). None of the islands has turned into a peninsula so far, but all can be reached by ferry connection. The most accessible island is Texel, part of the province of Noord-Holland (NH). It is also the largest island, which has a very frequent ferry connection which only takes 20 minutes. The ferry terminal is easily accessible from the Randstad, the economic centre of the Netherlands and place of residence of most Dutch people. On the other hand, the four Frisian Islands which are situated in the northeastern part of the Netherlands can only be reached from the northern province of Friesland (FR). Ferry connections to each of these islands take at least an hour. The Frisian Islands are therefore rather isolated from the mainland and from each other.

As far as language contact is concerned, the four Frisian Islands offer an interesting history of contact with different language groups, even though the island concept might predominantly be associated with a certain degree of isolation and independence. This ambiguity of isolation versus contact - with various language groups because of trading in the earlier days and mass tourism nowadays - makes the islands fascinating objects of linguistic study. But also the political history contributes to the distinctive character and culture of the islands. The political status of Ameland and Terschelling has been changed several times during the last centuries. While Terschelling has been under the influence of the province of Holland for quite a while; Ameland has been a free state most of the time. From the 19th century both Ameland and Terschelling officially belong to the province of Friesland, but people from the older generations are still aware of their political history. This makes it an interesting area for attitudinal research, since even the young Amelanders do not identify themselves with the mainland Frisians. This is partly due to their ancestors being independent from Friesland and the Frisians. The tendency to distance themselves from mainlanders is found among islanders in general (Jansen & van Oostendorp 2004, also see below). The change of the political borders also left traces in the language systems. The dialects spoken on these islands are so-called mixed dialects and contain both Dutch and Frisian elements. The Frisian Islands make an ideal dialect research area also because of their peripheral position within the Dutch language area. Besides, few studies have concentrated on the dialects of the Frisian Islands: even in studies on language variation in Friesland, the islands are hardly ever considered.

This study focuses on the dialect of Ameland, since this dialect is still spoken by the majority of the inhabitants. Although most Wadden Sea dialects are hardly used anymore by the youngest generations, the island of Ameland is an exception: 85 percent of the youngsters still use the dialect or a combination of dialect and Dutch in everyday speech (see chapter 3). This might partly be due to the small number of inhabitants (3525 in 2004; the year the fieldwork was carried out) and partly to the small number of immigrants from the mainland, in comparison to a larger island community like Texel (Jansen 2001). A correlation might be assumed between number of inhabitants and immigrants from the mainland: for outsiders it is easier to integrate into a larger community with an open network structure than into a smaller community with a closed network structure. Still, the large percentage of dialect speakers is remarkable if we compare it with other Dutch dialect communities (Driessen 2006; see chapter 3 and 5).

Furthermore, the geographical variation within the Ameland community is of interest for dialect research. The island is subdivided into two dialect areas: one variety is spoken in the eastern part of the island, the other one in the western part. Parallel to the linguistic separation between east and west, we find a cultural division. Whereas the eastern side is more focused on tourism and has a high rate of immigration from the mainland, the western side of the island is more conservative, with agriculture as the main source of income (see also below). This dual situation, where tourism and conservatism are opposing forces, makes this area comparable to Martha's Vineyard, the island that became famous in the world of linguistics by Labov's 1963 classic study. In this study, which is considered as one of the first works in modern sociolinguistics, it was established that the older fishermen led a change in the dialectal pronunciation of certain diphthongs, exaggerating a tendency which already existed in their speech. As a result of this change, the islanders distanced themselves from tourists as well as the tourist industry.

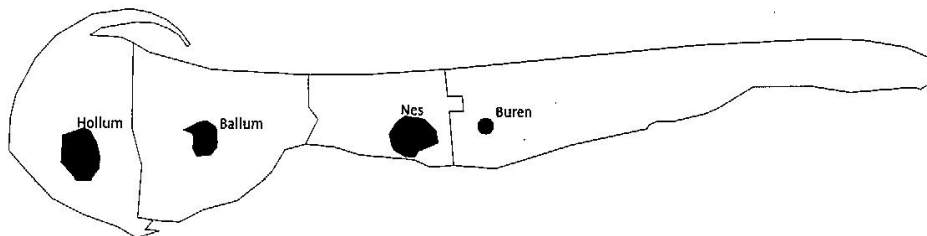
1.1.2. The island of Ameland

It will take the traveller 45 minutes to reach the island of Ameland from Holwerd (FR), at least if the water level permits it. The water level sometimes fluctuates because of the tide, and if the tide is too low the ferry must keep to a maximum speed. There is only a small number of crossings every day, especially in winter, which makes it difficult for islanders to plan

a journey if they leave for the mainland once in a while. However, this is part of their way of life and accepted as such. The crossing is also a social happening; the ferry a place to meet friends, especially for the younger people who go to school on the mainland and return to the island at the weekends.

The number of tourists is growing on Ameland, and this has consequences for the community. For example, the island of Texel, with the highest numbers of tourists visiting in the Wadden Sea area, has a very open network structure compared to the other islands (Jansen 2001). However, this is also due to the large numbers of non-native inhabitants that have come to live on the island. What is also important is the frequency of tourists visiting the island. While in the past there was a very sharp contrast between the summer and winter season, nowadays the tourist season runs during the whole year. Still, most visitors come during summer, and it is during winter that local traditions and club activities take a more dominant role in the island society.

Figure 1.2. The Island of Ameland with the four villages Hollum, Ballum (West), Nes and Buren (East). © Wolters Noordhoff



1.1.3. East versus west

The island of Ameland is divided into two parts: the island consists of two communities which are geographically separated. The geographical border between the eastern and western part of the island runs parallel with a religious one: whereas the eastern part used to be and still is mainly Catholic, the western part is mainly Protestant.

In the eastern part of the island two small villages are located, Nes and Buren. Nes functions as the centre of the island, because it is the village where the ferry arrives, where the tourist office is located as well as the main shops, restaurants and hotels. Buren is situated only two kilometres from Nes, and has a large number of camp farms where mostly school camps are organized. The number of inhabitants being very small (670 in 2004), Buren is also referred to as a hamlet. Most eastern inhabitants make their living in the tourist industry. The rate of immigration from the mainland is largest in this part of the island, which causes it to have a more open network structure.

The western part, on the other hand, where the villages Hollum and Ballum are located, partly depends on tourism and partly on agriculture. Most farmland is found here, which mostly consists of meadows for sheep and cows. The community in this part of the island is very close-knit. The western people are not completely dependent upon the tourist industry, which makes them more concerned about maintaining local traditions. The traditional feast of Sunneklaas (a variation on the well-known Santa Claus), which is very typical for the island communities, is celebrated in the old-fashioned way in Hollum and Ballum. The dialect, too, is said to be most authentic in this part of the island. Especially the older farming people have maintained old dialect features.

Because the local interests of both parts of the island very often conflict, both sides have their own local politicians. This separates the two communities even more, since there are also different football and tennis clubs, etc. for the two parts of the island. All villages also have their own primary schools, which means that children of both sides of the island are separated until they go to secondary school. There is only one secondary school on the island, which is located in the village of Nes. The Burgemeester Waldaschool, as it is called, has a very important function as far as dialect convergence is concerned, since this is the place where children from all over the island meet. Both primary and secondary school are important in several respects, since it is also the place where many young islanders first learn the Dutch standard language. For most children, the Ameland dialect is their one and only mother tongue. In school, however, it is not permitted to speak the dialect. While some teachers complain about the mixture of Dutch and the Ameland dialect that some children use, most islanders report a good understanding of the Dutch standard language. Especially during their working life, Amelanders speak Dutch in many domains and situations,

especially in their interactions with tourists from the mainland. Dialect usage is restricted to ingroup conversations, and is not felt to be appropriate in most outgroup situations (for a discussion of these terms, see section 2.2.3.).

1.1.4. Rural lifestyle

Role patterns on the island are still a bit traditional. In the interviews which were carried out for the present study, one of the questions was in what village people did their every day grocery shopping. A large part of the male informants replied that they did not do the shopping, but their wives did. Some even confessed that this not only applied to supermarket shopping, but that clothes, too, were bought by their spouses. Many female informants work in their homes, taking care of their children all day long. The island has a very rural lifestyle. That is, the women do the cooking and serve a hot meal for lunch. All children come home for lunch, except for those who are in secondary school, and shopkeepers close their shops to have lunch at home. This strict role separation by sex might be expected to be reflected in the stratification of dialect variants. Minimally, it is expected that gender differences can be observed in the island community.

One of the findings of this study was that there were not many differences between older male and female informants; however, the younger informants behaved very differently: young males showed a lot of dialectal features while young females showed a greater influence of the standard language. Even within one family the son of two dialect speakers spoke dialect permanently with the parents whereas the daughter only spoke Dutch. During our telephone conversations, there were some young female speakers who reported they did not speak the local dialect, but none of the male speakers did. The gender differences also appear to have consequences for the dialectal variants the islanders use. This will be described in the chapters to follow.

1.2. The present study

This book describes the role of social and socio-psychological factors in the process of dialect levelling. The political history of the Frisian Islands - which have changed hands between Holland and Friesland in the course of history - is still visible in its language varieties, as the dialects of Ameland and Terschelling are so-called mixed dialects: they contain both Dutch and

Frisian elements, where the Dutch comes from the dialect that used to be spoken in the province of Holland¹.

In this thesis, we study the present-day development of the mixed dialect spoken on Ameland. The influence of the surrounding standard languages on the dialects is measured on different linguistic levels, i.e. phonology and morphology. The number of linguistic variables is limited to six phonological and six morphological variables in order to gain a deeper insight into the process of levelling. By comparing the dialect competence and obtaining data from three generations of dialect speakers (adopting the so-called Apparent Time approach) the degrees of language maintenance and language loss will be assessed. The influence of both the Dutch and Frisian standard language² is taken into account. In this part of the study the central question is whether horizontal (cross-dialectal) convergence or vertical convergence (towards the Frisian or Dutch standard) is dominant in the levelling process. Do the islanders react against the huge numbers of tourists visiting the island each year? Attitude and network data will be adduced to focus on the individual language user. The attitudes towards the dialect and the surrounding standard languages may influence the process of dialect change. In this respect, the density of the social networks may also be relevant.

1.2.1. Related work

This thesis can be embedded in a broader dialect contact framework, where Trudgill's 1986 *Dialects in Contact* has been adopted as a starting point. In the general linguistic literature, Thomason & Kaufman (1988) is among the standard works on language contact. Van Coetsem (1988), on the other hand, studied structural consequences of contact on the dialect-standard dimension. These studies are the main points of reference in this project.

In a more narrow sense, the concept of dialect levelling, i.e. "the process of reduction of language structural variation" (Hinskens 1993: 40), describes the studies to which this research project refers. This concept was developed in

¹ Also take into account the possible influence of the mixed variety spoken in the Bildt (Koldijk 2004).

² The term 'standard language' has been used here to differentiate between the national variety and the local variety. It has to be considered that every notification of a standard language (i.e. Dutch or Frisian) has to be interpreted as such, although it is a theoretical notion in itself, since no true standard variety exists in spoken language.

the European dialectological literature (Hinskens 1992; Auer & Hinskens 1996). In the second half of the 1990s, dialect contact issues referring to dialect levelling were studied by the European Science Foundation Research Network on the 'Convergence and Divergence of Dialects in a Changing Europe' (Auer, Hinskens & Kerswill 2005). A research group (Milroy et al. 1994) in the north-east of England also worked within such a dialect contact framework. An important conclusion drawn in Watt & Milroy (1999) is that the social dynamics that drive levelling (gender, age, class) seem to be similar to the dynamics driving linguistic change of other kinds.

This thesis is one of a small number of studies about dialect loss in the Netherlands. Detailed studies about the process of dialect loss under the influence of a standard language are rare. In the Netherlands, the following studies have appeared on this theme: Gerritsen (1999), Hinskens (1992), Hoppenbrouwers (1990), Münstermann (1986; 1989), van Bree (1990), van Hout (1989) and Vousten (1995). Some of these linguists worked in the tradition of Thomason & Kaufman and van Coetsem, and concentrated mainly on the hierarchy of linguistic levels in the process of dialect loss. In this respect, the present study is rather more comparable to that by Hinskens (and to a lesser extent also to Münstermann's investigation) as it zooms in on just two (i.e. phonology and morphology) instead of all linguistic levels. On the other hand, this study is also comparable to Gerritsen, Münstermann and Vousten, which also involve an attitudinal component. In Münstermann & Hagen (1986), data on language attitudes as well as linguistic vitality were gathered. The vitality of the Ameland dialect is also discussed in the current work (chapter 3), in order to situate the Ameland dialect in the Dutch dialectal landscape. The present study differs from those just mentioned, as the network variable is also taken into account. Moreover, the situation is more complex since two standard languages play a role in the research area (i.e. Dutch and Frisian).

1.2.2. Structure of the study

The book has the following structure. In Chapter 2 a theoretical framework regarding language change and particularly dialect change and dialect loss is proposed. Since dialect change on Ameland is very closely connected to language contact, we will discuss contact models which will subsequently be applied to the dialect-standard language situation. Although processes of convergence are dominant in such contact situations, divergent trends may be postulated as well. We will therefore consider social factors such as

attitude to play a major role in dialect change. In chapter 2 the linguistic and sociolinguistic hypotheses of this study are developed.

Chapter 3 starts with a description of the research area, focusing on the history and socio-economic development of the area. This brief sketch of the historical background is necessary to understand the complex contact situation on the island, in which isolation and overseas contacts go hand in hand. It also explains the mixed character of the present-day Ameland dialect. The second part of this chapter uses the ethnolinguistic vitality concept to describe the overall vitality of the Ameland dialect in comparison to the Frisian and Dutch standard languages.

Chapter 4 deals with sample, design and procedure of the Ameland study, and places the linguistic variables in a broader context. Six morphological and six phonological variables will be presented; they represent three types of Ameland dialect features: village-typical, island-typical and region-typical elements. The maintenance and loss of the variables of each type is studied in apparent time.

In Chapter 5, the results of the investigation into the extralinguistic variables are presented. In this chapter, the outcomes of the sociolinguistic questionnaire will be discussed. Identity, language use, attitudes and orientation present clues to predict the future development of the dialect.

In Chapter 6 each linguistic variable is discussed in relation to the significant linguistic parameters as well as the stratification variables of age, sex and origin. This chapter provides answers to the main research questions and hypotheses about dialect levelling in this study.

Finally, in Chapter 7, we summarize and briefly discuss the findings in the previous chapters.

Chapter 2. Describing dialect change. Developing the research questions

Ameland is an ideal place for studying processes of dialect change, since different language varieties interact on the island, not only in the past when navigation led to overseas contacts, but also in the present. First of all, interaction takes place between the eastern and western inhabitants of the island. While for centuries both sides of the island used to be two separate communities, with their own local varieties of the Ameland dialect, nowadays these communities are turning into one, also with respect to the dialect. Influences from outside, however, remain visible in the language use of the islanders. Most of these are bilingual: they speak the local dialect as well as the Dutch standard language. And since Ameland is part of the province of Friesland, the Frisian language has left its traces as well. The linguistic input from tourists on the island - whether Frisian, German or otherwise - does not necessarily cause dialect loss, but might also lead to the opposite development, i.e. dialect retention, as will be clear from the next chapter.

In order to understand the process of dialect change on the island of Ameland, we will discuss a more general theoretical framework regarding language change, particularly with respect to dialect change and dialect loss. In this study, we are especially interested in external language change, which is language change caused by language contact. This will be the topic of section 2.1.

On Ameland, contact exists between the western and eastern variety of the dialect on the one hand, and contact between the dialect and the Dutch and/or Frisian standard languages on the other. These types of contact might lead to either convergence or divergence; in the case of convergence, there might be different types of borrowing and/or interference. It is therefore necessary to define these terms and discuss the literature on this topic. Since convergence (through 'dialect levelling') typically goes hand in hand with borrowing from the contact language, it leads to dialect loss. However, as we will see in the Ameland study, language contact can also involve divergent processes in which dialectal elements are emphasised instead. We will therefore use the term dialect change to fully cover the processes that occur when dialects interact. The most detailed contact models have been created for language contact, some of which will be reviewed below.

These models will then be applied more specifically to the dialect-standard language situation. The isolation of the dialect on the island of Ameland may shed light on internal change as well. This will be discussed in section 2.2, as well as the relativity of the concept of isolation. As will become clear in subsection 2.2.3, *isolation* can be defined in different ways. After discussing the general processes regarding dialect change, we will examine the individual factors that usually play a role in dialect change and dialect loss, which is an inevitable result when dialects come into contact with a dominant standard language. Extralinguistic factors affecting dialect change will be discussed in section 2.3.

The theoretical framework³ which is presented here will help us to develop the main research questions of this study. Each section will therefore conclude with one or two hypotheses, which will be summarized in section 2.4.

2.1. Dialect change in contact situations

When trying to explain language change, the first distinction to be made is that between *internal* and *external language change*. Internal change refers to change from within the language system, whereas external change is caused by external factors; that is, contact between different language systems. Both types of change seem to occur in language, and both types interfere with each other as well. A speaker is more willing to adopt a certain language feature of another language if this feature fits into the speaker's own language system (Thomason & Kaufman 1988).

2.1.1. Models of language change

Historical linguists used to concentrate on internal change, which in their view was the *only* source of language change. In the Neogrammarian model, language change is completely unrelated to borrowing. Some linguists even denied the existence of mixed languages (Müller 1871). In creolist studies, however, mixed languages were studied since the first creolist Hugo Schuchardt (Schuchardt 1884). In 1988, the historical linguists Thomason & Kaufman and van Coetsem simultaneously proposed frameworks for contact-induced language change. Thomason & Kaufman distinguished two contact situations: *borrowing* and *substratum interference*. In the same year, van Coetsem introduced a similar distinction, although he used the terms

³ Publications from 2008 and later have not been considered in this chapter.

borrowing and *imposition*. In van Coetsem's definition, the role of the speaker is of major importance. The main distinction is between the *recipient language* and the *source language*. These concepts correspond to Thomason & Kaufman's terms *native language* and *target language*, respectively. The recipient or native language is the L1, whereas the source or target language is the L2, the language of the socially dominant group. Whether processes of borrowing or imposition / substratum interference play a role depends on the agentivity (or: activity) of the speaker.

If the recipient language speaker is the agent, the transfer of material from the source language to the recipient language is called *borrowing*. This situation is also referred to as recipient language agentivity (*rl agentivity*). An example is a speaker who has Dutch as a first language and English as a second language. Since English is socially prestigious, it is expected that English loanwords will be borrowed into Dutch. If, on the other hand, the source language speaker is the agent, the transfer of material from the source language to the recipient language is called *imposition*. This situation is also referred to as source language agentivity (*sl agentivity*). This situation applies, for instance, to a Dutch immigrant in Great Britain who speaks English with a clear Dutch accent. In this case, the first language of the speaker penetrates into the second language.

Structural implications of the language contact models

Although their studies are not exclusively sociolinguistic in nature, both Thomason & Kaufman and van Coetsem emphasize their preference for a sociolinguistic approach to language change. This contrasts with the structuralist or generativist approach, which assumes that ultimately the language structure determines interference. In their framework, however, the sociolinguistic history of speakers determines the degree of borrowing or imposition:

"It is the sociolinguistic history of the speakers, and not the structure of their language, that is the primary determinant of the linguistic outcome of language contact." (T&K 1988, 35)

"We certainly do not deny the importance of purely linguistic factors such as pattern pressure and markedness considerations for a theory of language change, but the evidence from language contact shows that they are easily overridden when social factors push in another direction." (T&K 1988, 4)

For the structural part, van Coetsem introduces the property of *stability*. Certain components of language are more stable, that is, more resistant to change, while other components are less stable and thus less resistant to change. The stability gradient of language was also referred to in comparable terms by Whitney (1881), Haugen (1950), Weinreich (1953) and Uhlenbeck (1981). According to van Coetsem, there is a difference in stability among vocabulary on the one hand, and phonology and grammar (i.e. morphology and syntax) on the other. Vocabulary is the least stable, whereas phonology and grammar are the most stable components of language. This means that words are borrowed more easily than the grammatical elements of the source language. In a situation of imposition, however, the grammar of the recipient language is likely to infiltrate into the source language. Thomason & Kaufman propose similar transfer orders (table 2.1).

Table 2.1. Transfer types in two models on language contact

Thomason & Kaufman L1= <i>native language</i> L2= <i>target language</i>	van Coetsem L1= <i>recipient language</i> L2= <i>source language</i>	Transfer order
Borrowing Speaker uses L1 with loanwords from L2	Borrowing => <i>recipient language agentivity</i> L1 is the subject of change	words>grammar
Substratum interference Speaker uses L2 with substratum from L1	Imposition => <i>source language agentivity</i> L2 is the subject of change	grammar>words

Constraints on borrowing

One of the most important implications of both models is that they assume that both words and grammar can be borrowed, depending on the *intensity of contact*. Borrowing of words results from a minimum of cultural pressure between two languages. If the contact situation is more intense, they argue, grammatical components will be borrowed as well. On the island of Ameland, the contact situation is definitely one of strong cultural pressure from the Dutch standard language. Therefore we are mostly interested in grammatical borrowing. It is, however, still a question of debate whether

grammar can be borrowed. King (2000), for example, reflects on the model of Thomason and Kaufman and puts forward a different view on structural borrowing (i.e. borrowing of grammar). She takes a generativist approach. According to the Principles and Parameters framework (Chomsky 1981), universal principles are innate and hence do not differ across languages, whereas the choice of the setting of a particular parameter is made on the basis of the input during language acquisition.⁴ In this theory, grammatical variation and change are due to differences in parameter settings. The principles do not change. King shows that alleged syntactic changes in Prince Edward Island French are the result of lexical changes. Structural borrowing can therefore be interpreted as a "snowball" effect: borrowing lexical items involves borrowing their syntactic properties. To illustrate this view, she shows that preposition stranding in Prince Edward Island French is the result of borrowing prepositions of English origin. This resulted in the extension of a property of English prepositions, viz. the ability to be stranded: no change in the grammar *itself* is needed. Similar observations were made by Appel & Muysken (1987), who demonstrated that quite a number of alleged cases of structural borrowing might have other explanations.

A more recent piece of criticism against one of Thomason & Kaufman's (1988) examples of rule borrowing was put forward in a phonological study by Revithiadou et al (2006), who discuss the pattern of vowel assimilation in Asia Minor Greek (AMG) dialects, which is restricted to the end of the word, and which is very similar to vowel harmony in Turkish. This example was used in Thomason & Kaufman (1988: 218) and Thomason (2001: 74) to show that phonological rules of Turkish were added to the phonological systems of these Greek dialects. However, Revithiadou et al show that contact with Turkish only led to the extension of a pattern which was already present in Southern Greek. Thomason & Kaufman's analysis of AMG vowel harmony as 'rule borrowing' is therefore dismissed. Thomason (2001) again raises the question whether rules can be borrowed. Her position is that both phonological and morphosyntactic rules can be transferred from one language to another. What complicates this statement it is difficult to decide what counts as direct transfer of a grammatical rule. Thomason argues:

⁴ In minimalist syntax, all variation is lexical variation by definition (Adger 2003).

"But even on the narrowest interpretation of the notion of contact-induced grammatical change, it's possible to show that no absolute constraint against direct rule transfer can be maintained."

According to Thomason, evidence for this claim can be found in dialect contact situations or closely related languages:

"Such languages will share a very large proportion of their vocabulary, which makes structural interference without morpheme transfer somewhat more likely than in other borrowing situations."
(Thomason 2001: 12)

Thomason gives some convincing examples of language varieties that share the same phonological or morphological rule, without lexical borrowing being involved.⁵ However, there are non-related languages which show word order changes as a result of contact. Under such conditions, however, transferred morphemes are found as well. Thus, finding evidence for structural borrowing remains difficult. According to Muysken (2000):

"One of the reasons why so little agreement has been reached with respect to the question of what can be borrowed in language contact is that the focus has been on the supposed outcome, i.e. the elements borrowed and the directionality of borrowing, and not as much on the processes of borrowing, determined by the type of contact situation." (Muysken 2000: 263)

Muysken (2000) connects Thomason and Kaufman's model for contact-induced change to recent models of bilingual behaviour. This results in a three-way model, involving a distinction between *insertion* of lexical items, *alternation* or 'mixing' between structures and *congruent lexicalization* (Muysken 2000: 264, 265). The latter notion refers to a situation in which two languages have a (largely) shared grammatical structure, which can be filled with lexical items from either language. We hope that the present study will provide more insight into the dynamics of dialect contact and the (im)possibility of dialects borrowing grammatical rules.

⁵ Hinskens (1998) argues that dialects of one and the same language typically do not differ dramatically in their grammar, including the rule framework: differences between such dialects are rather manifestations of a difference in the ordering of rules (or output constraints).

2.1.2. Linguistic factors influencing contact-induced change

What are the factors that determine differences in stability, or resistance to change? It is important to notice that the factors which will be discussed here have different implications on borrowing and imposition, respectively. In the case of borrowing, stability of elements in the L1 impedes change; in the case of imposition, stability of elements in the L1 promotes change. Van Coetsem discusses some of the factors mentioned in the earlier literature, starting with *frequency*. Frequency of usage is considered an important factor in language change in several studies. It can have either a conserving or a promotory effect on language change. Lexical diffusion, which is the item-by-item spread of a sound change through the vocabulary, usually takes place from high frequency to low frequency words (Bybee 2002). A famous Dutch example is found in the so-called expansionist theory proposed by Kloeke (1927). In the 16th century, the spread of the prestigious /y/ sound (previously /u/) in every single local dialect first affected frequently used words like 'house', after which less frequently used words like 'mouse' were affected.

A factor which often corresponds with frequency is *structuredness*, which is similar to *regularity*. Regular forms are more stable. If we compare internal and external marking of the plural (e.g. 'foot-feet' vs. 'hand-hands'), the former (irregular) example is more sensitive to change than the latter (regular) example. If a language component has greater internal structure, the contact situation must be accordingly more intense to result in structural borrowing. Structuredness is related to Thomason and Kaufman's linguistic concept of *typological distance*: structural relatedness between languages facilitates transfer.

Another factor that is referred to in van Coetsem's study is *optimal patterning*, which is the integration of the linguistic element into several different grammatical levels. If a phonological distinction corresponds to a morphological distinction it is more resistant to change. A final factor is *consciousness* or *saliency* (Schirmunski 1930, van Bree 1983). The contribution of consciousness plays a minor role in van Coetsem's model, although it is used to explain one of the differences between recipient language activity and source language activity. The first situation, borrowing, is described by van Coetsem as a process of *imitation*, while the latter, imposition, is described as *adaptation*. Imitation is a more conscious process than adaptation, which must have consequences for the order of borrowing or imposition. A concept which is closely related to saliency is *markedness*. It is

listed in Thomason & Kaufman (1988: 36) as one of the linguistic factors influencing language change, next to typological distance.

Van Bree (1992; 1992; 1997; 2000; 2001), who relies heavily on van Coetsem's borrowing model, assumes a prominent role for consciousness in the processes of borrowing and imposition. These processes differ in the sense that borrowing tends to be a conscious process and imposition tends to be subconscious. In the case of borrowing, salient linguistic elements like content words are borrowed, whereas in the case of imposition, non-salient linguistic elements, like syntactic constructions, are transferred from L1 to L2. According to van Bree, saliency is most of all a matter of rule character (i.e. regularity or *structuredness*) and linguistic distance between L1 and L2. Non-salient linguistic elements are defined as more stable; that is, less susceptible to change, whereas salient linguistic elements are less stable, and more susceptible to change. The following linguistic hierarchy of stability⁶ can be construed from van Bree's work:

Table 2.2. Van Bree's Scale of the stability of linguistic components

Unstable / salient

non-salient / stable

Content words - lexical phonology - morphology - syntax - pronunciation

This stability scale is refined in later work of van Bree (van Bree 2002; see also de Vink 2004), in which stability is described in more detail for each linguistic component. In syntax, for example, there is a difference in stability for syntactic constructions and word order: the former are more stable than the latter. It is clear that some syntactic variants are indeed salient. It is therefore rather difficult to maintain a clear-cut borrowing order like the one suggested by table 2.2. In van Coetsem's work, we find some refinements of the model based on the principles of structuredness and frequency.

Van Coetsem (2003) distinguishes three components in language: vocabulary (V), grammar (G) and phonology (PH). Vocabulary and grammar are considered to form the 'dual core of language', since they complement one another functionally. Whereas V is a set of lexical *items*, G is a set of rules which determines the *relations* between these *items*. Given the difference in structuredness between the two, relations are more stable whereas items are less stable. This framework of item versus relation is further extended to contentives and functors. Whereas contentives (content

⁶ This stability hierarchy is also discussed elaborately by De Vink (2004).

words, Vc) do not show grammatical relations with other items, functors (function words, Vf and flexives, Gf) do. This is why these subcomponents can also be described in terms of stability: contentives (Vc) are less stable and functors are more stable (Vf, Gf). The other determinant of stability, *frequency*, accounts for a distinction between primary vocabulary, which is more stable, and secondary vocabulary, which is less stable.

A fundamental question raised in Cheshire, Kerswill & Williams (2005) is whether there is more variation in the phonetics and phonology of languages than in other components of linguistic structure. According to Hinskens (1998), variation increases the closer one approaches the periphery of the grammar; which means that phonetic variation is more frequent than phonological variation, which in turn is more frequent than morphological variation, which finally is more frequent than variation in syntax. As was proposed by Labov (2001), change in the surface phonetics may be the driving force behind the majority of structural linguistic changes (i.e. phonetic change may lead to later morphological and syntactic changes, but not the other way around).

Another question which was raised by Cheshire, Kerswill & Williams (2005) was whether sociolinguistic patterns of variation are the same at different levels of structure. For example, Labov (1990) states that the clearest patterns in phonetic and phonological variation concern the linguistic differentiation of women and men. In general, men use more nonstandard forms than women do. Recently, sociolinguistic variation has also been found for syntactic and discourse variants (Cheshire 2005). But still the study of syntactic variation has lagged behind, since "syntactic alternants recur less frequently in spontaneous speech than phonological features" (Cheshire, Kerswill & Williams 2005, 138). The infrequency of syntactic variants makes them less readily available for social stratification and this is why they are less susceptible to change. The authors draw parallels with Labov's definition of sociolinguistic markers; these are "variables to which speakers pay more or less conscious attention" (p. 139). As Cheshire, Kerswill & Williams put it: "Syntactic forms are less likely to function as sociolinguistic markers".

2.1.3. Dialect - standard language situation

Conscious and unconscious change

The theoretical models proposed by van Coetsem (1988) and Thomason & Kaufman (1988) are easily applicable to a dialect-standard language situation. Taeldeman (1993) discusses this situation, in which the native or recipient language is the dialect, whereas the target or source language is the standard language. The process of imposition or substratum interference is described as dialect persistence or maintenance, whereas borrowing is described as dialect loss. Taeldeman argues that in the speaker's mind both processes can be equally conscious. In the present day Belgian Dutch situation, for instance, the speaker's knowledge of the standard language does not deviate much from his knowledge of the dialect. The dialect speaker is able to switch very easily between the two language systems. For Taeldeman, however, the degree of consciousness determines the resulting transfer type. This results in a fine-grained model in which four transfer types can be distinguished:

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| (1) conscious imposition | (3) conscious borrowing |
| (2) unconscious imposition | (4) unconscious borrowing |

The conscious processes are more marked, whereas the unconscious processes are less marked. The less familiar situations are situations (1) and (4). These are illustrated by two examples: (1) in a certain (formal) situation, a dialect speaker prefers to use the standard language, although he will insert some dialect features to emphasize his identity; (4) in a certain (informal) situation, a dialect speaker prefers to use the dialect; however, he is no longer able to speak the 'authentic dialect'⁷ and mixes the dialect with features from the standard variety.

In this model, the role of *attitudes* is important, especially for the conscious processes of imposition and borrowing. In situation (1), the speaker aims at the standard language, but the attitude towards the dialect is still positive. In situation (4), the speaker uses the dialect, but the attitude towards the dialect is rather negative. Thomason & Kaufman (1988, 43) list attitude as one of the social factors determining the degree of interference/borrowing, next to *intensity of contact*. However, the attitude of rl-speakers (recipient language

⁷ Authentic dialect is a problematic term: in this context it refers to the dialect as it is spoken by the NORM (Non-mobile Older Rural Male)-speaker.

speakers) is probably of minor importance if the number of sl-speakers (source language speakers) is numerically strong.

In the present study, attitude is regarded as an important determining factor of borrowing (section 2.3.2.); it plays a minor role with respect to the influence of Dutch, since the pressure of the Dutch standard language is very high, but it plays a major role for Frisian, which exerts low pressure on the Ameland dialect.

In this case Aitchison (1991) is also relevant, who makes a distinction between conscious change and unconscious change. The first is described as "changes which people realize are happening, and actively encourage" (55). They are triggered by *pressure from above*: above the level of conscious awareness. The latter type is described as "changes which people do not notice" (56). They are influenced by *pressure from below*: below the level of conscious awareness. An example of a conscious change given by Aitchison is the distribution of /r/ in New York City (Labov 1972). The /r/ (as in *car*, *bear*, *beard*) is inserted most frequently by upper-class speakers and therefore has a high social prestige. Working and middle-class speakers imitate the higher class by inserting /r/ whenever they are aware of their speech. An example of an unconscious change which is presented in Aitchison is Labov's 1963 study in Martha's Vineyard, in which dialect speakers move away from the socially accepted norm. The old fishermen on the island unconsciously exaggerate their authentic diphthong pronunciation in order to distance themselves from the summer visitors and to underline their island identity; this pronunciation is imitated by other speaker groups in a second stage. It is doubtful, however, whether this is an unconscious change, since the fishermen and - even more so - the islanders who imitate them are conscious of the fact that they want to stress their island identity. In this case it might be better to use the term *covert prestige*. The concept of 'covert prestige' is not similar to the concept of 'pressure from below'. It refers to the prestige of local variants in contrast with the generally / officially accepted variants. In Hinskens, Kallen & Taeldeman (2000), *overt* prestige is associated with the linguistic norm, whereas *covert* prestige involves a divergent reaction, away from the norm. A typical example is the preference by male speakers, differently from female speakers, for localised variants. Such a preference was found, for example, in Watt & Milroy's (1999) study on Newcastle vowels, in which the male speakers pronounced the conservative fronted vowel /e:/ in GOAT tokens, which is almost completely avoided by the female speakers. The same pattern occurs for the FACE and GOAT variants. As the authors conclude: "in the case of all three vowels, the dramatic gender difference can be generalised as a female preference for

unmarked mainstream variants, and an equally strong male preference for strongly localised variants." (Watt & Milroy 1999: 40) Although *prestige* implies conscious awareness, overt and covert prestige may vary on the scale of consciousness. It is also difficult to draw a clear line between norms of a single group and those of the society as a whole. Therefore the terms *covert* and *overt prestige* might be misleading. In our general discussion (chapter 7), we will use the terms *local* and *supralocal norms* instead. We would also like to emphasize that the concept of consciousness is rather vague, and is difficult to measure. The terms *change from below* and *change from above* will therefore be avoided in this study.

Dialect levelling

Dialect loss is a normal consequence of contact between a dialect and the standard language. This is due to the *social prestige* of the standard language, which causes decreased use of the dialect. This functional loss is what we call *dialect shift*, which usually leads to structural dialect loss, or *dialect levelling*. Dialect levelling is described by Hinskens (1993: 40) as "the process of reduction of language structural variation", more specifically "the process of the reduction of both intrasystemic and intersystemic variation" (Hinskens, Kallen & Taeldeman 2000). This process of reduction concerns "socially or locally marked variants", as Watt and Milroy put it, often following "social or geographical mobility". This view is shared by Trudgill, who refers to "the reduction or attrition of marked variants" (Trudgill 1986: 98). Following the definition of Hinskens, Kallen and Taeldeman, it is the reduction of intersystemic variation which leads to dialect *convergence*, which is a process in which languages or language varieties become more similar to one another. Convergence of the dialect towards the standard language is referred to as *vertical convergence*, while convergence between dialects is known as *horizontal convergence* (Hinskens, Kallen & Taeldeman 2000: 8). Horizontal convergence can lead to the development of a *regiolect*.

The notion of regiolect

Hoppenbrouwers (1990) develops a model for the Dutch language area which describes the dialect continuum between the dialect and the standard language. He defines the intermediate stage between dialect and standard language as *regiolect*. According to Hoppenbrouwers, the process of dialect loss starts with the loss of primary dialect features; the salient or less widespread features, as described by Schirmunski (1930). The loss of

primary dialect features causes dialects to become more similar to one another, which makes them particularly useful for communication within a larger region (Hoppenbrouwers 1990: 84). The next step is levelling towards the standard language, which can be interpreted as a process of imposition. What finally remains of the original dialect is a regional accent. This twofold process of levelling is also related to one of the hypotheses investigated in Hinskens (1993): "Dialect levelling is a two-dimensional process - it concerns both variation between dialect and standard language and variation between dialects" (p. 41). The two processes are independent. As Hinskens shows on the basis of his Rimburch data, in some cases interdialectal levelling even leads to a larger structural distance between the dialect and the standard language. The independence of the two processes is particularly relevant for the Ameland study. One of the hypotheses in this study will be that *interdialectal levelling does not take place in an island situation* (hypothesis IIb), *since the island and mainland dialects are not in a 'regular' contact situation (like neighbouring dialects)*. The following quote from Auer and Hinskens is relevant: "While convergence of dialects towards the standard variety always seems to imply some kind of cross-dialectal levelling, the reverse does not necessarily hold." (Auer & Hinskens 1996: 12). We claim that for dialect islands, i.e. situations in which a dialect has no contact with neighbouring dialects, dialect levelling is a one-dimensional process, since levelling between the dialect and the standard language is the only possibility.

The cause of dialect change

Most rapid changes are caused by languages that become exposed to other languages. This can lead to the emergence of creoles and pidgins. These language types are the most extreme end products of intermingling languages. Many of these varieties developed in the colonialist period, when certain nations became overruled by others. The native inhabitants took over the more prestigious languages of the occupiers. However, because of *imperfect learning*, and because the speakers usually did not want to give up their mother tongue completely, a substratum of the basilect remained.⁸ This process of creolization is similar in certain ways to dialect change nowadays. Dialect speakers are forced to give up their dialect and speak the more prestigious and economically dominant standard language. A

⁸ We are well aware of the fact this is a very rough and simplified sketch of the process of creolization. For the current study, however, it is not necessary to go into more detail.

substratum or accent is what mostly remains of the dialect. This might result in an intermediate language stage, defined above as *regional accent* by Hoppenbrouwers. He shares the traditional view (De Saussure 1916, Kloeke 1927) that dialect change is caused by imitation of a prestigious variety. According to Hoppenbrouwers, dialect change starts with imperfect learning of *children acquiring their first language*. He states that contact with neighbouring varieties leads to a growing tolerance among the adults with respect to their children's language behaviour (Hoppenbrouwers 1990, 33-34). Because of this indirect manner of language change Hoppenbrouwers predicts a slow process of change. However, there are many examples of language change in which contact languages change very rapidly. Trudgill (1989) argues that in language contact situations *second language acquisition of adults* occurs more often (see also section 2.2). Simplification of the system (which is typical for creoles) is one characteristic of second-variety acquisition. This is due to the fact that adults do not preserve structural conditions with the same fidelity as children during the process of first language acquisition. In a recent paper, Labov (2007) presents a model of language change based on different stages in language acquisition. In this new model, Labov attempts to fit together family tree models and wave models. Whereas the family tree model accounts for parent-to-child *transmission* within the speech community, the wave model is the result of *diffusion* of features that results from language contact between adults of different speech communities.⁹

In situations of enduring, intensive contact between dialects a process of koineization often takes place, including the mixing of linguistic subsystems (Siegel 1985: 180) or the development of a *lingua franca* (Hinskens, Kallen & Tældeman 2000), in which levelling and simplification play a role. A distinction has to be drawn between an "immigrant koine" and a "regional koine" (Siegel 1985: 75), which have different effects on language change. Kerswill and Williams showed that, in the development of immigrant koines, second-generation children play a crucial role, and simplification is sometimes lacking (Kerswill & Williams 2000). Language contact often involves attrition, for which two main sources are usually responsible: *borrowing* from the dominant language and internally motivated *simplification* (Thomason 2003).

⁹ The notion of transmission is also referred to in Labov's earlier work as 'change from below', as opposed to diffusion or 'change from above' (Labov 1966).

2.1.4. Differences between contact linguistics and contact dialectology

Although contact linguistics is not a new discipline, it was not until very recently that research on dialect contact intensified. Schreier (2003) describes contact dialectology as investigating "language change as a result of long term linguistic accommodation". The difference with contact linguistics is that dialects in contact are usually mutually intelligible, whereas languages in contact are not necessarily so. Therefore, in dialect contact, accommodation is not a matter of communicative necessity.

However, the question remains whether linguistic processes involved in dialect and language contact are related or not (Trudgill 2000). Schreier (2003) redefines this crucial question as follows: Are koineisation and pidginisation the same? Schreier's definition of a koiné is taken from Siegel (1985): a "mixture of features from the contributing varieties, serving as a sort of 'lingua franca'". This concerns varieties that are mutually intelligible, that is, dialectal varieties. If we then compare pidgins and koinés, there are both differences and similarities. These are summed up by Hinskens (2001)¹⁰ and Schreier (2003): The first difference between a pidgin and a koiné is the degree of decomplexification, which is more radical in pidgins than in koinés; secondly, the social context is radically different, in the sense that interaction between the involved language varieties is different; thirdly, the process of pidginization is a rapid process whereas koineisation is a gradual process. An important similarity, on the other hand, is that both present stages on a developmental continuum (Siegel 1985).

2.1.5. Concluding remarks and hypotheses

Since contact dialectology is a rather new discipline, the linguistic contact models are of great relevance. In the Ameland study, especially the process of borrowing of Dutch and Frisian elements is of interest. Both conscious and unconscious borrowing occur in this dialect contact situation. Taking into account the structural consequences of dialect change, we will investigate whether there is a difference between the phonological and morphological variables involved in this study.

¹⁰ Hinskens (2001) criticizes Siegel's model for its lack of robust empirical support. Hinskens also points out that Afrikaans, having both koiné and creole characteristics, constitutes a counterexample against Siegel's distinction between koinés and creoles.

Hypothesis I

Which dialect features are more and which are less resistant to dialect change and/or loss? On the basis of the literature on contact linguistics, we assume that there must be clear cases of lexical borrowing in the Ameland dialect, since the cultural pressure of standard Dutch is very strong. This assumption was confirmed in an earlier study on the island of Ameland (Jansen 2001). For now, we will therefore focus on grammatical borrowing. Does dialect change take place on both the phonological and the morphological level, and if so, is contact with the Dutch and/or the Frisian standard language responsible for this change? Taking into account the intensity of contact between dialect and standard language, we hypothesize that *dialect levelling takes place on both linguistic levels*. The question remains whether grammatical borrowing consists of direct transfer of grammatical rules or if it is a long-term consequence of lexical borrowing. Unfortunately, the latter question is beyond the scope of our present research.

Hypothesis II

In this study we distinguish three types of variables, depending on their degree of geographical distribution. Our assumption is that geographical distribution is correlated with dialect change. We hypothesize that *the more widespread a dialect feature, the more resistant it is to dialect change*. For the Ameland situation, this hypothesis has the following consequences:

Ila. Variables that distinguish typical village variants will be more susceptible to change than variables that consist of more widespread or regional variants: *The typical village variants will be more prone to loss in the process of convergence than the more widespread variants*.

Ilb. Horizontal convergence will only take place between the eastern and western variety of the dialect, but not between the Ameland dialect and mainland Frisian dialects. *We claim that for dialect islands, i.e. situations in which a dialect has no contact with other regional dialects, dialect levelling is a one-dimensional process*, since levelling between the dialect and the standard language is the only possibility. It is therefore impossible for the Ameland dialect to turn into a regiolect.

2.2. Dialect change in post-isolated communities

Language varieties can be placed on a continuum from high to low contact. If we examine both poles of the continuum, we conclude that the research focus in the literature of the past twenty years for both situations is somewhat out of balance in favour of high contact situations. This is easily

explained, since intensive contact situations occur far more frequently in recent times, partly as a result of increased communication and transportation. However, the study of low contact varieties is equally important compared to the study of high contact situations, because both will help us to understand the mechanisms involved in language change. The study of isolated dialects may shed light upon language change situations in earlier times, or, as Trudgill puts it:

"When it comes to contact, the present is not like the past, and it is by investigating isolated languages that we are most likely to gain insights into the sorts of linguistic changes that occurred in the remote past." (Trudgill 1989: 236)

According to Trudgill, the study of isolated languages is important to understand language change processes in the past. Trudgill's argument for studying isolated dialects seems convincing, but is not verifiable since entirely isolated dialects hardly exist anymore. The island of Ameland used to be characterized by geographical isolation in the past but is now easily accessible, witness thousands of tourists a year. But although the tourist industry has changed the island community in certain ways, it did not remove all aspects of isolation. As Schilling-Estes (2002: 67) points out, isolation has different dimensions: physical, sociological, economic, psychological, cultural and even technological isolation can be distinguished. Although physical isolation has decreased in the case of Ameland because of improved ferry connections, the community is still more isolated than mainland communities. Also on the psychological and cultural dimension, the Ameland community is rather isolated. Most inhabitants of the island are very strongly attached to their own culture, which is reflected in the maintenance of their local dialect and local traditions. Schilling-Estes (2002) lists the following features that enhance isolation: geographical remoteness (or difficulty of access); dense, multiplex social networks; economic autonomy; historical continuity of the population and limited in-migration are all likely to be associated with isolated situations. The Ameland community is characterized by all of these features, which will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3. Taking into account the present-day situation of the island, it might be better to use the term *relative isolation* or Schilling-Estes' *post-isolation*. The study of post-isolated dialects involves studying processes of both isolation and contact. Both internal and external changes can be found in such dialects, which make them the ideal object of dialect change research.

2.2.1. The significance of natural change

Situations of intensive linguistic contact occur frequently nowadays, but also in the history of the Indo-European languages such situations were predominant. Thus, the study of intensive contact varieties has always been regarded as the norm and therefore gained more attention than the study of less-intensive contact varieties. Therefore there are very few studies that deal with low-contact varieties, in comparison to the wide range of studies on creoles and koinés. As a result, language change in low contact situations is sometimes regarded as a type of change that is not natural. However, the opposite is true: whereas change in high contact situations often has external explanations, change in completely isolated speech communities can only be due to internal processes, which make this type of change extremely natural. Bailey (1982) prefers to refer to such changes as *connatural* change as opposed to *abnatural* change:

"Connatural developments are those that take place when languages are left alone, i.e. when they have no contact with other systems. By contrast, equally *normal*, "abnatural" developments occur as the result of contact with other systems." (Bailey 1982: 10)

An important distinction between high and low contact varieties was made by Trudgill (1989): Whereas high contact varieties are the result of a relatively high level of involvement of imperfect learning by adults, low contact or isolated varieties are the result of situations where "the language faculty of the child has played a relatively greater role" (Trudgill 1989: 237). The same idea was actually put forward by Bailey, who claimed that abnatural changes are more typical of adult language, while connatural changes are more typical of children's native language acquisition (Bailey 1982).

2.2.2. Types of change in remote areas

Language varieties spoken in geographically peripheral areas change less rapidly than language varieties in more central areas. This is due to the absence of dialect contact and strong network ties which enforce 'intra-community norms' (Schilling-Estes 2002). Slow changes are difficult to study, especially since it is time consuming. Another difficulty for the fieldworker is the strong network ties which make it more difficult to integrate into the language community. The impact of social networks upon

speed of change was described in more detail in the studies of Lesley Milroy (e.g. Milroy 2002). The network concept will be examined in more detail in section 2.3. Trudgill claims that it is not just the degree of change but also the type of change that is affected by dialect contact. Trudgill (1986) describes two processes of change that are involved in dialect contact situations, that is *levelling*, defined as the loss of marked variants, and *simplification*, which is the development of 'interdialect' forms (or compromises between two dialects). Much less is known about dialects that are in relative isolation. According to Trudgill, a reverse contact situation has reverse consequences, that is, the opposite of simplification can be assumed for low contact varieties: complication. This idea was already introduced by Andersen (1988), who modified Jakobson's observation that koinés develop into simpler systems. Cf. also the more recent study by Kusters (2003), who claims that isolated dialects show a more complex inflectional morphology (Kusters 2003: 369).

The distinction between high and low contact communities is also referred to as 'closed' versus 'open' or, in the work of Kusters (2003), as Type 1 versus Type 2 communities. Type 1 communities are relatively small – most people know each other and interaction takes place most frequently among members of the community while interaction with outsiders is rare. From Kusters' model it follows that in this type of community hardly any dialectal variation exists. According to Kusters' definition, there are more internal differences and dialects in a Type 2 community. These community types can overlap, as illustrated by the case of the Faroe Islands which as a whole can be defined as a Type 2 community consisting of many Type 1 communities (Kusters 2003: 44). The differences between the community types are reflected in the languages spoken in the Faroer area:

"The language in a Type 2 community that emerged from the contact between several Type 1 communities, must be some kind of koineised or standardised or selected variety from among the dialects." (Kusters 2003: 44)

When we examine the situation on the island of Ameland we find two dialect varieties spoken in tight-knit communities, both of which are definitely Type 1 communities. Ameland as a whole also has characteristics of a Type 1 community and since no koineised island dialect exists as yet, the island does not have any properties of a Type 2 community. Kusters' hypothesis is that complexity is more commonly found and retained in Type

1 communities than in Type 2 communities. This claim was also made by Trudgill (1989). In Kusters' study, complexity is mainly reflected in the inflectional morphology. Whereas the L1 learner acquires inflectional categories without any problems, the L2 learner finds these difficult to master (Kusters 2003: 51). In our study, inflectional morphology is visible in the clitic pronouns, for instance, which can be classified as verbal inflection. To determine whether the Ameland community is losing its Type 1 characteristics in favour of Type 2 characteristics, we could try to establish how the use of these clitic pronouns is changing. But other variables too might show loss of complexity, for example as loss of phonological conditioning of dialect features. Kerswill & Williams (2000) not only list the loss of irregularity in morphology as a manifestation of simplification, but also the "reduction in the number of grammatical categories, an increase in invariable word forms and the acquisition of "easy" features, such as small changes in vowel quality and lexical and morpholexical borrowing" (Kerswill & Williams 2000: 67).

Intrasystemic change

While in Type 1 communities internal change is relatively frequent, Type 2 communities are characterized by contact with other communities and therefore show more evidence of external change. The difference between Type 1 and Type 2 communities more or less corresponds to unlevelled and levelled dialects, respectively. Unlevelled dialects show only intrasystemic and hardly any intersystemic convergence.

Hinskens (1998) distinguishes three types of sound change, viz. *postlexical*, *lexically diffuse* and *lexicalized* sound change. Postlexical rules are productive and lexically exceptionless; they lead to intersystemic variation. Lexically diffuse and lexicalized rules, on the other hand, cause internal or intrasystemic variation since they are not exceptionless. These types of changes should not be confused with borrowing processes. In post-isolated dialects, however, intrasystemic and intersystemic variation, or internally and externally motivated change, occur simultaneously. According to Hinskens, lexicalized sound change is more salient. As a consequence, he proposes the idea that Schirmunski's distinction between primary and secondary dialect features could be replaced by a distinction between lexicalized versus postlexical (cf. Reiffenstein 1976: 1980). Lexicalized rules are less resistant to change than postlexical rules, which is illustrated by an example of historical r-deletion in Hinskens' Rimburch data, which is undergoing significant apparent-time dialect loss. Postvocalic r-deletion

before alveolar obstruents (a rule which can also be found in the Ameland dialect, see chapter 4) is a clear example of a lexicalized rule, since it does not occur in loanwords and inflected forms.

2.2.3. The impact of local and supralocal norms

Dialect change in post-isolated communities was investigated by Schilling-Estes (2002), who compared two historically isolated communities in the US: Smith Island, Maryland, and the Lumbee Native American community in Robeson County, in south-eastern Carolina. Although the Lumbee English spoken by the youngest generation is affected by levelling pressures of neighbouring dialects, Smith Island has become *more* rather than less distinctive in recent years. Phonological features like /ay/-raising as in /rɔit/ for 'right' and /aw/ glide fronting as in /sɑnd/ for 'sound' have increased over the past three generations. Although /ay/-raising may have entered into the island community from outside, glide-fronted /aw/ is definitely an internal innovation.

The differences between both communities can first of all be explained by the degree of isolation. Whereas the Lumbee community of Robeson county is now easily accessible by a major highway, Smith Island is still accessible only by a boat service which is rather unreliable in extreme weather circumstances. As a consequence, Smith islanders have fewer contacts with non-islanders compared to Lumbees. Furthermore, the size of the Lumbee population is much larger than that of Smith Island. And finally, the Smith Island community is rather closed in both psychological and attitudinal respects. The inhabitants of Smith Island prefer to remain as self-sufficient as possible. Although in-group identity is important for Lumbees as well, it does not prevent the dialect from levelling. It is important to note that there is partial resistance to dialect change. Although the distinctive /ay/ variant has been replaced by the more widespread /a:/, other distinctive features have been preserved, such as the invariant present tense form of the copula *be* or *bes* ('She *bes* late'). This study shows that, even in communities that emerge from historic isolation, the speakers' desire to retain their cultural distinctiveness enables them to maintain certain distinctive dialect features. The key concept in Schilling-Estes' study is *in-group identity*. The speakers desire to distinguish themselves from other (groups of) speakers, since "speakers discourally construct their individual and group identities in opposition to others" (Cohen 1985: 115, quoted by Schilling-Estes 2002). The distinctive dialect features that are used to reach this goal are not limited to isolated communities. Isolation, however, adds to the denseness of

community networks and further promotes in-group identity feelings. Another case which shows that dialect levelling does not necessarily exclude the retention of distinctive features is the investigation of a new dialect (in the definition of Kerswill & Trudgill 2005¹¹) spoken by Scottish immigrants in Corby, Northamptonshire, by Dyer (2002). Corby, which is a former steel town in the English Midlands, has undergone contact-induced levelling by adopting supralocal English norms. These linguistic norms seem to originate from London, being adopted by young people all over Britain, but especially in southern England, a tendency which has also been attested in other studies (Williams & Kerswill 1999; Stuart-Smith 1999). These linguistic norms express the trendy London lifestyle and are therefore popular among young people. On the other hand, some older Scottish features, which entered the community in the seventies when many plant workers from Glasgow arrived, still survive among the youngest generation in Corby. A salient feature which distinguishes the Scottish accent from the Anglo-English one is the monophthongal realization of the GOAT vowel. Surprisingly, among the youngest generation, both monophthongal and diphthongal realizations are found. What is even more remarkable is that the distributional patterns show a clear gender divide. It seems as though male speakers favour the Scottish variant, whilst female speakers favour the innovatory supralocal English variant, which is a rather fronted diphthong. Whereas male speakers have more locally oriented identities, female speakers have more outwardly oriented identities. In this case, formerly ethnically-based language variation (which divided Scots and Englishmen) has now changed to variation based on local identity. A similar process was reported in the 1963 study of Labov on Martha's Vineyard, in which language differences between Yankees, Native Americans and Portuguese were reinterpreted as differences between island-oriented and mainland-oriented speakers. The young men in Corby, however, do not associate their Scottish language features with Scotland, but rather with Corby as opposed to the neighbouring town of Kettering. As Dyer concludes: "... in Corby there has been a shift from orientation towards ethnic group to orientation towards town community" (Dyer 2002: 112). According to Hinskens (1998: 183), the reinterpretation of geographical variation as sociolinguistic variation is a natural process in koinés, since formerly rural dialects often

¹¹ "New-dialect formation, as conceptualised by Trudgill and others (...), refers to the emergence of distinctive, new language varieties following the migration of people speaking mutually intelligible dialects to what, to all intents and purposes, is linguistically 'virgin' territory." (Kerswill & Trudgill 2005: 196).

develop into urbanized areas. The study of Dyer shows that geographical or ethnic variation might be susceptible to other types of reinterpretation. In these tight-knit communities, the pressure favouring local norms is responsible for internal dialect change. We might expect to find similar indicators of local identity on the island of Ameland. The reinterpretation of geographical variation might also affect hypothesis II (section 2.1.5).

2.2.4. Concluding remarks and hypotheses

The study of post-isolated dialects is interesting since these dialects show signs of both internal and external change. Although it will be difficult to track the source of a particular language change, it might reveal something about the impact of isolation. Isolated communities that are changing into more open communities show a loss of complexity in their linguistic features. The cases of Lumbee, Smith Island (US) and Corby (UK), however, show that dialect levelling does not necessarily exclude the preservation of distinctive, local features.

Hypothesis III

Since the island under study is characterised as a post-isolated community, we expect to find traces of loss of structural complexity. To determine whether the Ameland community is losing its Type 1 characteristics, we will try to track changes in the linguistic conditions that determine the use of the dialect features under study. The age factor will help us to explain this type of dialect change in apparent time. We hypothesize that *the loss of structural complexity will also be manifested as the de- or reconditioning of dialect features*. This will be discussed mainly in chapter 5.

Hypothesis IV

Lexicalized rules are less resistant to change than postlexical ones. This was illustrated by the example of historical r-deletion in Hinskens' Rimborg data. Our current data might shed light upon this hypothesis as well, if a distinction can be made between lexicalized and postlexical rules. *It is expected that lexicalized rules are more susceptible to dialect loss than postlexical rules*. A parallel can be drawn between this hypothesis and hypothesis II. It was Reiffenstein (1976; 1980) who first proposed to operationalize Schirmunski's primary-secondary distinction as lexicalized vs. postlexical. From this theory it follows that the primary features, which are less widely distributed, are expected to lose their productivity first. From both

perspectives (i.e. the primary-secondary and lexicalized-postlexical distinction) these features are expected to be the first to be lost.

2.3. Extra-linguistic factors that play a role in dialect change

As pointed out in Dyer & Wassink (2001), sociolinguistic work has often been criticized by anthropologists because it assumes a direct correlation between linguistic features and social factors. Dyer and Wassink prefer to interpret their linguistic data by taking into account the speakers' own comments about language and other social phenomena in order to allow informants to "speak for themselves" (Dyer & Wassink 2001: 300). Kerswill & Williams (2000) make a similar remark in their Milton Keynes study: "As many sociolinguists now realize, we need to go to the individual to understand the behaviour that leads to the adoption or rejection of potential changes." (Kerswill & Williams 2000: 65). In our analyses, we will try to focus not only on the social groups within the island society, but also on the individual language users.

In this section we will discuss the more complex explanatory variables which are taken into account in this study - apart from the control variables age, gender and origin (for a discussion of these variables, see chapter 4) - which are social network and attitude.

2.3.1. Social networks

The idea that language change can only be understood if the social life of the community in which it occurs is taken into account, was the main assumption in Labov's 1963 Martha's Vineyard study, which is regarded as one of the very first sociolinguistic studies. This study is mostly about network patterns. According to Labov, the very first stage of change is probably beyond the scope of empirical studies, but "only when social meaning is assigned to such variations will they be imitated and begin to play a role in the language." (Labov 1963: 293)

The social network pattern of an individual determines his or her speech even more indirectly than his or her age and gender, because it is the pressure of the group which influences social behaviour, including language behaviour. It is the network group which determines the norms, which may or may not be different from mainstream norms. Social network is also different in the sense that it is not a fixed category; an individual has a free choice which network groups he joins. As Villena-Ponsoda (2005: 304) puts

it, it is "the speaker's degree of *isolation from*, or *integration with*, the speech community".

In Lesley Milroy's study, three criteria are used to determine the type of communication network: 1. Is it open or closed, that is, is the individual's orientation outside or within the community? 2. Is it dense, that is, do the individual network members know each other? 3. Is it multiplex, that is, how intensive are the individual contacts? Do the individuals interact on different levels? Based upon these three criteria, Milroy developed a network strength scale, which assigns a score to each individual. Lippi-Green adopted the idea of a network strength scale, concentrating on indicators that proved to be most influential: kinship, neighbourhood, employment situation and voluntary association. These are the main aspects of our orientation questionnaire, which was inspired by the questionnaires in Edwards (1992), Hulsén (2000) and Stoessel (2002). Chapter 4 contains a description of our methodology. Individuals who have strong ties within the community typically maintain local norms whereas individuals with weak ties tend to be more exposed to external pressures. Speakers with weak ties do not belong to the core network group and are said to be peripheral. Their weak network ties function as bridges between different communities. Of course contact between varieties leads to language change.

In the community of Ameland we expect high numbers of strong network ties among different individuals, the community as a whole being a close-knit network (section 2.2.2). A close-knit network functions as a conservative force which suppresses change from outside the network and maintains local norms. Close-knit networks are both *dense* and *multiplex*. Close-knit communities do not only occur in rural circumstances. On the one hand, urban conditions give rise to impersonality and social distance, but on the other hand urban people are more selective in their choice of contacts, which leads to greater cultural diversity. For example, social class divisions as well as differences between ethnic groups are most visible in city life.

Table 2.3. Network and isolation (Trudgill 1996; extracted from Villena-Ponsoda 2005)

Network type	External contact	
	Low	High
Close-knit	A	B
Loose-knit	C	D

The two extreme situations which are visible in table 3 were proposed by Trudgill (1996): in situation A there is hardly any external contact and network ties are tight; in situation D external contact is highly frequent and network ties are loose. Situation B might be possible in certain circumstances, but situation C is rare.

Social networks in relation to other social factors

In the current study social class and, more in particular, occupational background, does not play a major role. This is primarily due to the physical/economic properties of the island: choices in occupations are rather small on the island, and most people make their living either in agriculture or in the tourist industry. More important than social class are social network patterns: many social activities take place on the island, and the effect on the social fabric could well influence people's language behaviour. The same observation was made by Lippi-Green (1989), who studied a small alpine community in the western part of Austria. The village of Grossdorf has approximately 760 inhabitants and here also "it is not occupation that determines one's place in the hierarchy, but rather the degree of integration into the established structures" (p. 216), as the author puts it: "it is not so much a matter of class or status, but who you know, and who knows you." It is probably for reasons such as these that Milroy & Milroy express the idea that the concept of social class is more suitable for urban than for small rural areas: "Social class is fundamentally a concept designed to elucidate large-scale social, political, and economic structures and processes, whereas social network relates to the community and interpersonal level of social organization" (Milroy & Milroy 1992). However, social class and social network are closely related concepts.

Milroy & Milroy (1992) argue, for example, that middle-class networks consist largely of weak ties as opposed to working class networks which are more close-knit. Higher education gives access to a socially and geographically wider range of contacts. This reminds us of Labov's statement that innovating groups are most central in the class structure: it is both lower class and upper class that typically have close-knit network structures; socio-economically and linguistically mobile speakers are located mostly in between these two extremes.

In the Belfast study of the Milroys there is also a correlation between sex and social networks: the female speakers have more contact with the outer city and are more prone to adopt innovative speech variants, whereas the male speakers most often keep to the vernacular inner city speech. Besides social

class and gender, attitude is also a good candidate for correlation with social network. The social network creates its own norms, which influence the individual attitudes of its members.

"The effect of education, age, sex, and ethnicity on network structure can seriously affect the correlations between social network markers and linguistic variables, and produce unexpected results" (Villena-Ponsoda 2005: 323). In his Malaga study, Villena-Ponsoda found a high network density for less-educated speakers, whereas educated speakers scored much lower. Male and female networks differed in that males were focused on workmates and friends, whereas females' networks were based on relatives. As Lippi-Green's study shows, we have to take into account the fact that the degree of integration may change in different life stages. In her study, for example, the relationship between linguistic variants and network is stronger for old males than for young males. This is related to the fact that older people have closer networks than younger ones. The men who are best integrated into the community are most loyal to conservative language norms.

Life mode and Community of Practice

According to Labov & Harris (1986), people's behaviour is not only determined by their social network, but also by the *social history* of the speakers, i.e. "the kinds of social experience they have had in dealing with members of other groups" (p. 21). This raises the issue of *life mode*. The Danish anthropologist Højrup introduced the *life-mode* concept, which is based on the social and economic structure of western European countries. Højrup (1983) (see also Milroy & Milroy 1992) distinguishes three types of life-mode in an exhaustive list which integrates class and network:

- I self-employed, close-knit family centered network: the family business is in agriculture, fishing, a shop or a restaurant.
- II wage earner who performs routine tasks in the working process
- III wage earner who controls the working process

Other aspects that have been taken into account in the concept of life-mode or life-style are demographic data, social circumstances, way of living (use of leisure time, media choice, consumption pattern, music style, political preferences, health, dress code) and life philosophy (or religion) etc. (Hölscher 1998).

The concept is also comparable to Eckert's *Community of Practice*¹² (CoP) which can be defined as follows: "An aggregate of people who come together around some enterprise. United by this common enterprise, people come to develop and share ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values - in short, practices - as a function of their joint engagement in activity". (Eckert 2000: 35) The CoP was illustrated in Eckert's 2000 study about adolescent life at the Detroit suburban high school Belten High. The social order at this school is dominated by two social groups, which are referred to as the jocks and the burnouts. The jocks are defined as middle class pupils, who have become 'public personae' within the school; this is visible for instance in their participation in sports and other school related activities. The burnouts, on the other hand, are working class pupils, who "do not embrace the school, but strive against the rules".

To summarize, the life-mode concept as well as the CoP-concept are additional sums of social factors and therefore give a better understanding of the language behaviour of the individual. In our study we hope to obtain a similar understanding of the individual's behaviour by using a network approach which is comprehensive.

The role of gender

A sociolinguistic study of Amsterdam speech (Brouwer 1989) revealed that women tended to use relatively standard variants whereas men tended to prefer the social dialect variants. The arguments which Brouwer gives to explain this difference are related to gender-stereotyping and social roles. The attitude tests performed in this study showed that women were expected to use more standard variants and men to use more dialect variants. For both sex groups, parenting and outside employment promoted the use of the standard language. In a German study by Ammon (1973), however, the opposite effect was found. In the rural area where Schwäbisch is spoken, in the south-western part of Germany, women used more dialect variants than men. Since most female participants in this study were housewives, the difference with the urban study in Amsterdam is not surprising. The results of both studies show that gender effects are closely related to social networks.

¹² Adopted from Lave & Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998).

2.3.2. Attitudes

The role of attitudes has only been studied in relation to reported dialect use, which is people's own perception of dialect use (Fishman 1977: Cooper & Fishman 1977; Münstermann 1986; Münstermann & van Hout 1988; van Hout & Knops 1988; Jaspaert & Kroon 1988). Although it seems very unlikely that attitude and language behaviour do not influence each other, it has proved difficult to show there is a significant relationship between the two. One of the difficulties is that attitude is just one of a series of factors which influences language behaviour. Münstermann & van Hout (1988) therefore advise linguists not to study attitudes in isolation:

"Attitudes should be studied in relationship with other predictors of behaviour and with processes intermediating between attitude and behaviour and not in isolation." (Münstermann & van Hout 1988)

The same idea was already put forward by Ajzen & Fishbein (1980). Their main criticism against attitudinal research in linguistics is that attitude is studied in a very general way, whereas language behaviour is studied very specifically. They also point out that attitude is defined by social norms. We therefore have to take into account other social factors as well. Jaspaert & Kroon (1988) propose a causal model in which attitude is conceived of as a summary of social factors. A person's attitude is created by its social circumstances, and has an effect on language behaviour. The same idea is expressed by Münstermann & Hagen (1986):

"Attitudes and linguistic vitality can be seen as intervening variables between social categories and dialect loss data. They may influence the dependent variables of structural and functional loss and may themselves be influenced by social categories such as age, social class and sex." (Münstermann & Hagen 1986: 78)

But why then study attitude in relation with language behaviour, if the sum of other social factors has a similar explanatory value, and if attitude in itself is so difficult to understand? We do in fact believe that attitude has something to add to other social factors, since it measures a socio-psychological dimension of language behaviour. According to Labov (1966), human language behaviour is subject to two opposite forces, viz. *in-group identity* on the one hand versus the *general norms* which are dominant in society on the other. Language behaviour is usually a compromise between

these opposite interests. In the literature we find different labels for these concepts. Ryan, Giles & Sebastian (1982), for example, use the terms *group solidarity* and *social status*. Gumperz (1982) uses *we-code* (in-group) versus *they-code* (out-group). In rural communities, the local dialect can be referred to as the we-code, whereas the national language is the they-code. It is, of course, not always possible to make a strict distinction between we-code and they-code. As LePage & Tabouret-Keller (1985) put it, language behaviour can be seen as "a series of acts of identity". This results in a permanent process of code-mixing. Compare also the following quote from Fishman:

"Our own awareness and implementation of our ethnic identity is not invariant but changes from one occasion to another. (...) Another way of saying this is that ethnic identity is contextually constructed."
(Fishman 1999: 153)

Polarisation

When two communities show a high degree of awareness of linguistic differences and tend to stigmatize variants that are not their own, *polarisation* or *divergence* may ensue, in which related dialects become more dissimilar (Hinskens, Kallen & Taeldeman 2000: 2). In this case, the two varieties might develop in opposite directions as a result of negative attitudes. Taeldeman refers to the stigmatized variants as primary dialect features, which are defined as "salient features with minimal geographical spread" (Schirmunski 1930). In the situation of polarisation, the first characteristic is especially important, namely saliency. As Taeldeman argues, it is quite remarkable that attitudinal markedness of a primary dialect feature can result in two opposite developments: 1. Convergence or levelling to facilitate communication; 2. Divergence if "ortsloyalität" (Mattheier 1980), i.e. loyalty towards the community of local dialect speakers, plays a role. The user of polarised variants has developed a strong loyalty towards the community in which this variant is used. Taeldeman (2006) gives the example of the polarisation between East- and West-Flemish dialects. Whereas East-Flanders took part in the diphthongisation of Middle Dutch /i:/ and /y:/, West-Flanders did not. Polarisation resulted in the development of very pronounced diphthongs (*overdiphthongisation*) in the West-Flemish dialects. This example makes clear that the opposition may be taken to the extreme. We will investigate if similar processes can be found in the Ameland dialect.

2.3.3. Concluding remarks and hypothesis

The influence of linguistic factors such as described in sections 2.1 and 2.2 might be overshadowed by the impact of sociolinguistic factors on the process of dialect change. If there is strong cultural pressure from a dominant standard language, the local dialect may still be maintained by community members who have strong network ties or a strong loyalty towards the local dialect community. These considerations lead to the final three sociolinguistic hypotheses:

Hypothesis V

Individuals who have strong ties within the community maintain local language norms whereas individuals with weak ties can be expected to show more contact-induced changes in their everyday speech. We therefore hypothesize that *dialect speakers who are more integrated into the local community use more dialect features.*

Hypothesis VI

Although previous studies have provided little insight into the relationship between attitude and language behaviour, we assume that *attitude has an effect on the use of dialect features.* A positive attitude towards the dialect will prevent dialect features from being lost; in some cases it might even lead to dialect features being exaggerated, like in Labov's Martha's Vineyard study. Thus, two hypotheses can be deduced from this assumption:

VIa. *A positive attitude towards the dialect has a conserving effect on the use of dialect variants.*

VIb. *If this positive attitude is accompanied by negative feelings towards the neighbour or contact community, it may lead to polarisation, in which primary dialect features are stressed or exaggerated.*

Hypothesis VII

Since gender effects on dialect usage are strongly determined by social networks, we expect gender effects to differ between generations. On Ameland, the number of housewives will be significantly higher among older female speakers than among younger female speakers. Since the network of housewives is more close-knit than the network of women with outside occupations, the former group will use more dialect variants than the latter. For the male group, there are no huge differences between generations concerning occupation. We therefore expect to find a stronger

age-effect for female speakers than for male speakers, or: *dialect loss will be most visible among female dialect speakers.*

2.4. Summary of the hypotheses

The hypotheses which were presented in this chapter will be elaborated in our methodology chapter and the relevant findings will be discussed extensively in our concluding chapter.

Table 2.4. Summary of the hypotheses

Hypothesis I	<i>Dialect levelling can be found on both the phonological and morphological level.</i>
Hypothesis II	<i>The more widespread a dialect feature, the more resistant it is to dialect change.</i>
Hypothesis IIa	<i>The typical village variants will be lost primarily in the process of convergence.</i>
Hypothesis IIb	<i>For dialect islands, dialect levelling is a one-dimensional process.</i>
Hypothesis III	<i>The loss of structural complexity will be manifested as the de- or reconditioning of dialect features.</i>
Hypothesis IV	<i>It is to be expected that lexicalized rules are more susceptible to dialect loss than postlexical rules.</i>
Hypothesis V	<i>Dialect speakers who are more integrated into the local community use more dialect features.</i>
Hypothesis VI	<i>Attitude has an effect on the use of dialect features.</i>
Hypothesis VII	<i>Dialect loss will be most visible among female dialect speakers.</i>

Chapter 3. Ameland and its dialect

The island of Ameland has a fascinating history in terms of contact; the island was and continues to be a place where people come and go. In different periods of its history, Ameland changed hands between the provinces of Holland and Friesland. This resulted in the development of a mixed dialect, with both Dutch and Frisian features. On the other hand, the isolated position of the island has always protected the Ameland dialect from being replaced by the surrounding dominant languages, i.e. Frisian and Dutch. Due to the tight-knit community structure, the dialect has even developed its specific island characteristics. Even nowadays - at a time when the local dialect has no practical value in terms of economic prosperity - the Amelanders are proud of their island-specific mother tongue.

The history of the island helps us to understand the specific contact situation in the past and present. Section 3.1 concentrates on the community of Ameland in itself, whereas in section 3.2 we will try to give some insight into the Ameland dialect by using the 'ethnolinguistic vitality' concept. Taking into account both formal and informal considerations, the status of the Ameland dialect is discussed in relation to the Dutch and Frisian standard languages. A dialect is considered 'vital' if it is used in a relatively frequent range of domains, which means that functional loss is limited. A non-vital dialect, on the other hand, shows greater functional loss and - as a consequence - is more susceptible to structural dialect loss. The vitality of the Ameland dialect therefore indicates whether the dialect is resistant to dialect loss. The chapter as a whole serves as a starting-point for the reader in order to fully understand the context of the present study.

3.1. The research area

This section starts out with a short overview of some historical and demographic developments which provide insight into the present-day (socio)linguistic situation on the island. The history of the island is best characterized by two opposite contact situations, i.e. complete isolation on the one hand and contact with many different areas on the other. In the earlier days, overseas contacts were frequent because of trade purposes, but nowadays the contacts are mainly of a different nature.

3.1.1. Political history

The island of Ameland was first registered in the 8th century as the "insula qua dicitur Ambla", the island which was named Ameland. The first inhabitants were Frisians, according to an Old Frisian document from 1494 (Sipma 1917) in which the Ameland people declare amnesty of Frisian law for the island of Ameland. In later centuries, trading and politics caused the inhabitants to partly give up their Frisian language.

In the period between the 15th and the 18th century, Ameland was an independent state, before it officially became part of the province of Friesland (Fr. *Fryslân*) in 1801. Because of this independence, Ameland could remain neutral during several wars with the English and Spanish during the 16th and 17th century. The inhabitants of the island obeyed their own landlord but above all enjoyed their freedom. There was a strong aversion against rank and status. The island was ruled from 1430 to 1681 by the offspring of a noble family from Friesland, named Cammingha. The family lived in a small castle in the village of Ballum. When in 1681 there was no successor to the family, the island changed hands to the family Schwartzenberg Hohenlansberg until 1704. In that year, the Royal Family bought the island for an amount of 170,000 guilders - the Dutch Queen still bears the honorary title Lady of Ameland. According to De Haan Hettema (1855), who studied the last wills of the Camminghas, the language used by the officials during their rule was mainly Dutch. Since the Dutch language had more prestige than the local dialect, the inhabitants of Ameland partly adopted the Dutch language. However, a Frisian substrate remained and a mixed dialect developed. During the French period (1795-1813), Ameland became part of the province of Friesland. After the 19th century, the landlords were replaced by mayors.

3.1.2. Socio-economic developments

The sea has always been the island's best friend and worst foe. It has provided welfare by means of the fishing industry and nowadays it is the main attraction for thousands of tourists every year. However, it has also taken quite a number of seamen and even some parts of the island. Two former villages were destroyed by the sea; the westernmost village on the island, Sier, was destroyed in 1730 and in the 19th century the eastern village of Oerd disappeared.

Fishing industry

From the 16th century onwards, Amelanders took part in the carrying trade in the Zuider Zee, an important sea route between Amsterdam and the North Sea. From the 18th century onwards, many seafarers from Ameland were engaged in the Amsterdam trading vessels; many of them were captains. For this reason, in those days the relationship with the capital city was very important. When their ships returned from the East, several islanders built up a livelihood in Amsterdam, while some women worked there as servants. This is illustrated by the number of children of Ameland parents living in Amsterdam in 1933/34, according to a survey by Brouwer (1936), shown in table 1¹³. The large number of children leaving the island in 1933/34 was due to the economic crisis in the thirties (which is not comparable to the current situation in which the majority stays on the island). There were three times as many children in Amsterdam than on Ameland itself.

Table 3.1. Places of residence of children of Ameland people in 1933/34 (Brouwer 1936: 139)

Ameland	30
Friesland (countryside)	18
Amsterdam	92
Elsewhere in the Netherlands	99
Leeuwarden	16
Rotterdam	25
Zaanstreek	6
Harlingen	9
Abroad	12

Marriages between Ameland and Amsterdam people were not uncommon in those days. In 1930 most migrants to the island came from Friesland and Amsterdam. These were both civil servants and islanders returning from Amsterdam. The majority of seafarers came from the western villages of the island, Hollum and Ballum, as the next table shows.

¹³ The numbers are not fully complete, as Brouwers mentions, since not all migrants could be traced back.

Table 3.2. Number of seafarers from Ameland, 1912-1930 (Brouwer 1936: 116)

	West		East		
	Hollum	Ballum	Nes	Buren	Total
1912	116	27			143
1925	65	7			72
1930	62	2	28	7	99

The islanders made their living in agriculture, the fishing industry and shipping. In the 17th and 18th century, the whaling industry became of major importance for the Wadden Sea islands and especially for Ameland, as the large numbers of commanders and captains show. The whale history has left traces in some facades - so called 'commander's houses' (in Dutch: *commandeurswoningen*) and tomb stones on the island. Whales' jawbones are still used as partition walls between some houses.

Tourist industry

One of the first mayors of the island was the baron of Heeckeren - who was also the last inhabitant of the castle in Ballum - who declared the island of Ameland the ideal tourist destination in 1853. However, the very first hotel on the island was not profitable and soon had to close its doors. This was partly due to the isolated position of the island. In 1871, the province of Friesland therefore started construction of a dike through the Wadden Sea from the Ameland village of Nes to Frisian Holwerd. However, several storms destroyed large parts of the dike and the whole project was cancelled at the end of the 19th century. Nearly a century later, in 1961, the issue was reconsidered. A commission was installed to study the economic advantages of a permanent connection to the mainland. But resistance to a dike among Ameland inhabitants was growing. In 1968 a poll was held: 144 people voted against, and only 58 in favour (Bakker 1970).

The tourist industry did not start to develop until the 20th century. In 1936, there was only one ferry connection a day and the boat sometimes got stuck when the tide changed. Few tourists visited Ameland in those days. From the fifties onwards, the number of tourists increased steadily and eventually the average income on the island became much higher than on the Frisian mainland. Nowadays, the high season is not limited to the summer period

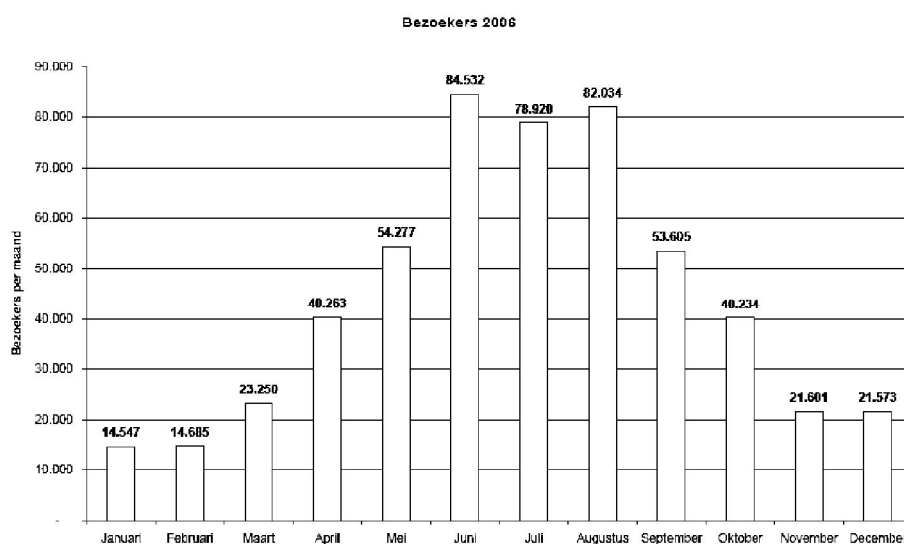
and tourists visit Ameland all year round. Still, in the winter the island is not very crowded, as figure 3.4 shows. Local clubs and local traditions play an important role especially in those months.

Table 3.3. Number of tourists on the island of Ameland from 1985 until 2006 (Gemeente Ameland)

Year	Number of visitors	Year	Number of visitors
1985	331,184	1996	467,689
1986	339,841	1997	484,477
1987	360,220	1998	481,874
1988	375,580	1999	515,808
1989	422,051	2000	516,731
1990	445,533	2001	520,256
1991	460,065	2002	540,764
1992	485,450	2003	554,341
1993	467,857	2004	527,118
1994	473,464	2005	519,229
1995	483,540	2006	529,521

Figure 3.4. Visitors per month (from Jan - Dec) in 2006 (Gemeente Ameland)

Bezoekers per maand 2006



Religion

Ameland held a special position during the 18th century, since all religions were recognised on the island. Native islanders used to be regular churchgoers. Non-religious persons were mostly immigrants. However, religion split the island in two. As Brouwer (1936) already noticed, the Catholics lived in the eastern part of the island¹⁴, while the majority of the inhabitants of the western part were Protestant. Baptism has always been the third main religion. Marriages between Baptists and Protestants were not uncommon, but marriages between Catholics and Protestants were unthinkable. This religious division still exists today, although as table 6 shows, the number of believers has decreased dramatically. Nevertheless, it is interesting to see how the Catholic community is growing. Religion, however, is no longer the cause of the rift between east and west. Other factors, like immigration and tourism, are now causing a split in mentality between both parts of the island.

Table 3.5. Religious inhabitants in percentages for 1881, 1930 (Brouwer 1936: 148), 2004 (current study). The percentages by Brouwer are based on the whole population, whereas the percentages in 2004 are based on a poll of 60 informants.

	Protestant	Baptist	Catholic	Other	Not religious
1881	55.90	28.21	13.51	0.34	2.04
1930	49.51	19.91	25.56	0.21	4.82
2004	11.67	5	38.33	0	45

Nes (East)

Nes is the first village to welcome tourists who arrive on the island. It is therefore the most tourist-oriented village on the island. The tourist office is located here, as well as many tourist shops, cafes and restaurants. The village is surrounded by camping sites and tourist resorts. The centre of Nes still has a nice atmosphere because of the old houses and a beautiful church. The secondary school is also situated in Nes and can be recognised by the big whale jaws at the entrance. This one and only high school on the island caters for the first and second year of education. Pupils have to leave the island to finish school on the mainland.

¹⁴ According to Brouwer (1958) 100 percent of Buren's inhabitants is Catholic in 1958.

Buren (East)

Buren is situated east of Nes and has almost been incorporated into the capital village. It is a farmers' community with many camping farms which accommodate school trips. Nearly the whole village is Catholic. The Catholic Church, however, is situated in the village of Nes. East of Buren, there is a large natural resort which is called *Het Oerd* (recall a village was here once by the same name, now swallowed by the sea).

Hollum (West)

Hollum used to be the largest village on the island. In 1911, the first road was built here. Only recently did the village of Nes become larger, in terms of number of inhabitants. The village of Hollum can be recognised by the lighthouse, which shines its light over the entire island. It is the village where the residence for the elderly is located, but there is also a history museum and a youth hostel. The inhabitants of Hollum are the most conservative group on the island. This is partly because they are not fully dependent on the tourist industry. Live-stock still provides a livelihood in the west and has even been growing since the 19th century. At the moment, there are 48 large and 62 small farms on the island (<http://www.kustgids.nl>). Tourism is growing rapidly, however. The village has a lot of holiday houses and nowadays there is also a huge golf course. Still the number of tourists visiting Hollum is smaller than the number of tourists visiting Nes. A better explanation for the conservative mind of the Westender might be the number of immigrants from the mainland, which is much larger for the eastern side of the island. This might explain the fact that old traditions are maintained in this village. The Sunneklaas feast (a variation on the well known Santa Claus) - which is different from the traditional Dutch feast - is the most famous tradition on the island. It is celebrated in its most authentic form in the village of Hollum. Hollumers are also said to pronounce the dialect "in its most authentic way". They also have their own theatre club, which gives performances in dialect every year.

Ballum (West)

Ballum is located in the very middle of the island. It has a rich history, since Ballum is where the castle of the officials used to be located. Nowadays the municipal hall is situated here, although Ballum is not the political centre that it used to be. The village is rather small and has a rather quiet and

peaceful atmosphere. Just outside the village there is a small airport, which serves tourists in the summer time. Since the majority of the inhabitants have always been Protestant, there has always been a strong orientation towards the village of Hollum, which has the same religion. Whereas the largest part of the western population is Protestant, there is also a relatively large population of Mennonites. Many people in Ballum grew up in Hollum. Some of them are farmers, whose farms are located in between both villages. Horse breeding has been and still is popular among Ameland farmers.

3.2. The Ameland Dialect

The aim of the remainder of this chapter is to give a complete picture of the Ameland dialect and its speakers. It therefore functions as a starting-point for the research project. The dialect spoken on the island of Ameland is described in the first place with reference to its "ethnolinguistic vitality". This concept has been developed to predict the chances of survival of existing languages by looking at their status, demographic and institutional factors (Giles et al 1977). It gives an overview of the current state of the dialect.

3.2.1. Ethnolinguistic vitality of the Ameland dialect

The variables that are believed to contribute to a dialect's overall vitality are discussed in Giles et al. (1977) and can be divided into the three main factors of *status*, *demography* and *institutional support*. In this section we will describe the language situation on the island of Ameland, taking into account the individual variables mentioned by Giles et al. Finally, we will compare the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Ameland dialect with that of the Frisian and Dutch standard languages. By interpreting the results, we have to take into account that this concept is based on more or less objective terms and that group members' perception is not involved. It is therefore that Giles et al. added the following remark: "a group's subjective assessment of its vitality may be as important as the objective reality" (Giles et al. 1977: 318). Also later studies on ethnolinguistic vitality combined objective and perceived vitality (for an overview see Landry & Allard 1994). In the current study however, we chose to use the variables given by Giles et al. as a starting point.

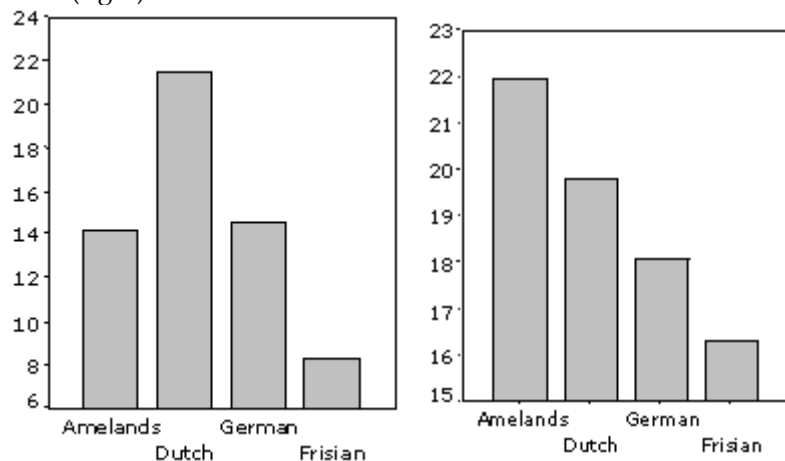
Status

The *economic status* of the Ameland dialect can be considered high, since the community is fully self-employed. The great majority (85%) of the islanders work in the tourist industry. Because the ferry connection is not very fast and unreliable from time to time, it is not very attractive for islanders to work on the mainland. Since throughout the year there is enough work on the island itself, it is not necessary for people to commute. Therefore the number of people commuting between the island and the Frisian mainland on a daily base is quite small. According to my information, only approximately 40 islanders have a job on the mainland.

The fact that a large number of Amelanders refer to themselves as "Amelander" rather than "Frisian" or "Dutch" (one of the results of our questionnaire, which will be presented in chapter 5), indicates that the Ameland dialect has a high *social status* within its speech community. This is true in particular because the definition of "Amelander" is associated with use of the dialect. Nevertheless, dialect usage is restricted to ingroup-conversations, and is not felt appropriate in most outgroup situations. The status of the dialect outside the island is low, since most Dutch people still perceive dialects as being associated with lower class and backwardness (Van Bezooijen 1995). During our interviews, the fieldworker was told that Frisians consider the Ameland dialect as a Frisian dialect and do not recognize it as a separate language variety. Evidence for this comes from the fact that most Frisian tourists visiting the island address Amelanders in Frisian.

In the attitude questionnaires (see also chapter 5), informants make a clear distinction between esthetic values and practical motivations for the use of the dialect: whereas the Ameland dialect scores highest on the esthetic dimension, the Dutch standard language is considered as most appropriate for practical purposes. This is shown in figures 3.6a and 3.6b. The attitude towards the German language was investigated in our questionnaire since the majority of the tourists that visit the island are of German origin. This is why German also scores high on the practical dimension. On the esthetic dimension, it scores rather low. Note that the Frisian language has the lowest scores for both practical motivations and esthetic value.

Figure 3.6. Attitude: mean scores for practical motivations (left) and esthetic value (right). Max. =30.



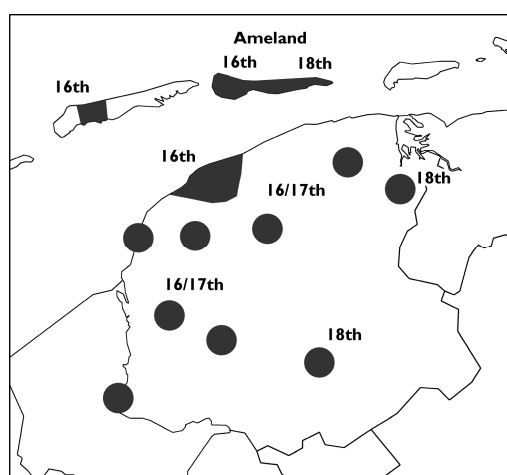
Even in 1801 - when the island of Ameland officially became part of Friesland - the islanders did not start to "feel" Frisian. The main reason is that the Frisian identity is strongly related with use of the Frisian language, as was reported in sociolinguistic research on language attitudes in Friesland (Gorter et al. 1984). One of the conclusions from this earlier work was that a pro-Frisian language attitude is connected with a good command of the Frisian language. The inhabitants of the Frisian Islands do not speak Frisian and therefore may be assumed to lack the Frisian identity for this reason.

The dialect of Ameland has often been compared with 'Town Frisian' (Du. *Stadsfries*, Fr. *Stedfrysk*) (Halbertsma 1856, Winkler 1874). However, there are some substantial differences between the island and the mainland variety, which are described in Jansen (2001). During the sixteenth century, the governmental language in the Frisian cities became Dutch, and from then on Dutch started to influence the dialects of Frisian as spoken in the larger towns (Leeuwarden, Dokkum, Franeker, Harlingen, Bolsward and Sneek) heavily¹⁵. The islands of Ameland and Terschelling have comparable histories to the Frisian cities. Since Hollandic officials ruled these islands (on Terschelling the administrative centre was settled in Midsland), and their language was more prestigious than the dialect, it was partly adopted by the

¹⁵ The dialects of Heerenveen, Stavoren, Kollum, Het Bildt, Ameland and Midsland are normally listed separately.

locals. These dialects - i.e. Amelands and Midlands - became Dutch dialects with a Frisian substrate. In other words, they became mixed dialects: dialects that combine variants from two different "pure" dialects (Auer & Hinskens 1996: 15). Most of the Frisian features in the Ameland dialect are found in its syntax and pronunciation, and to a lesser extent in its morphology, phonology and lexicon. A more detailed overview of the features of the Ameland dialect can be found in the Appendix.

Figure 3.7. Frisian places where mixed languages developed. © Arjen Versloot



The Ameland dialect has no officially recognised political status, or *language status*, in contrast to Frisian, which was officially recognised as a minority language in 1996 (Hemminga 2000) and therefore has some specific rights and benefits (see below: institutional support).

The sociopolitical history of the island is very important to the islanders, since it demonstrates the independent political and social status of the island in earlier times. Especially the older people are very much aware of Ameland's history. For this reason the *sociohistorical* status of the Ameland dialect is quite high within the speech community. From the 15th to the 19th century the island was ruled by Dutch speaking landlords who were situated in Ballum (3.1.1). The islanders partly borrowed the (Dutch) language of the officials because it had more prestige than the Frisian dialect that was spoken on the island. Trading contacts with Holland also promoted the Dutch language and heavily influenced the dialect, which then turned into a mixed dialect with both Dutch and Frisian elements.

Demography

In Giles' model, demography is determined by group distribution, which refers to the number of speakers in comparison to the whole population (Giles et al. 1977: 312-313). With respect to *group distribution*, the Ameland speech community scores high since its speakers are concentrated in the same geographical area. This is not the case, for instance, for allochthonous immigrant minority groups who live in Friesland: most of these are spread across the whole province, which makes it more difficult for them to preserve their mother tongues. The indigenous Ameland population still occupies its traditional homeland. Also the natural borders play an important role in the preservation of the dialect, since these impede more frequent contact with mainland communities. Within the province of Friesland, the Ameland community is very small: whereas the island has 3525 inhabitants, the province counts 642066 inhabitants (CBS 2004), which is a proportion of 1 to 182.

The age distribution of the Ameland population is very similar to the situation in Friesland as well as the Netherlands as a whole. The only difference is in the 15-24 age group, which is much lower in Ameland than in Friesland or in the Netherlands as a whole: the low percentage for Ameland can be explained by the fact that high school students finish their studies on the mainland. However, the next age group (25-44) is again very stable, which indicates that most young inhabitants return to the island after having finished their studies.

Table 3.8. Number of inhabitants in Ameland in 2004, stratified by gender and age. Numbers for 1930 are taken from Brouwer (1936: 131)

	inhabitants				age groups (%)				
	1930	2004	male	female	0-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
Nes	501	1110	560	550	21	9	30	27	13
Buren	309	670	360	310	21	12	29	28	10
Ballum	219	310	160	160	17	15	27	28	13
Hollum	884	1230	600	630	19	11	25	30	16
<i>Ameland</i>	1913	3520	1780	1750	20	11	28	28	13

There are no detailed data available on the number of Ameland dialect speakers. However, we investigated dialect use among 132 school children of 13-18 years old in 2002¹⁶. In the home setting, 62.5 % of the children reported using the dialect and 15.2 % said they used a combination of both the dialect and the Dutch standard. The rate of dialect use was even higher among classmates, namely 62.1% dialect usage and 25.8% for both dialect and Dutch standard usage, which means a total of 87.9% of reported dialect use among teenagers. None of the school children used Frisian¹⁷. The ability to understand, speak, read or write the dialect was also investigated. The results are given in the following table, which also presents data from a similar survey in Friesland from 1994 (Gorter, Riemersma & Ytsma 2001)¹⁸.

Table 3.9. Percentages indicate the ability to understand, speak, read or write the Frisian language by Frisians and the Ameland dialect by young islanders

	Frisian (1994)	Ameland (2002)
<i>Understand</i>	94%	100%
<i>Speak</i>	74%	95.2%
<i>Read</i>	65%	76.8%
<i>Write</i>	17%	48%

The school survey also provided us with some information on intermarriages between people from different villages. Each informant had to fill in the birth place of both parents. It turns out that most marriages involve people from the same village. Table 3.10 provides the number of marriages between 1993 and 2003 (CBS 2004). This table shows the marriages between native Amelanders, as well as between native Amelanders and non-natives.

For immigrants from the mainland it can be difficult to integrate into the Ameland community. Islanders will expect them to adapt to the local habits and traditions, which involves, for example, participation in local associations. Although there are jobs vacancies for mainlanders in summer, it is difficult for them to find work on a non-temporary basis. It is therefore not very attractive for outsiders to move to the island.

¹⁶ The school inquiries were conducted as part of a pilot study.

¹⁷ According to Brouwer (1958) still 4 percent of the school children speak Frisian in 1958.

¹⁸ A quick scan survey in Friesland in 2007 reports smaller percentages (84.2%; 63.7%; 46.2%; 9.6 %). Since they are from a later date than the Ameland data they are not given in the table.

Table 3.10. Number of marriages per year for the Ameland community (CBS 2004)

year	<i>both are natives</i>	<i>male is native female is non-native</i>	<i>female is native male is non-native</i>
1993	15	2	1
1994	9	3	
1995	21		
1996	12	1	
1997	6		
1998	5		
1999	16	1	3
2000	22		
2001	14	1	1
2002	15		
2003	9	1	

In the table below, the immigration rates (in promilles) are given for the last ten years. For 2004 (CBS), the immigration rate is 7 whereas the emigration rate is 6. These numbers indicate that migration patterns are very weak in this area. This is expected to have a very positive, preserving effect on the dialect. The immigration table shows that the overall rate is very stable and very low. Although the immigrant percentages are low in the whole Wadden Sea region, the Ameland community even has the lowest number of immigrants. Moreover, note that only a relatively small number of native inhabitants actually leaves the island. This is another indication that the network structures of the island community are very tight-knit.

Table 3.11. Immigration in the community of Ameland in percentages (‰; CBS 2004)

year	Ameland	year	Ameland
1993	4.65	1999	5.28
1994	4.62	2000	6.88
1995	4.54	2001	5.32
1996	5.00	2002	5.18
1997	4.25	2003	4.64
1998	7.05		

Institutional support

Since the official recognition of Frisian as a minority language in 1996, the use of Frisian, both spoken and written, is allowed in national public institutions within the province, as well as in other representative organs located in Friesland, for example the courts. The Frisian language has also been taught in primary schools in the entire province from 1980 onwards. In 1993, it became an obligatory component of basic education in Friesland (De Jong & Riemersma 1994; Hemminga 2000; Gorter, Riemersma & Ytsma 2001). However, Frisian courses are not obligatory in some cases, including several of the Frisian Islands where other language varieties are spoken. All Wadden Sea islands have dispensation of the law on Frisian schooling. On the island of Ameland, Frisian is not taught in school, because it is not spoken as a first language. Instead of Frisian language and culture, the local culture receives attention in primary schools on the island.

The *Fryske Akademy*, the Frisian Academy, a research institute which is financed partly by the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, partly by the province and for a small part also by private funding, supports the preservation of Frisian language varieties by promoting the use of Frisian in school and organizing courses for newcomers in the province, but also by doing research in this area and through the codification of Frisian dialect varieties. The Frisian Academy has also been responsible for the publication of an Ameland dictionary in 1987. The development of a written standard for the Ameland dialect has led to an increase of dialect speakers using the dialect in written form. For example, a column in the local newspaper is written in dialect. The dialect is used in other cultural domains as well, by local pop musicians and a local theatre company. In this respect, the Ameland dialect is very much alive.

Although Frisian is used in Friesland in more (public) domains than the Ameland dialect, the overall use of Frisian is in decline. Few Frisian parents choose to raise their children in Frisian (Gorter, Riemersma & Ytsma 2001). Comparing this to the Ameland situation, it seems safe to say that although the use of Dutch is increasing, most of the Ameland children still learn the dialect, either from their parents or from their schoolmates.

Overall vitality

Table 3.12 summarizes the comparison between the Ameland dialect and both the Dutch and Frisian standard language, according to the three factors determining ethnolinguistic vitality discussed above. The overall vitality score for Ameland is lower than the other languages, which is due to the relative lack of institutional support. However, as we discussed in the previous section, the use of the Ameland dialect is very high, even among youngsters (87.9%). And compared to other Dutch dialects, the vitality of the dialect is rather unique. A Dutch survey carried out between 1995 and 2003 showed that only 6 percent of Dutch children spoke a dialect in 2003. The highest percentage of dialect use was found for the Limburgian dialect(s), which was used by 34 percent of the children; Frisian took second place with 24 percent dialect use (Driessen 2006).

Table 3.12. Summary of Ethnolinguistic Vitality

group	status	demography	institutional support	overall vitality
Ameland	medium	high	Low	medium
Frisian	medium	high	Medium	medium-high
Dutch	high	high	High	high

Chapter 4. Research design and linguistic variables

This study takes a sociolinguistic approach in the Labovian tradition, as it studies language change in progress. Unlike dialectological studies, it focuses on ongoing developments in the dialect instead of historical developments; it also studies the individual language user rather than the language as a whole. In order to study *change in progress*, three age groups were distinguished, taking into account gender differences as well as geographical language variation on the island. To focus on the individual language user, the socio-psychological and social variables *attitude* and *network* are invoked. The main difference with other sociolinguistic studies is that this study concentrates on a rural community rather than an urban one. This has important consequences for the research design: for example, social class differences are less prominent than in urban communities. However, gender differences are more pronounced; geographical differences are more salient; the influence of the church is more important and network structures are tighter.

This chapter aims to explain the choices for the sociolinguistic and linguistic variables in the data we selected. In this chapter, we will discuss the social factors which were taken into account when selecting the speakers, the fieldwork procedure, as well as the sociolinguistic and linguistic variables which were studied. Three types of data were collected: elicited data in a pilot study, and elicited and conversation data in the final study. The conversation data were only used as control data: they have not been analysed in this study. This is the reason why only the elicited data will be discussed here. The second part of this chapter discusses the selection of the linguistic variables and their linguistic parameters. In order to decide which linguistic contexts had to be examined, recent literature on these variables was consulted. In those cases where the literature gave no indication for a choice of parameters, we used a list with frequently used parameters (see section 4.2.5). Each section concludes with a summary of the parameters used in this study.

4.1. The selection of the speakers

Since one of the goals of this study was to detect relationships between linguistic and social structures, the speakers were selected taking into account social stratification. In sociolinguistic studies, the independent variables are almost always age, sex and social class. These factors often have turned out to have a major influence on speakers' linguistic behaviour. In the community that the present study focuses on, however, the variable of social class does not have the same status as in other communities. Since the majority of the population makes a living in the tourist industry, differentiations in occupational level are comparatively small. Another reason to leave out this variable in this particular study is that the inhabitants of the island who occupy higher-level positions, such as the mayor, doctor, etc., usually do not meet the first criterion for speaker selection: they were not born on the island. This is why our data were stratified by age, sex and geographical background instead. Still, questions about social class were part of the sociolinguistic questionnaire. Also included were some questions referring to the concept of *life style*, which is taken as a substitute for the variable 'social class' in several recent sociolinguistic studies (section 2.3.1.).

4.1.1. Geographical background

One variable that is taken into account in our stratification - next to age and sex - is geographical background, i.e. place of birth as well as place of residence, of the informant. This factor was included since two varieties are being distinguished in the dictionary of the Ameland dialect (Oud 1987), which is the main source of reference in this chapter, as well as in some earlier Frisian studies, e.g. the *Handbook of Frisian* (Munske 2001). In a preparatory study at the very beginning of the current project, both morphological and phonological differences between the two varieties were found. These varieties are spoken in the eastern part (Nes, Buren) and western part (Hollum, Ballum) of the island. An equal number of speakers from both parts of the island was selected. In a way, this variable is parallel to the social class variable of occupation: one of the social distinctions between both parts of the island is that the eastern part is more focused on tourism whereas in the western part agriculture is the main source of income (see chapter 3). This distinction does not necessarily coincide with the social hierarchy and its implications will therefore have to be verified by the present study.

4.1.2. Age

In this study language change is investigated in *apparent time* (as opposed to *real time* studies, which examine language at different points in time and then make a comparison). In this approach we compare different individuals of different age groups, in order to study language change. The indirectness of this approach is a disadvantage which can be overcome if there is a sufficiently large number of speakers and if we compare averages. Still we have to take into account the effects of 'age-grading', which is the behaviour typical for each age-group, and which is often mistakenly interpreted as change in apparent time (Bailey 2002). The following age groups are defined in this study:

- younger generation: 15-25 years old
- middle generation: 35-45 years old
- older generation: 55-65 years old

A more specific distinction can be made for the youngest generation, viz. between those who work or study on the island and those who live and study on the mainland during the week. This division is not fully dependent on age but rather on the individual adolescents' educational capabilities and personal choices. Since there are only few opportunities for the adolescents to study on the island, some will leave their families from the age of 15 to share an apartment with schoolmates on the mainland. Others choose to stay at their parents' homes and find a job on the island or visit the mainland one day a week for study. For those who live on the mainland most of the time, network ties within the island community remain very tight. Most of the students who move to the mainland visit the island every weekend to see their relatives and friends; still the network patterns of the adolescents living on the mainland are different from those on the island.¹⁹ The middle and older generations are more coherent age groups. We did not select speakers younger than the age of 15, since children of this age have not fully acquired their mother tongue yet and are typically less aware of language norms (for a general discussion, see Eckert 1997). The main reason for excluding

¹⁹ A parallel can be drawn here with a code-switching study in Norway by Blom & Gumperz (1972). Their fieldwork was carried out in the small town of Hemnesberget, of about 1300 inhabitants. Besides the local informants, a group of students was selected, who went to universities in Oslo, Bergen and Trondheim, but returned home for vacation or for local employment. They shared both local and supralocal values. For this informant group, it was found that topical variation elicited code-switching.

speakers older than 65 was related to the difficulty of the questionnaire: in a pilot study it became clear that the elicitation questionnaire was too long and too difficult for speakers above the age of 65.

4.1.3. Gender

The results of early gender-specific studies by Labov indicated that women use more standard forms than men do, which was confirmed in later studies (Labov 2001). The same conclusion was drawn in an Amsterdam study on gender variation in the eighties (Brouwer 1989). In order to study gender differences in the speech of Ameland dialect speakers, we selected speakers of both sexes.

4.1.4. Control variables

In the pilot study the subjects had to fulfil the following conditions: they had to be born and raised in the village they represented and the same had to apply to both of their parents. This condition made it difficult to find a sufficient number of subjects, especially for the younger generation, since many of them were born in 'mixed marriages'. We therefore broadened this condition in a way that the subject had to be born and raised in the village he or she represented and the same should apply to at least *one* of his/her parents. We also made a small exception to the first requirement, i.e. that the informant had to be born in the village he or she represented. During the last twenty years, many births took place in the hospital on the mainland: this explains the large number of island children born in Leeuwarden. These children are not officially born on the island, but they are still considered to be real (native) islanders. Another exception was made for the adolescents, since a majority of these live on the mainland during part of the week. In this case, their parents' place of residence was taken into consideration.

4.1.5 Number of speakers

The following speaker design results from the stratification among geographical background, age and gender. The total number of speakers is 60. Each cell consists of five speakers, since "five persons per cell is often adequate, assuming the cells are well-defined in terms of local social categories" (Chambers, Trudgill & Schilling-Estes 2002: 29).

Table 4.1. Speaker design

young (15-25)				middle (35-45)				old (55-65)			
east		west		east		west		east		west	
m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5

4.1.6. Sample taken at random

The first step I took to introduce myself and my research project to the research area was to write a short article for the local newspaper, in which I wrote about my background and my research intentions. The article ended with an appeal to the Ameland people to help me collect material about their dialect. Only a few reactions came in as a result of this appeal. In the very first pilot study - which helped me to make a well balanced selection of linguistic variables - the subjects were approached after intervention by a contact person. In the final fieldwork session, however, subjects were selected from a random sample. Initially a letter was written to the Mayor of Ameland to ask permission to consult the population registers of the municipality of Ameland. Because privacy legislation has become more rigid during the past few years, it was difficult to get this permission. Even when the issue was discussed in a meeting of Mayor and Aldermen, the request was rejected. Fortunately, the researcher's contact person on the island put his private data base at our disposal. Since this database, which was created for genealogical purposes, contained information about date and place of birth of each individual inhabitant and his parents, it could serve as a register instead. The contact person also selected the appropriate candidates for the fieldwork, taking into account the informant requirements. 8-10 subjects per cell were traced from the database. We randomly took 5 speakers out of every 8 or 10 and sent them a letter in which the intentions of the research project were explained (see Appendix). The letter mentioned that informants might be compensated (a voucher for 10 Euros). Shortly after the letters had been sent, the informants were asked by telephone if they were willing to participate. Most people were very enthusiastic and willing to cooperate. The younger generation was the most difficult group to get in touch with, since most of them live on the mainland part of the week and had to be contacted in the weekends. Unfortunately, they were not always as willing as the older generations to participate in the project. Therefore we used the friend-of-a-friend method (Milroy 1980) to find more

young informants. Before the actual fieldwork sessions started, two persons who had participated in earlier fieldwork sessions helped testing the questionnaire, as a result of which the questionnaire was slightly revised.

4.2. Data collection

4.2.1. Fieldwork 2004/2005

From April to June 2004 the first fieldwork sessions for the present study were carried out with 40 native-speaker informants. In the summer months of July and August there was a short break, because most of the Ameland inhabitants make their living in the tourist industry and therefore did not have much time. The second fieldwork session took place in September and October 2004: in this period six more interviews were carried out, as well as seven in-group conversations. The speakers were all visited in their homes on the island. The duration of each interview session was different for each individual but varied from one to three hours. The average duration of a session was two hours, roughly divided between 45 minutes for the sociolinguistic questionnaire, 45 minutes for the linguistic questionnaire and half an hour for casual conversation. The linguistic part was taped on a tape-recorder. One of the younger speakers was visited in Leeuwarden (Fr. Ljouwert), the capital of Friesland where most of the young islanders go to school. Most of the students have no permanent address and live part-time on the island and part-time in Leeuwarden, which made it difficult to make appointments with them. Since all of the younger speakers were still students, home visits could not be realised: during the week they are at school whereas their weekends on the island are filled with hobbies, jobs and visiting friends. Therefore the final 14 interviews were taken in a different interview setting: the sociolinguistic questionnaire was sent to the informant and was filled in by him or herself, whereas the linguistic questionnaire was administered orally by telephone. These telephone conversations took place in the last two months of 2004 and the first two months of 2005. Like the other interviews, the telephone conversations were also audio-recorded. Three final in-group conversations between young speakers took place at the beginning of June 2005.

4.2.2. In-group conversations

The in-group conversations were organised in order to collect spontaneous data in addition to the elicited data. The one-on-one elicitation interviews

were necessary to obtain specific language data. However, the collection of these data took place in a rather formal setting, which may have influenced the speakers' output. Another disadvantage was that the interviewer (the researcher) was not a speaker of the Ameland dialect herself. Such a situation might result in code-switching. We therefore decided to control the data by taping in-group conversations in the Ameland dialect. At the end of the interview session, each informant was asked if he or she would like to participate in a conversation with other dialect speakers. Most of the speakers were willing to participate in this conversation session, in which we aimed at bringing together two or three dialect speakers. Since the conversations were being taped for transcription, no more than three speakers were selected for each session. The informant design was comparable to the one for elicitation. However, due to lack of time, the in-group conversations were not taken into consideration in the final data analyses. They have only been used as a final check for our elicited data results.

4.2.3. Sociolinguistic questionnaire

The sociolinguistic questionnaire consisted of the following subparts (examples are provided in the appendix).

- personal background information

This part concerns personal information like schooling/occupation of the informant as well as of his or her partner/parents/grandparents; residence history, etc. This part was also meant to check the stratification criteria. A few questions concerning 'life style' were embedded in the questionnaire as well.

- self-reported language skills

This part concerns a self-report on the four language skills, i.e. the oral skills *hearing* and *speaking* and the written skills *reading* and *writing*. The questions about language skills concern the following language varieties: the Ameland dialect and the Dutch, Frisian and German languages. Language skills were judged by the informant himself on a 5-point scale.

- language attitudes

Attitudes were measured towards the Ameland dialect, Frisian and Dutch. Two different types of questions were used. The first type of question was the one in which the informant had to evaluate statements concerning the

dialect or standard language on a 5-point Likert scale. In the other type of question, the informant had to evaluate the dialect or standard language on a *semantic differential scale*, i.e. making a choice between opposite qualifications.

- language orientation/social contacts

Language orientation is defined by the individual's integration into the community. The orientation questions were based on network theories (Labov 1963; Milroy 1980; Lippi-Green 1989; Edwards 1992), such as 'in which village do most of your friends live?'; 'would you like to move to one of the other villages on the island and, if so, which one?'; 'would you like to move to the mainland?'; 'how many times per month do you visit the mainland?', etc.

- self-reported language choice

Language choice (dialect, standard Dutch, or Frisian) was investigated for different domains. A distinction was drawn between formal and informal domains. An example of a more formal domain is a conversation with the mayor; an example of a more informal domain is a conversation with one's parents.

4.2.4. The selection of linguistic variables

To make a selection of linguistic variables to be investigated, the first step was to collect linguistic information about the Ameland dialect. Because there is no written grammar of the Ameland dialect, a short grammar was written on the basis of written and spoken sources of the dialect (this is included in the Appendix). Older tape recordings were available at the Meertens Institute: one spontaneous conversation tape-recorded in Hollum (date unknown) and two recordings made for the GTRP-project (Goeman, Taeldeman & van Reenen 1980-1995). I also made use of the morphological and syntactic corpora which were present in MAND and SAND (Barbiers et al. 2005; Barbiers et al. 2008; Goeman et al. 2005; Goeman et al. 2008).²⁰ Based on the grammar, we made a selection of 12 linguistic variables. This selection was based on the following criteria:

²⁰ Morphological Atlas of the Dutch Dialects (MAND): <http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/mand>;
Syntactic Atlas of the Dutch Dialects (SAND): <http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/sand>.

- grammatical component

The number of 12 variables was divided among the grammatical components of morphology and phonology: 6 morphological and 6 phonological variables were selected. In the pilot study, syntactic variables were investigated as well but these turned out to be difficult to investigate on the basis of elicitation tests. The other reason for leaving out the syntactic variables was the criterion of geographical spread (cf. below): we found no syntactic characteristics in the Ameland dialect which showed geographical variation between the eastern and western varieties.

- geographical spread

In the Ameland dialect, there are still variables which have different variants in the eastern villages (Nes, Buren) and western villages (Hollum, Ballum). There are also variables which are similar for all villages but differ from the dialects on the mainland. These variables can be referred to as primary dialect features (in the sense of Schirmunski 1930; see chapter 2). Other variables are representative of the whole Frisian area and can be defined as secondary features. In terms of the linguistic variables, we can distinguish the following conditions, concerning geographical spread:

A variables	variables which have different variants on both parts of the island: they are typical for the (eastern or western) <i>part of the island</i>
B variables	variables which have different variants on the island as a whole and on the mainland: they are typical for the <i>island</i>
C variables	variables which have different variants in the region and in the rest of the country: they are typical for the <i>region</i>
D variables	variables which have different variants in Dutch language area and in the rest of the world: they are typical for the <i>nation</i>

The variables can be interpreted as eastern or western (A), Ameland dialect (B), Frisian (C) or Standard Dutch (D) characteristics. In this study D variables are equivalent to *all* Dutch standard variants, including loanwords. This last category is added to facilitate the analysis of the data. We made a selection of an equal number of A, B and C variables and study processes of change within these variables.

- frequency

Since spontaneous data were collected to verify the more formal style of the interview session, the frequency criterion was a practical one. Relatively frequent dialect features were chosen to make sure they would occur in the spontaneous data.

Table 4.2. The 12 selected linguistic variables

VARIABLE	type	GRAMM. COMP.	examples	glosses
1. vowel alternation du. /ei/	A	PHON	[tɛ:] [ti:t]	<i>time</i>
2. vowel alternation du. /au/	A	PHON	[ɔ:ət] [oət]	<i>old</i>
3. diminutive formation	A	MORPH	[kɔpkə] [kɔpjə]	<i>small cup</i>
4. clitic pronoun 3rd sg	A	MORPH	[kɪnə] [kɪmi]	<i>can he</i>
5. vowel alternation du. /œy/	B	PHON	[hys] [byk]	<i>house / stomach</i>
6. vowel alternation du. /ei/2	B	PHON	[klɛ:n] [mɛ:t]	<i>small / girl</i>
7. suffix /æxɛ:t/	B	MORPH	[kwadæxɛ:t]	<i>malevolence</i>
8. distribution -n in plural verb forms	B	MORPH	[satə] [hadə]	<i>(we/you/they) sat / had</i>
9. r-deletion	C	PHON	[hɑ t] [gɑ s]	<i>heart / grass</i>
10. d-deletion	C	PHON	[lɑ:n] [hɑ:n]	<i>land / hand</i>
11. prefixless past participle	C	MORPH	[west] [makt]	<i>been / made</i>
12. -st suffix 2nd sg/ clitic pronoun	C	MORPH	[sɪstə] [bɪstə]	<i>shall / are you</i>

In table 4.2, the 12 linguistic variables are defined in the first column; the next two columns show the distribution of the variables among geographical spread and grammatical component; in the last two columns, examples are taken from the Ameland dialect to illustrate the variables. For the A-variables, the different variants are given for the eastern and western variety, respectively. For the B- and C-variables, one or two examples are given for each variable.

4.2.5. The linguistic questionnaire

The following contextual conditioning factors, which are summarized in Chambers, Trudgill & Schilling-Estes (2002), served as guidelines for the selection of the parameters: syllable stress, phonological environment, and grammatical status of the final element of the word. Other parameters, like open or closed syllable, loanword versus non-loanword and number of syllables were also taken into account.

The main part of the linguistic questionnaire consisted of production tests (p-tests), which are tests in which the informant is asked to produce the linguistic variants. The production tests in the present study can be subdivided into four types of tasks: word/sentence translation and word/sentence completion tasks. Other tests used in the questionnaire were the acceptability test (a-test) and the contrast test (c-test), in which the informant is asked to judge certain linguistic variants. In the a-test, the informant has to judge whether a single variant is acceptable or not. In the c-test, two or more variants are presented and the informant must choose the variant which he or she prefers. Each linguistic variable is investigated by two or more different tests to exclude testing effects (as discussed in Hinskens 1992: 131). The linguistic questionnaire is also included in the appendix.

Table 4.3. Types of tests administered for each linguistic variable

linguistic variable	tests
1. vowel alternation du. /ei/	word translation; sentence translation; completion
2. vowel alternation du. /au/	word translation; sentence translation
3. diminutive formation	sentence translation; completion
4. clitic pronoun 3rd sg	sentence translation; completion; acceptability
5. vowel alternation du. /æy/	word translation; sentence translation; completion
6. vowel alternation du. /ei/2	word translation; sentence translation; completion
7. suffix /əxɛ:t/	sentence translation; completion; contrast

linguistic variable	tests
8. distribution -n in plural verb forms	sentence translation; completion
9. r-deletion	word translation; sentence translation; completion
10. d-deletion	word translation; sentence translation; completion
11. prefixless past participle	sentence translation; completion
12. -st suffix 2nd sg/ clitic pronoun	sentence translation; acceptability

4.3 The linguistic variables

In this paragraph we will describe each individual linguistic variable in its historical context, by making use of the *Grammar of Dutch* (van Bree 1987) and *Handbuch des Friesischen*, also referred to as *Handbook of Frisian* (2001). Furthermore, we will try to embed the phenomenon in more recent literature, in order to decide which parameters should be taken into account when selecting the test words. The description of each variable ends with a list of parameters on the basis of which the test words were selected.

4.3.1. Variable 1: Vowel alternation du. /ei/

Germanic /i:/ - Middle Dutch /ɛi/ - Modern Dutch /ei/

In most Dutch dialects, the Germanic /i:/ sound has diphthongised to /ei/. In Frisian, however, the monophthong was retained, and the same holds for the Ameland dialect. In the dialect, we can distinguish between an eastern and a western variant for Frisian /i:/, which are /ɛ:/ and /i:/, respectively. Exceptions to this general picture can also be found: some words have the Dutch /ei/ diphthong in one or both varieties; very rare but occasionally found is the occurrence of an eastern variant in the west and vice versa. As an illustration, some examples are given in table 4.4.

Table 4.4. Variable 1. Vowel alternation du. /ɛi/²¹

Dutch	Frisian	eastern variety	western variety	gloss
teit	ti:t	tɛ:t	ti:t	<i>time</i>
blei	bli:t	blɛ:t	bli:t	<i>glad</i>
weit	wi:t	wɛ:t	wi:t	<i>wide</i>
zeidə	si:də	sɛ:də	si:də	<i>side, silk</i>
veif	fi:f	fɛif	fɛ:f	<i>five</i>
vreidax	fret	frɛ:dəx	frɛidəx	<i>Friday</i>

In most Frisian dialects, a distributional difference between the long vowel /i:/ and the short vowel /i/ developed. The exact details of the distribution are not always very clear because there are many exceptions. In the *Handbook of Frisian*, the constraints are formulated as follows:

Owfr. /i:/ was shortened before voiceless consonants, nasals, *l* and heterosyllabic voiced plosives, cf. *ryp* 'ripe', *bite* 'to bite', *dyk* 'dike', *wyn* 'wind', *side* 'side'. (...) In a few cases long /i:/ has been retained for affective reasons, e.g. in *piipje* 'to squeak' and *swipe* /swi:pə/ (dial.) 'whip' next to regular /swipə/. (Handbuch des Friesischen: 723)

For the Ameland dialect, these constraints are not applicable. In the Ameland dictionary counterexamples were found for heterosyllabic words with voiced plosives, e.g. *tiden* 'times' and *ride* 'to ride', which have /i:/ vowels. Although all our examples with /-cont, -voice/ codas had short /i/ - the word *piip* 'pipe' being an exception -, this was not the case for the fricatives (for example /wif/ 'wife'). Thus, /i:/ shortening does not occur before all voiceless consonants in the dialect. As a result, the only solid rules with respect to /i/ that can be obtained from the Handbook and can be verified by our random test are:

1. Long vowel /i:/ does not occur before [+sonorant]
2. Long vowel /i:/ does not occur before [-cont, -voice]

Another constraint which is mentioned in the Handbook concerns the position within the word:

²¹ The phonetic transcription of the Dutch words is based on Heemskerk & Zonneveld (2000).

In word-final position and in hiatus /i:/ was diphthongised to /ei/, cf. *nij* 'new', *spije* 'to vomit'. (Handbuch des Friesischen: 725)

The situation partly resembles that of Tilburg Dutch (Swets 2004), where long vowels and diphthongs are also in complementary distribution. At the end of a word, a long vowel is replaced by a diphthong because of a constraint that requires words to end in a consonant. This constraint is satisfied by the consonant-like glide. In the data available to us, all words had diphthongs in word-final position, which confirms the statement in the Handbook. The third rule can thus be formulated as follows:

3. In word-final position /i/ is always diphthongised

In Frisian, diphthongisation takes place not only at the end of the word, but also at the end of the syllable. The Ameland dictionary shows that this rule is not applicable to the Ameland dialect, e.g. *tiiden* 'times', *riiden* 'to ride'.

4. In hiatus, diphthongisation of /i/ does not take place

In order to test the preceding rules, the following parameters were taken into account in our study:

Parameters:

- Location of the vowel : word internal or word-final
- Following segment : plosive or non-plosive (fricative or sonorant)
- Following segment : voiced or voiceless
- Syllable : open or closed

4.3.2. Variable 2: Vowel alternation du. /ɔu/

Germanic - Middle Dutch /ɔu/ - Modern Dutch /ɔu/
/o/a + l + θ/t/d/

In Standard Frisian, the distinction between the original /a+l+d/t/ and the /o+l+d/t/ cluster is maintained: the first is pronounced with long /o:/, whereas the second is pronounced with the diphthong /ɔu/. The orthography enhances the distinct pronunciations, since the first cluster is spelled with <âld>, in which, however, the *l* is not pronounced and the vowel /ɔ/ is lengthened. The diphthong is spelled with <ou>. No such discrepancy

between orthography and pronunciation is found in the Ameland dialect. In the Ameland dialect dictionary, no distinction is made between the different descendants: these are pronounced and spelled the same, as shown in table 4.5.

Table 4.5. Variable 2. Vowel alternation du. /ɔu/

Dutch	Frisian	written Frisian form	eastern variety	western variety	gloss
out	ɔ:t	<ald>	ɔ:t	ɔ:ɛt	old
hout	hɔut	<hout>	hɔ:ɛt	hɔ:ɛt	wood
zoldər	soudər	<souder>	sɔ:ɛdər	sɔ:ɛdər	attic
out	gout	<goud>	gɔ:ɛt	gɔ:ɛt	gold
kout	kɔ:t	<kâld>	kɔ:ɛt	kɔ:ɛt	cold
verkouden	fəko:dən	<ferkâlden>	fəko:ɛdən	fəko:ɛdən	having a cold (adj.)
zout	sɔ:t	<sâlt>	sɔ:ɛt	sɔ:ɛt	salt

The *Frisian Handbook* explains the development from /o/a + l + θ/t/d/ to /o/ and /ɔu/ in Frisian as follows:

Owfr. /o:/ was diphthongised to /ou/ before *l* and, subsequently, *l* was absorbed. When, after the absorption of *l*, /ou/ was followed by *n*, it changed into /u:/ and was shortened to /u/ as in the cases mentioned above: *mûne* 'mill', *gûne* 'guilder'. In other cases it developed to /ɔu/: *hout* 'wood', *souder* 'attic', *moude* 'dust'. (Handbuch des Friesischen: 726)

Owfr. /a:/ originating from /a/ before the lengthening consonant clusters *-nd*, *-ns*, *-ld* and *-lt* was diphthongised (velarised) to /au/ and developed via /ɔu/ into ModWfr. /ɔ:/ (<â>): the *l* of the clusters *-ld* and *-lt* was absorbed in the process: (...) *hâlde* 'to hold', *kâld* 'cold', *sâlt* 'salt'. (Handbuch des Friesischen: 727)

The deletion of *l* is described as 'absorption' in the Handbook. It is more plausible, however, that *l* was vocalised (a process by which a /l/ sound is replaced by a vowel or semivowel sound). In Standard Dutch, this development resulted in the diphthong /ɔu/ (e.g. *zout* 'salt'). However, /o/a +

l + t/d/ clusters still occur in Dutch, mainly in loanwords (e.g. *volt* 'volt'; *alt* 'contralto'). We will examine whether the old rule is still productive in the dialect for recent loanwords.

In order to test the *l* absorption rule in other contexts, two test words were added for all of the following consonant sequences: *-lk*, *-ls*, *-lp*, *-lm*, *-lf*. L-absorption (or: vocalisation) in this context is a recent development in different varieties of Dutch (van Reenen & Jongkind 2000) and we therefore expect to find this in our data. Assuming that this rule is still productive in the dialect, a wider application might also be expected to lead to lengthening of the preceding vowel (/a/ or /o/).

Finally, the constraint which requires a diphthong at the end of the word is relevant here (see also variable 1).

Parameters:

- Loanword: non loan or loan
- Consonant following *l*: *-lt*, *-ld* or other: *-lk*, *-ls*, *-lp*, *-lm*, *-lf*
- Location of the vowel: word-internal or word-final

4.3.3. Variable 3: Diminutive formation

The regular morpheme for diminutive formation in the Ameland dialect is *-ke* in the western variety and *-(t)je* in the eastern variety. The most plausible explanation for this strict division is that the western villages have maintained the Frisian suffix whereas the eastern villages have adopted the Hollandic/Dutch suffix *-tje*.

Table 4.6. Variable 3. Diminutive formation

Dutch	Frisian	eastern variety	western variety	gloss
kɔpjə	kɔpkə	kɔpjə	kɔpkə	<i>cup</i>
panətjə	pantsjə	pantjə	pantkə	<i>pan</i>
xatjə	gatsjə	gatjə	gatkə	<i>gap</i>
manətjə	mantsjə	mantjə	mantkə	<i>man</i>
dɔpjə	dɔpkə	dɔpjə	dɔpkə	<i>shell</i>
wɛitjə	waikə	wɛitjə	wɛikə	<i>meadow</i>
wɛxətjə		wɛxjə	wɛxjə	<i>road</i>

The situation with respect to diminutives on Ameland was already noticed by one of the earliest Dutch dialectologists, Johan Winkler:

In the village of Hollum on the island of Ameland some words, which in Nes or on the Frisian mainland take the diminutive suffix *tje* or *tsje*, take the suffix *ke*, for example: *potke*, *pantke*, 'small bowl', 'small pan', *ketelke*, 'small kettle' etc. (Winkler 1874: 485, my translation MJ)

Winkler might be correct in suggesting that the West-Ameland *-ke* suffix is used in the same contexts where mainland Frisian uses *-tje* or *-tsje*. If this is correct, the only context in which *-ke* cannot appear is after velars. This follows the diminutive system which can be derived from the *Handbook of Frisian* (105, 106):

Ameland	-ke	after /b t d l/
	-je	after a velar, <i>e.g. sokje</i> 'little sock', <i>kroechje</i> 'little pub'
EAST (E)	-pje	after some nouns in /m/ <i>e.g. skoempje</i> 'little scum', <i>ârmpje</i> 'little arm'
	-(t)jen	after some nouns in /m/ <i>e.g. stamtjen</i> 'little trunk'
	-tje	after some nouns in /m n/ <i>e.g. skramtje</i> 'little scratch', <i>skoentje</i> 'little shoe'
WEST (W)	-ke	after a vowel, a diphthong or /p f s m r/ <i>e.g. glaskje</i> 'little glass', <i>kamke</i> 'little comb'
	-tke	after /n/ <i>e.g. maantke</i> 'little moon', <i>stiëntke</i> 'little stone'

Although this information might help us to find the distribution pattern of the different variants, it is incomplete (especially for the eastern variety) and even incorrect in some ways: for example, there are numerous counterexamples to the general rule which requires *-ke* after /b t d l/: *bêdje* (E), *bêdke* (W), 'small bed', *pieltje* (E), *pielke* (W), 'small arrow', *gatje* (E), *gatke* (W), 'small gap', etc. The *-(t)jen* suffix was not found at all in our data and the consonant sequence *-mtje* is very rare. We can thus deduce the following system:

East-Ameland	-tje	
	-je	after velars
	-pje	after some nouns in /m/
West-Ameland	-ke	
	-je	after velars
	-tke	after /n/

Since our knowledge of the Ameland diminutive system is still very rudimentary, we made a broad range of testing categories, with the following parameters:

Parameters:

- Vowel quantity/vowel context: short vowel, long vowel/diphthong, schwa, final *-ing*
- Final segment: sonorant or obstruent
- Final segment: plosive, fricative, nasal, liquid, vowel/diphthong

4.3.4. Variable 4: Clitic 3rd sg pronoun

A (phonological) clitic can be defined as "an element which lacks the minimally required prosodic strength to be an independent prosodic word" (van der Leeuw 1997). In general, the following four characteristics apply to clitics cross-linguistically: 1. They are stressless, 2. They are (maximally) monosyllabic, 3. They are function words, 4. They depend on a host. Whether Germanic clitics are lexically stored or the result of phonological reduction is still a question of debate (Berendsen 1986; van der Leeuw 1997; Visser 1997). Whereas in proclisis the clitic is attached to the beginning of another word, in enclisis the clitic is attached at the end of the host word. In our investigation, two cases of enclisis will be discussed (variables 4 and 12).

In Dutch, three enclitic forms are distinguished for the third person singular male: *die*, *tie*, *ie* (Berendsen 1986). However, these forms are not fully reduced to schwa and it is therefore controversial whether they should be considered as real clitics or not. In fact, most clitics have schwa and are stressless (condition 1). The forms in Dutch only appear in enclitic position, especially after verbs and subordinating conjunctions. An explanation why these clitics are not fully reduced is given by De Schutter (1989):

In standard Dutch, typical clitic forms (for the 3rd person singular masculine) are not fully reduced. This is probably because full reduction of a vocal would result in forms like /hə/ or /ə/. Given the phonological structure of Dutch, both forms are undesirable: the first because /h/ is never followed by /ə/ (...) /and/ reduction to schwa could be felt as being too extreme, and therefore in many cases might be avoided, although in normal changes this would be considered the final stage (De Schutter 1989: 27-28, my translation, MJ)

In Frisian - as well as in Limburgian (Hinskens 1992) - the clitic *er* is used for the 3rd person singular masculine. This clitic originates from the Old Frisian form *re*: *hebbe-re* 'has he' (*Handbuch des Friesischen*: 623). D-insertion is optional after a stem ending in *n* or *l* and obligatory after a stem in *r* (Visser 1997).

De Schutter (1989) refers to sentence 43 in the RND, a Dutch dialect atlas, in which cliticisation of the second pronoun is expected because this subject is coreferential with the one in the main clause: *Hij heeft veel praats omdat hij sterk is* 'He talks big (i.e. has a big mouth) because he is strong'. A map shows the distribution of the different variants of the clitic among the dialects of Dutch: on the island of Ameland, the only form that was found in this survey was the Dutch clitic /i/, described above. However, in the Ameland dictionary, another variant is described for the western variety of the Ameland dialect: this is the fully reduced schwa form, which on the map of De Schutter is only attested in the north-eastern part of the Netherlands (i.e. Groningen, Drenthe, Overijssel, and Gelderland).

Table 4.7. Variable 4. Clitic pronoun 3rd sg

Dutch	Frisian	eastern variety	western variety	gloss
hefti	hətər	heti	hetə	<i>has he</i>
isi	isər	isi	isə	<i>is he</i>
kani	kɪnər	kɪni	kɪnə	<i>can he</i>
wonti	wənətər	wɔanti	wɔantə	<i>lives he</i>

This schwa variant is, as we already discussed, undesirable for phonological reasons and is likely to be avoided. It is therefore not surprising that this variant was hardly found in our material, despite the fact that it is listed in the short grammatical description given in the dictionary.

Another interesting question is how this variant entered this particular variety of the Ameland dialect. A very plausible answer is that this variant is a reduction of the Frisian *er* variant. One of the phonological constraints of Frisian is that /r/ is deleted before dental consonants. Probably the western variety already had the Frisian *er* clitic, in which the /r/ was deleted if the following word had an initial dental consonant /t d s z l n/.

This interpretation is also compatible with the *Handbuch des Friesischen* (p. 108), which proposes the weak pronouns *y* and *er* for the Ameland dialect. Although the Frisian *er* variant may have existed in a very early stage, leading, in our interpretation, to the current western variant /ə/, it is not mentioned in the Ameland dictionary. In order to test my hypothesis that /ə/ is a reduction of the Frisian /ər/ the following contexts are taken into account for the test words:

Parameters:

- following word-final /t d s z l n/.

Other parameters were also involved, in order to test whether d-insertion takes place:

- preceding words with a final consonant (t, d or other consonant);
preceding words with a final vowel or schwa (past tense of verbs);
preceding words with a final *r* (d-insertion obligatory); *n*, *l* (d-insertion optional).

4.3.5. Variable 5: Vowel alternation Dutch /œy/

ui1	Germ./u:/ /iu/	MD. /y/	du. /œy/ but /y/ before r
ui2	Germ. /u + j /	MD. /y/	du. /œy/

second category was extended by loanwords (French)

During the Frankish Kingdom, from 500 until the ninth century, a sound change took place in the Dutch language area, in which the original vowel /u/ developed into an /y/ (van der Sijs 2004; Van Reenen 2006). This sound change was possibly caused by influence of French, where the original Latin /u/ sound turned into /y/ as well. In Middle Dutch (MD), the /u/ sound had mostly disappeared, but in some areas, especially in the periphery of the

Netherlands, it was maintained. The Frisian language area, for example, still has mostly /u/ where Dutch has /y/. The Ameland dialect, like most Frisian towns, was heavily influenced by the Hollandic dialects and adopted /y/. In the 16th century, however, Dutch /y/ became diphthongised in the Hollandic and southern dialects, possibly as a result of higher-class Brabantic speakers who fled to the north of the country after the Fall of Antwerp (van Bree 1977: 174). This diphthongisation process did not reach all areas of the Netherlands. The island of Ameland kept its monophthongal variant. In a few words the original 'Frisian' /u/ sound is still found (van Bree 1987; van der Sijs 2004).

Table 4.8. Variable 5. Vowel alternation du. /œy/

Dutch	Frisian	Ameland dialect	gloss
hœys	hus	hys	<i>house</i>
bœyk	buk	byk	<i>stomach</i>
bœytən	butən	bytən	<i>outside</i>
dœystər	tsjöstər	dystər	<i>dark</i>

Table 4.9. Variable 5. Exceptions to the rule

Dutch	Frisian	Ameland dialect	gloss
pœyst	pust	pust, pyst	<i>pimple</i>
vœyst	fust	fust	<i>fist</i>
flœyt	flœyt	flœ:t	<i>flute (ui2)</i>
frœyt	frœyt	frœ:t	<i>fruit (ui2)</i>
bœy	b _u o _i	bœy	<i>shower of rain</i>

In most contexts, Frisian has preserved the old /u/-sound, although a diphthong occurs in most Frisian towns, in the variety known as Town Frisian (3.2.1).

OWfr. /u/ was retained in ModWfr. or palatalised to /y/. (...) The variation between /u/ and /y/ in ModWfr. is the result of a process of palatalisation, which has worked rather diffusely. It is still a point of debate whether the Wfr. palatalisation was influenced by the parallel Dutch palatalisation (of y to øy) or not. (Handbuch des Friesischen: 723)

In standard Dutch, two *ui* vowels exist: although they are pronounced the same and even have the same spelling, they have different origins. *ui1* and *ui2* - (e.g. *duim* 'thumb' has *ui1*; *fluit* 'flute' has *ui2*) Most of the *ui2*'s appear in loanwords, especially in French loans. In older stages of Dutch, the difference was still visible in the spelling: the *ui1* developed into a diphthong only during the Renaissance. The vowel was written as <euy> or <eu> in 17th century Dutch, possibly to reflect the French pronunciation. This vowel closely resembles the vowel in the Ameland dialect, which represents *ui2*: see table 4.9. In Standard Dutch, the pronunciation of *ui2* became similar to that of *ui1*. In some areas that were not involved in the diphthongisation process, dialects maintained the difference between *ui1* and *ui2*. For example, in the Ameland dialect the distinction is very clear. However, as also discussed in the next section for the <ei>/<ij> correspondence, the influence of Dutch might lead to confusion, especially for the younger Ameland dialect speaker, which in the near future may result in the loss of the historical distinction between *ui1* and *ui2*.

To test this variable, we first made a distinction between *ui1* and *ui2* words. Since the FinalC constraint (Swets 2004) favours diphthongs in word-final position, we took word endings into account as well.

Parameters:

- Original vowel: *ui1* or *ui2*
- Word ending: diphthong in word-internal or word-final position

4.3.6. Variable 6: Vowel alternation du. /ɛi/2

germ. *-agi*

germ. *e* before nasal + dental (*einde* 'end', *peinzen* 'meditate; ponder')

germ. *ai* (i-umlaut)

In Standard Dutch, the /ɛi/1 and /ɛi/2 developed into one and the same diphthong, although the orthography still makes a difference: <ij> versus <ei>. The pronunciation of both vowels became similar near the end of the 17th century. However, during the 16th and 17th century, at least in Amsterdam, <ij> was still pronounced as the monophthong /i/ whereas <ei> was pronounced as the more open /ai/ diphthong. In most dialects the difference between both *ei*'s has disappeared, although it was maintained in non-diphthongising areas (van Bree 1977: 168).

Table 4.10. Variable 6. Vowel alternation du. /ei/

Dutch	Frisian	Ameland dialect	gloss
klein	lits	klɛ:n	<i>small</i>
wɛinəx	net fɔlə	wɛ:nəx	<i>little</i>
brɛijən	brɛɪdzjə	brɛ:ɔə	<i>to knit</i>
zɛil	sɛil	sɛ:l	<i>sail</i>
hɛidə	hɛidə	hɛ:ɔə	<i>heath</i>
hɛiləx	hɪləx	hɛ:ləx	<i>holy</i>
mɛit	fam	mɛ:t	<i>maid</i>
ɛixən	ɛixən	ɛ:xən	<i>own</i>

The Ameland dialect has no diphthongs for /ei/1 and /ei/2 and both of them are still pronounced differently. However, it is very likely that the interference of the Dutch standard is causing confusion, especially for younger dialect speakers. What makes it even more confusing is that some words in the dialect have the Dutch diphthong. This concerns words which have /ei/ in word-final position, which constraint was also found for other long vowels, and probably loan words. See table 4.11.

Table 4.11. Variable 6. Exceptions to the rule

Dutch	Frisian	Ameland dialect	gloss
klei	klɑ:i	klei	<i>clay</i>
leisten	lɑ:i	leisten	<i>slate</i>
ɛi	ɑ:i	ɛi	<i>egg</i>
rɛis	rɛis	rɛis	<i>journey</i>
stɛixərən	stɛixərjə	stɛixərə	<i>to rear</i>

Therefore the following parameters are taken into account:

Parameters:

- Location of the vowel: word-internal or word-final
- Loanwords or non-loans

4.3.7. Variable 7: The suffix /əxɛ:t/

Where in Dutch the *-heid* 'ness' suffix is used, in Frisian we find the suffix *-igheid*. This variant also exists in Dutch, but with a different, mostly ironic, connotation (e.g. *aardigheid* 'niceness').

In Frisian *-igheid* has the same meaning as Dutch *-heid*. Note that it is also found in Limburgian and Brabantic dialects (Münstermann 1989). This suffix appears after an adjective that refers to the condition or attribute of a person or a thing. It seems that this suffix does not occur in Frisian when the stem already ends in a suffix (du. *menselijk* 'human', *werkeloos* 'unemployed', *ongehoorzaam* 'disobedient'). However, there are counterexamples, e.g. *langsameghèd* 'slowness'.

Table 4.12. Variable 7. Suffix /əxɛ:t/

Dutch	Frisian	Ameland dialect	gloss
bənauthɛit	bənaudəs	bəna:udəxɛ:t	<i>closeness</i>
muɛit	vørxəs	muədəxɛ:t	<i>weariness</i>
xəmenɛit	gəmiənəs	gəmiənəxɛ:t	<i>meanness</i>
sxonɛit	skjintə	skɔənəxɛ:t	<i>beauty</i>
zekərɛit	səkyərəs	sekərəxɛ:t	<i>certainty</i>
vərkoutɛit	fərkɔdənəs	fəkɔdənəxɛ:t	<i>cold</i>
vərwanthɛit	wanwizəs	fəwandəxɛ:t	<i>conceit</i>
vərvelŋ	fərfelsyməs	fəfeləndəxɛ:t	<i>boredom</i>
ovərdrevənɛit	urdrewnəs	ovədrevənəxɛ:t	<i>exaggeration</i>
lɔŋzamɛit	stadəxəns	lɔŋzaməxɛ:t	<i>slowness</i>

Table 4.13. Variable 7. Exceptions to the rule

Dutch	Frisian	Ameland dialect	gloss
xəzonthɛit	sunəs	gəsɥnthɛ:t	<i>health</i>
misləkɛit	misləkəs	misləkɛ:t	<i>sickness</i>
leləkɛit	lɪlkəs	leləkɛ:t	<i>ugliness</i>
redələkɛit	retləkəns	leləkəxɛ:t	<i>reasonableness</i>

In Frisian, another variant next to *-heid* exists, which is the variant /əns/ which in spoken Frisian was and still is very rare but which is increasingly used in written Frisian. According to Hoekstra & Hut (2003), this variant is used to enlarge the distance between Frisian and Dutch, which is also a characteristic of written Frisian in general. This explains why the *-ens* variant is especially often attached to typical Frisian words (e.g. *boartlikens* 'playfulness'). When a similar word ending in *-heid* exists in Dutch, especially if it has a high frequency, it is likely that the Frisian word has the same ending. At the same time, a prosodic rule explains part of the distributional pattern of *-heid* and *-ens* in Frisian: a word ending in an accented syllable prefers the [-accent] variant /əns/ whereas a word ending in a non-accented syllable prefers the [+ (secondary) accent] variant /heit/ (van der Meer 1986). However, this is a tendency rather than a strict rule, since some words ending in a non-accented syllable still take the *-ens* variant, as table 4.12 and 4.13 show. For most words, both variants are possible in Frisian. In the Ameland dialect, some relics of words ending in *-ens* exist. In the Ameland dialect, the appearance of *-igheid* is not restricted to any linguistic context. In our study, we decided to control both phonological and prosodic context of the variable.

Parameters:

- Following segment: obstruent, sonorant or glide
- Syllable: one, two or three syllables

4.3.8. Variable 8: Distribution of *-n* in plural verb forms

While Dutch infinitive verb forms invariably end in schwa (at least in informal settings; formal settings, like written forms, always take the *-n* ending), all Frisian dialects distinguish an infinitive with and without *-n*. The infinitive in *-e* is the unmarked form, while infinitives ending in *-n* are also labelled 'gerunds'. In Frisian, infinitives ending in *-en* occur in combination with: i) perception verbs (*fiele* 'feel', *hearre* 'hear', *sjen* 'see'); ii) aspectual verbs (*gean* 'go', *bliuwe* 'remain'); iii) *hawwe* 'have', *fine* 'find' and the absolute *mei* ('with') -construction; iv) the infinitival marker *te* (Hoekstra 1997: 5-8).

Frisian selects the ending *-n* in both gerunds and plural verb forms in the past tense (see also Goeman et al 2008). The same holds for Town Frisian. In the Ameland dialect, this ending does not occur in past tense forms:

Table 4.14. Variable 8. Distribution of -n in plural verb forms

Dutch	Frisian	Ameland dialect	gloss
weinamə(n)	winamŋ	weinamə	<i>we took</i>
weikəndə(n)	wikunŋ	weikənə	<i>we could</i>
weihadə(n)	wihinŋ	weihadə	<i>we had</i>
weimaktə(n)	wimakŋ	weimaktə	<i>we made</i>

In the past tense plural of the verbs *hawwe*, *kinne*, *sille*, *wazze*, *wille*, Skiermonnikoog and Ameland have -e endings and the other dialects -en endings. In Ameland all irregular verbs have the -e ending here (as do the weak verbs) (Handbuch des Friesischen: 110)

In gerunds, the -n always occurs, just as in past participles, where syllabification of -n takes place just as in Frisian. In a preliminary study carried out in 2000, infinitive formation was tested by asking the speakers to translate different sentences. The results showed variation in the endings of past tense plural verb forms. For example, none of the speakers had -n in the following sentence:

(1a) *Faak beseë'de se hun foetn an stienn en stiekels*

Often - hurt they - their feet - on stones and prickles ('Often they hurt their feet')

However, they did use the -n ending in the following sentence:

(1b) *De kienes speuldn elke week buutn*

The children - played - each week - outside. ('The children played outside every week')

We should therefore consider tense as one of our parameters. Since a difference in realisation of both weak and (some) strong forms appears in the dialect of Schiermonnikoog, this parameter is considered as well.

Parameters:

- Tense: present or past tense
- Verb: strong or weak verb

Note that the following conditions will be controlled: the stem of the verb form cannot end in a fricative (since schwa following fricative behaves differently); the following word has no vowel as an onset; in this case we just select words beginning in /d-/.

4.3.9. Variable 9: R-lessness

In the north-eastern dialects of the Netherlands²², but also in some Limburgian dialects²³ (Hinskens 1993), r-deletion takes place before dentals in accented syllables. This process of r-deletion can be regarded as a process of assimilation: the dental (or: apical) r merges with the following dental consonant and loses some of its specific phonetic features. It is therefore not surprising that r-deletion is very frequent before dental consonants, since assimilation is only possible for homorganic segments.

Table 4.15. Variable 9. R-deletion

Dutch	Frisian	Ameland dialect	gloss
hɛrsənən	həsəs	həsjəs	<i>brain</i>
kwardtir	kətir	kətir	<i>quarter</i>
xras	ges	gesj	<i>grass</i>
nɔ:rt	nɔət	nɔət	<i>north</i>

Some examples of r-deletion in the Ameland dialect are given below, taken from the GTRP corpus (east=Buren; west=Hollum).

Dutch	east	west	Dutch	east	west
barst	ba st	id	mars	ma s	mars
bos	bos	id	mus	mosk	mo sk
borst	bo st	id	vlees	fleis	fleis
borstel	bo səl	id	vis	fis	fis
buis	bys	bæys	voet	fu t	id.
fles	fles	fles	vuist	fu st	fust

²² For example: Hindeloopen (De Boer; Eijkman); Stadsfries (Fokkema); Terschelling (Knop); Noord-Drenthe; Overijssel; Gelderland, Elten-Bergh (Overview in De Schutter & Tældeman 1994). For r-deletion in Friesland, see Tiersma (1999) and Bezooijen (2006).

²³ Also in Hinskens' Limburgian data, /r/ is deleted more often following front vowels than following back vowels (Hinskens 1993, 228). Other environments which favour r-deletion in the Limburgian data are: following long vowels; before affricates; before underlying /d/, and in monosyllable words.

Dutch	east	west	Dutch	east	west
gerst	ga st	id.	worst	wo st	id.
hart	ha t	id.	kort	ko t	id.
kers	ke s	ka s	vast	fast	fa st
korst	ku st	ko st	zwart	swa t	id.
kous	ku s	kus	barst	ba st	id.
lat	lat	lat	dorsen	do ske	do s ke

In the GTRP transcription, the vertical line is used to mark a palatal feature: in cases where r-deletion has taken place, palatalisation of the vowel has occurred. When /s/ is in word-final position, palatalisation of this dental consonant also occurs, and in a few cases the same applies to word-final /t/. The situation is comparable to that found by van Reenen (1994), who compares /rs/ and /rt/ or /rd/ clusters for the Dutch dialects, and finds that r-deletion is more frequent in /rs/ than in /rt/ or /rd/ clusters.

In Bi. and Amel. r-deletion often occurs in a somewhat different way to the other dialects. We assume that as a result of the deletion the following (original) dental is palatalised. (..) Amel. *ga's* (western variety) /gaʃ/ (Handbuch des Friesischen: 104)

De Schutter & Tældeman (1994) give two references for Frisian r-deletion (de Boer 1950 and Eijkman 1913), who, however, notice that palatal (or: front) vowels which precede /r/ + dental consonant are often followed by a schwa-like element when /r/ has disappeared. This is indeed the case in a word like /pɾət/ 'horse' in the Ameland dialect, so there might be a distinction between front and back vowels with respect to r-deletion and its results.

Palatalisation is interesting but seems to be disappearing among the youngest generation. On the one hand, palatalisation is very dialect-specific and does not occur in the surrounding Frisian dialects, except in the Bildt dialect. On the other hand, this might be related to the rise of dorsal r (i.e. /r/ pronounced in the back of the mouth), which is gaining ground in many European languages (see also Van Bezooijen 2006: 54). As we saw, the merger of r and dental consonant takes place because of the /+apical/ feature, which cannot occur if the pronunciation of /r/ is non-apical. In this perspective, the rise of dorsal r - especially among youngsters - will interfere with the palatalisation process. This follows the findings of Torp (2001), who

describes the occurrence of apical and dorsal r's in the Scandinavian countries. He finds a complementary distribution between dorsal r and retroflexes, which are common in these languages. Retroflexes are pronounced with an apical articulation and are the result of a merger of two apical consonants. This process is very similar to the process of palatalisation. Torp states that dorsal /r/, which is spreading from Denmark to Sweden and Norway, and the retroflexisation are mutually exclusive innovations: where the retroflex appears, the dorsal /r/ does not appear, and vice versa. The same might be true for dorsal /r/ and palatalised consonants in the Ameland dialect.

Any r which occurs before one of the dental consonants /t d n l s z/ is not pronounced in Frisian, resulting in some r's which are present in the spelling system but which are never pronounced. A few exceptions to this are recent borrowings from Dutch, where the r is sometimes pronounced, as in *sport* or *modern*. (..) But in derived words and compounds it is usually deleted before any consonant besides h. I will refer to this as expanded r-deletion. The prefixes and particles *fer*, *oer*, *foar*, *oar* and *wer* are subject to expanded r-deletion when they occur before a stem beginning in a consonant other than h. In true compounds expanded r-deletion also occurs, but while it is obligatory with the prefixes, it is optional with compounds. (Tiersma 1999: 29)

Just like in Frisian, the /r/ is not pronounced before dental consonants in the Ameland dialect. In some words, an /i/ or schwa-like element is retained (which causes palatalisation of the following consonant). In derived words and compounds, the r is deleted before any consonant other than h, but also in the initial syllables *fer*- and *foar*- when the following element is not a vowel or an h (*ferbiëde* 'to forbid') or if it is the coda of a schwa syllable. For Town Frisian, Fokkema (1937) claims that r-deletion only takes place before /d t s/ and not before /n l/: in the latter context, e-epenthesis usually occurs (*garen* 'cotton'). We will consider these contexts in our parameters.

Parameters:

- Following consonant: plosive, fricative or sonorant
- Syllable: closed or open: in a closed syllable the following dental consonant is in the same syllable as the r; in an open syllable the dental is in the following syllable.

4.3.10. Variable 10: D-lessness

After *n*, <d> is omitted in both the Frisian and Ameland dialect, as indicated in table 4.16. Some exceptions are also found, examples of which are given in table 4.17.

Table 4.16. Variable 10. D-deletion

Dutch	Frisian	Ameland dialect	gloss
lɑnt	lɔ:n	lɑ:n	<i>land</i>
kɪnt	bɛ:n	kin	<i>child</i>
wɪnt	win	win	<i>wind</i>
hɔnt	hu:n	hɔan	<i>dog</i>
tandən	tɔskən	tanən	<i>teeth (plural)</i>
avənt	ju:n	avən	<i>evening</i>

Table 4.17. Variable 10. Exceptions to the rule

Dutch	Frisian	Ameland dialect	gloss
xəzənt	su:n	gəsənt	<i>healthy</i>
rɔnt	ru:n	rɔnt	<i>round</i>
stənt	stiə	stənt	<i>stood (verb past tense)</i>
kindərlək	bɛ:nlək	kindərlək	<i>childish</i>

In almost all studies that deal with t/d deletion, two major constraints are suggested, one morphological and one phonological:

1. Derivation (morphology): A monomorphemic word is more sensitive to t/d deletion than a derived word;
2. Following segment (phonology): A following relatively sonorous segment disfavours t/d deletion, compared to a relatively non-sonorous segment.

These constraints are also discussed in Guy (1991), who accounts for the difference in behaviour with respect to t/d deletion for monomorphemic and inflected words in English using a lexical phonology approach. He distinguishes different levels in the process of lexical derivation, where monomorphemic words have an underlying t/d in the earliest stage, followed by semiweak verbs which receive their affixation at level 1, whereas the weak verbs receive affixation at level 2. Since the t/d deletion

rule can be applied at any level, the monomorphemic words are exposed to the deletion rule three times as many as the weak verb forms. A word-external factor which also plays a role is the initial segment of the following word: whereas relatively obstruent segments promote t/d deletion, relatively sonorant ones inhibit it. This is interpreted by Guy as a result of syllabification, which may affect the deletion rule, rather than a constraint on the deletion rule itself. If the final stop moves to the onset of the following word, it becomes immune for the t/d deletion rule. However, constraints that are responsible for t/d deletion do not display the same structural pattern for every dialect area. This was shown, for example, by Goeman (1999), who studied the process of t-deletion in Dutch dialects, and also by Hinskens & van Hout (1993), who compared word-final t/d-deletion in the dialects spoken in Rimbarg and Nijmegen. In Friesland, t-deletion is very rare, and d-deletion seems to occur only after n. This d-deletion process is rather different from t-deletion, as described in Hinskens & van Oostendorp (2004): it resembles the disappearance of clusters like /mb/ and /ng/ which already took places in Middle Dutch. Dutch dialects have chosen different strategies to cope with this problem.

The cluster /-nt/ is quite common /in Frisian/ (...) The cluster /-nd/, on the other hand, only occurs in the words *eand* /ɛənd/ 'with young, bearing (of ewe)' and *weind* /vɛənd/ 'headland', where d is extrasyllabic, however, due to the (centralising/falling) diphthong preceding /n/. So, there is a strong tendency against /-nd/ in native words. /Footnote/ The cluster /-nd/- may occur /optionally/ in a word when it is followed by schwa or schwa plus consonant (Visser 1997: 129) (see also Visser 1997: 247)

Visser states that the only exception is when the following segment is schwa: *skande* 'shame', *kunde* 'skill'. This may be explained by syllabification, because /d/ can move to the onset of the next syllable and thus escape deletion. However, Hoekstra & van Koppen (2000) state that in Frisian dialects d-deletion also takes place after /n/ before schwa. This is also applicable to the Ameland dialect.

Parameters:

- Word type: noun or verb conjugation
- Noun: derived or underived
- Verb: Tense: past participle, present participle, present and past 1st ps. singular

- /d/ or /t/-deletion (following n)

4.3.11. Variable 11: Prefixless past participle

All Frisian dialects lack the past participle prefix *ge-*, like English, the Scandinavian languages and many Low German dialects, but unlike German and Dutch (*Handbuch des Friesischen*: 779; see also Goeman et al 2008). In German, the *ge-* prefix is deleted if the first syllable of the infinitive form is not stressed: for example *studiëren* ‘to study’, *er hat studiert* ‘he has studied’. However, the prefixless area in the Netherlands is not only restricted to Friesland, but also includes the northern part of Noord-Holland together with the Wadden Sea islands and Wieringen, Groningen and the north of Drenthe (Hol 1941: 250). However, in these areas both forms with and without *ge-* appear; the regularity of prefixless participles of loan words ending in *-ieren* or *-eren* is therefore rather exceptional, according to Hol (1941: 267).

Table 4.18. Variable 11. Prefixless past participle

Dutch	Frisian	Ameland dialect	gloss
xəwont	wenə	wənt	<i>lived</i>
xəhat	hɑ:n	hat	<i>had</i>
xəwest	west	west	<i>been</i>
xəzetən	sɪtŋ	sɪtŋ	<i>sat</i>

Past participles may also precede the noun, like in English *the chosen one*. There is a strong tendency in Frisian to prefer participles with prefixes or verbal particles when they function as adjectives. Therefore *de oanfrege fergunning* ‘the applied-for permit’ is better than *?de frege kopy* ‘the requested copy’, and *it werfûne bern* ‘the found-back child’ is better than *?it fûne bern* ‘the found child’ (Tiersma 1999: 124). The attributive or predicative use of the participle is therefore taken into account as a parameter. According to the above example, a prefix seems less natural if the verb includes a prefix.

Parameters:

- Function: attributive or predicative
- Prefix: (infinitival) verb with or without prefix

4.3.12. Variable 12: Second ps. sg / clitic pronoun suffix *-st*

In Frisian the second singular pronoun *do* (*Ameland: dou*) resembles the Middle Dutch pronoun *du*, since it takes the verbal ending *-st* and the clitic variants *sto*, *ste*, *st*. The latter form occurs directly following the verb or a subordinating conjunction (Tiersma 1999: 56). The verbal morphology for the second person singular was rather diffuse in Middle Dutch, since different suffixes were used, like *-(e)s*, *-(e)st*, *-(e)t*, *-(e)ste*, *-ts*, *-te* and \emptyset (Berteloot 2003: 211). In enclisis, new variants developed: after a verb ending in *-(e)* or *-(e)st* the first consonant of the pronoun *du* often became voiceless because of progressive assimilation with the verb-final consonant. This led to the formation of a new form which was reinterpreted as *stu*. This clitic variant was most salient in combination with the conjunctions *dat* 'that', *of* 'or' and *doe* (>*toen* 'when'). The same holds for the Frisian clitics *sto*, *ste* and *st* (*Ameland: stou*, *ste*, *st*). In other dialects, however, this clitic has also been attested after relative and interrogative pronouns (van Ginneken 1938). These contexts will also be studied in the present study.

Table 4.19. Variable 12. Clitic pronoun 2nd sg

Dutch	Frisian	Ameland dialect	gloss
bēnjə	bīstə	bīstə	<i>are you</i>
wasjə	wīstə	wāstə	<i>were you</i>
kanjə	kīstə	kīstə	<i>can you</i>
zītjə	sīstə	sīstə	<i>sit you</i>

Van der Meer (1991) and Tiersma (1985) describe the *-sto*, *-ste* and *-st* forms as subject clitics; this is referred to as the *clitic analysis*. Another claim is defended by Visser (1988) and de Haan (1994), who assume that these forms should be analysed as combinations of the inflectional element *-st* + (clitic) subject; this is referred to as the *inflectional analysis*. De Haan (1994) argues in favour of this analysis on the basis of agreement phenomena in Frisian. Since there are agreement relations between finite verbs and subjects as well as between verbs and complementizers, both V and C need second person singular features in combination with a 2nd person singular subject. Comparison with other clitics makes it even clearer that the behaviour of *-st* is less clitic- and more inflection-like. Another property of clitics which is not

applicable to *-sto* is stresslessness. The string *-sto*, as opposed to *-ste*, can be stressed (de Haan 1994: 76). Thus we can distinguish a weak form and a strong form, and the same holds for the Ameland dialect. Next to the more familiar form *-sto* a polite form occurs, which is *jo* in Frisian and *jou* in the Ameland dialect. In the Ameland dialect, the second singular pronouns *dou* en *jou* do not have the same distribution for each village: in Hollum, for example, both variants are used either to refer to either males or females, in Buren *dou* is used in both cases, whereas in Nes these forms have the same distribution as the Dutch familiar *jij* and the polite form *u*.

Do as a second person pronoun is equivalent to what *thou* once was in English - it was used with close friends and children. The use of the familiar form is more conservative in Frisian than in Dutch or German; *do* is less often used with strangers, even those of the same age, and many children still address their parents with the polite *jo*, although the norm is becoming looser. (Tiersma 1999: 56)

Since no distinguishing parameters could be found in the literature, different kinds of verbs and complementizers served as parameters.

Parameters:

- Preceding word: complementizer (COMP) or finite verb (Vfin)
- COMP: conjunction, adverb or relative pronoun
- Vfin: declarative, interrogative, imperative or exclamative

Chapter 5. The sociolinguistic context

In this chapter the data pertaining to the sociolinguistic context of the Ameland dialect will be discussed. The data were obtained from informants who provided judgements and evaluations about a range of topics. Comparable data on several other dialects in the Netherlands were obtained in the past, especially with respect to dialect use. Comparing these data, the overall conclusion of this chapter will be remarkable. In all parts of the questionnaire, the informants returned answers that reflected very positively on the Ameland dialect. This applies to their dialect skills, their dialect use, the role of the dialect in defining the Ameland identity, and their attitudes towards the dialect. These results are indicative of an island community with strong ties and a dense social network, where people are expected to use and foster the local language, the dialect of Ameland.

Differences between the informants do occur, but their positive judgements and evaluations hardly leave room for systematic variation on the basis of social variables. The differences between the informants are so small that no impact could be found for the independent variables of the general research set-up: *age*, *sex* and (geographical) *origin*. We will sometimes see that no significant differences were found between different subgroups of informants. This means that no significant effects were found for the independent variables mentioned above.

In the following paragraphs, the variables are discussed that relate to the sociolinguistic context in which the Ameland dialect functions: *language skills*, *language use*, *identity* and *attitude*. The variable *orientation* was left out since no interesting group effects could be obtained from the data. The results show that our informants are plain dialect users and that they are willing to show how positive they are about their identity as islanders and about their attitude towards the Ameland dialect.

5.1. Language skills

All informants were asked about their language skills in the Ameland dialect, Dutch and Frisian. The informants provided a self-evaluation. The questions were related to the four standard components: reading, writing, comprehension and speaking. It will be no surprise that the dialect of

Ameland received relatively low scores for the components of reading and writing, because a dialect is most usually connected to oral communication. Table 5.1 gives the results for the Ameland dialect per age group.

Table 5.1. Language skills for the Ameland dialect per age group. O=old, M=middle, Y=young (N=60)

language skills	age group	very easily	good	moderate	difficulty	not at all
understand	O	20	0	0	0	0
	M	20	0	0	0	0
	Y	20	0	0	0	0
speak	O	20	0	0	0	0
	M	20	0	0	0	0
	Y	17	2	1	0	0
read	O	3	5	5	2	5
	M	2	3	7	4	4
	Y	3	7	6	2	2
write	O	0	1	1	2	16
	M	0	2	2	2	14
	Y	1	1	4	9	5

The results for the Ameland dialect were almost maximally high for the oral components. Comprehension is always maximal, while three young informants reported slightly lower speaking skills. The situation for reading and writing is completely different. The scores cover the whole range for reading, whereas writing is a non-skill for a vast majority of informants. There are hardly any written sources in the Ameland dialect. The monthly local newspaper has a column written in dialect, but there are no books in dialect at all. It is remarkable that the youngest generation reports a better understanding of the written dialect than the older generations. This might be due to overestimation on the part of the youngsters, but it is also possible that they did have more written exposure to the dialect. Several younger speakers reported that they use the dialect for chatting on the internet. When they chat with local friends, they write (partly) in the local dialect, creating their own spelling rules. This might at the same time be the explanation for this group reporting 'bad' writing skills in the Ameland dialect. But again, although they have difficulty in writing, only five out of 20 young

informants *never* write in the dialect. Among the older generations, opposite results were obtained: only four out of 20 of the older informants and six out of 20 middle-aged informants reported that they wrote in the dialect. Reported language skills show very little variation, and it therefore makes no sense to perform a factor analysis on these data.

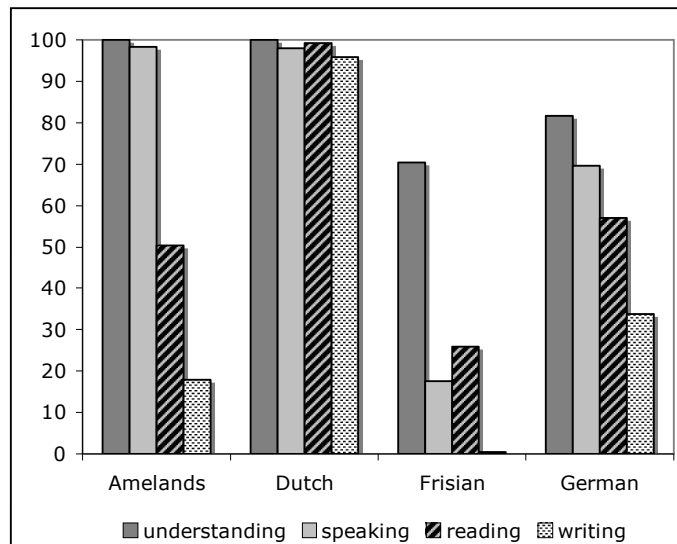
How do the dialect skills compare to the other language skills? How do the informants judge their skills in Dutch and Frisian? For comparison, German was included as well, as a foreign language that has an obvious function on the island in the tourism sector (many summer tourists are from Germany). Another reason for adding this question to the questionnaire was to distract people's attention away from the Frisian language. Table 5.2 gives the mean scores for the group of informants as a whole. There were no significant differences between the subgroups of informants.

Table 5.2. Reported language skills for Amelands, Dutch and Frisian. Descriptives: mean (five-point scale) and standard deviation (N=60)

Language skills	understand	speak	read	write
Ameland	5.00 (0.000)	4.93 (0.312)	3.02 (1.295)	1.72 (1.027)
Dutch	5.00 (0.000)	4.92 (0.279)	4.97 (0.181)	4.83 (0.457)
Frisian	3.82 (0.948)	1.70 (0.944)	2.03 (0.991)	1.02 (0.129)
German	4.27 (0.918)	3.78 (1.010)	3.28 (1.180)	2.35 (1.325)

Table 5.2 shows that islanders report almost maximal skills in Dutch, but very low scores for Frisian when it comes to speaking, reading and writing. The informants report equal skills for Dutch and the Ameland dialect for speaking and comprehension. This means that they evaluate themselves as balanced bilinguals in the oral components. German turns out to provide an interesting point of comparison, for the reported skills are higher than for Frisian in all components. This makes clear that Frisian is not a natural part of the language repertoire or communicative competence of the islanders. It is the language of another area, however close in a geographical sense. There were no significant differences between the subgroups of informants.

Figure 5.3. Reported language skills in percentages for the Ameland dialect, Dutch, Frisian and German



In figure 5.3 the results of table 5.2 are visualised in percentages. In comparison to other dialect speaking areas in the Netherlands, the results for the Ameland dialect are very high. To illustrate this, the speaking skills (*Do you speak the dialect?*) are compared to Zeeland, Brabant and Limburg in the table below. The results for the southern provinces in the Netherlands come from internet surveys carried out by van de Velde et al (2008).

Table 5.4. Speaking skills in Zeeland, Brabant, Limburg (van de Velde et al 2008) and Ameland

	male	female
Zeeland	88	84.9
Brabant	86.7	77.7
Limburg	95.9	94.9
Ameland	98.3	98.3

In van de Velde et al, the highest percentages were found for Limburg (about 95 percent), which is comparable with results from other surveys (Extra 2004; Driessen 2006). The Frisian language was not included in this

study. However, a 2007 study in Friesland²⁴ reports a speaking skill rate of 74 percent. Speakers of the Ameland dialect report even higher speaking skills. The Ameland dialect shows no gender differences when it comes to dialect speaking skills. As van de Velde and others notice, gender differences increase (in favour of male speakers) in those cases where the dialect is being lost. This explains the non-existence of gender differences for the Ameland dialect.

5.2. Language use

Reported language use was studied for different domains to obtain insights in the degree of dialect use. A distinction can be made between the domains where the dialect is used versus the domains typical of the standard language, Dutch, or perhaps Frisian. In the questionnaire, 25 domains were distinguished. However, not all domains were applicable to all informants. Language use with partner, children and grandchildren, for example, could not be filled in by the youngest dialect speakers. The domains which showed a high rate of missing values were left out of consideration. The results of the remaining fourteen domains are given in figure 5.5.

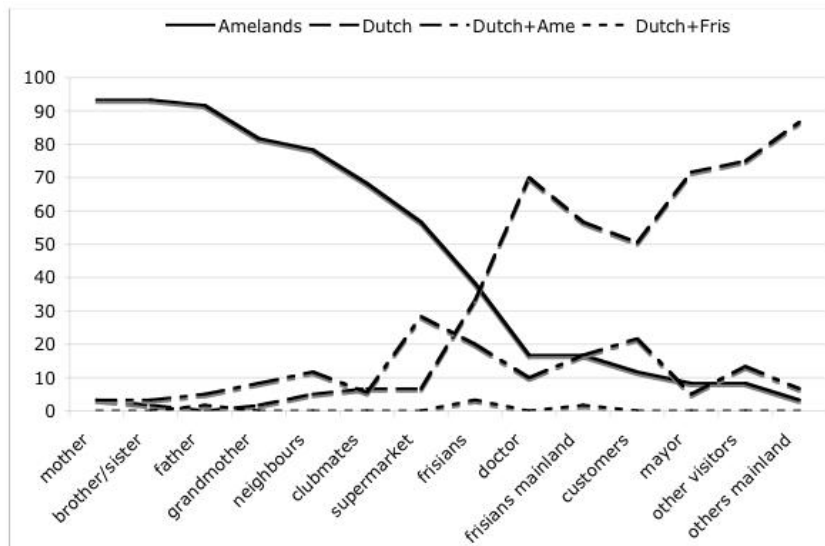
These domains are placed on a scale of formality, from most informal, family-related domains to most formal domains when talking with outside people (visitors of the island and people on the mainland). For each domain, the informant was asked whether he used Amelands, Dutch, Frisian or a combination of languages.

In figure 5.5 a clear pattern is visible in which the dialect is used in more intimate domains and the Dutch standard in more formal domains. A similar division was also found in other studies on dialect use (van de Velde 2008; Giesbers 2008). The high dialect scores within the core family are remarkable here: all are above 90 percent. The dialect use decreases as the circle gets larger, but the default language choice with neighbours and club mates remains dialect. The communication with outsiders is in Dutch, as the domains on the right-hand side of figure 5.5 demonstrate. The visitors have been divided into Frisians versus non-Frisians; the same holds for mainland people. However, as we see in this figure, islanders do not speak Frisian with Frisians.

²⁴ Gemeente Fryslan:

<http://www.fryslan.nl/sjablonen/1/infotype/loket/product/view.asp?objectID=16820>

Figure 5.5. Reported language use. Language use index (min. 0, max. 100) for Amelands, Dutch, Amelands & Dutch, Frisian & Dutch



The Frisian language is hardly used in any of the language domains and seems to play no communicative role on the island. In some situations, the informants report the use of both dialect and Dutch.

Table 5.6 shows the results of the factor analysis for language use. Apart from the domains mentioned above, four additional 'meta'-domains are involved: the language which the informants prefer to use; the language they use for thinking; the language they use for arithmetic and the language they use when they are angry. These domains seem to touch on core domains in cognition and emotion.

The factor analysis returns four dimensions in relation to language use. First of all, there are the high loadings of relatives and the 'meta'-domains on the first factor. This cluster of domains can be subsumed under the label of the first language of the informants. Factor 2 comprises the domains where one communicates with familiar persons from the island. Factor 3 plainly consists of the presence of Frisian interlocutors, both on the island and the mainland. Factor 4 is defined by Dutch speaking officials and visitors. Factor scores were computed by summing the variables with high loadings (>.50) for each of the factors. The four factors demonstrate that the Ameland

informants make a distinction in clusters of language use and that their language choice depends on the interlocutor and the domain of use.

Table 5.6. Language use. Principal Component Analysis, varimax rotation, variance explained is 57.15%; factor loadings less than 0.20 are suppressed. The factor loadings above .50 are in bold face.

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
father	0.83	0.48	-0.24	
mother	0.72			
brothers/sisters	0.61	0.33		
grandmother	0.62		-0.32	
neighbours		0.78		
club mates		0.67		0.24
supermarket	0.22	0.68		
customers	0.40			
doctor	0.21			0.77
mayor				0.84
Frisians island			0.80	0.15
other tourists			0.25	0.71
Frisians mainland			0.59	0.32
others mainland				0.73
preferred language	0.31		0.24	0.30
language thinking	0.62		0.23	0.32
language arithmetic	0.52		0.33	0.41
language angry	0.52			0.27

There are no significant relationships between the four language use factors and age or sex. However, there is a difference for factor 1 between the eastern and the western part of the island ($F(1,48)=6.266$, $p=.016$). In the family domain, the western part shows more widespread use of the Ameland dialect than the eastern part. When the 18 domains are analysed separately for the effects of the factors age, sex and origin, only three significant results are found: 1. There is a generation effect for dialect use with visitors on the island ($F(2,48)=3.261$, $p=.047$). Older dialect speakers use less dialect with visitors on the island than middle and younger speakers (post-hoc analysis; Tukey); 2. An origin effect for thinking ($F(1,48)=5.444$, $p=.024$). Western dialect speakers use more dialect for thinking; 3. An origin

effect for arithmetic ($F(1,48)=4.945$, $p=.031$). Western dialect speakers use more dialect for arithmetic.

It might be interesting to say something about the *future perspectives* of the Ameland dialect. In table 5.7 the results are shown for the language use between parents and their children. Only data for the older and middle generations are reported. In these generations, there are only three informants who do not have any children. One of the informants has a baby child to whom he speaks in dialect; however, the child does not yet speak back to him, let alone to other children. This explains the difference between the numbers in the final column.

Table 5.7 indicates that the majority of the informants reports speaking dialect with their children, expressed in percentages 89 percent. This percentage is higher than for any other Dutch area that has been described in the literature. A comparative study for the Netherlands by Driessen (2006) gives the highest percentages for dialect use between parents and their children in Limburg, which was 46 percent in 2003.

Table 5.7. Language use in the family.

Language N=40	Amelands	Dutch	Amelands & Dutch	irrelevant
Language from parents to children	33	1	3	3
Language from children to parents	26	2	2	4
Children to one another	29	0	7	4

The study by van de Velde et al. (2008) gives a higher percentage, 79.7 percent in 2007 (compare with Friesland: 48 percent in 2007, according to a quick scan survey²⁵). An explanation for the different percentages can be found in the exclusion of older informants in the former study (only parents and their children were involved) or the exclusion of immigrants in the latter study (people who moved to Limburg from elsewhere). In this respect, van de Velde et al. (2008) provides better material for comparison for our study,

²⁵ Provincie Fryslân (2007): *De Fryske taalatlâs 2007. Fryske taal yn byld*. Leeuwarden. url: <http://www.fryslan.nl/sjablonen/1/infotype/loket/product/view.asp?objectID=16820>

even though our speaker sample was smaller. The percentage of dialect use in the Ameland dialect is higher than the one given for Limburg. In van de Velde et al. (2008) the vitality of the Limburgian dialect is illustrated by the use of modern means of communication, like chat and sms. In our interviews, too, it became clear that young islanders use their dialect in these domains.

The high rates of dialect use between parents and their children might be the reason why encouragement and correction of the dialect are hardly necessary. The question 'Do you encourage your children to speak the dialect?' received a negative response from 50 percent of the informants. The other half of the informants varied from 'regularly' to 'seldom', but hardly anyone encouraged their children to speak dialect 'frequently'. The question 'Do you correct your children if they make mistakes in the dialect?' received a negative response from the majority of the informants.

The dialect use scores within the core family are high among the islanders (above 90 percent), especially among those from the western part. The large numbers of parents who speak only dialect to their children (89 percent) show that the Ameland dialect is still very important in the island community. In order to demonstrate this, we can refer to the vitality concept described by Extra 2004, which includes four linguistic dimensions, i.e. *language skills*, *language choice*, *language dominance* and *language preference*. In this model, language skills refer to the rate of understanding. If we look at table 5.1, it shows a very high understanding among all our informants (100 percent) of the Ameland dialect. Language choice refers to the language used with the mother. Figure 5.5 shows a high percentage (93.3 percent) of dialect use with the mother. Language dominance concerns the speaking ability of the language in comparison to the standard language. Table 5.2 shows an almost identical rate for Ameland dialect and Dutch. The preferred language among 78.3 percent of the informants is the Ameland dialect (table 5.6). The table given by Extra shows the highest vitality rate for Maastricht. If we compare the percentages of the Maastricht dialect with those of Ameland, the Ameland dialect scores higher on each of these dimensions and is therefore one of the most vital Dutch dialects that has been documented.

5.3. Identity

The sociolinguistic questionnaire consisted of two parts regarding *identity*. In the first part, the informants' attachment to identity labels was studied. The

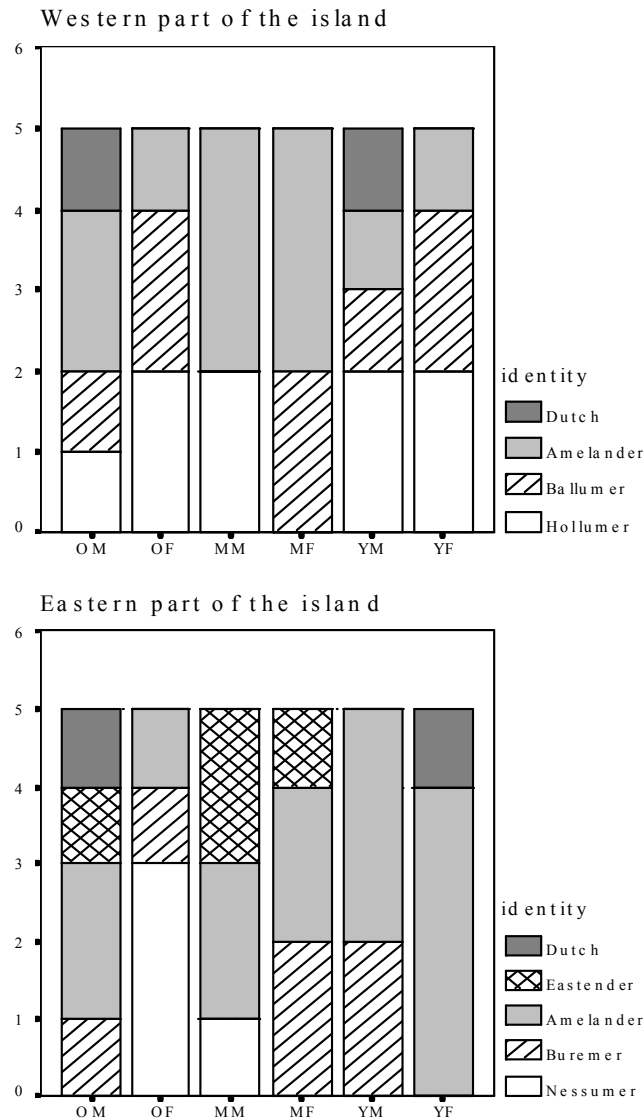
subjects were provided with eight identity labels, ranging from the local label of *Hollumer* to the wider label of *European*, and were asked which one they preferred. Only their first choice was taken into account. The results are presented in table 5.8 and figure 5.9.

Table 5.8. Identity and the four villages (N=60)

Identity	Hollum	Ballum	Nes	Buren	Total
Hollumer	9	0	0	0	9
Ballumer	1	7	0	0	8
Nessumer	0	0	4	0	4
Buremer	0	0	0	6	6
Amelanders	7	4	6	8	25
Eastender	0	0	3	1	4
Frisian	0	0	0	0	0
Dutch	1	1	1	1	4
European	0	0	0	0	0

Table 5.8 contains nine labels, because the label of *Eastender* was added explicitly by four informants. A similar label for inhabitants of the western part of the island was not reported. This indicates that the eastern villages function more as a socio-geographical unit than the western villages do. From table 5.8 one may conclude that the 'island identity' clearly exists. On both sides of the island there are only two out of 30 persons who would rather refer to themselves as *Dutch*, and no one selected the labels *Frisian* or *European*. All other informants feel very much attached to their own village and/or the island. If we examine figure 5.9, at first glance it looks as though there is a tendency among younger people to identify themselves less with their village and more with the island. However, this only holds for the middle generation, where the majority associates with the island rather than the village.

Figure 5.9. Identity labels on both parts of the island (min. =0 informants, max. =5 informants; OM=old male, OF=old female, MM=middle male, MF=middle female, YM=young male, YF=young female)



The youngest generation from the western part shows very high scores for village identity labels, whereas most youngsters from the eastern part tend to think of themselves as islanders. The label *Eastender* has disappeared among the youngest generation. At the same time, the youngsters from the east do not feel there is much difference between Nessumers and Buremers

anymore, since only two out of ten use the village label. This is probably due to the formation of new residential areas between Nes and Buren, as a result of which the former hamlet Buren is now closely adjoined to the village of Nes. Also in the past, however, Buren was connected very strongly to Nes since it lacks its own facilities like a school, church and supermarket (there is only a small shop in Buren). This is probably why Nessumers and Buremers have a stronger need to distance themselves from the other part of the island than westerners do. According to Tældeman (2006), it is typical for dialect communities to distance themselves from neighbour communities. This is definitely the case on the island of Ameland, where stigmatized variants for the eastern and western part are shared by all dialect speakers.

Another remarkable result is that none of the younger eastern female speakers make use of the village labels. This sociolinguistic result runs parallel to the linguistic outcomes for this group, in which they tend to diverge, in their pronunciation, from the most 'authentic' pronunciation, as we will see in chapter 6. Younger western speakers still make a difference between Ballum and Hollum. This can be explained by the geographical distance between these villages, whilst Nes and Buren are growing together. The village of Ballum is situated in the middle of the island whilst the village of Hollum is situated at the very tip.

The other questions concerning identity were included to compare the informants' criteria on how to define a "genuine Amelander". For each language variety, six similar statements were evaluated on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from total disagreement (1) to total agreement (5). The results are presented in table 5.10.

Table 5.10. Identity. Descriptives: mean (Likert-scale, range from 1 to 5) and standard deviation (N=60)

A genuine Amelander...	Mean	Std. Deviation
Speaks Ameland dialect	3,02	1,157
Lives on the island of Ameland	3,33	1,271
Is born on the island of Ameland	4,03	1,207
Has parents on the island of Ameland	3,05	1,080
Is attached to the Ameland culture	3,00	1,193
Refers to himself as Amelander	2,75	1,257

All these characteristics are important for the definition of a "genuine Amelander". However, the most important requirements for Amelandership are place of birth and residency. The prominent role of place of birth can also be observed in the Ameland dialect, in which the word 'import' is being used for non-natives on the island. All inhabitants are labelled either as 'import' or as 'non-import' in the island community. These criteria carry greater weight than command of the Ameland dialect. However, from the results for the attitudinal questions, it will follow that the dialect still does play a strong role in the identity of the Amelander (see section 5.4).

Table 5.11. Identity. Principal Component Analysis, varimax rotation, criterion eigenvalue > 1; variance explained with two factors= 61.51%; factor loadings less than 0.20 are suppressed. The factor loadings above .50 are in bold face.

A genuine Amelander..	Factor 1	Factor 2
.. is born on the island of Ameland (1)	0.82	
.. lives on the island of Ameland (2)	0.68	0.36
.. has parents from the island (3)	0.48	0.55
.. speaks Ameland dialect (4)		0.74
.. is attached to the Ameland culture (5)		0.81
.. refers to himself as Amelander (6)		0.83

A factor analysis was performed on the six statements. As can be observed in table 5.11, factor 1 represents the born and bred Amelanders, factor 2 represents Amelanders who have acquired the islander status but who are not natives *per se*. Three of the four variables of factor 2 (which are also the variables with the highest loadings) are acquired properties. For factor 1, an age effect was found ($F(2,48)=3.766$, $p=.030$). The middle generation attaches more value to the ingredients of factor 1 than the oldest generation (post-hoc analysis; Tukey). No significant effects were found for factor 2. If we take into account the six statements separately, there is one other significant relationship. The mean scores for statement 1 are not similar for the eastern and western part of the island ($F(1,48)=4.349$, $p=.042$). The western speakers attach more value to place of birth than the eastern speakers (post-hoc analysis; Tukey).

5.4. Attitude, evaluative language judgements

Language attitudes were measured in two different ways: through evaluative judgements on language varieties (Ameland dialect, Standard Dutch, Frisian and German) and through evaluative statements on the function and position of the language varieties. The results for the statements will be discussed in the next section.

Using evaluative judgements on the basis of bipolar scales is common in language attitude research. Seven five-point bipolar scales were used, also standard in language attitude research: *intimate*, *cosy*, *sturdy*, *civilized*, *beautiful*, *modern*, and *serious*. These are related to the status and solidarity dimensions often found in the past. The informants did not judge actual speakers, but they were asked to give their evaluations on the basis of the label of four language varieties: Ameland dialect, Standard Dutch, German and Frisian. German is relevant in relation to the position of Frisian and it has practical relevance because of the large number of German tourists on the island. The overall means (for the total group of informants) are given in table 5.12, together with the standard deviations. The mean scores are visualized in figure 5.13.

Table 5.12. Attitude. Evaluative language judgements. Descriptives: mean (Likert-scale: min. = 1, max. = 5) and standard deviation (N=60)

	Ameland dialect	Dutch	German	Frisian
Intimate	3.80 (0.935)	2.93 (0.634)	2.62 (0.783)	2.40 (1.108)
Cosy	4.12 (0.885)	3.22 (0.640)	3.08 (0.829)	2.83 (1.092)
Sturdy	3.07 (0.516)	2.93 (0.362)	2.92 (0.334)	2.73 (0.756)
Civilized	3.48 (1.000)	3.88 (0.825)	3.32 (0.854)	2.50 (1.017)
Beautiful	4.02 (1.000)	3.47 (0.747)	3.07 (0.710)	2.87 (1.157)
Modern	2.75 (0.571)	3.47 (0.747)	3.03 (0.450)	2.45 (0.798)
Serious	3.33 (0.951)	3.57 (0.789)	3.37 (0.712)	2.97 (0.843)

Figure 5.13. Attitude. Mean scores of the evaluative language judgements for the four language varieties

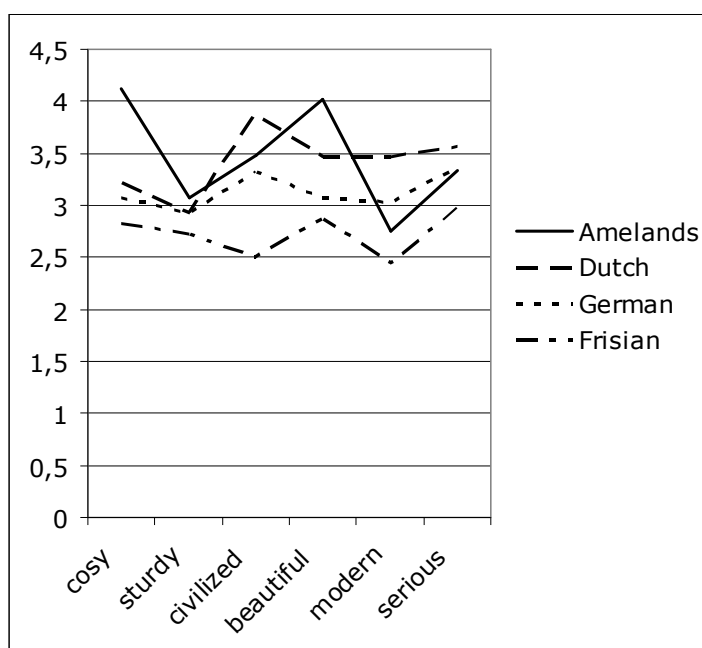


Table 5.12 and figure 5.13 show a few remarkable results. First of all, Frisian is always on the negative end of the scale (< 3), and it has the lowest score on all seven adjectives. The highest scores are for the Ameland dialect, four times, and Standard Dutch, three times. Ameland is evaluated in a positive way for adjectives related to the solidarity dimension (*intimate, cosy, sturdy*); Standard Dutch has a positive evaluation in the status domain (*civilized, modern, serious*). *Beautiful* is an overall evaluation, which definitely comes out in favour of the Ameland dialect.

A factor analysis could have been a next step in the analysis, to extract more general evaluative dimensions. The results were not usable in a transparent way, however, probably because the evaluative structure of the four language varieties were too different. Frisian gets overall negative scores, without distinctions between the seven scales. German seems to have more profile, but the variation is restricted. Ameland dialect and Standard Dutch, the varieties that matter in daily conversation, show a larger range between the scales. We decided to do an ANOVA analysis per scale,

involving all four language varieties (repeated measures), and the standard set of independent variables (age, sex and origin).

The analyses give one persistent and strong effect and that is the distinction between the four language varieties involved. The variety effect is always significant (Huynh Feldt correction was applied if required) and is always strong (partial eta2 > .10), except for *sturdy*. The following results were obtained: *intimate*, $F(3,144)=32.808$, $p = .000$, partial eta2 = .406; *cosy*, $F(3,144)=31.158$, $p = .000$, partial eta2 = .394; *sturdy*, $F(2,42,115.91)=3.379$, $p = .015$, partial eta2 = .077; *civilized* ($F(3,144)=33.647$, $p = .000$, partial eta2 = .412; *beautiful*, $F(3,144)=25.043$, $p = .000$, partial eta2 = .343; *modern*, $F(3,144)=24.060$, $p = .000$, partial eta2 = .334; *serious*, $F(3,144)=8.896$, $p = .000$, partial eta2 = .156.

Pairwise comparisons (Bonferroni procedure) show that the Ameland dialect has significantly higher scores than the other three language varieties for the scales of *intimate*, *cosy* and *beautiful*. Standard Dutch, in addition, is evaluated more positively than Frisian, and is more beautiful than German and Frisian. Dutch is significantly distinct from the three other language varieties for the status-related adjectives of *civilized* and *modern*. Frisian, in addition, has significantly lower scores on *civilized* than the Ameland dialect and German. It is lower on *modern* than German. As for the adjective *serious*, the conclusion is that Frisian is lower than the three other varieties. The adjective *sturdy* does not produce any significant results. The overall conclusion is that the Ameland dialect has the highest evaluation scores in the domain of solidarity. Standard Dutch is evaluated highest in the status domain. The two other varieties, German and Frisian, do not reveal a distinct evaluation pattern, apart from the fact that Frisian consistently is the variety with the lowest scores.

This pattern does not change when we look at all the other effects in the ANOVAs. Most effects were not significant at all. Four significant main effects were found for the design variables age, sex and origin. Three generation effects were found: *civilized*, $F(2, 48) = 3.437$, $p=.041$, partial eta2 = .125; *beautiful*, $F(2, 48) = 10.902$, $p=.000$, partial eta2 = .312 ; *serious*, $F(2, 48) = 3.358$, $p=.043$, partial eta2 = .123. This effect is due to the older generation that tends to give higher evaluations on all varieties involved. Only one sex effect was found: *beautiful*, $F(1, 48) = 5.850$, $p=.018$, partial eta2 = .109. Women had higher scores for all four language varieties.

The other effects that may interfere with the clear conclusion we could draw are the interaction effects. There were only four significant interaction effects (Huynh-Feldt corrected), two three-way interactions for variety by generation by part of the island (*intimate*, $F(6, 144)=2.670$, $p=.027$, partial eta2 = .100; *cosy*, $F(6,144)=2.844$, $p=.012$, partial eta2 = .106), and two

two-way interactions for variety by part of the island: *cosy*, $F(3,144)=3.772$, $p=.012$, partial $\eta^2=.073$; *beautiful*, $F(3,144)=4.169$, $p=.007$, partial $\eta^2=.080$). The eastern part is sometimes more positive on German (and Frisian), and this more positive attitude applies in two cases to the middle and younger generation on that part of the island. A possible explanation is the higher number of (German) tourists on this part of the island.

5.5 Attitudes, function and position of the language varieties

The second part of the attitude questionnaire consisted of judgements on the function and position of the Ameland dialect, Standard Dutch, German and Frisian. In this part, five statements were given for each language variety, which the subjects had to evaluate on a 5-point Likert-scale. All these statements concerned the practical value of the language varieties: *Is it suitable in school? For the mayor? For new inhabitants of Ameland? Should a genuine islander speak this language variety?* The overall means (for the whole group of informants) are given in table 5.14, together with the standard deviations. The mean scores are visualized in figure 5.15.

Table 5.14. Attitudes for Amelands, Dutch, German and Frisian. Judging statements (min. =0, max. =5)

	Ameland dialect	Dutch	German	Frisian
L should be taught in school	2.32 (1.097)	4.48 (0.624)	3.90 (1.069)	1.63 (0.688)
The mayor ought to speak L	2.58 (1.183)	4.37 (0.882)	3.77 (1.047)	1.78 (0.783)
New inhabitants should understand L	3.50 (1.033)	4.07 (0.880)	2.68 (0.983)	1.88 (0.846)
New inhabitants should speak L	2.58 (1.094)	4.15 (0.880)	2.17 (0.847)	1.53 (0.623)
A genuine Amelanders ought to speak L	3.77 (1.198)	4.10 (0.969)	2.47 (1.049)	1.50 (0.701)

Figure 5.15. Attitudes for Amelands, Dutch, German and Frisian. Mean scores of: 1=Language should be taught in school; 2=The mayor ought to speak language; 3=New inhabitants should understand language; 4=New inhabitants should speak language; 5=A genuine Amelander ought to speak language.

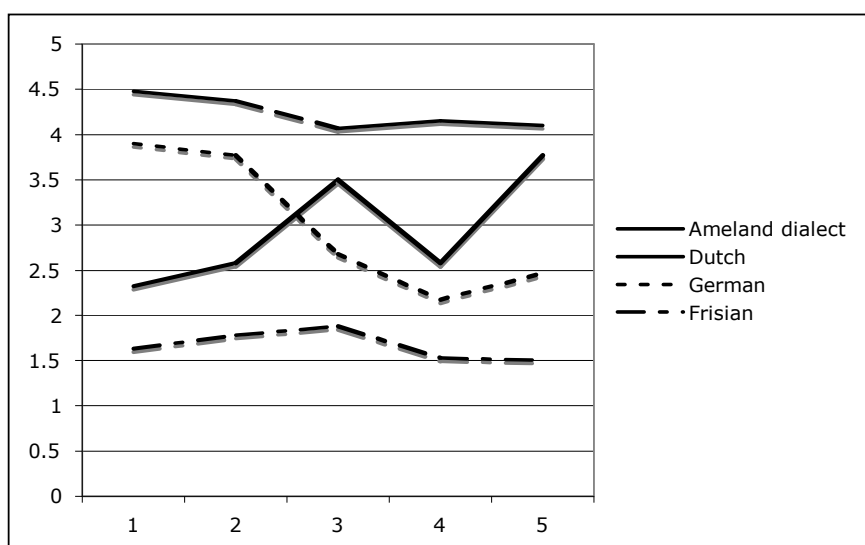


Table 5.14 and figure 5.15 show that most islanders think that 1. Dutch should be taught in school in the first place and German in the second place; 2. the mayor of Ameland ought to speak Dutch in the first place and German in the second place; 3. new inhabitants should understand Dutch in the first place and Ameland dialect in the second place; 4. new inhabitants should speak Dutch; 5. a genuine Amelander should speak both Ameland dialect and Dutch. The Frisian language is of no importance. Overall, the Dutch language scores higher than the Ameland dialect. The Frisian language has very low scores. With respect to the Ameland dialect, there are two statements with which most of the islanders agree: new inhabitants should *understand* the dialect, although they don't have to speak it, and a genuine Amelander should definitely *speak* the dialect. This result adds relevant information to the identity question in 5.3. It is interesting to see that although the statements in the identity and attitude questionnaire are quite similar, the result for the Ameland dialect is higher in table 5.14 than in table 5.10. The informants probably tend to evaluate the dialect higher as part of the island identity if it is compared to other languages.

A factor analysis could have been a next step in the analysis, to extract more general evaluative dimensions. The results could, again, not be used in a transparent way, however, just like in the previous section. We decided to do an ANOVA analysis per scale, involving all four language varieties (repeated measures), and the standard set of independent variables (age, sex and origin). The analyses again yield one persistent and strong effect, which is the distinction between the four language varieties involved. The variety effect is always significant (Huynh Feldt correction was applied if required) and always strong (partial $\eta^2 > .10$), and even very strong for all effects that score above .60. The following results were obtained:

A genuine Amelander should speak the language, $F(3,144)=99.974$, $p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = .676$;

The mayor ought to speak the language, $F(3,144)=88.860$, $p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = .648$;

The language should be taught in school, $F(2.95,141.76)=118.987$, $p = .015$, partial $\eta^2 = .713$;

New inhabitants should speak the language ($F(3,144)=93.568$, $p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = .661$;

New inhabitants should understand the language, $F(3,144)=73.290$, $p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = .604$;

Pairwise comparisons (Bonferroni procedure) show that the patterns are different, but the pattern depends on the question. From figure 5.15 two generalizations emerge: Dutch always receives the highest score, whereas Frisian always receives the lowest score. The two significantly contrasting language varieties are German and Frisian, which is also visible in the figure. Two functions have the same pattern: mayor and school (statements 1 and 2). All comparisons are significant, with Dutch on top and German next. The lower results are for the Ameland dialect and Frisian. These statements concern the more official domains of language use. This result conforms to figure 5.5, which showed that islanders use the Dutch language in the more formal domains. New inhabitants of Ameland are supposed to speak Dutch. Dutch scores significantly higher than the three other varieties, Frisian having a score that is significantly lower than the other three. The question about understanding shows the same pattern, although here the Ameland dialect has a much higher score. All comparisons give a significant result, with Frisian having the lowest score.

The pattern does not change drastically when we look at all the other effects in the ANOVAs. Most effects were not significant at all. Twelve effects were found, five of them related to an interaction effect for language variety and one of the design variables, age, sex and origin. First, for the *genuine Amelanders*, a two-way interaction between language variety and generation was found ($F(6, 144) = 2.929$, $p = .010$, partial $\eta^2 = .109$). The older generation is relatively more positive on Frisian and more negative towards German.

For the *mayor*, a two-way interaction effect between language variety and generation was found ($F(6, 144) = 3.285$, $p = .005$, partial $\eta^2 = .120$). The younger generation turns out to be more positive on the Ameland dialect. In addition, there is a three-way interaction of language variety, age and origin ($F(6, 144) = 2.835$, $p = .012$, partial $\eta^2 = .106$). This is because the young generation in the west does not have outspoken preferences with regard to the four varieties involved.

For *speaking among new inhabitants*, a three-way interaction effect between language variety, sex and origin was found ($F(3, 144) = 2.907$, $p = .037$, partial $\eta^2 = .057$). The males in the east are relatively more positive about speaking the Ameland dialect than the females.

For *comprehension among new inhabitants*, a two-way interaction effect between language variety and generation was found ($F(6, 144) = 2.699$, $p = .016$, partial $\eta^2 = .101$). The younger generation is more positive about understanding dialect and German.

Seven effects were found for the between-subjects effects. Three times an effect was found for sex, where the male scores were higher than the female ones (genuine Amelanders: $F(1, 48) = 5.562$, $p = .022$, partial $\eta^2 = .104$; new inhabitants' speech: $F(1, 48) = 6.364$, $p = .015$, partial $\eta^2 = .117$; new inhabitants' comprehension: $F(1, 48) = 7.403$, $p = .009$, partial $\eta^2 = .134$). There is no explanation for this effect. Twice an effect was found for origin where the informants of the east had higher scores than those from the west (genuine Amelanders: $F(1, 48) = 4.961$, $p = .031$, partial $\eta^2 = .094$; new inhabitants: $F(1, 48) = 4.139$, $p = .047$, partial $\eta^2 = .079$). Language is perhaps a bit more relevant on the eastern part of the island, which sometimes results in somewhat higher scores. There is an additional complication for the variable genuine Amelanders. There is a two-way interaction for generation and sex ($F(2, 48) = 3.180$, $p = .050$, partial $\eta^2 = .117$) and there is an interaction between origin and sex ($F(1, 48) = 4.395$, $p = .041$, partial $\eta^2 = .084$). Older females score lower and the same applies to females from the eastern part. We leave this for what it is, given the strong overall patterns between the varieties.

5.6. Concluding remarks

The data in this chapter demonstrate that the Ameland inhabitants still have a thorough command of the local dialect. All islanders report good oral skills, and compared to other Dutch dialects, their speaking skills outshine all the others. Just like for most other dialects, written sources in Ameland dialect are limited. But although most of the subjects say they have difficulties with writing and reading, the younger dialect speakers form an exception. Their writing skills are better than those of their parents, since they use the dialect in a broader range of domains, including chat and sms. The thorough command of the dialect does not seem to have a negative effect on Dutch language skills. All informants report maximal skills on Dutch. Frisian language skills, however, are very low among Ameland inhabitants. Frisian clearly does not form a natural part of their language repertoire.

The dialect use scores within the core family are high among the islanders (above 90 percent), especially among those from the western part. The large numbers of parents who speak only dialect to their children (89 percent) show that the Ameland dialect is still very important in the island community. In order to demonstrate this, we referred to the vitality concept described by Extra (2004), which was found to be highest for Maastricht. If we compare the percentages of the Maastricht dialect with those of Ameland, the Ameland dialect scores higher on each of these dimensions and is therefore one of the most vital Dutch dialects that has been documented.

The results for identity and attitude show a similar pattern. Almost all of our informants refer to themselves as being part of the village or island community. Still, a large number of the islanders associate themselves with their own village. Among younger dialect speakers, an east-west difference shows up: whereas most western youngsters use village identity labels, the eastern youngsters use the island identity label. Only four out of twenty informants prefer the Dutch identity. None of the informants feels connected to the Frisians.

If we look at the results for attitude, Frisian is evaluated very negatively. The Ameland dialect, on the other hand, receives the highest scores on the solidarity dimension (*intimate, cosy and beautiful*); Dutch has the highest scores on the status dimension (*civilized, modern, serious*). This finding matches with the dialect use scale, which shows a strict language division for the Ameland dialect and the Dutch standard language: whereas the

dialect is used in most intimate domains, the standard language is used in most formal domains.

The Ameland dialect is used first and foremost in in-group conversations, and is not felt to be appropriate in other situations. Therefore most dialect speakers prefer the Dutch language in school or by the mayor. Newcomers on the island are not expected to speak the local dialect, but they are advised, so to speak, by the islanders to learn to understand the dialect. This is the only way for them to integrate into the Ameland community. A newcomer will always be referred to as 'import'. He will never become a 'genuine Amelander', since a genuine Amelander is born on the island and speaks the local dialect.

Chapter 6. The linguistic variables: Results

This chapter presents the results for all relevant linguistic variables, starting with the variables that have the narrowest geographical distribution (A-variables) and ending with the variables that have the widest distribution (C-variables). Variable 4, the clitic pronoun for the third person singular, will not be considered, since none of the informants appeared to use it. The design variables of *generation*, *sex* and *origin* are taken into account in the analysis in order to investigate the social stratification of each linguistic variable.

For each variable, a frequency table was made, in which the number of variants used in our sample was listed per word. These frequency tables are included in the Appendix. Some words showed no variation. An attempt was made to explain this on the basis of the linguistic conditions discussed in chapter 4. The words which showed no variation were omitted from further analysis. In all cases, the Ameland dictionary was our point of reference for determining which possible variant was the dialect variant, although not all the words from the questionnaire were included in the dictionary. The next step was to define an index for the variable in question. In fact, the distribution of the variants over the words often made it necessary to define more than one index. This applies especially to words which have an unexpected dialect variant. Mixing up variants (hyperdialectism) may be the outcome of the interaction between the local dialect and the overarching standard language. Another reason for using more than one index was to deal with the different variants, especially when eastern and western variants needed to be distinguished. Thus, the first index computed for all variables was the dialect index, which comprised all non-ambiguous dialect words.

All indices were analyzed by analysis of variance (SPSS, GLM univariate). The three stratification variables were the independent variables, which implies that there are three two-way interactions and one three-way interaction. Only the significant effects ($p < .05$) will be discussed in the text. In the last part of this chapter, the A-, B- and C-variables will be compared in terms of dialect change and more specifically dialect loss, in order to evaluate the hypotheses formulated in chapter 2.

6.1. Variable 1: TIJD ('time') A-type *village*

The word list for linguistic variable 1 consisted of 46 words. Four variants can be distinguished: three dialect variants, i.e. the variant /i:/, which is often typical for the west, the variant /ɛ:/, which is often typical for the east, the island variant /i/ and the Dutch variant /ɛi/. The word table with the frequencies of the variants made clear that dialect variants never appeared in word-final context (*zij, bij, vrij, rij*) or before a (semi-)vowel (*rij-en*). Since these conditions were defined in section 4.3.1 as exceptions (Swets 2004), we did not include these five words in the analysis. Another word was also left out of the analysis, since it was misinterpreted by most subjects (*stijl*, which was confused with *steil* 'steep'). Two words that were not included in the Ameland dictionary and were usually realized with Dutch variants are *strijd*, *nijd*. This may imply that these words are standard-language words and not dialect words. They were left out of consideration as well. Another interesting word, the numeral *vijf*, was left out because of its particular position in the east-west dialect distinction. This will be discussed below.

A dialect index was calculated for the remaining 37 words. All dialect variants received scores on the basis of their presence (= 1) or absence (= 0); Dutch variants always had a zero score. Table 6.1 gives the mean percentage scores for the variable TIJD for the twelve subgroups, which are the result of crossing the three stratification variables of age, sex and origin.

The table shows that the dialect variants (indicated by dialect total) are frequently used across all generations. This is especially due to the frequent use of the island variant. The village-specific variants are used less often, which is partly due to phonological conditions. Western and eastern variants occur before voiced consonants; the island variant occurs before voiceless consonants. We therefore made separate indices for the eastern and western variants, which will be discussed below. The same applies for the more frequent use of western variants in comparison to eastern variants. Before voiced fricatives, almost all informants used the western variant. A separate index was also made for these words.

Table 6.1. Mean scores (in percentages) for the linguistic variable TIJD for the use of the dialect variants. Standard deviations between brackets. 37 words involved.

	old		middle		young	
WEST	male	female	male	female	male	female
western /i:/	27.59	29.64	27.06	27.58	24.16	18.63
eastern /ɛ:/	1.75	2.21	1.08	1.67	0.00	1.65
island /i/	64.94	61.53	63.55	63.02	62.27	58.86
dialect total	94.28 (5.35)	93.38 (7.26)	91.69 (2.09)	92.27 (5.91)	86.43 (10.06)	79.14 (9.65)
EAST						
western /i:/	20.15	16.76	17.12	13.77	13.05	14.92
eastern /ɛ:/	7.54	8.65	7.13	9.83	5.99	4.97
island /i/	61.01	70.27	65.80	63.57	60.87	59.88
dialect total	88.71 (8.23)	95.68 (4.10)	90.04 (5.78)	87.18 (4.52)	79.91 (6.99)	79.77 (7.83)

Let us first focus on the total dialect index, as well as the island variants. The total dialect index showed an effect for generation ($F(2,48)=15.965$, $p=.000$). The youngest generation scored significantly lower than the other generations (post-hoc analysis; Tukey). This is due to influence of the Dutch standard language. No other statistical effects were found. The island variant also showed a generation effect ($F(2,48)=3.439$, $p=.040$). Younger dialect speakers use fewer island variants than older dialect speakers (Tukey).

For variable 1, an eastern and western variant were distinguished. These variants are long vowels, and only occur in a specific phonological context. This is the reason why they have relatively low percentages in table 6.1. The frequency tables as well as separate analyses show that the long vowels mostly occur before (underlying) voiced consonants: *tijd*, *vijs*, *ijzer*, *lijven*, *blij(d)*, *zijde*, *stijven*, *tijden*, *nijdig*, *prijzig*, *zwijs*, *vijs*, *wijs*, *wijf*. However, not all of these words show an east-west distinction. According to the dictionary, only four have separate variants for east and west: *tijd*, *blij(d)*, *zijde*, *tijden*. According to the word frequency tables (see Appendix), eastern and western variants sometimes also occur for *nijdig* (2, 2), *nijd* (6, 4) and *strijd* (3, 8). They are used by all generations: old (10), middle (12) and young (3). For the calculation of the east and west indices we only used the words which were found in the dictionary. The words with voiced fricatives will be treated separately. The indices reflect the relative share of eastern and western variants as part of the total sum of eastern and western variants. The mean percentage scores for the western dialect (which is in general the more

conservative) can be found in table 6.2. Since the sum of eastern and western variants is 100%, the percentage of eastern variants can be deduced from the figures in this table.

Table 6.2. Mean scores (in percentages) for the linguistic variable TIJD for the use of western variants. Standard deviations between brackets. The words involved are *tijd*, *blij(d)*, *zijde*, *tijden* (4).

	old		middle		young	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
west	100.00	100.00	95.00 (11.18)	100.00	100.0 0	80.00 (27.39)
east	0	20.00 (44.72)	6.67 (14.91)	0	0	10.00 (22.36)

The table shows that the western dialect variant is used mostly but not exclusively in the western part of the island; the eastern variant (the complement of the scores in table 6.2) is predominantly used in the eastern part of the island. An origin effect was indeed found with the ANOVA ($F(1,48)=386.373$, $p=.000$). No other effects were found.

An outlier is the word *viif* ('five'). Whereas all other items with a following (underlying) voiced fricative have an /i:/ variant, this word behaves differently. The Ameland dictionary distinguishes the western variant *feèf* and the eastern variant *fijf*. The answers of our subjects showed the same distinction. It is not uncommon for numerals to behave differently than other words, since they are linguistic 'routines'; moreover, they are strongly associated with school situations. This is why they often get a standard-like pronunciation in Dutch dialects (Weijnen 1966: 297; Te Winkel 1901: 124). The western pronunciation might be due to interference of variable 6 (the GEIT vowel). The east-west difference is significant ($\chi^2(1)=17.376$, $p=.000$). The difference can be seen across all separate generations, although it is not quite significant for the middle generation. It is remarkable that the east-west difference is still alive, even though it deviates from other words: westerners use an eastern-like variant, whereas easterners use a Dutch variant. This result confirms our earlier statement that east-west differences are still alive.

We also compared the total use of village-specific variants for these four words in relation to island variants and Dutch variants. The mean percentage scores for the village-specific variants (the aggregates of the scores for the eastern + western variants) are given in the table below.

Table 6.3. Mean scores for the linguistic variable TIJD for the use of village-specific variants (eastern and western variants). Standard deviations between brackets. The words involved are *tijd*, *blij(d)*, *zijde*, *tijden* (4).

	old		middle		young	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
west	80.00 (20.92)	100.00	90.00 (13.69)	80.00 (20.92)	70.00 (20.92)	70.00 (27.39)
east	65.00 (41.83)	90.00 (22.36)	70.00 (32.60)	85.00 (13.69)	55.00 (20.92)	50.00 (17.68)

What we see from the table is a decrease of the eastern and western variants over generations. The ANOVA test indeed gives an effect for generation ($F(2,48)=5.615$, $p=.006$). Older speakers use significantly more village-specific variants than younger ones (post-hoc analysis; Tukey). Origin showed an effect as well ($F(1,48)=4.327$, $p=.043$). Westerners use more village-specific variants than easterners, who use more Dutch variants ($F(2,48)=7.457$, $p=.002$), as an additional analysis showed. No effects were found for the use of the island variant.

As discussed above, the Ameland dialect requires / ϵ i/ in word-final position and before (semi-)vowels. The /i/ variant is used mostly before voiceless consonants, while the long variants /i:/ and / ϵ :/ are usually found before voiced consonants. For the exact numbers we refer to the Appendix. The frequency table also shows that voiced fricatives never take an eastern variant: *vijg*, *zwijk*, *ijzer*, *lijven*, *stijven*, *prijzig*, *wijs*, *wijf*, *vijf* all have /i:/, /i/ and / ϵ i/ occurrences. According to the dictionary, five words only take the long (western) variant: *pijp*, *vijg*, *prijzig*, *zwijk*, *stijven*. The latter group of words shows no variation: all subjects use /i:/. The word *pijp* is the only relevant non-fricative-final word in this dialect. According to the Frisian Handbook, in Friesland this word is pronounced with a long vowel "for affective reasons" (Handbuch des Friesischen: 723).

A separate index was drawn up for all four words which show variation (*pijp*, *vijg*, *prijzig*, *zwijg*). The ANOVA shows a generation effect ($F(2,48)=5.691$, $p=.006$). The youngest generation scores significantly lower on the western variants than the middle and old generations (post-hoc analysis; Tukey). If we examine the frequency tables for the individual words, it becomes clear that the majority of the older dialect speakers use /i:/ in all four words; the majority of the middle generation uses /ɛi/ in *vijg* and /i/ in *zwijg*; and the majority of the youngest generation uses /ɛi/ in both *vijg* and *zwijg*. A possible explanation can be found in the pronunciation of the final consonant of these words. In the Ameland dictionary, the final consonant of *vijg* is spelled as <ch> which, according to page xv in the dictionary, refers to a voiced pronunciation of the velar fricative. It is possible that the older generation still uses the voiced pronunciation in these words in relevant contexts, whereas the younger generations use a voiceless sound. This interpretation may seem speculative, since final devoicing is an old process in Dutch and German. However, final devoicing is a relatively new process in Frisian and lexical exceptions to this rule can still be found in the Ameland dialect (for examples, see section 2.1.2). The Ameland dictionary gives an /i/ variant for *ijzer*, *lijven*, *wijs*, *ijs* and *wijf*. However, 28 subjects use the long /i:/ vowel in *ijzer*; 9 in *lijven* and 2 in *wijs*. The western variant is used by all generations: old (12), middle (15), young (12). This indicates that a phonological rule might be active which requires a long /i:/ vowel before voiced fricatives.

6.2. Variable 2: OUD ('old') A-type *village*

The word list for variable 2 consisted of 42 words, divided into three categories: 1. two types of test words, which were added to find out whether the old phonological rule is still productive; 2. words which have Dutch /au/ in the Ameland dialect; 3. words with the dialect variant, according to the Ameland dictionary. Two dialect variants can be distinguished: an eastern /ɔ:ə/ and a western /o:ɛ/ vowel. Both variants involve centralizing diphthongs, since their second element is a schwa-like element. A new variant, a monophthong /o/, was also heard among our informants, which will be discussed below. We used the Ameland dictionary as reference point, although not all test words are listed in the dictionary.

The Dutch diphthong /au/ originates from the Germanic cluster /o/u/a + l + t/d/. In order to find out whether the OUD variable is still productive, we

added two word categories to our word list (marked with + if found in the Ameland dictionary):

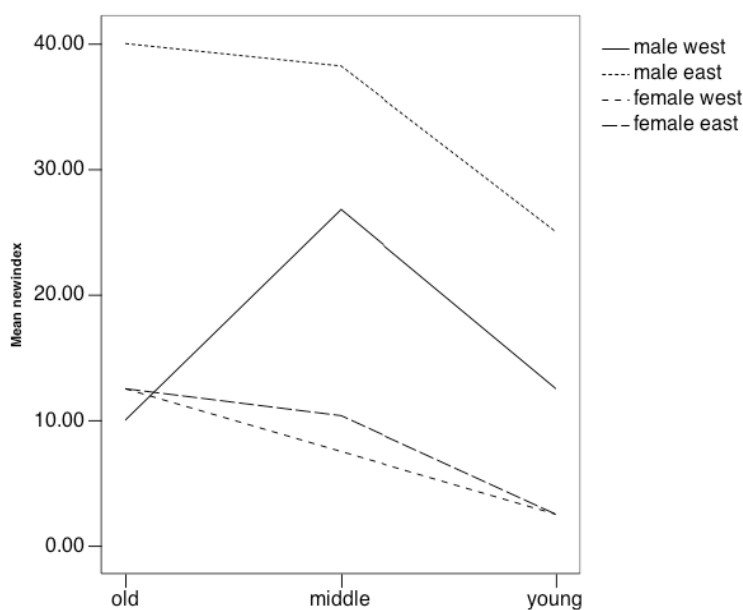
- I. 15 words ending in *-ld, -lt*: jonagold (-), wald(hoorn) (-), alt (-), esmerald (-), gehalte (+), malt (-), polder (+), alternatief (-), asfalt (-), folder (-), volt (-), gestalte (-), halte (-), bolder(wagen) (-), kobold (-).
- II. 10 words ending in *-l* + other consonant: golf (+), psalm (-), vals (+), alp (-), stolp (-), pols (+), kalk (+), kalf (+), volk (+), (hand)palm (+).

For both categories most words show no variation. Only Dutch variants are found and there are some missing values. These results indicate that the *-l* vocalization rule is no longer productive. Only two words are exceptional in this respect: one dialect variant was found for *jonagold* and four dialect variants were found for *waldhoorn*. In the case of *jonagold*, mixing with *goud* ('gold') might be involved; in the case of *waldhoorn*, confusion with *woud* ('wood') might play a role, although this word was not found in the Ameland dictionary. The informant who used a western dialect variant in *jonagold* was a 62-year old male speaker from Hollum. He also used a western dialect variant in *waldhoorn*. The other dialect users for *waldhoorn* were a 46-year old female speaker from Buren, a 45-year old male speaker from Nes (who used a western variant) and a 22-year old male speaker from Buren. The 45-year old speaker from Nes consistently used western variants in all ou-words. All 25 words from category 1 will be omitted from further analyses.

Of the remaining words in categories 2 and 3, eight were mostly realized with the Dutch variant: *houden, onthouden, fout, fouten, schout, schouten, kabouter, inhoud*. According to the dictionary, the words *houden* and *onthouden* have a Dutch pronunciation in the Ameland dialect. For *onthouden*, five informants used a dialect variant. For *houden*, only one informant used the western variant. The words *fout* and *fouten* are not found in the dictionary. Most informants used a Dutch pronunciation. Three young informants used an eastern variant in *fout*, and another young informant used an eastern variant in *fouten*. The same speaker also used an eastern variant in the word *schout*. The eastern variant was also used for *schouten* by an older speaker. According to the dictionary, *kabouter* and *inhoud* take a dialect variant. However, most subjects used the Dutch variant in these words. For *kabouter*, we found nine attestations of dialectal variants; for *inhoud* there were seven. However, most subjects used the Dutch variant or a new /o/ variant.

What is most interesting about these eight predominantly Dutch words, is that in the non-standard realizations the original /au/ sound has undergone a change from diphthong /au/ to monophthong /o/. We will refer to this variant as a new variant, and not as an intermediate variant, since it diverges from the standard. An explanation for this process of dialect change will be provided in the final part of this section. In total, 56 new variants were found for these words. An index was calculated for the number of new attestations among the eight Dutch words. This new variant is used by all generations: there is no significant difference between age groups. There is, however, an effect for sex ($F(1,48)=15.966$, $p=.000$). Male speakers score significantly higher on this variant. Among the male speakers, there is one particular group which uses the new variant most frequently, viz. the male speakers from the eastern part of the island. This group differs significantly from the other groups ($F(3,56)=8.296$, $p=.000$), since its mean score on new variants is much higher (post-hoc analysis; Tukey). See also figure 6.4.

Figure 6.4. New variant /au/ > /o/ for twelve subgroups, stratified by age, sex and origin



The figure shows a clear pattern: the new variant is used mostly by eastern males, followed by western males. An explanation for this development will be given in the final part of this section.

The eleven remaining words (category 3) all have different variants for both parts of the island. These words can also be found in the Ameland dictionary. From these words, nine are pronounced with a dialect variant by the majority of the informants: *bouten*, *goud*, *hout*, *zout*, *schouder*, *verkouden*, *oud*, *zolder*, *koud*. These examples are typical dialect words and will be analyzed separately. A dialect index was computed for these nine words by dividing the number of dialect variants by the total number of answers. The mean percentage scores for the twelve groups of informants are given in table 6.5, where dialect variants and Dutch variants add up to 100 percent. In these words, the new variant never occurred. Overall, the mean scores are relatively high. They range from 95.56% among older male speakers from the west to 71.94% among younger female speakers from the east.

Table 6.5. Mean scores for the linguistic variable OUD for the use of dialect variants (in percentages). Standard deviations between brackets. Words involved: *bouten*, *goud*, *hout*, *zout*, *schouder*, *verkouden*, *oud*, *zolder*, *koud* (9).

	old		middle		young	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
west	95.56 (6.09)	91.11 (9.30)	88.89 (0.00)	95.56 (6.09)	84.44 (16.85)	64.44 (29.81)
east	93.33 (6.09)	93.33 (9.94)	86.67 (12.17)	97.78 (4.97)	77.78 (17.57)	71.94 (21.35)

An ANOVA was applied with the three independent variables of the research design: sex, generation and origin. The only significant effect that was found was for generation ($F(2,48)=10.953$, $p=.000$). The youngest age groups scored significantly lower than the older age group (post-hoc analysis; Tukey). There are no significant effects for sex and origin.

Dialect indices were also computed for the eastern and western variant separately. Table 6.6 provides the mean percentage scores for the western variant. Since the percentages of the eastern and western variant add up to a hundred percent, the eastern index can be deduced from this table as well.

Notice that the standard deviations are very high for most cells, which means that there is a lot of variation among individuals.

Table 6.6. Mean scores (in percentages) for the linguistic variable OUD for the use of western variants. Standard deviations between brackets. Words involved: *bouten, goud, hout, zout, schouder, verkouden, oud, zolder, koud* (9).

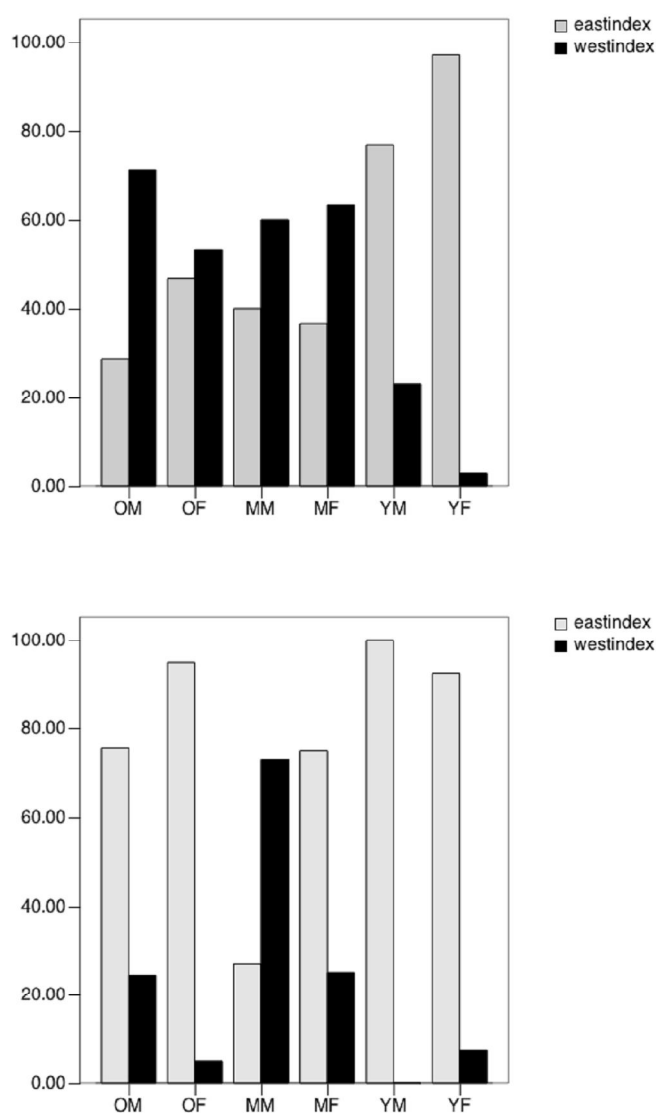
	old		middle		young	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
west	71.39 (30.77)	53.33 (44.82)	60 (32.36)	63.33 (38.57)	23.06 (32.30)	2.86 (6.39)
east	24.44 (13.20)	5.08 (7.05)	73.06 (41.89)	25.00 (36.10)	0	7.50 (11.18)

The mean scores for the eastern and western variants are different for both parts of the island ($F(1,48)=9.663$, $p=.003$). The western variant is used mostly in west; the eastern variant is used mostly in east. However, if we split the design according to age groups, an east-west effect is only found for the oldest generation ($F(1,16)=14.253$, $p=.002$).

The mean scores for both variants are also different for sex ($F(1,48)=4.506$, $p=.039$). The male speakers score significantly higher on western variants than female speakers. Female speakers, on the other hand, show a more frequent use of eastern variants. Finally, a significant generation effect was found for both variants ($F(2,48)=13.637$, $p=.000$). The youngest generation uses significantly fewer western variants, and more eastern variants than the middle and older generations (post-hoc analysis; Tukey). Although the mean percentage score is very high for one specific subgroup of speakers, i.e. the middle age group of eastern male speakers, no interaction effects were found. If, however, we treat the twelve subgroups of informants separately, significant effects do appear for both parts of the island: the middle age group of eastern males use significantly more western variants than the younger eastern males ($F(5,24)=6.341$, $p=.001$; Tukey); the older western males use significantly more western variants than the young western females ($F(5,24)=3.269$, $p=.022$; Tukey). The results are also shown in figures 6.7 and 6.8.

Figure 6.7. Mean scores for western and eastern variants for OUD among six subgroups in the western part of the island, stratified by age (O=old, M=middle, Y=young) and sex (M=male, F=female).

Figure 6.8. Mean scores for western and eastern variants for OUD among six subgroups in the eastern part of the island, stratified by age (O=old, M=middle, Y=young) and sex (M=male, F=female).



The figures show very different patterns for speakers from east and west. While the western variant is still dominant among the old and middle westerners, the youngest generation hardly uses these any more. Easterners

also hardly make use of the western variant. There is, however, one group which forms an exception. The middle age group of eastern males shows a relatively frequent use of the western variant. This group also scores high on the use of new variants. A possible explanation might be that this group of speakers is imitating the older males from the west, who have a reputation of speaking the most 'authentic' dialect. This could also be the explanation for the development of a new variant. The western variant differs from the eastern variant in that its pronunciation is more close (i.e. /o:ə/ instead of /ɔ:ə/). The eastern variant has a much opener sound. If the easterners imitate the western pronunciation, it is possible that they exaggerate this close pronunciation. If this variant is pronounced very close, it turns into a monophthong, just like the new variant.

To find phonetic evidence for the opposite developments in which these subsets of speakers are involved, we compared the spectrograms of a younger eastern female speaker with those of an older western male speaker. The spectrograms, which can be found in the Appendix, showed very different patterns. However, since the analysis of these spectrograms goes beyond the scope of the present study, we will postpone this discussion to chapter 7.

6.3. Variable 3. Diminutive (DIM) A-type *village*

The word list for the 'diminutive' variable contained 61 words, of which only 48 were found in the dictionary. Since the rules for diminutive formation are very complex (nine separate variants could be distinguished in our data, derived from two suffixes plus different allomorphs, subject to phonological conditioning), only these words were used to calculate a dialect index. For each individual word, we consulted the dictionary to determine which was the dialect variant. For most words, a western *-ke* and an eastern *-(t)je* can be distinguished. Some words, however, have one only variant, which is either *-ke* or *-(t)je*. The mean percentage scores for the twelve groups of informants can be found in the upper parts of the cells in table 6.9.

Table 6.9. Mean scores for the linguistic variable DIM for the use of dialect variants (in percentages). In italics: mean scores for the use of dialect variants, including the dialect variants which run counter to the dictionary. Standard deviations between brackets. 48 words involved.

	old		middle		young	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
west	92.22	91.40	84.77	82.75	81.81	70.83
	(2.64)	(4.65)	(3.64)	(7.29)	(9.25)	(15.80)
	98.33	95.65	88.53	89.35	89.17	80.42
	(2.72)	(4.35)	(4.65)	(11.28)	(13.04)	(9.84)
east	81.28	74.73	75.12	74.51	76.15	70.76
	(8.32)	(3.71)	(4.95)	(6.38)	(5.62)	(2.71)
	86.86	79.08	77.65	77.05	79.50	74.13
	(8.71)	(6.20)	(4.74)	(6.11)	(7.10)	(5.32)

The table indicates frequent use of the dialect variants of the diminutive, which ranges from 92.22% among older western male speakers to 70.76% among younger eastern female speakers. Overall, the dialect scores remain fairly stable. An ANOVA showed significant effects for all three stratification variables: generation, sex and origin. The age groups were not similar ($F(2,48)=9.812$, $p=.000$). The oldest generation scored significantly higher than the other two generations (post-hoc analysis; Tukey). But sex, too, showed an effect ($F(1,48)=5.630$, $p=.022$). Male speakers used more dialect diminutives than female speakers. As to the effect for origin ($F(1,48)=21.267$, $p=.000$), the western speakers scored higher than the eastern speakers. This result confirms our hypothesis that western dialect speakers tend to use the dialect more consistently than eastern dialect speakers. The older males from the west function as NORMs (non-mobile older rural males) on the island, and also have the highest mean score. The generation effect also conformed to our hypotheses, since dialect loss was expected for the A-variables.

Besides the dialect index, we also calculated an index for dialect variants of the diminutive suffix which are not found in the dictionary. This index figure was added to the dialect index in the second stage, resulting in a new dialect index, the mean scores of which are given in the lower parts of the cells of table 6.9. The use of these variants was not very high, but their mean score was still 5%. With an ANOVA we found a significant effect for origin ($F(1,48)=6.234$, $p=.016$). It turns out that western dialect speakers use more variants which are not found according to the dictionary. If we look at the data in more detail, there are a few words which show a pattern shift: *bon*, *teen*, *vlag*, *weg*. For *bon*, the dictionary gives *-ke* for the west, although this variant was only used by 2 subjects. Most western subjects (15) had *-tke* instead. For *teen*, the dictionary gives *-ke*, which was used by only one

subject. All the others (20) used *-tke*. For *vlag*, the dictionary gives *-je*, which follows the phonological condition which requires *-je* after velars. This variant was used by 10 western subjects, but 11 subjects used *-ke* instead. For *weg*, the dictionary gives *-je*, which was used by 11 subjects, but 9 used *-ke*. These examples show that two phonological conditions have changed in the western dialect variety: 1. Words ending in /n/ take *-tke* (which was already a trend according to the dictionary: *spintke*, *haantke*, *handke*, *hóndke*); 2. Words ending in /ɣ/ take *-ke*. No significant age effects were found: this change already started among the oldest generation.

In order to study the differences between both parts of the island, we calculated indexes for eastern and western variants. According to the dictionary, 29 words show an east-west difference in their morphological variant; among our subjects, the number of words with a village-specific variant ranged from 22 to 28. The difference between the number of geographically distinct words in the dictionary and the maximal score among the informants is caused by the high percentages of Dutch variants for a number of words which are discussed below (*ster*, *bon*, *spin*, *tor*, *trap*, *kwal*). The mean percentage scores for the use of western variants are given in table 6.10. Since the percentages of the eastern and western variant add up to a hundred percent, the complementary eastern index can be deduced from this table as well.

Table 6.10. Mean scores for the linguistic variable DIM for the use of western variants (in percentages). Standard deviations between brackets. 29 words.

	old		middle		young	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
west	84.02 (8.19)	77.71 (14.46)	58.35 (31.90)	62.45 (37.68)	55.61 (50.83)	21.62 (38.51)
east	3.48 (7.78)	0.77 (1.72)	9.10 (10.38)	2.40 (5.37)	3.20 (7.16)	4.13 (7.22)

The table shows a clear effect for origin, which was also found to be significant in the ANOVA ($F(1,48)=80.008$, $p=.000$). Western subjects used far more western variants than eastern subjects (an average of 60% among westerners against an average of 4% among easterners). Eastern subjects, on the other hand, used more eastern variants (an average of 96% among easterners against an average of 40% among westerners). Even among the

youngest generation, the east-west difference turned out to be significant ($F(1, 16)=5.858$, $p=.028$).

A generation effect was only found for the western subjects ($F(2,24)=3.950$, $p=.033$); the youngest generation scored significantly lower on western variants than the oldest generation (post-hoc analysis; Tukey). They used more eastern variants instead. These percentages are difficult to interpret, since the eastern diminutive suffix system is very similar to the Dutch one. In order to analyse this result, we constructed an index for 6 words with a short vowel, for which the eastern suffix plus allomorph differs from the Dutch one in that dialect *-tje* is used instead of *-etje* (*ster, bon, spin, tor, trap, kwal*). Individual frequency tables for these words show that the majority of speakers prefer the Dutch variant (with schwa); only *trap* is an exception. However, the *-tje* suffix in *trap* is not uncommon in Dutch either. If we only take into account the village-specific variants, all informants prefer the use of the (western) suffix *-(t)ke* above *-tje* in these words. An ANOVA for eastern subjects shows two effects: for generation ($F(2,24)=5.914$, $p=.008$) and for sex ($F(1,48)=6.406$, $p=.018$). Older speakers use significantly more typically eastern variants than middle age group speakers (post-hoc analysis; Tukey). The youngest generation scores in between these groups. Male speakers also use more eastern variants than female speakers. This indicates that influence from Dutch is involved. On the other hand, the typical eastern variant was also found in the western part of the island among all subgroups, but mostly among male speakers. This suggests that eastern influence on western speakers is not unlikely.

6.4. Variable 4. Clitic 3 singular A-type *village*

Variable 4 will not be considered, since none of the informants appeared to use it.

6.5. Variable 5. HUIS ('house') B-type *island*

The word list for this variable contained 26 words. For this variable, three existing dialect variants were used by our informants: the /y/, the old /u/ and the old /œ/. The latter sound used to be pronounced only in ui2-words (i.e. mostly loanwords, see section 4.3.5). Nowadays, a shift is taking place towards the /ø/ sound, as we will see. In the Ameland dialect, eight words from our word list are pronounced with the Dutch /œy/. In most cases (6 out of 8, i.e. in *lui, pui, bui, manlui, trui, rui*), this is due to the word-final

constraint, which requires a diphthong at the end of the word. This rule also seems to apply in words in which the /æ:/ is followed by a vowel: *sluier* and *kuieren* (which have *ui* according to most informants and the dictionary). The same constraint was relevant for the TIJD variable. All eight words were disregarded when calculating the dialect index. In these words, almost all of the informants used the /æy/ variant, but there were some exceptions. Three informants produced a new /øy/ sound in *lui*: a middle-age eastern male speaker, a younger western male speaker and a younger eastern female speaker. In *pui*, four persons also used a new /øy/ sound. The same middle-age male speaker used this variant; the other three informants were young male easterners. A young western female speaker even used an /y/ sound. In *bui*, only one informant - the same middle-age eastern male speaker as before - used the new /øy/ variant. In *manlui*, four speakers used the new /øy/ sound and four used the /y/ sound. All /øy/-users were younger dialect speakers, from both sexes and both parts of the island. The /y/-users were middle or older dialect speakers, also from both sexes and both parts of the island. In *trui*, the new /øy/ sound was heard from two informants, again the same middle aged speaker as before, and a young male speaker from the west. In *rui*, the new variant was produced by the same middle aged speaker and two young dialect speakers, a female from east and a male from west.

In general, the new variant is found among dialect speakers from the youngest age group in words which used to have the /æ:/ variant in the dialect. Only one middle aged eastern male speaker produced the new variant in almost all these words. Due to the small number of attestations of this new variant, no significant differences were found among groups. The /ø/ variant was also found as a substitute for the former /æ:/ sound. A three-way ANOVA shows an interaction effect for generation and origin ($F(2,48)=4.319$, $p=.019$). While in the western part of the island this variant is mostly used among younger speakers, the opposite is true for the eastern part of the island. Older eastern dialect speakers use /ø/ where older westerners use the original /æ:/.

A dialect index was composed by calculating the dialect variants among all the other (18) words. The mean percentages for the twelve groups of informants are presented in the upper parts of the cells in table 6.11; the percentages in the lower parts of the cells are the mean percentages if the new variants are included.

Table 6.11. Mean scores for the linguistic variable HUIS for the use of dialect variants (in percentages). In italics: mean scores for the use of dialect variants, including new variants. Standard deviations between brackets. 18 words were involved.

	old		middle		young	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
west	71.96	75.16	78.56	77.64	83.33	73.33
	(3.48)	(10.55)	(7.64)	(8.58)	(12.42)	(6.09)
	<i>71.96</i>	<i>75.16</i>	<i>81.89</i>	<i>77.65</i>	<i>86.67</i>	<i>74.44</i>
	(3.48)	(10.55)	(11.76)	(8.58)	(8.43)	(6.33)
east	88.76	83.33	89.80	89.41	85.29	82.03
	(7.74)	(7.86)	(12.19)	(6.44)	(13.00)	(11.37)
	<i>93.27</i>	<i>88.89</i>	<i>92.16</i>	<i>89.41</i>	<i>86.47</i>	<i>84.25</i>
	(7.23)	(6.80)	(11.51)	(6.44)	(12.25)	(9.98)

The ANOVA showed only an effect for origin ($F(1,48)=16.261$, $p=.000$). The eastern dialect speakers showed a higher rate of dialect variants. Overall, the use of dialect variants increases slightly across generations.

As for each single dialect variant, for the old /u/ sound two significant effects were found, both for generation and origin. The three-way ANOVA also showed an interaction effect between both factors. In the western part of the island, there is a significant generation effect ($F(2,24)=12.281$, $p=.000$). In general, the old /u/ sound is used most frequently by the older male speakers from the western part of the island. For the old /æ:/ sound, again two factors made a difference: generation ($F(2,48)=4.192$, $p=.021$) and origin ($F(1,48)=24.486$, $p=.000$). This variant is hardly used by younger dialect speakers (post-hoc analysis; Tukey); it is mostly used by eastern dialect speakers. Both middle and older easterners show frequent use of the /æ:/ vowel. The ANOVA also shows two effects for the /y/ variant: generation and origin, and also an interaction effect for both factors ($F(2,48)=4.891$, $p=.012$). If we split the design into east and west, a generation effect was only found for the western part of the island ($F(2,24)=11.019$, $p=.000$). The youngest generation scored significantly higher on the /y/ variant than the older speakers (post-hoc analysis; Tukey). The word table with the frequencies of the variants shows that the old /æ:/ sound only appears in ui2-words. We therefore made a separate index for these five words (*duit*, *spuiten*, *fluiten*, *fruit*, *ruilen*). The other ui2-words in the word list were

omitted since they had *ui* in word-final position (*lui, pui, bui, trui*), before a vowel (*sluier*) or there were too many missing values (*fornuis*).

Table 6.12. Mean scores for the linguistic variable HUIS for the use of dialect variants in ui2 words (in percentages). Standard deviations between brackets. Words involved: *duit, spuiten, fluiten, fruit, ruilen* (5).

	old		middle		young	
WEST	male	female	male	female	male	female
/ɛ:/	16.00	20.00	12.00	4.00	16.00	0
/y/	8.00	4.00	12.00	20.00	32.00	8.00
/ø/	0	0	12.00	0	12.00	4.00
dialect	24.00	24.00	36.00	24.00	60.00	12.00
total	(16.73)	(32.86)	(40.99)	(26.08)	(24.49)	(17.89)
EAST						
/ɛ:/	64.00	32.00	52.00	64.00	28.00	12.00
/y/	0	12.00	12.00	4.00	24.00	32.00
/ø/	16.00	20.00	8.00	0	0	8.00
dialect	80.00	64.00	72.00	68.00	52.00	52.00
total	(20.00)	(16.73)	(41.47)	(17.89)	(38.99)	(30.33)

The table shows that the use of /ɛ:/ is not only restricted to ui2-words, but is also differentiated by origin of the speakers, since easterners show a higher rate of use of this variant than westerners. A generation effect as well as an origin effect is only present for these five words ($F(2,48)=4.011$, $p=.024$) ($F(1,48)=23.511$, $p=.000$). The post-hoc analysis (Tukey) shows that the youngest generation uses the /ɛ:/ variant significantly less often than the other two generations. Easterners score much higher than westerners on this variant. The younger dialect speakers use more /y/ variants instead. They differ significantly from the older dialect speakers ($F(2,48)=3.679$, $p=0.33$; Tukey). The /ø/ variant is mostly used by older eastern dialect speakers, as a substitute for the old /ɛ:/. In some cells, the standard deviation is rather high, which is due to individual differences. For example, among the middle-aged western males, two speakers show frequent use of dialect variants (both 80%), whereas the other three speakers mostly use Dutch variants (80-100%). Among the eastern males in the middle age group, four speakers show high rates of use of dialect variants (80-100%), whereas one

speaker always uses Dutch variants (100%). The high standard deviations are mostly due to the small number of words involved.

6.6. Variable 6: GEIT ('goat') B-type *island*

The word list for variable 6 consisted of 41 words. This variable has one dialect variant, which is the pronunciation with /ɛ:/ . While in modern standard Dutch there is no difference (anymore) between the pronunciation of variable 1 (TIJD) and 6 (GEIT), in the Ameland dialect a difference is still maintained. However, middle-aged and younger dialect speakers have difficulties with differentiating between these variables, which leads to hypercorrect variants. Since this variable is no longer productive, as it is based on a sound change which has long been lexicalized, no phonological rule can be assumed to be active, except the word-final constraint. The dialectal variant never occurs in word-final position (*kei, ei, klei, lei*) or in front of (semi-)vowels (*heien, keien, eieren, kleien*). According to the dictionary, 16 of the items for which data were collected have a dialect variant. However, our results showed that four of these words are almost always realized with a Dutch pronunciation instead: *heide, heilig, kapitein, boekweit*. Our dialect index was therefore computed on the basis of the twelve remaining words: *meid, weide, zeil, kleiner, geiten, geit, zeilen, eigen, moeheid, dweil, zeis, klein*. The mean percentage scores for the twelve groups of informants are given in the upper parts of the cells in table 6.13. The percentages in the lower parts of the cells include hypercorrect variants, as will be discussed below.

Table 6.13. Mean scores for the linguistic variable GEIT for the use of dialect variants (in percentages). Mean scores in italics for the use of dialect variants, including hypercorrect variants. Standard deviations between brackets. Words involved: *meid, weide, zeil, kleiner, geiten, geit, zeilen, eigen, moeheid, dweil, zeis, klein* (12).

	old		middle		young	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
west	72.06	49.09	57.12	51.82	51.67	30.00
	(17.54)	(30.71)	(16.18)	(31.62)	(13.69)	(4.56)
	72.06	49.09	60.45	53.48	60.00	31.67
	(17.54)	(30.71)	(12.41)	(31.17)	(18.07)	(6.97)

	old		middle		young	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
east	80.76	65.00	65.45	81.45	51.67	39.24
	(16.14)	(12.36)	(21.31)	(9.13)	(19.00)	(23.92)
	80.76	65.00	68.79	81.45	51.67	42.58
	(16.14)	(12.36)	(21.22)	(9.13)	(19.00)	(17.35)

The table indicates frequent use of the dialect variant in the eastern part of the island, especially among older males and females in the middle age group. The variant is used less often by younger females from both parts of the island. The dialect index shows significant effects for all design variables: generation, sex and origin. The mean scores for the different age groups show a gradual decrease ($F(2,48)=8.662$, $p=.001$). The youngest generation had a significantly lower score than the middle and older generation (post-hoc analysis; Tukey). Dialect loss is very considerable. Note that the males behaved differently than the females ($F(1,48)=4.190$, $p=.046$); the male speakers scored higher than the female speakers. A difference for east and west was also found ($F(1,48)=5.600$, $p=.022$). The easterners showed a higher rate of use than the westerners. No effects were found for the hypercorrect variants.

The high percentages on the eastern part of the island can be explained by assuming that the dialect variant /ɛ:/ is associated with the eastern part of the island, since it is similar to the eastern variant in the TIJD variable. We find a slightly more frequent use of a hypercorrect variant /i/ in the west among dialect speakers in the middle and younger age groups. Nevertheless, most westerners use Dutch variants instead. This behaviour might be related to polarization between east and west: westerners do not want to be associated with the east and therefore tend to use fewer eastern-like variants. This behaviour is not found among older western males because they still command the difference between the GEIT and TIJD variable. Eastern females in the middle age group, on the other hand, show a very high rate of use of the dialect variant. Do they feel a need to dissociate themselves from western females?

6.7. Variable 7. Suffix -HEID ('-ness') B-type *island*

The word list for variable 7 consisted of 46 words. Although not all of them are found in the dictionary (since derived words are concerned), they were

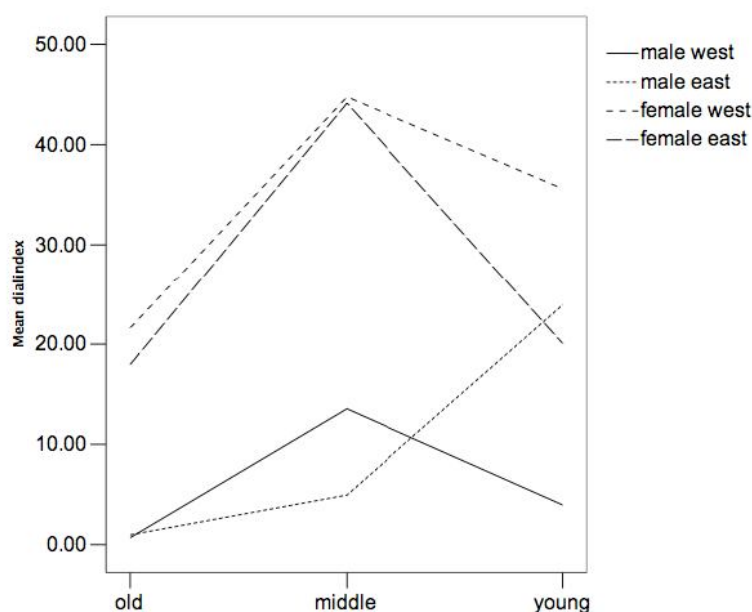
all included in the analysis, since they all showed variation. No phonological conditions were found. Dialect suffixes are used for almost all adjectives. Two words are exceptional: *gezondheid* and *schoonheid*. Some words show a higher rate of use of the morphologically distinct *-egheid* suffix than others, which is due to test effects. The word formation process was tested by way of three types of tests: the contrast test, the completion test and the translation test (see also the questionnaire in the Appendix). The number of dialect variants was much higher in completion and contrast tests than in translation tests ($F(2,43)=15.325$, $p=.000$; post-hoc analysis Tukey); the same effect applies to the intermediate variants ($F(2,43)=5.495$, $p=.007$); the Dutch variant, on the other hand, was used most frequently in translation tests ($F(2,43)=17.949$, $p=.000$). This effect has to be taken into account in the interpretation of table 6.14, which gives the mean percentage scores of the dialect variants. It is difficult to say which test best resembles the every-day language situation. The actual number of dialect variants is probably smaller than the number found in the contrast and completion tests and higher than the number found in the translation tests (since our informants were influenced by the Dutch translation sentences). We therefore assume that the test effects cancel each other out.

The dialect variant which was studied here was the morphological suffix *-egheid*. However, this variant appeared to have different phonological realizations: /əxɛ:t/, /əxit/, /əxɛit/, /əxet/. Next to these variants, intermediate forms were produced, which only deviated from the standard variant phonologically: /hɛ:t/, /hit/, /het/. Finally, the Dutch variant /hɛit/ was also used. We calculated three indexes: 1. a dialect index, from words which are both morphologically and phonologically distinct from Dutch: /əxɛ:t/, /əxit/, /əxet/; 2. an index for intermediate forms, which have one linguistic distinction: /əxɛit/, /hɛ:t/, /hit/, /het/; 3. a new dialect index, which is the sum of 1 and 2. The mean percentage scores for the dialect index (1) and the new dialect index (3) are given for all twelve subgroups in table 6.14.

Table 6.14. Mean scores (in percentages) for the linguistic variable -HEID for dialect variants (variants which are both morphologically and phonologically distinct from Dutch). In italics: the mean scores for dialect variants, including intermediate variants. Standard deviations between brackets. 46 words involved.

	old		middle		young	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
west	0.69	21.60	13.55	44.77	3.95	35.60
	(1.54)	(10.31)	(8.63)	(30.94)	(4.73)	(25.19)
	33.89	48.25	76.12	72.94	48.59	63.56
	(27.45)	(22.33)	(19.37)	(13.40)	(29.34)	(23.39)
east	0.98	17.95	4.94	44.15	23.91	20.07
	(2.18)	(8.63)	(6.32)	(24.12)	(25.63)	(17.03)
	35.98	65.28	51.42	68.52	73.91	45.56
	(21.09)	(17.04)	(25.49)	(8.32)	(22.33)	(24.55)

Figure 6.15. Mean scores for -HEID for dialect variants among six subgroups in the eastern part of the island, stratified by age (O=old, M=middle, Y=young) and sex (M=male, F=female).



Compared to the other variables, the dialect index for this variable shows an opposite pattern: while the older western male speakers usually have the highest dialect scores, here they have the lowest scores. The highest scores are found among female speakers of the middle and younger age groups, who usually get the lowest scores. The ANOVA showed effects for generation ($F(2,48)=4.892$, $p=.012$) and sex ($F(1,48)=26.892$, $p=.000$). The middle-age generation scored significantly higher on dialect variants than the oldest generation (post-hoc analysis; Tukey). However, females also scored much higher than males. The intermediate variants, on the other hand, were used most often by the men ($F(1,48)=6.51$, $p=.014$). No generation effect was found for the intermediate variants.

For the new dialect index, again the old western males have the lowest scores. Middle-aged western male speakers, on the other hand, score highest. A generation effect was found ($F(2,48)=4.786$, $p=.013$). Again, the middle age generation uses significantly more dialect variants than the older generation (post-hoc analysis; Tukey). An interaction effect was also found for generation*sex*origin ($F(2,48)=3.236$, $p=.048$). If we split the design for east and west, a generation effect is found in the western part ($F(2,24)=5.241$, $p=.013$). The middle age group scores significantly higher than the older generation (post-hoc analysis; Tukey). The eastern part only shows an interaction effect for generation*sex ($F(2,24)=5.418$, $p=.011$). Whereas the older male speakers have very low scores, the younger male speakers have very high ones. The differences between these groups are not significant, however. If we compare the total mean scores for generations, the youngest generation scores higher than the oldest one. Hence, no dialect loss is taking place here, but rather the opposite: the use of dialect variants is increasing markedly. How can we explain this unexpected pattern? A possible explanation is the novelty of this variable. A large number of informants said they were unfamiliar with word formations like *kaalheid* ('baldness') and *lafheid* ('cowardice'). These are words which are not often used in daily life, and they are therefore associated with written Dutch. The older informants had more difficulties with these words than the younger informants, as indicated by the number of missing values, which increases with age. An ANOVA on missing values shows a significant generation effect ($F(2,48)=4.847$, $p=.012$). The post-hoc analysis (Tukey) shows that old and middle-age speakers have significantly more missing values than younger speakers. The oldest generation shows the highest number of missing values.

The phonological realizations of this variable were similar to the GEIT variable: both the eastern /ɛ:/ pronunciation and the ‘hypercorrect’ western /i/ pronunciation were realized. We therefore made an eastern as well as a western index in which these realizations were separated. The /ɛi/ variants were treated separately in another index. The /e/ realizations were treated as missing values, since they only occurred three times. The mean percentage scores for the three variants are given in the table below (6.16).

Surprisingly, the east and west indexes do not show any effects for origin. This result runs counter to our interpretation of the /i/ variant for the GEIT variable. A sex effect was found instead. The eastern variants had different scores among sex groups ($F(1,48)=75.395$, $p=.000$). Females use the eastern variant much more frequently than males (an average of 49.71% among female speakers against an average of 5.72% among male speakers). The western variant also differs between sexes ($F(1,48)=17.783$, $p=.000$). Males showed a much higher rate of use of the western variant (an average of 36.78% among male speakers against an average of 7.55% among female speakers). The /ɛi/ variant was used mostly by the older males.

Table 6.16. Mean scores for the linguistic variable -HEID for the use of three phonological variants (in percentages). Standard deviations between brackets. 46 words involved.

	old		middle		young	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
WEST						
/i/	21.35 (31.24)	3.24 (2.58)	62.33 (33.98)	6.09 (13.61)	28.79 (37.68)	0
/ɛ:/	0	42.73 (25.97)	2.61 (4.71)	65.34 (14.38)	8.30 (13.77)	60.06 (26.41)
/ɛi/	78.65 (31.24)	54.03 (24.02)	35.06 (33.82)	28.57 (12.59)	62.91 (38.09)	39.94 (26.41)
EAST						
/i/	10.79 (21.28)	11.11 (24.85)	40.93 (31.91)	13.78 (26.12)	56.52 (39.73)	11.10 (23.63)
/ɛ:/	0.95 (2.13)	51.45 (15.52)	6.40 (9.56)	52.13 (22.05)	16.09 (35.97)	26.53 (26.68)
/ɛi/	88.26 (20.91)	37.44 (18.84)	52.67 (27.21)	34.09 (12.38)	27.39 (24.48)	62.37 (24.54)

To summarize, two salient group effects were found for this variable: First of all, there is a generation effect, the direction of which is completely unexpected. Middle aged and younger females score high on this dialect variant, whereas older males have low scores. On the other hand, males and females differ in their pronunciation of this variant. Males prefer the 'western' /i/ sound, whereas females prefer the eastern /ɛ:/ sound. Although these variants do not show any geographical variation, it is very likely that the speaker's choice for one of these variants is dictated by the preference for either an eastern or a western variant. In our sample, male speakers prefer 'authentic' dialect variants, which are associated with the western part of the island. Female speakers, on the other hand, prefer 'modern' dialect variants, which are associated with the eastern part of the island.

Figure 6.17. Mean scores for -HEID for eastern variants among twelve subgroups, stratified by age, sex and origin.

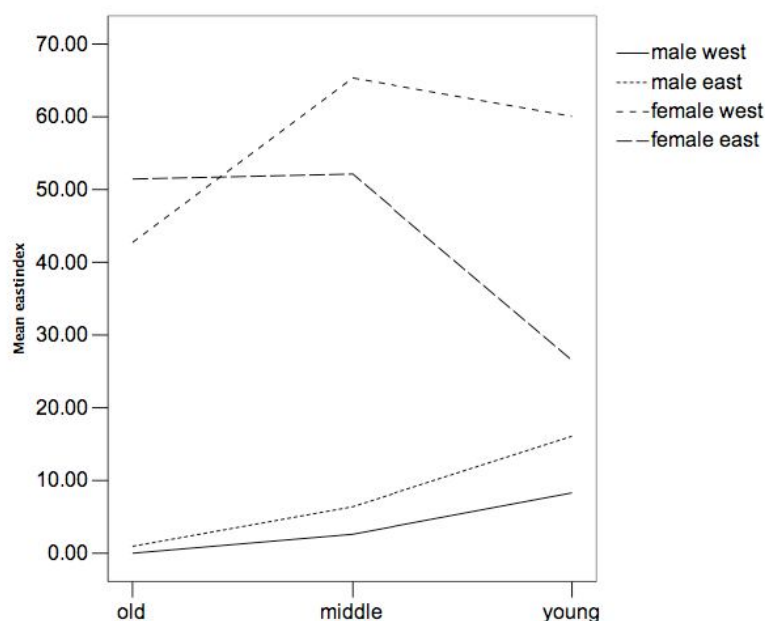
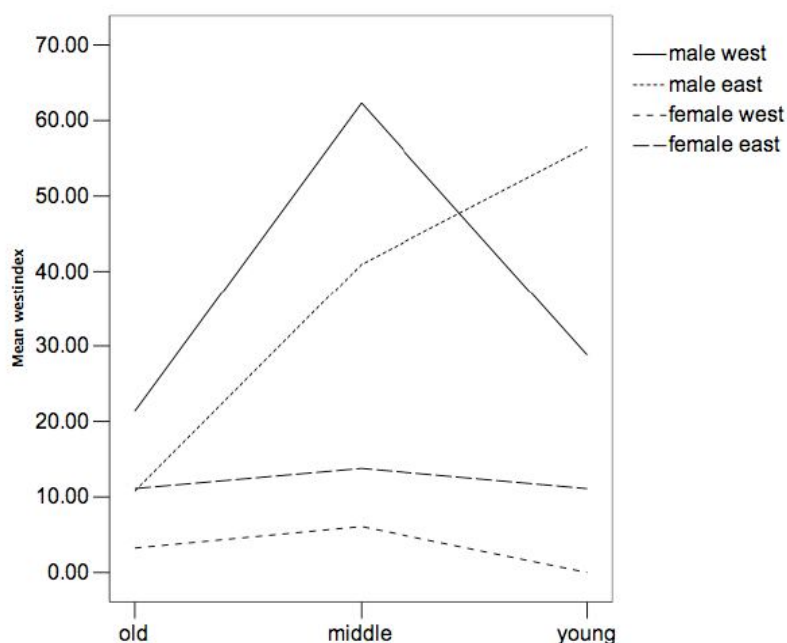


Figure 6.18. Mean scores for -HEID for eastern variants among twelve subgroups, stratified by age, sex and origin.



6.8 Variable 8: E/EN B-type island

The word list for variable 8 'E/EN', the ending of plural verb forms, consisted of 29 words. All words were included in the analysis, since they all showed variation. Table 6.19 contains the relevant mean scores for the variable E/EN. Three categories can be distinguished, according to tense: present, past and gerund. The literature shows that the Ameland dialect only has an *-en* ending in gerunds, whereas the Frisian language has an *-en* ending in both gerunds and past plural verb forms and standard Dutch has *-e* (schwa) across the board. Table 6.19 shows there is a preference for the *-en* ending in gerunds²⁶, but for other verb forms this variant is used as well. The mean percentage scores are given for three verb forms for the twelve subgroups, which are the results of crossing the three stratification variables of age, sex and origin. In this table, the dialect score is the mean of the three linguistic conditions (present, past and gerund).

²⁶ An independent ANOVA showed a tense effect for the use of the *-en* variant ($F(2,26)=65.751$, $p=.0$). The *-en* variant appeared significantly more often in gerund sentences than in past or present sentences.

Table 6.19. Mean scores for the linguistic variable E/EN for the use of the dialect variant (in percentages). Standard deviations between brackets. 29 words involved.

	old		middle		young	
WEST	<i>male</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>female</i>
/ə/ present	80.00 (32.60)	56.79 (41.68)	92.50 (16.77)	85.00 (10.46)	56.67 (24.76)	82.50 (14.25)
/ə/ past	71.14 (31.91)	62.94 (35.80)	55.68 (14.98)	51.88 (34.25)	57.89 (25.02)	61.12 (34.32)
/ən/ gerund	91.11 (12.17)	100	86.11 (12.73)	93.33 (6.09)	71.11 (12.67)	73.89 (28.84)
dialect total	80.75	73.24	79.00	76.74	61.89	72.50
EAST						
/ə/ present	82.50 (25.92)	67.14 (33.52)	90.00 (10.46)	82.50 (32.60)	72.50 (35.97)	73.33 (36.63)
/ə/ past	66.48 (29.32)	36.77 (25.21)	38.36 (26.57)	61.44 (37.89)	69.11 (28.74)	52.12 (18.23)
/ən/ gerund	95.56 (6.09)	95.56 (6.09)	86.67 (12.17)	88.33 (11.85)	62.22 (26.76)	86.67 (18.26)
dialect total	81.51	66.49	71.68	77.43	67.94	70.70

There is a significant difference for generation only for the gerund forms ($F(2,48)=11.122$, $p=.000$). Whereas the older and middle aged dialect speakers use the *-en* variant most of the time, the younger speakers show an increased use of the *-e* variant (post-hoc analysis; Tukey). This is probably due to Dutch influence. The use of the *-en* variant in the past tense, especially among older eastern females and eastern males in the middle age group, is an example of Frisian influence on the Ameland dialect. On the other hand, we have to be careful to draw conclusions for this variable, since external factors might play a role; van de Velde & van Hout (2003) find a high rate of occurrence of *-en* if the word is in focus, which is often the case for gerunds.

6.9. Variable 9: HART ('heart') C-type region

The word list for variable 9 consisted of 47 words, which can be divided into two categories: 1. words which follow the general rule for r-deletion in Frisian (Tiersma 1999: 29), in which r occurs before dental consonants /t d n l s z/; 2. words in which r-deletion occurs variably, referred to as 'expanded r-

deletion' by Tiersma: as in prefixes (*fer-huze* 'to move'), compounds (*haarspeld* 'hair pin') and loanwords (*sport*). We tested both categories in order to see whether r-deletion is still a productive rule, whether linguistic conditions are widening (expanded r-deletion) and/or whether dialect loss is taking place.

According to the dictionary, 28 words are subject to r-deletion: these words follow the general rule for r-deletion in Frisian. A dialect index was calculated for each subject as a percentage for occurrences of r-deletion. The mean percentage scores for the twelve groups of informants are presented in table 6.20. Six words (*karnemelk*, *kern*, *kernen*, *barnsteen*, *fornuis*, *lantaarn*) were left out of the analysis, since they were not found in the dictionary or showed no variation. The non-occurrence of r-deletion in these words might be due to the following sonorant, which was found to be a significant phonological condition with Repeated Measures ($F(2,114)=241.074$, $p=.000$).

Table 6.20. Mean scores for the linguistic variable HART for number of dialect variants (in percentages). Standard deviations between brackets. 28 words involved.

	old		middle		young	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
west	90.52 (6.36)	85.50 (6.69)	84.03 (5.73)	70.71 (18.63)	72.14 (25.68)	58.81 (13.40)
east	75.60 (14.21)	63.02 (14.96)	67.57 (15.95)	73.17 (5.57)	65.71 (15.48)	72.30 (15.86)

As the table shows, the older western male speakers show most r-deletion. The younger western female speakers show the lowest rate of r-deletion. In the western part of the island, dialect loss is involved. In the eastern part of the island, however, the use of r-deletion remains quite stable. The overall dialect loss (old minus young) is modest. No significant differences for origin, sex or generation were found.

In Modern Frisian, r is deleted before dental consonants (Tiersma 1999: 29). All other words have retained their etymological r. There are some exceptions, however: 1. recent borrowings from Dutch, where the r is sometimes produced, as in *sport* or *modern*; 2. derived words (Tiersma 1999 refers to these as prefixes, and we can add particles, as in *voorlezen* 'to read')

and compounds, where r can be deleted before any consonant other than h. Category 2 is also referred to as ‘expanded r-deletion’ in Tiersma. In our study, we tested the same word categories for the Ameland dialect. The occurrences of r-deletion in all these words (13) were added up to create an index which shows the use of expanded r-deletion.

Table 6.21. Mean scores for the linguistic variable HART for expanded r-deletion (in percentages). Standard deviations between brackets. Words involved: *bierbuik, voorlezen, verhuizen, voorkeur, modern, oorlel, popcorn, mars, urn, haarspeld, start, zuurstok, sport* (13).

	old		middle		young	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
west	4.87 (7.39)	4.62 (6.88)	7.69 (5.44)	15.38 (13.32)	41.54 (15.95)	27.69 (12.87)
east	17.20 (19.76)	6.15 (6.43)	18.46 (15.95)	19.49 (12.00)	33.85 (11.67)	51.92 (21.50)

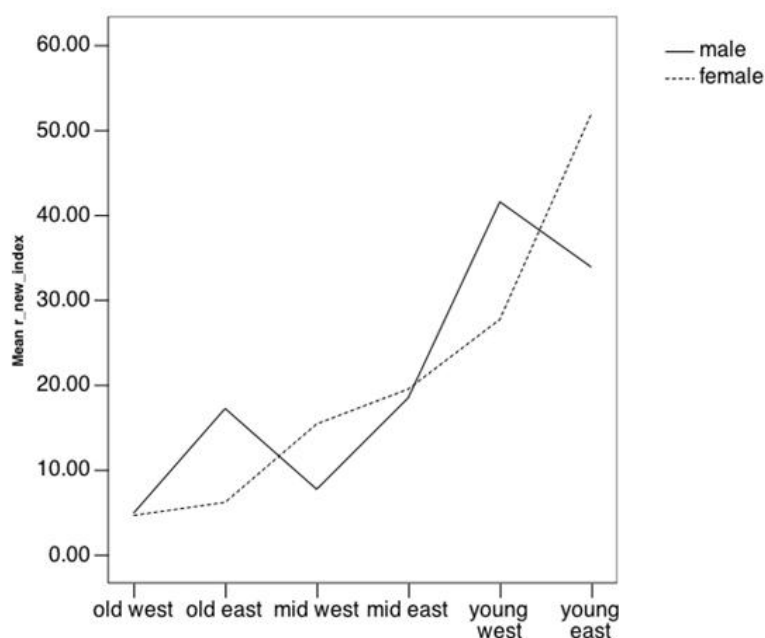
The table shows some interesting results. Expanded r-deletion does occur, but mostly among young dialect speakers. Older western dialect speakers hardly show any expanded r-deletion. An ANOVA showed significant effects for generation and origin. The different age groups are not similar ($F(2,48)=28.442$, $p=.000$); the youngest generation scores significantly higher than the middle and older generations (post-hoc analysis; Tukey). The eastern and western part of the island are not similar either ($F(1,48)=4.751$, $p=.034$); eastern speakers score significantly higher than western speakers (post-hoc analysis; Tukey). Finally, an interaction effect was found for generation*sex*origin ($F(2,48)=3.859$, $p=.028$). By comparing all twelve groups, it turns out that the younger eastern female speakers behaved most differently ($F(10,44)=6.057$, $p=.000$). Their mean scores are significantly higher than those from the middle and older age groups (post-hoc analysis; Tukey).

This corresponds to our previous conclusion that the young eastern females behave radically different from the older western males, who represent the NORMs. Whereas the older western males keep to the most authentic local variants, the younger eastern female speakers are open to change and prefer supra-local variants – variants which have a wider distribution than local variants. Since expanded r-deletion is also common in Frisian, as was shown

by Tiersma, this development can be interpreted as a supra-local phenomenon. This result is in line with variationist studies which have identified women as innovators. A similar tendency of older males behaving in a way opposite to younger females was also found in other studies, for example in Watt & Milroy (1999).

A final question concerning expanded r-deletion is whether this is a process of hyperdialectism or a process of productivity. If it is a case of hyperdialectism, expanded r-deletion is a conscious process in which the original linguistic conditions are simply becoming wider. If it is a case of productivity, it is an unconscious process caused by confusion among young speakers about the original linguistic conditions ('imperfect learning'). Since we cannot say much about the consciousness of this process, it is impossible to draw a firm conclusion here. Still, we believe that hypercorrection plays a role, since the pattern is very similar to other processes of hypercorrection found in this study. Expanded r-deletion is found among the same subset of speakers who also showed hypercorrection.

Figure 6.22. Mean scores for expanded r-deletion among twelve subgroups, stratified by age, sex and origin.



6.10. Variable 10: HAND ('hand') C-type region

In the word list for variable 10, 54 words were involved. 29 showed hardly any variation, since they usually take the Dutch variant. This is in agreement with the dictionary, and concerns words ending in *-nt*, participles and derived words. These words were added to see whether expanded d-deletion takes place. If we look at words ending in *-nt* (*bont, kont, tent, krant, cent, plant*) only one attestation was found for t-deletion, viz. in the word *cent*. The participial forms (*gapend, verwend, slapend, getekend, spelend, bemand, ontkend, gerend, liggend, gerekend, lachend, beland*) never showed d-deletion, except *bemand* which was pronounced without d five times. The derived words (*handig, mondig*) hardly ever showed d-deletion, with some incidental exceptions: *kinderlijk* (1 realization), *losbandig* (2 realizations). Checking the dictionary for the words which display d-deletion, we find single nouns as well as plurals (note, however, that the dictionary gives *kiendes* 'children', while most subjects say *kienes*). D-deletion in derived words is less common, but does occur in frequently used words: *wienech* 'windy', *kienerlek* 'childish'. Apart from these examples, no evidence was found for expanded d-deletion. These 29 words were therefore excluded from further analysis.

According to the dictionary, 25 words undergo d-deletion and sometimes vowel lengthening. One of these words (*landverrader*) was pronounced by most subjects with the Dutch variant, and therefore left out of the analysis as well. A dialect index was calculated on the basis of the remaining 24 words: *tand, kind, strand, wind, land, eiland, honden, vond, winderig, vind, hond, zandbak, land, brand, landen, avond, pond, wind, tandvlees, ponden, winden, mondvol, tanden, bind*. All variants with d-deletion were added up in the dialect index, without regard for vowel length. The mean percentage scores for the twelve subgroups are given in the upper parts of the cells in table 6.23.

The table shows a high rate of use of the dialect feature on the western part of the island. The difference between both parts of the island is significant ($F(1,48)=45.214, p=.000$). The dialect loss across generations is not significant. Apart from the dialect scores, we made a separate index for intermediate forms. These words show vowel lengthening without d-deletion (*brând*). This index was added to the dialect index at the second stage, resulting in a new dialect index, which is found in the lower parts of the cells in table 6.23.

Table 6.23. Mean scores for the linguistic variable HAND for dialect variants (d-deletion) (in percentages). In italics: mean scores for the use of dialect variants, including intermediate variants. Standard deviations between brackets. 24 words involved.

	old		middle		young	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
west	93.73	92.47	85.30	90.77	91.89	78.87
	(4.85)	(2.54)	(6.59)	(5.89)	(10.89)	(22.42)
	93.73	92.47	87.38	93.59	92.80	81.37
	(4.85)	(2.54)	(6.49)	(2.48)	(11.43)	(19.71)
east	71.24	63.40	75.12	75.70	70.98	62.37
	(9.28)	(13.72)	(11.52)	(5.75)	(5.33)	(15.66)
	71.24	64.27	76.12	76.61	75.21	69.19
	(9.28)	(12.57)	(13.69)	(5.51)	(4.70)	(14.33)

The index for the intermediate forms is the difference between the two scores. The results for the intermediate forms are fairly low. The older males and the older western females did not use these variants. A significant effect was found for generation ($F(2,48)=7.882$, $p=.001$), but an interaction effect was also found for generation*origin ($F(2,48)=4.919$, $p=.011$). If we split the design, only the eastern part of the island shows a generation effect ($F(2,48)=10.696$, $p=.000$). Young easterners use significantly more intermediate variants than speakers from the middle and older age groups. Here, again, we see the largest difference between the older western males and the younger eastern females. This result indicates that dialect loss is taking place to a certain extent after all.

By summing both indexes, a new dialect index is derived. The mean scores are found in the lower part of the cells in table 6.23. The pattern does not differ very much from the pattern of the original index, given the relatively low frequency of the intermediate forms. The east-west difference is still significant ($F(1,48)=45.914$, $p=.000$).

6.11. Variable 11. Prefix GE- C-type region

The word list for variable 11 consisted of 16 words. Eight of these words were actually tested in two conditions: as participles ('the glass is *broken*') and as adjectives ('the *broken* glass'). The Ameland dictionary only gives

positive evidence for *ge-* deletion in participle forms. We did not have any information about adjectives, and assumed that *ge-* deletion might take place in this context as well. However, as we will see in table 6.24, *ge-* deletion in adjectives appears to be a relatively new phenomenon. This is also suggested by Tiersma (1999: 124).

The results hardly showed any variation for the participles. In total, 12 realizations with *ge-* were found in participles: 3 among old speakers, and 9 among young speakers. The participles were analyzed separately, and showed a generation effect ($F(2,48)=3.938$, $p=.026$). The youngest dialect speakers used significantly more prefixes than middle aged dialect speakers (post-hoc analysis; Tukey). Middle aged speakers never use the prefix *ge-*. The adjectives showed a lot of variation, however. The most salient observation here is that the NORMs hardly show any *ge-* deletion in this particular context. We therefore refer to this phenomenon as expanded *ge-* deletion.

No difference was found between verbs with a particle (*terugvinden* 're-find') or without a particle (*vinden* 'find'). The adjectives were also included in the dialect index. The mean percentage scores for the twelve groups of informants can be found in table 6.24.

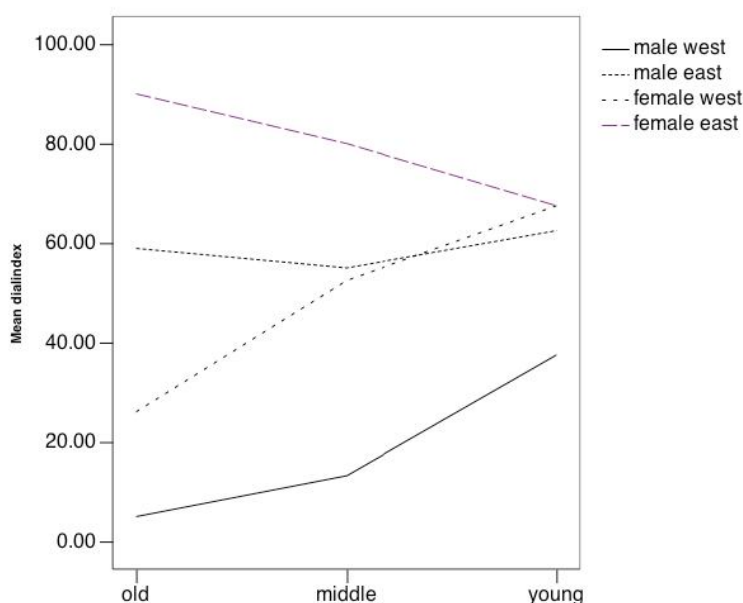
Table 6.24. Mean scores for the linguistic variable GE- for expanded *ge-* deletion in adjectives (in percentages). Standard deviations between brackets. Words involved: *gevonden*, *teruggevonden*, *gevraagd*, *aangevraagd*, *gebroken*, *afgebroken*, *gelezen*, *voorgelezen* (8).

	old		middle		young	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
west	5.00 (11.18)	26.07 (25.77)	13.21 (13.46)	52.50 (37.91)	37.50 (46.77)	67.50 (46.44)
east	58.93 (32.44)	90.00 (16.30)	55.00 (44.72)	80.00 (44.72)	62.50 (40.50)	67.50 (42.94)

The table shows a wide range of dialect scores: the older western males score lowest and the older eastern females score highest. Overall, the eastern speakers use more dialect variants, whereas western speakers use a larger number of Dutch variants. All young females score high on dialect variants as well. An ANOVA showed effects for sex ($F(1,48)=7.371$, $p=.009$) and origin ($F(1,48)=14.467$, $p=.000$). Female speakers score significantly higher on dialect

variants than male speakers, and eastern speakers score significantly higher on dialect variants than western speakers. Overall, the younger speakers use more dialect variants than older speakers. The most plausible explanation is that expanded *ge-* deletion is also applied in adjectives. Whereas the older western males still differentiate between participles and adjectives, the conditions are becoming more general among easterners and females. Evidence for this conclusion was found in a Repeated Measures analysis, in which word type functioned as a within-subjects factor, which showed both effects for sex ($F(1,48)=7.621$, $p=.008$) and origin ($F(1,48)=14.196$, $p=.000$).

Figure 6.25. Mean scores for the absence of *GE-* in dialect variants among twelve subgroups, stratified by age, sex and origin.



Additionally, an indirect correlation was found in our data between the use of the prefix *ge-* in participles and word order. Cross-correlations between prefixless participles, the non-occurrence of IPP (infinivus pro participium) and head-initial word order were found in Van den Wyngaerd (1994), Hoekstra (1996) and De Schutter (1995). Table 6.26 contains the relevant mean percentage scores for the independent linguistic variable of word order, which was added to find out whether there is a correlation between the prefix *ge-* and word order. In total, eight sentences with clusters of two or three verbs were involved. Five different verb orders were distinguished,

as discussed in 4.3.11. The verb order 1-2-3 represents the Dutch variant; the verb order 3-2-1 represents the dialect variant. The other word orders are intermediate variants. The total dialect score is the sum of dialect and intermediate variants. All scores are proportional, which implies that the standard score is the complement of the total dialect score. Table 6.26 lists the mean scores for the 12 subgroups which are the results of crossing the three stratification variables of age, sex and origin.

Table 6.26. Mean scores for the linguistic variable of word order, for the dialect variant (3-2-1), intermediate variants and Dutch variant (1-2-3). Standard deviations between brackets. 8 sentences were involved.

	old		middle		young	
WEST	<i>male</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>female</i>
3-2-1	82.14 (11.01)	84.17 (13.63)	47.50 (34.69)	40.00 (25.62)	27.50 (35.79)	27.50 (31.12)
3-1-2	10.36 (5.84)	7.50 (6.85)	0	10.00 (10.46)	2.50 (5.59)	5.00 (11.18)
2-3-1	0	0	0	0	0	2.50 (5.59)
1-3-2	0	2.50 (5.59)	2.50 (5.59)	7.50 (6.85)	0	0
dialect total	92.50 (11.18)	94.17 (8.12)	50.00 (33.07)	57.50 (25.92)	30.00 (41.08)	35.00 (36.87)
1-2-3	7.50 (11.18)	5.83 (8.12)	50.00 (33.07)	42.50 (25.92)	70.00 (41.08)	85.00 (20.54)
EAST						
3-2-1	65.00 (11.01)	35.00 (24.04)	57.50 (24.37)	38.21 (24.60)	10.00 (10.46)	11.07 (18.57)
3-1-2	2.50 (5.59)	2.50 (5.59)	15.00 (13.69)	5.36 (7.36)	5.00 (11.18)	0
2-3-1	0	5.00 (11.18)	0	0	0	0
1-3-2	0	0	0	2.50 (5.59)	0	2.86 (6.39)
dialect total	67.50 (44.72)	42.50 (25.92)	72.50 (29.84)	46.07 (29.86)	15.00 (20.54)	13.93 (24.76)
1-2-3	32.50 (44.72)	57.50 (25.92)	27.50 (29.84)	53.93 (29.86)	85.00 (20.54)	86.07 (24.76)

Differences between *age* groups are found for both the dialectal word order ($F(2,48)=16.097$, $p=.000$) and the standard word order ($F(2,48)=15.141$, $p=.000$). Whereas the dialectal 3-2-1 word order is used mostly by dialect speakers in the middle and older groups, the standard 1-2-3 word order is used mostly by the youngest generation (post-hoc analysis; Tukey). *Origin* is also a differentiating factor for both the dialectal word order ($F(1,48)=4.996$, $p=.030$) and the standard word order ($F(1,48)=4.925$, $p=.031$). Whereas western dialect speakers use the dialect word order more frequently, eastern dialect speakers prefer a standard word order. A *gender* difference is found for the 1-3-2 word order, which is used mostly by women ($F(1,48)=4.555$, $p=.038$). The 3-1-2 word order shows a significant interaction of sex by origin ($F(1,48)=4.227$, $p=.045$). In the western part, women prefer this variant, whereas in the eastern part male speakers show a higher use. Since a correlation was assumed between word order and the occurrence of the prefix GE- in participles, a Pearson Correlation test was performed. However, no correlation was found between these two variables. This is due to the fact that the use of the GE- prefix hardly showed any variation.

6.12. Variable 12: Clitic 2 singular C-type *region*

The word list for variable 12 consisted of 42 words, which were tested in the context of different types of sentences. The Ameland informants used 11 different variants: seven dialect variants (*stou*, *ste*, *st*, *jou*, *je*, *dou*, *de*), three Frisian variants (*sto*, *do*, *jo*) and one Dutch variant (*jij*). Both weak forms (*ste*, *st*, *je*, *de*) and strong forms (*stou*, *jou*, *dou*) were used. The weak-strong division runs parallel to the use of the Dutch pronouns *jij* (2sg strong) and *je* (2sg weak) in the questionnaire. The form *dou* (the non-clitic variant) was most frequently found in the subject-verb sentences; in verb-subject sentences most informants used the clitic variant *stou*. Overall, hardly any Dutch variants were used (only three occurrences among all realizations by all 60 subjects). There is no indication of dialect loss in this variable.

All seven dialect variants were subsumed in the dialect index. The mean percentage scores for the twelve subgroups of speakers are given in table 6.27. Apart from three occurrences of Dutch variants, the informants used some Frisian /o/ variants (*sto*, *do*, *jo*). These can be deduced from the table as well. It is disputable, however, whether these variants are genuinely Frisian, as will become clear later on.

The table shows a high overall rate of use of the dialect variants. An ANOVA (in which the three Dutch variants were left out) showed effects for generation ($F(2,48)=7.184$, $p=.002$), sex ($F(1,48)=4.256$, $p=.045$) and origin ($F(1,48)=7.217$, $p=.010$). The youngest age group scored significantly higher than the middle age group. The older group scored in between these two groups (post-hoc analysis; Tukey). Western dialect speakers scored higher on this variable than eastern ones.

Table 6.27. Mean scores for the linguistic variable CLITIC for dialect variants (in percentages). Standard deviations between brackets. 42 words involved.

	old		middle		young	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
west	97.51 (4.33)	99.52 (1.06)	81.64 (21.03)	94.76 (6.82)	95.67 (7.23)	100.00 (0.00)
east	80.87 (17.96)	85.31 (12.75)	77.38 (13.91)	85.23 (12.52)	96.19 (2.71)	97.61 (2.38)

The use of Frisian variants is difficult to interpret. Although we expected the younger informants to be subject to Frisian influence, they hardly used any Frisian variants. The highest percentages are found among the older and middle aged easterners, as well as among male westerners from the middle age group. The middle generation scored significantly higher on /o/ variants than the younger generation (post-hoc analysis; Tukey), as indicated above. Eastern speakers also used more /o/ variants than western ones and males did so more than females. This might be the result of Frisian influence being strongest among working middle-aged males. On the other hand, the same group of speakers prefers strongly localized variants, as we saw before. Another result which goes against this explanation is the relatively infrequent use of these variants among Ameland students, who spend most of their time among Frisians. Another explanation, which is in accordance with the previous high dialect scores in this particular subject group, and therefore far more plausible, is that the /o/ variants are the result of a dialect change instead of Frisian influence. In this approach, the dialect *stou* and *dou* pronouns follow the development we found for variable 2 (OUD), from diphthong to monophthong. It is not unlikely that this vowel change might spread to other word classes besides nouns: we found a similar development for the variants of the GEIT variable, which spread to the -HEID suffix. Although it might seem speculative to interpret the results in this way, it is

remarkable that the use of /o/ variants concerns the same set of speakers who also prefer monophthongs in words which in Dutch have the diphthong /au/.

In the Ameland dialect, the 2sg pronoun has a variant *dou* (clitic: *stou*, *ste*, *st*) as well as a variant *jou*. Both variants were produced by our informants. We therefore decided to make indexes for the *dou*-variants versus *jou*. However, the difference between occurrences of *dou* and *jou* was partly determined by test effects. This variable was tested in a sentence translation task, as well as an acceptability task (see table 4.3 in section 4.2). In the acceptability task only *dou*-variants were supplied. In order to calculate these indexes, we therefore only used the raw data from the production test.

Both written and oral sources claim that the *jou* form in the Ameland dialect is only used in the eastern part of the island to refer to females; dialect speakers from Buren are said never to use *jou*, and dialect speakers in Nes use *jou* as a distant pronoun (similar to Dutch *u*). However, the mean percentage scores in table 6.29 show a completely different pattern.

Table 6.28. Mean scores for the linguistic variable CLITIC for *jou* variants (in percentages). Standard deviations between brackets. 25 words involved.

	old		middle		young	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
west	0	6.40 (14.31)	3.30 (3.38)	25.96 (36.32)	0	32.80 (28.34)
east	5.83 (13.04)	4.20 (4.17)	1.63 (2.24)	0	0	24.80 (22.70)

The table shows that the pronoun *jou* is mostly used by western female speakers in the middle age group and by younger female speakers on both sides of the island. It is rather interesting that all young females use this variant, since none of the middle-aged eastern females use it. The ANOVA showed a significant effect for sex ($F(1,48)=11.416$, $p=.001$): females have higher scores for this variant than males. An interaction effect was also found for generation*sex ($F(2,48)=3.605$, $p=.035$). If we make groups according to both generation and sex, abstracting away from origin, a significant difference is found between groups ($F(5,54)=4.446$, $p=.002$). The young females score significantly higher than all groups, except for the

females in the middle group. It is interesting to see that the *jou*-variant is no longer used to refer to females, but rather has become a typical female variant, i.e. one used by female speakers.

6.13 Conclusions

By comparing the A-, B- and C-variables, we can now investigate whether a distinction can be made in variable type, according to geographical spread. The following table shows a summary of the dialect percentage scores for the three generations. Note that only the differences between generations are useful for our interpretation, since the individual percentages have been calculated in different ways. Only the words which showed variation were taken into account. For example, the dialect index for variable 11 (i.e. prefix GE-) was calculated on the basis of only the adjectives, since the participles showed no variation (the dialect use was 100 percent among all subjects). The dialect percentages are not very high.

Table 6.29. Summary table: mean percentage scores for each linguistic variable, according to age group.

variable	variants	age effects	sex effects	origin effects	inter-action effects	linguistic conditions
<i>variable 1</i> A phon	western /i:/ eastern /ɛ:/ west + east island /i/ Dutch /ɛi/	- - + + +	- - - - -	+ + + - -	- - - - -	[+voice] [-fricative] [+voice] [-voice] word-final, before (semi-) vowels
<i>variable 2</i> A phon	western /o:ɛ/ eastern /ɔ:ə/ west + east new /o/ Dutch /au/	+ + + - +	+ + - + -	+ + - males -	- - - - -	< Dutch /au/
<i>variable 3</i> A morph	western -(t)ke eastern -(t)je	west west	- -	+ +	- -	

	west + east expanded	+	+	+	-	/n/>-tke /ɣ/>-ke
<i>variable 4</i> A morph						
<i>variable 5</i> B phon	/y/ old /u/ old /œ:/ dialect total new /ø/ new /øy/ Dutch /œy/	+	-	+	age*orig age*orig - - - age*orig age*orig -	ui2 -< old /œ:/ -< Dutch /œy/ word-final, (semi-) vowels
<i>variable 6</i> B phon	/ɛ:/ /ɛi/ hypercorrect /i/	+	+	+	- - - -	word-final, (semi-) vowels
<i>variable 7</i> B morph	western /i/ eastern /ɛ:/ dialect total intermediate corrected total	- - + - +	++ ++ ++ -	- - - - -	- - - - age*sex* origin	
<i>variable 8</i> B morph	/ə/ /ən/	+	-	-	- -	present, past gerund
<i>variable 9</i> C phon	-r +r expanded r- del	- - +	- - -	- - +	- - age*sex* origin	[+dental] [-son] [-dental] loans, derived words, compounds

variable 10 C phon	-d	-	-	+	-	-nt, participles, derived words
	+d	-	-	+	-	
	intermediate (vowel length)	+	-	-	gen*orig	
variable 11 C morph	ge- deletion	+	-	-	-	participles adjectives
	expanded ge- del	-	+	+	-	
variable 12 C morph	<i>dou, stou</i>	-	+	-	gen*sex	exclusively used by females
	<i>jou</i>	-	+	-	gen*sex	
	dialect total	+	-	+	-	
	'Frisian' /o/	+	+	+	-	

Significant age effects were found for almost all variables. However, not all age effects imply dialect loss: dialect increase among youngsters is found as well. Dialect loss occurs at both the phonological and the morphological level. This confirms hypothesis I, which says that dialect levelling takes place on both linguistic levels. A distinction can be made, however, for geographical distribution. For the A-variables, the use of all dialect variants is decreasing across generations. This is in agreement with hypothesis II, which says that A-variables show the highest degree of dialect loss. Still, east-west differences do exist: for TIJD (variable 1) and DIM (variable 3), the origin effect is significant for all age groups. For OUD (variable 2), the origin effect is only significant for the oldest age group.

With respect to the B-variables, only GEIT (variable 6) is subject to very considerable dialect loss, even if we add the hypercorrect forms which are used by the westerners to the dialect index. This variable is a typical example of a lexicalized rule, and is therefore more susceptible to dialect loss (confirming hypothesis IV). It is remarkable, however, that this variant is still very productive in the suffix -HEID (variable 7). The use of /əxɛ:t/ even shows increased use among female speakers. E/EN (variable 8) is also subject to dialect loss, but only in the case of gerunds, which lose their final *-en*. The majority of speakers realize present and past verb forms with a final schwa, although some middle-aged speakers use the Frisian *-en* ending.

The C-variables show a similar pattern. R-deletion (variable 9) also shows a decrease in use across generations. However, in loanwords and derived

words youngsters show higher rates of r-deletion than older dialect speakers. A similar observation can be made for d-deletion (variable 10). Although the youngest generation shows a decrease in use of d-deletion, they still show traces of d-deletion in their pronunciation, by lengthening the vowel in intermediate variants while retaining the final coronal plosive. If we add these intermediate variants to the dialect indices, the mean percentage scores remain fairly stable across generations. In participles, the prefix *ge-* (variable 11) is deleted by almost all subjects, while adjectives even show that an increase of this dialect feature is found among youngsters. Finally, the use of the dialect pronouns *dou*, *stou* and *jou* is increasing among young dialect speakers. Overall, the B- and C-variables seem more resistant to dialect loss, which follows our hypothesis IIb, which states that the development of a regiolect is not expected in an island situation. The fact that there are relatively few occurrences of dialect loss underlines the high degree of vitality of the Ameland dialect, as was expected on the basis of the findings discussed in chapter 5 (see also discussion in chapter 3).

The development of intermediate and hypercorrect variants as well as new variants also shows that the Ameland dialect is very much alive. They also show that linguistic conditions have sometimes expanded (cf. hypothesis III). An example is the western diminutive variants *-ke*, which is expanding to words ending in velars, which used to have *-je*. This is also the case for r-deletion, which has expanded to new word types (derived words, compounds, and loanwords) among young dialect speakers. The non-occurrence of the prefix *ge-* used to be restricted to participle verb forms, but is now spreading to adjectives derived from participles. This change goes hand in hand with the loss of the dialectal word order.

Apart from the overall vitality of the Ameland dialect, there are many significant effects for the twelve separate subgroups, which were the result of crossing the stratification variables of age, sex and origin. For most variables, the most authentic dialect variants are used by the western dialect speakers, whereas the eastern dialect speakers tend to use Dutch variants. The older western males are a distinct group in that they use most dialect variants. They function as the NORMs of the island. Another group which behaves rather conservatively is the eastern male group in the middle age category. This group shows a preference for western variants. The best example to illustrate this is their frequent use of the western /o:ɛ/ vowel, sometimes resulting in a monophthongal pronunciation. The same group shows a high average use of *do* and *sto* pronouns. Although these are similar

to the Frisian variants, it is also very likely that these variants reflect the /au/ > /o/ shift. There was hardly any evidence for Frisian influence in our data, except for the use of *-en* endings in past verb forms. But since the use of *-en* endings was again found among the same group of speakers, there are arguments for both interpretations. Another possibility is that both developments are intertwined. We will discuss this problem in more detail in chapter 7.

The fact that hardly any Frisian influence was found in our data is rather remarkable. This is probably caused by the negative feelings among islanders towards the Frisian language (cf. chapter 5). However, although direct Frisian influence appears to be absent, indirect Frisian influence can be assumed. To the extent to which direct borrowing from Frisian is a relatively conscious process (see section 2.1.3), this is obstructed by the negative attitude. However, the maintenance of the supra-local variants among the C-variables might be a result of indirect Frisian influence. The eastern female speakers prefer these supra-local variants, as well as variants which were originally eastern variants: the eastern /ɔ:ə/ and the eastern /ɛ:/. This group of speakers is responsible for cases of dialect change (expanded r-deletion, use of non-suffix variants in adjectives derived from participles). They use very distinct variants, like the /əxɛ:t/ suffix and the *jou* pronoun. For the present Ameland dialect, differences between the sexes are even more distinct than the east-west differences. The older western male speakers still speak the most authentic dialect. But male speakers from both parts of the island try to maintain the old dialect pronunciation. The female speakers, on the other hand, seem to be open for new developments in the Ameland dialect.

Chapter 7. Discussion and perspectives

The present chapter sums up the most prominent results of chapters 5 and 6, in order to evaluate the hypotheses which were postulated in chapter 2. The results will be examined against the light of the general description of the research area as well, including the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality as applied to the Ameland dialect in chapter 3. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the broader perspectives in which the current work can be placed and with suggestions for further research.

Although this study can be regarded as one of many studies on dialect change, it is unique in several respects. The geographical borders explicitly define the research area, which is subject to two extreme contact situations, viz. one of intensive contact and one of relatively large solitude. While thousands of tourists visit the island during the summer season, the island can be quite deserted during winter. The result is a combination of both dialect loss and dialect retention – of both convergence with and divergence from the surrounding language varieties. We hope that the results of this study may contribute to the general knowledge of processes of dialect convergence and divergence in post-isolated communities, on the interaction between these processes and socio-psychological factors like attitude and identity, but also on the role of sex in the complex process of dialect change.

7.1. Summary of the linguistic and sociolinguistic findings

In this study, linguistic and sociolinguistic data were collected and analyzed, in order to obtain a complete picture of the dialect situation on the island of Ameland. The linguistic data consists of twelve dialect variables (six morphological and six phonological ones) of which the social and linguistic distribution was analyzed in chapter 6. The sociolinguistic data, presented in chapter 5, consists of four data domains that relate to the societal context in which the Ameland dialect is embedded and functions, viz. language skills, language use, identity and attitude. Since the Ameland dialect has not been studied systematically before, there were only few prior sources that we could consult in our preparation. The main linguistic sources were the Ameland dictionary and the data available from the dialect atlases MAND and SAND. A pilot study was carried out to settle the final details for our questionnaire. Still, one of the variables selected for this study turned out to

have disappeared from the present-day Ameland dialect at the time when the questionnaire data were elicited. The clitic pronoun for third person singular, which used to be distinctive between the east and west part of the island, was no longer used by any of our informants. To be more precise, no occurrences of the western /ə/ variant were found, while the eastern /i/ variant was still in use. The latter variant is not a distinctive dialect feature, however, since it is identical to the Dutch clitic pronoun for the third person singular. The remaining eleven linguistic variables were still in use among all generations.

Even though the dialect spoken by the young islanders was more susceptible to loss, due to the influence of Dutch, the dialect usage for this generation was impressively high. For two variables which distinguished eastern and western variants (A-variables), the east-west difference is still visible among the youngest generation. Some of the island and regional variants even showed an increase in use among youngsters. In several cases, the linguistic conditions have become more general (r-deletion in loanwords, derived words (prefixes and particles) and compounds; ge-deletion in adjectives derived from participles); in other cases, the average use of dialect variants increased while the linguistic context did not change. The high dialect scores are in line with the reported dialect skills. All informants reported to understand the Ameland dialect very easily; and, with the exception of three young dialect speakers, the same applies to speaking. The average percentage score for speaking skills on the island of Ameland (98.3%) is the highest percentage found in any Dutch dialect survey so far. In chapter 5 we compared our results with those of Extra (2004), in which a vitality index was calculated for Dutch dialects and immigrant languages. The overall vitality of the Ameland dialect appeared to be even higher than the vitality of the Limburgian dialects. Apart from the fluent speaking skills, the high vitality rate is also due to the high percentage of reported dialect use between parents and children on the island of Ameland, which is 89%, against 79.7% in Limburg. Van de Velde et al. (2008) demonstrate the high vitality of the Limburgian dialect by the intensive use of dialect in chat and sms. Young islanders also reported frequent use of the dialect in these modern means of communication. This leads to much higher self-reported reading skills for the young islanders than for the older ones. In combination with the high number of informants for whom the dialect is the preferred language (78.3%), the overall vitality index of the Ameland dialect would obtain the highest ranking on Extra's vitality scale. It is much higher than the Frisian score and even higher than the Limburg ones. However, the

ethnolinguistic vitality scale developed by Giles et al. (1977) would rank Frisian higher than the Ameland dialect scores (chapter 3). The Frisian language is heavily supported institutionally, whereas there is no institutional support at all for the Ameland dialect. Giles et al. argue that institutional support is a key factor in the maintenance of any language variety in modern times. Despite the recognition of Frisian as an official regional language in the Netherlands, the overall use of Frisian is declining, according to a quick scan survey in 2007, referred to in chapter 5. The results of our study show that a dialect can maintain its vitality despite the absence of institutional support.

Apart from the self-reported language skills of language use, the factors identity and attitude (both of which were also part of our sociolinguistic questionnaire) may be proper indicators of the vitality of a dialect. Again, the results are very positive for the Ameland dialect. According to the results of the attitude questionnaire (section 5.2), Standard Dutch is evaluated highly as a second language. Whereas the dialect receives the highest evaluation on the solidarity dimension, Standard Dutch scores highest in the status domain. The language use domains also show a clear and strict division between the functions of dialect and standard language. Whereas the dialect is used in more intimate domains, Standard Dutch is used in more formal domains. The default language for in-group communication is the Ameland dialect, while outsiders are addressed in Dutch. No difference is made between Frisians and other visitors, since the Frisian language is not part of the linguistic repertoire of most Ameland inhabitants at all. Since the majority of the islanders work in the tourist industry, it is obvious why a good command of the Dutch standard is necessary. Our findings for language skills indicate that the islanders are balanced bilinguals, with equally developed skills in dialect and Dutch.

For centuries, the islanders have maintained contacts with – mostly Dutch-speaking – outsiders: fishermen, traders and other seamen, officials, immigrants and tourists. This history of contact can be traced back in the mixed character of the Ameland dialect, which contains both Frisian and Dutch elements. The old contacts did not result in large-scale dialect loss, nor do the recent contacts in the domain of tourism. However, the change from the old to the new contact situation may have brought about a change in the position of women. In the old situation, it was mainly men who had outside contacts, while nowadays females do too, since everyone deals with tourists.

The results from our language use questionnaire (section 5.2) showed that standard Dutch is used mostly with tourists, which again shows that the influence of Dutch is inevitable. The Dutch language has always been part of the Ameland dialect, and this is exactly what makes the study of standardization of this dialect so difficult. To illustrate this point, consider, for instance, the diminutive system, which in the eastern part of the island is quite similar to the Dutch system. Hence, it is not possible to decide whether the increase of the *-(t)je* variants can be ascribed to the dominance of the Dutch standard or to the eastern dialect variety. Both kinds of diffusion may play a role.

Taking into account the variables of age, sex and origin, which stratified our sample of speakers, we can discern two opposite trends. Whereas young speakers, female speakers as well as eastern speakers prefer eastern as well as Dutch variants; old speakers, male speakers as well as western speakers prefer western variants. Since the western dialect variety is regarded as the most 'authentic' dialect variety, the old western males can be referred to as NORMs (non-mobile older rural males). The predominantly rural life style of the western part of the island contributes to the close-knit network of the western community. The high dialect scores as well as the high scores on village-typical and old dialect features underline the special status of the older western males. The other findings point in the same direction.

Westerners use more dialect in the family than easterners. They also report a high average use of dialect for mental processes like thinking and arithmetic.

In the middle aged group of our informants, sex is the best predictor for language behaviour. In general, female speakers of the middle age group prefer eastern and Dutch variants, whilst male speakers in the same group prefer western variants. The middle aged male speakers from the eastern part of the island differ most from the other groups in their pronunciation of the OUD variable. Unlike the other easterners, they prefer the closed western /o:ɛ/ pronunciation. It is the old and middle-aged male easterners who lead the change away from the /au/ diphthong to a monophthongal /o/ in words which originally had a diphthong, like in present-day standard Dutch. This change was not only found in nouns, but also in the clitic pronoun *-stou* (2nd person singular). The similarity of the results for this particular group of informants on these two variables means that the occurrence of the *sto*-variant cannot be the result of Frisian influence. This is confirmed by the fact that hardly any other traces of Frisian influence were found in our data, except for the use of *-en* endings in past verb forms. The particular behaviour of the eastern middle aged male speakers is also illustrated by their use of identity labels. They refer to themselves as

Oostkanters 'Eastenders', an identity label which has no counterpart on the other side of the island. According to Taeldeman (2006), dialect communities typically distance themselves from neighbouring communities. This is definitely the case for the eastern and western part of the island of Ameland.

There is an important exception. The pronunciation of the eastern middle aged males is not diverging from the western dialect speakers for the OUD variable. On the contrary, they copy the western variant, and even exaggerate the closed western pronunciation. This finding is reminiscent of the situation on the American island of Martha's Vineyard, described by Labov (1963), in which the authentic pronunciation of the old fishermen was imitated and exaggerated by other local speaker groups. Labov concluded that the islanders felt threatened by the summer tourists and wanted to underline their island identity. Such an explanation might also be applicable to the island of Ameland. In our questionnaire, the informants were asked to evaluate the statement "Too many tourists visit the island". Most informants disagreed with this statement, and there were no differences between the twelve subgroups of speakers. This result is probably due to the fact that the islanders depend on the tourist industry to a large degree. Many subjects explained their answer by saying "It is our livelihood after all". Still, it is clear that the growing number of tourists affects the island community. In the past, the eastern dialect variety was most susceptible to Dutch influence, as shown by the Dutch variants which outnumber those in the western dialect variety (for example in the diminutive system). Nowadays, it is still natural to assume that the eastern dialect variety should be more susceptible to standardization, since the eastern part of the island accommodates most non-natives, both immigrants and tourists. In this light, it is not surprising that it is the middle aged group of easterners, who work with tourists daily, who are most affected by this group. In previous sociolinguistic studies (Brouwer 1989; Milroy & Milroy 1992; Watt & Milroy 1999; Dyer 2002), male speakers turned out to keep to local dialect variants and locally oriented identities most. Female speakers seem to prefer supralocal variants and have more outwardly oriented identities.

In the current study, no significant differences were found in the use of identity labels between the sexes. However, the young eastern females do behave differently from all other groups of informants, since they make no use of village identity labels at all. Rather, they refer to themselves as 'Amelander' or Dutch (section 5.3). It is therefore not surprising that the young eastern females show different patterns of language behaviour as well. Their behaviour fits the gender pattern presented above well. For

almost all dialect features, dialect loss is higher among females than among males. Young females do not only use more Dutch variants, but they also prefer island and eastern variants over western variants. Their language behaviour is the opposite of the language behaviour of the NORMs, the old western males. In cases where the use of dialect variants increases (concerning B- and C-variables), these groups also behave opposite to each other. For example the suffix *-egheid* is becoming popular among young females and young easterners, whilst the trend is already set among middle-aged females. Old western males, on the other hand, only use this variant in a limited number of words in which this variant of the suffix has been lexicalized. Whereas expanded r-deletion hardly occurs among old westerners, the highest percentage can be found among young eastern females. Deletion of the *ge-* prefix in participles is spreading to adjectives among all groups of speakers, except for the old western males. Again, the change is led by eastern females. Finally, this group shows an increase in the use of the clitic pronoun *-stou*. The increase of dialect variants among this group of speakers was not found for the village typical A-variables. The outcomes for gender differences are therefore in line with previous sociolinguistic studies since: 1. Males prefer (marked) variants which are least wide-spread; 2. Females prefer (unmarked) variants which have the widest geographical distribution. It is the males who mostly retain the old ('authentic') dialect, while the females are more willing to change the dialect.

After having discussed the stratification variables of age, sex and origin, we will now turn to the characteristics of the linguistic variables themselves. Despite the high average usage of dialect variants, significant dialect loss was found for six of the twelve variables, viz. two phonological A-variables (TIJD, OUD), two morphological A-variables (DIM and the 3sing clitic pronoun, which was already lost when this survey was carried out) and two phonological B-variables (GEIT, E/EN in gerunds). This outcome confirms our first hypothesis, which states that *dialect levelling takes place on both the phonological and morphological level*.

Among the youngest generations, most dialect variants are replaced by Dutch standard variants. The influence of the Frisian language, however, is restricted to the use of EN in past tense among old eastern females and middle-aged eastern males. This is remarkable in a way, since Ameland is part of the province of Friesland. However, the geography of the island impedes intensive contact with the mainland. The average ferry frequency numbers show that only middle-aged males and youngsters regularly visit

the mainland. Most young dialect speakers in our sample study in Friesland's capital Leeuwarden during the week, and therefore have most contact with mainland Frisians. Still, no direct Frisian influence could be found in their dialect use. This must be due to a number of factors, the most important of which are the facts that a) young Frisians show decreasing use of the Frisian language and b) most people in Leeuwarden speak Town-Frisian, which is a mixed language (like the Ameland dialect), with both Frisian and Dutch elements. An important factor might also be the Ameland-oriented networks of our group of adolescents. Although they study on the mainland, their house-mates and friends are mostly islanders. Almost all students go back to the island during the weekend, to visit family and friends. Their social life is still very much intertwined with the island life: this is where they attend (sports) clubs, where they have their (weekend or summer) jobs and where they go out in the weekends. The Frisian language and culture play no role of importance in their everyday life, as became clear in their reported language skills for Frisian, which are as low as the Frisian language skills of all other informants. Recall also the negative evaluation of the Frisian language on the attitude scales. Attitude is closely related to identity: none of the Ameland informants referred to themselves as Frisian (in spite of the fact that geographically the island belongs to this province, as pointed out above). Nonetheless, the increase of some of the regional variants might be due to *indirect* Frisian influence. The high stability of the C-variables, which show no dialect loss, might be explained by their regional variants, which are used in the whole Frisian region. The latter finding is in line with the second hypothesis, which states that *more widespread dialect features are more resistant to dialect change*, which was also confirmed by the relatively high degree of dialect loss among village typical variants. B-variables also remain fairly stable in the Ameland dialect, however. Since B- and C-variables did not differ much in stability, there is no reason to assume that regiolect formation is taking place. Dialect levelling only occurs between the eastern and western variety of the Ameland dialect, where primary dialect features are lost among the A-variables. Dialect levelling between the Ameland dialect and surrounding Frisian dialects, on the other hand, implies loss of island-specific variants among the B-variables. Since this is not the case, the development of a regiolect is out of the question. This is in agreement with our hypothesis which claims that *for dialect islands, dialect levelling is a one-dimensional process*.

Both B- and C-variables are prone to dialect change. In most cases, linguistic conditions became more general, which follows our third hypothesis: *the loss*

of structural complexity is manifested in the reconditioning of dialect features.

There are many examples of this in our data: 1. in the diminutive system, the east-west distinction was made more transparent by adding the velars - which used to belong to an exceptional class - to the regular system by adding *-ke*. 2. In the case of the HUIS variable, young dialect speakers no longer differentiate between ui1 and ui2-words. 3. The distinction between ei1 and ei2 also seems to be disappearing, since the variants of the TIJD and GEIT variables are being mixed. 4. Among youngsters, the *-e* ending is spreading from plural verb forms to gerunds. 5. r-deletion is not only found before dental consonants, but also before other consonants, in cases where the r is followed by another morphological unit, such as in loanwords, derived words (particles and prefixes) and compounds. 6. The prefix GE- used to be restricted to participles, but is now used in adjectives as well. Another example of loss of structural complexity is the fact that vowel lengthening also occurs if /d/ is not deleted in the following (tautomorphic) cluster. On the other hand, the morphological variable -HEID shows an increase in complexity: here the phonologically distinctive variants increase among generations. The variables TIJD, OUD and GEIT turned into lexicalized rules a long time ago. Only a limited set of words is realized with the dialect variant; newly coined words do not follow this rule. According to our fourth hypothesis, *it is expected that lexicalized rules are more susceptible to dialect loss than postlexical rules*. This hypothesis is confirmed, since all these variables are subject to dialect loss. The maintenance of the HUIS variable, on the other hand, is due to the productivity of the postlexical rule.

Three sociolinguistic hypotheses were presented in chapter 2. The first hypothesis states that *dialect speakers who are more integrated into the local community use more dialect features*. No strong evidence could be found for this hypothesis, since our orientation index showed no variation among subgroups. Therefore, no significant correlation could be found between orientation towards (or integration into) the local community and dialect use. However, the data suggest a strong, positive correlation between integration and dialect use, since all our informants were highly integrated into the community. The only group which was expected to be less integrated was the group of adolescents who studied on the mainland, but their orientation index did not show a significant difference with the other groups either. They did, however, use a larger variety of Dutch variants than the informants who stayed on the island permanently, which supports our hypothesis.

Our second sociolinguistic hypothesis concerns attitudes. The assumption that *attitude has an effect on the use of dialect features* was not corroborated by the results from the statistical analyses, however, but all findings in fact tend to favour this hypothesis. The inhabitants of Ameland have a very positive attitude towards their own dialect and this undoubtedly contributes to their high dialect usage scores. On the other hand, negative attitudes were found towards the Frisian language. This might explain the positive outcomes for two of the B-variables (HUIS and -HEID), which showed an increase in the use of dialect variants. In the attitude questionnaire, no distinction was made between the eastern and western variety of the Ameland dialect. Yet, the identity questions pointed out that islanders still feel a need to distance themselves from neighbouring communities. Village identity labels (Hollumer, Ballumer, Nessumer, Buremer) were found among all subgroups, except for the young eastern females, who prefer the "island" or "Dutch" identity label. Old eastern males, as well as middle aged easterners, also introduced the label *Eastender*. Since the villages of Nes and Buren have always been connected very strongly, the inhabitants of these villages feel a greater sense of unity. They have a stronger need to distance themselves from the other part of the island. The identity labels show that there is still competition between east and west. And although religion does not cause such a strict division as it did in the past, the religious separation is still visible in our data. Whereas the western community used to be mainly Protestant, most of our western subjects did not feel religious anymore, but most of the eastern subjects were still members of the Catholic Church. Easterners and westerners still have their own clubs; most of their family members live in the same part of the island; most of their friends live in the same part of the island; they work in the same part of the island; they celebrate local traditions in their own part of the island. Only few informants vote for village-specific political parties; most of them prefer political parties which look after the interests of the island as a whole. These outcomes, from the orientation questionnaire, are clear enough. It is therefore not surprising that east-west differences in language behaviour still exist. For TIJD and DIM, the effect of origin is significant for all age groups. For OUD, the east-west difference is only significant for the oldest age group. The tendency among westerners to distance themselves from easterners, and vice versa, is also visible in the variable GEIT and -HEID, which show hypercorrection in favour of the western dialect variety. Although these variables originally only had one dialect variant, a western variant developed on the analogy of the east-west difference in TIJD.

Evidence for polarisation in the Ameland dialect was also found in the use of the new variant /o/ which developed from /au/. With this variant, eastern males exaggerate their closed dialect pronunciation, which is typical of the NORM dialect speakers, who represent the most authentic group of dialect speakers. An opposite development can be found among young female speakers, who prefer a more open variant, which comes close to the /ɑ:/ vowel. It would be very interesting to study the phonetic details of this variable in more detail in a follow-up study. Sex differences are clearly involved.

This brings us to the third and final sociolinguistic hypothesis in this study, which states that on the island of Ameland, *dialect loss will be most visible among female dialect speakers*. As we discussed before, sex differences seem to be as important as geographical differences in the Ameland community. This is probably due to the role patterns on the island, which are still a bit traditional (see chapter 1). The island of Ameland has a very rural lifestyle, in which the women do the grocery-shopping and cooking. On the other hand, contacts with tourists are equally important for both sexes, since almost all islanders deal with tourists in one way or another. They are in permanent contact with tourists as part of their (part time, full time or volunteer) jobs, private bed and breakfast practices as well as in daily activities like shopping. Although there seems to be a slight tendency among Ameland women to adopt more Dutch variants, sex differences are minor in this respect. This is in agreement with our finding that both sexes have equally positive attitudes towards their own dialect. However, both sexes use different dialect variants. This is borne out by the fact that the male speakers use more western-like variants and female speakers use more eastern-like variants, which in turn is an indication of reinterpretation of geographical variation as social variation (Dyer 2002). A salient sex difference was found for the suffix -HEID, which was pronounced by female speakers with the morphologically and phonologically distinct /əxɛ:t/ variant. The second person pronoun *jou*, which used to be a politeness form, has turned into a typical female variant. The females are also responsible for the examples of dialect change found in this study. While the males try hard to maintain the original dialect, the females provide the best evidence for the high vitality of the Ameland dialect.

7.2. Broader perspective and questions for further research

Among the models on contact-induced change which were described in chapter 2, the one described by Taeldeman (1993) bears the closest resemblance to the linguistic situation on the island of Ameland. Not only does this model discuss dialect-standard situations rather than language-language interaction (as in the models proposed by Thomason and Kaufman (1988) and Van Coetsem (1988)), but it also indicates that both the processes of imposition and borrowing rely heavily on conscious processes in the speakers' minds, with a crucial role for the notion of attitude.

The results of this study confirm the role of attitude. A general, positive attitude towards the dialect, which was found in our sociolinguistic study, implies conscious imposition and unconscious borrowing. Since the Ameland dialect is the mother tongue of all informants, borrowing takes place when Ameland people use Dutch words in the dialect, whereas imposition takes place when they speak Dutch with an Ameland substratum. In our data, unconscious borrowing takes place from the Dutch standard language. Our informants intended to speak dialect, but most of them – except for the NORMs – no longer speak the old variety, the 'authentic dialect'. The dialect was mixed with features from Standard Dutch. This finding is in agreement with the positive attitudes which were found towards the dialect. Conscious imposition occurs when the dialect speakers prefer to use the standard language, but consciously insert dialect features to emphasize their identity. Unfortunately, we have no data on spoken Dutch by our Ameland informants, but since the overall attitude towards the dialect is quite positive, we may assume that Ameland people sometimes use dialect features in their spoken Dutch. This might be a question for further research on language behaviour on the island of Ameland. In Thomason & Kaufman (1988), attitude is listed as one of the social factors determining the degree of imposition and borrowing. However, attitudes are of minor importance when the number of source language speakers (whose language is the 'actor') is numerically strong, which means that the pressure of the source language is very high. Since this is the case for the Dutch standard language, it is inevitable that the Ameland dialect will borrow from Dutch. In the case of the Frisian standard language, the number of speakers is much smaller, which means that attitude is an important factor in predicting the level of Frisian borrowing. In our study, hardly any evidence was found for Frisian borrowing. This finding corresponds to the negative attitudes of our informants towards the Frisian language.

Finally, the positive attitudes towards the local dialect run parallel to the high rates of dialect usage on the island of Ameland. Although this study does not provide a one-to-one correlation between attitude and language behaviour (since hardly any variation was found in our sociolinguistic data), it makes a strong case for attitude playing a primary role in the explanation of language behaviour on the community level.

Another factor which seems to contribute to language behaviour is social identity. The role of identity was already stated in a former island study, i.e. Labov's study on Martha's Vineyard (Labov 1963). The growing tourism on this island - which is not very far from New York and Boston - caused the islanders to exaggerate their dialectal pronunciation, as an attempt to maintain their island identity.

A similar interpretation applies to some of the findings in the current study. Again, the sociolinguistic data concerning people's attitudes towards tourists showed hardly any variation. Most people disagreed with the statement that "too many tourists visit the island". Still, it is clear that the growing number of tourists affects the language behaviour on the island of Ameland. It partly explains the geographical variation on the island, which separates the two main regions: the eastern part, which includes the villages of Nes and Buren, and the western part, which includes the villages of Hollum and Ballum. Whereas the former dialect variety turned out to be most 'open to change', the latter one was most conservative. In this respect, two groups are most representative. The younger eastern females are most willing to change their dialect, whereas the older western males retain most features of the old dialect. This east-west divide can be explained by the higher number of tourists and immigrants in the eastern part of the island. In comparison to the westerners, easterners are therefore more open to change. However, there is one eastern group which forms an exception. This is the group of middle aged male speakers, who refer to themselves as *Oostkanters* 'Eastenders'. These speakers are also changing their dialectal pronunciation, but in contrast to young female speakers, they do not diverge from the western variant, but, instead, they try to imitate the older western males who speak the authentic dialect. They even exaggerate the western closed pronunciation of the diphthong /o:ɛ/ by pronouncing it as a monophthong /o/. This tendency might partly be explained by the 'Martha's Vineyard effect': it is not unlikely that this particular group feels most threatened in its identity, since all middle aged males in the east work with tourists daily.

Another explanation for the language behaviour of this particular group of informants is a sex difference. Next to attitude and identity, sex seems to be an important predictor of language behaviour. This study shows that male speakers prefer localised variants, while female speakers prefer supralocal variants, which seem to serve as "unmarked mainstream variants", as Watt and Milroy (1999) put it. They found the same sex difference in their study on Newcastle vowels. The sex difference found in the current study can best be illustrated by the pronunciation of the variable OUD. Whereas the eastern males in the middle age group exaggerate the authentic western /o:ɛ/ pronunciation, as pointed out above, the young females show an opposite development, in pronouncing a monophthongal /a/ sound. This vowel development follows a general shift which is taking place in present-day Dutch as spoken in the north-western part of the country, particularly the wider Amsterdam area, also referred to as Polder-Dutch ('Poldernederlands'; Stroop 1998). This new variety of Dutch, which has been claimed to be spoken mostly by educated women²⁷, shows a lowering of diphthongs, as in /au/. The opposite development can be found among male dialect speakers on the island of Ameland. Their diphthongs are raising, and are becoming monophthongs. Examples are not only found for OUD, but also in the case of GEIT and HUIS, where /e:/ and /ø:/ variants have been found. An acoustic analysis of our material would be necessary to confirm this tendency. The spectrograms of some of these vowels can be found in the Appendix.

In a follow-up study, it would also be interesting to examine the in-group conversations in more detail, which were only used as control data in this study. Since the planning of the project did not permit a further analysis of these data, the recordings were only consulted as a final check of the elicited data. No important differences with the elicited data were observed. A more detailed study of these informal data, however, could expose additional language material, since spontaneous speech suffers less from the observer's paradox and the interview setting than formally elicited data (Labov 1966).

A final contribution of this study to the field of linguistics is that it yields more insight into language change in an island situation. The island situation is different from a regular contact situation, in which neighbouring dialects can play an important role in the process of levelling (Auer and

²⁷ Another claim was made by Jacobi (2009), who argues that not sex but social class is the determining factor for use of Polder-Dutch.

Hinskens 1996). Island communities do not undergo any direct influence from the dialects spoken on the mainland. Only the standard language functions as a contact language on the island, for it is the medium of communication with people from the mainland. Our study also shows that dialect speakers can easily distinguish between situations in which the dialect is commonly used and situations in which the standard language is commonly used. Since these are strictly separate domains – the Ameland dialect is used for in-group and Dutch for out-group conversations – the Ameland dialect speaker can maintain his language skills in both languages. It shows that the high pressure of Dutch in the Netherlands does not necessarily lead to dialect loss and that the individual language user is the source of language change, regardless of any language policy.

Appendix I. Linguistic characteristics of the Ameland dialect

By presenting an overview of the Ameland dialect, we hope to provide some insight into the complex contact history of the dialect, which resulted in the development of a mixed language. The combination of both Frisian and Dutch elements is clearly visible in almost all parts of the language. The structure of this section is inspired by Tiersma (1985), a Frisian reference grammar. Like Tiersma, this appendix describes the most important grammatical features, from phonology to syntax. Since our aim was to give a rich overview of the Ameland dialect, we also added a section on the lexicon. Unlike Tiersma, this overview has no prescriptive, but only a descriptive aim.

The sources which are used to illustrate the linguistic features in the Ameland dialect are limited to the Ameland dictionary (Oud 1987) and the linguistic atlases produced by the Meertens Institute in Amsterdam, since no other sources were available. In addition to the English translation of the examples, both Dutch and Frisian translations are given for reasons of comparison. In those cases where the Ameland dialect and Dutch or Frisian show similar patterns, only the Ameland examples are presented.

1. Lexicon

In the Ameland dialect dictionary (Oud 1987), there are typically Frisian as well as typically Dutch words, but also words which correspond with neither the Frisian nor the Dutch variants. The following examples illustrate these three types of lexical items.

- (1) The same lexical item in the Ameland dialect and in Frisian

<i>Ameland dialect</i>	<i>Frisian</i>	<i>Dutch</i>	
barch	barch	varken	'pig'
knibbel	knibbel	knie	'knee'
buusdoek	bûsdoek	zakdoek	'handkerchief'
krekt	krekt	net, pas	'just (now)'

- (2) The same lexical item in the Ameland dialect and in Dutch

<i>Ameland dialect</i>	<i>Frisian</i>	<i>Dutch</i>	
kien	bern	kind	'child'
aven	jûn	avond	'evening'
pea'd	hynder	paard	'horse'
as(k)	jiske	as	'ash(es)'

(3) Unique to the Ameland dialect

<i>Ameland dialect</i>	<i>Frisian</i>	<i>Dutch</i>	
hulst, hóster	klomp	klomp	'wooden shoe'
skuier	boarstel	borstel	'brush'
ópsnit	bôlebelis	broodbeleg	'sandwich filling'
lewaaisaus	tinne sjeu	dunne jus	'thin gravy'

If the lexical item corresponds with the Dutch or Frisian item, the pronunciation of the word is sometimes different in both systems. For example the earlier /u/ sound, which developed into /œy/ in standard Dutch, and which remained /u/ in Frisian, developed into /y/ in certain Dutch dialects (Kloeke 1927), among which Ameland is one of the northernmost. This resulted in words like /hys/ 'house', /mys/ 'mouse', but also a word like /bysduk/ 'handkerchief', which is a Frisian word with Hollandic pronunciation. We can also find examples of Dutch words with Frisian pronunciation. The d-deletion rule, which is part of both the Ameland dialect and of Frisian, applies to the Dutch word /kɪnt/, with the underlying form /kind/, which in the Ameland dialect is pronounced as /kin/. Some words have both a Frisian and a Dutch variant in the Ameland dialect, like /hɛ:t/, which is comparable to Frisian /hɛit/, which occurs besides /fadər/ which is comparable to Dutch /vadər/. All typical dialect words (type 3) are mostly archaic.

2. Phonetic and phonological characteristics

The phonology and pronunciation of the Ameland dialect have a lot in common with the Frisian system but there are Dutch characteristics as well. We shall discuss these Frisian and Dutch features in separate sections. An overview of the vowel and consonant system is followed by a list of phonological rules. The examples are taken from the Ameland dialect (Oud 1987; spelling of the examples according to Oud 1987). In the final paragraph

of this section we shall discuss the phonological differences between the eastern and western varieties of the Ameland dialect.

2.1. Frisian characteristics

2.1.1. Frisian vowels in the Ameland dialect

The vowel inventory of the Ameland dialect is very similar to that of Frisian. The following table represents the Ameland vowel system. In comparison to the Frisian vowel system, only the long and short /a/ vowels are added. Note that the Ameland /a/ sound is pronounced more back than the Frisian /a/ sound.

Table 7: Frisian/Ameland vowels. Combination of the figures in Cohen /et al. (1961: 117) and Tiersma (1985: 11). The /a/ and /ɑ:/ vowels are added.

		Articulated				non-articulated
		long		short		ə
low	unrounded	a:	ɑ:	a	ɑ	
low mid	unrounded	ɛ:		ɛ		
	rounded		ɔ:		ɔ	
high mid	unrounded	e:		ɪ		
	rounded	ø:	o:	œ	o	
high	unrounded	i:		i		
	rounded	y:	u:	y	u	
		front	back	front	back	

In Frisian there are several ‘centering’ diphthongs that end in schwa. Phonetically, these vowels are similar to the Dutch vowels before r, but in the Frisian diphthongs the schwa element is stronger. They are also distinct from long vowels. These diphthongs also occur in the Ameland dialect. See Table 8.

Frisian /ɛ, ɔ, a/ do not have corresponding diphthongs ending in schwa. In the eastern variety of the Ameland dialect, however, the /ɔə/ sound can be heard in words such as ‘kòòd’ ‘cold’, ‘òòd’ ‘old’.

Table 8: Frisian/Ameland diphthongs. Cohen et al. (1961: 119)

high	unrounded	iə	
mid	rounded	øə	oə
high	unrounded	iə	
	rounded	yə	uə
		front	back

The Ameland diphthongs /ei, œy, au/ also occur in the Dutch vowel system. The /au/ diphthong, however, is sometimes pronounced differently in the dialect of Ameland: it is better described as /a:u/ since it has a long open /a/ sound, as in 'blâuw' (blue), 'grâuw' (grey).

Rules governing the Frisian/Ameland vowels

The phonological rules presented here are present in both the Frisian and the Ameland language system. They are illustrated by Ameland examples only, since their Frisian counterparts are very similar.

- (1) Nasalization: any vowel followed by /n/ becomes a long nasalized vowel preceding any of the consonants /s, f, j, r, l, w/. Examples are:

prîns	/pri:ns/	'prince'
mîns	/mi:ns/	'man'
anwînst	/anwi:st/	'gain'
kiinsk	/ki:sk/	'childish'
inwoäne	/i:woänə/	'live in'
dâns	/dɑ:s/	'dance'

- (2) Shortening: Long stem vowels can undergo shortening when a suffix is added to the stem. Shortening is also found in the first element of compounds.

/i:/ > /i/
 /ɑ:/ > /ɑ/
 /ɛ:/ > /ɛ/
 /y:/ > /y/
 /u:/ > /u/

LONG		SHORT		LONG	
tiid	/i:/	tiden	/i/	tidelek, tiidke	/i:/ 'time'
hân	/ɑ:/	handje	/-ke /ɑ/	hânfat, hânskoen	/ɑ:/ 'hand'
bêd	/ɛ:/	bedje	/ɛ/	bêdke, bêddegoëd	/ɛ:/ 'bed'
muus	/y:/	muzen	/y/	muuske, muzefal	/y:/ 'mouse'
soe'n	/u:/	soentje	/u/	soe'nen, soe'ne	/u:/ 'kiss'

Examples for the shortening of /e:/ /ø:/ /o:/ or /ɔ:/ were not found:

LONG		SHORT		LONG	
leech	/e:/	x		leechte	'empty'
hööd, flööt	/ø:/	x		höden, flöötje/-ke	'skin', 'flute'
pôl, kôb	/ɔ:/	x		pôllen, kôbben	'clump', 'herring-gull'

There are also cases in which a diphthong changes in a monophthong in the diminutive form:

hoëd	> hoedje	/uə/	>	/u/	'hat'
pea'd	> pe'dke	/ɪə/	>	/ɛ/	'horse'
hoan	> hóndje	/oa:/	>	/o/	'dog'
stiën	> stientke	/iə/	>	/i/	'stone'

Unlike in Frisian, shortening is an exception rather than a rule. Probably this process is not productive anymore, and the examples presented above have been lexicalised. The phenomenon known as 'breaking' (van der Meer 1985) which is typical for the Frisian phonological system and comparable to the shortening rule, does not occur in the Ameland dialect.

(3) Alternation of /i/ and /jə/: Final /i/ variably alternates with /jə/

<i>Ameland dialect</i>		<i>Frisian</i>	
pliesie / pliesje		plysje	'police'
kóffie / kófje / kóffe (w)		kofje	'coffee'
rippersasie / ripperaasje		reperaasje	'repair'
generasie / generaasje / generase (w)		generaasje	'generation'

Dutch words ending in /i/ almost always get a /jə/ ending in Frisian (Tiersma 1985). In the Ameland dialect there are some relics of this alternation. The forms ending in /jə/, however, are always optional.

2.1.2. Frisian consonants in the Ameland dialect

Neither the Ameland dialect nor Frisian have any consonants that are not present in the Dutch consonant system. However, the conditions that determine whether a consonant may appear in a certain context are different in the Ameland/Frisian compared to the Dutch system. The following rules are all present in the Frisian language system; again, only Ameland examples are given.

Rules governing the Frisian/Ameland consonants

- (4) Syllabic word-final /n/: a word-final /n/ becomes syllabic when the vowel is deleted

Ameland dialect

hólpen	/həlpn/	'helped'
laten	/latn/	'let'
krusen	/krysn/	'cross' (plural)
möllen	/mœln/	'mill'

- (5) Final devoicing: voiced obstruents do not occur at the end of a word.

Final devoicing is an old process in Dutch and German. However, according to Tiersma (1985), final devoicing is a relatively new process in Frisian. Sipma's grammar (1913) is the first that mentions final devoicing as part of the Frisian phonological system. It is therefore not surprising that some lexical exceptions to this rule are still found in the western part of Ameland: *kôb* ('herring-gull', plur. *kôbben*), *goëd* ('good'), *laach* /+stem/ ('low', plur. *lagen*).

- (6) Consonant cluster simplification: In consonant clusters with /st/ the preceding /t, l, n/ is dropped:

Ameland dialect

dou sitste	/sɪstə/	'you sit'
dou silste	/sɪstə/	'you shall'
dou kinste	/kɪstə/	'you can'
groatst	/grɔəst/	'biggest'
oädst	/o.ɛst/	'oldest'

- (7) R-lessness: r-deletion takes place before the dental consonants
/t d n l s z/

Ameland dialect

harses	/hɑsəs/	'brains'
hart	/hɑt/	'heart'
gars (gers)	/gɑs/	'grass'
swart	/swɑt/	'black'

This rule is shared with Frisian. In the Ameland dialect, the consonant following /r/ is retroflexed as a result of this loss. Sometimes other consonants than r are dropped: *sodder* ('ceiling'); *branne* ('burn'); *temiste* ('at least'); *sundes* ('on Sunday'), etc.

- (8) Final d-deletion: in syllable-final position d-deletion takes place following n.

Ameland dialect

land	/lɑ:n/	'land'
strand	/strɑ:n/	'beach'
hand	/hɑ:n/	'hand'
grond	/grɔ:n/	'ground'

In addition to d-deletion, in word-final position the preceding vowel is lengthened. The plural forms of the examples do not show lengthening of the vowel: *lannen*, *strannen*, *hannen* etc.

- (9) Devoicing of initial /v z x /: the voiced /v/ and /z/ become voiceless /f/ and /s/ in initial position.

<i>Ameland dialect</i>	<i>Frisian</i>	<i>Dutch</i>		
fijf, fèèf /f/	fiif /f/	vijf	/v/	'five'
fis /f/	fisk /f/	vis	/v/	'fish'

- (10) Standard Dutch /ʁ/, which in the Holland dialects is often realized as /x/, corresponds to /g/ in the Frisian and Ameland dialect varieties.

<i>Ameland dialect</i>	<i>Frisian</i>	<i>Dutch</i>		
glas /g/	glês /g/	glas	/x/	'glass'
beginne/g/	beginne /g/	beginnen	/x/	'to begin'

2.2. Dutch characteristics

The Dutch elements in the Ameland dialect originate from the period in which Ameland was a free state and ruled by Dutch officials (section 3.1.1). The Dutch characteristics present in the Ameland dialect therefore originate from the 15th to the 18th century. During that period, the language spoken in Dutch governments was mostly characterized by Hollandic features since the province of Holland was socio-economically dominant in those days. The Hollandic influences in the Ameland dialect can also be explained as a result of the sea trade, which was mainly concentrated on the western part of the Netherlands (e.g. Holland).

2.2.1. Dutch vowels

In this section, we investigate the modern Ameland vowels which originated from Dutch sources. In each case, the original Germanic vowel is given.

Germ. /u:/	Dutch /y:/ > /œy/	Dialectal /u/ or /y:/
	Frisian /u/	
	Ameland dialect /y:/u/	

Standard Dutch has /œy/ or /y:/ preceding r; /au/ preceding w and in the auslaut. The Dutch dialectal /y:/ - which is still heard in most Dutch dialects with a maritime history (Kloeker 1927) - represents an earlier stage in the Dutch language; the Frisian /u:/ sound is an even older relic, which also remained in the easternmost Dutch dialects near the German border (Groningen, Drenthe, Overijssel, Limburg). In the Ameland dialect, the

Frisian /u/ is still found in some words but this sound is not frequently used anymore.

<i>Ameland dialect</i>		<i>Frisian</i>		<i>Dutch</i>		
huus	/y/	hûs	/u/	huis	/œy/	'house'
buuk	/y/	bûk	/u/	buik	/œy/	'stomach'
poest, puust	/u/ /y/	pûst	/u/	puist	/œy/	'pimple'
foest	/u/	fûst	/u/	vuist	/œy/	'fist'
flööt	/œ:/	fluit	/œy/	fluit	/œy/	'flute'
frööt	/œ:/	fruit	/œy/	fruit	/œy/	'fruit'
rööl	/œ:/	ruil	/œy/	ruil	/œy/	'exchange'
fööl	/œ:/	smoarch		vuil	/œy/	'dirt'

Germ. /i:/ Dutch /i:/ > /ei/ Dialectal /i:/
 Frisian /i:/
 Ameland dialect /i:/

Standard Dutch has /ei/ (or /i:/ preceding r). The Dutch dialectal /i:/ sound - used in some dialects outside the Randstad area - represents an earlier stage of the Dutch language.

<i>Ameland dialect</i>		<i>Frisian</i>		<i>Dutch</i>		
tiid	/i:/	tiid	/i:/	tijd	/ei/	'time'
piip	/i:/	piip, pipe	/i:/	pijp	/ei/	'pipe'

Winkler (1874) noticed that the /i:/ sound in Ameland sometimes alternates with /ei/ because of Dutch influence:

Zoo als boven reeds is gezeid, neigt de tongval van 't Ameland spoediger en meer tot het hollandsch, dan de tongvallen van de friesche steden. Zoo is de zuivere, lange *i* klank in vele woorden reeds met den hollandschen *ij* klank verwisseld. Maar de Amelanders zijn in deze uitspraak zeer onstandvastig; men kan b.v. uit den mond van Amelanders uitdrukkingen hooren als deze: *wij segge altiid tijd, in nieet tiid* (Winkler 1874: 485).

As stated above, the Ameland dialect is changing more into the direction of Dutch than in the direction of the varieties spoken in the Frisian towns. For example, the long /i/ vowel has changed to Dutch /ei/ in several words. However, the Ameland inhabitants are quite inconsistent in their speech, for they say things like: we always (/altiid/, with a monophthong) say 'time' (/tijd/, with a diphthong) and not 'time' /tiid/, with a monophthong) (My translation, MJ).

Germ. /ɛ:/ Dutch /â/ > /a:/ Dialectal (Holland) /a/ is replaced by /ɪ:/ or /ei/; /a/ remains /a/
 Frisian /ɪ:/ /iə/
 Ameland dialect /ɪ:/ /a/

<i>Ameland dialect</i>		<i>Frisian</i>		<i>Dutch</i>	
skaap	/a/	skiep	/iə/	schaap	/a/ 'sheep'
saad	/a/	sied	/iə/	zaad	/a/ 'seed'
pea'd	/ɪ:/	hynder		paard	/a/ 'horse'
lea's	/ɪ:/	lears	/ɪ:/	laars	/a/ 'boot'

Germ. /u/ /o/ Dutch /œ/ or /ø/ /ɔ/ or /o/
 Dialectal (Coast) /œ/ or /ø:/ "spontaneous palatalization"
 Frisian /u/ /ɔ/ /ɔ:/
 Ameland dialect /œ/ /ø:/

<i>Ameland dialect</i>		<i>Frisian</i>		<i>Dutch</i>	
feugel	/ø:/	fûgel	/u/	vogel	/o/ 'bird'
seun	/ø:/	soan	/ɔ:/	zoon	/o/ 'son'
deur	/ø:/	doar	/ɔ:/	deur	/ø:/ 'door'
drup	/œ/	drop	/ɔ/	drop	/ɔ/ 'licorice'
druk	/œ/	drok	/ɔ/	druk	/œ/ 'busy'
butter	/œ/	bûter	/u/	boter	/o/ 'butter'
skuttel	/œ/	skûtel	/u/	schotel	/o/ 'saucer'

Germ. /ai/ Dutch /ê/ > /e/ / /ei/
 Dialectal (Holland) /i/
 Frisian /iə/
 Ameland dialect /iə/

In Standard Dutch, we find /e/ or /ɛi/ preceding i or j in the next syllable; in some Holland dialects as well as in Frisian we find /i/ in front of dental consonants.

<i>Ameland dialect</i>		<i>Frisian</i>		<i>Dutch</i>		
stiën	/iə/	stiën	/iə/	steen	/e/	'stone'
biën	/iə/	biën	/iə/	been	/e/	'leg'
iën	/iə/	iën	/iə/	één	/e/	'one'
gien	/i/	gjin	/ji/	geen	/e/	'none'

2.2.2. Dutch consonants

In earlier stages of Dutch we find /sk/ in onset position, which in modern Dutch has changed to /sx/. In the Ameland dialect and in Frisian the /sk/ pronunciation remained.

<i>Ameland dialect</i>		<i>Frisian</i>		<i>Dutch</i>		
skoen	/sk/	skoech	/sk/	schoen	/sx/	'shoe'
skaap	/sk/	skiep	/sk/	schaap	/sx/	'sheep'

In Frisian, some consonant sequences exist that do not occur in Dutch. The Frisian consonant + /j/ and /ts/ sequence have disappeared in the Ameland dialect. The Frisian initial CCCV-structure, which exists of two consonants plus /j/ or /w/, does not occur in the Ameland dialect either.

<i>Ameland dialect</i>		<i>Frisian</i>		<i>Dutch</i>		
duur	/d/	djoer	/dj/	duur	/d/	'expensive'
diep	/d/	djip	/dj/	diep	/d/	'deep'
lucht	/l/	ljocht	/lj/	lucht	/l/	'air, sky'
fuur	/f/	fjoer	/fj/	vuur	/v/	'fire'
tiën	/t/	tsien	/ts/	tien	/t/	'ten'
kees	/k/	tsiis	/ts/	kaas	/k/	'cheese'
proeve	/pr/	priuwe	/prj/	proeven	/pr/	'taste'
teugen	/t/	tsjin	/tsj/	tegen	/t/	'against'

However, some infrequent words exist which have maintained these consonant sequences: *tjerk* ('redshank'); *tjoe'n* ('ghost', 'witch').

Frisian /j/ alternates with Dutch /x/. In the Ameland dialect, initial /j/ has been replaced by the Dutch variant, although it has a different (e.g. a Frisian) pronunciation in initial position.

<i>Ameland dialect</i>		<i>Frisian</i>		<i>Dutch</i>		
geve	/g/	jaan	/j/	geven	/x/	'to give'
geld	/g/	jild	/j/	geld	/x/	'money'
guster	/g/	juster	/j/	gister	/x/	'yesterday'
gunter	/g/	jinter	/j/	ginder	/x/	'yonder'

2.3. Eastern and western characteristics

Differences between the two varieties of the Ameland dialect are found in the lexicon, phonology and in the morphology (e.g. diminutive formation). The shibboleth 'old wood in the attic' (see the following table for the Ameland translation) contains the most salient difference between the eastern and the western variety, viz. that of /ɔ:ə/ versus /o.ɛ/. These and other east-west speech differences are illustrated by the following examples.

<i>Eastern variety</i>		<i>Western variety</i>		
òòd	/ɔ:ə/	oäd	/o.ɛ/	'old'
hòòt	/ɔ:ə/	hoät	/o.ɛ/	'wood'
sôder	/ɔ:ə/	soäder	/o.ɛ/	'attic'
sòòt	/ɔ:ə/	soät	/o.ɛ/	'salt'
ge's	/ɛ/	ga's	/a/	'grass'
ke's	/ɛ/	ka's	/a/	'cherry'
pers	/ɛ/	pa's	/a/	'press'
ke'st	/ɛ/	ka'st	/a/	'Christmas'
tèèd	/ɛ:/	tiid	/i:/	'time'
blèèd	/ɛ:/	bliid	/i:/	'glad'
wèèd	/ɛ:/	wiid	/i:/	'wide'
-hèèd	/ɛ:/	-hiid	/i:/	'-ness'
				(suffix)
hööd	/œ:/	huud	/y/	'skin'
krööd	/œ:/	kruud	/y/	'herb'

3. Morphology

3.1. Determiners

3.1.1. The indefinite article

The indefinite article is spelled *un* and pronounced /ən/.

3.1.2. The definite article

The definite articles *de* /də/ and *it* /ət/ are similar to the Frisian and Dutch variants: in Dutch there is a variant /het/ besides /ət/. The *de* variant is used for masculine or feminine nouns; the /ət/ variant is a neuter form. Some nouns take gender forms that are different from Frisian or Dutch. In general, nouns in the Ameland dialect take the same definite article as in Dutch. Some deviant forms still exist in the dialect:

<i>Ameland dialect</i>	<i>Frisian</i>	<i>Dutch standard</i>	
de knien	it knyn	het konijn	'the rabbit'
ut wang	it wang	de wang	'the cheek'

The determiners *de* and *it* have reduced variants in speech and writing. Before vowels *it* is often reduced to 't and *de* is often reduced to schwa following prepositions as in *op 'e* ('on the'), *yn 'e* ('in the'), *fan 'e* ('from the'). In some fixed expressions which involve pre- or postpositions, the determiner is absent:

<i>Ameland dialect</i>	
naar durp toe	'to the village'
dunen in	'into the dunes'
see in	'into the sea'
naar strân	'to the beach'

3.1.3. Other determiners

Determiners used as demonstrative pronouns are *deuze* and *dut* (Fri. *dizze* and *dit*; 'these, this') and *sok* (Fri. *sok*; 'such'); *hoeke* is a determiner used as an interrogative pronoun (Fri. *hokker*; 'what').

3.2. The noun

3.2.1. Plurals

In the Ameland dialect, plurals are formed by adding an *-e(r)s*, *-s* or *-en* ending. In some respects, the procedure is different from the Dutch and Frisian systems. For example, in Dutch plural formation, there are about a dozen nouns that take the exceptional 'stacked' suffix *-eren* as in 'kinderen' ('children') or 'eieren' ('eggs'). In the Ameland dialect, these words get an *-e(r)s* or *-en* ending. Note that the *-e(r)s* ending is a combination of two plural suffixes, comparable to the Dutch *-eren* suffix which consists of *-er* and *-en*. The suffix *-ers* is also found in other Hollandic dialects (for example on Texel). Also Leeuwarden, Friesland's capital, has *-e(r)s* in *eiers* and *kienders*. Words ending in *-el* or *-ing* always take the *-s* suffix in the Ameland dialect.²⁸ These plural forms are similar to the Frisian ones. Dutch examples in this case take the *-en* ending. The examples ending in *-el* are exceptional in the Dutch plural system since in general the *-s* suffix is added to Dutch words ending in *-el*, *-em*, *-en* or *-er* (ANS), just like in Frisian.

	<i>Dutch plural</i>	<i>Ameland plural</i>	
kalf	kalveren	kalves	'calves'
ei	eieren	eies	'eggs'
kind	kinderen	kiendes	'children'
lam	lammeren	lammen	'lambs'
blad	bladeren	blâdden	'leaves'
engel	engelen	ingels	'angels'
mossel	mosselen	mossels	'mussels'
mazel	mazelen	meuzels	'measles'
haring	haringen	hearings	'herrings'

²⁸ These examples can also be found in the MAND database on the Internet:
<http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/mand/database> (no English translation available)
 Search terms: woordcategorieën: naamwoord meervoud (Kloeke codes: Hollum B001a, Buren B003p)

3.2.2. Diminutives

In Frisian as well as in Town Frisian, the diminutive is formed by adding *-ke*, *-tsje* or *-je* to the noun stem. The diminutive markers are distributed as follows:

- (1) *-ke* is appended to a stem ending in a vowel or diphthong, or in /m p f s r/.
- (2) *-tsje* is the suffix following /l n t d/ (the t of the suffix degeminates after stems ending in t and d).
- (3) *-je* is used after a stem which ends in the velars /k x ɣ/. The velar nasal becomes nk before the diminutive (Tiersma 1985: 59).

The same diminutive markers appear in the Ameland dialect, except the *-tsje* suffix (which is, however, quite similar to the corresponding Dutch/Ameland suffix *-tje*). However, the diminutive system in the Ameland dialect is geographically distributed, as the rules below show. Only the Frisian rule for velar contexts is similar for the Ameland dialect. The main rules for diminutive formation are illustrated with examples from the Morphological Atlas of the Dutch dialects (MAND). Other examples can be found in the MAND database.²⁹

1. Words ending in /k x ɳ/ always take the *je*-suffix following the stem.
sokje, koekje, barchje, oochje, rinkje, dinkje ('sock, biscuit, pig, eye, ring, thing-diminutive')
2. For all other words, in the eastern part of Ameland (Nes, Buren) the (Dutch) suffix *-(e)(t)je* is added to the stem.
kopje, gatje, pantje, lammetje ('cup, hole, pan, lamb-diminutive')
3. For all other words, in the western part of Ameland (Hollum, Ballum) the (Frisian) suffix *-(t)ke* is added to the stem.
kopke, gatke, pantke, lampke ('cup, hole, pan, lamb-diminutive')

In the western dialect variety, *-ke* is added to the stem, except for stems ending in *-n*. Words ending in *-n* get the suffix *-tke*, like *boan, boantke* ('bean'), *haan, haantke* ('rooster'), *hoa'n, hoa'ntke* ('horn') and *man, mantke* ('man'). The same holds for words which end in *-n* as a result of d-deletion, like *moan,*

²⁹ Website: <http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/mand/database> (no English translation available)
Search terms: woordcategorieën: verkleinwoord (Kloeke codes: Hollum B001a, Buren B003p)

móntke ('mouth'), *hân, hantke* ('hand'), *hoan, hóntke* ('dog') and *kien, kientke* ('child').

Exceptions to the rule are still found, i.e. words which take one and the same suffix in east and west: *bloemke, lamke, kalfke, aaike, muuske, piipke, störmpje, sopje, bochtje* ('flower, lamb, calf, stroke, mouse, pipe, storm, soap suds, bend-diminutive'). Exceptions because of Dutch influence can also be found: *broadje; bedje* (this used to be: *bèèdke*); *hoedje; liedje; leugentje; oventje* ('bread, bed, hat, song, lie, oven-diminutive')

A large number of nouns undergo shortening (2.1.2) in the diminutive or plural. Breaking, as in Frisian, does not occur in the Ameland dialect.

3.2.3. Word formation

With respect to word formation, the Ameland dialect follows Dutch patterns. However, there are some lexicalized relics, which represent Frisian word formation rules, as the examples in (1) show. The existence of double variants with the same meaning, as in (3), is a clear indication that the Ameland dialect represents a mixed dialect. Note again that in these examples the Frisian variants are relics of a Frisian rule which is no longer productive in the Ameland dialect.

(1) Word formation as in Frisian

<i>Ameland dialect/Frisian</i>	<i>Dutch</i>	
brunech	bruinachtig	'brownish'
eapelskillersmeske	aardappelschilmesje	'potato-peeler'
eidop	eierdop	'egg-cup'
boadskiptas	boodschappentas	'shopping-bag'
pienekop	hoofdpijn	'headache'
pienebealech	buikpijn	'stomach ache'
festjebusje/-ke (fr. bûse)	vestzak	'waistcoat pocket'

(2) Word formation as in Dutch

<i>Ameland dialect/Dutch</i>	<i>Frisian</i>	
beddegoed	bedguod	'bedding'
dommegheed	dommens	'stupidity'

(3) Words with two optional variants

<i>Ameland dialect</i>	<i>Dutch</i>	<i>Frisian</i>	
malleghed, mallens	malligheid	mallens	'foolishness'
frouwelek, frouwsk	vrouwelijk	frouwsk	'womanlike'
sunigheed, sunechte	zuinigheid	sunigens	'thrift'
nijsgierigheed, nijsgierechte	nieuwsgierig- -heid	nijsgierigens	'curiosity'

3.3. Pronouns

The pronouns 'dou' and 'jou', which are used in the second person singular, represent the informal and polite variant, respectively. The forms are quite similar to Frisian *do* and *jo*. The distribution of the *jou* versus *dou* forms, however, differs from village to village: according to the inhabitants of Hollum and Ballum, the informal pronoun *dou* is used more frequently by people living in the east. The second person plural form 'jimme' is a Frisian form as well. The third person singular has an eastern and a western variant when it follows the verb. In the west the variant 'e /ə/ is used, in the east the variant *ie* /i/ is used.

3.4. Verbs

The Ameland dialect distinguishes weak and strong verbs: the infinitive of verbs of the latter type ends in schwa. The Frisian category ending in /jə/ does not exist in the Ameland dialect. We will discuss weak, strong and irregular verbs.

3.4.1. Weak verbs

The verb inflection system in the Ameland dialect is more similar to the Frisian system than to the Dutch one. In Dutch verbal inflection there are two different endings in the present tense singular, but in Frisian (including Stedfrysk) there are three different endings: in Dutch the first person singular has a zero-ending and second and third person singular have /t/; in Frisian, the second and third person have different endings (see below). In the Ameland dialects, the same phenomenon is found. If we include the polite variant of the second person singular, we can even distinguish a fourth ending in the present tense singular. A list is presented below. There is one present plural ending, which consists of schwa, which is different

from the Dutch /ən/ ending. Below the Dutch paradigm for the verb *nemen* 'to take' is compared with the Frisian/Ameland paradigm. In contrast with Frisian, which has an -EN ending in past tense plural forms, the schwa ending in the Ameland dialect holds for the present and past tense plural formation.

	<i>Dutch</i>		<i>Frisian</i>	<i>Ameland dialect</i>	
1sg.	ik neem	- Ø	ik nim	ik nim	- Ø
2sg.	jij neemt	- T	do nimst	dou nimste	- ST(E)
	u neemt	- T	jo nimme	jou nimme	- E
3sg.	hij neemt	- T	hy nimt	hij nimt	- T
1pl.	wij nemen	- EN	wy nimme	wij nimme	- E

In the second person singular it is also possible to use a clitic form:

dou, de woänste	'you live'
woänste dear? woänstou dear?	'do you live there?'

3.4.2. Strong verbs

Some verbs that are weak in Dutch can be strong in Frisian, and the other way around. In the Ameland dialect, the preterite and past participle are formed like in Dutch, but sometimes the Frisian relic form is still optional in the dialect. It is hard to determine whether the deviant form is an earlier Frisian form or an older Dutch form. Sometimes the eastern and western varieties also take different (past participle) forms.

<i>Eastern variety</i>	<i>Western variety</i>	<i>Dutch</i>	<i>Frisian</i>	
sloegen (slaan)	slagen	ge-slagen	slein	'hit'
droegen (drage)	dragen	ge-dragen	droegen	'carry'
daan (doën)	deen	ge-daan	dien	'do'
moeten (moete)	móttten (mótte)	ge-moeten	moatten	'must'
blaasd (blaze)	blazen	ge-blazen	blaasd	'blow'

The following examples illustrate the inflection of two frequently used strong verbs.

weze ('to be')			<i>present</i>	<i>past</i>	<i>past participle</i>
1sg.	ik	bin		waar	weest
2 sg.	dou	biste		waarste	
	jou	binne		ware	
3sg.	hij	is		waar	
1pl.	wij	binne		ware	
hêwe ('to have')			<i>present</i>	<i>past</i>	<i>past participle</i>
1sg.	ik	hê(w)		had	had
2sg.	dou	heste		haste	
	jou	hêwe		hadde	
3sg.	hij	het		had	
1pl.	wij	hêwe		hadde	

These verb forms can also be found in the MAND database.³⁰ Since all plural forms take the same ending in the Ameland dialect, only one form is presented here.

3.5. Prepositions

Besides prepositions and postpositions, Frisian and the Ameland dialect also have so-called circumpositions. These can be described informally as a preposition followed by the noun phrase and another preposition. This type of adposition is not as common in the Ameland dialect as in Frisian, but can be heard in a sentence like this:

Ameland dialect

De kiendes liêpe by de sloat lâns 'The children walked along the dike'

4. Syntax

The syntax of the Ameland dialect has a large number of Frisian characteristics. Some of the main syntactic constructions will be dealt with in this section. One salient construction in Frisian which does not occur in the Ameland dialect is the IPI construction (the 'en' plus imperative construction), in which an independent clause is introduced by the

³⁰ Website: <http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/mand/database> (no English translation available)
Search term: woordcategorieën: rijtjes zijn, rijtjes hebben (Kloeke codes: Hollum B001a, Buren B003p)

All continental West-Germanic languages have a verbal complex in the end of the sentence. The order of the verbs in Frisian is somewhat different from the Dutch verb order: whereas Dutch has head-initial verb clusters, Frisian is head-final.

Ik vind dat iedereen moet (c) kunnen (b) zwemmen (a) /D/ ³²
 I think that everybody must can swim
 Ik fien dat iederien swimme (a) kinne (b) moat (c) /F/
 I think that everybody swim can must
 'I think that everybody must be able to swim'

Hij vertelde dat hij dat weleens zou (d) willen(c) proberen(b) te eten (a) /D/
 would like try eat
 Hy fertelde dat er dat wolris besykje (b) wolle (c) soe (d) te iten (a) /F/
 try like would eat
 'He said he would like to try eating that for once'

³² Sentence from SAND database: <http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/sand/> (Test sentence 075)

In the Ameland dialect, the Frisian pattern is followed where verb order is concerned. Like in Frisian, an *n* is added to the infinitive in gerund position.

4.2. Gerunds

4.2.1. The type 'Se sit te brèden'

The verbs *sitte* 'sit', *lope* 'walk', *staan* 'stand', *lêge* 'lie', *weze* 'be' and *hange* 'hang', all of which can express durativity, permit the structure with *te* and a following gerund. In the sentence 'se sit te brèden' ('she sits knitting') the focus is on the knitting.

Ameland dialect

Hij staat te seuren	'He is (stands) twaddling' ³³
Hij is te fissen	'He is fishing'

4.2.2. The type 'Ik gaan te melken'

The verbs *gaan* 'go', *kómme* 'come' and *beginne* 'begin' occur in the inchoative construction with *te* and a following gerund.

Ameland dialect

Ik gaan te melken	'I'm going to milk (the cows)'
Ik gaan te eies soeken	'I'm going to look for eggs'
Hij is kommen te werken	'He has come to work'
Wij beginne te werken	'We begin to work'

4.2.3. The type 'Ik hêw him dat sêgen hoard'

A number of verbs refer to sensory perceptions: the so-called perception verbs like *hoare* ('hear'), *siën* ('see'), *foële* ('feel'), etc. These verbs always select a gerund.

Ameland dialect

Ik he(w) him dat sêgen hoard	I have him that (say-GER) (hear-past participle)
------------------------------	--

4.3. Omission of Infinitivus-pro-Participio (IPP)

³³ Sentence from SAND database: <http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/sand/> (Test sentence 199)

The so-called Infinitivus-pro-Participio (IPP) effect is a continental West-Germanic phenomenon. It does not appear in English, Danish or in the Romance languages. It has been suggested (Hoeksema 1980, Lange 1981) that IPP is only found in dialects marking the past participle with a prefix.³⁴ Comparing standard Dutch and Frisian - and the Ameland dialect - this claim can be verified: in standard Dutch the past participle is marked by a prefix and the IPP-effect occurs, whereas in Frisian the past participle has no prefix and the IPP-effect does not occur. The Ameland dialect follows the Frisian language system. The same is true for verb order, which has also been suggested to correlate with the IPP-effect (Hoekstra 1996, De Schutter 2000): in languages with head-initial verb order the IPP-effect does occur (as in Dutch) whereas in languages with head-final verb order the IPP-effect does not occur (as in Frisian/Ameland dialect).

Ameland dialect

Ik he(w) dat doën kinnen	I have that (do-INF) (can-past participle)
--------------------------	--

Dutch standard

Ik heb dat kunnen doen	Ik have that (can-INF) (do-INF)
	'I have been able to do that'

Ameland dialect

Ik he(w) him dat sêgen hoard	I have him that (say-GER) (hear-past participle)
------------------------------	--

Dutch standard

Ik heb hem dat horen zeggen	I have him that (hear-INF) (say-INF)
	'I have heard him say that'

5. Concluding remarks

The Ameland dialect has both Dutch and Frisian characteristics. The traces of a complex contact history are still visible in all linguistic components. In general, the Ameland dialect can be described as a Dutch dialect with a Frisian substrate. Frisian features are mostly apparent in the Ameland syntax and pronunciation. Phonology and morphology combine Dutch and Frisian language features. Still, the Frisian elements are mostly archaic, and the same holds for the lexicon. Typical Ameland dialect features are found in the diminutive system, which also shows a very typical difference between east and west on the island.

³⁴ In verbs lacking a (pseudo-) prefix be-, ge- ver-, ont- etc.

Appendix II. Invitation letter for participation (in Dutch)

Amsterdam, 25 februari 2004.

Betreft: deelname dialectonderzoek

Beste mijnheer/mevrouw,

Sinds enige tijd ben ik bezig met een onderzoek naar dialectverandering op Ameland. Dit onderzoek wordt uitgevoerd in opdracht van het Meertens Instituut in Amsterdam, een instituut waar men onderzoek doet naar de Nederlandse taal en cultuur. Voor de bestudering van dialectverandering neem ik interviews af bij verschillende generaties Amelanders (van 15 tot 65 jaar). Het gaat hierbij om inwoners van Ameland die nog steeds woonachtig zijn in de plaats waar zij ook zijn geboren en opgegroeid (ook studenten die 'part-time' op het eiland wonen komen in aanmerking). Minstens één van de ouders moet ook geboren zijn in dezelfde plaats. Deze criteria zijn gesteld om alleen die groep mensen te benaderen die opgegroeid zijn met het plaatselijke dialect. Het is echter niet van belang dat u het "echte" of oude dialect van uw plaats nog spreekt: dit onderzoek is juist gericht op de verandering van het dialect door de invloed die het Nederlands in onze tijd uitoefent op de dialecten. Om een willekeurig deel van de bevolking van Ameland te selecteren voor het onderzoek, heb ik de historische vereniging gevraagd een willekeurige steekproef uit hun namenbestand te trekken. U bent één van de personen die is geselecteerd. Natuurlijk is de keus aan u of u mee wilt werken aan het onderzoek. In de komende weken zal ik u telefonisch benaderen met de vraag of ik u mag interviewen.

Als u aan mijn onderzoek wilt deelnemen, maken we een afspraak voor een interview. Het interview zal vervolgens bij u thuis plaatsvinden. De datum van de afspraak kunt u grotendeels zelf bepalen. De periode waarin de interviews zullen plaatsvinden is maart 2004 t/m juni 2004. Het interview zal ongeveer 1,5 uur van uw tijd in beslag nemen. Tegenover de tijd die u investeert staat een kleine vergoeding van 10 euro in de vorm van een VVV-bon. Wat voor vragen kunt u verwachten tijdens het interview? Ik heb een standaard-vragenlijst voor alle deelnemers waarin gevraagd wordt naar de

situaties waarin u het dialect gebruikt; uw mening over uw dialect (*vindt u het belangrijk dat het dialect in stand blijft?*); en uw kennis van het dialect (*o.a. woordjes en zinnetjes vertalen*) Kortom, het zijn geen moeilijke vragen, iedereen kan ze beantwoorden.

Wanneer het onderzoek is afgerond, zal ik u uiteraard op de hoogte brengen van de resultaten. Ook kunt u een verslagje verwachten in De Nieuwe Amelander.

Er is tot nu toe weinig onderzoek verricht naar het dialect van Ameland, en ik denk dat mijn onderzoek waardevol kan zijn voor de taalwetenschap, maar ook voor de Amelanders zelf. Ik hoop dan ook van harte op uw medewerking.

Hopelijk tot ziens!

Met een vriendelijke groet,

Mathilde Jansen
Onderzoeker in opleiding aan het Meertens Instituut

Appendix III. The questionnaire

☛ Vragenlijst Ameland 2004

Datum:
 Tijdstip:
 Naam:
 Adres:
 Telefoon:.....

1. In welke mate beheerst u het Amelands?

	verstaan	spreken	lezen	schrijven
heel gemakkelijk	0	0	0	0
goed	0	0	0	0
vrij aardig	0	0	0	0
met moeite	0	0	0	0
helemaal niet	0	0	0	0

2. In welke mate beheerst u het Nederlands?

	verstaan	spreken	lezen	schrijven
heel gemakkelijk	0	0	0	0
goed	0	0	0	0
vrij aardig	0	0	0	0
met moeite	0	0	0	0
helemaal niet	0	0	0	0

3. In welke mate beheerst u het Fries?

	verstaan	spreken	lezen	schrijven
heel gemakkelijk	0	0	0	0
goed	0	0	0	0
vrij aardig	0	0	0	0
met moeite	0	0	0	0
helemaal niet	0	0	0	0

4. In welke mate beheerst u het Duits?

	verstaan	spreken	lezen	schrijven
heel gemakkelijk	0	0	0	0
goed	0	0	0	0
vrij aardig	0	0	0	0
met moeite	0	0	0	0
helemaal niet	0	0	0	0

Vragen over de eilander identiteit

1. Voelt u zich in de eerste plaats:

☐ Hollumer ☐ Ballumer ☐ Nessumer ☐ Buremer
☐ Amelander ☐ Fries ☐ Nederlander ☐ Europeaan ☐ weet niet

2. Er zijn verschillende redenen om iemand een Amelander te noemen. Ik zal u een paar redenen geven. Wanneer is iemand een Amelander?

1= helemaal mee oneens; 2= oneens; 3= neutraal; 4= eens; 5= helemaal mee eens

Iemand is een Amelander:

Als hij Amelands kan spreken	1 2 3 4 5
Als hij op Ameland woont	1 2 3 4 5
Als hij op Ameland geboren is	1 2 3 4 5
Als hij Amelander ouders heeft	1 2 3 4 5
Als hij gehecht is aan de Amelander cultuur	1 2 3 4 5

Als hij zichzelf als Amelander beschouwt	1 2 3 4 5
.....	1 2 3 4 5

3. Geef uw mening over de volgende stellingen.

Een echte Amelander moet Amelands kunnen praten	1 2 3 4 5
De burgemeester van Ameland moet Fries kunnen praten	1 2 3 4 5
Wie op Ameland komt wonen moet Duits leren spreken	1 2 3 4 5
Het dialect moet op school als vak gedoceerd worden	1 2 3 4 5
De burgemeester van Ameland moet Amelands praten	1 2 3 4 5
Wie op Ameland komt wonen moet Nederlands kunnen verstaan	1 2 3 4 5
Een echte Amelander moet Fries kunnen praten	1 2 3 4 5
Het Nederlands moet op school als vak gedoceerd worden	1 2 3 4 5
Wie op Ameland komt wonen moet Fries leren spreken	1 2 3 4 5
Wie op Ameland komt wonen moet Duits kunnen verstaan	1 2 3 4 5

- 4a. Welke eigenschappen zijn van toepassing op iemand die Amelands spreekt?

intiem	0 0 0 0 0	afstandelijk
ongezellig	0 0 0 0 0	gezellig
stoer	0 0 0 0 0	kneuterig
beschaafd	0 0 0 0 0	onbeschaafd
lelijk	0 0 0 0 0	mooi
modern	0 0 0 0 0	ouderwets
serieus	0 0 0 0 0	grappig

- 4b. Welke eigenschappen zijn van toepassing op iemand die Nederlands spreekt?

intiem	0 0 0 0 0	afstandelijk
ongezellig	0 0 0 0 0	gezellig
stoer	0 0 0 0 0	kneuterig
beschaafd	0 0 0 0 0	onbeschaafd
lelijk	0 0 0 0 0	mooi
modern	0 0 0 0 0	ouderwets
serieus	0 0 0 0 0	grappig

- 4c. Welke eigenschappen zijn van toepassing op iemand die Duits spreekt?

intiem	0 0 0 0 0	afstandelijk
ongezellig	0 0 0 0 0	gezellig
stoer	0 0 0 0 0	kneuterig
beschaafd	0 0 0 0 0	onbeschaafd
lelijk	0 0 0 0 0	mooi
modern	0 0 0 0 0	ouderwets
serieus	0 0 0 0 0	grappig

- 4d. Welke eigenschappen zijn van toepassing op iemand die Fries spreekt?

intiem	0 0 0 0 0	afstandelijk
ongezellig	0 0 0 0 0	gezellig
stoer	0 0 0 0 0	kneuterig
beschaafd	0 0 0 0 0	onbeschaafd
lelijk	0 0 0 0 0	mooi
modern	0 0 0 0 0	ouderwets
serieus	0 0 0 0 0	grappig

5. Geef uw mening over de volgende stellingen.

Een echte Amelander moet Duits kunnen praten	1 2 3 4 5
Het Fries moet op school als vak gedoceerd worden	1 2 3 4 5
De burgemeester van Ameland moet Nederlands kunnen praten	1 2 3 4 5
Het Duits moet op school als vak gedoceerd worden	1 2 3 4 5
Wie op Ameland komt wonen moet Fries kunnen verstaan	1 2 3 4 5
Wie op Ameland komt wonen moet Amelands leren spreken	1 2 3 4 5
Een echte Amelander moet Nederlands kunnen praten	1 2 3 4 5
De burgemeester van Ameland moet Duits kunnen praten	1 2 3 4 5
Wie op Ameland komt wonen moet Amelands kunnen verstaan	1 2 3 4 5
Wie op Ameland komt wonen moet Nederlands leren spreken	1 2 3 4 5

Woordjes vertalen

aardig	fout	kont	sluier
beleid	golf	meid	tand
bont	heide	pijp	vals
dijk	jonagold	psalm	weide
eik	karnemelk	rijm	zeil

Zinnetjes vertalen

Als er ijs ligt gaan we schaatsen.
 De kabouter blies op zijn waldhoorn.
 De stoel waar jij op zit is kapot.
 Er is veel ongelijkheid in de wereld.
 Het boek dat ie kocht heb ik ook.
 Het kleine kind zat gapend op de bank.
 Hoelang ie wegblijft weet ik niet.
 Ik mis de spontaniteit van dit gesprek.
 Ik weet niet of jij vanavond thuis bent?
 Ze hoopten dat hij thuiskwam.
 Wat sta je nou te kijken?
 Ik weet niet wat ie jou verteld heeft.
 Je moet achter de lijn blijven staan.
 Kaalheid is een teken van ouderdom.
 Nu je hier bent kunnen we gaan.
 Veel kinderen houden van kleien.
 Vertel me nu de kern van het verhaal.
 Wijsneus die je bent!

Vertalen en invullen

<i>bijten</i>	Knienen kinne hârd _.
<i>rijmen</i>	Sommege mînsen kinne goëd _.
<i>verwend</i>	Sommege kienders worde te feul _.
<i>duim</i>	Hij stak sien _ naar mij op.
<i>puist</i>	Hij het un groate _ op sien wang.
<i>bleef ie</i>	Wearóm _ niët wat langer?
<i>schoor ie</i>	_ him wel iedere dach?
<i>won ie</i>	Met biljarten _ twië kear.
<i>maken</i>	Se _ dan gauw un stik broad klaar.

Geef de verkleinvorm

kom	kwak	ei	kastanje
ring	ster	baas	zeef
tandem	stof	dak	teen
koning	horloge	bezem	paraplu
deel	weet	haar	pot

Welke vorm heeft uw voorkeur?

<i>hard</i>	0 hârdhèèd 0 hârdeghèèd
<i>benauwd</i>	0 benâuwdeghèèd 0 benâuwdhèèd
<i>vaag</i>	0 faachhèèd 0 facheghèèd
<i>verliefd</i>	0 ferliefdeghèèd 0 ferliefdhèèd
<i>mak</i>	0 makhèèd 0 makkeghèèd

Woordjes vertalen

alp	goud	kruimel	spijt
bouten	heilig	lijm	verkeerd
duit	juist	mondig	vijf
erwt	kei	pui	weinig

Zinnetjes vertalen

Als ie op reis gaat ga ik altijd mee.
 Dat is de vrouw die hij gekust heeft.
 De kersen smaken nog vers.
 De strandjutter kan wel tegen een windvlaag.
 In dat steegje zit een nieuw zaakje.
 Er vliegt een arend over het weiland.
 Er is ook een tandarts op het eiland.
 Het was spijtig dat hij te laat was.
 Hoelang je weggaat heb je niet verteld.
 Wil jij ook een harinkje?
 Weet hij waar jij woont?
 Wij aten de laatste boterhammen op.

Ze maakten samen een tekening.
 Soms blijft hij maar doorpraten.
 Ik heb een boompje geplant.
 Ik weet niet wat jij hem verteld hebt?
 Ben je ook bang voor slapende honden?
 Met hout houden we onze stolp warm.
 Of zeg je dat uit beleefdheid.
 Sommige mensen mogen geen zout eten.
 Vertel mij eens wie hij tegenkwam?
 Wat een raar kind ben jij!
 Worst is een hartig tussendoortje.

Meervouden maken

Voorbeeld: iën hân, twië hannen

<i>dijk</i>	iën diek, twië _
<i>doorn</i>	iën doorn, twië _
<i>ei</i>	iën ei, twië _
<i>eik</i>	iën eik, twië _
<i>geheim</i>	iën geheim, twië _

Vertalen en invullen

<i>rijden</i>	Sommege mînsen _ feul te hârd.
<i>getekend</i>	Heste ut contract al _ ?
<i>vond</i>	Ik _ him altied al un nuver mîns.
<i>lui</i>	Sommege mînsen binne erch _
<i>belde ie</i>	_ hor 's nachts op?
<i>liep ie</i>	_ gusteraven over straat?
<i>wachtte ie</i>	_ lang op sien beurt?
<i>horen</i>	We _ de klok 12 slaan.
<i>rookt ie</i>	_ tiën sigaretten per dach?

Zijn dit goeie zinnen in uw dialect?

Bliefstou maar even hier!
 Mâgste niks ete?
 Wearoverste twiefelste weet ik niët.
 Ut boek dastou dear leeste, hêw ik ók.
 Ik snap niët hoëste dat anpakke gaaste!
 Aste op reis gaaste wil ik met.
 Komstou us even hier!
 Fertel mij us wieste teugenkwam?
 Kinste mij helpe?
 Ut dörp wearstou woanste is Nes.

Geef de verkleinvorm

balsem	gat	jas	lening
bel	graf	kado	loop
bodem	haan	kier	machine
bon	hand	kind	pop
garage	hond	lam	reep

Woordjes vertalen

alt	esmerald	keizer	schouder
beurzen	gehalte	kwartier	spuiten
bui	hoorn	malt	tijd
duivel	kaarsen	polder	vijg

Zinnetjes vertalen

Dat is de vrouw die jij gezien hebt.
 De kinderen zijn een beetje verkouden.
 Er zit een soort barst in het glas.
 Het dorp waar hij woont is Hollum.
 Het was te winderig om de tent op te zetten.
 Houd jij je mond eens even!
 Ik begrijp niet waarom je weggaat.
 Ik vind dat je een beetje kinderlijk doet.
 De kinderen speelden op straat.
 De burens klaagden daarover.
 Ik voel mijn hart kloppen.
 Ik wens je veel gezondheid!
 Ik wil hem een lesje leren.
 Je ruikt naar sigaren.
 Mijn ei is kleiner dan het jouwe.
 Onze hond haalt altijd de krant op.
 Spelend in de zandbak, kregen ze ruzie.
 Wat een rare vader heb jij!
 Ze is voor een half jaar vertrokken.

Woordjes vertalen

alternatief	geheim	land	schout
bierbuik	handig	klei	toestand
cent	ijzer	manlui	voorlezen
fluit	kers	pols	wijn

Vertalen en invullen

<i>rijk</i>	Slapend wordt un mîns niët _.
<i>bemand</i>	Ut skip waar goëd _.
<i>bijt</i>	Ik _ niët graach in un sure appel.
<i>muis</i>	Ur sit un _ oander ut bêd.
<i>blies ie</i>	In iën kear _ de kears uut.
<i>rook ie</i>	Gusteraven _ naar alcohol.
<i>wou ie</i>	Wearom _ lânskomme?
<i>lopen</i>	De kienders _ deur de straat.
<i>heeft ie</i>	_ twië kienders?

Zinnetjes vertalen

Als we gaan verhuizen wil ik een nieuw fornuis.
 Dat je zoiets durft te zeggen!
 De kinderen zijn hier nogal losbandig.
 Die aangelegde weg is van asfalt.
 Ga jij maar even afwassen!
 Hij heeft ontkend dat hij een landverrader was.
 Ik geef de voorkeur aan een modern huis.
 Ik vind het een teken van lafheid.
 We hoorden iemand lopen.
 De anderen misten de meisjes.
 Op vrijdagavond gaan we dansen.
 Ik wil weten wanneer je thuis komt.
 Je speelt al lang piano.
 Mijn ene oorlel is korter dan de andere.
 Onze machteloosheid is groot.
 We konden niet aan de eis van de kapitein voldoen.
 Ze verkopen verschillende soorten popcorn.

Vertalen en invullen

<i>pijl</i>	As jou de _ folge komme jou der fansêlf.
<i>wijs</i>	De jónge waar al froech _.
<i>brand</i>	As ik niët uutkiek _ ik mien fíngers nôch!
<i>fruit</i>	Ik eet alle dagen un stik _.
<i>trui</i>	Oma het un _ foar mij breiden.
<i>kwam ie</i>	_ altied te laat?
<i>sprong ie</i>	_ soamaar op 'e tafel?
<i>eten</i>	De kienders _ dînsdech altied bij hor groatmoëder.
<i>zal ie</i>	_ nôch lânskómme?

Zijn dit goeie zinnen in uw dialect?

Terwiel ie skriëft singt ie sacht.

Dastou ut dearmet iëns biste!
 Kinstou die nuvere man?
 Ik fien ut leuk dat ie lâns komt.
 Dou hest een oädere suster.
 Weet ie wearstou woanste?
 Ik weet niët of ie fanaven metgaat.
 Gek kien daste biste!
 Wearover ie skriefte weet ik niët.
 Hestou soa'n leuke broer?
 Doëstou binnenkwamste waar iederiën stil.
 De bank wear ie op sit is nij.
 Ik weet niët wearom ie fô't gaat.

Meervouden maken

Voorbeeld: iën hân, twië hannen

<i>geit</i>	Iën gèèt, twië _
<i>kei</i>	Iën kei, twië _
<i>kern</i>	Iën kern, twië _
<i>land</i>	Iën lân, twië _
<i>lijf</i>	Iën lief, twië _

Woordjes vertalen

avond	geit	lantaarn	urn	schouten
blij	hart	mars	vuist	
buik	inhoud	paleis	worst	
folder	kalk	pond	zuid	

Zinnetjes vertalen

Ben je gevallen?
 Die schaal zit vol barsten.
 Uit dit stopcontact komt 230 volt.
 Gehoorzaamheid moet je een hond aanleren.
 Als je gaat reizen moet je afscheid nemen.
 Hij is oud en heeft geleerd van zijn fouten.
 Ik heb een haarspeld van barnsteen.
 Zij brachten de hond naar huis.
 Zij wachtten dagen op een bericht.
 Ik zie de buurvrouw lopen.
 Ik zie een vaag gestalte rondlopen.
 Lees jij maar een stukje voor.
 Mijn leraar had een hekel aan traagheid.
 Op de zolder is het 's winters koud.

Terwijl je weg was heb ik opgeruimd.
 Volmaaktheid bestaat niet.
 We schijnen niet te mogen kijken.
 Ze waren druk aan het heien.

Welke vorm heeft uw voorkeur?

<i>gemeen</i>	0 gemiëneghèèd 0 gemiënhèèd
<i>sloom</i>	0 sloomhèèd 0 slomeghèèd
<i>stiekem</i>	0 stiekemeghèèd 0 stiekemhèèd
<i>rauw</i>	0 râuwghèèd 0 râuweghèèd
<i>onbezorgd</i>	0 ónbesörchdeghèèd 0 ónbesörchdhèèd

Vertalen en invullen

<i>kwijlen</i>	De hoan sit te _.
<i>rijp</i>	De pear is nôch niët _.
<i>levend</i>	We hope him _ wear te siën.
<i>duinen</i>	We gane lekker kuire in de _.
<i>rui</i>	Oanze kat is al weken in de _.
<i>ging ie</i>	In sien jeuchd _ faak naar ut café.
<i>schreef ie</i>	Guster _ hor een brief.
<i>zei ie</i>	_ dat teugen jou?
<i>nemen</i>	We _ de fietsen met naar groatmoëder.

Maak zelfstandig naamwoorden

Voorbeeld: gek – gekheid

<i>lelijk</i>	lelek__
<i>sterk</i>	sterk__
<i>zinloos</i>	sinloas__
<i>dom</i>	dom__

Vertaal de volgende zinnen

Ben jij zo aan het lachen?
 Dat meisje heeft stijl haar.

Die vrouw is echt een schoonheid.
 Het graan is nog te kort om te dorsen.
 Hij leeft daar in volle verlatenheid.
 Ik heb tegen de wind in gerend.
 Ik vind het leuk dat je langs komt.
 Ze woonden drie huizen verderop.
 Vader zit een boekje te lezen.
 Ik begin te roepen.
 In de oudheid waren er nog geen auto's.
 Jij kan goed tekenen.
 Loop jij maar even mee.
 Na het zeilen werd ik overvallen door moeheid.
 Op eigen kracht kun je veel bereiken.
 Toen ie binnenkwam was iedereen stil.
 Vrijheid, gelijkheid en broederschap.
 Zij heeft pas een goed geheugen.

Woordjes vertalen

beurs	hartig	plant	tandvlees
duizend	kalf	start	wijf
dweil	nijd	steigeren	zeis
garnaal	onthouden	strijd	zijde
			zuurstok

Vertalen en invullen

<i>lijmen</i>	Misskiën is ut nôch te _.
<i>stijven</i>	Ut semint moet earst nôch _.
<i>liggend</i>	_ op 'e bânk las hij un boek.
<i>duits</i>	Hij praat een aardech woordje _.
<i>ruilen</i>	Ut kedootje kinste altied nôch _.
<i>keek ie</i>	Of in toë _ even op.
<i>sloeg ie</i>	Iën kear _ de faas kepot.
<i>zweeg ie</i>	_ hier al die tiid over?
<i>spelen</i>	De kienders _ daar graach.

Meervouden maken

Voorbeeld: iën hân, twië hannen

<i>pond</i>	Iën pond, twië _
<i>tijd</i>	Iën tiid, twië _
<i>vijl</i>	Iën fijl, twië _
<i>wijn</i>	Iën wien, twië _
<i>wind</i>	Iën wien, twië _

Zinnetjes vertalen

Bij de volgende halte moet je uitstappen.
 De bolderwagen is kobold blauw.
 De schaatsen moeten we laten slijpen.
 Een kwart van de kaars is al afgebrand.
 Ik stond met een mondvul tanden.
 Ik hoop dat ik er iets mee bereik.
 De meisjes liepen dwars door de tuin.
 Ik kom je om zes uur ophalen.
 Ik weet niet wanneer ie thuis komt.
 Je bent een sterke jongen.
 Jullie mogen elkaar niet knijpen.
 Nu hij negentig is voelt ie zich oud.
 Raar volk woont hier.
 Veel mensen houden van vrijblijvendheid.
 Wij pleiten voor het behoud van onze taal.

Werkwoordsvolgorde

1. Jan had ut hele broad wel ____ (willen opeten)
2. Wie dinkste wie(t) hij ____ (hebben kunnen roepen)
3. Sou hij dat ____ (hebben kunnen doen)
4. Ik dink dat iederiën ____ (hebben leren zwemmen)
5. Sij het um dat ____ (horen zeggen)
6. Anna het ut glas ____ (laten vallen)
7. We hadde ut net anders ____ (doen kunnen)
8. Ik fien dat hij ut ____ (hebben moeten weten)

Welke vorm heeft uw voorkeur?

<i>vervelend</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> ferfelendhèèd <input type="checkbox"/> ferfelendeghèèd
<i>ouderwets</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> oäderwetsshèèd <input type="checkbox"/> oäderwetseghèèd
<i>misselijk</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> misselekeghèèd <input type="checkbox"/> misselekhèèd
<i>verkouden</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> ferkoädenhèèd <input type="checkbox"/> ferkoädeneghèèd
<i>verlegen</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> ferlegeneghèèd <input type="checkbox"/> ferlegenhèèd

Voltooid deelwoord invullen*Voorbeeld:*

koken *Het ei is gekookt*
 Het gekookte ei

fiene Ut boek is ____
 Ut ____ boek

werómfiene Ut kien is ____
 Ut ____ kien

anfrage De fergunning is _
 De _ fergunning

ô(f)breke Ut huus is _
 Ut _ huus

foarleze Ut boek is _
 Ut _ boek

frage De mînsen binne _
 De _ mînsen

breke Ut glas is _
 Ut _ glas

leze Ut boek is _
 Ut _ boek

Vertalen en invullen

nijdig Jelle waar _ omdat hij niët metdoën kon.
vrij Hij is soa _ as un feugel.
bind Ik _ un touwtje om de bos bloemen.
fornuis Wilste ut _ even skoänmake?
stuiver Jou krijge nog giën _ fan mij.
klom ie Wearóm _ op 'e dak?
sliep ie _ fannacht wel thuus?
brengen Wij _ de boadskippen naar huus.
kan ie _ wat foar mij metnimme?

Zinnetjes vertalen

Bij de kassa staat een lange rij.
 De onbekendheid van die schrijver is vreemd.
 Het is nog zo'n klein kind!

Heb je weleens boekweit gegeten?
 Hij stond er lachend bij.
 Ik hield het vogeltje in mijn handpalm.
 Ik weet niet hoe hij dat gaat oplossen.
 Ze namen de kortste weg naar huis.
 Hij hoort Anne niet binnenkomen.
 In het hoogseizoen gaan veel mensen op reis.
 Jij woont in een mooi huis.
 Luiheid is een menselijke eigenschap.
 Noem je dat wijsheid?
 Paardrijden is een sport.
 Vroeger schreef men op een lei.
 Weet jij waar ie woont?
 Zulk talent is een zeldzaamheid.

Maak zelstandige naamwoorden

Voorbeeld: gek – gekheid

<i>vals</i>	fals__
<i>dicht</i>	dicht__
<i>zwart</i>	swart__
<i>stiif</i>	stiif__
<i>scheel</i>	skeel__
<i>groen</i>	groen__

Geef de verkleinvorm

laag	steek	tor	vlag
riem	stok	trap	weg
schaaf	tang	trui	wiel
spin	tomaat	vaas	woning

Maak de overtreffende trap

Jan woänt fear, maar ik woän nôch (*verder*)
 De appels binne farsk, maar de pearen binne nôch (*verser*)

Vertalen en invullen

<i>prijzig</i>	De druven waren deuze week nôchal _.
<i>gerekend</i>	Ik had ur op _ daste froeger komme sou.
<i>beland</i>	Wear ben ik nou _?
<i>kuieren</i>	Hij liëp te _ deur dunen.
<i>zwijg</i>	Over sommege dingen_ ik liëver.
<i>las ie</i>	___ hor brief hardop foar?

voer ie Un inkele kear ____ later werom.
hopen We ____ daste gauw beter wordste.
wil ie ____ sêlf ók met?

Vragen over het taalgebruik in de familie

1. Wat is uw geboortedatum?

2. Heeft u hier altijd gewoond?

3. Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?
 0 Basisschool 0 Middelbare school 0 M.B.O 0 H.B.O 0 Universiteit
4. Wat is uw beroep (geweest)?

5. Wat is uw huwelijkse staat? 0 Samenwonend
 0 Alleenstaand 0 Getrouwd 0 Weduwe/weduwnaar 0 Gescheiden
Σ vraag 10
6. Wat is de geboorteplaats van uw (ex)
 partner?

7. Wat is/was het beroep van uw (ex) partner?

8. Welke taal spreekt/sprak u thuis meestal tegen uw (ex) partner?
 0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands 0 Anders, nl.....
9. Welke taal spreekt/sprak uw (ex) partner thuis meestal tegen u?
 0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands 0 Anders, nl.....
10. Wat is de geboorteplaats van uw vader?

11. Wat is/was het beroep van uw vader?

12. Welke taal spreekt/sprak u thuis meestal tegen uw vader?
 0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands 0 Anders, nl.....
13. Welke taal spreekt/sprak uw vader thuis meestal tegen u?
 0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands 0 Anders, nl.....
14. Wat is de geboorteplaats van uw moeder?

15. Wat is/was het beroep van uw moeder?
.....
16. Welke taal spreekt/sprak u thuis meestal tegen uw moeder?
0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands 0 Anders, nl.....
17. Welke taal spreekt/sprak uw moeder thuis meestal tegen u?
0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands 0 Anders, nl.....
18. Welke taal spreekt/sprak u thuis meestal tegen uw grootvader(s)?
1. 0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands 0 Anders, nl.....
2. 0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands 0 Anders, nl.....
19. Welke taal spreekt/sprak uw grootvader thuis meestal tegen u?
1. 0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands 0 Anders, nl.....
2. 0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands 0 Anders, nl.....
20. Welke taal spreekt/sprak u thuis meestal tegen uw grootmoeder(s)?
1. 0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands 0 Anders, nl.....
2. 0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands 0 Anders, nl.....
21. Welke taal spreekt/sprak uw grootmoeder thuis meestal tegen u?
1. 0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands 0 Anders, nl.....
2. 0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands 0 Anders, nl.....
22. Heeft u oudere broers en/of zussen? 0 Ja 0 Nee > **vraag 24**
23. Welke taal spreekt/sprak u thuis met uw oudere broers en/of zussen?
0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands 0 Anders, nl.....
24. Heeft u jongere broers en/of zussen? 0 Ja 0 Nee > **vraag 26**
25. Welke taal spreekt/sprak u thuis met uw jongere broers en/of zussen?
0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands 0 Anders, nl.....
26. Heeft u kinderen? 0 Ja 0 Nee > **vraag 35**
27. Welke taal spreekt u thuis meestal tegen uw kinderen? Hoe oud zijn ze?
1. 0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands 0 Anders, nl..... (leeftijd: __)
2. 0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands 0 Anders, nl..... (leeftijd: __)
3. 0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands 0 Anders, nl..... (leeftijd: __)
4. 0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands 0 Anders, nl..... (leeftijd: __)
28. Welke taal spreken uw kinderen thuis meestal tegen u?
1. 0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands 0 Anders, nl.....
2. 0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands 0 Anders, nl.....

29. Welke taal spreken uw kinderen thuis met elkaar?
0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands 0 Anders, nl.....
30. Moedigt u uw kinderen aan om in dialect te spreken?
0 Erg vaak 0 Vaak 0 Regelmatig 0 Soms 0 Zelden 0 Nooit
31. Corrigeert u het dialect van uw kinderen?
0 Erg vaak 0 Vaak 0 Regelmatig 0 Soms 0 Zelden 0 Nooit
32. Heeft u kleinkinderen? 0 Ja 0 Nee > **vraag 35**
33. Welke taal spreekt u meestal tegen uw kleinkinderen?
0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands 0 Anders, nl.....
34. Welke taal spreken uw kleinkinderen meestal tegen u?
0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands 0 Anders, nl.....
35. Speelt het dialect een belangrijke rol in uw familie?
0 Erg belangrijk 0 Belangrijk 0 Niet zo belangrijk 0 Niet belangrijk

Vragen over het overige taalgebruik

36. Wat spreekt u met..?
- | | | | | |
|----------------------------|------------|---------|--------------|----------|
| buren | 0 Amelands | 0 Fries | 0 Nederlands | 0 n.v.t. |
| mensen van uw vereniging | 0 Amelands | 0 Fries | 0 Nederlands | 0 n.v.t. |
| collega's op het werk | 0 Amelands | 0 Fries | 0 Nederlands | 0 n.v.t. |
| caissière in de supermarkt | 0 Amelands | 0 Fries | 0 Nederlands | 0 n.v.t. |
| klanten op het werk | 0 Amelands | 0 Fries | 0 Nederlands | 0 n.v.t. |
| pastoor/dominee | 0 Amelands | 0 Fries | 0 Nederlands | 0 n.v.t. |
| dokter | 0 Amelands | 0 Fries | 0 Nederlands | 0 n.v.t. |
| burgemeester | 0 Amelands | 0 Fries | 0 Nederlands | 0 n.v.t. |
37. Wat spreekt u als u vreselijk kwaad bent?
0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands
38. Wat spreekt u tegen Friezen op Ameland?
0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands
39. Wat spreekt u tegen andere niet-Amelanders op Ameland?
0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands
40. Wat spreekt u tegen Friezen als u aan de vaste wal bent?
0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands
41. Wat spreekt u tegen andere niet-Amelanders als u aan de vaste wal bent?
0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands

42. Welke taal spreekt u het liefst? 0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands
43. In welke taal denkt u? 0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands
44. In welke taal rekent u? 0 Amelands 0 Fries 0 Nederlands

Vragen over sociale contacten

1. Mijn familieleden met wie ik veel contact onderhoud wonen
- | | | |
|----------------|---------------------------|----------|
| 0 in Hollum | 0 in Ballum | |
| 0 in Nes | 0 in Buren | |
| 0 in Friesland | 0 elders aan de vaste wal | 0 n.v.t. |
2. Mijn vrienden/kennissen met wie ik veel contact onderhoud wonen
- | | | |
|----------------|---------------------------|----------|
| 0 in Hollum | 0 in Ballum | |
| 0 in Nes | 0 in Buren | |
| 0 in Friesland | 0 elders aan de vaste wal | 0 n.v.t. |
3. *Ik heb het langst gewerkt*
- | | | |
|----------------|---------------------------|----------|
| 0 in Hollum | 0 in Ballum | |
| 0 in Nes | 0 in Buren | |
| 0 in Friesland | 0 elders aan de vaste wal | 0 n.v.t. |
4. Mijn meeste collega's wonen/woonden
- | | | |
|----------------|---------------------------|----------|
| 0 in Hollum | 0 in Ballum | |
| 0 in Nes | 0 in Buren | |
| 0 in Friesland | 0 elders aan de vaste wal | 0 n.v.t. |
5. Collega's met wie ik ook privé omga wonen/woonden
- | | | |
|----------------|---------------------------|----------|
| 0 in Hollum | 0 in Ballum | |
| 0 in Nes | 0 in Buren | |
| 0 in Friesland | 0 elders aan de vaste wal | 0 n.v.t. |
6. Ik ben sociaal actief (verenigingen, clubs)
- | | | |
|----------------|---------------------------|----------|
| 0 in Hollum | 0 in Ballum | |
| 0 in Nes | 0 in Buren | |
| 0 in Friesland | 0 elders aan de vaste wal | 0 n.v.t. |
7. Ik ben regelmatig te vinden op de vereniging/club
- 0 5x of meer per maand 0 nooit

0 1-4x per maand 0 n.v.t.
 0 0-1x per maand

8. De meeste mensen van mijn vereniging/club wonen

0 in Hollum 0 in Ballum
 0 in Nes 0 in Buren
 0 in Friesland 0 elders aan de vaste wal 0 n.v.t.

9. Ik stem op een lokale politieke partij

0 van Hollum 0 van Ballum
 0 van Nes 0 van Buren
 0 van Friesland 0 van elders 0 n.v.t.

10. Ik koop mijn kleding meestal

0 in Hollum 0 in Ballum
 0 in Nes 0 in Buren
 0 in Friesland 0 elders aan de vaste wal 0 n.v.t.

11. Ik ga naar de kerk *Mag ik ook vragen welke religie u aanhangt?*

0 in Hollum 0 in Ballum
 0 in Nes 0 in Buren
 0 in Friesland 0 elders aan de vaste wal 0 n.v.t.

12. Ik doe mee aan het Sunneklaasfeest

0 in Hollum 0 in Ballum
 0 in Nes 0 in Buren
 0 in Friesland 0 elders aan de vaste wal 0 n.v.t.

13. Ik doe mijn wekelijkse boodschappen

0 in Hollum 0 in Ballum
 0 in Nes 0 in Buren
 0 in Friesland 0 elders aan de vaste wal 0 n.v.t.

14. Ik ga regelmatig over met de boot

0 5x of meer per maand
 0 1-4x per maand
 0 0-1x per maand
 0 nooit

15. Ik spreek dagelijks vooral met mensen

0 in Hollum	0 in Ballum	
0 in Nes	0 in Buren	
0 in Friesland	0 elders aan de vaste wal	0 n.v.t.

16. Ik zou het niet erg vinden om te verhuizen

0 naar Hollum	0 naar Ballum	
0 naar Nes	0 naar Buren	
0 Friesland	0 elders aan de vaste wal	0 n.v.t.

17. Ik ben geïnteresseerd in de geschiedenis

0 van Hollum	0 van Ballum	
0 van Nes	0 van Buren	
0 Friesland	0 Nederland	0 n.v.t.

18. Geef uw mening over de volgende stellingen.

Lokale tradities moeten in stand worden gehouden	1 2 3 4 5
Er zou een dijk moeten komen naar het vasteland	1 2 3 4 5
Er komt teveel import op het eiland wonen	1 2 3 4 5
Er komen teveel toeristen op het eiland	1 2 3 4 5

Tenslotte:

**Wilt u meewerken aan de opname van spontane spraak in de vorm van een
groepsgesprek?**

Ja 0 Nee 0

Bedankt voor uw deelname!

Appendix IV. Frequency tables for the linguistic variables *Cf. chapter 6*

Variable 1.

word	dictionary	west /i:/	east /ɛ:/	isle /i/	dialect total	Dutch	sum	missing
dijk	diek	0	0	58	58	2	60	0
pijp	piip	46	0	6	52	8	60	0
rijm	riem	3	0	36	39	21	60	0
ijs	ies	0	0	58	58	2	60	0
lijn	lien	2	1	18	21	39	60	0
bijten	biete	0	0	60	60	0	60	0
rijmen	rieme	9	0	39	48	12	60	0
lijm	liëm	53	1	6	60	0	60	0
spijt	spiet	0	0	59	59	1	60	0
vijf	fèèf (w) vijf (o)	0	26	0	26	34	60	0
spijtig	spietech	0	0	55	55	3	58	2
dijken	dieken	0	0	60	60	0	60	0
rijden	rije	1	0	5	6	53	59	1
tijd	tiid (w) tèèd (o)	32	26	0	58	2	60	0
vijg	fiich	21	0	4	25	35	60	0
ijzer	iezer	28	0	32	60	0	60	0
wijn	wien	0	0	60	60	0	60	0
rijk	riek	0	0	60	60	0	60	0
bijt	biet	0	0	60	60	0	60	0
pijl	piel	0	7	44	51	9	60	0
wijs	wies	2	0	57	59	1	60	0
lijven	lieven	9	0	37	46	9	55	5
blij	bliid (w) blèèd (o)	20	17	5	42	18	60	0
schijnen	skiene	0	0	50	50	5	55	5
kijken	kieke	0	0	57	57	0	57	3
kwijlen	kwiele	0	2	53	55	5	60	0
rijp	riep	1	0	59	60	0	60	0
stijl	>steil=steèl	0	39	1	40	20	60	0

zij	sij	0	0	1	1	54	55	5
nijd	x	3	6	10	19	37	56	4
strijd	x	7	3	8	18	42	60	0
wijf	wife	0	0	60	60	0	60	0
zijde	siide (w) sèède (o)	17	12	2	31	28	59	1
lijmen	liëme	49	0	11	60	0	60	0
stijven	stiive	50	0	0	50	0	50	10
tijden	tiiden (w) tèèden (o)	30	23	0	53	5	58	2
vijlen	fiel	0	3	48	51	9	60	0
wijnen	wienen	0	0	47	47	0	47	13
bij	bij	0	0	1	1	59	60	0
slijpen	sliepe	0	0	60	60	0	60	0
knippen	kniepen	0	0	60	60	0	60	0
nijdig	niedeche	2	2	15	19	30	49	11
vrij	frij	0	0	0	0	60	60	0
rij	rij	0	0	0	0	60	60	0
prijzig	priizech	48	0	8	56	0	56	4
zwijg	swiig	22	0	18	40	17	57	3

Variable 2.

word	dictionary	west /o:ə/	east /ɔ:ə/	new /o/	dialect total	Du tch	su m	mi ssi ng
fout	x	0	3	12	15	44	59	1
golf	golf	0	0	0	0	60	60	0
jonagold	x	1	0	0	1	59	60	0
psalm	x	0	0	0	0	60	60	0
vals	fals	0	0	0	0	58	58	2
kabouter	keboäter (w) kebòter (o)	2	7	7	16	43	59	1
waldhoorn	x	2	2	0	4	52	56	4
alp	x	0	0	0	0	60	60	0
bouten	boät (w) bòöt (o)	12	21	0	33	26	59	1
goud	goäd (w)	13	42	0	55	4	59	1

	gòòd (o)							
hout	hoät (w) hòòt (o)	22	35	0	57	3	60	0
houden	houwe	1	0	3	4	55	59	1
stolp	x	0	0	0	0	50	50	10
zout	soät (w) sòòt (o)	21	32	0	53	7	60	0
alt	x	0	0	0	0	60	60	0
esmerald	x	0	0	0	0	58	58	2
gehalte	gehalte	0	0	0	0	60	60	0
malt	x	0	0	0	0	59	59	1
polder	pólder	0	0	0	0	60	60	0
schouder	skoäder (w) skòder (o)	20	38	0	58	2	60	0
verkouden	ferkoäden (w) ferkòden (o)	24	30	0	54	6	60	0
alternatief	x	0	0	0	0	59	59	1
pols	póls	0	0	0	0	60	60	0
schout	x	0	3	3	6	50	56	4
asfalt	x	0	0	0	0	57	57	3
folder	x	0	0	0	0	58	58	2
inhoud	inhoäd (w) inhòòd (o)	3	4	18	25	35	60	0
kalk	kalk	0	0	0	0	60	60	0
schouten	x	0	3	2	5	53	58	2
volt	x	0	0	0	0	60	60	0
oud	oäd (w) òòd (o)	22	35	0	57	3	60	0
fouten	x	0	1	19	20	40	60	0
gestalte	x	0	0	0	0	55	55	5
zolder	soäder (w) sòder (o)	16	24	0	40	20	60	0
koud	koäd (w) kòòd (o)	20	40	0	60	0	60	0
kalf	kâlf	0	0	0	0	60	60	0
onthouden	onthouwe	1	4	15	20	40	60	0

halte	x	0	0	0	0	60	60	0
bolder	x	0	0	0	0	53	53	7
kobold	x	0	0	0	0	58	58	2
volk	fólk	0	0	0	0	58	58	2
palm	palm	0	0	0	0	49	49	11

Variable 3.

word	dictionary	Dutch	isle	east	west	missing	other
kom	koemke	27	26			2	5 (pje)
ring	rinkje	31	29				
koning	koäninkje		54			6	
deel	deelke (w), deeltje (o)			42	10	8	
ster	sterke (w), stertje (o)	37		5	15	2	1 (kje)
stof	stofke (w), stofje (o)			38	21	1	
ei	eike	43	17				
baas	baaske (o en w), baasje (o)		25	33		2	
dak	dakje		59			1	
haar	haarke (w), haartje (o)			39	21		
zeef	seefke (w), seefje (o)			33	26	1	
teen	toänke	39	1				20 (tke)
pot	potke (w), potje (o)			42	18		
steeg	steechje (w), steichje (o)		59				1 (ie)
zaak	saakje		55			3	2 (ie)
boom	boomke (w), boompje (o)			45	13	2	
bel	belke	28	22				9 (tje) 1 (tsje)
bodem	boademke (w), boadempje (o)			44	14	2	
bon	bónke (w),	35		20	2	2	1 (tsje)

	bó'ntje (o)						
gat	gatke (w), gatje (o)			38	20	1	1 (tsje)
graf	grafke (w), grafje (o)			36	22	2	
haan	haantke (w), haanke (o), haantje (o)			39 (tje)	20		1 (tsje)
hand	handke (w), handje (o)			38	21		
hond	hóndke (w), hóndje (o)			38	21		
jas	jaske (w), jasje (o)			37	23		
kado	kedootje		58			1	1 (tsje)
kier	kierke (w), kiertje		37		22		1 (tsje)
kind	kiendke (w), kienke (o)	23		1	34	2	
lam	lamke	25	31				3 (pje) 1(tsje)
loop	loopke (w), loopje (o)			41	18		1 (tsje)
pop	pópke	5	29			1	25 (je)
reep	reepke (w), reepje (o)			37	23		
les	leske (w), lesje (o)			57	3		
laag	laachje		54			1	5 (ke)
rijm	riemke (w), riempje (o)			37	22		1 (kje)
schaaf	skaafke (w), skaafje (o)			40	19	1	
spin	spintke (w), spi'ntje (o)	32		5	20		2 (ke) 1(kje)
steek	steekje		60				
stok	stokje		59				1 (tsje)
tang	tankje	35	20			3	2 (ke)
tomaat	temaatke (w),			43	16		1 (tsje)

	temaatje (o)						
tor	torke (w), tortje (o)	41			19		
trap	trapke (w), trapje (o)	3		36	21		
trui	truike (w), truitje (o)			46	11		2 (tke) 1 (tsje)
vaas	faaske (w), faasje (o)			35	25		
vlag	flâchje	24	25				1 (ke)
weg	wechje	21	30				9 (ke)
wiel	wiëlke (w), wieltje (o)			35	23	2	

Variable 5.

word	diction ary	isle /y/	old /u/	old /œ/	new /ø/	new /øy/	dia lect	dut ch	su m	mi ssi ng
sluier	x	1	0	0	2	2	5	55	60	0
duim	duum	60	0	0	0	0	60	0	60	0
puist	poest, puust	33	26	0	0	0	59	0	59	1
lui	x (wel: luilak)	0	0	0	1	2	3	56	59	1
duit	dööt	19	0	7	3	1	30	29	59	1
juist	just (w) juust (o)	56	0	0	0	0	56	3	59	1
kruimel	kroeme l	44	16	0	0	0	60	0	60	0
pui	x	1	0	0	1	3	5	53	58	2
bui	bui, boai	0	0	0	1	0	1	59	60	0
duivel	duvel	60	0	0	0	0	60	0	60	0
spuiten	spöte	12	0	14	1	0	27	32	59	1
fluit	flööt	6	0	21	6	0	33	26	59	1
manlui	mânlui, mânlje	4	0	0	0	4	8	48	56	4

muis	muus	60	0	0	0	0	60	0	60	0
fornuis	x	34	0	0	1	0	35	18	53	7
fruit	frööt	4	0	7	5	0	16	44	60	0
trui	trui	0	0	0	1	1	2	58	60	0
buik	buuk	60	0	0	0	0	60	0	60	0
vuist	foest	37	23	0	0	0	60	0	60	0
zuid	suud	59	0	0	0	0	59	0	59	1
duinen	dune (w), duun (o)	60	0	0	0	0	60	0	60	0
rui	x	0	0	0	1	2	3	56	59	1
Duits	Duuts	60	0	0	0	0	60	0	60	0
ruilen	röle	1	0	31	3	1	36	24	60	0
stuiver	stuver	60	0	0	0	0	60	0	60	0
kuieren	kuiere	0	0	0	1	0	1	59	60	0

Variable 6.

word	dictionary	isle /ɛ:/	hyper correct /i/	new /e/	dialect total	Du tch	su m	mis sin g
beleid	x	4	2	0	6	52	58	2
eik	x	0	1	0	1	59	60	0
heide	hède	6	0	0	6	54	60	0
meid	mèèd	43	0	0	43	17	60	0
weide	wède	11	1	0	12	33	45	15
zeil	sèèl	40	3	0	43	17	60	0
kleien	x (klei)	0	0	0	0	60	60	0
heilig	hèlech	7	0	0	7	53	60	0
kei	x (keihâ'd)	0	0	0	0	54	54	6
weinig	weinech	10	1	0	11	49	60	0
eieren	eie's	0	0	0	0	59	59	1
eiken	x (ekenhoät)	0	1	0	1	59	60	0
geheimen	x	2	1	0	3	54	57	3
keizer	x	0	0	0	0	60	60	0
ei	ei	0	0	0	0	60	60	0

kleiner	x (klèèn)	44	0	0	44	16	60	0
geheim	x	2	0	0	2	58	60	0
eis	x	0	0	0	0	59	59	1
kapitein	kaptèèn	3	0	0	3	57	60	0
geiten	gèten	50	0	0	50	10	60	0
keien	x	0	0	0	0	57	57	3
geit	gèèt	53	0	0	53	7	60	0
klei	klei	0	0	0	0	57	57	3
paleis	x	2	1	0	3	54	57	3
reizen	reize	0	0	0	0	51	51	9
afscheid	x (ôfskeie)	1	11	0	12	48	60	0
heien	heie (ww)	0	0	0	0	59	59	1
bereik	x	0	25	0	25	28	53	7
pleiten	pleite	1	3	0	4	53	57	3
zeilen	sèle	26	3	0	29	31	60	0
eigen	ègen	20	0	0	20	39	59	1
bereiken	x	0	34	0	34	24	58	2
moeheid	moëdeg- hèèd	15	5	0	20	32	52	8
dweil	dwèèl	49	1	0	50	10	60	0
steigeren	steigere	1	0	0	1	59	60	0
zeis	sèèn	19	0	0	19	41	60	0
klein	klèèn	27	0	1	30	30	60	0
boekweit	(boekwètég o't)	6	2	0	8	49	57	3
seizoen	x	0	0	0	0	23	23	37
reis	reis	0	0	0	0	57	57	3
lei	(leistiën)	0	0	0	0	60	60	0

Variable 7.

words	dictionary	dialect	intermediate	Dutch	missing
ongelijk	x	2	11	39	8
spontaan	x	2	14	39	5
kaal	x	3	16	35	6
hard	hâ'deghèèd	24	27	8	1
benauwd	benâuwdegheèd	30	20	10	0

vaag	x	10	28	22	0
verliefd	x	16	26	18	0
mak	x	15	31	14	0
beleefd	x	5	24	30	1
gezond	gesóndhèèd	0	15	44	1
laf	laffeghèèd	3	12	45	0
machteloos	machteloashèèd	2	13	45	0
gehoorzaam	gehoarsaamhèèd	3	18	36	3
traag	x	2	18	38	2
volmaakt	x	1	24	33	2
gemeen	gemiëneghèèd	26	20	14	0
sloom	x	22	26	10	2
stiekem	stiekemeghèèd	28	22	9	1
rauw	râuweghèèd	20	24	14	2
onbezorgd	x	10	32	17	1
lelijk	lelek(eg)hèèd	9	29	20	2
sterk	sterkeghèèd	15	20	15	10
zinloos	x	9	27	17	7
dom	dómmeghèèd	32	19	8	1
schoon	skoäneghèèd	0	18	37	5
verlaten	x	2	19	28	11
oud	oädhèèd	1	29	24	6
moe	moëdeghèèd	11	16	25	8
vrij	frijhèèd	0	22	38	0
gelijk	x	3	23	32	2
vrijblijvend	x	2	11	41	6
vervelend	ferfelendeghèèd	21	19	18	2
ouderwets	x	22	28	9	1
misselijk	misselekhèèd	12	23	25	0
verkouden	ferkodeneghèèd	14	28	18	0
verlegen	x	13	23	24	0
onbekend	ónbekindeghèèd	6	26	25	3

lui	x	6	15	38	1
wijs	x	1	13	43	3
zeldzaam	seldsaamhèèd	4	13	35	8
vals	falseghèèd	16	23	19	2
dicht	dichteghèèd	9	22	28	1
zwart	swa'teghèèd	21	22	15	2
stijf	stiveghèèd	15	29	15	1
scheel	x	19	27	12	2
groen	x	27	27	5	1

Variable 8.

word	verb type	E	EN
hoopten	past	17	33
kijken	gerund	6	54
maken	present	48	10
aten	past	33	19
maakten	past	41	9
doorpraten	gerund	12	47
horen	present	33	21
speelden	past	11	30
huilden	past	20	20
kloppen	gerund	5	52
lopen	present	44	16
hoorden	past	23	24
misten	past	27	31
dansen	gerund	9	51
eten	present	46	14
brachten	past	28	31
wachtten	past	34	25
lopen	gerund	12	48
nemen	present	54	6
woonden	past	13	12

lezen	gerund	4	55
roepen	gerund	2	57
spelen	present	42	14
liepen	past	44	14
ophalen	gerund	19	39
brengen	present	50	10
namen	past	50	6
komen	gerund	6	53
hopen	present	41	18

Variable 9.

word	dictionary	r absent	r present	sum	missing
aardig	aa'dech (w), arech (o)	48	11	59	1
karnemelk	x	7	36	43	17
kern	x	3	53	56	4
erwt	o't	44	16	60	0
verkeerd	ferkea'd	57	2	60	0
kersen	ka'sen (w), ke'sen (o)	21	39	60	0
vers	fa'sk	17	37	54	6
doornen	doa'nen	32	28	60	0
beurzen	(beu'ze (w): kletsen)	28	30	58	2
hoorn	hoa'n	29	30	59	1
kaarsen	kea'zen	54	5	59	1
kwartier	ke'tier (w), kwa'tier	56	4	60	0
soort	soa't	45	9	54	6
barst	ba'st	55	4	59	1
bierbuik	(bier)	6	51	57	3
kers	ka's (w), ke's (o)	20	40	60	0
voorlezen	foarleze	16	44	60	0
verhuizen	ferhuze	0	58	58	2

fornuis	x	4	49	53	7
voorkeur	x	32	26	58	2
modern	x	0	57	57	3
oorlel	oarlel	17	43	60	0
korter	kó'ter	56	4	60	0
soorten	soa'ten	52	8	60	0
popcorn	x	10	50	60	0
kernen	x	2	56	58	2
hart	ha't	52	8	60	0
lantaarn	lantearen	4	56	60	0
mars	(ma's: korf of bak)	7	53	60	0
urn	x	3	57	60	0
worst	wó'st	57	3	60	0
barsten	ba'st	54	5	59	1
haarspeld	(haarstrik)	1	59	60	0
barnsteen	x	2	57	59	1
kort	kó't	50	10	60	0
dorsen	dó'se (w), daske (w)	42	18	60	0
beurs	(beu's (w): praatuurtje)	27	31	58	2
garnaal	ge'naat	50	10	60	0
hartig	ha'tech	45	15	60	0
start	(starte)	10	50	60	0
zuurstok	suurstok, suurstang	20	40	60	0
kwart	kwa't	48	12	60	0
kaars	kea's	57	3	60	0
paard	pea'd	53	7	60	0
sport	x	30	30	60	0
verder	fea'der	39	21	60	0
verser	(fa'sk)	22	33	55	5

Variable 10.

word	dictionary	d- deletie	del +vow	long vow	Dutch	missing
------	------------	---------------	-------------	-------------	-------	---------

bont	bónt	0	0	6	53	1
kont	kónt	0	0	3	56	1
tand	tân	49	0	1	10	0
kind	kien	0	55	0	5	0
gapend	(gape)	0	0	0	52	8
verwend	(ferwinne)	0	0	0	49	11
mondig	móndech	0	0	1	59	0
strand	strân	45	0	1	14	0
wind1	wien	0	24	0	30	6
arend	x	0	0	0	60	0
land1	lân	25	2	3	4	26
tandarts	x	2	0	0	40	18
eiland	eilân	17	5	4	16	18
slapende	(slape)	0	0	0	60	0
honden	hoa'nen	1	55	0	3	1
getekend	tekend	0	0	0	60	0
vond	fón	0	44	0	12	4
winderig	wienech, wienerech	0	16	0	33	11
tent	tint	0	0	0	59	1
vind	fien	0	57	0	2	1
kinderlijk	kienderlek	0	3	0	55	2
hond	hoa'n	57	1	0	2	0
krant	krant	3	0	5	52	0
spelend	(speule)	0	0	0	51	9
zandbak	(sân-)	39	13	0	8	0
cent	sint	0	1	0	59	0
handig	handech	0	0	2	55	3
land2	lân	56	0	1	3	0
toestand	x	31	1	6	22	0
bemand	(bemanne)	0	0	14	46	0
kinderen	kiende's	0	47	0	13	0
losbandig	losbandech	2	0	1	46	11
ontkend	óntkind	0	0	0	56	4
landverrader	lânferrader	9	0	1	50	0
brand	brân	41	2	5	12	0
landen	(lân)	53	1	0	3	3
avond	aven	0	44	0	16	0

pond	poan	50	0	0	9	1
levend	levendech	0	0	0	60	0
wind2	wien	0	35	0	25	0
gerend	x	0	0	0	35	25
duizend	duzend	0	0	0	60	0
plant	plant	0	0	5	53	2
tandvlees	tânfleis	39	3	4	14	0
liggend	(lêge)	0	0	0	55	5
ponden	poanen	29	0	3	4	24
winden	wienen	0	34	0	18	8
mondvol	moanfól	39	0	3	7	11
tanden	tânnen	52	7	0	1	0
bind	bien	0	59	0	1	0
gerekend	rekend	0	0	0	59	1
stond	stónd, sting	0	3	0	57	0
lachend	(lache)	0	0	0	56	4
beland	belande (o), belânne (w)	5	0	26	28	1

Variable 11.

word	word type	suffix	no suffix	missing
gevonden	participle	59	1	0
gevonden	adjective	28	32	0
teruggevonden	participle	60	0	0
teruggevonden	adjective	41	16	3
aangevraagd	participle	60	0	0
aangevraagd	adjective	25	33	2
afgebroken	participle	60	0	0
afgebroken	adjective	31	28	1
voorgelezen	participle	59	1	0
voorgelezen	adjective	30	27	3
gevraagd	participle	57	3	0
gevraagd	adjective	26	33	1
gebroken	participle	57	2	1
gebroken	adjective	24	35	1
gelezen	participle	54	5	1
gelezen	adjective	26	33	1

Variable 12.

word	stou (ste, st)	jou (je)	dou (de)	sto (jo, do)	jij	missing
waar jij	45	12	0	3	0	0
of jij	40	11	0	5	1	3
nu je	45	13	1	0	0	1
die je	47	10	0	3	0	0
hoelang je	39	15	0	1	0	5
wat jij	42	12	0	6	0	0
ben jij	40	10	0	9	0	1
blijf jij	50	0	0	10	0	0
mag je	59	0	0	0	0	1
waarover je	51	0	0	0	0	9
dat jij	51	0	0	8	0	1
hoe je	59	0	0	0	0	1
als je	59	0	0	1	0	0
kom jij	54	0	1	4	0	1
wie je	60	0	0	0	0	0
kun je	59	0	0	1	0	0
waar jij	53	0	0	6	0	1
die jij	40	10	1	9	0	0
hou jij	24	5	8	10	2	11
waarom je	41	11	1	1	0	6
je ruikt	4	14	40	2	0	0
heb jij	39	11	0	8	0	2
dat je	46	12	0	2	0	0
ga jij	30	10	4	14	0	2
wanneer je	43	12	0	2	0	3
je spelt	3	16	39	2	0	0
dat jij	53	0	0	7	0	0
ken jij	50	0	0	10	0	0
jij hebt	10	0	37	11	0	2
waar jij	49	1	0	8	0	2

dat je	57	0	0	2	0	1
heb jij	46	0	0	14	0	0
toen jij	48	0	0	12	0	0
ben je	48	10	0	2	0	0
lees jij	37	11	6	5	0	1
terwijl je	32	12	3	9	0	4
ben jij	37	8	0	14	0	1
dat je	43	13	0	1	0	3
jij kan	1	14	40	5	0	0
loop jij	30	10	7	4	0	9
je bent	3	9	44	2	0	2
jij woont	1	11	44	4	0	0

Appendix V. Examples of spectrograms

Figure 1. Mean F-values for west

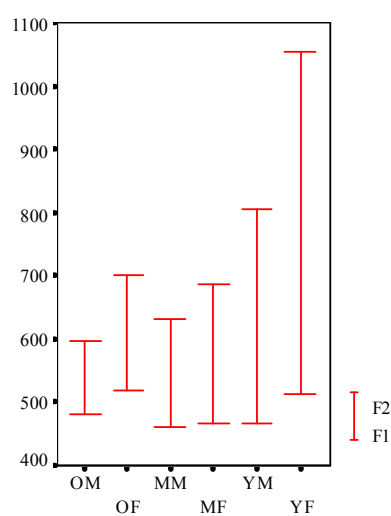
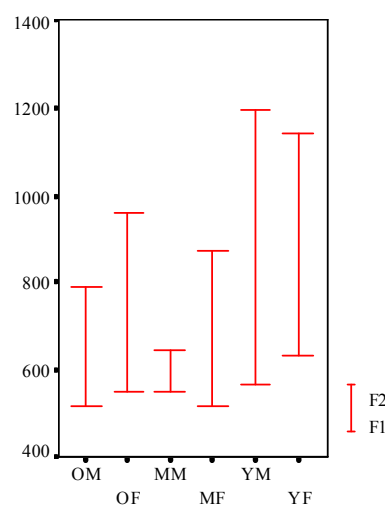
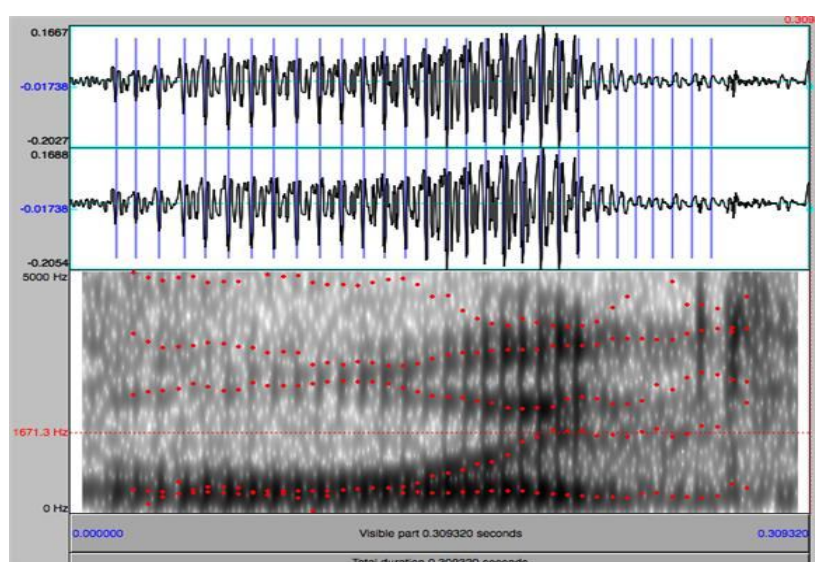


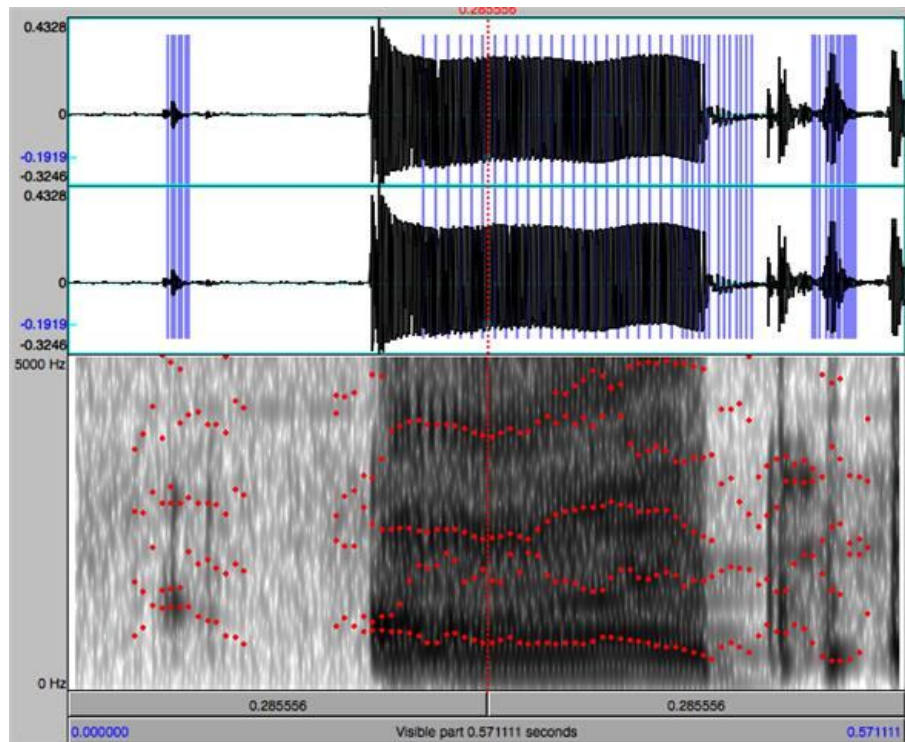
Figure 2. Mean F-values for east



Spectrogram 1. Old Male West: pronunciation of of du. /au/



Spectrogram 2. Young Female East: pronunciation of of du. /au/



References

- Adger, D. 2003. *Core Syntax: A Minimalist Approach*. Oxford University Press.
- Aitchison, J. 1991. *Language change: Progress or decay?* Second edition. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Ajzen, I. & Fishbein, M. (eds.) 1980. *Understanding attitudes and predicting social behaviour*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Ammon, U. 1973. *Dialekt und Einheitssprache in ihrer sozialen Verflechtung; eine empirische Untersuchung zu einem vernachlässigten Aspekt von Sprache und sozialer Ungleichheit*. Weinheim und Basel: Beltz Verlag.
- Andersen, H. 1988. 'Center and periphery: adoption, diffusion and spread'. In: J. Fisiak (ed.) *Historical dialectology*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 39-83.
- Appel, R. & Muysken, P. 1987. *Language contact and bilingualism*. New York: Edward Arnold.
- Auer, P. & Hinskens, F. 1996. 'The convergence and divergence of dialects in Europe. New and not so new developments in an old area'. *Sociolinguistica* 10: 1-30.
- Auer, P., Hinskens, F. & Kerswill, P. (eds.) 2005. *Dialect change. Convergence and Divergence in European Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bailey, C.J.N. 1982. *On the yin and yang nature of language*. Ann Arbor: Karoma.
- Bakker, H. 1970. *Ameland. Van Hollum tot de Hon*. Haren-GN: Knoop & Niemeijer.
- Barbiers, S. & Bennis, H. & De Vogelaer, G. 2005. *Syntactische Atlas van de Nederlandse Dialecten/Syntactic Atlas of the Dutch Dialects*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Barbiers, S. & van der Auwera, J. & Bennis, H. & Boef, E. & De Vogelaer, G. & van der Ham, M. 2008. *Syntactische Atlas van de Nederlandse Dialecten Deel II / Syntactic Atlas of the Dutch Dialects Volume II*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Berendsen, E. 1986. *The phonology of Cliticization*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.

Berteloot, A. 2003. 'Van 'du' naar 'ghi'. Een keerpunt in het pronominale systeem van het Nederlands'. In: *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde*: 204 - 215.

Brouwer, D. 1936. *Ameland. Een sociaal-geografische studie van een Waddeneiland*. Proefschrift Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht. Amsterdam: H.J. Paris.

Brouwer, D. 1989. *Gender Variation in Dutch. A Sociolinguistic Study of Amsterdam Speech*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.

Bybee, J. 2002. 'Word frequency and context of use in the lexical diffusion of phonetically conditioned sound change'. *Language Variation and Change* 14: 261-290.

Chambers, J., Trudgill, P. & Schilling-Estes, N. (eds.). 2002. *The handbook of language variation and change*. Oxford/Malden: Blackwell.

Cheshire, J. 2005. 'Syntactic variation and beyond: Gender and social class variation in the use of discourse-new markers'. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 9 (4): 479-508.

Cheshire, J., Kerswill, P. & Williams, A. 2005. 'Phonology, grammar and discourse in dialect convergence'. In: P. Auer, F. Hinskens, & P. Kerswill (eds.) *Dialect Change: The convergence and Divergence of Dialects in European language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 135-167.

Chomsky, N. 1981. 'Principles and parameters in syntactic theory'. In: N. Hornstein and D. Lightfoot (eds.) *Explanation in Linguistics: The logical problem of language acquisition*. London and New York: Longman, 32-75.

Cooper, R. & Fishman, J. 1974. 'The Study of Language Attitudes'. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 3: 5-21.

- Cooper, R. & Fishman, J. 1977. 'A study of attitudes'. In: J. Fishman, R. Cooper & A. Conrad (eds.) *The spread of English*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers, 239-276.
- De Boer, B. 1950. *Studie over het dialect van Hindeloopen*. Assen: Van Gorcum.
- De Haan, G. 1994. 'Inflection and cliticization in Frisian'. *NOWELE* 23: 75-91.
- De Haan Hettema, M. 1855. 'Het eiland Ameland'. *Nieuwe Friesche Volksalmanak*: 27-88.
- De Jong, S. & Riemersma, A. 1994. *Taalpeiling yn Fryslan. Onderzoek naar de beheersing van het Fries en het Nederlands aan het einde van de basisschool*. PhD thesis, Katholieke Universiteit Brabant. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.
- De Saussure, F. 1916. *Cours de linguistique générale*, ed. C. Bally and A. Sechehaye, with the collaboration of A. Riedlinger. Lausanne and Paris: Payot.
- De Schutter, G. 1989. *Pronominale clitica in de Nederlandse dialecten*. Antwerpen: Antwerp Papers in Linguistics.
- De Schutter, G. 1995. 'Werkwoordvolgorde en het IPP-effect in het Nederlandse taalgebied'. *Taal & Tongval* 47: 31-39.
- De Schutter, G. & Taeldeman, J. 1994. 'Studies in r-klein II. /r/ in hoofdtonige syllabe voor medeklinker'. In: G. de Schutter, J. Taeldeman and A. Weijnen (eds.) *R- zes visies op een kameleon*. *Taal & Tongval*, themanummer 7.
- De Vink, L. 2004. *Dialect en dialectverandering in Katwijk aan Zee*. Delft: Eburon.
- Driessen, G. 2006. 'Ontwikkelingen in het gebruik van streektaalen en dialecten in de periode 1995-2003'. *Toegepaste Taalwetenschap* 1: 103-113.
- Dyer, J. 2002. 'We all speak the same round here. Dialect levelling in a Scottish-English community'. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 6: 99-116.
- Dyer, J. & Wassink, A. 2001. 'Taakin' Braad and Talking Broad: the changing indexicality of phonological variants'. *Texas Linguistic Forum* 44 (2): 288-301.

Eckert, P. 1997. 'Age as a Sociolinguistic Variable'. In: F. Coulmas (ed.) *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. Oxford/Malden: Blackwell, 151-167.

Eckert, P. 2000. *Linguistic variation as social practice*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Edwards, W. 1992. 'Sociolinguistic behavior in a Detroit inner-city black neighborhood'. *Language in Society* 21: 93-115.

Eijkman, L. 1913. *Phonetische beschrijving van de klanken der Hindeloopensche taal*. Amsterdam: J. Müller.

Extra, G. 2004. 'Taal en identiteit. De vitaliteit van minderheidstalen in vergelijkend perspectief'. *Taal en Tongval* 56 (17): 109-134.

Fishman, J. 1977. 'Language and Ethnicity'. In: H. Giles (ed.) *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations*. London: Academic Press.

Fishman, J. (ed.) 1999. *Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Fokkema, K. 1937. *Het Stadsfries: een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis en de grammatica van het dialect van Leeuwarden*. Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp.

Gerritsen, M. 1999. 'Divergence of dialects in a linguistic laboratory near the Belgian - Dutch - German border: Similar dialects under the influence of different standard languages'. *Language Variation and Change* 11: 43-65.

Giesbers, C. 2008. *Dialecten op de grens van twee talen. Een dialectologisch en sociolinguïstisch onderzoek in het Kleverlands dialectcontinuüm*. PhD thesis, Radboud University, Nijmegen.

Giles, H. (ed.) 1977. *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations*. London: Academic Press.

Giles, H., Richard, Bourhis, R.Y. & Taylor, D. 1977. 'Toward a Theory of Language in Ethnic Group Relations'. In: H. Giles (ed.) *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations*. London: Academic Press: 307-348.

- Goeman, T., De Schutter, G., Van den Berg, B. & De Jong, T. 2005. *Morphological Atlas of the Dutch Dialects. Volume I*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Goeman, T. 1999. *T-deletie in Nederlandse dialecten; kwantitatieve analyse van structurele, ruimtelijke en temporele variatie*. PhD thesis, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam.
- Goeman, T., Van Oostendorp, M., Van Reenen, P., Koornwinder, O., Van den Berg, B. & Van Reenen, A. 2008. *Morphological Atlas of the Dutch Dialects. Volume II*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Gorter, D., Jelsma, G., van der Plank, P. & de Vos, K. 1984. *Taal yn Fryslân*. Leeuwarden: Fryske Akademy.
- Gorter, D. & Jonkman, R. 1995. *Taal yn Fryslân op é nij besjoen*. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.
- Gorter, D., Riemersma, A. and Ytsma, J. 2001. 'Frisian in the Netherlands'. In: G. Extra and D. Gorter (ed.) *The other languages of Europe*. Multilingual Matters 118. Cromwell Press Ltd.
- Gumperz, J. 1982. *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Guy, G. 1992. 'Explanation in variable phonology: An exponential model of morphological constraints'. *Language Variation and Change* 3: 1-22.
- Halbertsma, J. 1856. 'De friesche eilanden Schiermonnikoog, Ameland en Terschelling'. *Nieuwe Friesche Volksalmanak*: 76-79.
- Haugen, E. 1950. 'The analysis of linguistic borrowing'. *Language* 26: 210-231.
- Hemminga, P. 2000. *Het beleid inzake unieke regionale talen. Een onderzoek naar het beleid en de beleidsvorming met betrekking tot een drietal unieke regionale talen: het Fries in Nederland en het Noordfries en Sorbisch in Duitsland*. PhD thesis, Universiteit van Amsterdam. Leeuwarden: Fryske Akademy.
- Hinskens, F. 1992. *Dialect levelling in Limburg. Structural and sociolinguistic aspects*. PhD thesis, Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen.

Hinskens, F. 1993. 'Dialectnivellering en regiolectvorming. Bevindingen en beschouwingen'. In: F. Hinskens, C. Hoppenbrouwers, J. Taeldeman (eds.) *Dialectverlies en Regiolectvorming*. Taal & Tongval, themanummer 6.

Hinskens, F. 1998. 'Dialect Levelling: A Two-dimensional Process'. *Folia Linguistica* 32: 35-51.

Hinskens, F. 2001. 'Koineisation and creole genesis. Remarks on Jeff Siegel's contribution'. In: N. Smith and T. Veenstra (eds.) *Creolisation and Contact*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins, 199-218.

Hinskens, F., Kallen, J. & Taeldeman, J. 2000. 'Merging and drifting apart. Convergence and divergence of dialects across political borders'. In: J. Kallen, F. Hinskens and J. Taeldeman (eds.) *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 145: *Convergence and Divergence of Dialects across European Borders*. Berlin/New York: 1-28.

Hinskens, F. & van Oostendorp, M. 2004. 'Coronale nasaal-plosief clusters in de Nederlandse dialecten. Een verkenning.' In: J. de Caluwe & M. DeVos & J. van Keymeulen (red.) *Schatbewaarder van de taal. Liber amicorum Johan Taeldeman*. Academia Press, Gent, 519-545.

Hoekstra, E. 1994. 'Positie- en Bewegingsaspect bij Selectie van de Infinitief op -E of -EN in het Westfries en het Fries'. *Taal en Tongval* 46 (1): 66-73.

Hoekstra, E. & Taanman, W. 1996. 'Een Westfriesse gradatie van het Infinitivus-pro-Participio Effect'. *Nederlandse Taalkunde* 1: 13-25.

Hoekstra, J. 1997. 'Pro-drop, clitisering en voegwoordcongruentie in het Westgermaans'. In: E. Hoekstra & C. Smits (eds.) *Vervoegde voegwoorden*. Amsterdam: P.J. Meertensinstituut, 68-86.

Hoekstra, E. 2000. 'Grammaticale functies van -E en -EN in het Westfries en het Fries en taalcontactgestuurde veranderingen'. In: H. Bennis, H. Ryckeboer & J. Stroop (eds.) *De toekomst van de variatielinguïstiek*. Themanummer Taal en Tongval 52: 136-149.

Hoekstra, E. & Hut, A. 2003. 'Ta de nominalisearjende efterheaksels -ENS en -HEID'. *It Beaken* 65: 19-39.

- Hoekstra, E. & van Koppen, M. 2000. 'Het diminutiefsysteem in het Bildts: Fries of Hollands?' In: D. Boutkan and Quak, A. (eds.) *Language Contact: Substratum, Superstratum, Adstratum in Germanic Languages*, 107-116.
- Hol, A. 1941. 'Het prefix in het verleden deelwoord'. *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse taal- en letterkunde* 60: 249-310.
- Hoppenbrouwers, C. 1990. *Het regiolect. Van dialect tot Algemeen Nederlands*. Muiderberg: Coutinho.
- Højrup, T. 1983. 'The concept of life-mode. A form-specifying mode of analysis applied to contemporary western Europe'. *Ethnologica Scandinavica*: 15-50.
- Hölscher, B. 1998. *Lebensstile durch Werbung? Zur Soziologie der Life-Style-Werbung*. Opladen/Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Hulsen, M. 2000. *Language loss and language processing: Three generations of Dutch migrants in New Zealand*. PhD thesis, Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen.
- Irvine, J. & Gal, S. 2000. 'Language ideology and linguistic differentiation'. In: P. Kroskrity (ed.) *Regimes of Language*. Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research, 35-84.
- Irvine, J. 2001. 'Style' as distinctiveness: The culture and ideology of linguistic differentiation'. In: P. Eckert and J.R. Rickford (eds.) *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 21-43.
- Jansen, M. 2001. 'Dialect op een eiland. Taalbehoud versus taalverlies'. *Taal en Tongval* 53 (1): 22-38.
- Jansen, M. 2002. 'De dialecten van Ameland en Midsland in vergelijking met het Stadsfries'. *Us Wurk* 51 (3-4): 128-153.
- Jansen, M. & van Oostendorp, M. 2004. *Taal van de Wadden*. Den Haag: Sdu Uitgevers.

Jaspaert, K. & Kroon, S. 1988. 'The relationship between language attitudes and language choice'. In: R. van Hout & U. Knops (eds.) *Language attitudes in the Dutch language area*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications, 157-171.

Kerswill, P. & Williams, A. 2000. 'Creating a New Town koine: Children and language change in Milton Keynes'. *Language in Society* 29: 65-115.

Kerswill, P. & Trudgill, P. 2005. 'The birth of new dialects'. In P. Auer, F. Hinskens & P. Kerswill (eds.). *Dialect change: Convergence and divergence in European languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-48.

King, R. 2000. *The lexical basis of grammatical borrowing. A Prince Edward Island French case study*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Klooke, G. 1927. *De Hollandsche expansie in de zestiende en zeventiende eeuw en haar weerspiegeling in de hedendaagsche Nederlandsche dialecten*. 's Gravenhage: Nijhoff.

Koldijk, J. 2004. *Het Bildts, zijn wezen, herkomst en problematiek. Een dialectgeografisch en historisch onderzoek*. Leeuwarden: Fryske Akademy.

Kusters, W. 2003. *Linguistic Complexity. The Influence of Social Change on Verbal Inflection*. PhD thesis, Universiteit Leiden.

Labov, W. 1963. 'The social motivation of a sound change'. *Word* 19: 273-309.

Labov, W. 1966. *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Labov, W. 1972. *Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black English Vernacular*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Labov, W. 1990. 'The intersection of sex and social class in the course of linguistic change'. *Language Variation and Change* 2: 205-254.

Labov, W. 2001. *Principles of Linguistic Change. Vol. 2: Social Factors*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Labov, W. 2007. 'Transmission and diffusion'. *Language* 82(2): 344-387.

- Labov, W. & Harris, W. 1986. 'The fact of segregation of Black and White vernaculars'. In: D. Sankoff (ed.) *Diversity and Diachrony*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1-24.
- Lave, J. & Wenger, E. 1991. *Situated Learning. Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- LePage, R. & Tabouret-Keller, A. 1985. *Acts of Identity. Creole-based Approaches to Language and Ethnicity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lippi-Green, R. 1989. 'Social network integration and language change in progress in a rural alpine village'. *Language in Society* 18 (2): 213-234.
- Mattheier, K. 1980. *Pragmatik und Soziologie der Dialekte; Einführung in die kommunikative Dialektologie des Deutschen*. Heidelberg.
- Milroy, L. 1980. *Language and Social Networks*. Oxford/New York: Blackwell.
- Milroy, J. & Milroy, L. 1985. 'Linguistic change, social network and speaker innovation'. *Journal of Linguistics* 21, 339-84.
- Milroy, J. & Milroy, L. 1992. 'Social network and social class: Toward an integrated sociolinguistic model'. *Language in Society* 21 (1): 1-26.
- Milroy, J., Milroy, L. & Hartley, S. 1994. 'Local and supra-local change in British English: the case of glottalisation'. *English World-Wide* 15 (1): 1-32.
- Muysken, P. 2000. *Bilingual Speech. A Typology of Code-Mixing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Munske, H.H. (ed.) 2001. *Handbuch des Friesischen/ Handbook of Frisian Studies*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Münstermann, H. 1986. 'De vitaliteit van het Maastrichts. Resultaten van een onderzoek naar functionele en structurele aspecten van dialectverlies'. In: A.M. Hagen (red.), *Dialectverlies en dialectbehoud*, 109-127 (Taal en Tongval, 38, themanummer).

Münstermann, H. 1989. 'Dialect loss in Maastricht: Attitudes, Functions and Structures'. In: K. Deprez (ed.) *Language and Intergroup Relations in Flanders and the Netherlands*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications, 99-128.

Münstermann, H. & Hagen, T. 1986. 'Functional and Structural Aspects of Dialect Loss: A Research Plan and Some First Results'. In: B. Weltens, K. De Bot and T. Van Els (eds.) *Language Attrition in Progress*. Dordrecht/ Providence: Foris, 75-96.

Münstermann, H. & Van Hout, R. 1988. 'Language attitudes and the prediction of dialect use'. In: R. van Hout & U. Knops (eds.) *Language attitudes in the Dutch language area*. Dordrecht: Foris, 173-188.

Oud, A.G. 1987. *Woa'deboek fan ut Amelands*. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.

Provincie Fryslân/provinsje Fryslân. 2007. *De Fryske taalatlâs 2007. Fryske taal yn byld*. Leeuwarden: Provinsje Fryslân.

Reiffenstein, I. 1976. 'Primäre und sekundäre Unterschiede zwischen Hochsprache und Mundart; Überlegungen zum Mundartenabbau'. In: H. Pohl and N. Salnikow (eds.) *Opuscula slavica et linguistica; Festschrift für Alexander Issatschenko*. Klagenfurt: Heyn, 337-347.

Reiffenstein, I. 1980. 'Zur Theorie des Dialektabbaus. With 'Diskussion'. In: J. Göschel, P. Ivic and K. Kehr (eds) *Dialekt und Dialektologie; Ergebnisse des internationalen Symposiums "Zur Theorie des Dialekts", Marburg/Lahn*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 97-105.

Revithiadou, A., van Oostendorp, M., Nikolou, K. & Tiliopoulou, M. 2006. 'Vowel harmony in contact-induced systems: the case of Asia Minor dialects of Greek'. In: M. Janse, B. Joseph, A. Ralli (eds.) *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference of Modern Greek Dialects and Linguistic Theory*. Patras: University of Patras, 350-365.

Ryan, E., Giles, H. & Sebastian, R. 1982. *Attitudes Towards Language Variation: Social and Applied Contexts*. London: Edward Arnold.

Schilling-Estes, N. 2002. 'On the nature of isolated and post-isolated dialects: Innovation, variation and differentiation'. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 6 (1): 64-85.

- Schirmunski, V. 1930. 'Sprachgeschichte und Siedlungsmundarten'. *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* 28: 113-122, 171-188.
- Schreier, D. 2003. *Isolation and Language Change: Contemporary and Sociohistorical Evidence from Tristan da Cunha English*. Houndmills/Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Schuchardt, H. 1884. *Über die Lautgesetze- gegen die Junggrammatiker*. Berlin.
- Siegel, J. 1985. 'Koiné and koineization'. *Language in Society* 14: 357-378.
- Sipma, P. 1913. *Phonology and Grammar of Modern West Frisian*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sipma, P. 1917. 'Ho is op Amelan it Stêdfrysk hiem wurden?' *Frisia* I.
- Stoessel, S. 2002. 'Investigating the role of social networks in language maintenance and shift'. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 153: 93-131.
- Stroop, J. 1998. *Poldernederlands. Waardoor het ABN verdwijnt*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.
- Stuart-Smith, J. 1999. 'Glottals past and present: a study of T-Glottaling in Glaswegian'. *Leeds Studies in English* 30: 181-204.
- Swets, F. 2004. *The Phonological Word in Tilburg Dutch*. PhD thesis, Universiteit van Amsterdam.
- Taeldeman, J. 1993. 'Dialectresistentie en dialectverlies op fonologisch gebied'. In: F. Hinskens, C. Hoppenbrouwers, J. Taeldeman (eds.) *Dialectverlies en Regiolectvorming*. Taal & Tongval, themanummer 6.
- Taeldeman, J. 2006. 'Polarisation revisited'. In: F. Hinskens (ed.) *Language Variation - European Perspectives. Selected papers from the Third International Conference on Language Variation in Europe (ICLaVE3), Amsterdam, June 2005*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 233-249.
- Te Winkel, J. 1901. 'Bijdragen tot de kennis der Noord-Nederlandsche tongvallen'. *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 20: 81 -124.

Thomason, S. & Kaufman, T. 1988. *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Thomason, S. 2001. *Can rules be borrowed?* (ms) University of Michigan.

Thomason, S. 2003. 'Contact as a Source of Language Change'. In: B. Joseph and R. Janda (eds.) *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 687-712.

Tiersma, P. 1985. *Frisian Reference Grammar*. Foris, Dordrecht.

Tiersma, P. 1999. *Frisian Reference Grammar*. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy. Second edition.

Torp, A. 2001. 'Retroflex consonants and dorsal /r/: mutually excluding innovations? On the diffusion of dorsal /r/ in Scandinavian'. In: H. van de Velde & R. van Hout (eds.) *Etudes & Travaux. 'r'-atics. Sociolinguistic, phonetic and phonological characteristics of /r/*. Institut des Langues Vivantes et de Phonétique, Université Libre de Bruxelles, 75-90.

Trudgill, P. 1986. *Dialects in contact*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Trudgill, P. 1989. 'Contact and isolation in linguistic change'. In: L. Breivik & E. Jahr. (eds.) *Language Change: Contributions to the Study of its Causes*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 227- 237.

Trudgill, P. 1996. 'Dialect typology: isolation, social network and phonological structure'. In: G. Guy, C. Feagin, D. Schiffrin and J. Baugh (eds.) *Towards a Social Science of Language*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 3-22.

Trudgill, P.J. 2000. 'Sociolinguistics and sociolinguistics once again'. *Sociolinguistica* 14: 55-59.

Uhlenbeck, E. 1981. 'Betekenis in linguistisch perspectief'. *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*.

Van Bezooijen, R. 1995. 'De esthetische beoordeling van taalvariëteiten als functie van leeftijd en regionale herkomst van luisteraars'. In: E. Huls, E. and J. Klatter-Folmer (eds.) *Artikelen van de Tweede Sociolinguïstische Conferentie*. Delft: Eburon, 491-505.

Van Bezooijen, R. 2006. *Het raadsel van de ratelaar. Rondom de r in het Leeuwarders en het Fries*. Leeuwarden: Fryske Akademy.

Van Bree, C. 1977. *Leerboek voor de historische grammatica van het Nederlands. Klank- en vormleer, met een beknopte grammatica van het Gotisch*. Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff.

Van Bree, C. 1983. *Het dialect van deze tijd*. Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden. European languages. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 196-220.

Van Bree, C. 1987. *Historische grammatica van het Nederlands*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.

Van Bree, C. 1990. *Historische Taalkunde*. Leuven/Amsterdam: Acco.

Van Bree, C. 1992. 'The stability of language elements in present-day eastern Standard-Dutch and eastern Dutch dialects'. In: J.A. van Leuvensteijn and J.B. Berns (eds.). *Dialect and standard language, Dialekt und Standardsprache, in the English, Dutch, German and Norwegian language areas*. Amsterdam, Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences: 178-203.

Van Bree, C. 1997. 'Changes in diminutive formation in the eastern Dutch dialect of Twente'. In: J. Gvozdanovic (ed.) *Language change and functional explanations*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 143-178.

Van Bree, C. 2000. 'De ontwikkeling van het Twentse genussysteem'. *Nederlandse taalkunde* 1: 217-243.

Van Bree, C. 2001. 'De morfologie van het Stadsfries'. *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse taal- en letterkunde* 117: 41-58; 133-150.

Van Bree, C. 2002. 'Roermond. Een onderzoek naar structuurverlies'. *Taal en Tongval* 54, 142-163.

Van Coetsem, F. 1988. *Loan Phonology and the Two Transfer Types in Language Contact*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.

Van Coetsem, F. 2003. 'Topics in Contact Linguistics'. *Leuvense Bijdragen* 92 (1-2): 27-101.

- Van Ginneken, J. 1938. 'De vervoeging der onderschikkende voegwoorden en voornaamwoorden'. *Onze Taaltuin* 8: 1-11.
- Van de Velde, H. & van Hout, R. 2003. 'De deletie van de slot-n'. *Nederlandse Taalkunde* 8 (2): 93-114.
- Van de Velde, H., van de Wijngaard, T., Schrier, M. & De Tier, V. 2008. 'Limburgs kalle, wie sjiteit 't d'r mit?'. In: L. Heijenrath (red.) *Jaarboek Veldeke 2007*. Roermond: 56-72.
- Vanden Wyngaerd, G. 1994. 'IPP and the Structure of Participles'. In: C.J.-W. Zwart (eds.) *GAGL 37*. Groningen: Rijksuniversiteit, 265-275.
- Van der Leeuw, F. 1997. *Clitics: Prosodic Studies*. Den Haag: Holland Academic Graphics.
- Van der Meer, G. 1986. 'De achterheaksels ENS en HEID yn it Frysk'. *Us Wurk* 35: 108-130.
- Van der Meer, G. 1991. 'The 'conjugation' of subclause introducers: Frisian -st'. *NOWELE* 17: 63 - 84.
- Van der Sijs, N. 2004. *Taal als mensenwerk. Het ontstaan van het ABN*. Den Haag: Sdu Uitgevers.
- Van Hout, R. 1989. *De structuur van taalvariatie. Een sociolinguïstisch onderzoek naar het stadsdialect van Nijmegen*. PhD thesis, Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen.
- Van Hout, R. & Knops, U. (eds.) 1988. *Language Attitudes in de Dutch Language Area*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.
- Van der Meer, G. 1985. *Frisian 'Breaking'. Aspects of the origin and development of a sound change*. PhD thesis, Rijks Universiteit Groningen.
- Van Reenen, P. 1994. 'Driemaal /r/ in de Nederlandse dialecten'. In: G. de Schutter, J. Taeldeman, A. Weijnen (eds.) *R- zes visies op een kameleon*. Taal & Tongval, themanummer 7.

- Van Reenen, P. & Jongkind, A. 2000. 'De vocalisering van de /l/ in het Standaard Nederlands'. *Taal en Tongval* 52: 189-199.
- Van Reenen, P. 2006. *In Holland staat een 'Huis'. Kloekes expansietheorie met speciale aandacht voor de dialecten van Overijssel*. Amsterdam/Münster: Stichting Neerlandistiek VU/Nodus Publikationen.
- Van Wijk, C. 2000. *Toetsende statistiek: basistechnieken. Een praktijkgerichte inleiding voor onderzoekers van taal, gedrag en communicatie*. Bussum, Uitgeverij Coutinho.
- Villena-Ponsoda, J. 2005. 'How similar are people who speak alike? An interpretive way of using social networks in social dialectology research'. In: P. Auer, F. Hinskens and P. Kerswill (eds.) *Dialect change. Convergence and Divergence in European Languages*. Cambridge University Press, 303-335.
- Visser, W. 1988. 'In pear klitisearringsferskynsels yn it Frysk'. In: S. Dyk. & G. de Haan (eds.). *Wurdfoarried en Wurdgrammatika. In bondel elksikale stúdzjes*. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy, 175-222.
- Visser, W. 1997. *The Syllable in Frisian*. PhD thesis, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam.
- Vousten, R. 1995. *Dialect als tweede taal. Linguïstische en extra-linguïstische aspecten van de verwerving van een Noordlimburgs dialect door standaardtalige jongeren*. PhD thesis, Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen.
- Watt, D. & Milroy, L. 1999. 'Variation in three Tyneside vowels: is this dialect levelling?' In: Docherty, G.J. and Foulkes, P. (eds.) *Urban Voices: Accent Studies in the British Isles*. London: Arnold, 25-46.
- Weijnen, A. 1966. *Nederlandse dialectkunde*. Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp N.V.
- Weinreich, U. 1953. *Languages in Contact*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Wenger, E. 1998. *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Whitney, W. 1881. 'On mixture in language'. *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 12: 5-26.

Williams, A. & Kerswill, P. 1999. 'Dialect levelling: change and continuity in Milton Keynes, Reading and Hull'. In: Paul Foulkes & Gerard Docherty (eds.) *Urban voices. Accent studies in the British Isles*. London: Arnold, 141-162.

Winkler, J. 1874. *Algemeen Nederduitsch en Friesch dialecticon*. 's Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff.

Samenvatting in het Nederlands

Hoofdstuk 1. Dit boek beschrijft een sociolinguïstisch onderzoek op het Friese Waddeneiland Ameland. In meer dan één opzicht kan de taalsituatie hier uniek genoemd worden. Dat komt voornamelijk door het specifieke eilandkarakter en de talen die er samenkomen. De fysieke grenzen zorgen niet alleen voor een duidelijk afgebakend onderzoeksgebied, maar ook voor twee extreme taalcontactsituaties: één van intensief contact en één van relatieve geïsoleerdheid. Terwijl het eiland in het hoogseizoen overspoeld wordt door duizenden toeristen, kan het eiland nog vrij verlaten zijn tijdens (een deel van) het winterseizoen. Dat is ook zichtbaar in het dialect. We hebben te maken met processen van dialectverlies en dialectbehoud. Er is zowel sprake van convergentie als divergentie ten opzichte van de omringende talen. Door de eeuwen heen heeft het Nederlands (of: Hollands) zijn stempel gedrukt op het Amelanders dialect. Vanaf de 15^e eeuw was de taal van de bestuurders van Ameland Hollands, maar ook de Amelanders handelscontacten waren sterk op Holland gericht. Vandaar dat het van oorsprong Friese dialect zich ontwikkelde tot een Hollands-Fries mengdialect. De aanwezigheid van deze van oudsher Nederlandse kenmerken in het dialect bemoeilijken de studie. Het is immers niet altijd duidelijk of we te maken hebben met oude of nieuwe Nederlandse invloeden. Hoewel net als elders in Nederland het dialect van de jongeren onderhevig is aan 'vernederlandsing', is het dialectgebruik onder Amelandse jongeren opvallend hoog.

Hoofdstuk 2. De belangrijkste onderzoeksvragen zijn: In hoeverre is het Amelanders dialect aan verandering onderhevig? In welke taaldomeinen (fonologie, morfologie) vindt taalverandering plaats? En welke omringende talen (Nederlands en/of Fries) zijn verantwoordelijk voor de (externe) taalverandering? Aan de hand van bestaande theorieën over dialectverlies gaan we ervan uit dat er een verband is tussen geografische spreiding van een taalverschijnsel en de mate van verlies. Hoe wijder een taalverschijnsel verbreid is over het taalgebied, hoe groter de kans op overleving. Om deze hypothese te toetsen, hebben we drie typen dialectkenmerken onderzocht, die verschillen in hun geografische spreiding: dialectkenmerken die typerend zijn voor het dorp, dialectkenmerken die typerend zijn voor het eiland en dialectkenmerken die in de hele regio (Friesland) voorkomen. Wel verwachten we op een eiland minder tekenen van regiolectvorming tegen te

komen. Op een dieper taalkundig niveau willen we kijken of de dialectkenmerken gebaseerd zijn op duidelijke morfologische en/of fonologische regels en zo ja, of deze regels door de oudere en de jongere generaties nog in gelijke mate worden toegepast. Met behulp van een sociolinguïstische vragenlijst ten slotte, willen we onderzoeken in hoeverre attitude, netwerk (of: integratie) en sekse bepalend zijn voor de mate van dialectgebruik.

Hoofdstuk 3. Als we de cijfers voor dialectgebruik vergelijken met die van andere Nederlandse dialectgebieden, zijn ze onovertroffen. Van de 60 informanten die geïnterviewd werden, gaf 98.3 procent aan het dialect heel makkelijk te kunnen spreken. Het hoge aantal informanten dat zijn kinderen opvoedt in het dialect (89 procent, tegenover 79.9 procent in Limburg) draagt bij aan een hoge vitaliteit van het dialect. In een studie van Extra (2004) komt het Limburgs als vitaalste dialect naar voren. Als we een berekening zouden maken van de vitaliteitsindex van het Amelands, zouden we op een hogere score komen dan voor het Limburgs. Van de Velde e.a. (2008) illustreren de hoge vitaliteit van het Limburgs aan de frequentie waarmee jongeren het dialect gebruiken voor sms'jes en op MSN. Ook jonge Amelanders gaven aan het dialect voor deze nieuwe media te gebruiken. Op de zogenaamde etnolinguïstische vitaliteitsindex (Giles 1977) scoort het Amelands minder goed. Dat heeft te maken met de waarde die in deze index gehecht wordt aan institutionele ondersteuning. In tegenstelling tot het Fries, dat als officiële minderheidstaal erkend is, mist het Amelands een dergelijke ondersteuning. Toch laten de cijfers voor dialectgebruik zien dat het Amelands het beter doet dan het Fries.

Hoofdstuk 4. Om een compleet beeld te krijgen van de dialectsituatie op Ameland, werden 60 informanten geïnterviewd, die gelijkmatig verdeeld waren over sekse (man, vrouw), leeftijd (jong, midden, oud) en herkomst op het eiland (oost, west). Dit laatste was van belang omdat er op Ameland twee dialectvariëteiten worden gesproken: één aan de oostkant (Nes, Buren) en één aan de westkant (Hollum, Ballum). Tijdens het interview werd gebruikgemaakt van een sociolinguïstische en een taalkundige vragenlijst. We gaan hier eerst in op de sociolinguïstische resultaten. Daarbij komt ook de invloed van de onafhankelijke variabelen sekse, leeftijd en herkomst op de taalvariabelen aan bod.

Hoofdstuk 5. De vragen die betrekking hadden op 'identiteit' en 'attitude' zijn uiterst positief voor het Amelands: Amelanders voelen zich bovenal

Amelands en waarden het eigen dialect het positiefst. Maar het Standaardnederlands verdient een goede tweede plaats. Het is niet voor niets de tweede taal van elke Amelander. Waar het dialect vooral goed scoort op begrippen die terug te voeren zijn op solidariteit ('mooi', 'gezellig', 'intiem'), scoort het Nederlands hoog op status ('beleefd'). De Amelanders maken dan ook een heel duidelijk onderscheid tussen situaties waarin ze het dialect gebruiken en situaties waarin ze het Nederlands gebruiken: Amelands in informele situaties, Nederlands in formele situaties. Met buitenstaanders (toeristen of mensen van de vaste wal), wordt bijna altijd Nederlands gesproken. Dit geldt ook voor Friezen, aangezien Amelanders het Fries niet beheersen. De gerapporteerde taalvaardigheden in dit onderzoek suggereren dat Amelanders evenwichtige tweetaligen zijn, die het Nederlands evengoed beheersen als het Amelands.

Hoofdstuk 6. Als we kijken naar de invloed van leeftijd, sekse en herkomst op het dialectgebruik, kunnen we twee tegenovergestelde tendensen observeren. Jongere, vrouwelijke en oosterse sprekers hebben een uitgesproken voorkeur voor oosterse en Nederlandse varianten; oudere, mannelijke en westerse dialectsprekers hebben een voorkeur voor westerse varianten. Het westerse dialect wordt niet voor niets beschouwd als zijnde het meest 'authentiek': de oudere mannen uit west fungeren als de NORM's (*non-mobile older rural males*) op het eiland. De agrarische levensstijl aan de westkant van het eiland draagt bij aan een meer gesloten netwerkstructuur dan aan de oostkant. De hoge dialectscores en de hoge scores voor 'oude' dialectkenmerken onderstrepen de specifieke status van deze groep dialectsprekers. Bovendien gebruiken westerse dialectsprekers meer dialect in de familie en gebruiken ze het dialect vaker voor mentale processen als denken en rekenen.

Als we kijken naar de middelste groep informanten, is sekse de beste voorspeller voor het taalgedrag. In het algemeen hebben vrouwen van middelbare leeftijd een voorkeur voor oosterse en Nederlandse varianten; mannen hebben een voorkeur voor westerse varianten. De mannen van middelbare leeftijd die woonachtig zijn aan de oostkant van het eiland gedragen zich het meest afwijkend, vooral wat betreft de uitspraak van de Nederlandse ou. In tegenstelling tot de andere oostkanters, spreken zij deze klank uit als een gesloten diftong. Dat zij daarmee de oude mannen uit west imiteren, is af te lezen uit het feit dat ze de diftong nog geslotener uitspreken dan in west. De diftong klinkt dank bijna als een Nederlandse monoftong /o/. Deze taalverandering is behalve in zelfstandig naamwoorden, ook

gevonden in het clitische voornaamwoord *stou* ('jij'). Omdat het dezelfde groep sprekers betreft, sluiten we invloed van het Friese *sto* hier uit. Bovendien zijn er in het verdere onderzoek geen aanwijzingen gevonden voor Friese invloeden in het Amelanders dialect. De enige uitzondering vormt de werkwoordsuitgang *-en* in verledentijdsvormen. De aparte positie van deze groep dialectsprekers wordt in het onderzoek nog eens bevestigd door de identiteitslabels die zij zichzelf geven. De mannen uit oost noemen zichzelf *OostkanTERS*. Een soortgelijke benaming is niet gevonden aan de westkant van het eiland. Het imiterende taalgedrag van de *OostkanTERS* laat parallellen zien met de studie van Labov op Martha's Vineyard (1963).

Op Martha's Vineyard waren het de oude vissermannen die nog een authentieke uitspraak hadden. Andere eilanders begonnen deze uitspraak te imiteren. Volgens Labov had dit er alles mee te maken dat zij zich bedreigd voelden in hun identiteit door de grote aantallen toeristen die het eiland bezochten. Eenzelfde verklaring is mogelijk van toepassing op de situatie op Ameland. In onze vragenlijst werd de informanten gevraagd te reageren op de stelling 'Op Ameland komen te veel toeristen'. De meeste informanten waren het hiermee oneens, immers: de toeristen vormen hun grootste bron van inkomsten. Toch is het heel goed mogelijk dat de toeristen op een onbewust niveau een bedreiging vormen voor de Amelanders. Vooral voor de *OostkanTERS*, omdat zij het meest van alle Amelanders in contact staan met de toeristen.

In vorige sociolinguïstische studies zijn typische man-vrouwverschillen gevonden: mannen blijken een voorkeur te hebben voor lokale dialectvarianten, gekoppeld aan lokale identiteit. Vrouwen hebben een voorkeur voor supralokale varianten, gekoppeld aan een meer naar buiten toe georiënteerde identiteit. In de huidige studie zijn soortgelijke patronen gevonden. Het betreft een verschil tussen de jonge oosterse vrouwen enerzijds en de oude westerse mannen anderzijds. De jonge vrouwen van de oostkant gebruiken relatief veel regionale en Nederlandse varianten, ook hebben ze een voorkeur voor oosterse en eilandvarianten boven westerse varianten. Bovendien noemen ze zichzelf 'Amelanders' of 'Nederlander'. De oude mannen uit west laten een tegengesteld beeld zien: zij gebruiken weinig Nederlandse varianten en hebben een voorkeur voor westerse varianten. Ook noemen ze zichzelf het liefst 'Hollumer' of 'Ballumer'.

Hoofdstuk 7. Ondanks het hoge dialectgebruik op Ameland, zijn zes van de twaalf variabelen onderhevig aan dialectverlies. Het betreft zowel

fonologische als morfologische variabelen. Met deze uitkomst zien we onze eerste hypothese, die stelt dat dialectverandering plaatsvindt op zowel fonologisch als morfologisch vlak, bevestigd. Onder de jongste generatie zien we dat de dialectvarianten die verloren gaan, worden vervangen door Nederlandse varianten. Friese invloed is beperkt tot het toenemend gebruik van de werkwoordsuitgang *-en* in verledentijdsvormen onder een beperkte groep sprekers. Dat we niet meer Friese invloeden hebben aangetroffen, is opmerkelijk aangezien Ameland deel uitmaakt van de provincie Friesland. Toch is aan het aantal boottochten onder de informanten af te lezen dat het contact met de vaste wal beperkt is. De jonge Amelanders komen het meest in aanraking met Friestaligen, omdat zij soms al vanaf hun zestiende doorstuderen in Leeuwarden. Toch laat ook deze groep Amelanders weinig tot geen Frisismen zien in zijn taalgebruik. Hiervoor zijn twee mogelijke verklaringen: 1. Het gebruik van het Fries neemt af onder Friese jongeren; 2. In Leeuwarden wordt Stadsfries gesproken, een mengdialect vergelijkbaar met het Amelands. Bovendien zijn de jonge Amelanders die in Leeuwarden studeren nog sterk georiënteerd op Ameland. Hun vriendengroep bestaat vooral uit Amelanders en ook hun sociale leven speelt zich nog grotendeels af op het eiland. De Friese taal en cultuur maken geen deel uit van hun dagelijkse leven, zoals blijkt uit de lage scores op Friese taalvaardigheid. Ook de attitudes ten opzichte van de Friese taal zijn relatief laag. Toch is er mogelijk wél sprake van indirecte invloed van het Fries. De grote stabiliteit van de C-variabelen kan verklaard worden door de geografische spreiding van deze taalkenmerken. Het zijn kenmerken die voorkomen in de hele Friese regio en dus een grote geografische spreiding hebben. Deze redenering is in overeenstemming met de hypothese die stelt dat wijd verbreide dialectkenmerken resistenter zijn tegen taalverandering. Ook het relatief hoge percentage dialectverlies onder de dorpsspecifieke A-variabelen is in overeenstemming met deze hypothese. De eilandspecifieke B-variabelen vormen de enige uitzondering op de regel. Ze zijn relatief stabiel, wat erop wijst dat het Amelanders dialect niet onderhevig is aan regiolectvorming. Convergentie vindt wél plaats tussen de oosterse en westerse dialectvariëteit, maar niet tussen het Amelanders dialect en andere Friese dialecten. Dat betekent dat het proces van 'levelling' op Ameland een ééndimensionaal proces is.

De B- en C-variabelen ondergaan dialectverandering. Over het algemeen betekent dit dat taalkundige condities verruimen, zoals gesteld werd in de hypothese dat het verlies van structurele complexiteit zich manifesteert in de herconditionering van dialectkenmerken. In onze data zijn veel voorbeelden

aan te wijzen. In het diminutiefsysteem wordt de oost-west tegenstelling verscherpt door de uitzonderlijke positie van de velairen op te heffen. In het nieuwe systeem voegen de velairen zich bij de regelmatige vormen met het achtervoegsel *-ke*: *flagje* ('vlaggetje') wordt *flagke*.

In het geval van de ui-klank maken jongeren niet langer een onderscheid tussen ui1- en ui2-woorden. Ook het verschil tussen ei1 en ei2 lijkt te verdwijnen, aangezien woorden als 'tijd' en 'geit' door elkaar beginnen te lopen. In plaats van *gèèt* hoor je dan bijvoorbeeld *giet*. Jongeren hebben ook de neiging om de werkwoordsuitgang op *-e* (in plaats van *-en*) te veralgemeniseren naar gerundiavormen (*Hij zit te spele*). R-deletie komt niet alleen voor dentalen, zoals bij de oudere generatie, maar ook voor andere consonanten waar het leenwoorden of samengestelde woorden betreft. Het prefix *ge-* wordt niet alleen gebruikt in voltooid deelwoorden, maar ook in adjectieven.

In een enkel geval vinden we ook voorbeelden van een toename in complexiteit. Zoals bij het achtervoegsel *-heid* dat door de jongeren behalve een morfologisch ook een fonologisch distincte vorm krijgt. De variabelen <ij> <ou> en <ei> zijn al lange tijd geleden gelexicaliseerd. Dat betekent dat het geen productieve vormen meer zijn. Alleen een beperkte groep woorden krijgt de dialectvariant. Deze variabelen zijn bovendien onderhevig aan dialectverlies. Deze uitkomst is in overeenstemming met de hypothese die stelt dat gelexicaliseerde regels gevoeliger zijn voor dialectverlies dan postlexicale regels. Het behoud van de <ui> aan de andere kant, wordt veroorzaakt door de productiviteit van de postlexicale regel die eraan ten grondslag ligt.

We gaan nu over naar de sociolinguistische hypothesen. Voor de hypothese die stelt dat dialectsprekers die meer geïntegreerd zijn in de gemeenschap ook meer dialectkenmerken gebruiken, is geen hard bewijs gevonden. Dat komt doordat de orientatie-index geen variatie vertoonde onder de informanten. Alle informanten bleken in gelijke mate geïntegreerd in de Amelandse gemeenschap. Daarom kon geen significante correlatie aangetoond worden tussen integratie en dialectgebruik. Wel wijzen de data eerder in de richting van een positieve dan een negatieve correlatie. Alle informanten waren namelijk erg goed geïntegreerd. Dit gold zelfs voor de adolescenten die doordeweeks aan de vaste wal studeren. Toch liet deze groep wel een iets groter aantal Nederlandse varianten zien, wat ook in overeenstemming is met de hypothese.

De hypothese waarin een verband wordt verondersteld tussen attitude en dialectgebruik kon evenmin aangetoond worden met een statistische analyse. Alle informanten hadden een zeer positieve attitude ten opzichte van het Amelands: ook hierin bestond geen variatie. Aangezien de uitkomsten voor dialectgebruik hoog zijn, wijzen de gegevens op een positieve correlatie tussen beide variabelen. De relatief negatieve attitudes ten opzichte van de Friese taal zouden samen kunnen hangen met de hoge scores voor de B-variabelen <ui> en *-heid*. Hoewel de attitudes ten opzichte van de verschillende dialectvariëteiten op het eiland niet zijn getest, laten de identiteitslabels zien dat men nog steeds onderscheid maakt tussen Hollumers, Ballumers, Nessumers en Buremers. Ook de oriëntatie van de Amelanders is nog grotendeels gericht op ofwel de oostkant ofwel de westkant van het eiland. Oost- en West-Amelanders hebben hun eigen sportclubs, kerkgenootschappen en politieke partijen. Het is daarom niet verrassend dat het oost-westverschil ook nog aanwezig is in het taalgebruik. Dat zie je bijvoorbeeld aan de <ij>-variabele die in west nog als /i:/ wordt uitgesproken en in oost als /ɛ:/; of de verkleinwoorden die in oost het achtervoegsel *-tje* krijgen en in west het achtervoegsel *-ke*. Ook is er een bepaalde vorm van hypercorrectie in het Amelands die erop wijst dat oostkanters zich willen onderscheiden van westkanters en vice versa. Waar de <ei>-klank eerder één dialectvariant had, ontwikkelt zich nu een oosterse en een westerse variant, naar analogie van het oost-west verschil bij de <ij>.

In het Amelands vinden we ook bewijs voor polarisatie tussen de oost- en westkant. Dit manifesteert zich duidelijk in de uitspraak van de <ou>. Aan de ene kant zijn er de mannen van middelbare leeftijd uit oost die de <ou> nog geslotener uitspreken dan de oude mannen in west, bijna als een /o:/. Een tegenovergestelde trend zien we onder de jonge vrouwelijke sprekers, die dezelfde <ou> juist heel open uitspreken, bijna als een /a:/. Hiermee wordt ook onze laatste hypothese bevestigd, die stelt dat dialectverlies het meest aanwezig is onder vrouwelijke dialectsprekers. Zoals we al eerder zagen, is het sekseonderscheid in de Amelander gemeenschap sterk aanwezig. Dit heeft waarschijnlijk te maken met het rolpatroon op Ameland dat nog enigszins ouderwets is. Terwijl de mannen een voorkeur hebben voor westerse varianten, kiezen vrouwen vaker voor oosterse varianten. Een opvallend sekseverschil vonden we bijvoorbeeld voor het achtervoegsel *-heid*, dat door de vrouwen wordt uitgesproken met een fonologisch en morfologisch distincte variant (*-eghèd* of *-eghied*). Ook het persoonlijk voornaamwoord *jou*, dat vroeger vooral gebruikt werd als

beleefdheidsvorm, is veranderd in een typisch vrouwelijke variant. In deze studie zijn het met name de vrouwen die verantwoordelijk zijn voor dialectverandering. Terwijl de mannen hard hun best doen om het oude dialect te behouden, is de vitaliteit van het Amelander dialect toch vooral te danken aan de moderniseringsdrang van de vrouwen.

Curriculum Vitae

Mathilde Maria Jansen werd op 24 maart 1977 geboren op Texel. Daar behaalde zij op 18-jarige leeftijd haar VWO-diploma aan de scholengemeenschap De Hoge Berg. Na de middelbare school begon zij in 1995 met de studie Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde te Nijmegen. In 1997 stapte ze over naar Leiden om zich te specialiseren in de Historische Taalkunde. In het laatste jaar van haar studie liep ze stage bij het Meertens Instituut te Amsterdam. Daar deed ze een onderzoek onder begeleiding van Harrie Scholtmeijer, naar de dialectvertaling van de Verloren Zoon op Texel en Ameland. Na haar stage zette ze voor haar scriptie een onderzoek op aan het Meertens Instituut naar de historische ontwikkeling van de Hollands-Friese mengdialecten op Ameland en in Midsland (Terschelling). De week na haar afstuderen begon ze een promotietraject aan het Meertens Instituut, waar ze een onderzoek startte naar dialectverandering op de Waddeneilanden. Naarmate het onderzoek vorderde, verschoof het accent steeds meer naar het Amelanders dialect. Naast haar aanstelling als Onderzoeker in Opleiding (OiO) heeft ze een jaar als veldwerker meegewerkt aan de Syntactische Atlas van de Nederlandse Dialecten (SAND). Behalve op de Waddeneilanden deed ze ook veldwerk in Noord-Holland. In 2004 schreef ze samen met Marc van Oostendorp het populair-wetenschappelijke boekje *Taal van de Wadden*, waarin in een notendop de dialecten van alle Waddeneilanden worden beschreven. Sinds 2005 werkt ze drie dagen in de week als redacteur van de vakpagina Taal & Spraak bij de populair-wetenschappelijke website Kennislink.nl en één dag in de week als webredacteur op het Meertens Instituut. Behalve het proefschrift verscheen in januari 2010 ook een populair-wetenschappelijke uitgave van het onderzoek op Ameland.