

**New Speakers of West Frisian:**

# **Promoting Language Learning and Use to Foster Revitalisation**

**Research Report**

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# INTRODUCTION

## New speakers

**New speakers** are individuals who did not grow up with a particular minority language in the home, but who learnt it (or are still learning it) elsewhere later-on in life: for example, as part of revitalisation projects, through bilingual or immersion education programmes at school, or in language classes for adults.

The term 'new speakers' can be used to describe people with a wide range of competences, from emergent speakers to those with very high proficiency. It can refer to individuals from the local majority language community as well as to newcomers with other linguistic backgrounds who have decided to learn the minority language. Since the beginning of the 21st century, the term 'new speakers' has received increasing prominence, especially in European minority language contexts. In the past, new speakers were usually labelled as 'non-native speakers' or 'language learners'. The term 'new speakers' was coined to move away from the delegitimisation implied by such labels – and to shift away from ideologies that idealise 'nativeness'. Therefore, in new speaker research, individuals who did grow up with a particular minority language are usually referred to as 'traditional speakers' (rather than 'native speakers').

## The role of new speakers in minority language revitalisation

In many contexts around the world, the numbers of traditional minority language speakers have been declining. In some cases, this is due to active discrimination of minority communities. In other cases, it is a consequence of urbanisation, economic modernisation, and globalisation. These phenomena frequently cause minority language speakers to shift to majority languages that are perceived to be more useful. As a result, the intergenerational transmission of minority languages also tends to become less common.

New speakers can play a key role in ensuring the future of minority languages. In any given context, new speakers can increase the overall number of minority language speakers. Thereby, they can offer expanded social networks in which traditional speakers can use their minority language. This increases not only the number of interlocutors with whom the minority language can be spoken, but also the number of contexts in which it can be used. Moreover, by contributing to a growing and more vibrant minority language community, new

speakers can raise the perceived importance of the minority language. This may also encourage more parents to transmit it to their children. New speakers can thus contribute to minority language revitalisation in several crucial ways.

**Revitalisation** is defined as an increase in minority language uses and users, in contexts where speaker communities are dwindling or dead. Minority language revitalisation can be promoted effectively by means of language policies and language planning. **Language policies** are the general language-related goals set by governments or governmental institutions; **language planning** consists of the specific measures that are devised and implemented to achieve the goals formulated in language policies. Notably, previous research has shown that language policies and planning measures are much more likely to be successful if they are informed by research regarding the communities who are targeted by the revitalisation efforts.

## The need for new speaker research in Fryslân

### West Frisian in a nutshell:

- West Frisian is a minority language that is spoken almost exclusively in the province of Fryslân, in the north of the Netherlands.
- Fryslân has around 650.000 inhabitants, most of whom can understand and speak at least some West Frisian.
- Practically all West Frisian speakers are bilingual speakers of West Frisian and Dutch.
- In the past, many West Frisian speakers were socialised to speak Dutch, and discrimination against West Frisian speakers in different areas of life was common.
- Urbanisation and economic modernisation contributed to the decline of West Frisian.
- Many West Frisian speakers nowadays use Dutch as their main language at work and in other public contexts.
- UNESCO has classified West Frisian as vulnerable.
- West Frisian is related to North and East Frisian, two minority languages spoken in Germany. However, here, the focus is solely on West Frisian – which will henceforth simply be referred to as Frisian.



It is estimated that there are around 150.000 people in Fryslân who speak Frisian even though they did not grow up with it as their first language. However, it is unclear how many of them are in fact new speakers. (For example, some may have learned Frisian as a second language in the home early on.) There is thus no definite number of new speakers of Frisian in Fryslân.

There is a growing body of insightful research regarding the teaching and learning of Frisian in primary and secondary schools. Yet, there is a paucity of research regarding adult new speakers who decide to learn Frisian outside the traditional education system. Therefore, little is known about why such adult new speakers learn Frisian, what they think about the Frisian language in general and about the specific variety of Frisian that they are taught, in what contexts and with whom they speak Frisian, and what their relationship with traditional Frisian speakers is like. Knowledge regarding these issues is crucial for the formulation of effective language policies and language planning measures regarding the promotion of Frisian amongst new speakers in Fryslân.

### **Language policies and language planning to promote West Frisian:**

The maintenance and revitalisation of Frisian is a responsibility shared by the national government of the Netherlands and the provincial government of Fryslân. Key goals are enshrined in the Bestjoersôfspraak Fryske Taal en Kultuer – the Management Agreement for Frisian Language and Culture, commonly abbreviated as BFTK. Amongst other things, the latest version of the BFTK lists an increase in the number of ‘second and third language speakers [i.e., new speakers] who can understand and speak Frisian well’ as a goal to be achieved by 2030.

Previous planning efforts to promote Frisian amongst new speakers, either directly or indirectly, can be divided into three categories: status planning, corpus planning, and acquisition planning.

**Status planning** refers to all measures to regulate the official role of a language. Examples of status planning measures pertaining to Frisian include the national government’s ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1996), the national government’s ratification of the Framework Convention for National Minorities (2005), and the decision to anchor the status of Frisian as an official language of Fryslân in the Dutch constitution

(2010). Amongst other things, these measures aimed to raise the utilitarian value of Frisian amongst both traditional and new speakers.

**Corpus planning** refers to the modification of the forms and structures of a language. In the case of Frisian, this is exemplified by the creation of a standardised variety of Frisian that is codified in dictionaries, grammar books, and teaching materials. These are used to teach Frisian to new speakers in schools, at university, and at institutions such as the Algemene Fryske Ûnderrjocht Kommisje – the General Frisian Education Commission, typically abbreviated as Afûk.

**Acquisition planning** refers to measures that promote knowledge of a language. With regard to Frisian, this is exemplified by efforts to foster (1) Frisian acquisition in nurseries and day-cares, (2) the use of Frisian as the language of instruction in certain schools, (3) the inclusion of Frisian as a subject in the curricula of other schools, and (4) the provision of opportunities to learn Frisian outside the traditional education system – primarily at Afûk.



### **This research report**

This report is based on the research project *New Speakers of West Frisian: Promoting Language Learning and Use to Foster Revitalisation*. The report begins with an overview of the project design, followed by separate discussions regarding the four parts of the project – Part 1: motivations for learning West Frisian, Part 2: attitudes towards West Frisian, Part 3: evaluations of the standardised variety of West Frisian, and Part 4: use of West

Frisian. The report presents the main outcomes and outputs of the project, it offers reflections on these, and it concludes by providing research-based recommendations regarding language policy and planning measures as well as future research.

Appendix A provides the links to all research materials for the *New Speakers of West Frisian* project: the questionnaire used for data collection, the preregistrations of data analysis plans, the R code used for data analysis, and the supplementary materials. Moreover, Appendix A provides the links for all project outputs: a project page, three academic articles, a language promotion campaign, and teaching materials.

The design of the *New Speakers of West Frisian* questionnaire – as well as the information presented in the introduction to this report – is based on research conducted in numerous other new speaker contexts and minority language communities. Appendix B provides a list of the key publications that the authors wish to acknowledge.

## New speakers of West Frisian: Promoting language learning and use to foster revitalisation

### Project aims

This research project aimed to answer the following key questions:

**Part 1:** What motivates new speakers to learn Frisian?

**Part 2:** What attitudes do new speakers hold towards the Frisian language?

**Part 3:** How do new speakers evaluate the variety of Frisian that they are taught at Afûk?

**Part 4:** How often, where, and with whom do new speakers tend to use Frisian?

### Participants

Data were collected from 264 adult new speakers of Frisian – that is, people who did not have Frisian (or a City Frisian variety) as their mother tongue, and who had received little or no home exposure to Frisian. All were over the age of 18 and lived in Fryslân, and all were enrolled in at least one Afûk Frisian course between 2018 and 2022. Other than that, the participant sample was rather diverse:

- place of birth: 9.9% in Fryslân, 84.8% elsewhere in the Netherlands, 4.5% outside the Netherlands, 0.8% no response
- place of residence: 33.0% in urban areas, 67.0% in rural areas
- age: ranged from 23 to 82, mean age: 55
- gender: 60.2% female, 39.0% male, 0.0% other, 0.8% no response
- mother tongue: 94.3% Dutch, 3.8% Dutch and other languages, 1.9% other languages only
- Frisian proficiency: ranged from 1 to 4.5, mean proficiency level: 2.5  
(1 = not proficient at all, 5 = highly proficient)

### Procedure

Data were collected with a questionnaire which, prior to the main data collection, had been piloted to test the questions and instructions. The main data collection took place between November 2020 and February 2022. Initially, data were collected from participants who

were taking Afûk classes in person, via teachers who shared paper copies of the questionnaire in class. When teaching was moved online due to COVID-19-related restrictions, data collection was also moved online. An electronic version of the questionnaire was then distributed via mailing lists, capturing not only participants taking Afûk classes at that time, but also those who had taken classes between 2018 and 2020. Since written proficiency in Frisian tends to be low, the questionnaire was made available in Dutch and English, and participants could respond in the language of their choice. All eligible participants responded in Dutch, and all provided informed consent.



### Questionnaire

The questionnaire focused on four main topics: new speakers' motivations for learning Frisian, their attitudes towards the Frisian language as such, their evaluations of the specific variety of Frisian they were taught at Afûk, and their use of Frisian. The questionnaire included closed questions to elicit quantitative data as well as open-ended questions to elicit qualitative data.

## Part 1: New speakers' motivations for learning West Frisian

### The importance of motivations for language learning

Knowledge about new speakers' motivations for learning Frisian is important because it enables the development of language planning measures that engender such motivations amongst a larger number of potential new speakers.

### Data and analysis

Item 11 of the questionnaire was used to elicit qualitative data regarding new speakers' motivations for learning Frisian, asking: "What are your reasons for learning Frisian? Please explain, giving as much detail as possible." A corpus-assisted discourse study was undertaken to analyse the data.

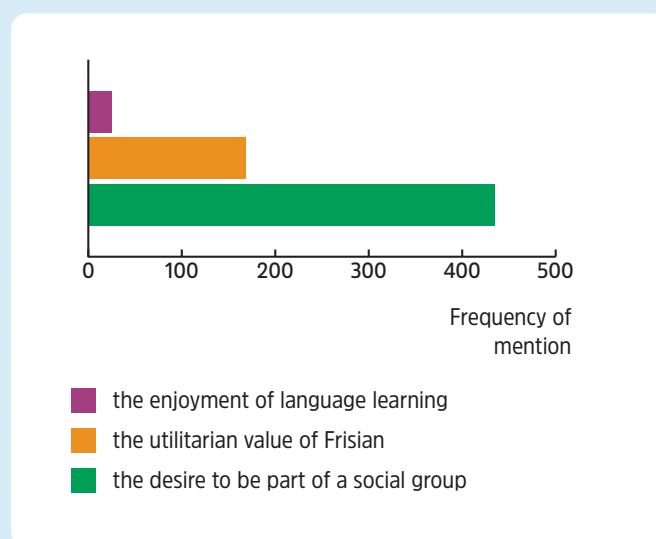
Item 12 was used to ascertain the participants' main learning goal; it asked: "What is the primary goal you set out to achieve by learning Frisian?" – and multiple response options were provided. Descriptive statistics were used to compare the different options.

### Key findings

The responses to item 12 yielded a striking finding – namely that only 37.3% of participants were learning Frisian with the goal of actually becoming active Frisian speakers (in the hope of achieving different degrees of fluency). The remaining 62.7% were merely learning Frisian with the goal of understanding the language. The participants' open-ended responses to item 11 revealed three main motivations for learning Frisian: the enjoyment of language learning, the utilitarian value of the language, and the desire to be part of a social group. Some participants mentioned only one of these motivations, others mentioned two or all three. Many participants mentioned different aspects of the same motivation type; all of these instances were counted.

The enjoyment of language learning was mentioned least frequently: 25 times. In some cases, the new speakers described their enjoyment of language learning as a general phenomenon; in other cases, they explained that it was specific to minority languages and/or Frisian. This is also supported by the collocation findings – that is, the results of an analysis to ascertain whether certain words co-occur by chance or whether their co-occurrence is

statistically significant. This analysis revealed the significance of both, the co-occurrence of 'leren' (to learn) with 'houd' (to love, first person singular) as well as the co-occurrence of 'Fries' (Frisian) with 'hou' (love). New speakers' general enjoyment of language learning is illustrated by one participant, who wrote: 'Ik houd van talen. Leren is goed voor mijn hersens' (I love languages. Learning is good for my brain). The more Frisian-specific enjoyment is exemplified by another participant, who responded to item 11 by writing: '[...] Bovendien vind ik het een hele mooie taal en houd ik ervan om nieuwe talen te leren' ([...] Moreover, I think it is a beautiful language and I like to learn new languages). While this motivation for learning Frisian is interesting, it does not offer a substantial basis for future language policies or planning measures.



The utilitarian value of Frisian was mentioned more frequently: 168 times. Mostly, participants explained that they were learning Frisian because of the nature of their job and/or because of the people with whom they tend to interact at work. Notably, numerous participants indicated that they considered the utilitarian value of Frisian to be restricted to Fryslân. Moreover, the majority of job-related responses referred to one of three occupational fields: (1) agriculture and farming, (2) child-care and education for children, as well as (3) care and medical professions. The role of Frisian in the latter two occupational fields is illustrated by the significant collocation of 'Fries' (Frisian) with both 'school' (school) and 'patiënten' (patients). The role of Frisian in agriculture and farming is illustrated by one participant, who wrote: 'Ik volg de studie [...]. Binnen dit werkveld ga je in gesprek met verschillende opdrachtgevers (particulieren, agrariërs, overheden etc.). Je hebt vaak gesprekken bij



mensen thuis of op locatie in het veld. Ik [...] merkte toen dat je soms een goeie klik kan hebben met mensen als je diegene in zijn of haar dialect kan verstaan / spreken. [...] Ik vermoed dat het spreken en verstaan van de Friese taal mij kan helpen bij toekomstige gesprekken in mijn werk' (I'm studying [...]. In this field of work, you have to talk to various clients (individuals, farmers, governments, etc.). You often have conversations at people's homes or on location in the field. I [...] noticed that you sometimes click with people if you can understand / speak to them in their dialect. [...] I suspect that speaking and understanding the Frisian language can help me with future conversations in my work). While the new speakers in this study perceived the utilitarian value of Frisian to be restricted to Fryslân, and they associated this utilitarian value only with certain occupational fields, it is noteworthy that some of them explicitly mentioned it as a learning motivation nonetheless. This could be seen to indicate that previous status planning measures were successful – at least to a certain extent.

The desire to be part of a social group was mentioned most frequently: 435 times. Participants commented on their wish to belong, to be part of a particular community, and to share a particular kind of social identity.

**Social identities** are those parts of people's self-concepts that are based on their belonging to particular social groups which are salient and valued.

For some participants, this was at the provincial level – they indicated the desire for a social identity associated with Fryslân. This is illustrated by the significant collocation between 'omdat' (because) and 'Friezen' (Frisians) in their responses to item 11. It is further exemplified by one participant who wrote that: 'Wil graag meedoen in het dagelijks spreken van het Fries. Trots, om de mooie speciale identiteit van Fryslân eigen te maken' (I would like to participate in the daily use of Frisian. Also, to acquire that nice, special identity associated with Fryslân). However, for most participants, the social groups to which they wished to belong were even more local. For instance, they wanted to be a part of their village community, their neighbourhood, and/or the family they had married into. This is exemplified by the significant collocation between 'omdat' (because) and 'buren' (neighbours) in their responses to item 11. It is further illustrated by a participant who answered: 'Omdat het de moedertaal is van de mensen uit mijn buurt, en ik het leuk vind om ze i.i.g te verstaan. Ik vind talen leuk, ik hou van het Fries, geeft mij het gevoel onderdeel te zijn van de mienskip' (Because it is the mother tongue of the

people in my neighbourhood, and I would like to understand them. I like languages, I like Frisian, it gives me the feeling of being part of the community). The desire for highly local social identities thus emerged as a key motivation for learning Frisian. This was the case for both, the participants who were born in Fryslân and those who had moved to the province later-on in life. This finding can serve as a basis for future language policies and planning measures to promote the learning of Frisian by further (potential) new speakers.

**Research output 1**: an academic article about new speakers' motivations for learning Frisian.

Kircher, R., & Vellinga, M. (in preparation). New speakers' motivations for learning a minority language.

**Language planning recommendation 1**: It would be advisable to make stakeholders in municipalities throughout Fryslân aware of (potential) new speakers' desire for highly local social identities. Initiatives to make (potential) new speakers feel welcome and included in their local Frisian-speaking communities could serve as a motivation booster for them to learn the minority language, as a way of obtaining a sense of belonging.

**Research recommendation 1**: It would be beneficial to investigate the differences in language learning motivations between individuals who are learning Frisian with the goal of becoming active speakers of the language, and those who are merely learning Frisian with the goal of understanding it. The knowledge gained from such research could inform planning measures that generate the goal to become active Frisian speakers amongst the latter, too.

## Part 2: New speakers' attitudes towards West Frisian

### The importance of language attitudes

Language attitudes influence a wide range of linguistic behaviours, including language learning and language use. Knowledge about new speakers' attitudes towards Frisian is thus fundamental for the development of language planning measures – because without such knowledge, it is impossible to predict which measures are likely to achieve their intended aims and which ones are destined to fail.

### Data and analysis

Items 14 to 21 of the questionnaire were used to elicit quantitative data regarding new speakers' attitudes towards Frisian. These were all Likert scales where 1 meant *don't agree at all* and 5 meant *agree completely*. Four of the items tapped **attitudes on the status dimension** – that is, the extent to which the language is associated with power, economic opportunity, and upward social mobility. Attitudes on the status dimension are thus linked with the utilitarian value of the language. (The items were phrased in a manner that tapped status-related attitudes specifically with reference to the province of Fryslân.) The other four items tapped **attitudes on the solidarity dimension** – that is, the extent to which the language elicits an affective attachment and a sense of belonging to a speaker community. Attitudes on the solidarity dimension are thus linked with people's social identities.

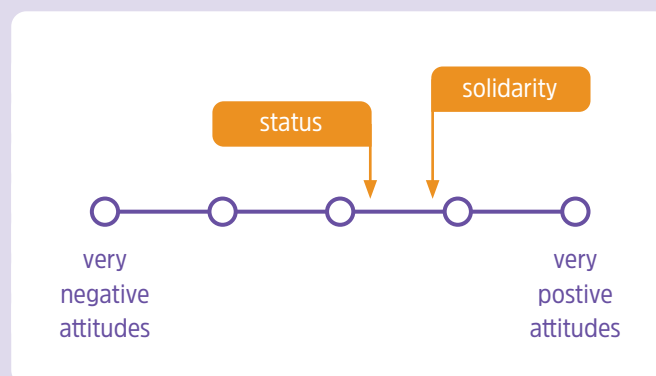
Following factor analysis to ascertain that the questionnaire items did indeed tap these different dimensions, an overall attitudes value was calculated for attitudes on each dimension. A Wilcoxon signed-rank test was then used to assess whether there was a significant difference between attitudes on the two dimensions. Finally, multiple regressions were employed to investigate potential predictors of both status- and solidarity-related attitudes.

### Key findings

Participants' status-related attitudes towards Frisian were close to neutral, with a mean of 3.21 ( $SD=.82$ ). The finding that the new speakers in this study did not attribute high utilitarian value to the language is likely due to Frisian not being a prerequisite for socio-economic success in Fryslân (or elsewhere). The finding that the new speakers at least did not consider Frisian detrimen-

tal to achieving socio-economic success in Fryslân could be a consequence of their professions. As noted in Part 1, numerous participants made reference to the usefulness of Frisian in three occupational fields: namely agriculture and farming, child-care and education for children, as well as care and medical professions. Within Fryslân, Frisian certainly seems to enjoy a certain utilitarian value in these occupational fields.

There was a significant positive correlation between participants' proficiency in Frisian and their status-related attitudes towards the language ( $p<.01$ ). Thus, the more proficient participants were in Frisian, the higher they deemed the utilitarian value of the language. A possible explanation for this finding is that higher proficiency enables better communication, thereby allowing new speakers to use Frisian for a wider range of practical purposes. This highlights the importance of continued acquisition planning to promote knowledge of Frisian.



Participants' solidarity-related attitudes towards Frisian were mildly positive, with a mean of 3.76 ( $SD=.85$ ). Their solidarity-related attitudes were significantly more positive than their status-related attitudes ( $W=3711$ ,  $p<.001$ ). It is likely that the participants' mildly positive solidarity-related attitudes towards Frisian are linked with their desire for local social group memberships. As noted in Part 1, such social group memberships constituted the most frequently-mentioned motivations for language learning. However, the participants' solidarity-related attitudes towards Frisian were not as positive as one might expect for people who have invested time, money, and emotional energy into learning the language. A possible reason for this might be the participants' perceived difficulty to actually attain the social group memberships they desire. This is discussed in more detail in Part 4.

For the solidarity dimension, too, there was a significant positive correlation between participants' proficiency in Frisian and their attitudes towards the language ( $p<.01$ ).

Thus, the more proficient participants were in Frisian, the stronger their affective attachment to the language. A possible explanation for this finding is that higher proficiency permits new speakers to engage more – and more deeply – with the Frisian speakers in their local community, thereby allowing them to achieve a stronger sense of belonging to this community. Again, this highlights the importance of continued acquisition planning to promote knowledge of Frisian.

There was also a significant association between participants' solidarity-related attitudes and their place of residence. Participants living in rural areas had a much stronger affective attachment to Frisian than participants living in urban areas. This finding may be linked with the much higher concentration of traditional Frisian speakers in rural areas. This higher concentration of traditional Frisian speakers may make the language a more salient component of the local social group memberships that the participants hold and/or desire. Notably, the findings show that there is no significant association between participants' solidarity-related attitudes towards Frisian and a general Fryslân-based social identity. This indicates that the social groups with which new speakers identify and/or to which they wish to belong must even be more local. Based on the findings discussed in Part 1, it seems likely that the social identities at the root of the new speakers' positive solidarity-related attitudes are highly local – that is, based on their village, their hamlet, or even their neighbourhood. This finding can serve as a basis for future language policies and planning measures to promote the Frisian language amongst new speakers.

**Research output 2:** an academic article about new speakers' attitudes towards the Frisian language as well as their evaluations of the specific variety of Frisian they are taught at Afûk (based on Part 2 and Part 3 of the research project).

Kircher, R., Kutlu, E., & Vellinga, M. (2022). Evaluative reactions to minority languages and their varieties: Evidence from new speakers of West Frisian.

PsyArXiv: <https://doi.org/10.31234/osf.io/yuw6z>

**Language planning recommendation 2:** It would be advisable to promote local social identities that can be shared by traditional and new speakers of Frisian – thereby enabling new speakers to feel like they really are part of their local community. Ideally, such social identities should be promoted in a regionally differentiated manner, taking account of the fact that new speakers in urban areas currently have the weakest affective attachment to the Frisian language.

**Research recommendation 2:** It would be beneficial to investigate what specific type of local social identity is most strongly associated with positive solidarity-related attitudes towards Frisian. So far, it is unclear whether the degree of locality – for example, village versus neighbourhood – makes a difference. The knowledge gained from such research could inform language planning measures that promote the most salient social identities.

## Part 3: New speakers' evaluations of the standardised variety of West Frisian

### The importance of evaluative reactions to language varieties

The promotion of a minority language is inextricably connected with the question of which variety of that language should be advanced. Knowledge about new speakers' evaluative reactions regarding different varieties of Frisian enables the development of planning measures that ensure new speakers are taught the variety that they actually want to learn. This will make their learning experience more meaningful and thus more successful.

#### The varieties of West Frisian:

West Frisian has three main regional varieties that are used by traditional speakers: Súdwesthoeksk (South-West-Corner Frisian), Wâldfrysk (Wood Frisian), and Klaaifrysk (Clay Frisian). The latter constituted the main basis for the development of the standard. The standardisation process was affected by concerns regarding the influence of the majority language, Dutch. This led to a preference for forms that are linguistically different from the majority language, including numerous archaisms. The resulting standardised variety of Frisian is not only different from Súdwesthoeksk and Wâldfrysk, but also from the Klaaifrysk of traditional speakers. The standardised variety of Frisian is codified in dictionaries, grammar books, and teaching materials – including those that are used to teach Frisian to new speakers at Afûk.



### Data and analysis

Items 22.1 to 22.8 of the questionnaire were used to elicit quantitative data regarding new speakers' evaluative reactions to "the variety of Frisian that is taught at Afûk". (This phrase was chosen to avoid potentially leading terminology such as "standard" or "standardised".) The items were all Likert scales where 1 meant *not at all [trait]* and 5 meant *very [trait]*. Four of the items tapped authenticity-related evaluations. **Authenticity locates the value of a variety in relation to the community that speaks it; to hold value, a variety must be socially and geographically grounded. Speakers' social group memberships and social identities thus play an important role for authenticity.** In numerous European minority language contexts, research has shown that authenticity is usually associated with the varieties of traditional speakers. The other four items tapped anonymity-related evaluations. **Anonymity allows varieties to be valued because they are associated with standardisation, education, and consequently utilitarian value.** In other European contexts, anonymity has thus been found to offer a way for new speakers to derive value from the standardised minority language varieties they are taught.

Following factor analysis to ascertain that authenticity and anonymity did indeed emerge as separate evaluative dimensions, an overall authenticity value and an overall anonymity value were calculated. A Wilcoxon signed-rank test was then used to assess whether there was a significant difference between the two.

To gain additional insights, item 23 of the questionnaire was used to elicit qualitative data regarding new speakers' own ways of describing Afûk Frisian. The item asked: "What do you call the way of speaking Frisian that is taught at Afûk?" A thematic analysis of the qualitative data was undertaken.

### Key findings

The quantitative data regarding evaluative reactions to Afûk Frisian revealed that new speakers evaluated this variety close to neutral in terms of anonymity, with a mean of 2.99 ( $SD=0.64$ ) – and mildly positive in terms of authenticity, with a mean of 3.78 ( $SD=0.60$ ). The difference was significant ( $W=22050$ ,  $p<.001$ ). This was an unexpected finding. Previous research in other minority language contexts had consistently shown that the standardised varieties of minority languages that are taught to new speakers are evaluated more positively in terms of anonymity than in terms of authenticity.

The qualitative data regarding the labelling of Afûk Frisian were examined to shed light on the unexpected finding. In response to the item asking participants what they call “the way of speaking Frisian that is taught at Afûk”, several people labelled it as ‘School Fries’ (school Frisian) or ‘Standaard Fries’ (standard Frisian). They used descriptors such as ‘toegankelijk’ (accessible), and ‘bruikbaar’ (useful). This suggests that at least some participants did recognise the standardised character of the variety that is codified in Afûk’s teaching materials, and they recognised this variety’s anonymity value. However, numerous participants also responded with terms that relate to authenticity, including ‘natuurlijk’ (natural) and ‘authentiek’ (authentic). They used region-related labels such as ‘Fries uit de Klei’ (Frisian from the Clay region).

A closer look at the data revealed why this is the case: namely because at least some Afûk teachers had been providing their students with an awareness of – and even teaching them – regional variation. One participant explained, for example, that they were being taught ‘meerdere dialecten van het Fries’ (several dialects of Frisian), and another noted that ‘volgens het boekje maar wel met de nuances van de streek waar je woont’ (we follow the book but with the nuances of the region you are living in). Participants were happy about this, as exemplified by the following comment: ‘we bespreken de verschillende uitspraken en dat is fijn’ (we discuss different pronunciations and that is nice). The fact that at least some new speakers were being taught – or taught about – the socially and geographically grounded varieties that are commonly associated with traditional speakers constitutes a likely explanation for their positive authenticity-related evaluations of “the Frisian that is taught at Afûk”. This phrase had been intended as a non-leading way of referring to the standardised variety of Frisian codified in Afûk’s teaching materials; but as the findings show, this is not in fact what (all) participants were evaluating.

Overall, the findings show that the new speakers in this study were keen to be taught – and taught about – the socially and geographically grounded varieties of Frisian. This ties in with the findings from Part 1 and Part 2 of the research project. The socially and geographically grounded varieties are the ones associated with traditional speakers of Frisian, and it seems likely that the participants considered these varieties as symbolic of the social identities they hold and/or desire. This finding can serve as a basis for future language policies and planning measures to promote Frisian amongst new speakers.

**Language planning recommendation 3:** It would be advisable to promote teaching of (and about) the socially and regionally grounded varieties of Frisian that are commonly associated with traditional speakers. This would facilitate new speakers’ attainment of salient social group memberships and social identities. These local varieties can be taught (about) in addition to instruction in the standardised variety of Frisian, which is appreciated for its utilitarian value.

**Research recommendation 3:** It would be beneficial to further investigate and tease apart new speakers’ evaluations of (1) the standardised variety of Frisian that is codified in teaching materials, and (2) the socially and regionally grounded varieties of the language. The knowledge gained from such research could inform planning measures such as the development of tailor-made teaching materials for different regional / social / age groups of new speakers.



## Part 4: New speakers' use of West Frisian

### The importance of examining language use

New speakers' knowledge of a minority language does not automatically turn them into regular users of this language. An understanding of new speakers' language use patterns is important because it highlights whether there is a need to promote **activation** – that is, **the process by which new speakers become active and habitual users of the minority language they have learnt**. While a certain degree of proficiency is evidently necessary for this to happen, social and contextual variables also play a vital role.

### The relationship between traditional and new speakers:

Previous research in numerous minority language contexts has shown that two interrelated issues tend to shape intergroup relations between traditional and new speakers: linguistic insecurity and (lacking) legitimacy.

As noted above, traditional speakers mostly speak socially and geographically grounded minority language varieties – while new speakers are usually taught standardised varieties. The former constitute an important element of local ingroup memberships and social identities; the latter are commonly considered the only appropriate varieties in the education system and are therefore key for the achievement of educational and socio-economic success. In interactions between traditional and new speakers, this frequently leads to linguistic insecurity. Traditional speakers are concerned the way they speak may not be good enough – while new speakers worry whether the way they speak is authentic enough.



At the same time, many traditional speakers do not deem new speakers to be legitimate minority language speakers. (They think that, in order to be a legitimate speaker, one needs to have been raised with the minority language.) This leads to tensions regarding hierarchies of speakers in most contemporary minority language contexts. These tensions can amplify new speakers' linguistic insecurity, thereby precluding them from feeling like they belong to the local minority language community. This can even deter new speakers from using the local minority language. The power dynamics between traditional and new speakers are thus complex, and they can hinder the success of revitalisation efforts

### Data and analysis

The data reported in Part 4 are based solely on the responses from participants who were learning Frisian to become active speakers of the language.

Item 29 of the questionnaire was used to elicit quantitative data regarding participants' frequency of Frisian use in a typical week. Item 30 yielded quantitative data regarding their interlocutors in a typical week. Items 33a to 33d elicited quantitative data regarding their use of Frisian in a range of different contexts. The open-ended item 34 asked participants about further contexts of Frisian use, yielding qualitative data. Descriptive statistics were applied to the quantitative data; thematic analysis was employed for the qualitative data.

In addition to examining new speakers' patterns of language use, the questionnaire also investigated the role that traditional speakers play in this – and the role that they could potentially play in new speakers' activation. Items 31 and 32, respectively, were used to elicit participants' levels of comfort when using Frisian with fellow new speakers and with traditional speakers. Both were Likert scales with 1 meaning *not comfortable at all* and 5 *very comfortable*. A Wilcoxon signed-rank test was used to compare the levels of comfort. To get an overview of traditional speakers' behaviours in interactions with new speakers, the open-ended item 35 asked: "When you use Frisian, how do Frisian speakers who grew up with the language usually respond?". Thematic analysis was employed for the resulting qualitative data. To assess how discouraging participants deemed certain common behaviours by traditional speakers, items 36 to 39 were included – all five-point Likert scales with 1 meaning *not*

*discouraging at all* and *5 very discouraging*. A one-way ANOVA followed by a Tukey's test was used to examine the resulting quantitative data. To investigate how encouraging participants deemed different possible behaviours by traditional speakers, items 41 to 44 were included – all five-point Likert scales with 1 meaning *not encouraging at all* and *5 very encouraging*. Again, a one-way ANOVA followed by a Tukey's test was used to examine the resulting quantitative data.

## Key findings

**New speakers' language use patterns** included very little Frisian. Participants reported using the language less than 20% of the time during a typical week. The only context in which (at least some) new speakers reported using Frisian more than Dutch was in the Afûk classroom. Conversations outside the classroom, with traditional speakers, were reported to take place for example with neighbours, in local clubs and associations, and with in-laws. However, numerous participants stated that in such conversations, they would merely utter a few tokenistic words or phrases in Frisian. The qualitative data revealed linguistic insecurity as a reason for this – as exemplified by the following comment: 'Ik heb het Fries geleerd om het te kunnen spreken, maar ik doe het nooit want ik durf het niet' (I learnt Frisian to be able to speak it, but I never do, because I do not dare to speak it). Several participants listed traditional speakers' typical behaviours as reasons for this insecurity; for instance: 'ik zou meer Fries willen spreken, maar merk dat ik me daar niet prettig bij voel (onzeker) om gecorrigeerd te worden' (I would like to speak more Frisian, but I do not feel good (insecure) about being corrected). The data thus show that knowledge of Frisian does not automatically entail use of Frisian. This highlights the necessity for language planning measures that promote the activation of new speakers.

**New speakers' level of comfort when using Frisian** was just above neutral with fellow new speakers, with a mean of 3.16 ( $SD=1.04$ ) – and just below neutral with traditional speakers, with a mean of 2.94 ( $SD=1.18$ ). Participants thus felt more comfortable using Frisian with fellow new speakers than with traditional speakers. The difference was not significant ( $W=693.5$ ,  $p<.08$ ). However, since these particular findings are based solely on the data from participants learning Frisian to become active speakers, it is possible that the lacking significance is due to the low number of participants in this category. Further research is necessary to ascertain this. It is possible that

new speakers' low levels of comfort when speaking Frisian with traditional speakers are linked with their linguistic insecurity.

**Traditional speakers' commonly-reported behaviours** in conversation with new speakers included purely positive reactions, purely negative reactions, and reactions that combined positive and negative elements. Aside from the occasional mention of 'complimenten' (compliments), there were no details regarding the actual nature of traditional speakers' positive reactions. Much more detail was provided regarding traditional speakers' negative reactions. Notably, participants referred to all four behaviours tapped by the closed questions: namely traditional speakers

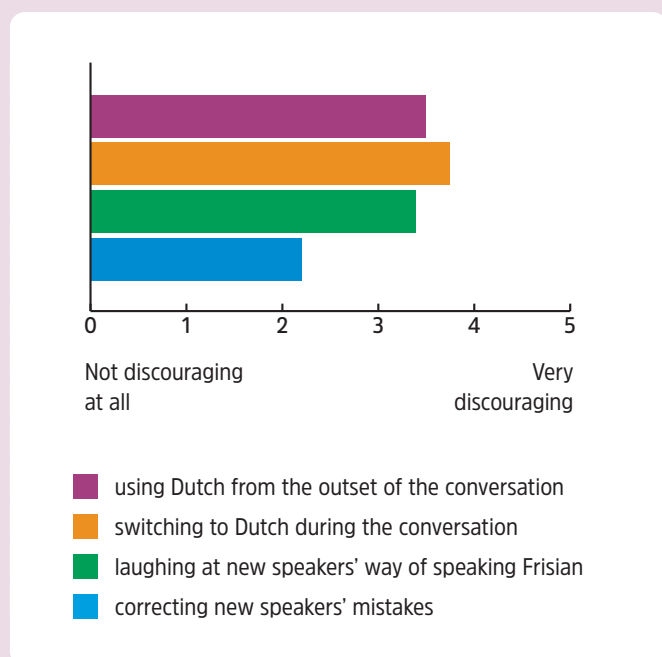
- (1) refusing to engage with participants in Frisian,
- (2) switching to Dutch during conversations,
- (3) correcting participants' mistakes, and
- (4) laughing at participants.

(The open-ended item was placed before the closed items; the latter therefore could not have primed participants' responses to the former.)

These behaviours demotivated participants – even when they were aware that traditional speakers did not necessarily mean to be disparaging. For example, one new speaker wrote: 'de mensen zijn er verlegen van omdat ze het niet verwachten en lachen, dit voelt als uitlachen. Oudere mensen zijn veel 'beleefder' en steken stoïcijns Fries als je probeert Fries met ze te spreken, dat laatste is fijn het eerste is zeer demotiverend' (people are a bit confused because they don't expect it, and then they laugh. This feels like being laughed at. Older people are usually much more polite, and they stoically continue speaking Frisian when you try to speak Frisian with them. The latter is very nice, the former is very demotivating). Several responses show that traditional speakers' behaviour actually deterred new speakers from using Frisian; for instance: 'mensen die ik beter ken moeten meestal een beetje lachen, waardoor ik het niet doorzet' (people I know better usually have to laugh a little, that is why I don't continue speaking it). As one participant explained: being laughed at 'bemoeilijkt het erg om "mee te doen"' (makes it difficult to 'participate'). Several people explained that even the expectation of a negative reaction was enough to deter them from using Frisian; for instance: 'dus als ik iets in het Fries tegen mijn schoonmoeder zou zeggen, dan zou ze denk ik negatief reageren dus dat durf ik ook al niet' (If I were to speak Frisian to my mother-in-law, I think she would react negatively, so I don't dare). The findings thus emphasise

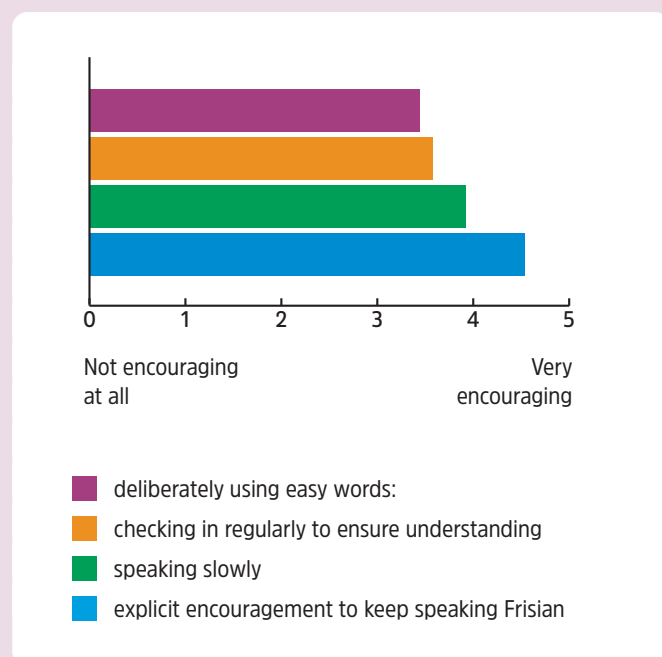
that the complex dynamics between traditional and new speakers in Fryslân contribute to the latter's linguistic insecurity. This, in turn, deters them from using the minority language – thereby hindering the success of revitalisation efforts.

The extent to which different behaviours by traditional speakers discouraged new speakers varied. There was no significant difference between the use of Dutch from the outset of the conversation, with a mean of 3.50 ( $SD=1.25$ ); switching to Dutch during the conversation, with a mean of 3.75 ( $SD=1.13$ ); and laughing at new speakers' way of speaking Frisian, with a mean of 3.39 ( $SD=1.38$ ). The new speakers found all these behaviours rather discouraging. By contrast, the correction of mistakes was deemed significantly less discouraging, with a mean of 2.20 ( $SD=1.31$ ;  $p<.000001$  for all three other reactions). One possible explanation for this is that the correction of mistakes is the only behaviour one might construe as constructive – that is, as a genuine attempt by traditional speakers to help new speakers improve their language skills. Yet, whatever the reason: the findings again highlight traditional speakers' role in many new speakers' reluctance to use Frisian.



The extent to which different behaviours by traditional speakers could potentially encourage new speakers also varied. The participants deemed all four of the positive behaviours tapped with the closed questions to be encouraging: deliberately using easy words, with a mean of 3.44 ( $SD=1.29$ ); checking in regularly to ensure understanding, with a mean of 3.58 ( $SD=1.34$ ); speaking

slowly, with a mean of 3.92 ( $SD=1.29$ ); and explicit encouragement to keep speaking Frisian, with a mean of 4.54 ( $SD=0.91$ ). The difference between explicit encouragement and the other three behaviours was significant ( $p<.000001$ ,  $p<.000001$ , and  $p<.01$ , respectively). The new speakers thus deemed traditional speakers' explicit encouragement the most encouraging reaction to their use of Frisian. This is likely to be the case because – unlike the other behaviours that were tapped – explicit encouragement cannot be interpreted as merely an attempt to facilitate conversation. Instead, it is a clear sign that traditional speakers want new speakers to use the language. In fact, it could even be seen to suggest that they welcome new speakers into the minority language community. As noted in the previous parts of this report, this is something strongly desired by new speakers of Frisian. The findings thus show that encouraging reactions by traditional speakers could potentially go a long way – and traditional speakers could play an important role in promoting new speakers' activation. By doing so, they would contribute to the revitalisation of Frisian. These findings have implications for language planning to revitalise Frisian.



### Research output 3: an academic article about new speakers' use of Frisian.

Kircher, R., Kutlu, E., & Vellinga, M. (2022). Promoting minority language use to foster revitalisation: Insights from new speakers of West Frisian.

PsyArXiv: <https://doi.org/10.31234/osf.io/m6ej3>



**Research output 4:** a campaign to promote new speakers' use of Frisian, titled *Praat mar Frysk – ek mei nije Fryskpraters* (Let's speak Frisian – also with new speakers): <https://www.praatmarfrysk.nl/nijefryskpraters/>

The campaign was based on the key finding that the new speakers in this study were very hesitant to use Frisian with traditional speakers, and said they would be more likely to use Frisian if traditional speakers explicitly encouraged them to do so.

In the first phase of the campaign, awareness of this issue was raised via social and traditional media. Professionally-recorded videos of explicit encouragement from both traditional and new speakers were shared widely. These videos received very positive feedback. Numerous people commented on them on Facebook and Twitter, praising the new speakers in the videos for their Frisian use, and commenting favourably on the campaign in general. Originally, the idea had been to gather further encouragement videos from the general public. However, no-one submitted their own video. It is likely that the threshold for participation in the campaign (that is, creating a video and then sharing this publicly) was too high.

In the second phase of the campaign, the threshold for the general public's participation was lowered. People were given the opportunity to submit complimentary messages for specific new speakers via the campaign website. These messages were then sent to the new speakers on postcards. People could choose between 3 different postcard designs: the first said "Do bist geweldich" (you are great), the second said "Grutsk op dy" (proud of you), and the third said "Wat bisto goed dwaande" (you are doing great). The postcards were handwritten by Afûk employees and sent with a specially designed *Praat mar Frysk* stamp. This phase of the campaign engendered much more participation from the general public, with 46 people submitting messages. A selection of the messages was then anonymised, published on the campaign website, and shared via various social media channels. It is hoped that, for the new speakers who received these messages, they served as clear indicators that new speakers are welcome members of the local minority language community.

This campaign constituted a first step towards promoting the activation of new speakers with the support of traditional speakers.

**Research output 5:** teaching materials that facilitate discussions (in Afûk classes) about why traditional speakers display certain discouraging behaviours: Frisian version: [https://www.mercator-research.eu/fileadmin/mercator/beelden/projects/NSF\\_Teaching\\_Materials\\_F.pdf](https://www.mercator-research.eu/fileadmin/mercator/beelden/projects/NSF_Teaching_Materials_F.pdf)

English version: [https://www.mercator-research.eu/fileadmin/mercator/beelden/projects/NSF\\_Teaching\\_Materials\\_E.pdf](https://www.mercator-research.eu/fileadmin/mercator/beelden/projects/NSF_Teaching_Materials_E.pdf)

Intergroup relations are a two-way street. It is thus important for new speakers to be aware of traditional speakers' backgrounds and situations – because this knowledge can mitigate new speakers' discouragement when they encounter certain behaviours by traditional speakers. The aim of the teaching materials is to make new speakers aware of why traditional speakers might display the discouraging behaviours that were attested in this research project. The materials provide a way for new speakers to realise that these behaviours are a consequence of traditional speakers' own linguistic insecurity, their experiences of discrimination as minority language speakers, and/or their linguistic socialisation. The materials also contain tips for new speakers to persevere in their use of Frisian with traditional speakers – thereby promoting their activation.

**Language planning recommendation 4:** It would be advisable to extend the focus of planning measures from the promotion of acquisition (language learning) to the promotion of activation (language use) amongst new speakers. Support for more harmonious intergroup relations between traditional and new speakers, and the engendering of shared social identities, could constitute key steps in the activation of new speakers – and thereby the revitalisation of Frisian.

**Research recommendation 4:** It would be beneficial to investigate traditional speakers' attitudes towards new speakers themselves and towards new speakers' use of Frisian. Knowledge about these attitudes could facilitate the development of planning measures that promote the revitalisation of Frisian as a shared endeavour, in which both traditional and new speakers play pivotal roles and strive for the same goal.

## Recommendations for language policy and planning

The emergence of new speakers as a salient phenomenon highlights the need for inclusive language policies to successfully promote minority language revitalisation. In the Frisian context, policies which more explicitly acknowledge new speakers' potentially pivotal role in language revitalisation would certainly be beneficial – especially because such policies could send a strong message of inclusion to new speakers.

Social identities – new speakers' desire to be included, to belong, to actively participate in their local minority language community – emerged as a key component in all parts of this research project. The overall findings of the project therefore indicate that (in addition to the existing status, acquisition, and corpus planning measures) it would be advisable to implement prestige planning measures to promote the revitalisation of Frisian.

**Prestige planning** broadly includes measures regarding language communities' attitudes, ideologies, and social identities. Prestige planning also includes measures to ameliorate intergroup relations between different linguistic groups. Such measures can directly and indirectly contribute to the revitalisation of Frisian.

Prestige planning measures in Fryslân could promote more harmonious intergroup relations between traditional and new speakers, engender shared social identities that are linked with learning motivations and language attitudes, and support the activation of new speakers. Moreover, prestige planning measures could pave the path for the success of other types of language planning measures – including further acquisition planning efforts.

Based on the findings from the *New Speakers of West Frisian* project, the following research-informed language planning recommendations are made to promote the revitalisation of Frisian:

**Language planning recommendation 1:** It would be advisable to make stakeholders in municipalities throughout Fryslân aware of (potential) new speakers' desire for highly local social identities. Initiatives to make (potential) new speakers feel welcome and included in their local Frisian-speaking communities could serve as a motivation booster for them to learn the minority language, as a way of obtaining a sense of belonging.

**Language planning recommendation 2:** It would be advisable to promote local social identities that can be shared by traditional and new speakers of Frisian – thereby enabling new speakers to feel like they really are part of their local community. Ideally, such social identities should be promoted in a regionally differentiated manner, taking account of the fact that new speakers in urban areas currently have the weakest affective attachment to the Frisian language.

**Language planning recommendation 3:** It would be advisable to promote teaching of (and about) the socially and regionally grounded varieties of Frisian that are commonly associated with traditional speakers. This would facilitate new speakers' attainment of salient social group memberships and social identities. These local varieties can be taught (about) in addition to instruction in the standardised variety of Frisian, which is appreciated for its utilitarian value.

**Language planning recommendation 4:** It would be advisable to extend the focus of planning measures from the promotion of acquisition (language learning) to the promotion of activation (language use) amongst new speakers. Support for more harmonious intergroup relations between traditional and new speakers, and the engendering of shared social identities, could constitute key steps in the activation of new speakers – and thereby the revitalisation of Frisian.

Importantly, language policies and language planning measures concerning new speakers should never be regarded as a replacement of support for traditional speakers. Instead, the former should complement the latter. A truly inclusive approach to minority language revitalisation must recognise the different needs of the two speaker groups and strive to consolidate them.

## Recommendations for future research

The small size of the participant sample in this study necessitates further research with larger participant samples, to confirm that the findings can be generalised. Moreover, different aspects of the project's results point to fruitful avenues for future research. These are the main research recommendations based on the *New Speakers of West Frisian* research project:

**Research recommendation 1:** It would be beneficial to investigate the differences in language learning motivations between individuals who are learning Frisian with the goal of becoming active speakers of the language, and those who are merely learning Frisian with the goal of understanding it. The knowledge gained from such research could inform planning measures that generate the goal to become active Frisian speakers amongst the latter, too.

**Research recommendation 2:** It would be beneficial to investigate what specific type of local social identity is most strongly associated with positive solidarity-related attitudes towards Frisian. So far, it is unclear whether the degree of locality – for example, village versus neighbourhood – makes a difference. The knowledge gained from such research could inform language planning measures that promote the most salient social identities.

**Research recommendation 3:** It would be beneficial to further investigate and tease apart new speakers' evaluations of (1) the standardised variety of Frisian that is codified in teaching materials, and (2) the socially and regionally grounded varieties of the language. The knowledge gained from such research could inform planning measures such as the development of tailor-made teaching materials for different regional / social / age groups of new speakers.

**Research recommendation 4:** It would be beneficial to investigate traditional speakers' attitudes towards new speakers themselves and towards new speakers' use of Frisian. Knowledge about these attitudes could facilitate the development of planning measures that promote the revitalisation of Frisian as a shared endeavour, in which both traditional and new speakers play pivotal roles and strive for the same goal.

All of these research strands would lead to knowledge that has important implications for future language policy and planning measures to promote the revitalisation of Frisian.

## Executive summary / koarte gearfetting

Nije sprekkers kinne in grutte rol spylje by it yn stân hâlden fan in minderheidstaal en it tal sprekkers fan dy taal fergrutsje. Se kinne de sosjale netwurken dêr't tradisjonele sprekkers harren taal yn brûke kinne fergrutsje en derfoar soargje dat der op mear plakken en mei mear minsken Frysk praat wurde kin. Dat kin der mei foar soargje dat de status fan de taal ferhege wurdt. Nije sprekker kinne sa op ferskate wizen bydrage oan de refitalisearring fan de taal.

Dit ûndersyksprojekt hat ta doel om de neikommende fragen te beäntwurdzjen:

- 1: Wat binne de motivaasjes fan nije sprekkers om Frysk te learen?
- 2: Hokker hâlding hawwe de nije sprekkers tsjinoer it Frysk?
- 3: Wat fine de nije sprekkers fan it soarte fan Frysk dat se by de Afûk leare?
- 4: Hoe faak, wêr en wannear, en mei wa brûke nije sprekkers it Frysk?

ad 1: fan de 264 respondinten joech mar 37,3% oan dat se it Frysk leare woene om ek aktive sprekkers te wurden. De oare 62,7% learden it benammen om it ferstean te kinnen. De twa wichtichste motivaasjes om Frysk te learen wiene fanwege it nut fan de taal yn benammen wurkrelatearre sitewaasjes (168x neamd) en om't men der graach by hearre wol en ûnderdiel wêze wol fan de lokale mienskip, lykas it doarp, de buert, famylje (435x neamd). Dêrneist wie der noch in lytse groep dy't de taal leare woe fanwege de leafde foar talen yn it algemien.

*It is wichtich om yn de takomst rekken te hâlden mei de winsk fan learders en nije sprekkers om op lokaal nivo (doarp, buert, famylje) ûnderdiel te wurden fan de mienskip. It gefoel wolkom te wêzen yn de lokale Frysktalige omjouwing kin in ekstra 'boost' wêze om Frysk te learen.*

ad 2: Yn it ûndersyk is frege nei de status-relatearre hâlding en de solidariteits-relatearre hâlding fan de dielnimmers tsjinoer it Frysk.

De status-relatearre hâlding fan de dielnimmers tsjinoer it Frysk wie sa goed as neutraal. De dielnimmers skreaunen net in hege nuttichheidswearde ta oan it Frysk. Dat hat nei alle gedachten benammen te krijen mei it feit dat behearsking fan it Frysk net in betingst is foar sosjaal-

ekonomysk sukses. Der is in dúdlik posityf ferbân tusken de taalfeardigens fan de dielnimmers en de status-relatearre hâlding tsjinoer it Frysk. Wat better de behearsking fan de taal wat positiver men is oer it nut fan de taal.

De solidariteits-relatearre hâlding fan de dielnimmers tsjinoer it Frysk wie licht posityf. Dat hat nei alle gedachten te krijen mei de winsk om by de lokale mienskip te hearren. Ek hjirby wie der in dúdlik posityf ferbân tusken de taalfeardigens fan de dielnimmers en harren hâlding tsjinoer de taal. Dêrby hiene dielnimmers dy't op it plattelân/yn in doarp wennen in sterkere emosjonele bân mei de taal as de dielnimmers dy't yn mear stedske gebieten wennen.

*It soe oan te rieden wêze om lokale sosjale identiteiten te promoatsjen dy't diel wurde troch sawol tradisjonele as nije sprekkers fan it Frysk, sadat nije sprekkers echt it gefoel krije dat se by de lokale mienskip hearre.*

ad 3: út de kwantitative gegevens kaam nei foaren dat de dielnimmers it Afûk-Frysk as sawat neutraal wurdearren as it giet om anonimiteit en licht posityf as it giet om autentisiteit. Dat wie in ferrassende útkomst. By fierdere analyze kaam nei foaren dat neist dat de dielnimmers Afûk-Frysk as Standertfrysk beoardielen, se it ek autentyk fûnen, om't yn alle gefallen in part fan de lesjouwers ek omtinken jout oan regionale farianten fan it Frysk. Dat waard troch de dielnimmers as posityf wurdearre. Dit slút oan by de eardere útkomsten dat learders en nije sprekkers graach diel út meitsje wolle fan de lokale mienskip en it Frysk prate wolle dat dêr sprutsen wurdt.

*As oanfolging op it learen fan it Standertfrysk soe it goed wêze om ek omtinken te hawwen foar de regionale fariaasjes fan it Frysk yn de kursussen. It learen oer en fan dy fariaasjes helpt de nije sprekkers oan te sluten by de tradisjonele sprekkers yn de lokale mienskip.*

ad 4: nije sprekkers brûke it Frysk mar in lyts bytsje yn de praktyk. Dielnimmers joegen oan dat se it Frysk 20% fan de tiid brûkten yn in trochsneed wike. Allinnich ûnder de lessen waard der troch guon dielnimmers mear Frysk as Nederlânsk brûkt. Bûten it klasselokaal wurdt der benammen Frysk praat mei buorlju, by ferieningen of binnen de famylje, mar faak giet dat net fierder as in pear standert wurdjes of sintsjes. De dielnimmers fiele har minder noflik as se Frysk prate mei tradisjonele sprekkers dan yn in petear mei nije sprekkers. De dielnimmers jouwe oan dat se troch it hâlden en dra-

gen fan de tradisjonele sprekkers ûntmoedigje wurde om Frysk te praten. Dêrby moat tocht wurde oan: wegerje om Frysk te praten, yn it petear oerskeakelje nei it Nederlânsk, grapkes meitsje oer it Frysk fan de nije sprekker, en it korrizjearjen fan flaters. De komplekse dynamyk tusken tradisjonele en nije sprekkers draacht dus by oan de taalûnwissigens fan de nije sprekkers. Dat wjerhâldt harren derfan om it Frysk te brûken en dat behinderet it súkses fan de refitalisearringsynspanningen.

Fan de 4 oanjûne mooglike positive gedragingen dy't tradisjonele sprekkers sjen litte kinne: 1. maklikere wurden brûke, 2. stadich prate, 3. geregeld freegje oft ien it ferstiet en 4. eksplisite oanmoedigingen om troch te gean mei it praten fan it Frysk, waard dat lêste as it meast posityf en weardefol beskôge.

De útkomsten litte sjen dat positive reaksjes en oanmoedigingen troch tradisjonele sprekkers bot bydrage kinne oan it brûken fan it Frysk by nije sprekkers. Tradisjonele sprekkers kinne sa in grutte rol spylje yn it aktivearjen fan nije sprekkers en de refitalisaasje fan it Frysk.

*It soe goed wêze om by planningsmaatregelen net allinnich te fokusjen op it learen fan de taal, mar de fokus te ferbreedzjen nei it aktyf brûken fan de taal ûnder nije sprekkers. Stipe foar mear harmonieuze relaasjes tusken tradisjonele en nije sprekkers en it kreëarjen fan mienskiplike sosjale identiteiten soene wichtige stappen wêze kinne yn de aktivearring fan nije sprekkers.*

*Dit ûndersyk jout tal fan oanliedingen en mooglikheden foar oanfoljend ûndersyk op it mêd fan taalhâlding, motivaasjes om de taal te learen, it tinken oer de ferskillende taalfariaasjes en it Standertfrysk en it aktive taalgebrûk by learders en nije sprekkers.*

## Appendix A: Links to research materials and outputs

- The new speakers project page on the Open Science Framework (includes the questionnaire, the preregistrations, the R code, and supplementary materials):  
<https://osf.io/t3rc9/>
- The new speakers project page on the Mercator website (includes an overview of the research project and the outputs) – Frisian: <https://www.mercator-research.eu/fy/nijesprekkers/>  
and English: <https://www.mercator-research.eu/en/newspeakers/>
- The preprint of the article about new speakers' motivations for learning West Frisian:  
in preparation
- The preprint of the article about new speakers' attitudes towards West Frisian and their evaluative reactions to Afûk Frisian:  
<https://doi.org/10.31234/osf.io/yuw6z>
- The preprint of the article about new speakers' use of West Frisian: <https://doi.org/10.31234/osf.io/m6ej3>
- The Praat mar Frysk – ek mei nije Fryskpraters (“Let’s speak Frisian – also with new speakers”) campaign page on the Praat mar Frysk website:  
<https://www.praatmarfrysk.nl/nijefryskpraters/>
- The teaching materials to help Afûk teachers discuss Frisian use between traditional and new speakers – Frisian: [https://www.mercator-research.eu/fileadmin/mercator/beelden/projects/NSF\\_Teaching\\_Materials\\_F.pdf](https://www.mercator-research.eu/fileadmin/mercator/beelden/projects/NSF_Teaching_Materials_F.pdf)  
and English: [https://www.mercator-research.eu/fileadmin/mercator/beelden/projects/NSF\\_Teaching\\_Materials\\_E.pdf](https://www.mercator-research.eu/fileadmin/mercator/beelden/projects/NSF_Teaching_Materials_E.pdf)

## Appendix B: Key publications regarding new speakers of minority languages

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