VIOLATIONS OF PRESCRIPTIVE RULES AND SPEAKER EDUCATION

Young "Randstad" females' perception of usage problems in spoken Dutch

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Cover photo "The Brox Sisters, tuning radio", not dated (c. mid 1920s) by an unnamed photographer for Bain News services. From: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs, USA: http://loc.gov/pictures/resource/ggbain.37038/.

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Abstract

Dutch grammar prescriptions decree that in subject position, the subject pronoun *zij* and not the oblique *hun* should be used. Consequently, the sentence below can only exemplify proper written and spoken Dutch if *zij* is selected.

> *__Hun/Zij__ hebben dat gedaan!
> *Them/They did that!*

Scholars have revealed that university students disapprove of **hun* in a spoken Dutch story (Janssen 2004), and that the more highly educated a group of speakers is, the lower that group's self-reported use of **hun* is likely to be (Bennis & Hinskens 2014). Yet, it remains unclear whether and, if so, how different educational groups perceive *hun hebben* as well as other *taalergernissen* ("language annoyances", or "usage problems") in spoken Dutch.

My sociolinguistic study into 45 young Dutch females' perception and evaluation of five usage problems in spoken Dutch confirms that speakers' education is a relevant social variable that future studies about related topics should consider. The speakers with a *WO* degree ("university degree") more often commented on the non-standard features in a radio listening task than speakers with *HBO* ("higher vocational education") or *MBO* ("intermediate vocational education") degrees did. Additionally, the university graduates also were less tolerant of, and more strongly distanced themselves from, spoken sentences that included such non-standard features as compared to the HBO and MBO graduates.

Keywords: sociolinguistics, Standard Dutch, prescriptive rules, education, attitudes, awareness

Number of words: 213

Contents

Abbreviations

ABN	General Refined Dutch (*Algemeen Beschaafd Nederlands*)
ANS	*General Grammar of Dutch* (*Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst* or *ANS*)
CGN	Spoken Dutch Corpus (*Corpus Gesproken Nederlands*)
GTST	Good times, bad times (*Goede tijden, slechte tijden*), a Dutch soap opera
HBO	higher vocational education (*hoger beroepsonderwijs*)
MBO	intermediate vocational education (*middelbaar beroepsonderwijs*)
SD	Standard Dutch (*standaard Nederlands*)
WO	university education (*wetenschappelijk onderwijs*)

Chapter 1 Introduction

In the Dutch soap opera *Goede tijden, slechte tijden* ("Good times, bad times") or *GTST*, "[moeten] alle gesproken zinnen … grammaticaal correct zijn" ("all the spoken sentences … have to be grammatically correct"),[1] the main script-writer of the series, Jantien van der Meer stated in an interview for *Taalpeil* (Dessing 2012: 4). To demonstrate the need for this policy, Van der Meer provides an anecdote about Noud, a character in the soap:

> Toen we Noud introduceerden, de schoonzoon van Ludo die van de straat komt, zei hij dingen als: **hun vinden dat**. Maar daar zijn we snel mee opgehouden. Het werkte niet. De scènes draaien om hoe het misgaat tussen Ludo en hem. (…) Als een kijker dan een personage de hele tijd verkeerde dingen hoort zeggen, leidt dat te veel af.
>
> ("When we introduced Noud, Ludo's son-in-law who was from the street, he said things like: **them think that**. But we quickly stopped doing this. It did not work. The scenes are about how things go amiss between him and Ludo. (…) If a viewer hears a personage say the wrong things all the time, that is far too distracting.")
>
> (Jantien van der Meer, in Dessing 2012: 4)

The passage above does not only suggest that – to some Dutch people at least – non-standard variants like *hun vinden* may provide a cue about someone's social status, but also that such variants are not easily overlooked.

1.1 Usage problems: the topic and field introduced

The reason that Meer, among many other people, eventually chose not to adopt non-standard features like the oblique pronoun *hun* in subject position in her scripts is that the construction constitutes a so-called *taalergernis* ("language annoyance" or "usage problem") in Dutch. This term was introduced by Van Bezooijen in 2003 and is defined by Doderer (2011b: 218) as denoting those variations in language use which conflict with prescriptive rules, and which – when applied – potentially annoy people who know and care about such rules. Consequently, applying the pronoun **hun*[2] as a subject where Dutch grammar rules decree that only the subject pronoun *zij* should be used means that you risk triggering negative attitudes.

Even though I translated *taalergernissen* as "usage problems" above, the Dutch and English terms may not denote the exact same concept. While *taalergernissen*

[1] All translations from Dutch into English in this thesis are my own.

[2] Throughout, an asterisk (*) will be used to mark non-standard variants like **hun* in *hun hebben*.

essentially refer to an emotional state (i.e. that of feeling annoyed) – which can only emerge when the speaker knows which of the variants is considered "correct" – usage problems do not necessarily do so. Usage problems are about the choice that speakers have to make "between linguistic features that can be functionally equivalent in a given context" (Weiner 1988: 173), and the term thus primarily appears to refer to the linguistic insecurity of speakers. Speakers who report having a *taalergernis* crucially are not linguistically insecure. While I will use the term usage problems throughout, it is important to recall that *taalergernissen* may be just one sub-type of usage problems.

So far, research into usage problems has attracted a fair amount of scholarly attention, for Dutch (see e.g. Jansen & Van der Geest 1990; Van Hout 1996; Kloet et al. 2003; Van der Sijs 2004a; Doderer 2011a,b; De Bruijn 2014) but also for other languages such as English (see e.g. Mittins et al. 1970; Ilson 1985; Weiner 1988; Peters 2006; Albakry 2007; Busse & Schröder 2010) and Scots (Sandred 1983). Research on the interplay of social variables (e.g. the speakers' age or gender) and people's perception of usage problems is being undertaken increasingly, in the form of studies on English usage problems (e.g. Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2013, Ebner forthc.; Lukač forthc.; Kostadinova forthc.) as well as Dutch ones (e.g. Jansen & Van der Geest 1989, 1990; Janssen 2004; Harms 2008; Hubers & De Hoop 2013; Bennis & Hinskens 2014).

In this thesis, I will address the question of how someone's level of education may affect their perception of norm violations, starting from the point where Janssen (2004, 2006), Hubers and De Hoop (2013) and Bennis and Hinskens (2014) left the topic. These scholars found, for example, that more highly educated people disapprove of **hun* in a spoken Dutch story (Janssen 2004, 2006), and that the more highly educated a group of people is, the lower that group's self-reported use of **hun* is likely to be (Bennis & Hinskens 2014). Further, as regards **groter als*, another typical Dutch usage problem, Hubers and De Hoop's (2013) study of speech production data showed that more highly educated speakers tend to use the prescribed conjunction *dan* whereas less highly educated speakers use **als*. Based on these studies, it thus may seem clear that education affects people's perception and production of usage problems.

However, two characteristics of Janssen's (2004, 2006) and Bennis and Hinskens' (2014) perception studies render it difficult to prove that education indeed affects Dutch people's perception of norm violations. Firstly, since Janssen solely relied on university students as her informants, her study reveals just one piece of a larger puzzle, i.e that speakers who typically are more highly educated recognize and reject the subject **hun*. Further, because the views of the participants of Bennis and Hinskens possibly solely represent those of speakers with a higher than average interest in Dutch –

after all, the 1600 survey respondents were volunteers from the Meertens Instituut Panel – it seems relevant to ask whether the same effect of level of education would be found if people with a relatively low interest in language took part in the study. So, additional research on different educational groups' perception of usage problems in spoken Dutch seems called for.

1.2 Aim of the current study

The goal of this thesis is to examine the effect of level of education on Dutch "Randstad" women's perception and evaluation of spoken Dutch usage problems. Only women from the "Randstad" (a predominantly urban area in the West of The Netherlands which includes the cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht) aged between nineteen and twenty-nine participated in the study because the variables gender, region of residence and age – if not controlled – could obscure any effects of the variable of interest, i.e. education (but see Chapter 4 for a more elaborate discussion). Inspired by Ebner (in progress), I devised a multimodal method consisting of (1) a radio listening task, (2) an acceptability judgement task and (3) a mini-questionnaire to study the women's attitudes to five usage problems. The women were "MBO" ("intermediate vocational education"), "HBO" ("higher vocational education") and "WO" (university education) graduates.

For my analysis I decided to focus on a selection of five Dutch usage problems which were drawn from Van Bezooijen's (2003) *ergernissen-top-zeventien* ("annoyances-top-seventeen"), listed below. Based on the average scores that Van Bezooijen's participants gave the usage problems, the items are listed according to the degree of annoyance which they evoked. The scores form a scale, ranging from zero (*wekt geen ergernis*, "evokes no annoyance") to three (*wekt erg veel ergernis*, "evokes much annoyance") (Van Bezooijen 2003: 37). The example sentences were glossed according to the Leipzig Glossing Rules (May 2015), which conventions are available online (see https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/Glossing-Rules.pdf).

1. ***Kennen* i.p.v. *kunnen* (1,94):**
   Ken jij dat even doen?
   Ken *jij* *dat* *even* *doen?*
   be.able.to.PRS 2SG.SBJ DEM.OBJ just do.INF
   "Can you do that?"

2. ***Kunnen* i.p.v. *kennen* (1,92):**
   Kon jij die vrouw die daar fietste?
   Kon *jij* *die* *vrouw* *die* *daar* *fietste?*
   know.PST 2SG.SBJ DEM.OBJ woman.OBJ REL.DEF.SBJ there cycle.PST
   "Did you know that woman who was cycling there?"

3. ***Hun* als onderwerpsvorm (1,74):**
Toen hebben hun een suikerspin gekocht.

Toen	*hebben*	*hun*	*een*	*suikerspin*	*gekocht.*
then	have.AUX.PRS	3PL.OBJ	ART	candy.floss.OBJ	buy.PRF.PTCP

"Then they bought a candy floss."

4. **Omschrijvend *doen* (1,56):**
Doe jij even aardappelen schillen?

Doe	*jij*	*even*	*aardappelen*	*schillen?*
do.2SG.PRS	2SG.SBJ	for.just.a.moment	potatoes.OBJ	peel.INF

"Will you peel the potatoes for just a moment?"

5. ***Dan* i.p.v. gelijkheid-aanduidend *als* (1,44):**
Mijn nichtje is even groot dan mijn zusje.

Mijn	*nichtje*	*is*	*even*	*groot*
1SG.POSS	little.cousin.SBJ	be.3SG.PRS	equally	tall

dan	*mijn*	*zusje.*
than	1SG.POSS	little.sister

"My little cousin/niece is as tall as my little sister."

6. **Vergrotende trap met *als* (1,29):**
Een flat is hoger als een huis.

Een	*flat*	*is*	*hoger*	*als*	*een*	*huis.*
ART	block.of.flats.SBJ	be.3SG.PRS	taller	as	ART	house

"A block of flats is taller than a house."

7. **Dubbele ontkenning (1,23):**
Je hebt nooit geen geld bij je.

Je	*hebt*	*nooit*	*geen*	*geld*	*bij*	*je.*
2SG.SBJ	have.2SG.PRS	never	no	money	on	REFL.2SG

"You never bring any money along."

8. ***Hun* na voorzetsel (0,93):**
Ik wil niet met hun samenwerken.

Ik	*wil*	*niet*	*met*	*hun*	*samenwerken.*
1SG.SBJ	want.1SG.PRS	NEG	with	3PL.OBJ	cooperate.INF

"I do not want to work with them."

9. ***Wat* i.p.v. betrekkelijk voornaamwoord *dat* (0,93):**
De docent vond het verslag wat ik geschreven had niet goed.

De	*docent*	*vond*	*het*	*verslag*	*wat*
ART	teacher.SBJ	find.PST	ART	report.OBJ	REL.INDEF.OBJ

ik	*geschreven*	*had*	*niet*	*goed.*
1SG.SBJ	write.PRF.PTCP	have.AUX.PST	NEG	good

"The teacher did not like the report that I wrote."

10. **Verbuiging van versterkende bijwoorden (0.76):**
We hadden een erge leuke dag in het pretpark.

We	*hadden*	*een*	*erg-e*	*leuke*	*dag*	*in*
1PL.SBJ	have.PST	ART	very.ADJ	nice.ADJ	day	in

het	*pretpark.*
ART	amusement.park.OBJ

"We had a very lovely day in the amusement park."

11. **Overtreffende trap met *meest* (0,75):**
Deze leefomgeving is voor kikkers het meest natuurlijk.

Deze *leefomgeving* *is* *voor* *kikkers* *het* *meest* *natuurlijk.*
DEM habitat.SBJ be.3SG.PRS to frogs.OBJ ART most natural
"This habitat is the most natural one for frogs."

12. ***Hen* als meewerkend voorwerp (0,73):**
De leraar gaf hen niet veel huiswerk.
De *leraar* *gaf* *hen* *niet* *veel* *huiswerk.*
ART teacher.SBJ give.PST 3PL.OBJ NEG much homework.OBJ
"The teacher did not give them much homework."

13. **Lidwoord bij namen van bedrijven (0,64):**
Morgen is het koopavond bij de C&A.
Morgen *is* *het* *koopavond* *bij* *de* *C&A.*
tomorrow be.3SG.PRS ART late.night.shopping.SBJ at ART C&A.OBJ
"Tomorrow there's late night shopping at C&A."

14. **Meewerkend voorwerp als onderwerp van passieve zin (0,62):**
De bewoners worden gevraagd het pand te ontruimen.
De *bewoners* *worden* *gevraagd* *het*
ART residents.SBJ be.3PL.PRS.AUX.PASS ask.PRF.PTCP ART

pand *te* *ontruimen.*
building.obj to clear.INF
"The residents will be asked to leave the building."

15. ***Een aantal* + meervoudige persoonsvorm (0,61):**
Er komen een aantal mensen niet op mijn feestje.
Er *komen* *een* *aantal* *mensen* *niet*
there come.PL.PRS ART number people.SBJ NEG

op *mijn* *feestje.*
at 1SG.POSS party.OBJ
"A number of people will not come to my party."

16. ***Zo minimaal/optimaal mogelijk* (0,44):**
De overlast moet zo minimaal mogelijk gehouden worden.
De *overlast* *moet* *zo* *minimaal mogelijk*
ART inconvenience.SBJ should.PRS as minimal possible

gehouden *worden.*
keep.PRF.PTCP be.INF.AUX
"The degree of inconvenience should be kept at a minimum."

17. ***Een van de* + meervoudig woord + *die* (0,43):**
Het gaat om een van de jongens die goed kan voetballen.
Het *gaat* *om* *een* *van* *de* *jongens*
ART go.3SG.PRS about one.OBJ of ART boys.OBJ

die *goed* *kan* *voetballen.*
REL.DEF well be.able.3SG.PRS play.soccer.INF
"It concerns one of the boys that can play soccer well."

(cf. Van Bezooijen 2003, only a selection of the example sentences is given above)

The usage problems in (1), (3), (6), (10) and (15) in Van Bezooijen's (2003) list above constitute the stimuli in the current study. To see whether different educational groups would respond differently to usage problems that have been established to be highly annoying, e.g. (1), (3), (6), as compared to ones that people hardly considered annoying,

e.g. (10), (15), I selected usage problems from various positions in the ranking (also see section 4.2.2 for additional reasons for selecting these stimuli).

One may wonder in what way the usages in (1), (3) and (6) conflict with prescriptive conventions. To begin with, the use of **kennen* instead of *kunnen* as illustrated in (1) is considered non-standard because *kennen* is an intransitive main verb that requires a direct object, while *kunnen* is a modal verb that should co-occur with an infinitive (Taaladvies.net, s.v. *kennen*). The sentence in (3) illustrates that Dutch prescriptions reject the use of **hun* as a subject and dictate the use of the subject pronouns *zij* or *ze* instead (Onze Taal Taaladvies, s.v. *hun hebben / zij hebben*). With respect to (6), prescriptive rules decree that in comparatives of inequality the conjunction *dan* and not **als* should be adopted (*ANS*, s.v. *dan, als*). The prescriptive rules for the usage problems **kennen*, **hun* and **als* thus hardly permit variation. For a brief description of the prescriptive authorities referred to above, see section 2.2.

The usage problems in (10) and (15) were barely viewed as annoying by Van Bezooijen's (2003) participants – an evaluation which the corresponding prescriptive rules appear to reflect too: the prescriptions for (10) and (15) seem more elastic than those for (1), (3) and (6). Even though Dutch prescriptive rules decree that adverbs like *heel* ("very") in (10) should generally not be inflected (Onze Taal Taaladvies, s.v. *een heel / hele fijne vakantie*), it is stated in the same prescription that using *hele* is no longer considered a mistake today but that it reflects informal usage; *heel* is considered more formal. Similarly, in the case of (15) both a singular and a plural verb are permitted after *een aantal* plus plural noun, and in colloquial Dutch the plural is most common: the singular is said to have a more formal feel to it (Onze Taal Taaladvies, s.v. *een aantal collega's ging / gingen op cursus*). Because in the past *een aantal (…) gingen* and *hele were considered incorrect, as Van Bezooijen's (2003) list proves, I will mark these variants with a grey asterisk (*).

The variants **kennen*, **hun* and **als* are typical features of Dutch dialects and/or sociolects. The construction with **als* is used in a considerable number of Dutch dialects for instance (Van der Sijs 2004b: 527), **kennen* is an older dialectal feature from Zuid-Holland (Van Bree 2004: 89), and subject **hun*, additionally, originated in the cities in the "Randstad" (Van Bree 2012: 230). At the same time, the use of **hun*, but **als* too, may characterize the sociolect of specific social groups: i.e. that of less highly educated speakers, younger speakers (Bennis et al. 2004: 24,40) or "het volk" ("the common

people") (Van der Sijs & Willemyns 2009: 337)[3]. To the participants in the present study, who were all from the "Randstad" or "Holland", these non-standard variants thus could be part of their natural, everyday language use. The usage problems **een aantal (..) gingen* and **hele* are – to my knowledge – not easily traced back to specific dialects or sociolects.

1.3 Sub-research questions

The research question that is dealt with here may be subdivided into four subquestions, one of which is the question whether participants with different educational levels (MBO, HBO and WO degrees) differ in the extent to which they are able to identify usage problems in spoken Dutch. Because studies about written non-standard variants show that familiarity with the rules – a variable that possibly interacts with level of education – negatively affects people's attitudes to rule violations (Jansen & Van der Geest 1989, 1990; Harm 2008), one may imagine that people with little awareness of grammatical rules have milder attitudes towards the features in question. Consequently, such people may be less eager to point out norm deviations to others as compared to those who know and actively practise the prescriptions. Based on literature on written non-standard variants one may therefore expect MBO graduates to perceive fewer usage problems than HBO or WO graduates.

A second subquestion that will be posed in this thesis is: which social judgements do participants with an MBO, HBO and WO degree – who did identify a rule violation – make about someone who uses such usage problems? From the observations made by Van der Horst & Marschall (2000), Van Hout (2006) and Bennis (2003) one would expect participants to brand rule-transgressors as lower educated, as having a lower social status, or as speaking an inferior type of Dutch. By enquiring after the social judgements of participants, these scholars' comments can, at least on a small scale, be put to the test.

My third sub-research question is: how acceptable do participants with MBO, HBO and WO degrees consider the use of spoken non-standard variants to be across social contexts that may be said to range from informal to formal (also see section 4.3.5)? By asking the participants how acceptable they would consider the use of three stigmatised variants in Spoken Dutch by a friend, a colleague, a teacher or someone as high up on the social scale as a minister, I hope to obtain some insight into the domains

[3] Van der Sijs and Willemyns (2009: 337) point out that Van Dale calls the use of *hun hebben dat niet geweten* ("them did not know that") *volkstaal (*"common people's language").

in which the non-standard variant may have "covert prestige" to a speaker. This term became established within sociolinguistics as a result of Labov's (1966) study of the social stratification of the /r/ in New York city English and it was defined by Trudgill (1972) as denoting "cases where speakers' positive evaluation of a variant is genuinely covert or hidden" (cf. Meyerhoff 2011: 42, quoting Trudgill 1972).

The fourth and final subquestion I will deal with here is whether participants with an MBO, HBO and WO degree differ in terms of their self-reported usage of the condemned variant. This question was devised to verify the inverse correlation which Bennis and Hinskens' (2014: 163) found between level of education and their survey participants' self-reported use of subject **hun*: the stronger a participant's educational background, the smaller the chance that (s)he reported using subject **hun*. If the self-reports of my participants indicate that MBO graduates say they use subject **hun* more than HBO or WO graduates do, and if the self-reports likewise indicate that HBO graduates state that they rely on **hun* more than WO graduates do, the correlation which Bennis and Hinskens (2014) report on can be corroborated.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

In the following chapters, the central topics in the study will be explained (Chapter 2) and the relevant literature will be reviewed (Chapter 3). Next, Chapter 4 will provide a description and discussion of the methodologies applied for the radio task, the sentence evaluation task, and the mini-questionnaire. Subsequently, Chapter 5 provides the results. The final two chapters, Chapters 6 and 7, offer a review and discussion of the main findings as well as a conclusion.

Chapter 2 Core topics

2.1 Standardization of Dutch

If "usage problems" can be defined as variations in language use that conflict with the norms that define the standard language (see Chapter 1), it is necessary to understand what the standard language is and how it came about, and usage problems along with it.

2.1.1 A brief history of Standard Dutch

Although scholars have generally stated that prior to 1500, no supraregional, common or standard language existed in the Low Countries, and that, instead, a wide variety of dialects could be found in the area (Van der Horst & Marschall 2000; Van der Horst & Van der Horst 1999), supralocal writing systems did already exist in the Middle Dutch period (Van den Toorn et al. 1997; Rem 2003). Nevertheless, for communication in domains like the church, science and administration Latin was used (Van der Wal & Van Bree 2014: 179). According to Howell (2000), various developments triggered an increased need for a common language in the sixteenth century, such as the Reformation, urbanisation, the arrival of the printing press and the Renaissance. The growth of a nationalist awareness also played a role (Van der Wal & Van Bree 2014: 183).

From 1500 onwards, corpus planning actions were taken to regulate the Dutch language (Willemyns 2003: 93). This meant that numerous spelling treatises, grammars and dictionaries appeared to regulate the language. While initially many of the *spraakkonstenaars* ("grammarians") produced norms that were rooted in their own dialect, their attention shifted to creating norms for a general language with the arrival of the popular grammar *Twe-spraack van de Nederduitsche Letterkunst* (anon. author, 1584) in particular. However, as Van der Wal and Van Bree (2014: 192) note, the *Twe-spraack* and other works produced according to this example do not necessarily reflect actual sixteenth-century language use because the descriptions and prescriptions were formulated along the lines of Latin grammar.

The Dutch Revolt (1568–1648, *excl*. 1609–1621) and the fall of Antwerp (1585) separated the southern and northern Low Countries, which affected the development of a supraregional written language. After 1585, important artists, scholars, and skilled craftsmen left the southern Low Countries and moved to Holland (Van der Horst & Marschall 2000; Willemyns 2003). Consequently, this province turned into a powerful political, economical and cultural centre (Van der Horst & Marschall 2000: 73). In the course of the seventeenth century, the variety that became increasingly authoritative

was that of the highly educated elite that resided in Holland's bigger cities (Howell 2000; Van der Sijs 2004b). According to the traditional top-down approach to standardization, it was this elite's language that was standardized and adopted by other speakers.[4]

In the seventeenth century, authoritative examples for the written and the spoken language emerged. The *Statenbijbel* ("State Bible") (1637), a bible translation that was carefully based on dialects from both the north and the south (Willemyns 2003: 100), became a model for the northern written language (Van der Horst & Marschall 2000: 87). At the same time, *beschaafd Hollands* ("refined Hollandic") became a norm for pronunciation (Van der Sijs 2004b: 201). However, while by 1700 a united written language had already surfaced, the spoken language would vary regionally until the end of the nineteenth century (Van der Sijs 2004b: 207).

In the eighteenth century, the written and spoken language drifted apart (Van der Wal & Van Bree 2014: 251). The language regulators' prescriptions had caught on so well that the written language became slightly artificial (Van der Horst & Marschall 2000: 95). After Dutch was proclaimed the official language in 1830, and the United Kingdom of The Netherlands was split up into the Kingdom of Belgium and the Kingdom of The Netherlands, a spoken language norm surfaced in the late nineteenth, early twentieth centuries: *Algemeen Beschaafd Nederlands* ("General Refined Dutch") or *ABN*. *ABN* constituted the type of norm that many writers and linguists had appealed for: a more natural written language which was based on a civilized variety of the spoken language (Willemyns 2003: 109). Initially, around 1900, the new norm was spoken by a fraction (i.e. two to three per cent) of the total Dutch population, namely the elite who lived in the bigger cities in Holland (Van der Horst 2010: 119).

In the period 1920–1970, the middle classes in The Netherlands also started to speak *ABN*, mainly because doing so facilitated social mobility (Van der Horst 2010: 120). The arrival of the telephone, radio and television heightened the importance of the standard spoken language as a means of communication (Van der Horst & Van der Horst 1999). Over time, the norms of *ABN* gradually became more strict, leading to increasing numbers of rules which only few people felt inclined to resist (Van der Horst 2010: 121).

In the 1960s–1970s, the development of the standard is said to have reached a turning point: the norms of Standard Dutch now lost their strictness (Van der Horst &

[4] However, currently several scholars (e.g. Nobels & Rutten 2014; Simons & Rutten 2014) criticise the traditional top-down view on standardization, positing that the influence of the elite's language norms on actual language usage may have been quite limited. Because many of the sources used for this section still took a traditional perspective, it should be stressed that this section provides only one account of the standardization of Dutch.

Van der Horst 1999; Van der Sijs 2004b). Speakers adopted a more neutral, disinterested stance towards pronunciation, word choice, the appearance of dialectal variants, and informal language use (cf. Janssens & Marynissen 2005: 189), and as such more variation was permitted in the standard. Factors leading to an increased elasticity of the standard norms included such phenomena as: population growth, democratization, increasing informality, and the arrival of immigrants (cf. Janssens & Marynissen 2005: 189–191). During this period, people grew dissatisfied with the term *ABN* and started to replace it with the term *Standaardnederlands* ("Standard Dutch") (Van der Sijs 2004b: 211).

2.1.2 Standard Dutch today

In the recent past, various scholars have examined speakers' attitudes towards standard and non-standard Dutch speech (see e.g. Van Bezooijen 1994, 1997; Smakman 2006; Grondelaers & Van Hout 2010). Two of these studies revealed that lay people consider present-day Standard Dutch (SD) as typically regionally neutral (see also Smakman 2012: 39), as capable of functioning as a lingua franca and as having for instance a fixed grammar and a careful pronunciation (cf. Smakman & Van Bezooijen 1997: 126); but it is also believed that SD is used especially in the west of The Netherlands or in the "Randstad" (Smakman & Van Bezooijen 1997: 130, Smakman 2006: 131), and particularly in the city of Haarlem (Smakman 2006: 131). Furthermore, newsreaders, educated speakers and language professionals are considered to use SD particularly well (Smakman 2006: 131, 144). Gender does not play a role: men and women are considered to be equally likely to speak SD (Smakman 2006: 162).

Currently, and in its most recent history, the norms of SD in The Netherlands are said to have been extended or relaxed (Grondelaers & Van Hout 2011: 113), an observation which has provoked several scholars to declare that SD will disappear (see section 2.1.3). Examples of such norm relaxations are the lowering of diphthongs in the spoken language of young, educated middle-class women (Stroop 1998) – such as the lowering of the /ei/ diphthong to [ai] in *twijfelen* ("to hesitate") and the lowering of the /ui/ diphthong to [ɑy] in *huis* ("house") (Stroop 1998: 25–26) – and the rapid spread of subject **hun* (Grondelaers & Van Hout 2011). Furthermore, to Grondelaers and Van Hout (2011: 113) the current "tolerance towards minute regional characteristics in standard speech" also confirms the process of norm relaxation. The fact that Grondelaers and Van Hout's (2010: 232–234) informants rather positively evaluated the speech of teachers with a weak Northern or Southern accent also proved that "regional flavoring is embedded in lay conceptualizations of Standard Dutch" (Grondelaers & Van Hout 2010: 221).

Indeed, Grondelaers et al. (2011: 214) point out that at present "Randstad-flavoured Dutch and – for younger speakers – Poldernederlands are the best 'real-life' varieties of Netherlandic Standard Dutch". In their study of Dutch speakers' evaluations of regional accents, both the variants mentioned above were considered "more prestigious, functionally appropriate and beautiful than the other varieties" (Grondelaers et al. 2011: 214). Finally, Grondelaers et al.'s (2011: 218) finding that "other regional accents of Netherlandic Standard Dutch can rise to almost comparable prestige as they become milder" may also suggest that norm relaxations are taking place.

2.1.3 The future of Standard Dutch

Linguists make rather diverse predictions about the future of spoken SD. Some scholars maintain that SD as such will cease to exist – if it has not done so already (Stroop 1998; Van der Horst 2008). According to this line of thought, the standard is fading as a consequence of people's increased acceptance of language variation (see section 2.1.2). Although, theoretically, scholars appear to disagree on the details of the process – i.e. SD is expected to disintegrate into a range of accepted varieties by Van der Horst (2008: 306) while it is hypothesized to absorb many of the possible variations by Stroop (1998: 69) – empirically, the outcome is uniform: a diverse *omgangs-Nederlands* ("colloquial Dutch") (Stroop 1998: 69).

Others, like Van der Sijs (2004b) and Grondelaers & Van Hout (2011), adopt a more optimistic stance on the topic. Van der Sijs (2004b) expects that SD will continue to exist, for instance, though in specific domains only. In this scenario, speakers will continue to use the standard in formal contexts, but in informal contexts they will adopt different varieties (Van der Sijs 2004b: 636). Grondelaers and Van Hout (2011: 117) argue that we will witness a form of "standard enrichment": SD will acquire different social meanings and will adjust itself to diverse contexts of use (cf. Grondelaers & Van Hout 2011: 117). In the end, several varieties of Dutch (e.g. *Poldernederlands*, "Polder Dutch") will come into existence, which still satisfy the standard language ideal (Grondelaers & Van Hout 2011: 117).

Again others hypothesize that speakers will eventually choose one variety from a number of available options, and adapt it according to the communicative situation (Willemyns 2007: 271). This situation, according to Willemyns (2007), is the result of a process that currently takes place, in which the standard, dialects and intermediate varieties move in different ways alongside a continuum. While SD will of necessity occupy the very formal tail end of the continuum, the use of dialects decreases, thus producing a large space on the scale for intermediate varieties to take (Willemyns 2007:

271). As a final point, it seems relevant to note that because little research has been carried out into SD in the first half of the twentieth-century any claims about the relative current status of SD, and thus also about the future status of SD, may be of limited value (Gijsbert Rutten, personal communication, 26 February 2016).

2.2 Current language authorities

2.2.1 *Nederlandse Taalunie* ("Dutch Language Union")

The *Nederlandse Taalunie* ("Dutch Language Union") or *Taalunie* is the official common governmental body and policymaker for the Dutch language, Dutch literature and language teaching in The Netherlands, Belgium and Surinam (Taalunie 2015). Founded in 1980 by The Netherlands and Belgium (Nederlandse Taalunie 1988), the *Nederlandse Taalunie* was joined by Surinam in 2004. The institution includes three committees which lay down, check and provide advice on the *Taalunie*'s language policy. The *Taalunie*'s *Algemeen Secretariaat (*"General Secretariat") prepares and implements its policies (http://taaladvies.net/taal/advies/ instanties/).

The *Taalunie*'s three committees comprises both politicians and language experts. First, the *Comité van Ministers* ("Committee of Ministers"), which determines the language policies that are to be implemented, includes the ministers of education and culture of the member countries. These ministers are supervised by the *Interparlementaire Commissie* ("Interparliamentary Committee"), which only consists of members of the Dutch parliament and the Flemish parliament. The third party, i.e. the *Raad voor Nederlandse Taal en Letteren* ("Board of Dutch Language and Literature"), includes experts from the fields of literature, science and scholarship, education and the media (http://taaladvies.net/taal/advies/instanties/).

The mission of the *Taalunie* is *[het] stimuleren van mensen en maatschappelijke sectoren om het Nederlands optimaal te benutten* ("to encourage people and the public sector to make optimal use of Dutch") (Taalunie 2013: 10). The Union's motto is *taal schept kansen* ("language creates opportunities") (Taalunie 2013: 10). In practice the *Taalunie* attempts to fulfil its mission, among other things, by providing advice to governments, by producing readily available descriptions of the language, by promoting Dutch language and culture abroad and within public sectors, and by supporting users of Dutch both inside and outside the language area (Taalunie 2013: 10).

The *Taalunie* also provides tools that should stimulate speakers to use the language in a *verantwoordelijk[e]* ("responsible") way (Nederlandse Taalunie 2012–2015b). Through the *Taalunie*'s main website *Taalunieversum* [sic] , people can search for information and advice about Dutch at any linguistic level (e.g. spelling, word choice,

grammar). Specific linguistic questions may be addressed by email or letter to the *Taaladviesdienst* ("Language Advice Service"), a facility that is offered by the *Genootschap Onze Taal* ("Society Our Language") (see section 2.2.3). At the small fee of €0,80 per minute, one may call the advisors of the Language Advice Service for instant advice.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that, as De Coninck, head of the department of language policy at the *Taalunie*, asserts, *het klopt dat de Taalunie enkel de normen op het gebied van de spelling bepaalt en niet die op het gebied van de taal* ("it is true that the *Taalunie* only determines norms for spelling and not those for the language") (personal communication, 7 January 2016). According to De Coninck, the Union itself neither has any statutory power nor any legislative competence, nor does it prescribe anything to the government or to citizens, even so *wat in Taalunieverband is afgesproken of vastgesteld, heeft wel gezag voor de hele Nederlandse taalgemeenschap* ("what is agreed upon and settled in connection to the *Taalunie* does have authority to the entire Dutch language community"). For a detailed overview of the *Taalunie*'s language planning activities, see Van Oostendorp (2007).

2.2.2 Language advice

2.2.2(a) *Genootschap Onze Taal* ("Our Language Society")

Since its establishment in 1931, the *Genootschap Onze Taal* ("Our Language Society") has encouraged speakers to use the Dutch language carefully (De Jong 2008: 50). The society was founded by thirty language purists – all of whom were laymen – brought together mainly by a shared disapproval of Germanisms in Dutch (De Jong & Burger 1991: 13). At its first meeting, the society agreed to strive for the cultivation of a pure Dutch language, and the first effort the society took to move towards this goal was publishing the magazine *Onze Taal* ("Our Language"), which happened in March 1932 (De Jong & Burger 1991). To save the magazine from becoming too amateurish, the society called into being a *Raad van Deskundigen* ("Board of Experts") (De Jong & Burger 1991: 13–14; De Jong 2008: 51). Whereas the Board of Experts, which comprised several university professors of Dutch linguistics and literature, was discontinued in 1979, other advisory institutes and permanent advisors remained (De Jong 2008: 51).

With 45 subscribers in 1932 and 4,500 in 1952, *Onze Taal* grew from a barely popular magazine mainly intended for insiders to one that is read by approximately 30,000 subscribers today (De Jong & Burger 1991: 37, 43, 54). After the Second World War, the contents changed: a wider variety of topics entered the magazine, some final traces of nationalism in *Onze Taal* were removed under the influence of linguists, and

when people grew less concerned with the influence from German and more with that of English, the magazine increasingly focused on Anglicisms (De Jong & Burger 1991: 98). A survey held in 1989 showed that many subscribers of *Onze Taal* were fairly well-educated: at the time, 73 per cent of the readers were typically high to very highly educated (De Jong & Burger 1991: 58).

Genootschap Onze Taal offers various services to members and non-members. Not only does the society publish free online newsletters, they also employ a crew of language advisors who work at the *Taaladviesdienst* (see section 2.2.1) providing free language advice through their website (www.onzetaal.nl/taaladvies). *Genootschap Onze Taal* also publishes books about language related topics and organises conferences and workshops about the Dutch language (De Jong 2008: 52).

2.2.2(b) Renkema and his *Schrijfwijzer* ("Guide for writing")

Jan Renkema (1948) is Emeritus Professor Discourse Quality, writer and communication advisor, among other things (for a brief biography of Renkema, see www.janrenkema.nl/biografie). Renkema is particularly well-known for his *Schrijfwijzer* ("Guide for writing"), a handbook about Dutch *taalkwesties* ("language issues") and style, which also offers writing exercises and, in the latest edition, acces to a website with extra information and exercises. The guide is extremely popular: it has been revised five times since it was first published in 1979, and so far approximately half a million books have been sold.

2.2.2(c) *Van Dale* dictionaries

The *Van Dale* publishing company was named after its founding father Johan Hendrik van Dale (1828–1872), who, from 1867 up to his death in 1872, revised the *Nieuw Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* ("New Dictionary of the Dutch Language"). After the revisions were completed by Jan Manhave, Van Dale's assistant, in 1874, the *Groot Woordenboek der Nederlands(ch)e Taal* ("Extensive Dictionary of the Dutch Language") was published. Throughout the years, the popularly called *Dikke Van Dale* Dictionary ("Fat Dictionary of Van Dale) – the three-volume dictionary from 2005 has roughly 4500 pages – became the most authoritative and well-known dictionary in the twentieth century (Smakman 2006: 27). In 2015, the fifteenth edition of the dictionary was published. At present, the company publishes numerous dictionaries and language guides, and also offers language courses (see www.vandale.nl).

2.2.2(d) Other reference works

In addition to the works described above, many other dictionaries, language guides, grammars, etc. exist (for an overview, see http://taaladvies.net/taal/advies/categorie/). For advice on word use users are redirected to the website *Taaladvies.net* for instance, and the official spelling of words can be checked in the *Woordenlijst Nederlandse Taal* ("Dutch Language Wordlist"), which is updated every ten years (http://woordenlijst.org). This official wordlist is also known as *het Groene Boekje* ("the Green Booklet") because of the distinct green cover of the printed version. In addition, grammatical issues are dealt with in the *Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst* ("General Grammar of Dutch") and for an extensive, scholarly, historical account of the Dutch language the *Woordenboek der Nederlandse Taal* ("The Dictionary of the Dutch Language") may be consulted.

2.3 The five usage problems analysed

In this section I will provide a brief historical account for the five usage problems examined in this thesis (i.e. **kennen*, **hun*, **als*, **hele* and **een aantal (…) gingen*).

(1) **kennen* for *kunnen*

Etymologically, the verbs *kennen* and *kunnen* are two distinct verbs. The verb *kennen* was, and still is, used as denoting "to distinguish", "to recognize", "to be familiar with" and also "to have learnt something as a result of study or practice". Sentence (18) provides an example of one of these usages of *kennen*. *Kunnen*, on the other hand, was, and is, used to mean "to be able to" or "to be capable to", as is illustrated in (19).

(18) ***Ken** jij Corné al lang?*
Ken *jij* *Corné* *al* *lang?*
know.3SG.PRS 2SG.SBJ Corné already long
"Have you known Corné for quite a while already?"

(19) ***Kunnen** die kinderen niet ergens anders verstoppertje spelen?*
Kunnen *die* *kinderen* *niet* *ergens* *anders* *verstoppertje* *spelen?*
can.3PL DEM children.SBJ NEG somewhere else hide.and.seek play.INF
"Can't those children play hide and seek somewhere else?"

(20) ****Kennen** die kinderen niet ergens anders verstoppertje spelen?*
Kennen *die* *kinderen* *niet* *ergens* *anders* *verstoppertje* *spelen?*
know.3PL DEM children.SBJ NEG somewhere else hide.and.seek play.INF
"Can't those children play hide and seek somewhere else?"

While many dialects distinguish between *kennen* and *kunnen*, in the Hollandic dialect the verbs merged. The idea that the verbs should be kept strictly apart in the standard language originated among seventeenth-century Dutch grammarians (*Etymologisch Woordenboek van het Nederlands*, s.v. *kennen*). To the speakers of the Hollandic dialect the prescriptivists' distinction between *kennen* and *kunnen* was thus fairly artificial (Van

der Sijs & Willemyns 2009: 230), but it was nevertheless based on actual language use in other Dutch dialects.

What distinction between *kennen* and *kunnen* do prescriptivists make exactly? The verbs are not just said to differ in terms of meaning, as was explained above, but also in terms of the verb category they belong to (Taaladvies.net, s.v. *kennen/kunnen*). *Kennen* is an intransitive verb that typically needs a direct object (i.e. *Corné* in (18)), while *kunnen* is a modal verb which is combined with an infinitive (i.e. *spelen* in (19)). Because of the differences in meaning and function between the two verbs, the use of **kennen* for *kunnen* as is shown (20) is rejected by prescriptivists. After all, the verb *kennen* in (20) is used to mean "to be able to"– which typically is the meaning associated with *kunnen* – and in addition it takes the function of a modal verb, which, in SD, it cannot take.

Nowadays, using **kennen* instead of *kunnen* is associated with *substandaard-Hollands* ("substandard Hollandic", Van der Wal & Van Bree 2014: 361) and it is said to be highly frequent in *modern Zuid Hollands* ("modern Southern Hollandic") (Van Bree 2004: 89). Prescriptions by *Taaladvies.net* and *Dikke Van Dale* Dictionary appear to mirror these views, since these reference works call the use of **kennen plat* ("vulgar") or *zeer informeel* ("very informal") (see Table 1).

Table 1: Acceptability of **kennen* for *kunnen* in Standard Dutch according to four language authorities*

Is **kennen* fully acceptable in SD?	*Taaladvies.net*	*Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst*	*Onze Taal Taaladvies*	*Van Dale* Dictionary
	no : VUL	-	-	*no : INF+, NGA*

* The abbreviations specify why the variant is considered unacceptable: INF+ = very informal, VUL = vulgar, NGA = not generally accepted

Taaladvies.net explicitly recommends people to avoid the use of **kennen*, not even in informal spoken language. Interestingly, according to Van Sterkenburg (2009: 71), exchanging **kennen* for *kunnen* is typical of present-day spoken Dutch. Even so, the usage problem is, to my knowledge, not included in *ANS* nor on the website of *Onze Taal. Genootschap Onze Taal* does give advice on the use of *kunnen* instead of *kennen*, but it does not explain whether the reverse is allowed, i.e. using **kennen* for *kunnen* (s.v. *Nederlands kennen/kunnen*). As example (2) from Van Bezooijen's (2003) list in section 1.2 shows, exchanging the past tense form of **kunnen* for that of *kennen* also constitutes a usage problem, but that particular usage problem is not part of the current study.

(2) *hun* as a subject pronoun

Using *hun* as a subject in Standard Dutch, as illustrated in example (21) below, dates at least from the start of the twentieth century (Van der Horst & Van der Horst 1999: 155).

(21) ***Hun** hebben nog geen treinkaartje; maar wij wel.*

Hun	*hebben*	*nog*	*geen*	*treinkaartje;*	*maar*	*wij*	*wel.*
3PL.OBJ	have.3PL	yet	no	train.ticket.OBJ	but	1PL	do.so

"They don't have a train ticket yet; but we do."

Whereas its use is widespread in present-day Dutch (Van der Sijs 1999: 41), this was not always the case. Various studies suggest that women are more likely to have initiated the change (see e.g. Van Hout 1996 for an overview; Van Bree 2012: 230), and that the phenomenon has originated in the cities of Holland, in the Randstad (De Rooij 1990: 137; Van Bree 2012).

One may wonder in what sense the emergence of the subject pronoun *hun* in SD, alongside the pronouns *zij* and *ze* (see examples 22 and 23 below) is problematical to prescriptivists. The reason is that the third person plural pronoun *hun* is perceived to crucially differ from *zij* and *ze* in terms of function (Taaladvies.net, s.v. *Hun/zij hebben het gedaan*).

(22) ***Zij** gingen toch ook zwemmen?*

Zij	*gingen*	*toch*	*ook*	*zwemmen?*
3PL.SBJ	go.PST	surely	also	swim.INF

"Weren't they also going to go swimming?"

(23) Weten ***ze** al of Ben meegaat?*

Weten	*ze*	*al*	*of*	*Ben*	*meegaat?*
know.PRS	3PL.SBJ	already	whether	Ben	go.along.3SG.PRS

"Do they already know whether Ben will come along?"

Whereas *zij* and *ze* function as subject pronouns in SD, *hun* is said to either fulfil the function of indirect object (see 24), or of possessive pronoun in SD (see 25). The use of *zij* versus *ze* is determined by whether or not the subject receives stress. As is illustrated in (22), *zij* is used when the subject is stressed. *Ze* is used when the subject is not emphasized, an example of which use is provided in (23).

(24) *Toen de leerlingen stil waren, gaf de leerkracht **hun** een nieuwe opdracht.*

Toen	*de*	*leerlingen*	*stil*	*waren*	*gaf*	*de*	*leerkracht*	*hun*
when	ART	pupils.SBJ	quiet	be.PST	give.PST	ART	teacher	3PL.OBJ

een	*nieuwe*	*opdracht.*
ART	new	assignment

"Once the pupils fell quiet, the teacher gave them a new assignment."

(25) *De vijftien bankmedewerkers genoten van **hun** bedrijfsuitje.*

De	*vijftien*	*bankmedewerkers*	*genoten*	*van*	*hun*	*bedrijfsuitje.*
ART	fifteen	bank.employees.SBJ	enjoy.PST	of	3PL.POSS	company's.day-out

"The employees of the bank enjoyed their day-out with the company."

Despite the fact that the use of subject **hun* is traced back to the Randstad, it does not actually have its roots in local dialects (De Rooij 1990: 140). Although several theories exist to this end (see e.g. Kooiman 1969; De Rooij 1990; Van Hout 1996; Van Bree 2012), most scholars appear to agree that one of the reasons for the rise of the

subject **hun* is probably that speakers attempted to adapt their language to the standard. In this process, speakers' hypercorrections resulted in an overuse of the pronoun *hun*, and the pronoun was adopted it in places where it was not originally used (De Rooij 1990: 140). Anyhow, the movement of an object pronoun to subject position is not rare. As Van Bree (2012) remarks, similar phenomena occurred in other dialects and Germanic languages.

In the course of the twentieth century, the use of subject **hun* was perceived to increase, regardless of the efforts of the educational system and the media (Van der Horst & Van der Horst 1999: 153). Various explanations have been provided for the success of *hun* as a subject. For instance, Van Bergen et al. (2011: 3) suggest that subject **hun* has the advantage of referring to animate beings, to persons, only. This is not the case for the variants *zij* and *ze*: the pronouns *zij* and *ze* may refer to persons but also to things (Van Bergen et al. 2011: 3). For additional theories on the development and the success of *hun*, see Van Bree (2012).

According to several scholars, subject **hun* is more likely to be used in the spoken language when the pronoun is emphasized or stressed (De Rooij 1990: 132; Van der Wal & Van Bree 2014: 414). Nevertheless, Van Bergen et al.'s (2011: 8) study of **hun* in the *Corpus Gesproken Nederlands* ("Spoken Dutch Corpus") or *CGN* proves that no such correlation exists. In these scholars' corpus, subject **hun* was not stressed in the majority of the sub clauses and questions – though in main clauses subject **hun* was stressed relatively more often (in 78 out of 148 main clauses) (Van Bergen et al. 2011: 9).

As Table 2 indicates, four current Dutch language authorities offer identical usage advice, i.e. that the use of subject **hun* is unacceptable and should therefore be avoided in SD. The item is called *informeel* ("informal") as well as "*niet algemeen geaccepteerd*" ("not commonly accepted") (Van Dale, s.v. *hun*[1] *vnw*), among other things. *ANS* seems most critical, labelling subject **hun* as *uitgesloten* ("impossible") (s.v. *onderwerps- en niet-onderwerpsvormen*).

Table 2: Acceptability of **hun* in Standard Dutch according to four language authorities*

Is *hun hebben* fully acceptable in SD?	*Taaladvies.net*	*Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst*	*Onze Taal Taaladvies*	*Van Dale* Dictionary
	no : NS	*no*	*no : NGA, SP, WR*	*no : INF, NGA*

* The abbreviations specify why the variant is considered unacceptable: INF = informal, NGA = not generally accepted, NS = non-standard, and, if mentioned, in which contexts it is unacceptable: SP = speech, WR = writing.

(3) **als* as conjunction in comparatives of inequality

In the Middle Ages, speakers probably chiefly used the conjunction *dan* in comparatives of inequality, as is illustrated in (26), although exceptionally *als* was applied as well (Stroop 2014: 26). In comparatives of equality, the conjunction *als* was used at the time (Van der Sijs 2004b: 526) – an example of which usage is provided in (27) below.

(26) *Jonas is beter in wiskunde* ***dan*** *Mark.*

Jonas	*is*	*beter*	in	*wiskunde*	*dan*	*Mark.*
Jonas.SBJ	be.3SG.PRS	better	at	mathematics	than	Mark

"Jonas is better at mathematics than Mark."

(27) *Judith kan even goed schaatsen* ***als*** *Els.*

Judith	*kan*	*even*	*goed*	*zingen*	*als*	*Els.*
Judith.SBJ	be.able.3SG.PRS	equally	good	sing.INF	as	Els

"Judith is as good at singing as Els."

It is this system, in which *als* and *dan* each have a specific function, that prescriptive grammarians – since the eighteenth century – tried to re-introduce.

In the period between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, the Middle Dutch system with *als* and *dan* changed: people increasingly switched to *als* in sentences containing comparatives of inequality (Van der Horst & Van der Horst 1999: 246), which means that they would use *als* as illustrated in (28), and not *dan* (compare with 26).

(28) *Dave kan beter zingen* ****als*** *Bob.*

Dave	*kan*	*beter*	zingen	*als*	*Bob.*
Dave.SBJ	be.able.3SG.PRS	better	sing.INF	as	Bob

"Dave is a better singer than Bob."

Few people used *dan* in such contexts. However, when seventeenth and eighteenth-century prescriptivists like Balthazar Huydecoper (1695–1778) started to criticize the use of *als* – e.g. in the writings of their contemporary, the poet Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679) – the free variation that had arisen in the two preceding centuries was reduced (Van der Wal & Van Bree 2014: 238).

From that point onwards, as Van der Sijs (1999: 41) notes, *dan* came to be prescribed by grammar books as the conjunction that should be used in comparatives o f inequality, whereas *als* was, and still is, used extensively by the general public. According to Van der Sijs (1999: 41) the result is *that de [aangeleerde] vorm is vaak in strijd met de taalrealiteit* ("the learnt variant often conflicts with actual language use"). This is how a usage problem is born and continues to exist.

Currently, the use of conjunction *als* in comparatives of inequality is said to be typical of present-day spoken Dutch (Van Sterkenburg 2009: 71). Yet, Stroop's (2014: 28) research into the frequency of *als* and *dan* in *CGN* shows that the majority of the speakers (82%, N= 619) use *dan*, and only a minority (18%, N=139) *als*. This paradox may be explained by the representativeness of the speaker sample in *CGN*. As Stroop (2014:

28) clarifies, most of the speakers in the corpus have social backgrounds that are associated with *ABN*-speakers. Indeed, Hubers and De Hoop's (2013) study of the same corpus data showed that more highly educated speakers tend to use the prescribed conjunction *dan* whereas less highly educated speakers use **als*. After all, research thus shows that **als* indeed occurs in spoken Dutch as Van Sterkenburg (2000) observed, but that its use may be restricted to particular social groups.

In written Dutch, the use of conjunction *dan* in comparatives of inequality prevails. Van der Sijs's (2004a) research into the conjunctions revealed that internet users predominantly use *dan* instead of *als* in 95 per cent of the sentences containing comparatives like *groter*, *dikker* and *sterker* ("taller", "larger", "stronger"). Their apparent disfavour of *groter als* in writing, but also to some extent in speech, is mirrored in the works of current prescriptive authorities. The four Dutch language authorities listed in Table 3 eventually all – implicitly or explicitly – recommend the use of conjunction *dan* in comparatives of inequality, and they discourage people from using **als* in SD.

Table 3: Acceptability of the conjunction **als* in comparatives of inequality in Standard Dutch according to four language authorities*

Is *groter als* fully acceptable in SD?	*Taaladvies.net*	*Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst*	*Onze Taal Taaladvies*	*Van Dale* Dictionary
	no : NGA, PSP, PWR	*no : NGA*	*no : NGA*	*no : NGA*

* The abbreviations specify why the variant is considered unacceptable: NGA = not generally accepted, and, if mentioned, in which contexts it is unacceptable: PSP = proper speech, PWR = proper writing.

For instance, *Van Dale* acknowledges that people use *als*, but labels it *niet algemeen* ("not common") since the usage can be considered to be a mistake (s.v. *als* 3).[5] *Onze Taal* and *Taaladvies.net* share this view and likewise recommend the use of *dan* (Onze Taal Taaladvies, s.v. *groter als/groter dan*; Taaladvies.net, s.v. *dan*, *als ongelijkheid*). *ANS* implicitly discourages people from using *als*. While initially stating that both *als* and *dan* can be used with comparatives of inequality, *ANS* later notes that *als* is *niet voor alle taalgebruikers aanvaardbaar* ("not acceptable to all language users") and that *dan* is *zelfs een sjibbolet voor correct Nederlands (…) voor velen* ("to many speakers *dan* is a shibboleth for correct Dutch"). Consequently *ANS* remarks that speakers had better avoid *als* if they wish to avoid problems (*ANS*, s.v. *dan/als ongelijkheid*) – though the grammar does not explain what types of problems *als*-users could come across. In the end, therefore, it seems that speakers who consult the above language authorities can only conclude that *dan* still is the safest variant to use.

[5] Also based on personal correspondence with H. de Groot, one of the editors of the Van Dale Dutch dictionary (1 December 2015).

(4) verb agreement with *_een aantal_

While syntactically a noun phrase with *een aantal* ("a number") – just like with *een paar* ("a few") – requires a singular verb (i.e. to syntactically match the head), semantically the subject is plural. In the past, prescriptive works like the *Handboek Verzorgd Nederlands* (Klein & Visscher 1992: 158–159) decreed that, in the written language at least, only a singular verb should be used with *een aantal*, because *een aantal* is the head of the subject and thus requires a singular. Consequently, example (29) below would be considered correct in written SD, and (30) incorrect.

(29)	*Een*	*aantal*	*mensen*	***ging***	*wandelen.*
	DET	number	people	go.PST	walk.INF
	"A number of people went for a walk [as a group]."				
(30)	*Een*	*aantal*	*mensen*	***gingen***	*wandelen.*
	DET	number	people	go.PST	walk.INF
	"A number of people went for a walk [one by one]."				

According to Renkema (1989), the choice of a plural or singular verb after *en aantal mensen* is determined by the meaning they wish to express with the phrase (also see Van Bree et al. 2002: 259). The use of a singular verb as in (29) below, emphasizes that a group, collectively, went for a walk, while the use of a plural as in (30) signals that various individuals went for a walk (Renkema 1989: 117).

Currently, the idea that both the singular and the plural can be correct depending on the situation nevertheless remains unacceptable to many speakers, as Van Bree et al. (2002) note. Yet, a search on the internet shows that the singular is used nearly as the plural in combination with *een aantal* (Van der Sijs 2004b: 530; Van der Sijs 2004a: 19). It seems that people vary in their usage of both variants – evidence which does not necessarily support Van der Horst and Van der Horst's (1999: 211) observation that nowadays most people feel that noun phrases like *een aantal zaken* ("a number of cases") need a plural.

Three of the four Dutch language authorities listed in Table 4 below indicate that the construction *een aantal* plus plural noun can call for a plural as well as a singular verb. The choice often depends on the context. For instance, the formality of the phrase may affect this choice, as may the presence of an adjective that modifies *een aantal* (Onze Taal Taaladvies, s.v. *een aantal collega's ging/gingen op cursus*). According to other authorities, the choice depends on whether speakers wish to signal collectivity or individuality with the phrase, as was suggested by Renkema (1989) (Taaladvies.net, s.v. *een aantal mensen was/waren*; Van Dale, s.v. *aantal* 1). Finally, while *ANS* indicates that both the plural and the singular can be used, depending on what functions as the head of

the noun phrase, it also notes that some particularly older speakers reject the plural (s.v. *het onderwerp bevat een …*). Consequently, *ANS* may discourage speakers from using the plural.

Table 4: Acceptability of *een aantal mensen* **gingen/ging* in Standard Dutch according to four language authorities*

Acceptable construction?	*Taaladvies.net*	*Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst*	*Onze Taal Taaladvies*	*Van Dale* Dictionary
een aantal mensen ***gingen***	*yes : VAR*	*no: NGA, yes: VAR*	*yes : VAR*	*yes : VAR*
een aantal mensen ***ging***	*yes : GR, ADJ*	*yes : GR*	*yes : FOR, GR , ADJ*	*not mentioned*

* The abbreviations specify why the variant is considered unacceptable, if so: NGA = not generally accepted. If the variant is considered acceptable, the abbreviation specifies in which contexts the variant is used: FOR = formal context, GR = as denoting groups (see Renkema 2000), VAR = as denoting various people (individuals), ADJ = when an adjective modifies *een aantal*

(5) the inflected adverb ****hele*

Based on the prescriptive rule that decrees that *bijwoorden worden niet verbogen* ("adverbs are not inflected") (see e.g. Moorman 1952: 101) in Dutch, *heel* was considered standard and **hele* non-standard Dutch in the past – although the grammars that I consulted did mention that **hele* occurred in the *spreektaal* ("spoken language") (Moorman 1952: 101, Houët 1988: 114). It is especially in written contexts, then, that only *heel* was considered correct, a view that is still supported today (see e.g. Donaldson 2008: 137). Droste (1965: 125–129) argues that **hele* is an *overgangsvorm* ("transitional variant") between an adverb and an adjective. While the inflection *-e* is typical of adjectives, the intensifying adverb **hele* indeed is rather adjective-like when speakers intend to use it to modify the following adjective.

Van der Sijs's (2004a: 19) study of the use of **hele* and *heel* with the adjectives *grote* ("big") and *kleine* ("small") on the internet showed that **hele* is used more often (76%) than *heel* (24%) (N= 45,650 tokens) online. Van der Sijs's results are mirrored by those in other studies. According to Bennis and Hinskens's (2014: 137) survey respondents, for instance, the combination *hele mooie* constitutes *goed Nederlands* ("good Dutch"). These informants indicated that they often used *hele* and that their social contacts did so as well (Bennis & Hinskens 2014: 149–150). Van der Sijs's (2004a) finding also appears to agree with Van Sterkenburg's (2009: 71) observation that the use of a sentence like *Dat is een hele leuke auto* ("That is a very nice car") is characteristic of present-day spoken Dutch.

Current prescriptive authorities in The Netherlands seem to agree that the degree adverb *hele* is acceptable in informal or spoken Dutch alongside *heel*, though the

latter form is still the unmarked variant (see Table 5). One of the four authorities consulted, i.e. *Onze Taal*, specifies that *heel* is typical of formal usage (s.v. *een heel/hele fijne vakantie*), while *ANS* points out that **hele* is used informally to express affection or emotion (s.v. *graadaanduidende of versterkende [voor]bepalingen*). If speakers actually base their usage on prescriptions like those summarized in Table 5, it seems that the results from Van der Sijs's internet study reflect internet users' informal language use.

Table 5: Acceptability of *heel* and **hele* in Standard Dutch according to four language authorities*

Acceptable construction?	*Taaladvies.net*	*Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst*	*Onze Taal Taaladvies*	*Van Dale* Dictionary
***heel** mooie auto*	*Yes*	*yes*	*yes : FOR*	*yes*
***hele** mooie auto*	*yes : INF*	*yes : INF*	*yes : INF*	*yes : SP*

* The abbreviations specify the context in which the variant is acceptable: INF = informal, FOR = formal , SP = spoken language.

2.4 Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have briefly described how, in the period 1500–1700, a written standard language emerged in The Low Countries, which was formerly believed to have been based on the written language of the elite that lived in Holland's major cities. I also explained that *ABN*, the first spoken standard, emerged around 1900, and that, after the period 1920–1970 during which the norms of SD are said to have become more strict, scholars currently argue that the norms are losing their strictness. I finished my brief history of SD by reflecting on scholars' views on the future of SD, pointing out that several linguists believe that the standard will eventually cease to exist (e.g. Stroop 1998, Van der Horst 2008), although others disagree (e.g. Van der Sijs 2004b; Grondelaers & Van Hout 2011).

In the second part of the chapter, I explained how modern language authorities like the *Taalunie* encourage speakers to use the Dutch language carefully, also pointing out what types of reference works speakers may consult. Furthermore, I described each of the five usage problems that are examined in this thesis, offering a review of previous studies about the issues as well as an overview of current usage advice provided by *Taaladvies.net*, *ANS*, *Genootschap Onze Taal* and *Van Dale*. In the following chapter, I will show what methodologies and research directions previous studies about Dutch usage problems have adopted, focussing on the social variables they took into account in particular.

Chapter 3 Literature review

3.1 Studies about written Dutch usage problems

3.1.1 Evaluation experiments about texts

The effect of written norm violations on text evaluation has been the topic of numerous studies (e.g. De Schutter 1982; Schuurs 1986; Kloet et al. 2003; Jansen 2010). Even so, only a few of these deal with usage problems rather than with other types of written norm violations, such as slips of the pen. So far, studies about usage problems in texts have focused on the effect of speakers's awareness of prescriptive rules on the evaluation of texts (Harm 2008) – showing for instance that speakers with an explicit knowledge of prescriptive rules tend to spot usage problems more easily than those who only have a passive knowledge of them (Harm 2008: 39) – and they have examined how usage problems may affect informants' opinions about the quality, the persuasiveness, and the image of the source of the text (De Bruijn 2014).

De Bruijn (2014), which used two types of texts, i.e. a fictional letter from a non-profit organization and a commercial organization respectively, showed that the letter from the non-profit organization was evaluated more negatively when it contained usage problems as compared to when it did not do so – although this effect was only found for the perceived quality of the text and the image of the organization (De Bruijn 2014: 83). By contrast, the presence of usage problems in the commercial text did not affect the text appreciation of participants (De Bruijn 2014: 83). As De Bruijn (2014: 90) points out, the topic of this text (i.e. camping) may not have corresponded with respondents' interests very much, and as such may have affected the results in an unforeseen way – a possibility that I will also consider in my own methodology (see Chapter 4).

3.1.2 Acceptability judgement experiments with written sentences

Inspired by De Schutter (1980), Jansen and Van der Geest (1989, 1990) examined the relationship between speakers' awareness of prescriptive rules and their evaluation of concord mistakes and errors in sentence contraction. In their experiment, Jansen and Van der Geest first counted how many mistakes informants identified in sentences with and without violations of the prescriptive rule: the purpose of this was to perform a pre-test of the participants' familiarity with prescriptive rules. Subsequently, the participants received an explanation of the nature of the mistakes they had identified and of the mistakes they initially failed to do so, and they were shown the sentences again. This

time, they had to rate the severity of the rule violation. The results of the experiment indicated that the ability of the participants to spot the mistake in the pre-test negatively influenced their opinion about the severity of the mistake; participants who were less familiar with the rule expressed milder attitudes on the gravity of the violation. A more extensive account of the study will be offered in section 3.4.

Other scholars, e.g. Van Bezooijen (2003), De Rooij (1990), Janssen (2004) and Van Bree (2010), conducted surveys about written sentences containing usage problems. Such studies mainly aimed at obtaining general acceptability ratings for individual usage problems (e.g. subject **hun*) (De Rooij 1990; Janssen 2004) or for larger sets of usage problems (Van Bezooijen 2003; Van Bree 2010). Although these studies in many cases report that the usage problem studied was considered unacceptable to either higher or lower degrees, the validity of such claims, and the extent to which such claims can be generalized, seems disputable when one considers the characteristics of the respondents who filled out the surveys (see section 3.3 for a further discussion).

One survey study, i.e. Janssen (2004), appears to provide some evidence of the tendency of Dutch speakers to hypercorrect with respect to the use of the pronoun *hun*. Jansen (2004:51) created a survey consisting of eight sentences that contained the pronouns **hun*, *hen* or *ze*. Participants had to provide acceptability ratings for each of the sentences. Whereas her participants were highly annoyed by the sentences that included **hun* as a subject, the respondents did not object to the incorrect use of *hen* very much. This finding suggests, to Janssen (2004: 52) at least, that whilst **hun* appears to be stigmatised, *hen* is associated with correct language use even when it is used erroneously. The study also included a corpus analysis (see section 3.1.3) and an evaluation task with brief spoken stories (see section 3.2.1), about which I will provide some details below.

To find out whether the norms of SD had changed over time, Van Bree (2010) carried out a judgement experiment with approximately twenty, chiefly syntactical, usage problems.[6] Through an apparent time study, he compared the corrections which three groups of participants made in the sentences containing the usage problems: a group of older intellectuals, a group of students of Dutch and a group of students who did not study languages. He (2010: 40) concluded that for ten of the usage problems a certain amount of *normverruiming* ("norm expansion") had taken place, meaning that his

[6] Van Bree (2010), however, does not specify how many individual usage problems occurred in his study, nor does he specify the number of stimuli-sentences per usage problem. Because in his discussion of the results sentences are numbered up to 30, and because he mentions that 5 sentences were *afleiders* ("fillers"), I assume that the remaining 25 sentences were stimuli-sentences.

participants felt more mildly towards variants that, in the past at least, had been considered non-standard. He also concludes that the standard-norm of four usage problems had shifted in apparent time. There may, however, be some problems with this conclusion. In addition to the methodological issues which Van Bree (2010: 42) points out himself – such as the limited number of stimuli sentences and the possible lack of agreement between the apparent time aspect and reality – the fact that Van Bree did not present all his participants with the same test-material appears notably problematical. Van Bree (2010: 31) did not ask the group of older intellectuals or the group of students of Dutch to judge the sentences with the prescribed usage variants claiming that *we mogen wel aannemen dat ze deze goedgekeurd zouden hebben* ("we may safely assume that they would have accepted those [sentences]"). As a consequence, the study lacks a baseline for these two groups' ratings – a methodological shortfall which I will attempt to avoid (see Chapter 4).

As a last example of a type of judgement experiment with written sentences, Hubers (2015: 3, 14) recently carried out an fMRI experiment among twenty-two highly educated Dutch language purists to examine the brain's processing of written grammatical norm violations. Functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging (fMRI) is a non-invasive technique with which brain activity can be measured on the basis of blood flow. The usage problems included in Hubers's study were the use of **als* instead of *dan* as a conjunction in comparatives of inequality, the use of subject **hun*, and the use of the object pronoun **me* instead of the subject pronoun *ik* in comparative constructions (e.g. *Stefan sliep eerder dan *mij,* "Stefan fell asleep more quickly than me"). Even though Hubers (2015: 41) was unable to prove that particular brain regions implicated in social cognition – or basic emotions like disgust or contempt – were involved in the participants' processing of the sentences with the usage problems, he did find that in general the purists' brains had difficulty processing the usage problems (Hubers 2015: 37–38). A remarkable finding was that the way the purists processed the usage problems also showed overlap with the way in which the brain processes acceptable sentences – a result that sharply contrasts with the purists' claims that they considered the usage problems "truly ungrammatical" (Hubers 2015: 38). This result may show, according to Hubers (2015: 41), that both the sentences with the standard and the non-standard variants can be integrated in conceptual memory, while this is not true for ungrammatical sentences.[7] Apparently, even the brains of purists – people who are

[7] Ungrammatical sentences conflict with the underlying grammar of a language, and usually all native speakers would agree that such sentences are unacceptable, unnatural even, in all contexts. Unacceptable sentences, by contrast, may be ungrammatical, but

considered least tolerant of mistakes – are not fully convinced that usage problems are actual grammatical errors.

3.1.3 Corpus studies about written production data

Corpus studies about usage problems in written production data have typically aimed to offer insight into the relationship between prescriptions about usage problems on the one hand and actual language use on the other. Van Hout (2003), for instance, drew up a corpus of one million words from online soccer discussion groups in order to investigate whether speakers' use of subject **hun* may be linked to their region of residence. His study showed that subject **hun* occurs on the forums of soccer clubs based throughout The Netherlands (Van Hout 2003: 282). Despite the fact that his search yielded only twenty-three tokens of subject **hun* – which seems low in comparison to the frequency of the subject pronouns *zij* (N=122) and in particular *ze* (N=2,337) – Van Hout considers the frequency to be *redelijk veel* ("moderately high") compared to the total frequency of *zij* (Van Hout 2003: 282). At any rate, Van Hout's work proves that in informal online settings the written use of the subject **hun* is not unusual.

Another corpus study is Van der Sijs (2004a), who used Google to study how often the rules of fifteen grammatical usage problems were transgressed in texts available on the internet. She found a discrepancy between many of the language rules and internet users' actual written usage. For instance, in passive sentences that have an indirect object, e.g. *de reizigers wordt/*worden verzocht* ("travellers are requested"), the plural verb (66.4%) was used more frequently than the singular (33.6%) in online texts (N=438), regardless of the prescriptive rule that decrees that the singular verb is the sole correct option. Van der Sijs consequently pleads for official allowance of both variants as soon as frequency data can prove that the use of both variants is widespread (Van der Sijs 2004a: 20). So, like Van Hout's study, Van der Sijs's work illustrates that for several usage problems prescriptive rules are losing ground – at least in online language use.

Drawing on the examples set by Van Hout (2003) and Van der Sijs (2004a), Janssen (2004: 36) carried out a corpus study into the written use of the subject **hun* on a Dutch online discussion forum for students aged between twelve and twenty. She found that both more highly and less highly educated internet users applied *hun* as a

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they may also be grammatical – which means that they naturally occur in certain variants of the language, like dialects – but nevertheless receive the label "unacceptable" because there is a sentence or variant that is perceived to be "better" or relatively "more acceptable" (e.g. one associated with the standard language). Usage problems fit into this category.

subject on the discussion forum, which to Janssen indicated that **hun* should not necessarily be associated with the language use of lower-class Dutch people (2004: 42). Yet, as Janssen (2004: 41) encountered only 27 instances of **hun* (9.4%) in her corpus this conclusion, like that of Van Hout (2003), should be interpreted with care.

Doderer (2011a, b), furthermore, did not examine the link between prescriptive theory and language use, but rather relied on corpora to study written complaints about twenty-first-century usage problems. Doderer was particularly interested in the types of language values and language norms writers referred to when they sent in a complaint to the press, or when they posted complaints online. To test her theoretical classification of language values, she compiled a corpus of 961 complaints about usage problems which she retrieved from the complaint section in the magazine *Onze Taal* and from comments that internet users had posted on *Meldpunttaal.nl* ("Complaints-office-for -language.nl"). Whereas Doderer did find that one of her theoretical classifications, i.e. "language serves a communicative goal", was applied by almost everyone who complained, she also had to conclude that in practice it was rather difficult to clearly distinguish between the categories (Doderer 2011b: 236).

From my discussion of Van Hout (2003), Van der Sijs (2004a), Janssen (2004) and Doderer (2011a,b) in this section it follows that, so far, corpus studies about written usage problems have heavily relied on online sources. Only Doderer turned to a written source, i.e. the complaint section of the magazine *Onze Taal*, in addition to the online source *Meldpunttaal.nl*. As a consequence, any evidence for a discrepancy between prescriptive guidelines and actual language use provided in this section is informative to a limited degree only: online texts and discussion forums constitute just two domains in which written Dutch is used. New corpus studies about the presence of usage problems in different domains of writing (e.g. student essays, newspaper advertisements, traffic signs, etc.) are required to construct a more general view to the topic.

3.2 Studies about spoken Dutch usage problems

3.2.1 Evaluation experiments about spoken stories

In addition to her corpus study and judgement task which she set up to examine Dutch speakers' current use of subject **hun*, Janssen (2004) carried out a so-called matched-guise experiment (see Lambert et al. 1960), which entailed that she asked participants to rate the same speaker reading out two nearly identical texts, persuading participants that the passages were from different speakers. Fifty university students were asked to evaluate seventeen speakers based on a brief sound fragment, not knowing that Gerda (the matched-guise speaker) was the sole speaker they heard twice. Gerda used the

subject pronoun **hun* in one fragment and the prescribed *zij* in another, while all the other speakers used the unstressed variant of *zij*, i.e. *ze* (Janssen 2004: 91). Janssen divided the experiment into two versions: some students listened to experiment A in which the pronoun preceded the verb, while others listened to version B in which the pronoun followed it. Each speaker's script consisted of the same three-sentence story, the only difference between the texts being the pronouns used (Janssen 2004: 46). The results of Janssen's study – i.e. the students indicated that the **hun*-user had a relatively lower social status, was more annoying and less sympathetic than the *zij*-user (Janssen 2004: 70) – have been discussed in Chapter 1 already.

Janssen (2004) was the first to apply the matched-guise technique to study speakers' evaluations of Dutch usage problems. Furthermore, to my knowledge, she was the first scholar to use spoken Dutch stimuli in this research context as well. The radio task that was created for my own study in many respects can be viewed as a follow-up of Janssen's work (see Chapter 4).

3.2.2 Acceptability judgement experiments with spoken sentences

While for English usage problems Ebner (forthc.) carried out an open-guise test in which participants evaluated spoken stimuli sentences on semantic differential scales, no such judgement test of spoken sentences has – as far as I am aware – been carried out for Dutch usage problems. Studies by Janssen (2004) and, as I indicated above, Bennis and Hinskens (2014) provided a starting point through their use of evaluations of spoken stories or the self-reports of participants; however, the gap between this type of approach and that of for instance Ebner (forthc.) remains considerable. After all, Bennis and Hinskens did not use audio but visual stimuli. In Chapter 4 I will describe the judgement experiment about usage problems in Dutch spoken sentences that I created for the purpose of this thesis.

3.2.3 Corpus studies about spoken production data

Corpus studies about the frequency of usage problems in present-day spoken Dutch have primarily relied on the *Corpus Gesproken Nederlands* ("Spoken Dutch Corpus") or *CGN*. This corpus was compiled between 1998 and 2004, and it contains contemporary speech fragments plus orthographic transcriptions, annotations and automatically generated phonetic transcriptions from adult speakers of Dutch from The Netherlands and Flanders (Nederlandse Taalunie 2004). *CGN* consists of fifteen sub-corpora (e.g. spontaneous conversation, interviews with teachers of Dutch, political discussions and debates, etc.) and had a total word count of 8,916,272 in 2004. The portion of the corpus

that includes spoken data from speakers of Dutch in The Netherlands consists of 5,654,644 words. *CGN* provides metadata about speakers' age, sex, region of residence, occupation, etc. (Hellwig & Weijers 2004), and thus allows researchers to consider social variables in their corpus studies.

Van Bergen et al. (2011) were the first to report on the use of *CGN* as a means to study the presence of usage problems in spoken Dutch. They examined why speakers opt for subject **hun*, rather than *zij* or *ze* (see section 2.3.2). The results indicated that because subject **hun* refers to animate beings in particular, it is very likely to persist alongside the two other variants (Van Bergen et al. 2011: 2). Further, Hubers and De Hoop (2013) used *CGN* to study speakers' use of the comparative conjunction **als* versus *dan* in spontaneous speech, thus drawing upon a sub-corpus from *CGN*. Stroop (2014), lastly, similarly drew on *CGN* to study the **als/dan* usage problem (see section 2.3.3).

To provide a wider perspective on current spoken Dutch usage problems, future scholars could consider using not only *CGN* but different or additional corpora as well, such as the *Corpus Hedendaags Nederlands* ("Corpus Present Day-Dutch") (2013). This corpus contains much written data (e.g. from blogs, magazines, teletext, etc.), but it also contains reported speech and written scripts that are intended to be spoken from the period 1814–2013 (INL 2013, 2014). Future scholars may even wish to create new corpora that contain speech fragments of different social groups (e.g. the speech of children, young adults, etc.) and to add these corpora to *CGN*. Since *CGN* mostly includes speech from adults, and since it contains speech fragments that were recorded approximately ten years ago, the corpus provides only limited insight into current-day Dutch speakers' production of usage problems.

3.3 Social variables in previous studies

As my study is of a sociolinguistic nature, this section offers a discussion of the findings of previous studies about Dutch usage problems in light of the social variables included in those studies. These variables include age, gender, profession and region of residence.

3.3.1 Age

Few experimental studies and surveys about Dutch usage problems, as listed in Table 6, have explored whether or how their findings may interact with the social variable age. Scholars either distinguish several age categories though fail to address possible effects of age when interpreting the results (e.g. Harm 2008; De Bruijn 2014), or they draw conclusions about the effect of age but only partly provide details on the number of

Table 6: Characteristics of the participant samples in a selection of the experimental studies and survey studies about Dutch usage problems*

	Characteristics participants							
Study	N^{total}	Age		Gender		Education	Profession	Region of residence
		%N	p. age group	% *m*	% *f*	% of N^{total}		
De Rooij 1990	23	uns.	uns.	uns.	uns.	WO admin.	colleagues from Meertens Instituut	pred. Randstad
Jansen & vd Geest 1990	392	uns.	uns.	267	125	pred. WO	students/people with advanced education	western part of NL
Van Bezooijen 2003	222	uns. uns. uns.	18–25 26–50 ≥ 51	uns.	uns.	uns.	uns.	173 from NL 49 from FL
Janssen 2004	50	100%	c. 18–25	25 (50%)	25 (50%)	WO	students Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen	38% Noord-Brabant 32% Gelderland 14% Limburg 6% Utrecht 4% Zuid-Holland 2% Overijssel 2% Flevoland 2% Friesland
Harm 2008	110	49% 51%	20–44 45–68	51 (46%)	59 (54%)	71% ≥ HAVO 29% ≤ MBO	uns.	uns. participants contacted via social network and social media
Van Bree 2010	20	100%	uns. $students_D$	uns.	uns. pred. girls	WO	students Universiteit Leiden	uns. Leiden area [?], Randstad
	32	100%	uns. $students_G$	uns.	uns.	WO	students Universiteit Leiden	uns. Leiden area [?], Randstad
	36	100%	≥ 55 students	uns.	uns.	HOVO	older students Universiteit Leiden	uns. Leiden area [?], Randstad
Bennis & Hinskens 2014	1515*	c. 2% c. 12% c. 20% c. 17% c. 25% c. 24%	15–20 20–29 30–39 40–49 50–59 60–90	609 (40%)	906 (60%)	c. 35% WO c. 30% HBO c. 25%MBO c. 10%≤ MBO	uns. participants from Meertens Instituut Panel	NL, more from the west than from the east
De Bruijn 2014	102	65% 27% 8%	10–25 25–50 ≥ 50	30 (29%) *sic.*	71 (70%) *sic.*	59% WO 24% HBO 9% MBO 8% ≤ MBO	uns.	uns. participants contacted via Facebook
Hubers 2015	22	100%	34–51	9 (41%)	13 (59%)	pred. WO & HBO	uns. purists, among whom were secondary school teachers [?]	uns. contacted via LinkedIn of *Onze Taal* & association *Ons Middelbaar Onderwijs*

*Abbreviations: uns. = unspecified, pred. = predominantly, [?] = personal inference, c. = the percentage was drawn from a figure, and therefore is an estimate of the actual percentage, HOVO = *Hoger Onderwijs Voor Ouderen* ("Higher Education for Elderly"), NL = The Netherlands, FL = Flanders, for the abbreviations that denote levels of education, see section 3.4.

participants that belonged to each age category (i.e. Van Bezooijen 2003), which complicates one's interpretation of the significance of the results (see discussion below). Again others, i.e. De Rooij (1990) and Jansen and Van der Geest (1990), provide no details about their participants' age whatsoever.

Nevertheless, a few studies provide a small starting point for studying the effect of age on Dutch speakers' perception and evaluation of usage problems, which is relevant in the context of my study, since they focus on one or two age groups. For instance, Janssen (2004) and Hubers (2015) studied younger and older participants, respectively (see Table 6), and Van Bree (2010) compared the responses of younger to those of older students. Yet, because the participants in these studies belong to rather specific social groups (e.g. highly educated students, purists), and because they are from a single age group, it is hard to contextualize these scholars' results to speakers with different social backgrounds and of different ages. Moreover, studying the effect of age was not among the primary research goals of Janssen and Hubers. Van Bree (2011) did attempt to use the variable age: his goal was to study norm changes. Because his study lacked some detail about other sociolinguistic variables, it appears hard to estimate to what degree his results reflect an effect of age rather than of other extraneous variables.

In one larger and more strictly sociolinguistic study, i.e. Bennis and Hinskens (2014), several age groups were compared. Bennis and Hinskens (2014: 163) found that age hardly affected respondents' self-reported use of the ten usage problems analysed. Age only had a weak, but significant, effect on respondents' self-reported usage of *jij kan* ("you can"), which is a relatively new SD variant for *jij kunt*: the younger the respondent, the higher the self-reported usage of *jij kan* proved to be (cf. Bennis & Hinskens 2014: 164).

In contrast to what Bennis and Hinskens' found, Van Bezooijen's results did show an effect of age. The oldest informants in her study (i.e. those aged >51) expressed more negative attitudes to the non-standard usages than the younger ones (aged 18–25) (Van Bezooijen 2003: 3). Yet, as Van Bezooijen offers few details about the social backgrounds of her participants, we have to consider the possibility that even though *de Nederlandse informanten waren gelijkelijk verdeeld over drie leeftijdsgroepen* ("the Dutch informants were distributed equally across three age groups"), factors like gender, education, profession or region of residence may also explain part of the variation she found. In hardly any of the corpus studies listed in Tables 7 and 8 (i.e. Van Hout 2003; Van der Sijs 2004a; Janssen 2004; Doderer 2011b; Van Bergen et al. 2011; Stroop 2014) was the variable age (of e.g. internet users, soccer supporters, speakers of Dutch, etc.) taken into account – although Janssen does specify the age category of the students in

the corpus she compiled on the basis of data drawn from the student websites scholieren.com and forum.scholieren.com (who were aged between approximately fifteen and nineteen).

Table 7: Characteristics of the participant samples that were used in seven corpus studies about Dutch usage problems*

	Characteristics of language users in corpus				
Study	Age	Gender	Education	Profession	Region of residence
Van Hout 2003	uns.	uns.	uns.	uns. *soccer fans*	various
Van der Sijs 2004a	uns.	uns.	uns.	uns.	uns.
Janssen 2004, corpus study	c. 15–19	uns.	various, mean: VWO	students	uns.
Doderer 2011a,b	uns.	uns.	uns.	uns. *readers of OT, language users who take the effort to protest*	uns.
Van Bergen et al. 2011	n.c.	n.c.	n.c.	n.c.	n.c.
Hubers & De Hoop 2013	various	various	various	n.c.	various
Stroop 2014	n.c.	n.c.	n.c.	n.c.	n.c.

*Abbreviations: uns. = unspecified, n.c. = not consulted (information was available in the corpus, but the author did not consult it), various = various categories or groups were distinguished (i.e. when referring to variables)

Table 8: Characteristics of the data collection procedure of seven corpus studies about Dutch usage problems

	Data collection		
Study	Source data	Time period data	Size corpus
Van Hout 2003	online soccer forums: **hun/zij/ze*	soccer season 2002–2003	1 million words
Van der Sijs 2004a	Google: various usage problems	… – August 2003	uns. freq. of a variant compared to total
Janssen 2004	scholieren.com forum.scholieren.com: **hun/zij/ze*	January 2004	2 million words
Doderer 2011a,b	complaint letters in *Onze Taal* & posts on Meldpunttaal.nl	2006–2010 & 2010–2011	961 complaints
Van Bergen et al. 2011	*CGN*: **hun/zij/ze*	uns. … – 2011 [?]	c. 1,000 hours of spoken Dutch
Hubers & De Hoop 2013	*CGN*: **als/dan*	uns. … – 2013 [?]	2,929 spontaneous speech utterances
Stroop 2014	*CGN*: **als/dan*	uns. … – 2014 [?]	c. 3,000 hours of spoken Dutch

*Abbreviations: uns. = unspecified, [?] = inference or estimate, *CGN* = *Corpus Gesproken Nederlands* ("Spoken Dutch Corpus")

Only Hubers and De Hoop (2013: 98) considered the social variable age in *CGN*. They did not find a correlation between speakers' age and their choice for **als* or *dan* in spontaneous speech. The two other studies drawing on *CGN* (i.e. Van Hout 2003; Van Bergen et al. 2011) do not provide any information about the age of the speakers in the sub-corpus they used, even though *CGN* easily allows scholars to look into such social variables. In sum, while in the past Van Bezooijen (2003) found an effect of the informants' age on their evaluations of seventeen usage problems, both Bennis & Hinskens (2014) and Hubers and De Hoop's (2013) studies did not do so.

3.3.2 Gender

Three of the survey studies in Table 6 explored whether or how their findings may interact with the social variable gender. Van Bezooijen's results showed an effect of gender, as women were generally found to be more critical than men when judging the acceptability of the seventeen usage problems she analysed (Van Bezooijen 2003: 3). By contrast, Bennis and Hinskens (2014: 163) showed that gender never affected respondents' self-reported use of the ten usage problems studied or their reported use of the usage problems in their social environment. Jansen and Van der Geest (1990: 82) did not find statistical differences between the ratings of the norm deviations by male and female participants either. The results from these survey studies thus appear contradictory.

A possible explanation for the contradictory findings of Jansen and Van der Geest (1990), Van Bezooijen (2003) and Bennis and Hinskens (2014) could be that the effect that Van Bezooijen found in fact was not strong. While Van Bezooijen does not offer any statistics that show whether the differences between the male and female groups could have been due to chance – which lack of information is unsurprising, considering that the article was published in the popular magazine *Onze Taal* – she describes the effect by observing that *vrouwen (…) bleken wat kritischer dan mannen* ("women turned out to be somewhat more critical than men"), noting that the difference between men and women was the biggest for the informants that were aged between 26 and 50 (Van Bezooijen 2003: 38). Indeed, from Figure 1 in her article, the differences between the ratings of male and female informants from the remaining age categories seem small. Possibly, then, Van Bezooijen's dataset of the 26–50 age group accidentally included the ratings from very tolerant men and/or very critical women.

The other survey and experimental studies listed in Table 6 did not consider the variable gender. Some of these studies appear to have balanced their participant sample with regard to the gender of participants (see e.g. Janssen 2004; Harm 2008; De Bruijn

2014; Hubers 2015; Van Bree 2010), though slightly higher numbers of women appear to have taken part in most of these studies (see Table 6). Two studies do provide details on the gender balance in their participant samples (i.e. De Rooij 1990; Van Bezooijen 2003). Note, furthermore, that although Van Bezooijen revealed an effect of gender, in her article she does not disclose what proportion of her participants was male or female.

In nearly all the corpus studies listed (i.e. in Van Hout 2003; Van der Sijs 2004a; Janssen 2004; Doderer 2011b; Van Bergen et al. 2011; Stroop 2014) the variable gender (of e.g. internet users, soccer supporters, speakers of Dutch, etc.) was not considered. Only Hubers and De Hoop (2013: 98) took this social variable into account, though they did not find a relationship between speakers' gender and their choice for **als* or *dan* in spontaneous speech. So, while in the past Van Bezooijen (2003) found a small effect of gender on informants' evaluations of seventeen usage problems, neither Bennis & Hinskens (2014) nor Hubers and De Hoop (2013) revealed such an effect.

3.3.3 Profession

No survey or experimental studies in Table 6 examined participants' profession as a social variable, nor did any of the corpus studies from Tables 7 and 8 do so – even when the corpus, i.e. *CGN*, did allow the researchers to look into the social background of speakers (see Tables 7 and 8). It is therefore unclear how this variable relates to the perception, production or evaluation of usage problems by Dutch speakers. For English, comparable studies like Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2013) and Ebner (forthc.) have recently begun to address this question.

A small starting point may be identified in De Bruijn's (2014) study, and possibly in Jansen and Van der Geest (1990) as well. While De Bruijn's survey did not enquire after their respondents' occupations, it did include a question about whether respondents felt they needed a knowledge of SD in their educational or professional career. Many of the participants in De Bruijn's (2014: 51) study indicated that they very much agreed (32.4%) or merely agreed (43.1%) that they did. De Bruijn's participant sample – which, through self-selection, consisted of respondents with an apparently high interest in the Dutch language – resembles that of Jansen and Van der Geest (1990: 74), who chose to only elicit the beliefs of informants who did "reading and writing tasks as regular parts of their jobs or education". While neither De Bruijn nor Jansen and Van der Geest discuss the professional background of their participants in detail, they both appear to consider it a social variable; this, at least, is what is suggested by the inclusion of a survey question about the topic (De Bruijn) and by Jansen and Van der Geest's attempt to filter

participants based on the relevance of language skills in their jobs or education programmes.

Quite a number of the Dutch survey and experimental studies do not provide a general description of the professional backgrounds of of their participants (Van Bezooijen 2003; Harm 2008; Bennis & Hinskens 2014; De Bruijn 2014). Other studies did indicate that they consulted informants from a single professional group, such as students (Janssen 2004; Van Bree 2010) or colleagues (De Rooij 1990). Furthermore, because Hubers (2015) distributed a call for participants through the association *Ons Middelbaar Onderwijs* ("Our Secondary Education"), it seems probable that his sample included at least some secondary school teachers. However, any details on the professional backgrounds of the participants are absent in Hubers (2015). The sole corpus study that allows insight into the professions of the language users from which the corpus data was derived is Janssen (2004), who studied students' online use of the subject pronouns **hun* and *zij* – although one could even argue that being a student should not be considered a profession at al as the term seems to imply the lack of a profession. All in all, it appears that no extensive research has been carried out yet about the potential relationship between speakers' professional background and their perception, evaluation or production of Dutch usage problems.

3.3.4 Region of residence

Three of the studies in Tables 6 and 7 appear to have considered the social variable region of residence (i.e. Van Hout 2003; Hubers & De Hoop 2013; Bennis & Hinskens 2014). Van Hout (2003) classified soccer supporters' online use of the subject pronouns *ze*, *zij*, and **hun* by soccer club (e.g. FC Groningen, FC Zwolle, ADO Den Haag). Based on data from the discussion forums of twenty Dutch soccer clubs he concludes that subject **hun verspreid door het land voorkomt* ("occurs throughout the country'"), though particularly among soccer fans in Noord-Brabant and Overijssel (Van Hout 2003: 282). However, it seems conceivable that the larger soccer clubs mentioned in the study like Ajax or Feyenoord – professional soccer clubs based in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, respectively – attract soccer supporters across the country, not just from the Amsterdam or Rotterdam areas. In comparison, the discussion forums of smaller soccer clubs, like FC Zwolle or NAC Breda, may be more likely to attract local supporters, and as such appear more precise indicators of supporters' region of residence.

Next, Hubers and De Hoop's (2013: 89) corpus study revealed that "whereas in the other regions [i.e. in the rest of The Netherlands and Belgium] *als* occurs in only about 13% of the comparatives of inequality, in the southern region of The Netherlands

[i.e. in the provinces Noord-Brabant, Limburg and Zeeland] it occurs about 40% of the time". Bennis and Hinskens (2014: 164) likewise found that for five Dutch usage problems dialectal background, a variable which to some extent is linked to region of residence, affected respondents' self-reported use and the reported use in their social environment, though the effect was weak. It should be noted that this part of their research was based on a sub-sample of 473 participants, and that for four other usage problems no effect of dialectal or geographical background was discovered (Bennis & Hinskens 2014: 165).

In general, however, a considerable number of the studies in Tables 6 and 7 provide rather limited or no information on the regions of residence of participants, speakers or writers. Just two of the survey studies in Table 6 provide exact descriptions of the region of residence of their participants (Janssen 2004; Bennis & Hinskens 2014). Other scholars merely make generalizations, such as De Rooij (1990), who estimates that most, but not all, of his respondents were from the Randstad, while Jansen and Van der Geest (1990: 73) note that their informants resided in "the western part of The Netherlands". Again others did not enquire after the region of residence or birthplace of their respondents (i.e. Van Bezooijen 2003; Harm 2008; De Bruijn 2014; Van Bree 2010; Hubers 2015) – although Van Bezooijen does distinguish between informants from The Netherlands and from Flanders.

With the exception of Hubers and De Hoop (2013), most of the corpus studies in Tables 7 and 8 do not offer information on the region of residence of the speakers or writers (i.e. Van der Sijs 2004a; Doderer 2011b; Van Bergen et al. 2011; Stroop 2014). Future corpus studies may nevertheless wish to take into account this social variable, as the three studies that did so (i.e. Van Hout 2003; Hubers & De Hoop 2013; Bennis & Hinskens 2014) all reported to have found some correlational effect. Finally, it should be observed that not a single perception experiment about usage problems has examined the effect of the variable region of residence.

3.4 Level of education

3.4.1 The educational system in The Netherlands

In The Netherlands, children between the ages of four and twelve receive primary education, though attending primary school is compulsory only from the age of five (EP-Nuffic 2015: 6). In their final year at primary school, i.e. in *groep 8* ("group 8"), pupils decide on the type of secondary school they wish to attend based on their school results, their personal preference, and often a national test called the *Citotoets* (EP-Nuffic 2015: 6). Pupils can opt for *voorbereidend middelbaar beroepsonderwijs* or *VMBO* ("preparatory

secondary vocational education"), *hoger algemeen voortgezet onderwijs* or *HAVO* ("higher general secondary education"), or *voorbereidend wetenschappelijk onderwijs*, also called *VWO* ("pre-university education"). The duration of these types of programme differs: completing a *VMBO* programme takes relatively less time (i.e. four years) than completing *HAVO* (five years) or *VWO* (six years).

After pupils have passed their final exams at secondary school, they can extend their studies with two to six years of additional or higher education (EP-Nuffic 2015: 5). Depending on the type of secondary education and the specializations chosen, students may opt for *middelbaar beroepsonderwijs* or *MBO* ("intermediate vocational education"), *hoger beroepsonderwijs* or *HBO* ("higher vocational education"), or *wetenschappelijk onderwijs* or *WO* ("university education"). Of these programmes, *MBO* predominantly prepares pupils for specific occupations or for a subsequent study programme (EP-Nuffic 2015: 8). *HBO* programmes are practically orientated and are offered at *hogescholen* ("universities of applied sciences"), whereas research-orientated programmes (i.e. *WO*) are provided mainly by *universiteiten* ("universities") (EP-Nuffic 2015: 5).

3.4.2 Level of education as a variable

Just one of the survey and experimental studies about Dutch usage problems in Table 6 considered the variable education. As was mentioned above, Bennis and Hinskens (2014) discovered that the more highly educated a group of participants was, the lower that group's self-reported use of **hun* was likely to be. It is important to note, though, that Bennis and Hinskens's study included ten usage problems, and that they only found an effect of level of education for one of them. Possibly, the participants' high interest in the Dutch language levelled educational differences.

Some scholars seem to have attempted to balance their participant sample with regard to the variable educational background (see Harm 2008; De Bruijn 2014), but even so the majority of the participants in these studies were more highly educated (see Table 6). Others studied the responses of a homogenous group of highly educated participants only (De Rooij 1990; Jansen & Van der Geest 1990; Janssen 2004; Van Bree 2010; Hubers 2015) – and thus do shed some light on the topic I am interested in here. Only Van Bezooijen's study did not provide information on the educational background of the participants.

The majority of the corpus studies in Table 6 (i.e. in Van Hout 2003; Van der Sijs 2004a; Doderer 2011b) did not examine the variable education either, even when the corpus – i.e. *CGN* in the case of Van Bergen et al. (2011) and Stroop (2014) – easily allows scholars to do so. Janssen's (2004: 38) corpus study material was derived from more

highly educated young adults especially, but despite this educational bias in her corpus material, she draws the conclusion that both more highly and less highly educated internet users applied *hun* as a subject on the discussion forums she examined, which to her shows that **hun* should not per se be associated with the language use of lower-class Dutch speakers (Janssen 2004: 42).

Of the corpus studies listed, solely that of Hubers and De Hoop (2013) fully took the social variable education into account. Their analysis of the *CGN* data produced a strong correlation between speakers' choice for **als* or *dan* and level of education: more highly educated speakers tend to use the prescribed conjunction *dan* whereas less highly educated speakers use **als* in spontaneous speech (Hubers & De Hoop 2013: 89). To summarize, from the two studies that actually compared the evaluation and production of Dutch usage problems by different educational groups (i.e. Hubers & De Hoop 2013; Bennis & Hinskens 2014) it followed that the use of the non-standard variants **hun* and **als* should be associated with less highly educated speakers.

3.4.3 Level of education and literacy

Two variables which seem likely to interact with the variable education are degree of literacy and awareness of prescriptive rules. The term *geletterdheid* "literacy" is defined by *Van Dale Online* (2015, s.v. *geletterd*) as *in staat zijn om te lezen en schrijven (*"to be able to read and write"). According to a publication of the *Expertisecentrum Beroepsonderwijs* or *ECBO*, however, the term "literacy" should be placed in a broader context (Fouarge et al. 2011: 9):

> *Geletterdheid is het gebruiken van gedrukte en geschreven informatie om te functioneren in de maatschappij, om de eigen doelen te bereiken en om de eigen kennis en mogelijkheden te ontwikkelen.* (Fouarge et al. 2011: 9)
> ("Literacy is the ability to use printed and written information in order to function in society, in order to reach personal goals, and to foster one's personal knowledge and opportunities.")

It is relevant for the present study that Fouarge et al. point out that there is a relationship between an individual's *niveau van maatschappelijk en beroepsmatig functioneren* ("level of performance in society and at work"), and that individual's required, and desired, reading and writing skills (Fouarge et al. 2011: 9). As such, literacy skills and level of education are, to some extent, linked variables.

The different secondary education programmes in The Netherlands – i.e. *VMBO*, *HAVO* and *VWO* – also have different *beoogde eindniveau's* ("aspired achievement levels") for pupils' Dutch skills (see Table 9). Even though the participants in the present study all continued their education after receiving their secondary school degree, the

goals of the different secondary school programmes indicate that the Dutch skills of the speakers are cultivated to different degrees depending on the secondary education programme they chose. It seems conceivable that speakers' subsequent choice for an *MBO*, *HBO* or *WO* programme (see 4.3.1 for a description of the Dutch educational system) influences the extent to which they are expected to use and develop extensive literacy skills in the years that follow, though this also, of course, depends on the specialization that is chosen.

Table 9: Aspired Dutch language and literacy skills of Dutch students by the end of their final year in any of the secondary education programmes in The Netherlands.

Secondary education programme	Common European Framework (CEF)
VWO	C1
HAVO	B2
VMBO	B1

Source: CINOP (2011: 21), see *Tabel 4. niveau-indelingen*

For instance, a student of an *MBO* programme for security guards may develop less highly developed, or at least different, literacy skills than a student of psychology at university would. The question that arises, then, is whether one would also expect MBO, HBO and WO students to be concerned with prescriptive rules to different degrees, a possibility that I will discuss in section 3.4.4 below.

3.4.4 Level of education and familiarity with prescriptive rules

Whilst none of the studies about Dutch usage problems appear to have dealt with the social variable literacy, a question which several scholars have looked into is: how does speakers' familiarity with prescriptive rules affect their evaluation of texts with norm violations? The experiments carried out by Jansen and Van der Geest (1989: 62; 1990) have shown, for example, that respondents react more negatively to norm deviations once they are able to detect the deviations themselves. Awareness of the existence of a rule thus results in a stronger dismissal of norm violations. At the same time, the experiments showed that "ignorance [of the rules] leads to cognitive dissonance and a mild attitude towards deviations" (Jansen & Van der Geest 1990: 79).

As was already mentioned in section 3.1.1, Harm (2008) also found some effect of speakers' familiarity with prescriptive rules on their recognition of usage problems. To recapitulate: Harm (2008: 39) showed that informants who had explicit knowledge about the prescriptive rule more often spotted the mistakes in the texts than those who only

had a passive knowledge. Yet, as half the informants with such a passive knowledge could also identify the usage problems, the strength of this effect seems disputable.

If awareness of prescriptive rules, literacy and level of education are indeed social variables that typically correlate with one another, one would expect more highly educated speakers to have a greater knowledge of prescriptive rules and higher literacy skills than less highly educated speakers, and that they would – based on Jansen and Van der Geest (1989) and Harm (2008) – consequently respond more negatively to violations of prescriptive rules.

3.5 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, and in section 3.1 in particular, the main focal points and the various methodological approaches of earlier studies on Dutch usage problems were discussed. It was pointed out that so far scholars examined Dutch usage problems in oral as well as written contexts, and that they addressed the topic at several linguistic levels (e.g. texts or stories, sentences). The methodologies adopted tend to be evaluation tasks, acceptability judgement tasks and corpus studies.

In section 3.2 I discussed the role of social variables in the studies about Dutch usage problems I had identified. For the social variables age and gender, one study found an effect (i.e. Van Bezooijen 2003), but two did not (Hubers & De Hoop 2013; Bennis & Hinskens 2014, with regard to gender) or did so only just (Bennis & Hinskens 2014, with regard to age). Furthermore, virtually none of the survey, experimental or corpus studies I looked at examined the profession of participants as a social variable. The variable region of residence, or dialectal background, was shown to play a significant role in, at least some of, the results of Van Hout (2003), Hubers & De Hoop (2013) and Bennis & Hinskens (2014).

Additionally, section 3.3 offered a description of the Dutch educational system as well as an analysis of the role of the variable education in studies about Dutch usage problems. I pointed out that the variable has been shown to interact with speakers' (reported) production of the non-standard variants **als* and **hun* by Hubers and De Hoop (2013) and Bennis and Hinskens (2014), who both discovered that less highly educated speakers in particular tend to use these features. I also drew attention to the fact that the participants in many of the survey and experimental studies reviewed in this chapter were more highly educated: a bias that undermines the representativeness of the results. Additionally, I suggested that education, as a variable, may well be related to the variables familiarity with prescriptive rules and literacy, with higher degrees of familiarity with prescriptive rules, and possibly literacy, resulting in a higher awareness

of language correctness, and more negative evaluations of non-standard variants – as Jansen & Van der Geest (1989) found.

With respect to the contents of the current chapter, two important points should be raised. Firstly, due to the scope that was available for this thesis, the current chapter is not intended to be a complete meta-analysis of studies about Dutch usage problems; rather, it is a structured starting point for future research. A second observation that should be made is that Tables 6, 7 and 8 cast somewhat of a shadow on the work by Van Bezooijen (2003), Van Hout (2003), Van der Sijs (2004), and Stroop (2014), because the tables display a lack of information on several variables in these studies. However, because the above articles all appear to have been published in popular magazines or popular books, it seems questionable whether one could have expected more elaborate research reports. Possibly, details on the methodology or statistics were left out to enhance readability. My remarks about these studies should thus be interpreted with some care.

Finally, I would like to make three observations that may be of interest for further work in this field. First of all, it is relevant to note that none of the studies mentioned in this chapter has been replicated – which means that we cannot be fully confident of the reliability and validity of the results or the applied methodologies, and that we cannot determine to what degree possibly extraneous variables may have affected the results. Second, I would like to point out that acceptability judgement tasks about Dutch usage problems in text types other than direct mail (e.g. newspapers, social media, text messages) have not been carried out yet, nor have techniques like the folk linguistic interview or instant written production tasks (e.g. essay assignments, gaps exercises) been applied yet. Furthermore, while this may seem evident in its own right, future scholars should be encouraged to include detailed descriptions of participant samples and of participant selection procedures in their research reports. Limited descriptions do not just complicate the interpretation of the results; they also form a hindrance to scholars who wish to set up a replication study. In the next chapter, I will offer a precise description of the methods applied in this thesis.

Chapter 4 Methodology

4.1. Selecting the participants

To be able to measure the effect of level of education, any variables in the study other than this central variable – e.g. sex, age group and region of residence – had to be controlled for as much as possible. For a purely practical reason, i.e. the limited time available for the present study, it was decided that not just level of education, but also the professional background of participants was allowed to vary. How this choice may affect the results is unclear, largely because we do not yet know how the variable profession relates to the perception, production or evaluation of usage problems by Dutch speakers (see section 3.3.3).

Only female speakers were invited for the study because women are said to be "more sensitive to language norms" (Van der Wal & Van Bree 2014: 365) and more critical of usage problems than men (Van Bezooijen 2003: 3). This means that if there were an effect of the level of education on speakers' perception of usage problems, I would expect to find it most clearly among women. As Mesthrie et al. (2009: 102) remark, studies by for instance Fischer (1958), Labov (1972) and Trudgill (1974) also show that their female participants used the standard variants to a greater extent than men did.

The main motive to restrict the participant sample to fairly young participants (i.e. females aged between 19–29) was that I expected the optimal effect of schooling to wear off after the speakers' graduation. In the light of Van Bezooijen's (2003) work, however, which revealed that older people are typically more negative about incorrect usages than younger people, my decision to focus on younger participants could be argued to be a disadvantage. Indeed, based on this study, one would expect the usage problems in my experiment to be identified less often, and to be rated less harshly when younger rather than older speakers participated. However, as I already noted in Chapter 3, Hubers and De Hoop (2013) and Bennis and Hinskens (2014) report having found little to no effect of age on speakers' production or evaluation of usage problems. Moreover, even if the effect does play a role, it can be said to be only more relevant when younger rather than older participants notice and comment on a usage problem, as they are the ones you would expect to be most tolerant.

Finally, the participants were selected from the same region of residence: the Randstad. Since various earlier studies have reported to have found some correlation between speakers' region of residence and their production or evaluation of usage

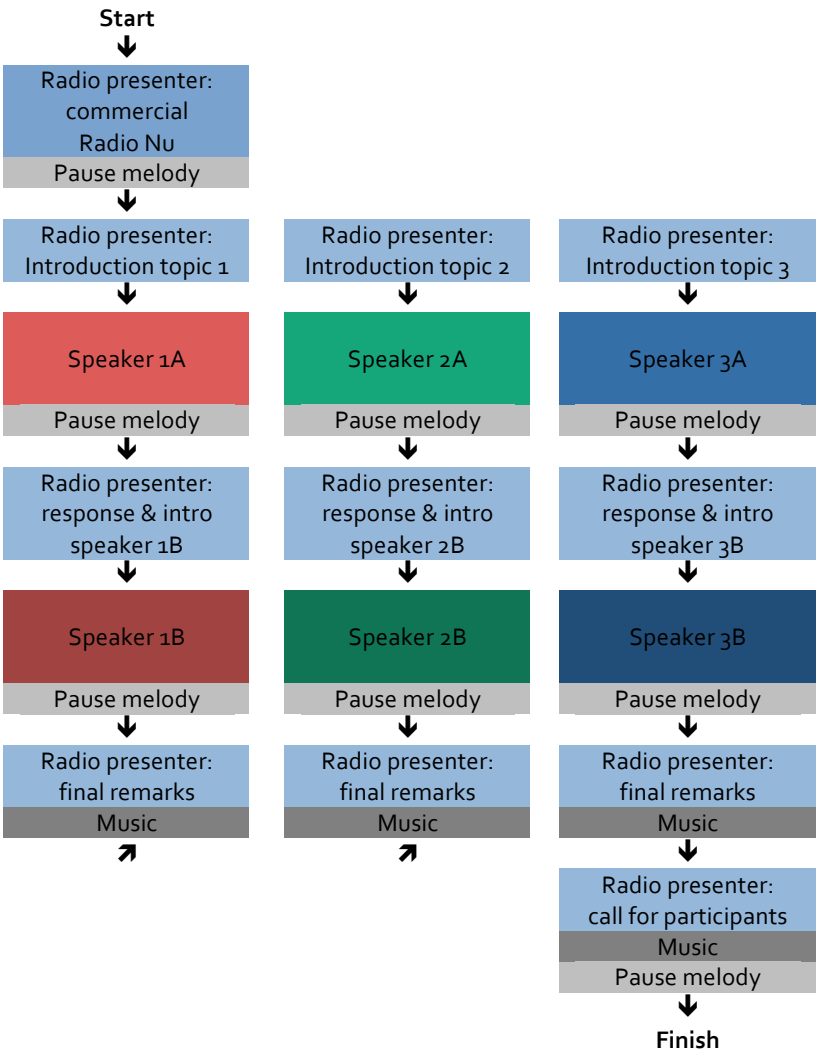
problems (see section 3.3.4), I decided to keep this variable stable. Furthermore, because the speakers in the radio fragments were also from the Randstad, chances were smaller that participants would respond to those features of the speakers' language that were not at the core of this study. Moreover, because the speakers in the radio task supposedly spoke "Randstad-flavoured Dutch", which is considered one of "the best 'real-life' varieties of Netherlandic Standard Dutch" (Grondelaers et al. 2011: 214), the basic attitude of participants towards the speakers' accents was expected to be fairly positive.

4.2 Radio task

4.2.1 Description

The radio task was a speaker evaluation task that resembled a radio programme. As Table 10 below illustrates, seven speakers played a part in it: in addition to the radio presenter, six interviewees were phoned during the show.

Table 10: The structure of the radio task.



For each of the three topics that the show dealt with, the presenter called two speakers and asked them to share their personal stories. These interviewees were matched in terms of gender and, as far as possible, in terms of age and speech rate – factors which all have been said to affect perception (Brown et al. 1975; Apple et al. 1979; Van Bezooijen 1988; Thomas 2002). One of the matched interviewees used the non-standard variant, the other the prescribed one. As Table 10 below shows, participants listened to each of the speakers on the radio show, providing written evaluations of the speakers during the breaks.

Inspired by Campbell-Kibler's (2010: 105) verbal guise technique – which method was adapted from Lambert et al.'s (1960) matched guise technique – the radio task was designed to assess the participants' language attitudes and their awareness of the non-standard variants that are analysed in this thesis. As an indirect research tool, the task aimed to "feel natural to participants" and to "conceal the specifics of the research question", two characteristics that, as Campbell-Kibler (2013: 145) notes, influence whether or not a tool like this is helpful for assessing language attitudes. The usage problems included in the radio task were the subject pronoun**hun*, the use of the conjunction **als* instead of *dan* in comparatives of inequality, the use of the adverb **hele* for *heel*, and the use of **een aantal (…) gingen* for *een aantal (…) ging* (see section 2.3).

4.2.2 Script

Selecting stimuli

In addition to Van Bezooijen's (2003) *ergernissen-top-zeventien* (see section 1.2), the *Onze Taal 25 populairste taaladviezen* ("Onze Taal 25 most popular language guidelines"), a ranking which is freely available online (https://onzetaal.nl/taaladvies/populair), and a list which I will call the *Taaladviesdienst* list (see Appendices C1–2) were consulted for the selection of the usage problems. Although the extra lists deal with language advice rather than with usage problems per se, they provide insight into the linguistic insecurity of speakers. Moreover, no rankings similar to Van Bezooijen's exist for present-day Dutch usage problems. The *Taaladviesdienst* list, which I got through personal correspondence with Roos de Bruyn, an employee of the *Taaladviesdienst*, in September 2015, comprises *de taalfouten die het vaakst worden genoemd als taalergernis* ("the language mistakes that are mentioned most often as usage problems") based on the experience of the advisory service.

The four usage problems included in the radio task occurred in Van Bezooijen's list as well as in the *Taaladviesdienst* list. Moreover, the usage problems **hun*[8] and **een aantal (…) gingen* were also included in the *Onze Taal 25 populairste taaladviezen*. Lastly, except for the usage problem with **als*, these items were chosen to match those examined in Bennis and Hinskens (2014). This match allowed me to compare the findings of my experiment with audio stimuli to those of Bennis and Hinskens, whose experiment included written stimuli that referred to spoken Dutch.

Creating stimulus sentences

For each usage problem, four sentences were created that included the prescribed variant and four that included the non-standard variant. Each speaker on the radio show used the variant in four sentences to decrease the chance that participants would attribute usage of a non-standard variant to "sloppiness" of the speaker (see Jansen 2010: 5). The stimulus sentences in the prescribed and non-standard conditions were matched with regard to type of sentence (i.e. question, statement), the position of the usage problem within the sentence (i.e. front, non-front position), and the length of the sentence. Nevertheless, because the radio show had to be somewhat realistic, paired sentences were never identical.

Composing radio stories

The radio task dealt with three topics (see Table 11 below), which I expected to be of interest to most of the participants in the study. Some of the speakers (e.g. speakers 2A, 2B) told stories that ended with some surprising event to get participants more involved – an approach that somewhat resembles Labov's use of the danger of death question (Mesthrie et al. 2009: 90). Although informants were not recorded in my study, they were still very much aware of the fact that their answers were being used for a study about Dutch. To reduce the observer's paradox, topics were chosen that were meant to be engaging.

The four stimulus sentences were distributed more or less evenly across the scripts of each speaker (see Appendix D2). Speakers used either the standard or the non-standard variant. The radio presenter was introduced as a neutral speaker, who used the prescribed subject pronouns *zij* and *ze* consistently, though not for the final part. In a

[8] Although the *Onze Taal 25 populairste taaladviezen*-ranking officially includes the usage problem *hun/hen*, which does not refer to the usage problem about subject **hun*, the hyperlink that connects the ranking to a webpage with usage advice about *hun/hen* also discusses the use of subject **hun*.

final announcement, she used subject **hun* four times. The stories were organised according to Van Bezooijen's (2003) ranking, presenting the usage problems that headed the list – which were expected to be most salient – towards the end of the task, and those at the bottom of the list at the beginning. The average story length was 45 seconds.

Table 11: Summaries of the stories told by the speakers on the radio show, listed per topic (see Appendix D2 for the complete script).

Topic 1		Topic 2	
Story Speaker 1A	Story Speaker 1B	Story Speaker 2A	Story Speaker 2B
Daniël and his girlfriend share their house with 67-year-old Teun.	Ruben and his girlfriend share their house with 72-year-old Theresa	Francine's friends organised a surprise birthday party in a furniture store	Anne's boyfriend unexpectedly asked for Anne's hand in a furniture store
**een aantal (…)* *plural verb*	*een aantal (…)* *singular verb*	**hele*	*heel*

Topic 3		
Story Speaker 3A	Story Speaker 3B	Story Radio presenter
Thijs tells about an ice-skating match that he and Robin are organising, and about his progress as a beginner	Robin compares his ice skating skills to those of Thijs, and gives information about the match.	The radio presenter invites listeners to enrol for the Radio Nu ice skating team.
dan	**als*	**hun*

4.2.3 The recordings

4.2.3(a) The speakers

Seven native speakers of Dutch (three females, four males) volunteered to record the radio show. These speakers all lived in the Randstad when the recordings were made (i.e. in Amsterdam, Alphen, Boskoop, Den Haag, Leiden or Utrecht). Five of them were born in the area, and had spent the largest part of their lives there. Two speakers originated from areas just outside the Randstad – i.e. one was from the area around Alkmaar, which is just north of the Randstad, and one was from the area around Veenendaal, which is just east of the Randstad – but they had moved to cities in the Randstad, and had lived there for more than five years.

The speakers were aged between 23 and 29 (mean: 27), university-educated, and, most importantly, believed that they did not have a distinct local accent. Several participants in the pilot study and in the official study confirmed that the speakers sounded standard to them. Finally, I did not control for the speakers' professional background – largely because we do not yet know how this variable relates to the perception, production or evaluation of usage problems by Dutch speakers (see section

3.3.3). The reason to select speakers of the type described above was that they closely matched the profiles of the participants in the study.

4.2.3(b) Location and materials

The recordings were made in quiet rooms. The materials used during the recording procedure were the Information Sheet for Speakers, the Checklist containing an overview of speakers' rights, the Consent Form for Speakers (see Appendices A1–3), a TASCAM DR-07MKII Linear PCM Recorder and a script on paper (see Appendix D2). For the selection of the audio fragments and for the structuring of the fragments into a radio show, the software QuickTime Player (version 10.3) and Logic Pro X was used.

4.2.3(c) Recording procedure

First, speakers read and filled out the Information Sheet, the Checklist and the Consent Form for Speakers (see Appendices A1–A3). Subsequently, they were assigned one of the three scripts and were asked to read it and to propose modifications if they felt that this would improve the script. The adjustments that speakers made typically reduced the gap between scripted speech and a more natural informal spoken language.

The recordings were made by means of a role play in which the speaker acted the part of speaker A and the researcher that of speaker B. From the first time on, the recording apparatus was switched on so that speakers could grow accustomed to the idea of being recorded. Speakers did not need to learn anything by heart. Once they felt comfortable with the script, they were encouraged to to act out the text as well as possible. Speakers each did the complete role play (i.e. the parts of speakers A and B) for two topics. The part that was performed best was used for the experiment. At the end of the sessions, the speakers received a small gift in thanks for their time and involvement.

4.2.4 Final audio file

The final audio file for the radio task, which was approximately twelve minutes in length, included the speech fragments from all seven speakers, fragments of pop songs and pause melodies. The pop songs usually matched the topic of the preceding discussion, e.g. "Home" by Dotan (2014) was played as a conclusion to the radio dialogue about young adults who chose to share their house with an elderly person.The fifteen-second pause melody was inserted to indicate when participants had to pause the show to fill in questions about the speakers (see Appendix F1). Through audio engineering techniques like fade-in, fade-out and compression the credibility of the radio show was enhanced.

4.2.5 Question design

Two types of questions were created for the radio task (see Appendix F1). Questions 1, 5 and 6 elicited the participants' general views about the speakers and their language use. These questions mainly aimed to measure the participants' "awareness" of usage problems in informal spoken Dutch, which in the context of this study was taken to denote informants' recognition of, and their explicit comments on, a usage problem. The second type of questions aimed to elicit any social judgements participants might make about users of usage problems (questions 2–4). Based on Zahn and Hopper's (1985: 118) "speech evaluation instrument", six semantic differential scale questions regarding speakers' supposed friendliness, intelligence, energeticness, fondness of reading, mood and talkativeness were created (question 2), and another two questions specifically enquired after the supposed level of education and the type of profession of the speaker (questions 3 and 4). Just one set of questions was created for the evaluation of virtually all the speakers in the radio task. Only with regard to the questions about the radio presenter was Question 4 about the supposed profession of the speaker modified.

4.3 Acceptability judgement task

4.3.1 Description

The acceptability judgement task dealt with spoken Dutch sentences. These sentences were either stimulus sentences, which contained the standard or the non-standard variant of a usage problem, or they were distractor sentences. Participants listened to the sentences, filling out four acceptability scales (i.e. for the social contexts of a friend, colleague, teacher and minister) and a self-report scale during the breaks.

As a direct task, the acceptability judgement task was designed to "tap into the participants' explicit knowledge of linguistic structure and [to] allow for conscious reflection" (Clopper 2013: 154–155). Whereas in the radio task the actions of participants – i.e. their identification of usage problems – indirectly formed an indication of their attitudes, in the acceptability judgement task I directly asked participants what they "believe[d] to be true about language" (Clopper 2013: 155). The original acceptability task dealt with the same usage problems as the radio task did.

4.3.2 Stimuli

Originally, the acceptability judgement task contained 26 spoken sentences (for the adjustments that were made to the design of this task following the pilot study, see section 4.5.4). As shown in Table 12, sixteen sentences contained a stimulus, i.e. the standard or non-standard variant of a usage problem, and ten sentences were fillers. For

each usage problem, both the prescribed and the non-standard variants were incorporated into two sentences. The sentences with the prescribed and non-standard variants were matched as closely as possible in terms of the type of sentence (i.e. question, statement or exclamation), the position of the usage problem within the sentence (i.e. front, non-front), and the length of the sentence.

Among the fillers there were two example sentences that were used to explain the task. The first example included a usage problem that was not part of the current study, i.e. the use of the non-standard dummy-verb *doen* ("do") (see section 1.2). The second example sentence exemplified Standard Dutch usage. The remaining eight filler sentences also exemplified Standard Dutch language use, and they were included to prevent the participants from discovering the precise nature of the research topic.

Table 12: Overview of the stimulus-sentences (referred to as A, B, C, D), the filler-sentences (F), and the examples (Ex) in the original acceptability judgement task (see Table 13 for the adjusted final design)*

	According to prescriptivists				Fillers		Fillers	
Usage problems	✓	✓	×	×	Standard Dutch		Examples	
the subject *hun/zij	A	B	C	D	F1	F2	Ex1	Ex2
conjunctions *als/dan	A	B	C	D	F3	F4		
the adverbs *hele/heel	A	B	C	D	F5	F6		
*een aantal (…)*gingen/ging*	A	B	C	D	F7	F8		

*The symbols indicate whether a stimulus sentence contained a prescribed variant (✓) or a non-standard variant (×)

The organisation of the stimulus and filler sentences across the task was done on the basis of several criteria. First, stimulus sentences A, B, C or D that were linked to one usage problem were not allowed to follow or precede other sentences containing a variant of that usage problem. Additionally, the two sentences with the prescribed variant and the two with the non-standard variant (A & B or C & D in Table 12) were separated by a block of at least six other sentences. Thirdly, the fillers were distributed evenly across the experiment. Finally, it should be noted that the usage problems were not highlighted in the script – to prevent the speaker from emphasizing the features in an unnatural way.

4.3.3 The recordings

4.3.3(a) The speaker, the location and the materials

A 27-year-old female native speaker of Dutch volunteered to record the sentences for the acceptability judgement task. The speaker also acted a part in the radio show. She was from Amsterdam, had a university degree in Dutch, and she had a clear voice as well as a Standard Dutch pronunciation. For a description of the recording location and the materials used, see section 4.1.3(b) above.

4.3.3(b) Recording procedure

After al brief preparation phase – in which the speaker practised reading out the sentences and could propose modifications to the script – the speaker pronounced the sentences as naturally as possible.

4.3.4 Final audio file

The final audiofile was approximately three minutes long. Sentences were separated by pause melodies and they were numbered – i.e. the speaker announced which sentence she was going to say before actually doing so – as the participants would not receive the stimuli in print. In total, two final audio files were made: one for the original acceptability judgement task and one for the revised task (see section 4.6.4)

4.3.5 Question design

Respondents provided three types of ratings for each sentence they heard (see Appendix F2). First, they indicated how acceptable they considered the sentence to be if it was uttered by a friend, a colleague, a teacher or a minister. Consequently participants had to indicate whether they would expect each of these persons to actually use the sentence. Finally, they were instructed to give an estimation of their self-reported use of each sentence.

The participants had to provide acceptability ratings for the four imaginary speakers listed above, as this would allow them to evaluate the language they heard within a more natural, meaningful social context. The four speakers were chosen to remind the participants of speech norms that may apply in informal, private settings (e.g. friend: home, café) versus those that may apply in more formal, public settings (e.g. minister: politics, parliament). The social contexts that the four speakers represent may also be linked to Labov's (1966) notions of careful speech and casual speech. Although Labov appears to have used these labels particularly to refer to the amount of attention people pay to the act of using language (cf. Mesthrie et al. 2009: 92), in the context of my perception study a minister and a teacher may be said to represent more careful

speech styles, whilst a friend, and arguably a colleague, were expected to be representative of more casual speech styles.

4.4 The mini-questionnaire

The mini-questionnaire included just three questions, and was developed to obtain insight into the types of language authorities that participants consult and the types of language issues that they seek advice on (see Appendix F3). The questions were open questions to prevent participants from giving socially desirable answers, while they also allowed me to transform the task into an actual interview, in which I could ask informants to elaborate on particular topics. Through a qualitative analysis of the participants' answers, I hoped to find out whether any pattern could be discerned between the level of education of participants and the type of answers they gave.

The first question, *Wie of wat zie je als taalautoriteit voor het Nederlands?* ("Who or what do you consider to be a language authority for Dutch?"), was included to examine to what degree my references to e.g. the *Taalunie* and the *Genootschap Onze Taal* as Dutch language authorities agreed with my participants' views on the topic. The question *Waar ga je heen als je advies over taal nodig hebt?* ("Who/what do you turn to when you need advice on language use?") was included to see whether there was a connection between the language authorities mentioned by the participants and the actions that they would take when seeking language advice. By means of the third question – i.e. *Over wat voor soort kwesties zoek je taaladvies op?* ("On what types of issues do you seek language advice?") – I hoped to learn whether respondents express a need for advice on usage problems at all.

4.5 Questions about personal information

In the final part of the experiment, participants filled out a form with personal information (see Appendix F4). The form enquired after their gender (question 1), where they had spent the largest part of their lives (question 2), their current place of residence (question 3), their age (question 4), education (question 5) and profession (question 6), while they were asked about what educational programme they had completed (see section 4.5.5 about the revisions that I made based on the pilot-study).

Question 7 was included to see whether the self-reports of participants provide some evidence for a relationship between literacy, rule knowledge and level of education (see section 3.4 for a discussion of this relationship). If speakers with an MBO degree more often indicated that the use of correct spoken and written Dutch had been

considered unimportant in their educational programme or in their profession than those with HBO or WO degrees, the hypothesis above would gain some strength.

4.6 The pilot study

4.6.1 Description

Before the final experiment was carried out, I first conducted a pilot study. Four females – two of whom were sampled from the same population as the main study – volunteered to take part in it. Drawn from my social network, they all lived in the Randstad (i.e. Alphen aan den Rijn, Den Haag, Ter Aar, Leiden). None of them had studied Dutch at university. Even so, the women were more highly educated than most speakers in the main study were: one was a first-year university student, one had an HBO degree, one had a university (MA) degree, and one was a university professor. The volunteers with the HBO and MA degrees were employed in the health care sector.

The participants in the pilot study read and filled out the *Informatieblad* ("Information Sheet"), the Checklist and the *Instemmingsformulier* ("Consent Form") for participants (see Appendices B1 and B2). They also read the Instruction Document (see Appendix B3). Subsequently, the speakers did the main experiment. Based on their comments and suggestions the experimental design was adapted.

4.6.2 Modifications to forms

Two adjustments were made with respect to the forms used on the basis of the pilot experiment. First, it was decided that participants would not be given an Instruction Document at the start of the study, but that I would instruct them verbally to speed up the procedure. Second, the Consent Form was improved by the addition of a section in which participants could add their email addresses if they wished to receive a summary of the main results.

4.6.3 Modifications to the radio task

Although participants needed more time to complete the radio task than I expected, i.e. thirty to forty minutes instead of twenty-five minutes, the script was not cut because the speakers indicated that the task was doable. Adjustments were made to the instructions – e.g. speakers were informed that they should not review their answers as I was predominantly interested in their first impressions – and to the Question Booklet. In the latter booklet, a definition of the term *taalgebruik* ("language use") was inserted, for example, and the table with professions shown in question 4 was modified to include more jobs that require an MBO degree to balance the answer options.

4.6.4 Modifications to the acceptability judgement task

Because all participants in the pilot study indicated that the acceptability judgement task was too long, its size was reduced to eighteen sentences (see Table 13 and Appendix E2). The revised task included twelve stimulus sentences and six fillers. The two example sentences that introduced the task were preserved. Instead of the Standard Dutch fillers, strongly marked filler sentences were incorporated in the revised task, which were either completely ungrammatical or highly formal. These fillers triggered participants to use different ends of the rating scales and less attention was drawn to possibly tolerant attitudes.

Table 13: Overview of the stimulus-sentences (referred to as A, B, C, D), the filler-sentences (F) and examples (Ex) included in the revised acceptability judgement task*

	According to prescriptivists						
Usage problems	✓	✓	×	×	Fillers		
**kennen* for *kunnen*	A	B	C	D	examples	Ex1	Ex2
subject **hun/zij*	A	B	C	D	very formal	F1	F2
*groter *als/dan*	A	B	C	D	ungrammatical	F3	F4

*The symbols indicate whether a stimulus sentence contained a prescribed variant (✓) or a non-standard variant (×)

Furthermore, because three of the four participants in the pilot study had not noticed any usage problems in the radio task, indicating that many sentences in the acceptability judgement task seemed perfectly acceptable to them, **hele* and **een aantal (…)gingen* were exchanged for **kennen/kunnen*. The usage problem **kennen* for *kunnen* was from the top of Van Bezooijen's (2003) list, indicating that Van Bezooijen's participants viewed the variant as highly unacceptable. Moreover, because the non-standard variant is said to be highly frequent in modern Southern Hollandic (see section 2.3), it was expected that my participants would notice the variant.

My choice of **hele* and **een aantal (…) gingen* had been a poor one in several respects. Of course, the difference between *heel* and **hele*, even though this may still be salient in writing, is problematical in spoken contexts, as the schwa-sound may easily get lost. With regard to **een aantal (…) gingen*, it may have been problematic that the sentence offered very little context. If Renkema's observation holds – i.e. that using a singular verb emphasizes a collective status while using a plural stresses individuality (Renkema 1989: 117) – my stimuli should have clearly directed participants to any of these interpretations.

4.6.5 Modifications to the mini-questionnaire & questions about personal details

No modifications were made in the mini-questionnaire, since the respondents in the pilot study did not seem to experience any trouble with the questions. In the questions about personal details in the pilot study, I did not enquire after the name of the educational programme that participants had completed. This question was posed verbally to participants in the final study, because it could prove to be a relevant extraneous factor that affected the results.

4.7 Carrying out the final experiment

4.7.1 Participants

The participants in the radio listening task comprised 45 Dutch women between the ages of 19 and 29, with a mean age of 24.6. Of these women, fifteen had an MBO degree, fifteen an HBO degree and fifteen a university degree (WO). On average, the MBO speakers (23.5) were younger than the speakers with HBO (24.7) or WO (25.7) degrees. Former students of Dutch were not allowed to participate in the study. The participants had all been raised in the Randstad and still lived in the area at the moment the tests were conducted. The map in Figure 1 reflects in which places in the Randstad participants had spent the largest part of their lives.

The participants had different professions. Many of the females with an MBO degree worked in the health care sector (11), and some worked in administration, hotels and warehousing. The HBO graduates were employed in health care (5), financial services (3), the hotel and food service industry (2), laboratory research (2), and in education, communication and agriculture (1 each). Lastly, the university educated participants were employed in the domains of education (5), health service (2), physics engineering, academia, economics, law or administration (1 each). Two participants were still without a job at the moment the research was carried out, and one was completing an MA-programme at university. The participants had been selected by me, or through invitations of my personal connections.

4.7.2 Location and materials

The experiment was usually carried out at the participants' homes, or in public places like libraries or cafes. In addition to the forms (i.e. the Information Sheet, Checklist and Consent Form for participants, see Appendices B1–2), a MacBook OS X and QuickTime Player (version 10.3) or an Apple iPod Nano 4GB were used to play the recordings. Participants wore Reloop RHP-20 Knight headphones and received a pen and the printed Question Booklet (see Appendices F1–4).

Figure 1: Map of the western part of The Netherlands, i.e. the "Randstad"-area, showing the cities or towns (indicated with a blue dot) where participants have lived the largest part of their lives.

4.7.3 Procedure

The experiment was carried out in October 2015, and it took participants approximately one hour to complete it. At the start, participants read and filled out the forms. Subsequently, they verbally received instructions about the four components of the experiment (see Appendix B3 for a written version). It was emphasized that participants should not re-read or correct their answers, and that listening to the recordings once should be sufficient.

Subsequently, participants listened to two example fragments, i.e. to a commercial of *Radio Nu* ("Radio Now"), the fictional radio station, and to the pause melody; adjusting the volume settings if necessary, and they were left to themselves to go through the experiment at their own pace. After the radio show was run, I went through the semantic differential scale questions of the acceptability judgement task together with the participants. They were then left alone to try the two example questions, and after a brief check by me they listened to the remaining fourteen sentences in the task, providing ratings for the sentences as they went along.

The third part of the study, i.e. the mini-questionnaire, was carried out both on paper and in the form of an interview, and once participants had answered the three

questions they supplied their personal details. Finally, they were debriefed, in the process of which I told them that the study focussed on so-called *taalergernissen*, that I was interested in their perception of speakers who use such forms, and that I aimed to find out whether there were any differences in perception between social groups in this respect, and between educational groups in particular. After the debriefing all participants received a small gift in thanks for their time and involvement.

4.8 Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have described the design and purposes of the radio task, the acceptability judgement task and the mini-questionnaire that form part of a multi-modal method which I adopted to examine the effect of level of education on Dutch "Randstad" women's perception and evaluation of spoken Dutch usage problems. The radio task aimed to indirectly tap into speakers' awareness of usage problems and in their attitudes towards users of usage problems while the acceptability judgement task was a more direct method for retrieving acceptability ratings and self-report ratings for spoken sentences that contained usage problems. In addition to these tasks, a mini-questionnaire was set up to get an understanding of speakers' linguistic insecurity. The subsequent part of the chapter described which personal questions were posed to get insight into social variables. Furthermore, in section 4.5 I explained which adjustments were made to the original experimental design and why this was necessary, and subsequently I described the participants, the materials, the location and the general procedure that were used in the final experiment (section 4.6). In the following chapter the results will be discussed.

Chapter 5 Results

In this chapter I will provide the results of the radio task (section 6.1), the acceptability judgement task (section 6.2), the mini-questionnaire (section 6.3), and the questions about the importance of using correct written and spoken Dutch (section 6.4). The final section, section 6.5, includes a summary of the main results and some final remarks.

5.1 Recognition of usage problems in the radio task

5.1.1 The participants who recognized at least one usage problem

In total, 15 of the 45 participants explicitly commented on one or more usage problems in the radio task: one individual with an MBO degree, four speakers with an HBO degree and ten with a WO degree did so. Because the two variables of interest – i.e. education (MBO, HBO, WO) and identification (yes, no) – were categorical, a Pearson's chi-square test was performed using IBM SPSS Statistics (Version 22). The test results revealed a significant association between level of education and whether or not participants identified one or more usage problems ($\chi^2(2) = 12.60$, $p<0.05$). The test indicated that the MBO group did not significantly differ from the HBO group, but that these two groups did differ convincingly from the WO group. A significantly higher number of the WO participants identified one or more usage problems.

5.1.2 Types of usage problems recognized

When participants commented on a usage problem, they either did so on speaker 2B's non-standard use of conjunction **als* in comparatives of inequality (11 comments) or on the radio presenter's use of subject **hun* (11 comments). As is reflected in Table 14, the WO speakers in particular identified these features. Hardly any participants commented on the usage problems *een aantal (…) ging/*gingen* and the adverbs *heel/*hele*, which to me implies that in informal spoken Dutch these variants are unmarked (but also see the discussion in Chapter 7). Furthermore, from Table 14 it follows that the usage problems from the top of Van Bezooijen's (2003) list were recognized more often than the ones that were positioned towards the bottom.

The comments relating to *een aantal (…) ging*, the adverbs *heel* and **hele* and the conjunction *dan* did not necessarily deal with the incorrectness of the variants, and in this respect they appear to differ from the comments about **hun* and **als*. First, some of the comments suggest that the participants may not have spotted the usage problems. For example, participant P17 pointed out that *heel* was used a lot, which to her indicated

that the speaker wished to emphasize certain matters in her story. Additionally, speakers expressed contrasting views about single variants. For instance, whereas participant P26 indicated that the stimulus sentence *Een aantal drempels was te hoog* contained *veel fouten* ("many mistakes"), participant P36 wrote down the same sentence followed by = *goed* ("is correct). Finally, as is illustrated by P36's point too, certain participants commented on the correct use of a variant. Participant P42, for instance, observed that *correct "dan ik" doen veel mensen fout* ("correct than I, many people get it wrong").

Table 14: Number of MBO, HBO and WO graduates who commented at least once on the prescribed or non-standard variant of the usage problems included in the radio task.

Variant used in fragment	Level of education		
	MBO	HBO	WO
**een aantal* + plural verb	-	-	-
een aantal + singular verb	-	1	1
adverb *heel*	1	-	-
adverb **hele*	-	1	-
conjunction *dan* in comparatives of inequality	-	-	1
conjunction **als* in comparatives of inequality	-	3	8
subject **hun*	1	1	9

5.1.3 Social judgements

In this section, I will report on the social judgements that the MBO, HBO and WO graduates – who identified a usage problem – made about the radio personages who used usage problems. Because the features **als/dan* and **hun/zij* were identified relatively more often by participants (see section 5.1.2), only the results for these two usage problems will be presented for reasons of representativeness, divided into two sections about the replies of participants to the open questions (section 5.1.3a) and to the closed questions (section 5.1.3b).

5.1.3a Social judgements based on the open-ended questions

Table 15 shows that eight of the eleven participants who commented on conjunction **als* in the radio show expressed seemingly negative views about the social status and/or the intelligence or educational background of this speaker. This appears to tie in with the observations made by Van der Van der Horst & Marschall (2000) and Van Van Hout (2006). However, I would not go so far as to say that the participants believed the rule-transgressors spoke "an inferior type of Dutch", as Bennis (2003) put it. Although respondents used terms like *fout* ("error"), *verkeerd woordgebruik* ("wrong word use")

and *taalfouten* ("language mistakes"), some of them still call the speaker's language use *doorsnee* ("average") and *wel netjes* ("quite neat", P31), or they appear to support the speaker by saying that he *zich niet zo druk maakt over juist taalgebruik* ("does not worry too much about proper language use", P17). Furthermore, participant P45 called the norm-transgressor *hoogopgeleid* ("more highly educated") despite the fact that she caught him using the usage problem.

Table 15: The answers that were given to open-ended questions 1,5 and 6 by the eleven participants who observed conjunction **als* – and, in the case of P42, *dan* – in comparatives of inequality in the radio show.*

ID	Question 1	Question 5	Question 6
P17	*spreekt niet heel goed Nederlands*	*hij een aantal keer als i.p.v. dan gebruikt*	*hij zich niet zo druk maakt over juist taalgebruik*
P22	*spreekt met een r uit Leiden*	*hij vaak als zegt en zich vergelijkt met anderen*	*hij vaak hetzelfde zegt*
P23	*keurig*	*hij "beter als" zegt in plaats van "beter dan"*	***[e]** hij misschien toch minder hoog is opgeleid als ik dacht*
P31	*netjes, rustig*	*als/dan-fout, doorsnee taalgebruik, wel netjes*	***[e]** de spreker bedachtzaam is en over zijn woorden nadenkt, maar meer een doener dan een lezer is*
P35	***[s]** komt van het platteland (Groene Hart)*	*minder als, lange zinnen, maakt fout minder als i.p.v. dan*	***[s]** hij uit een dorp komt o.g.v. stijlfouten (komen veel voor in Groene Hart)*
P36	*als/dan fout 2x*	***[i]** grammaticale fouten, komt simpel over*	***[i]** vriendelijk, maar minder intelligent*
P38	*als ik, als, niet goed in grammatica*	*hij gebruik gelijk en ongelijkheden foutief (als/dan)*	***[i]** hij dat niet snapt/door heeft*
P42 *dan*	*aardig, geordend*	*correct "dan ik" (doen veel mensen fout), "ludieker", wel over het algemeen kortere zinnen*	-
P42	*aardig, rustig*	*"als ik", "als verwacht" i.p.v. dan*	***[e]** hierdoor trok ik de conclusie MBO*
P43	*opgewekt, gezellig*	*verkeerd woordgebruik (als ik), makkelijk woordgebruik*	***[i]** simpele spreker, vrolijk maar moet beter op zijn taalgebruik letten*
P44	***[s]** 'hee hallo' een beetje plat, ordinair type*	*hij taalfouten maakt; geen moeilijke woorden "als ik", "wat dat betreft", "top" gebruikt*	***[i]** het een eenvoudige maar aardige jongen is*
P45	***[e]** hoogopgeleid*	*'als ik' wordt veel gebruikt*	***[e]** hoogopgeleid*

* The colours of the cells and the letters between square brackets indicate that answers may be categorized as social judgements relating to education [e] (red cells), intelligence [i] (blue cells), and social status [s] (yellow cells).

In comparison to the speaker who used **als*, participants less frequently branded the radio personage who used subject **hun* as lower educated, less intelligent or as having a lower social status. As reflected in Table 16, just three respondents made suggestions of this type. Interestingly, the presenter was not considered less intelligent by anyone, for the one remark about the radio presenter's intelligence actually is positive. Moreover, several participants pointed out that the radio presenter seemed quite capable of speaking Dutch properly. They noted, for instance, that she used *veel goede en nette woorden* ("many good and proper words" P4), that she was *lekker gebekt*

("someone who talks easily" P34), *welbespraakt* ("speaks well"), and that she had a *goede beheersing taal* ("good command of language" P41). Respondents also ascribed the radio presenter's mistake to other factors, such as to her enthusiasm (P45). That using subject **hun* may have its consequences is demonstrated by the correction that participant P4 made when she became aware that the speaker used this variant (see Table 16).

Table 16: The answers that the eleven participants who observed subject **hun* in the radio programme provided for open-ended questions 1,5 and 6.

ID	Question 1	Question 5	Question 6
P4	~~*Goed nld, netjes taalgebruik*~~ *hun*	~~*hun*~~ *ze gebruikte niet altijd correct nld -> vb hun*	*de presentatrice gebruikte veel goede en nette woorden, maar maakte ook een aantal fouten vb: hun. Dat viel me echter past aan het einde van het fragment op.*
P17	-	*ze vaak hun i.p.v. zij zei, ze verder zorgvuldig haar woorden kiest*	*ze doet haar best, maar het kan beter*
P31	***[e]*** *lagere opleiding of ..*	***[e]*** *fout als "kijken wat hun zeggen", verder redelijk afwisselend. Ze deed het best leuk, maar te horen is dat zij niet hoger opgeleid is.*	-
	[s] *.. afkomstig uit lager milieu, enthousiast*		
P34	***[e]*** *ze is niet hoogopgeleid*	*hun i.p.v. zij, meer fouten in taalgebruik*	*ze is lekker gebekt, maar haar Nederlands is niet heel goed*
P36	*hun fout, leenwoorden*	*benaderbaar, oprechte interesse, doorvragen*	*zij waarschijnlijk een groot deel van de bevolking aanspreekt*
P38	***[i]*** *netjes, jonge vrouw, veel algemene kennis*	*hun hebben? hun? ziet niet in dat dit bezittelijk is*	***[i]*** *ze heeft veel algemene kennis*
P41	*goede beheersing taal, vlotte zinnen*	*goede zinnen, snel antwoord vormen op bellers, "hun" i.p.v. "zij"*	*zij veel praat*
P42	*spontaan, enthousiast*	*'hun hebben' (deze fout kan echt niet), "hun" i.p.v. zij, kijken wat "hun" zeggen*	***[e]*** *hierdoor twijfelde ik over HBO of MBO*
P43	*vrolijk, welbespraakt, sociaal*	*soms verkeerd woordgebruik (hun), koppelwoorden*	*sociale spreker, toegankelijk*
P44	*dat zij al spreekt voordat zij denkt*	*foutje 'hun' i.p.v. zij; kort door de bocht*	*zij overenthousiast is en dat gaat ten koste van haar taalgebruik*
P45	*sympathiek*	*hun zeggen*	*incorrect Nederlands*

* The colours of the cells and the letters between square brackets indicate that answers may be categorized as social judgements relating to education [e] (red cells), intelligence [i] (blue cells), and social status [s] (yellow cells).

5.1.3b Social judgements based on the closed-ended questions

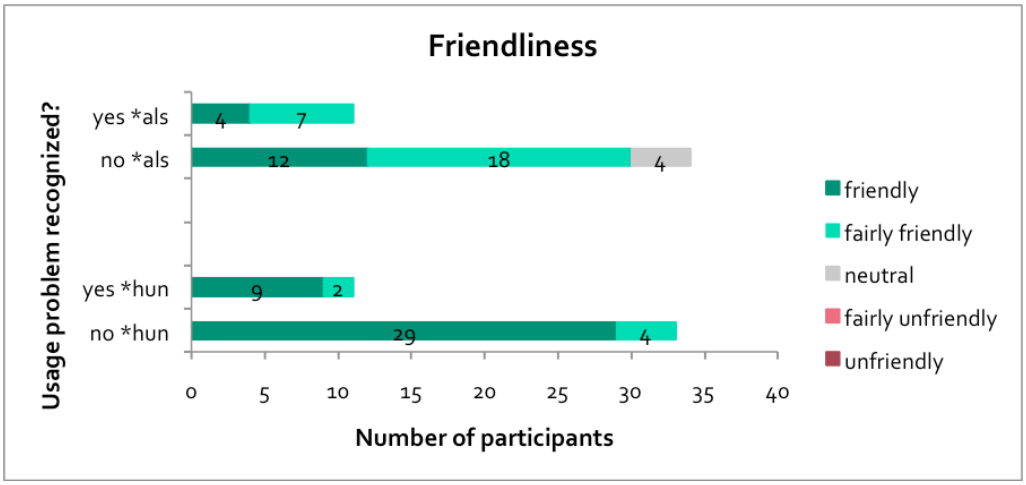
In this section, the results are presented for the closed-ended questions about the (a) friendliness, (b) intelligence, (c) energeticness, (d) fondness of reading, (e) moodiness, (f) communicativeness, and (g) level of education of the speakers who used subject **hun* and the conjunction **als* in comparatives of inequality on the radio show. Additionally, informants' speculations about the profession of the **als*-speaker will be discussed, as will their views on the type of Dutch that was used by the radio presenter. In the sub-sections below, I will make a distinction between the observant group (i.e. the

participants who explicitly commented on *_hun_ or *_als_) and the non-observant group (i.e. the participants who did not do so).

(a) Friendliness

The semantic differential scale about friendliness in the questions about the speakers on the radio show ranged from one (*vriendelijk*, "friendly") to five (*onvriendelijk*, "unfriendly"). As the groups' mean ratings (indicated by $\bar{x}$) and the standard deviations (σ) suggest, the participants from the observant group ($\bar{x}$=1.2, σ =0.4) and the non-observant group ($\bar{x}$=1.2, σ =0.3) both believed that the radio presenter, who used subject *_hun_, was a friendly person. The groups assigned similar scores to the speaker who used conjunction *_als_ (observant group $\bar{x}$=1.6, σ =0.5; non-observant group $\bar{x}$=1.8, σ =0.7). The relatively low standard deviations suggest that the data was centered around the means. Figure 2 illustrates that this was indeed the case: nobody regarded the speakers as "unfriendly" or "fairly unfriendly".

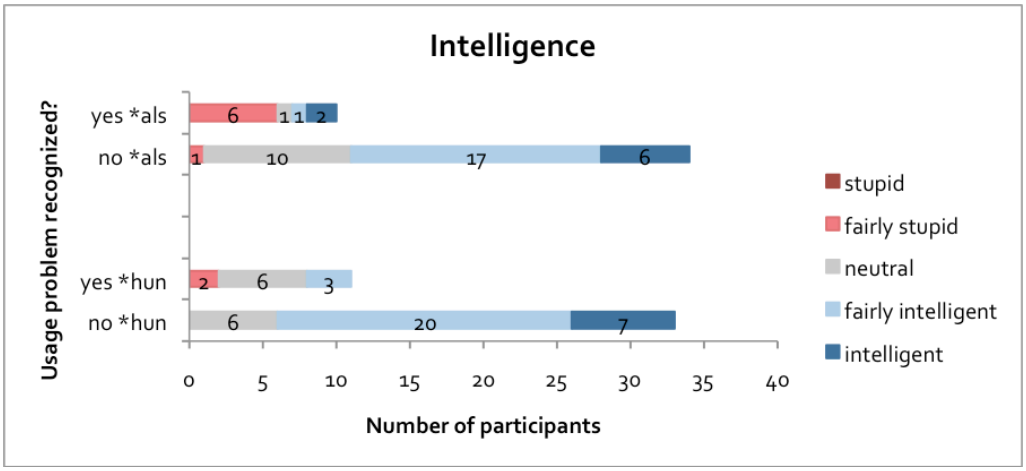
Figure 2: Friendliness of the speakers who used subject *_hun_ or conjunction *_als_ in comparatives of inequality, as rated by the participants of the observant and non-observant groups.



(b) Intelligence

The semantic differential scale about the intelligence of the speakers ranged from one (*dom*, "silly, stupid") to five (*intelligent*). The mean scores demonstrate that the observant group ($\bar{x}$=2.9, σ =1.3) considered the speaker who used conjunction *_als_ to be less intelligent than the non-observant group ($\bar{x}$=3.8, σ =0.8) did. The same was true for the radio presenter who used subject *_hun_: on average the observant group scored her a lower rating (i.e. $\bar{x}$=3.1, σ =0.7) than the non-observant group ($\bar{x}$=4.0, σ =0.6) did. Figure 3 illustrates that the participants who had the most negative views were generally from the observant group.

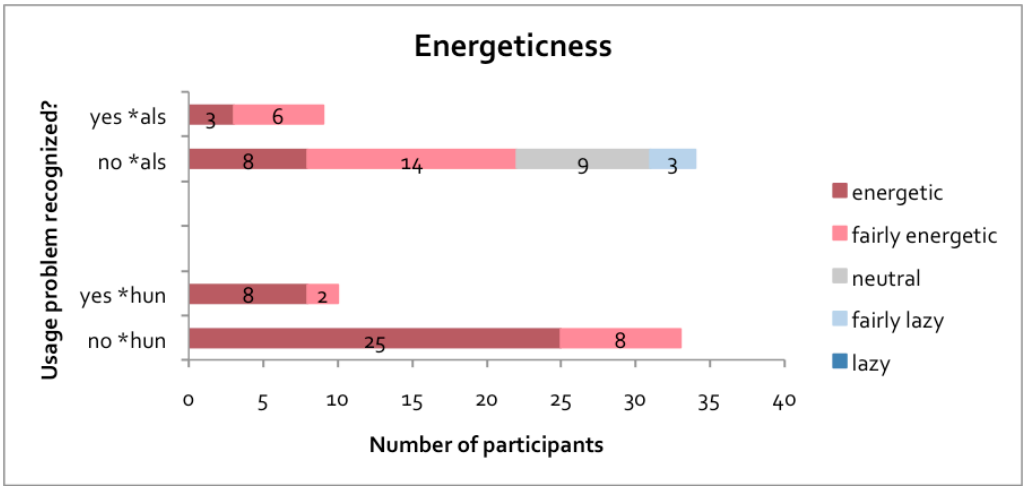
Figure 3: Intelligence of the speakers who used subject **hun* or conjunction **als* in comparatives of inequality, as rated by the participants of the observant and non-observant groups.



(c) Energeticness

The semantic differential scale about energeticness ranged from one (*energiek*, "energetic") to five (*lui*, "lazy"). On average, the observant group ($\bar{x}$=1.7, σ =0.5) and non-observant group ($\bar{x}$=2.2, σ =0.9) assigned quite similar ratings to the speaker who used conjunction **als* in comparatives of inequality, judging the speaker to be fairly energetic. As Figure 4 reflects, the mean rating and standard deviation of the non-observant group are somewhat higher because nine of the respondents in this group adopted a neutral opinion and three considered the speaker to be fairly lazy. The radio presenter who used subject **hun* received almost identical ratings from the observant ($\bar{x}$=1.2, σ =0.4) and non-observant groups ($\bar{x}$=1.2, σ =0.4), an observation that also can be made from Figure 4, and the general opinion was that the speaker seemed energetic.

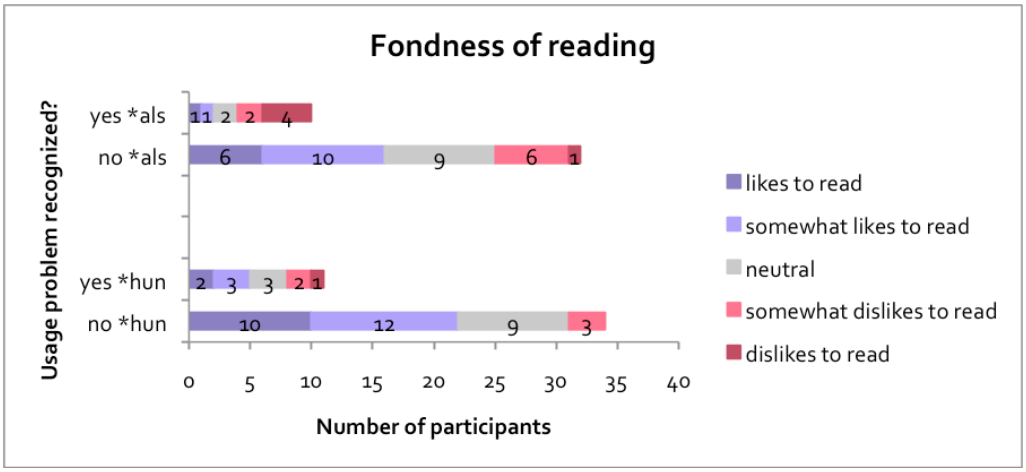
Figure 4: Energeticness of the speakers who used subject **hun* or conjunction **als* in comparatives of inequality, as rated by the speakers of the observant and non-observant groups.



(d) Fondness of reading

The semantic differential scale about the presumed fondness of reading of the speaker ranged from one (*leest graag*, "enjoys reading") to five (*leest niet graag*, "does not enjoy reading"). From the mean scores, it appears that the observant group ($\bar{x}$=3.7, σ =1.4) estimated speaker 2B, who used conjunction **als*, to be less fond of reading than the non-observant group ($\bar{x}$=2.6, σ =1.1) did. The speaker who used subject **hun* likewise received a slightly higher rating (i.e. $\bar{x}$=2.7, σ =1.3) from the observant group as compared to the non-observant group ($\bar{x}$=2.2, σ =1.0). However, Figure 5 demonstrates that the distributions of the scores in fact are fairly similar across groups. The means of the observant groups were relatively higher because they were affected more strongly by some extreme values than the means of the non-observant group were – an effect of the size of the participant sample. So, any evidence for a difference between the ratings of the two groups appears weak.

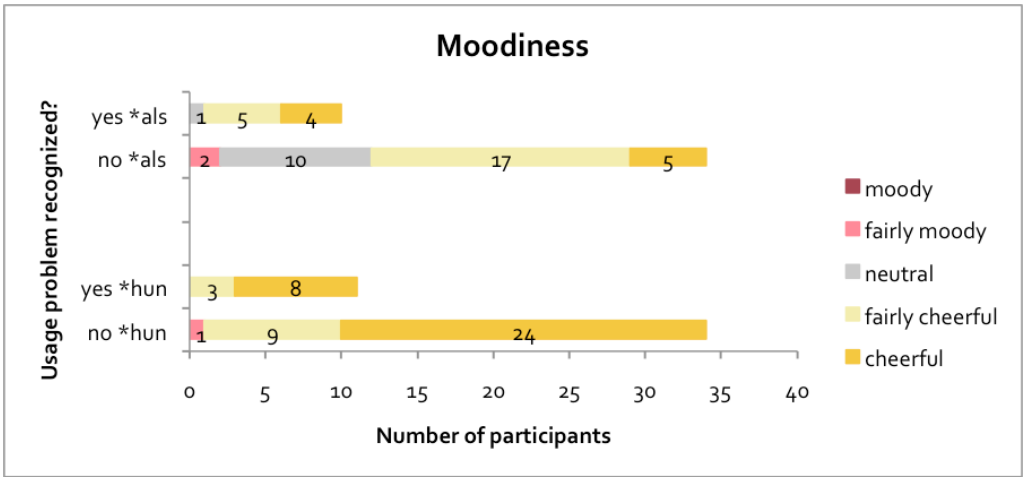
Figure 5: Fondness of reading of the speakers who used subject **hun* or conjunction **als* in comparatives of inequality, as rated by the speakers of the observant and non-observant groups.



(e) Moodiness

As Figure 6 demonstrates, participants did not assign strongly different scores about the two speakers' moods depending on whether they recognized the usage problems or not. With respect to the speaker who used conjunction **als* in comparatives of inequality, both the observant group ($\bar{x}$=4.3, σ =0.7) and the non-observant group ($\bar{x}$=3.7, σ =0.8) provided relatively high mean ratings. Since the semantic differential scale about moodiness ranged from one (*humeurig*, "moody") to five (*opgewekt*, "cheerful"), participants thus generally thought that this speaker was fairly cheerful – although quite a few of them also adopted a neutral opinion (see Figure 6). The two groups also agreed, on average, that the radio presenter who used subject **hun* was a cheerful person (observant group $\bar{x}$=4.7, σ =0.5; non-observant group $\bar{x}$=4.7, σ =0.6).

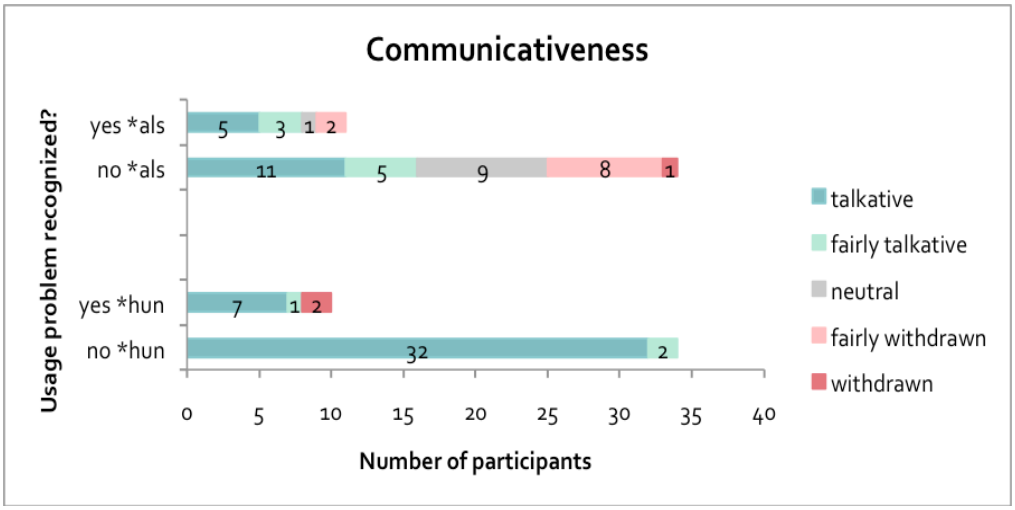
Figure 6: Moodiness of the speakers who used subject **hun* or conjunction **als* in comparatives of inequality, as rated by the participants of the observant and non-observant groups.



(f) Communicativeness

The semantic differential scale about communicativeness ranged from one (*spraakzaam*, "talkative") to five (*teruggetrokken*, "withdrawn"). Although the mean scores suggest that the observant group ($\bar{x}$=2.0, σ =1.2) and non-observant group ($\bar{x}$=2.5, σ =1.3) believed the speaker who used **als* in comparatives of inequality to be fairly talkative in general, Figure 7 shows that quite some of the participants expressed a neutral view or indicated that he seemed fairly withdrawn too. In comparison, participants much more strongly agreed about the communicativeness of the radio presenter who used subject **hun*: both the observant group (i.e. $\bar{x}$=1.9, σ =1.7) and the non-observant group ($\bar{x}$=1.1, σ =0.2) thought that she was fairly talkative to talkative, with just two participants from the observant group expressing a different view.

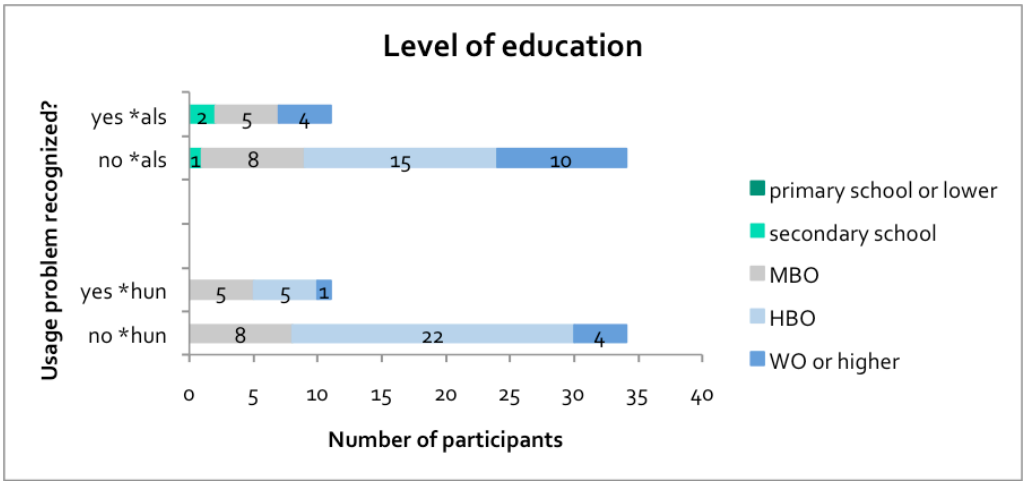
Figure 7: Communicativeness of the speakers who used subject **hun* or conjunction **als* in comparatives of inequality, as rated by the observant group and the non-observant group.



(g) Level of education

The multiple-choice question about the presumed level of education of the speakers provided five possible answers, which formed a scale ranging from one (*basisschool of lager*, "primary school or lower") to five (*universiteit of hoger*, "university or higher"). The mean scores demonstrate that the observant group ($\bar{x}$=3.6, σ =1.2) considered speaker 2B, who used conjunction **als*, only slightly less highly educated than the non-observant group ($\bar{x}$=4.0, σ =0.8) did, but as Figure 8 reflects the ratings of the two groups are distributed rather similarly. A comparable outcome was obtained for the radio presenter who used subject **hun*: the observant group scored her only a slightly a lower rating (i.e. $\bar{x}$=3.6, σ =0.7) than the non-observant group ($\bar{x}$=3.9, σ =0.6). The idea that rule-transgressors are typically branded as lower-educated thus is not very convincingly supported by my multiple choice data.

Figure 8: Education of the speakers who used subject **hun* or conjunction **als* in comparatives of inequality, as estimated by the participants of the observant and non-observant groups.



*(h) Profession of the speaker who used conjunction *als in comparatives of inequality*

Participants of both the observant group and the non-observant groups expressed mixed views about the supposed profession of the speaker who used conjunction **als* in comparatives of inequality. As Table 17 below shows, five of the participants in the non-observant group named professions that may be linked to more highly educated speakers, and six of them referred to jobs associated with less highly educated speakers. Similarly, approximately half the participants of the non-observant group (18.5, 54%) referred to professions that may be connected to more highly educated speakers, and half of them (15.5, 46%) named jobs associated with less highly educated speakers.

Table 17: Number of participants of the observant and the non-observant groups who assigned a particular profession to speaker 2B, who used conjunction **als* in comparatives of inequality.*

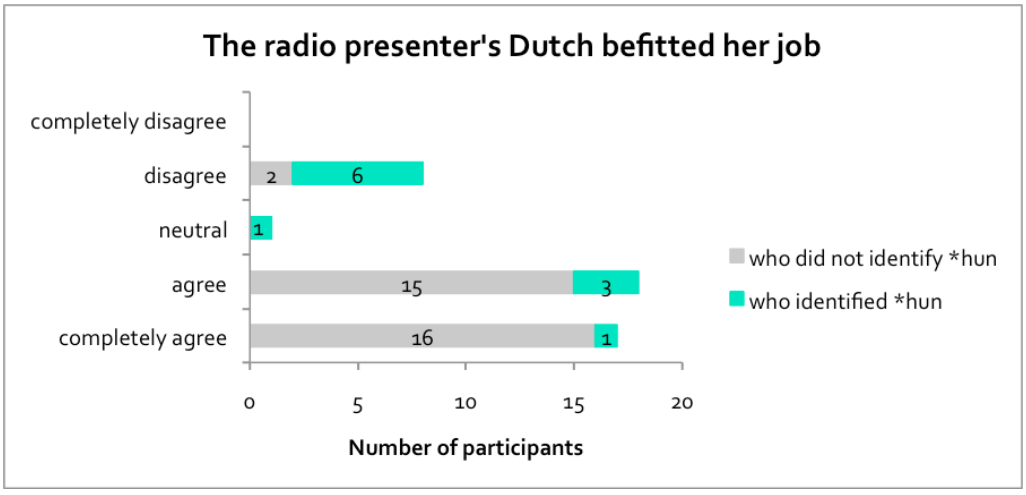
Observant group	Non-observant group	
geluidstechnicus (3)	*geluidstechnicus* (5)	***makelaar*** (2)
postbode (2)	*supermarktmedewerker* (4)	***student geschiedenis*** (1)
glazenwasser (1)	*bakker* (3)	***bankmedewerker*** (1)
architect (2)	*zwemmer* (1)	***journalist*** (1)
apotheker (1)	*verkoper* (1)	***apotheker*** (1)
advocaat (1)	*verpleeghulp zorginstelling* (1)	***advocaat*** (1)
makelaar (1)	*nieuwslezer/geluidstechnicus* (0.5)	***leerkracht basisschool*** (1)
	architect (3)	***huisarts/advocaat*** (1)
	huisarts (2)	***evenementen-organisatie*** (1)
	universitair docent (2)	***politiek*** (1)
		nieuwslezer/geluidstechnicus (0.5)

* A distinction is made between professions associated with more highly educated speakers (**bold font**) and less highly educated speakers (normal font). The categorization is mine.

(i) Appropriateness of the type of Dutch used by the radio presenter

Finally, the participants provided ratings ranging from one (*geheel mee eens*, "completely agree") to five (*helemaal niet mee eens*, "completely disagree") to indicate to what extent they agreed that the Dutch used by the radio presenter befitted her profession. The mean scores demonstrate that the non-observant group ($\bar{x}$=1.6, σ =0.8) was rather positive about how well the radio presenter's Dutch befitted her occupation, whereas the observant group ($\bar{x}$=3.1, σ =1.1) on average adopted a more neutral attitude.

Figure 18: Evaluations of the statement "The type of Dutch used by the radio presenter befitted her profession" (N=44), as provided by the observant and non-observant groups.



The frequency details in Figure 18 show, furthermore, that not all respondents who noticed subject **hun* subsequently provided negative judgements about the user. In fact, four of the participants who had previously commented on the radio presenter's incorrect use of subject **hun* nevertheless judged the presenter's Dutch to be appropriate (3 participants) or completely appropriate (1). None of the participants appears to have considered the radio presenter's Dutch extremely inappropriate

because of her use of subject **hun*, for nobody indicated that they completely disagreed with the statement.

5.2 Evaluation of usage problems in the acceptability judgement task

In the sub-sections below, mean scores of the ratings of each educational group will be provided. The mean scores relating to the questions about acceptability may range on a scale ranging from one (*acceptabel*, "acceptable") to five (*onacceptabel*, "unacceptable"). Likewise the self-report ratings could range from one (*zeer dichtbij*, "very close") to five (*zeer ver weg*, "very removed") to reflect the proximity of a stimulus sentence to the language use of participants, as estimated by participants themselves. Furthermore, I carried out Kruskall-Wallis tests – the test values of which will be signalled by (*H*) – as this type of test is non-parametric and thus allowed me to test for differences between the three independent groups despite the fact that the data violated the assumptions for parametric tests (Field 2009: 559).

5.2.1 Checking responses to examples and fillers

5.2.1a Responses to example sentences

The acceptability scores for example sentence (1), which included a usage problem, and for example (2), which was a Standard Dutch sentence were not significantly affected by the variable education (see Appendix G, Table G1), with the exception of example (1) for the social context of a friend ($H(2) = 6.30$, $p<.05$). As regards this exception, the ratings of the HBO group ($\bar{x}=2.4$) proved to be higher than those of the MBO group ($\bar{x}=1.7$), which difference was significant ($p=.015$). Interestingly, the WO group was as tolerant as the MBO group of a friend's use of the sentence, as their mean rating of 1.7 indicates.

How acceptable did the participants consider the examples to be? The overall mean scores for example (1) – i.e. for a colleague ($\bar{x}=2.4$), teacher ($\bar{x}=3.2$), minister ($\bar{x}=4.1$) – reflect that participants felt that this example became less acceptable as the social context became more formal. The overall mean ratings for the second sentence – i.e. for a friend ($\bar{x}=1.3$), colleague ($\bar{x}=1.2$), teacher ($\bar{x}=1.4$) and minister ($\bar{x}=1.5$) – suggest that the participants regarded the SD sentence as acceptable, independent of the social context.

Finally, the self-reports for neither of the example sentences were significantly affected by the variable education. The overall mean rating for the first example ($\bar{x}=3.0$) demonstrates that participants tended to give a neutral answer, not really distancing themselves from the sentence, but also not embracing it. For the second example, the overall mean score ($\bar{x}=1.8$) suggests that participants viewed the SD sentence to be fairly close to their own language use.

5.2.1b Responses to ungrammatical filler sentences

The acceptability ratings for the ungrammatical filler sentences (4) and (11) were significantly affected by the variable education in each of the four social contexts. The Kruskal-Wallis test statistics for filler (4) demonstrate that, for the social contexts of a friend ($H(2) = 10.73$, $p<.05$), colleague ($H(2) = 10.60$, $p<.05$), teacher ($H(2) = 8.48$, $p<.05$) and minister ($H(2) = 8.86$, $p<.05$), there is a difference between the educational groups. This is also true for sentence (11), as the following test statistics illustrate: friend ($H(2) = 10.32$, $p<.05$), colleague ($H(2) = 10.30$, $p<.05$), teacher ($H(2) = 6.96$, $p<.05$) and minister ($H(2) = 6.47$, $p<.05$).

The details of the Kruskal-Wallis test for (4) reveal that particularly the MBO and WO group provided significantly different ratings in all social contexts, i.e. in that of a friend ($p=.001$), colleague ($p=.001$), teacher ($p=.013$) and minister ($p=.007$). The mean group scores demonstrate that while the MBO graduates were quite neutral about a friend's ($\bar{x}=2.7$), colleague's ($\bar{x}=3.1$), teacher's ($\bar{x}=3.0$) or minister's ($\bar{x}=3.2$) use of an ungrammatical sentence, the WO graduates, by contrast, judged this to be rather unacceptable, as their higher mean ratings for a friend ($\bar{x}=4.5$), colleague ($\bar{x}=4.6$), teacher ($\bar{x}=4.5$) and minister ($\bar{x}=4.5$) reveal. Additionally, the scores of the MBO group also differed from those of the HBO group for the social contexts of a teacher ($p=.011$) and a minister ($p=.013$). Like the WO graduates, the HBO graduates considered a teacher's ($\bar{x}=4.6$) and minister's ($\bar{x}=4.6$) use of the filler fairly unacceptable.

For filler (11) a similar pattern was found. Again, particularly the MBO and WO groups provided significantly different ratings for a friend ($p=.001$), colleague ($p=.001$), teacher ($p=.015$) and minister ($p=.040$). The means likewise show that the MBO graduates were quite neutral about a friend's ($\bar{x}=2.5$), colleague's ($\bar{x}=2.7$), teacher's ($\bar{x}=3.3$) or minister's ($\bar{x}=3.3$) use of the filler, but that the WO speakers judged it to be fairly unacceptable, as their high mean ratings for a friend ($\bar{x}=4.1$), colleague ($\bar{x}=4.3$), teacher ($\bar{x}=4.5$) and minister ($\bar{x}=4.4$) demonstrate. Finally, similar to what was found for filler (4), the MBO group differed from the HBO group for the contexts of a teacher ($p=.035$) and a minister ($p=.020$), in the sense that the HBO graduates considered a teacher's ($\bar{x}=4.6$) and minister's ($\bar{x}=4.6$) presumed use of filler (11) rather unacceptable.

The self-reports for the ungrammatical fillers were significantly affected by level of education too, as the Kruskal-Wallis test statistics demonstrate for sentences (4) ($H(2)^{ex1} = 12.24$, $p<.05$) and (11) ($H(2)^{ex2} = 7.94$, $p<.05$). With respect to filler (4), the MBO group and WO group produced rather different self-report scores ($p=.001$), as did the MBO group as compared to the HBO group ($p=.009$). The mean ratings of the groups (i.e. MBO $\bar{x}=3.3$, HBO $\bar{x}=4.5$, WO $\bar{x}=4.7$) illustrate that the HBO and WO speakers quite

strongly distance themselves from filler (4), as compared to the MBO speakers at least, who adopted a neutral attitude. For filler (11), the MBO group and WO group also provided different ratings (p=.005), and here too the mean scores (i.e. MBO $\bar{x}$=4.0, HBO $\bar{x}$=4.5, WO $\bar{x}$=4.9) show that the MBO graduates distanced themselves somewhat less from the ungrammatical sentence than the WO graduates did. However, this difference between the two groups is smaller for sentence (11) than (4).

5.2.1c Responses to highly formal filler sentences

The acceptability scores for the highly formal fillers – i.e. sentences (7) and (13) listed in Appendix E2 – were not affected by level of education (see Appendix G, Table G2 for the statistics). From the overall means, it appears that the respondents judged the highly formal filler sentences to be fairly acceptable or acceptable. Yet, the overall mean scores for sentence (7) – i.e. friend ($\bar{x}$=2.2), colleague ($\bar{x}$=2.1), teacher ($\bar{x}$=1.6), minister ($\bar{x}$=1.4) – indicate that participants generally felt that the highly formal sentences befitted teachers and ministers somewhat better than friends or colleagues. The mean ratings for sentence (13) – i.e. friend ($\bar{x}$=2.4), colleague ($\bar{x}$=2.3), teacher ($\bar{x}$=1.7), minister ($\bar{x}$=1.1) – are distributed according to a parallel pattern.

The self-reports for the highly formal fillers actually were affected by education, both in the case of sentence (7) (H(2) =12.57, p<.05) and in that of (13) (H(2) =10.85, p<.05). With respect to (7), the ratings of the MBO group strongly differed from those of the HBO group (p=.003) and the WO group (p=.002). The group means (i.e. MBO $\bar{x}$=4.2, HBO $\bar{x}$=2.7, WO $\bar{x}$=2.7) reveal that the MBO graduates distanced themselves more from the formal sentences – scoring the sentence a four (*ver weg*, "removed") to a five (*zeer ver weg,* "very much removed") to indicate how proximate the stimulus was to their own language use – than the HBO and WO graduates did. For filler (13) an effect equivalent to the one described for (7) was found. The MBO self-reports for (13) differed from the HBO (p=.023) and WO self-reports (p=.001), and the group means (i.e. MBO $\bar{x}$=4.3, HBO $\bar{x}$=3.3, WO $\bar{x}$=2.9) similarly show that the MBO graduates distanced themselves more from the formal sentences than the HBO or WO graduates did.

5.2.2 Acceptability of spoken sentences with usage problems

5.2.2a General results

Statistical analysis

Using the lmerTest (version 2.0-29) and LanguageR packages in R (R Core Team 2012), a linear mixed effects model was constructed. Even though my data strictly did not meet all the assumptions associated with regressions, scholars like Norman (2010) and Gibson

et al. (2011: 27) have pointed out before that "parametric tests – in particular, mixed effect regressions – work reasonably well on rating data". Following the work of these researchers, the ordinal dependent variable, i.e. the set of 5-point semantic differential scale acceptability ratings, was treated as a continuous variable, which strategy has been demonstrated to have no negative effect on the reliability of the model parameters (see e.g. Norman 2010; Kizach 2014).

First, the following model was run: acceptability ~ style * education * correctness + (1 | participant) + (style | sentence). However, none of the three-way interactions between the variables social context, education and correctness (i.e. whether the sentence carried a prescribed, correct variant or a non-standard variant) were significant. For this reason, a backward selection algorithm was used to exclude all three-way interactions from the model. This exclusion resulted in the following, second, model: accept ~ style * education + style * correctness + education * correctness + (1 | participant) + (style | sentence).

A comparison of models 1 and 2 by means of likelihood ratio tests yielded no significant differences in the fits of the two models ($\chi^2(6)=5.95$, $p=0.4288$). Nevertheless, the second model was selected because it was simpler, and this model was further reduced by removing the interaction between style and education, which eventually resulted in a third model. As is reflected in Appendix G, there were barely any significant interactions for any of the style or education parameters anyhow. The final model thus was as parsimonious as possible, and a comparison of this third model to the second model showed that the former was significantly better ($\chi^2(6)=17.486$, $p=0.007652$). The model's assumptions were checked using a residual plot, a Q-Q plot and a density plot – but these plots did not disclose any clear departures from homoscedasticity or normality (see Appendix G).

With respect to the discussion of the general effects below, it is important to keep in mind that R uses a reference level, or "intercept", of each factor. The reference level in my study was "MBO" for the factor education, "friend" for the factor social context, and "correct" for the factor correctness. A significant *p*-value indicates that there is a significant difference between such an intercept and the level considered.

A report on the general effects

As is reflected in Figure 19, the ratings for the sentences with the prescribed variants were not significantly affected by the variable education. The WO, HBO and MBO graduates strongly concurred that these sentences were, to higher or lower degrees,

acceptable. Indeed, the intercept that R uses, i.e. the MBO group in this case, did not differ significantly from the HBO group (p=.607) or the WO group (p=.746).

Figure 19: The acceptability of the stimulus-sentences that included the prescribed, standard variants of the usage problems per social context. Acceptability ratings form a scale, ranging from one ("acceptable") to five ("unacceptable"). Figure 19 is based on Model 3 in Appendix G.

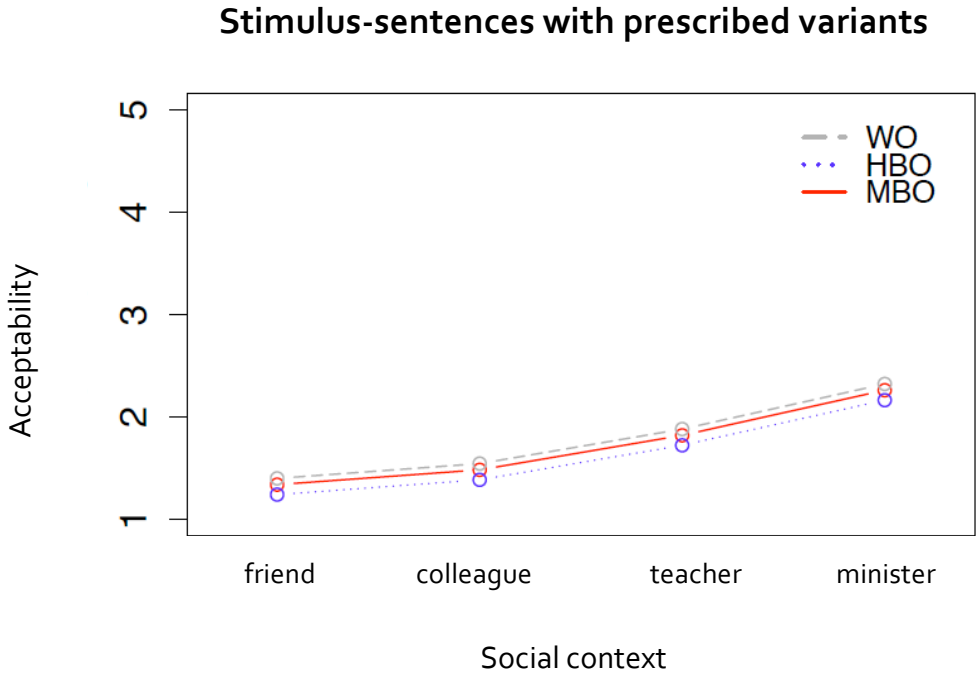
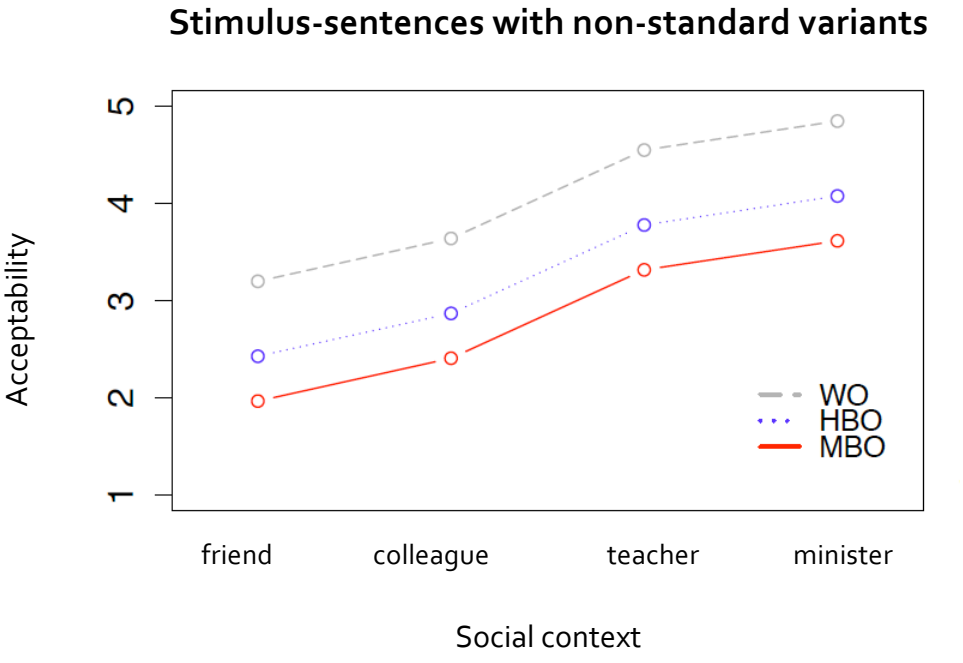


Figure 20: The acceptability of the stimulus-sentences that included the non-standard variants of the usage problems per social context. Acceptability ratings form a scale, ranging from one ("acceptable") to five ("unacceptable"). Figure 20 is based on Model 3 in Appendix G.



A main effect of style, nevertheless, emerged for the correct sentences. The acceptability ratings of these sentences can be perceived to increase – which indicates that the sentences were considered less acceptable – as formality increases. There was a significant difference between the intercept, i.e. the social context of "friend", and that of a teacher (p=.001) and minister (p<.001), though not for that of a colleague (p=.160). Participants thus did not assign different acceptability ratings depending on whether the imaginary user of the correct sentences was a friend or a colleague.

By contrast, as is reflected in Figure 20 above, the ratings for the sentences with the non-standard variants were significantly affected by the variable education. The MBO group differed significantly from the HBO group (p=.000) as well as from the WO group (p=.000). The WO, HBO and MBO graduates thus expressed rather different views on the acceptability of sentences that contained a usage problem: while on the one end of the acceptability scale the WO group most strongly rejected the incorrect sentences, the MBO group took the opposite end of the scale, adopting the most tolerant perspective. The HBO group adopted a middle position.

Additionally, a main effect of style emerged for the non-standard sentences too. There was a significant difference between the intercept, i.e. the ratings for the social context of a friend, as compared to those assigned to a colleague (p=.045), a teacher (p=.000) and a minister (p=.001). So, as the formality of the social context increased, sentences were judged less favorably.

Finally, the difference between the ratings that were assigned to the sentences with the prescribed variants and those assigned to the sentences with the non-standard variants was significant (p=.002) (compare Figures 7 and 8). The incorrect sentences were considered less acceptable than the correct sentences. While this information may seem irrelevant, it could prove that the non-standard variants included in the task still had the status of usage problems at the moment that the study was conducted.

5.2.2b Acceptability of using *kennen *for* kunnen

The acceptability ratings for the two sentences with the verb **kennen* instead of *kunnen* were significantly affected by level of education for the social contexts of a friend ($H(2) = 11.90$, $p<.05$) and a colleague ($H(2) = 9.68$, $p<.05$), but not for the domains of teacher ($H(2) = 5.49$, $p>.05$) or minister ($H(2) = 3.75$, $p>.05$). The MBO, HBO and WO speakers did not differ much in how acceptable they considered the use of **kennen* by a teacher or minister to be. As the overall means illustrate, everybody agreed that a teacher's use of the non-standard variant was fairly unacceptable ($\bar{x}$=4.1), and that a minister's use of it was even more so ($\bar{x}$=4.4).

Pairwise comparisons of the ratings indicate that the MBO and WO groups (p=.002) and the HBO and WO groups (p=.004) provided very different acceptability scores as regards a friend's use of **kennen*. The mean scores suggest that the MBO graduates ($\bar{x}$=2.1) and HBO graduates ($\bar{x}$=2.1) both considered the usage fairly acceptable, as opposed to the WO graduates ($\bar{x}$=3.6) who expressed a view that was in-between neutral and fairly unacceptable. As compared to the WO group, the MBO and HBO groups thus seem more tolerant of their friends' use of non-standard variants like **kennen*.

The acceptability scores for a colleague's use of sentences with **kennen* were distributed according to a pattern similar to the one described above. In this case too pairwise comparisons of the ratings show that the MBO and WO groups (p=.010) on the one hand, and the HBO and WO groups (p=.005) on the other hand, provided very different acceptability ratings for a colleague's use of **kennen*. As the mean scores reveal, the MBO graduates ($\bar{x}$=2.7) and HBO graduates ($\bar{x}$=2.6) both viewed the usage as neutral to fairly acceptable, in contrast to the WO graduates ($\bar{x}$=4.0) who judged it to be fairly unacceptable.

Finally, the sentences that contained the prescribed variant *kunnen* were not rated differently by the educational groups, independent of whether the social context was that of a friend (H(2) = 2.20, p>.05), colleague (H(2) = 1.74, p>0.05), teacher (H(2) = 1.33, p>.05) or minister (H(2) = .22, p>.05). From the overall means – i.e. friend ($\bar{x}$=1.4), colleague ($\bar{x}$=1.5), teacher ($\bar{x}$=1.6), minister ($\bar{x}$=2.1) – it follows that everybody rated these sentences as being fairly acceptable to acceptable. This appears to show that participants agree that using *kunnen* in the way that was done in the experiment was standard and thus unmarked.

5.2.2c Acceptability of subject *hun

The acceptability ratings for the two sentences with subject **hun* were significantly affected by level of education for the social contexts of a friend (H(2) = 15.93, p<.01), colleague (H(2) = 13.93, p<.05), and a teacher (H(2) = 13.49, p<.05), but not for the domain of minister (H(2) = 5.47, p>.05). Participants from the MBO, HBO and WO group did not differ much in how acceptable they considered the use of **hun* by a minister to be. Everybody agreed that a minister's use of subject **hun* was fairly unacceptable, as the overall mean suggests ($\bar{x}$=4.5).

From a pairwise comparison of the scores from the three educational groups it appears that the acceptability of a friend's use of subject **hun* decreases as level of education increases. While one comparison did not yield a statistically significant result

(i.e. MBO-HBO, *p*=.062), the comparison of the MBO-WO (*p*=.000) and HBO-WO (*p*=.040) groups' scores did do so. The mean scores of the MBO group ($\bar{x}$=1.9), HBO group ($\bar{x}$=2.7) and WO group ($\bar{x}$=3.8) suggest that the WO graduates were least tolerant of a friend's use of subject **hun*, while the HBO graduates adopted a somewhat neutral attitude and the MBO graduates were quite liberal.

With respect to the acceptability of a colleague's use of subject **hun*, pairwise comparisons similar to the ones described above showed that the ratings from the MBO group did not particularly differ from those of the HBO group (*p*=.106), but they did significantly differ from the ratings of the WO group (*p*=.000). Additionally, the scores from the HBO group differed from those of the WO group (*p*=.035). From the mean scores from the MBO group ($\bar{x}$=2.5), HBO group ($\bar{x}$=3.3) and WO group ($\bar{x}$=4.2), it seems that the WO participants were most critical of a colleague's use of **hun*, while the HBO participants reject the variant less harshly, and the MBO participants find it even somewhat acceptable.

Furthermore, the results regarding the acceptability of a teacher's use of subject **hun* indicated that especially the ratings of the MBO and HBO groups differed significantly from one other (*p*=.010), and so did the ratings that the MBO group as compared to the WO group provided (*p*=.000). The HBO group ($\bar{x}$=4.5) appears to have considered a teacher's use of subject **hun* more unacceptable than the MBO group ($\bar{x}$=3.3) did. As the mean rating of the WO group ($\bar{x}$=4.8) was even higher than that of the HBO group, indicating that WO graduates were slightly more critical, it is unsurprising that the difference in ratings between the WO and MBO groups was statistically highly significant.

Finally, as a comparison, the acceptability ratings for the two sentences with subject *zij* were not significantly affected by level of education, regardless of whether the social context was that of a friend ($H(2) = .51$, $p>.05$), colleague ($H(2) = .53$, $p>0.05$), teacher ($H(2) = .69$, $p>.05$) or minister ($H(2) = .19$, $p>.05$). As the combined means of the three educational groups illustrate – i.e. friend ($\bar{x}$=1.3), colleague ($\bar{x}$=1.4), teacher ($\bar{x}$=2.0), minister ($\bar{x}$=2.4) – participants all rated the sentences as being acceptable to higher or fairly high degrees, weakly depending on style. This may show that participants all felt that subject *zij* is relatively unmarked.

5.2.2d Acceptability of the conjunction *als

The acceptability scores for the two sentences with the conjunction **als*, the third usage problem in the experiment that I will discuss here, were also significantly affected by level of education, and this even was the case for each of the four social contexts, as will

be explained below. For the sentences that contained the prescribed conjunction *dan*, this effect of education was not present: neither for the social context of a friend ($H(2) = 5.36$, $p>.05$) nor for that of a colleague ($H(2) = 2.28$, $p>0.05$), teacher ($H(2) = .02$, $p>.05$) or minister ($H(2) = .25$, $p>.05$). The overall mean scores for the *dan*-sentences – i.e. friend ($\bar{x}=1.3$), colleague ($\bar{x}=1.5$), teacher ($\bar{x}=1.8$), minister ($\bar{x}=2.2$) – reveal that respondents considered these sentences to be fairly acceptable.

The views of participants on the acceptability of a friend's use of sentences with the non-standard variant **als* were significantly affected by level of education ($H(2) = 6.66$, $p<.05$). Pairwise comparisons of the ratings indicate that the MBO and WO groups assigned somewhat different scores ($p=.010$) to these sentences: the MBO graduates ($\bar{x}=1.6$) were most liberal of a friend's use of **als*, whereas WO graduates ($\bar{x}=2.8$) expressed a relatively neutral view. The HBO group ($\bar{x}=2.1$) positioned itself in-between the latter two groups, assigning the sentences a score of two on average, which indicates that they considered the **als*-sentences *redelijk acceptabel* ("fairly acceptable").

From the Kruskal-Wallis test that I performed for the three remaining social contexts, the exact same pattern emerged. The educational groups expressed significantly different views on the acceptability of sentences with **als* if these were imagined to be used by a colleague ($H(2) = 12.15$, $p<.05$), teacher ($H(2) = 6.85$, $p<.05$) and minister ($H(2) = 7.69$, $p<.05$). Details of the Kruskal-Wallis test indicate that, with respect to a colleague's use of **als*, the MBO group ($\bar{x}=1.7$) was more tolerant than the WO group ($\bar{x}=3.2$) ($p=.001$), with the HBO group adopting an intermediate position ($\bar{x}=2.4$). Similarly, MBO graduates were neutral ($\bar{x}=2.9$) about a teacher's use of **als* while WO graduates considered this to be fairly unacceptable ($\bar{x}=4.0$) – which difference between groups was strong once more ($p=.009$) – and the HBO group ($\bar{x}=3.4$) was in the middle. Lastly, with regard to a minister's use of **als* the WO group ($\bar{x}=4.2$) was rather negative, considering the usage fairly unacceptable, while the MBO group ($\bar{x}=2.9$) was neutral ($p=.006$). The HBO group adopted a middle position ($\bar{x}=3.7$). In sum, for each social context the more highly educated WO graduates considered the sentences with non-standard **als* much less acceptable than the less highly educated MBO graduates did.

5.2.3 Self-reported use of spoken sentences with usage problems

5.2.3a General results

Statistical analysis

For reasons similar to the ones described in 5.2.2, a linear mixed effects model was constructed to analyse the relationship between the self-reports of participants, their

level of education and correctness (i.e. any stimulus-sentence carried either the prescribed, correct variant or the non-standard, incorrect variant of a usage problem). As fixed effects, (a) the self-reported proximity of a sentence to the language use of participants ("self-reports"), (b) the correctness of the stimulus variant and (c) education – with interaction terms – were entered into the model. As random effects, I had intercepts for participant, which "characterizes idiosyncratic variation that is due to individual differences" (Winter 2013b: 3), and for sentence, which characterizes variation that is due to differences between sentences. The final model that was run may be summarized as follows: self-reports ~ correctness * education + (1 | participant) + (1 | sentence).

The model's assumptions were checked using residual plots. As is reflected in Appendix G, these plots did not disclose any clear departures from homoscedasticity or normality, which implies that the model's assumptions were met. While reading the results below, it is important to observe that the intercept that R used for my analysis was "MBO" for the factor education and "correct" for the factor correctness (see section 5.2.2a for an explanation on the concept of intercept).

A report on the general effects

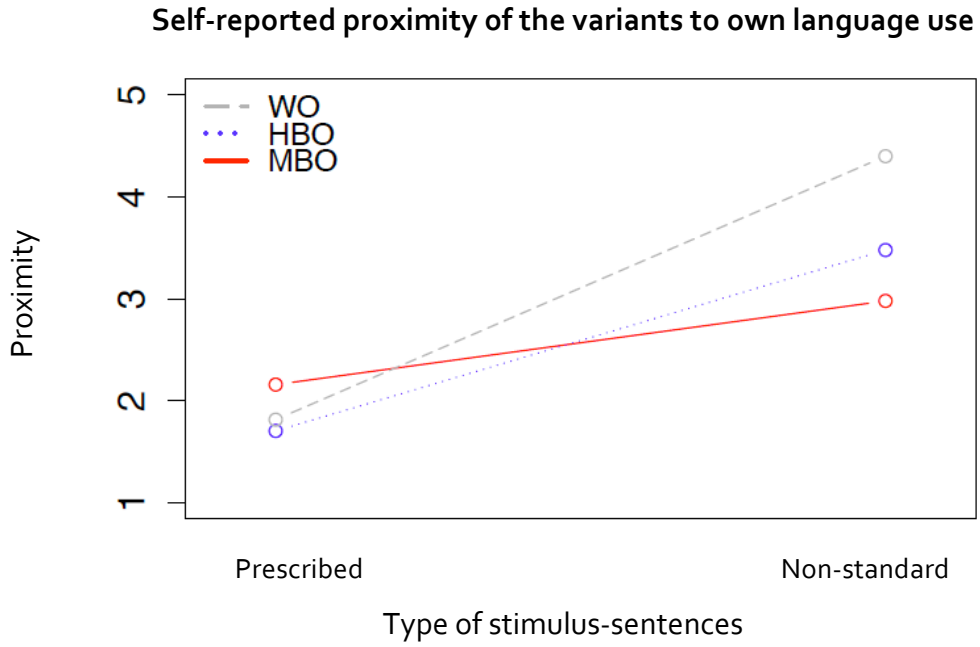
As Figure 21 below illustrates, the ratings for the sentences with the prescribed variants were hardly affected by the variable education. The WO, HBO and MBO graduates generally agreed that these sentences were, to higher or lower degrees, close to their own language use. Indeed, the intercept that R uses, i.e. the ratings of the MBO group in this case, did not differ significantly from those of the WO group (p=.128), and it only just differed significantly from those of the HBO group (p=.045). The details in the figure demonstrate that the HBO graduates relatively more firmly indicated that the correct sentences were close to their own language than the remaining two groups did.

By contrast, the sentences with the non-standard variants were strongly affected by the variable education. The MBO group differed significantly from the HBO group (p=.000) and from the WO group (p=.000). Figure 21 demonstrates that the HBO speakers tried to distance themselves more firmly from the sentences that contained non-standard features than the MBO speakers did, while the WO speakers distanced themselves from the features to even higher degrees.

A final general observation that may be made is that the general difference between the self-report ratings assigned to the sentences with the prescribed variants and those assigned to the sentences with the non-standard variants was significant (p=.000). The correct sentences were considered to be much closer to the participants'

language use than the incorrect sentences were. A discussion of what the self-report results may and may not reflect will be provided in Chapter 7.

Figure 21: The proximity of the sentences with the prescribed and non-standard variants to participants' own language use (1=very close, 5=very removed). Figure 21 is based on Model 4 in Appendix G. (To visualize differences between the two conditions, a line was added that links the values for each educational group. These lines do not exemplify a linear relationship.)



5.2.3b Self-reported use of *kennen *for* kunnen

The self-reports for the two sentences in which the verb **kennen* was used for *kunnen* were significantly affected by level of education ($H(2) = 8.56$, $p<.05$), an effect that was not present for the sentences with the standard variant *kunnen* ($H(2) = 0.23$, $p>.05$). The ratings for **kennen* that were provided by the HBO and WO groups differed significantly from one another ($p=.009$), as did those provided by the MBO and WO groups ($p=.014$). Based on the group means, it appears that the MBO graduates ($\bar{x}=3.4$) and HBO graduates ($\bar{x}=3.3$) adopted a somewhat neutral attitude, providing scores between three (*neutraal*, "neutral") and four (*redelijk ver weg*, "fairly removed"), while the WO graduates ($\bar{x}=4.4$) quite strongly distanced themselves from the use of **kennen* for *kunnen*. By contrast, all participants reported that the sentences with *kunnen* were fairly close to their own language use, regardless of whether they had an MBO ($\bar{x}=1.9$), HBO ($\bar{x}=1.7$) or WO degree ($\bar{x}=1.9$).

5.2.3c Self-reported use of subject *hun

As was found for **kennen*, the self-report ratings for the two sentences with subject **hun* were significantly affected by the factor education too ($H(2) = 17.15$, $p<.01$).

Whereas one pairwise comparison nearly yielded a statistically significant result (i.e. MBO-HBO, p=.052), the comparisons of the MBO-WO (p=.000) and HBO-WO (p=.034) groups' scores convincingly indicated that these groups provided different ratings. The mean scores of the MBO group ($\bar{x}$=3.1), HBO group ($\bar{x}$=3.9), and WO group ($\bar{x}$=4.8) suggest that participants attempted to distance themselves from the use of **hun* more strongly as educational levels increased.

Interestingly, the self-report scores for the two sentences with subject *zij* were also significantly affected by level of education (H(2) = 7.55, p<.05). Several pairwise comparisons of the groups' scores revealed that the MBO and HBO groups (p=.009) and the MBO and WO (p=.043) groups provided very different ratings, whereas the ratings of the HBO graduates did not differ too much from those of the WO graduates (p=.547). As may be deduced from the mean scores of the MBO group ($\bar{x}$=2.3), HBO group ($\bar{x}$=1.6), and WO group ($\bar{x}$=1.9), the HBO and WO respondents most strongly asserted that the sentences with subject *zij* were close to their own language use, whilst the MBO respondents did so somewhat less firmly.

5.2.3d Self-reported use of the conjunction *als

The self-report ratings for the two sentences that contained the third usage problem, i.e. conjunction **als* in comparisons of inequality, were also significantly affected by level of education (H(2) = 10.86, p<.05) – which effect did not emerge for the sentences with the prescribed conjunction *dan* (H(2) = 3.47, p>.05). Pairwise comparisons of the ratings indicate that the MBO and WO groups provided strongly different scores (p=.001). The MBO graduates ($\bar{x}$=2.4) least distanced themselves from the use of **als* – scoring the sentences between two (*redelijk dichtbij*, "fairly close") and three (*neutraal*, "neutral") – while the WO graduates ($\bar{x}$=4.0) most firmly distanced themselves from this usage. The HBO graduates adopted a neutral attitude ($\bar{x}$=3.2). A final point that I should report on is that all participants acknowledged that the sentences with *dan* were *zeer dichtbij* ("very close") to *redelijk dichtbij* ("fairly close") their own language use, as the mean scores of the MBO group ($\bar{x}$=2.3), HBO group ($\bar{x}$=1.8), and WO group ($\bar{x}$=1.7) reflect.

5.3 Results of the mini-questionnaire

In the discussion of the results of the mini-questionnaire below, the relationship between the answers that participants gave and their level of education will not be addressed, since inspection of the data yielded no evidence that the MBO, HBO and WO graduates provided strongly different answers depending on their educational

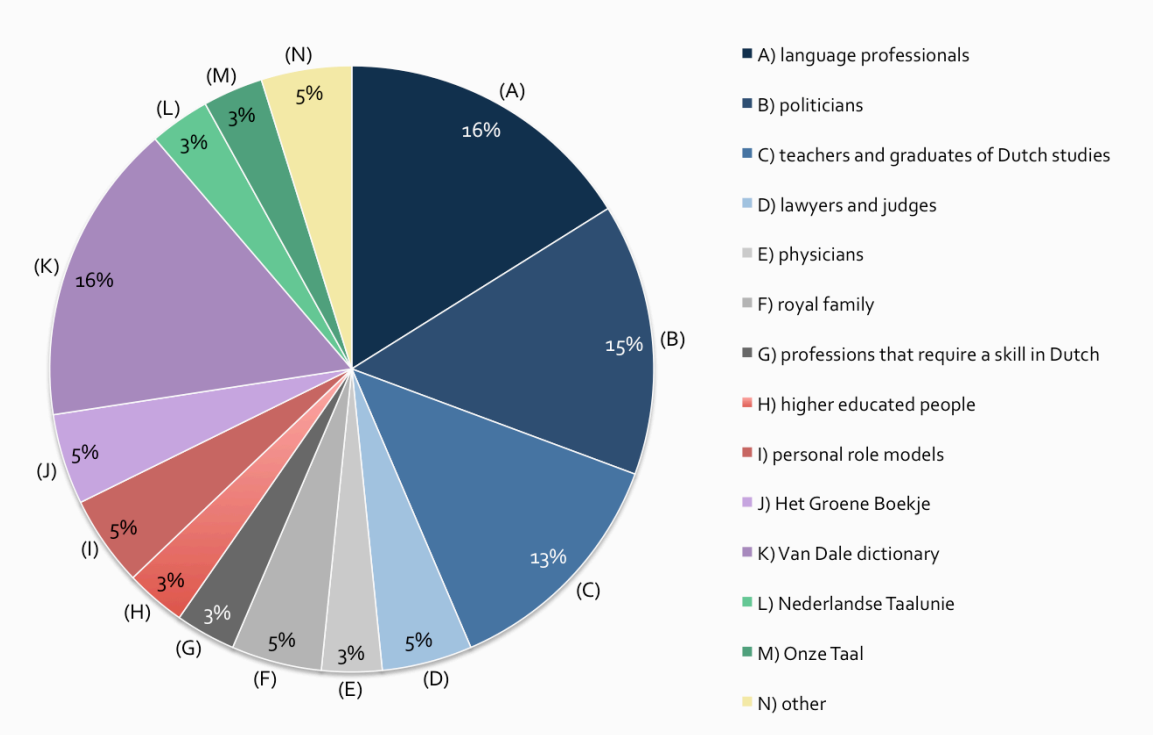
background. What I will discuss, however, are the answers provided by my overall sample of 45 participants.

5.3.1 Language authorities named by participants

When participants were asked whom or what they perceived to be an authority of the Dutch language, they predominantly referred to occupational groups (i.e. 37 times, 60%, see categories A–G in Figure 22). For instance, they referred to politicians (9 references, 15%) and to language professionals (10 references, 16%) like journalists, newsreaders, writers and editors. Additionally, separate categories were created for references to speakers who could not be linked to a specific profession (see categories H and I), such as *hogeropgeleiden* ("more highly educated speakers") or *mijn oma* ("my grandma").

Some of the respondents mentioned language authorities that were introduced in Chapter 2. For instance, three references (5%) were made to *het Groene Boekje* ("the Green Booklet'"), and ten (16%) to the *Van Dale* dictionary. Additionally, the *Nederlandse Taalunie* was mentioned (2 references, 3%), as was *Onze Taal* (2 references).

Figure 22: A categorization of the language authorities (N=62) that were named by the 45 participants.



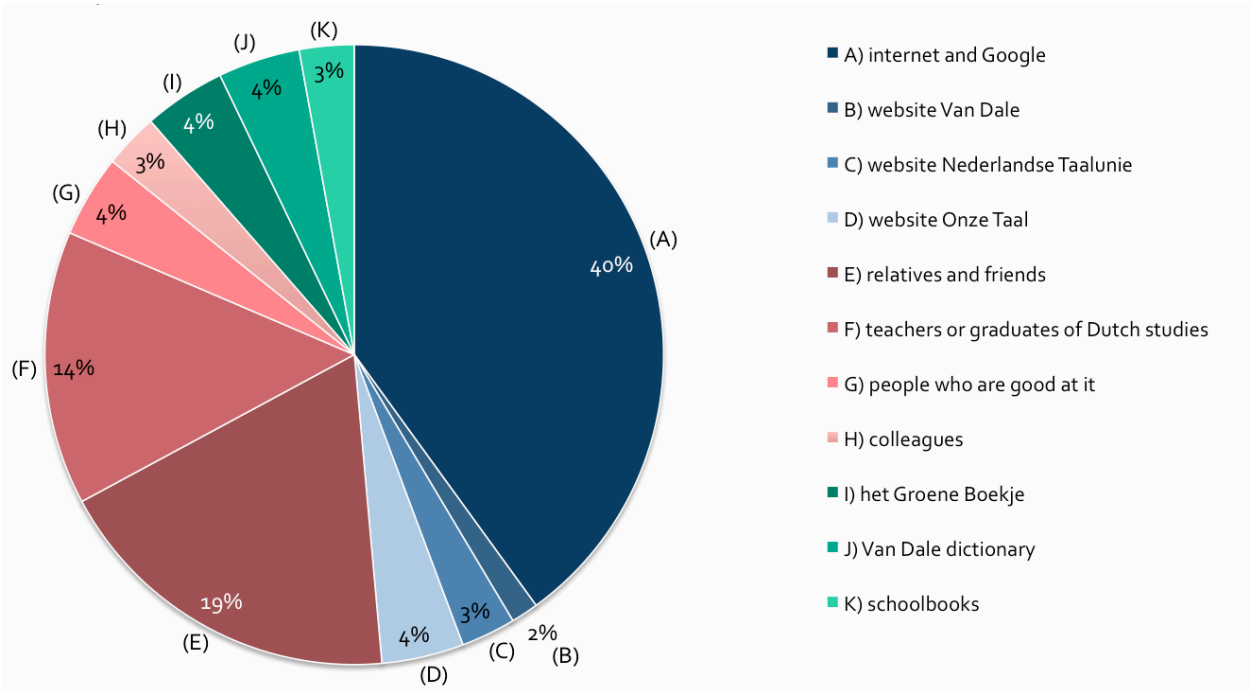
The low number of references to the latter two institutions, but especially to the *Taalunie*, appears somewhat surprising, considering the fact that the *Taalunie* actually is the sole official language authority of Dutch. The remainder of the answers (3 references, 5%) could not be allocated to any of the categories above, and were assigned

to the category "other". For example, one of the references in this category was made to *TomTom*, which is the name of a Dutch company that produces navigation products for – among other things – cars.

5.3.2 Sources of language advice consulted by participants

When participants were asked what sources they consulted when they needed language advice, participants most frequently mentioned online sources (see categories A–D in Figure 23). The internet and Google were named 28 times, which constitutes about 40 per cent of the 70 sources that were named in total. This category also includes the references of three participants who said that they would use the internet or Google to visit the websites *woordenboek.nl*, *synoniemen.net* or *mijnwoordenboek.nl.* If the references to specific websites – i.e. the website of the *Van Dale* dictionary was named once, the website of the *Nederlandse Taalunie* twice and the website of *Onze Taal* thrice – are added to those about the internet and Google, the total number of references to online sources adds up to 34 (49%).

Figure 23: Sources for language advice (N=70) consulted by the 45 participants.



The second source of advice to which participants often turn may be summarized as "people" (see categories E–H). Indeed, respondents like to ask relatives and friends for advice (13 references, 19%). As is illustrated in Figure 23, teachers in general, teachers of Dutch and people who study or have a degree in Dutch are also favorite sources of advice (10 references). A few remarks refer to *mensen die er goed in*

zijn ("people who are good at it [Dutch]") (3 references) or to colleagues (2 references). The total number of references to people constitutes 28 (40%).

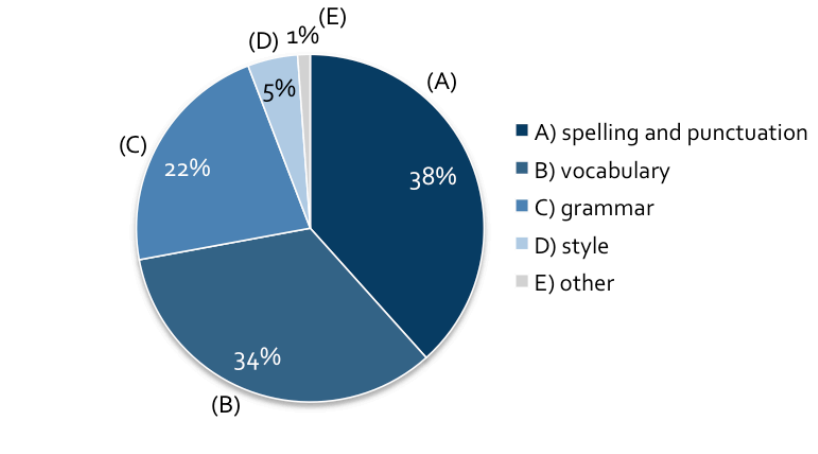
Few respondents indicated that they consulted books (see categories I–K). In total, three references were made to *Het Groene Boekje* ("The Green Booklet"), and three to the *Van Dale* dictionary. Furthermore, schoolbooks (i.e. a schoolbook about Dutch and a spelling book) were named twice as sources of advice. The total number of references to books thus was eight (11%).

5.3.3 Issues about which participants seek language advice

When participants were asked about what types of language issues they tend to look up advice, they referred to spelling and punctuation (33 references, 38%), to vocabulary (29 references, 33.7%) or to grammar (19 references, 22%) in most cases (see Figure 24). A popular spelling issue mentioned was the so-called *-d/-t spelling* (10 references), a label which refers to a set of spelling rules for Dutch present tense verbs. The vocabulary category included issues like the meaning of words (10 references), and synonyms (4 references). General suggestions about *zinsopbouw* ("sentence structure") (4 references) and *grammatica* ("grammar") (6 references), as well as examples of such issues, were included in the category grammar.

Finally, few references were made to style (4 references, 4.7%). Participants suggested for example that they sought advice when they had to write a formal letter, or for professional purposes. One remaining response (1.2%) was not categorized, i.e. *de nuance* ("the nuance") because it was unclear what type of nuance the participant had in mind. None of the respondents decided to skip the question because they never needed advice on language.

Figure 24: Categories of language-related issues about which participants search advice (N=86).



5.4 Reported importance of correct Dutch

The majority of the MBO graduates (13 speakers, 87%), HBO graduates (12, 80%) and WO graduates (13, 87%) indicated that using correct spoken Dutch had been important during the educational programmes that they had completed. Similarly, participants remarked that using correct written Dutch had been important during their studies too, and they thought so independently of whether they were MBO graduates (14, 93%), HBO graduates (15, 100%) or WO graduates (14, 93%). Educational groups thus expressed similar views about the importance of correct spoken and written Dutch during their studies.

Furthermore, approximately equal numbers of MBO graduates (11 speakers, 73%), HBO graduates (11, 73%) and WO graduates (13, 87%) pointed out that using correct spoken Dutch was important in their professions. With respect to the use of correct written Dutch in such a context, educational groups likewise did not differ much: the majority of the MBO graduates (12, 80%), HBO graduates (14, 93%) and WO graduates (13, 87%) observed that this was important. In sum, the educational groups did not express overtly different views about the importance of correct spoken and written Dutch in their careers. However, for a discussion of how my use of binary questions may have affected the results, see Chapter 6.

5.5 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, the qualitative and quantitative analyses that I performed were described, as were the results of these analyses. First, in section 5.1, I demonstrated that 15 of the 45 participants pointed out one or more usage problems in the radio task, and that significantly more WO graduates did so as compared to MBO or HBO graduates. Subsequently, with respect to social judgements, I showed – among other things – that eight of the eleven participants who had noticed the conjunction **als* expressed negative views about the social status and/or the intelligence or educational background of this speaker; but just three of the eleven participants who commented on subject **hun* expressed views of this type.

In section 5.2.2 about the acceptability judgement task, I furthermore described how participants more critically evaluated the sentences with the non-standard variants when they were more highly educated, and that this effect of education was not present for the sentences with the prescribed variants. For the self-reports the same effect emerged: the MBO speakers least distanced themselves from the non-standard sentences, the HBO speakers did so somewhat more, and the WO speakers most strongly distanced themselves from it. Finally, I provided the results of the mini-

questionnaire (section 5.3) and of the additional questions regarding the importance of Dutch (section 5.4), which did not disclose any obvious effects of education.

In Chapter 6, I will reflect on the implications of my results, taking into account the strengths and weaknesses of the methodologies that I adopted, and I will place my results in the context of earlier studies about Dutch usage problems.

Chapter 6 Discussion

6.1 A discussion of the results of the radio task

The results in section 5.1 suggest that participants with different educational levels indeed differ in the extent to which they are able to identify usage problems in spoken Dutch. When listening to an informal radio show, WO speakers more often commented on the non-standard variants than HBO or MBO speakers did. Even though the precise pattern that I expected did not emerge – i.e. based on Jansen & Van der Geest (1989, 1990) and Harm (2008), I predicted that MBO graduates would perceive fewer usage problems than HBO or WO graduates – the direction of the predicted and actual trends are similar.

Even so, the question why the majority of the speakers (i.e. 30 of the 45 participants) did not explicitly comment on any of the usage problems in the radio show is unclear. One explanation may be that the non-standard variants, in spite of the efforts that I took when selecting them (see section 4.2.2), have gone out of fashion already (Doderer 2011b: 235), or that they, as seems the case for **hele* and **een aantal (…) gingen*, may currently only be salient in written Dutch. An alternative interpretation would be that they actually were marked to speakers, but the instrument that I designed proved unsuitable to uncover this. Indeed, it seems conceivable that the open questions were phrased too vaguely, and that some of the vocabulary that was used (e.g. *taalgebruik*, "language use") was too complex – the latter of which is a common methodological pitfall in surveys (Mehdi Riazi 2016: 261).

Additionally, while not all of the speakers who recognized the variants viewed the rule-transgressors as less intelligent, less highly educated, as having a lower social status, or as speaking an inferior type of Dutch – which was expected based on earlier studies (Van der Horst & Marschall 2000; Van Hout 2006; Bennis 2003) – eight of the eleven participants who had identified the conjunction **als* did express views of this type, as did three of the eleven participants who had noticed subject **hun*. The closed questions support the idea that the rule-transgressors, once recognized as such, are perceived as less intelligent. Yet, the observant group and the non-observant group did not have overtly different opinions about the friendliness, energeticness, fondness of reading, moodiness and communicativeness of the two speakers, nor about the estimated level of education or profession of the speakers. Finally, most participants agreed that the Dutch spoken by the radio presenter was appropriate for the type of job

she had, but when participants disagreed with this they were relatively more often from the observant group than from the non-observant group.

Although the observant group was small – which affects the representativeness of the group's social evaluations – and although some of the lexical items for the semantic differential scales may not have been in the required perfect "paradigmatic relationship of opposites in a paired system" (see Garrett 2010: 1256), it seems interesting that, in many of the dimensions listed above, the beliefs that participants had about the speakers were not affected by whether or not they used a usage problem. If the observant group can be said to have recognized the usage problems because they were familiar with the prescriptive rules, the theory that previous knowledge of the rules negatively affects speakers' attitudes to rule violations (Jansen & Van der Geest 1989, 1990; Harm 2008) – which was based on studies about written Dutch – cannot be directly extended to spoken Dutch as well, in light of my findings, that is.

Of course the use of scripted speech rather than spontaneous speech and factors like social information (e.g. the names of the speakers in the radio show, the speakers' emotions, the contents of the stories) may have affected the attitudes of hearers too, as may variables like the hearer's expertise and mood (Niedzielski 1999; Giles & Rakiç 2014; Garrett 2010). Moreover, as Campbell-Kibler (2010: 380) remarks, contextual factors like the ones above may have "explained away" sociolinguistic judgments. For instance, my participants may have explained away social judgements about the radio presenter purely because her role was that of a language professional. Yet again, it is true that by providing a scenario I at least prevented hearers from imagining their own contexts, which could affect the results in puzzling ways (Campbell-Kibler 2010: 380).

6.2 A discussion of the results of the acceptability judgement task

Furthermore, in answer to sub-question 3, the results in section 5.2.2 suggest that speakers' education affects the acceptability of spoken sentences with non-standard variants, though not of sentences with standard variants. Indeed, when the educational degrees of the speakers were higher (i.e. MBO, HBO, WO), the speakers tended to be more critical of the sentences with the non-standard variants – a finding which ties in with what one would expect based on Jansen & Van der Geest (1989, 1990) and Harm (2008). Moreover, for both types of sentences a main effect of style emerged. As the social context ranged from a friend to a colleague, a teacher, and a minister, the respondents considered the sentences as less acceptable.

Two methodological weaknesses characterize the acceptability judgement task. Firstly, the low number of fillers may have raised the awareness of participants about the actual topic of the study. Secondly, the four social contexts that the task used may have been subject to multiple interpretations. While I intended to present the hearers with a scale of social contexts ranging from informal to formal; an alternative interpretation is that the scale reflects different speaker-hearer relationships (see Coupland 2007: 55). Indeed, while you could meet a friend in person, and a colleague as well, it depends on your personal situation whether or not you would meet a teacher in person, while this would be unlikely in the case of a minister. Future studies may wish to use social contexts that are interpretable along one dimension only, to make sure that informants interpret such contexts in similar ways.

Whether or not the non-standard variants in the acceptability judgement task carry covert prestige remains somewhat unclear. The fact that the participants in each of the three educational groups did not strongly oppose to a friend's potential use of subject **hun*, conjunction **als*, or **kennen* for *kunnen* suggests that there is at least one social context in which the use of such variants is conceivable, and in which such features may not necessarily be experienced as negative or wrong. This, however, does not automatically mean that the variant carries prestige, let alone "covert prestige". It may only be tolerated. To see if the variants bear covert prestige, production data are required – a point that I will elaborate on below.

During the conversations that I had with participants after the experiment was finished, a possible explanation for the relatively liberal attitudes of MBO speakers to the ungrammatical fillers and to the sentences with non-standard features arose. Quite a few of the MBO speakers indicated that they usually did not adopt a critical attitude towards other speakers' language use, as this was inappropriate in their professions (i.e. most of them were employed in healthcare). After all, it seems quite possible that these speakers' basic principle of equality influenced their willingness to negatively evaluate other speakers.

Additionally, the results in Figure 9 suggest that the self-report ratings of participants for the spoken sentences with the non-standard variants are strongly affected by the variable education, which indicated that my fourth subquestion may be answered affirmatively. As Bennis and Hinskens (2014: 163) found for subject **hun*, my study reveals an inverse correlation between education and speakers' self-reported use of subject **hun*, conjunction **als*, and **kennen* for *kunnen*: the higher a participant's level of education, the smaller the chance that (s)he reported on using these non-

standard variants. The fact that my study used spoken stimuli, whilst Bennis and Hinskens used written ones, thus does not appear to have affected the results.

It is true, however, that the value of self-report data has been questioned. Scholars like Gordon (2005: 958) point out that "it is well known that speakers do not always accurately assess their own usage, particularly as regards socially charged features". In this respect, combining a perception study like mine with a production study could prove highly interesting, as it could inform our understanding of the possible mismatch between the self-reports of participants and their actual language use. Moreover, through a comparison of these two types of data future scholars could examine whether a hidden positive evaluation underlies the reported negative evaluations of participants of the non-standard variants; such a study of covert prestige, unfortunately, was beyond the scope of this thesis.

Nevertheless, although I did not carry out a production study, a comparison of my findings to those of Hubers and De Hoop's (2013) corpus study about the **groter als* usage problem may provide a starting point. Interestingly, because Hubers and De Hoop (2013) found that the more highly educated speakers used the prescribed variant while less highly educated speakers used the non-standard variant, my self-report results – and those of Bennis and Hinskens – actually do not hint at a mismatch between self-reports and actual language use.

6.3 A discussion of the results of the mini-questionnaire

The results for question 1 from the mini-questionnaire suggest that my references to the *Taalunie*, the *Genootschap Onze Taal* and Renkema's *Schrijfwijzer* as authorities of the Dutch language may not strongly reflect the actual views of speakers. Nonetheless, *Van Dale* was mentioned ten times by my participants and the *Nederlandse Taalunie* twice. The latter finding may also be the result of the unfamiliarity of Dutch young adults with the *Taalunie* (see Taalunie 2012: 8). The language authorities that my respondents mentioned most frequently were occupational groups. The professions named typically appear to carry prestige and seem linked to more highly educated speakers.

From the replies to question 2 of the mini-questionnaire, it appears that the internet (49% of the references) and other speakers (40%) are consulted most frequently for advice on language-related issues. Interestingly, while one would expect the sources that were named to be overtly characterized by some type of expertise about the Dutch language, this was not necessarily the case (e.g. 19% of the replies referred to relatives and friends). Of course, expertise is relative, and perhaps anyone may function as a language expert as long as the person who seeks advice knows less than they do. A

question that is raised by the above, finally, is whether online search engines like Google may in themselves have turned into prescriptive authorities by now. After all, tools like these pre-select and rank the links to websites that contain advice, starting from the search term.

Finally, the interpretation of question 3 about the types of issues that participants seek language advice on proved highly problematical. The outcome of this question – i.e. the speakers in most cases named issues relating to spelling and punctuation, vocabulary and grammar – is unreliable, because the categorization that I made was so too. Indeed, if I were to do the interviews again, I would more actively encourage the participants to explain general answers they gave – e.g. they said they looked up advice on *grammatica* ("grammar") – and if they gave examples I would ask them to assign those items to linguistic categories themselves, to avoid having to categorize such unclear answers myself.

6.4 A discussion of the results of the questions about correct Dutch

From the results in section 5.4, it appears that the MBO, HBO and WO speakers all believed that the use of correctly spoken and written Dutch was, or currently still is, important during their studies and in their careers. However, an important methodological shortcoming in the set-up of the questions about the topic above was my use of binary fixed choice questions. The binary questions did not allow the participants to adopt a neutral stance towards the topic, nor could speakers specify to what degree exactly they considered the statement important or unimportant. As a consequence, the results above probably inadequately reflect participants' opinions.

6.5 Concluding remarks

In spite of some final general methodological weaknesses that may typify my study – i.e. the small participant sample that I used, the highly specific nature of my sample, and the limited number of stimuli that were used in the tasks – the results still surprisingly uniformly suggest that education affects speakers' perception and evaluation of spoken Dutch usage problems, as the discussions above showed. In Chapter 7, I will discuss the implications of these findings. For now, it may be relevant to recall that "the use of particular variants is only one of the practices through which individuals construct an identity" (Bayley et al. 2013: 25), and that, similarly, speakers' perceptions of other speakers are affected by more factors than the other speakers' use of non-standard variants.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

In my study, speakers' educational background was shown to affect their perception and evaluation of spoken Dutch usage problems. WO speakers more often noticed and commented on the usage problems in a radio show, they were more critical of spoken sentences that contained these items, and they distanced themselves more strongly from such sentences than MBO speakers did. These findings agree with what was expected based on earlier production and survey studies (Hubers & De Hoop 2013; Bennis & Hinskens 2014). The results above have at least two important implications.

Firstly, various earlier evaluation studies about Dutch usage problems, which either did not consider the variable speaker education (Van Bezooijen 2003) or did not properly balance their informant sample (Harm 2008; De Bruijn 2014), seem not necessarily representative. Moreover, those studies that only used samples of more highly educated informants (De Rooij 1990; Jansen & Van der Geest 1990; Janssen 2004; Van Bree 2010; Hubers 2015) should be interpreted to present biased results: these studies solely reflect the beliefs of speakers who are highly aware and highly critical of non-standard items. To establish a more transparent – and eventually a more broadly representative – body of research at the heart of the field, future scholars need to pay attention to the variable education, and they should report on how they tried to do so.

The second implication is of an educational nature. Because if negative social judgements (like the ones about intelligence in section 5.1.3) indeed exist as my study suggests, it seems important to examine in what contexts, and to what extent, such perceptions actually result in the discrimination of rule-transgressors, if they do so at all. If a follow-up study could uncover in what social contexts usage problems are highly salient and really have a social impact, the results of such a study may be used to further inform educational programmes, especially at MBO and HBO level, to increase the awareness of those students who are likely to have milder attitudes themselves.

Finally, it now seems possible to determine what type of viewer is likely to have been distracted by Noud, the personage in the Dutch soap opera whom I introduced in Chapter 1, who used subject **hun*. The more highly educated television viewer is most likely to have been distracted, and, according to Wim Peters, web editor at *GTST*, the target audience of the soap opera indeed includes more highly educated speakers as well (Visser 2012, s.v. Bijlage 4). It now also seems possible to take a guess as to the type of associations that the main script-writer of the series had hoped to evoke with Noud's use of subject **hun*. Jantien van der Meer may have wanted to present Noud as a less highly educated, or less intelligent, personage.

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Appendix A1 | Information Sheet for speakers

Universiteit Leiden

Informatieblad

Perceptie van Taalergernissen – Informatie voor sprekers

Over het onderzoek Sommige Nederlanders ergeren zich aan bepaalde grammaticale constructies, zoals in: *hun hebben gevoetbald* of *Piet is groter als Trees.* Ik wil onderzoeken of het uitmaakt wat voor opleidingsniveau iemand heeft bij het herkennen en beoordelen van taalergernissen in gesproken taal. Dit onderzoek voer ik uit als onderdeel van de Research Master Linguistics die ik volg aan de Universiteit Leiden.

Waarom dit onderzoek? Verschillende studies geven aan dat het gebruik van *hun hebben* of *groter als* onacceptabel gevonden wordt door Nederlanders. Deze onderzoeken zijn echter vooral afgenomen onder hoger- en zeer hoog-opgeleiden. De vraag is hoe lageropgeleiden deze taalergernissen zien, en of zij de ergernissen herkennen. Omdat bijna alle onderzoeken zich richten op geschreven taal, is het ook de vraag hoe mensen reageren op taalergernissen die gebruikt worden in gesproken taal, bijvoorbeeld op de radio.

Jouw rol in dit onderzoek Indien je daar mee instemt, draag je bij aan mijn onderzoek door als spreker te fungeren in een verzonnen radioprogramma. Een radiopresentatrice zal een vraag stellen, waarna jij opbelt met een reactie. Afhankelijk van je rol gebruik je óf veel taalergernissen, óf geen taalergernissen. Het gesprek is al voor je uitgeschreven op papier. Terwijl een voice-recorder aanstaat, zullen we dit gesprek als in een rollenspel voeren en opnemen. Je spraak wordt geanonimiseerd, verwerkt in het radioprogramma, en uiteindelijk zullen deelnemers aan mijn onderzoek luisteren naar het radioprogramma en vragen beantwoorden over taalergernissen.

Jouw toestemming Jij besluit of je als spreker een bijdrage aan mijn onderzoek wilt leveren. Je deelname is vrijwillig. Indien je besluit om als spreker deel te nemen en om de spraakopnames beschikbaar te stellen voor mijn onderzoek, wil ik je vragen om het Instemmingsformulier te tekenen.

Vragen en opmerkingen Indien je vragen of opmerkingen hebt over de manier waarop deze studie is volbracht, dan kun je in eerste instantie contact opnemen met de verantwoordelijke onderzoeker. Mocht dit niet mogelijk zijn, dan kun je contact opnemen met:

Prof. Dr. Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade
email i.m.tieken@hum.leidenuniv.nl, tel: +31 (0)71 527 2163
P.N. van Eyckhof 4, 2311 BV Leiden, kamernummer 2.01b

Appendix A2 | Checklist for speakers

Universiteit Leiden

Checklist

Ik begrijp dat …		Vink af indien gelezen & begrepen
1.	… mijn bijdrage als spreker aan dit onderzoek vrijwillig is.	
2.	… ik mij op elk moment mag terugtrekken als spreker van dit onderzoek, en mijn opnames mogen in dat geval ook niet gebruikt worden voor het onderzoek.	
3.	… de opnames van mijn spraak enkel en alleen voor onderzoeksdoeleinden gebruikt worden.	
4.	… de opnames van mijn spraak geanonimiseerd worden, en alleen in die vorm gebruikt worden in het onderzoek en de onderzoeksrapportage.	
5.	… bij de rapportering van het onderzoek vertrouwelijk zal worden omgegaan met mijn persoonlijke gegevens, en hooguit de volgende gegevens zullen worden vermeld: geslacht, leeftijd, geboorteplaats, huidige woonplaats en opleidingsniveau.	
6.	… de spraakopnames worden opgeslagen op een privé-computer, en niet online beschikbaar gemaakt zullen worden.	

Naam spreker: .....

Getekend:	Datum: ...../...../.....

Appendix A3 | Consent Form for speakers

Universiteit Leiden

Instemmingsformulier

Vul alstublieft dit formulier in nadat u het Informatieblad gelezen heeft en/of geluisterd heeft naar de uitleg over dit onderzoek, en nadat u de Checklist heeft ingevuld. Door dit instemmingsformulier in te vullen en te ondertekenen geeft u onderstaande onderzoeker toestemming om spraakopnames van u te maken, deze te verwerken in de onderzoeksopzet, en om deze vervolgens te laten horen aan deelnemers van het onderzoek.

Volledige titel studie:	*Het effect van opleidingsniveau op Nederlanders hun perceptie van taalergernissen*
Naam onderzoeker:	Inge Manon Otto

Verklaring Spreker:

Ik, ..., bevestig dat het bovengenoemde onderzoeksproject voldoende aan me uitgelegd is, en ik stem ermee in om als spreker een bijdrage te leveren aan deze studie. Ik heb zowel het Informatieblad gelezen over het project, als de Checklist ingevuld, en ik begrijp wat medewerking aan deze studie betekent.

Getekend:	Datum: ...../...../.....

Verklaring Onderzoeker:

Ik, ..., bevestig dat ik de spreker nauwkeurige uitleg heb gegeven over de natuur, de eisen en voorziene risico's (waar van toepassing) van de studie. Ook bevestig ik dat ik met zorg zal omgaan met de gegevens en geleverde spraakopnames van bovengenoemde spreker.

Getekend:	Datum: ...../...../.....

Appendix B1 | Information Sheet and Checklist for participants

Informatieblad

Perceptie en evaluatie van gesproken Nederlands – Informatie deelnemers

Over het onderzoek Dit onderzoek gaat over gesproken Nederlands. Het gaat over de associaties die opgeroepen worden bij jou als luisteraar wanneer je bepaalde vormen van Nederlands taalgebruik hoort. Dit onderzoek voer ik uit als onderdeel van de Research Master Linguistics die ik volg aan de Universiteit Leiden.

Jouw rol in dit onderzoek De afname van het onderzoek gebeurt in vier delen. Eerst zul je een radio-luisteropdracht doen: je luistert naar een radioprogramma waarin verschillende mensen opbellen naar de presentatrice. Jij luistert naar elke beller, en vult vragen in over de beller en zijn/haar gesproken taal. In het tweede onderzoeksonderdeel luister je naar zinnen en beoordeel je die. Het derde onderdeel is een mini-interview met de onderzoeker. Het laatste onderdeel is een vragenlijst over enkele persoonlijke gegevens (bijv. je leeftijd en je geboorteplaats). De antwoorden die je geeft op de vragen uit de vier onderdelen maak ik zoveel mogelijk anoniem en gebruik ik als data voor mijn scriptie.

Jouw toestemming Jij besluit of je deelneemt aan mijn onderzoek. Je deelname is vrijwillig. Indien je besluit om deel te nemen, wil ik je vragen om de *Checklist* (onderaan deze pagina) en het *Instemmingsformulier* (zie achterzijde) te tekenen.

Vragen en opmerkingen Indien je vragen of opmerkingen hebt over de manier waarop deze studie is volbracht, dan kun je in eerste instantie contact opnemen met de verantwoordelijke onderzoeker. Mocht dit niet mogelijk zijn, dan kun je contact opnemen met: Prof. Dr. Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade, tel: +31 (0)71 527 2163, e-mail: i.m.tieken@hum.leidenuniv.nl, P.N. van Eyckhof 4/2.01b, 2311 BV Leiden.

Checklist

Ik begrijp dat …	Vink af indien gelezen & begrepen
1. … mijn bijdrage als deelnemer aan dit onderzoek vrijwillig is.	
2. … ik mij op elk moment mag terugtrekken als deelnemer van dit onderzoek, en mijn antwoorden mogen in dat geval ook niet gebruikt worden voor het onderzoek.	
3. … mijn antwoorden enkel en alleen voor onderzoeksdoeleinden gebruikt worden.	
4. … mijn antwoorden geanonimiseerd worden, en alleen in die vorm gebruikt worden in het onderzoek en de onderzoeksrapportage.	
5. … bij de rapportage van het onderzoek vertrouwelijk zal worden omgegaan met mijn persoonlijke gegevens, en hooguit de volgende gegevens zullen worden vermeld: geslacht, leeftijd, woonplaats, beroep en opleidingsniveau.	
6. … de antwoorden worden opgeslagen op een privé-computer, en niet online beschikbaar gemaakt worden.	

Appendix B2 | Consent Form for participants

Instemmingsformulier

Vul alstublieft dit formulier in nadat u het *Informatieblad* gelezen heeft en/of geluisterd heeft naar de uitleg over dit onderzoek, en nadat u de *Checklist* heeft ingevuld. Door dit instemmingsformulier in te vullen en te ondertekenen geeft u onderstaande onderzoeker toestemming om uw antwoorden te gebruiken voor het hieronder genoemde onderzoek.

Werktitel studie: *Perceptie en evaluatie van gesproken Nederlands*
Naam onderzoeker: Inge Manon Otto

Verklaring Deelnemer:

Ik, ..., bevestig dat het bovengenoemde onderzoeksproject voldoende aan me uitgelegd is, en ik stem ermee in om deel te nemen aan deze studie. Ik heb zowel het *Informatieblad* gelezen over het project, als de *Checklist* ingevuld, en ik begrijp wat deelnemen aan deze studie betekent.

Getekend:	Datum: ...../...../.....

Wilt u in februari 2016 op de hoogte gebracht worden van de resultaten van het onderzoek? Zo ja, vul dan hiernaast uw e-mailadres in.

Verklaring Onderzoeker:

Ik, ..., bevestig dat ik de deelnemer nauwkeurige uitleg heb gegeven over de natuur, de eisen en voorziene risico's (waar van toepassing) van de studie. Ook bevestig ik dat ik met zorg zal omgaan met de gegevens en verstrekte antwoorden van bovengenoemde deelnemer.

Getekend:	Datum: ...../...../.....

Appendix B3 | Instruction Document for participants

Universiteit Leiden

Instructies

Informatie en toestemming
Voordat je deelneemt aan het onderzoek lees je het *Informatieblad* en vul je de *Checklist* en het *Instemmingsformulier* in.

Onderdeel 1. Radioprogramma
In het eerste onderdeel luister je naar fragmenten uit een radioprogramma. Je hoort hoe een radiopresentatrice een onderwerp introduceert, waarna verschillende mensen opbellen om erover te praten. Over de mensen die opbellen, vul jij een aantal vragen in. Het invullen van de vragen doe je zodra de pauzemuziek ingaat. Als deze pauzemuziek klinkt, zet je het audiofragment stil door op [PAUZE] te drukken, dat is de middelste knop:

Heb je de vragen over de betreffende spreker  ingevuld? Druk dan op [PLAY] om verder te luisteren.

Onderdeel 2. Gesproken zinnen
In dit onderdeel luister je naar gesproken zinnen. Aan het einde van een zin klinkt een pauzemuziekje, en ook aan het begin van een zin klinkt een pauzemuziekje. Net als bij het vorige onderdeel geldt hier: Zodra je de wachttoon hoort zet je het audiofragment op pauze, en vul je de vragen in over de zin die je net gehoord hebt. Als je klaar bent, zet je het audiofragment weer aan, en hoor je voor de tweede keer de pauzemuziek. Hierna volgt direct een nieuwe zin. Er zijn twee voorbeeldzinnen om te oefenen.

Onderdeel 3. Vragen
Dit onderdeel bestaat uit drie interviewvragen. Zet je koptelefoon af, en spreek de onderzoeker aan om het mini-interview te beginnen. Er is geen opname-apparatuur aanwezig. Noteer je antwoorden in het vragenboekje.

Onderdeel 4. Persoonlijke gegevens
In het laatste onderdeel van het onderzoek vul je een vragenlijst in over zaken zoals: je leeftijd, je geslacht, je woonplaats etc.

Afsluiting
In dit laatste deel legt de onderzoeker uit wat precies het doel van de testjes was. Deel je opmerkingen gerust, en stel vragen als je meer wilt weten. Als je in februari een samenvatting van de resultaten wilt ontvangen, kun je je e-mailadres opschrijven op het *Instemmingsformulier*.

Appendix C1 | *Onze Taal 25 Populairste Taaladviezen*

Table D: *Onze Taal 25 populairste taaladviezen* (retrieved from https://onzetaal.nl/taaladvies/populair, September 2015)

Nr.	Most popular articles on language advice	Match with Van Bezooijen's (2003) *ergernissen-top-zeventien* ?
1.	*hun/hen*	✓
2.	*gebeuren (gebeurt/gebeurd)*	
3.	*los of aan elkaar: Er/hier/daar/waar + voorzetsel + werkwoord*	
4.	*staande uitdrukkingen: ten alle tijden / te allen tijde*	
5.	*ontleden*	
6.	*verwijswoorden: haar, zijn, hem, het, zij, hij*	
7.	*Vind u / vindt u*	
8.	*Engelse werkwoorden in het Nederlands (algemene regels)*	
9.	*'t Kofschip*	
10.	*lange afstandsloper / langeafstandsloper*	
11.	*Naar aanleiding van / na aanleiding van*	
12.	*Teveel / teveel*	
13.	*Je wil / je wilt*	
14.	*Komma: algemene regels*	
15.	*D, t of dt*	
16.	*Wat / dat: het boek wat / dat*	✓
17.	*sowieso/ zowiezo*	
18.	*Getallen in letters of cijfers*	
19.	*Aanhalingstekens en leestekens*	
20.	*Tussen–s: algemene regels*	
21.	*Tussen–n: algemene regels*	
22.	*De/het: algemene regels*	
23.	*Meld u aan/ meldt u aan*	
24.	*Een aantal collega's ging / gingen op cursus*	✓
25.	*U hebt / u heeft*	

Appendix C2 | *Taaladviesdienst* list

Table E: An overview of the topics about which language users most frequently contact the *Taaladviesdienst* ("Language Advisory Service"), either via the telephone or through email. Based on personal correspondence in September 2015.

Nr.	Common *taalergernissen* ("annoyances about language, usage problems") according to the editorial board of the *Taaladviesdienst*	Match with Van Bezooijen's (2003) *ergernissen-top-zeventien* ?
1.	*Hun hebben het gedaan. ('hun' als onderwerp)*	✓
2.	*Me moeder zegt altijd … ('me' in plaats van 'mijn')*	
3.	*Ik ben groter als jij. En: Ik ben groter als jou. ('als' in plaats van 'dan'; 'jou' in plaats van onderwerpsvorm)*	✓
4.	*Ik speel beter dan haar/hem/hen/hun. ('haar' (enz.) in plaats van onderwerpsvorm'zij' (enz.)*	✓
5.	*Ik besef me heel goed … ('beseffen' als wederkerend werkwoord)*	
6.	*Ik irriteer me eraan. ('irriteren' als wederkerend werkwoord)*	
7.	*Mag ik jou/u pen even lenen? (verwarring bezittelijk en persoonlijk voornaamwoord)*	
8.	*Ze was de enigste die begreep hoe het zat. Ze is enigst kind. ('enigst' in plaats van 'enig')*	
9.	*Het boek wat ik nu lees, is heel spannend. ('wat' in plaats van 'dat')*	✓
10.	*Zij is een aardige meisje. (foute buigings-e)*	
11.	*Het meisje die daar loopt. De boek die ik lees. (verwijsfouten, het-woorden niet herkend*	
12.	*Zij heeft hele mooie ogen. Ik wens je hele fijne feestdagen. (verbuiging bijwoord)*	✓
13.	*Pieter wilt ook wat zeggen. (ten onrechte een t achter 'wil')*	
14.	*Als specialist zijnde adviseer ik … ('als zijnde' als contaminatie)*	
15.	*Iets overnieuw doen. ('overnieuw' als contaminatie)*	
16.	*Een aantal mensen hebben zich al ingeschreven. ('een aantal' zou per se als de kern van het onderwerp 'een aantal mensen' opgevat moeten worden)*	✓

Appendix D1 | Stimulus sentences radio task

Table D1(1): Stimulus sentences with *een aantal* in stories 1A and 1B.

Type	Nr.	Stimulus sentence
prescribed	1.	**Een aantal drempels was** te hoog; dat moest aangepast worden voordat Theresa kwam
	2.	Verder **organiseert een aantal buren** soms een kaartmiddag bij ons thuis, dat is altijd ontzettend gezellig
	3.	**Een twintigtal breiwerken siert** haar woonkamertje – wat dat betreft is het fijn dat we die niet delen ;-).
	4.	Elke maand **gaat een aantal creaties** weer in de kledingzak, 'voor een arm land' zegt ze
non-standard	1.	**Een aantal eensgezinswoningen waren** opgeknapt en beschikbaar gesteld voor starters die hun huis wilden delen met een oudere.
	2.	Toen **kwamen een tiental zestigplussers** bij ons langs om kennis te maken; bijzonder hoor!
	3.	**Een aantal familieleden moesten** even wennen; maar over het algemeen vinden mensen het leuk.
	4.	Elke avond **worden een aantal zoetigheden** op tafel gezet voor bij de koffie; uit het keukenkastje van Teun en uit die van ons.

Table D1(2): Stimulus sentences with the adverbs **hele* and *heel* in stories 2A and 2B.

Type	Nr.	Stimulus sentence
prescribed	1.	Ja, absoluut, ik had een **heel goede** avond!
	2.	'*Is die **heel grote** kast daar niet wat voor jou?*'
	3.	Het was een **heel gezellige** avond, en ik heb geweldige cadeaux gehad (…)
	4.	(…)onder andere een **heel mooie** trui, voor in mijn nieuwe kledingkast ;)
non-standard	1.	Ik werd ook verrast in een woonwinkel, maar om een **hele andere** reden
	2.	En ik had er helemaal niet zo'n zin in, want ik was best tevreden over de bank die we nú hebben thuis; ondanks dat 't een **hele oude** is
	3.	M'n vriend was net naar het toilet, toen de omroep aanging: of 'Anne, die **hele knappe** in de koffiehoek naar de ingang wilde komen?'
	4.	*Wie* zit daar op onze oude bank met een ***hele*** **mooie** gouden ring in z'n handen?

Table D1(3): Stimulus sentences with the conjunctions *dan* and **als* in comparatives of inequality in stories 3A and 3B.

Type	Nr.	Stimulus sentence
prescribed	1.	Robin en ik kennen elkaar al **meer dan** 10 jaar, van het zwemmen.
	2.	Een zwemwedstrijd organiseren was een logische stap; maar we wilden **iets ludiekers dan** dat.
	3.	Als Robin en ik **sneller schaatsen dan** een andere deelnemer, doneert de verliezer 5 Euro aan ons goede doel.
	4.	Tot nu toe ben ik **langzamer dan** mijn maten uit de trainingsgroep, dus ik moet nog hard werken.
	5.	Robin is **slimmer dan** ik; want hij traint één avond extra.
non-standard	1.	Maar Thijs is niet helemaal eerlijk hoor; hij gaat **feller van start als** ik, dus in de eerste 30 meter ligt hij voor.
	2.	Ik heb hiervoor amper geschaatst, dus mijn enkels zijn **zwakker als** die van andere mensen uit de trainingsgroep.
	3.	Ik heb ook het idee dat de anderen ***minder*** spierpijn hebben **als** ik – hopelijk wordt dat nog beter.
	4.	Dat is al een grotere groep als verwacht.
	5.	Nu hopen dat ik bij die wedstrijd **beter rijd als** de andere beginners.

Table D1(4): Stimulus sentences with the subject pronouns **hun* and *zij*

Type	Nr.	Stimulus sentence
prescribed	1.	**Zíj hebben** bovendien een partij kennis en levenservaring, waar wíj nog wat van kunnen leren.
	2.	Aah, ik krijg verschillende telefoontjes binnen nu; laten we even doorschakelen naar … eerst naar Francine en dan naar Anne – **zij hebben** allebei een verrassende ervaring gehad.
	3.	**Hebben ze** de voorkeur voor Francine's verhaal?
	4.	Enne, hoeveel schaatservaring **hebben ze** minstens nodig om mee te kunnen doen?
non-standard	1.	**Hun hebben** *gratis en voor niets* (!) 4 minuten uitgebreide radioreclame gehad – beter kan niet.
	2.	Nouja, misschien **doen hun** in ruil daarvoor nog een bijdrage voor het goede doel – dan is dat ook weer eerlijk.
	3.	**Hebben hun** allerlei bezwaren, maar wil jij toch meedoen?
	4.	Kijken wat **hun zeggen** als *jij* die wedstrijd wint!

Appendix D2 | Script of the radio task

Introduction Radio presenter

DJ:
… Voor diegenen die net de radio aanzetten, welkom terug bij *Radio Nu!* Altijd lekkere muziek, die past bij het moment van de dag. Bij *Nu* dus.

Topic 1: Ouderen

DJ:
Ja dames en heren, het is tijd voor wat … *verdieping*! Misschien heb je wel eens gehoord van stichting Solink, een organisatie die sinds 2010 studenten huisvest bij alleenstaande ouderen – tijdens de studieperiode dan. Sinds een jaar proberen woningcorporaties in een soortgelijke niche te springen, door werkende jongvolwassenen te matchen met een senior. De corporaties passen ruime huizen zo aan dat er twee huishoudens in kunnen, en vragen een relatief lage huur om het initiatief te promoten.

De vraag is natuurlijk: Hoe bevalt dat nu, om een ruime woning te huren die je deelt met iemand die je opa of oma had kunnen zijn? Dat gaan we eens even uitzoeken! Eens kijken of Daniël opneemt …

[*telefoon gaat over*]

Daniël:
[*neemt telefoon op*] Daniël.

DJ:
He Daniël, dit is Manon van Radio Nu. Luister, ik hoor dat jij voor een mooie prijs een grote woning huurt, maar dat je die niet alleen deelt met je vriendin; maar ook met een huisgenoot van 67?

Daniël:
Dat heb je goed gehoord dan, dat klopt helemaal. Ja, ongeveer een jaar geleden was ik op zoek naar een betaalbare huurwoning voor mij en mijn vriendin. Op een avond werd ik gebeld door een medewerker van mijn toenmalige woningcorporatie, of ik interesse had in iets nieuws. **Een aantal eensgezinswoningen waren** opgeknapt en beschikbaar gesteld voor starters die hun huis wilden delen met een oudere. We gaven ons op, en opeens was het zover. Toen **kwamen een tiental zestigplussers** bij ons langs om kennis te maken; bijzonder hoor!

Van het een kwam het ander, en nu wonen we alweer een jaar met Teun, die net 67 geworden is. Het bevalt goed. **Een aantal familieleden moesten** even wennen; maar over het algemeen vinden mensen het leuk. Het is gezellig dat er vaak iemand thuis is; en soms zorgen we zelfs een beetje te goed voor elkaar. Elke avond **worden een aantal zoetigheden** op tafel gezet voor bij de koffie; uit het keukenkastje van Teun en uit die van ons.

DJ:
Dat klinkt als een succes dan, dat initiatief van die woningcorporatie. Maar hoe ziet je dagelijks leven er dan uit, als je een woonruimte zo moet delen? Ik ga het vragen aan een andere ervaringsdeskundige; Ruben. Als het goed is heb ik hem meteen aan de lijn. *Ruben*; hoe bevalt het jou nou?

Ruben:
Hé hallo, nou zo spannend en anders is het nou ook weer niet. Ik woon sinds een half jaar samen met mijn vriendin, én met *Theresa*: mijn huisgenoot van 72. Voordat we er gingen wonen hebben we het huis in samenwerking met de woningcorporatie verandert. **Een aantal drempels was** te hoog; dat moest aangepast worden voordat Theresa kwam. Alleen 's morgens helpen we haar met aankleden, en 's avonds eten we samen. Dat is het belangrijkste.

Verder **organiseert een aantal buren** soms een kaartmiddag bij ons thuis, dat is altijd ontzettend gezellig. We delen de meeste ruimtes in huis; maar Theresa heeft een eigen slaapkamer en een huiskamertje. Een **twintigtal breiwerken siert** haar woonkamertje – wat dat betreft is het fijn dat we die niet delen ;-). Elke maand **gaat een aantal creaties** weer in de kledingzak, 'voor een arm land' zegt ze. Het is een verrijking hoor – als je elkaar zo kunt helpen. Want eerlijk is eerlijk, Theresa bakt de heerlijkste cake, en ze houdt van was opvouwen; wij dan weer niet.

DJ:
Dankje Ruben, nee; dat klinkt eigenlijk helemaal niet verkeerd. Uiteindelijk help je elkaar dus vooral, en het lijkt me bere-gezellig met al die mensen van die kaart- en bingoclubs die langskomen. Ouderen brengen een speciale sfeer mee, dat geloof ik meteen. **<u>Zíj</u> hebben** bovendien een partij kennis en levenservaring, waar wíj nog wat van kunnen leren.

Tja, ik weet alleen niet hoe mijn vriend erover zou denken, als ik hem voorstelde om een senior in huis te nemen… (wordt vervolgd!:-),

Over thuis en huizen gesproken, laten we doorgaan met *Home* van Dotan

[*muziek: "Home", Dotan*]

<u>Topic 2: Woonwinkel</u>

[*fade-out muziek Dotan als DJ begint te praten*]

DJ:
Prachtig nummer blijft dat. Afgelopen vrijdag was ik tijdens de koopavond op een woonboulevard om live wat mensen te interviewen – over de woontrends van 2016. Als je toen hebt geluisterd naar Radio Nu, herinner je je vast nog dat ik opeens een oude schoolvriendin tegen kwam nog van de basisschool. En wáár?? Op bed! Tja; ze was bedden aan het testen met haar vriend, in zo'n woonwinkel.

Jaja. Maarreh, wat gebeurde er bij jou de laatste keer dat je in een woonwinkel was? Heb jij het grappigste, mooiste of ontroerendste verhaal? Dan win jij misschien een unieke design-kast!

Aah, ik krijg verschillende telefoontjes binnen nu; laten we even doorschakelen naar … eerst naar Francine en dan naar Anne – **zij hebben** allebei een verrassende ervaring gehad.

Francine, ben je daar?

Francine:
Ja, met Francine! Hallo!

DJ:
Jij had van de week ook een goede avond op de woonboulevard?

Francine:
Ja, absoluut, ik had een **heel goede** avond! Ik ging samen met mijn beste vriendin een avondje shoppen – ik ging kijken voor een nieuwe kledingkast – dus wij lopen samen door een woonwinkel, naar zo'n ruimte waar allerlei kasten staan, en mijn vriendin zegt met een enorme knipoog: '*Is die **heel grote** kast daar niet wat voor jou?*' Dus ik ga die kast bekijken … 'doe de deur open …. wordt er opeens keihard '*Gefeliciteerd*!' geroepen – staat mijn *com-plete* vriendengroep erin!

Blijkt dat er een verrassingsfeest voor m'n verjaardag georganiseerd was! Het was een **heel gezellige** avond, en ik heb geweldige cadeaux gehad: onder andere een **heel mooie** trui, voor in mijn nieuwe kledingkast ;)

DJ:
Dat is nooit verkeerd: een goede verrassing op z'n tijd. Misschien breng je de mensen thuis wel op een idee (!) – en zit er straks geregeld een groep feestgangers in de hangskasten van zo'n woonwinkel! In ieder geval bedankt voor het bellen Francine!

Francine:
Wie weet ja! Geen dank!

DJ:
Als het goed is hebben we nog iemand aan de lijn met een mooie woonwinkel-ervaring. Anne, jij was óók op zoek naar nieuwe meubels van de week?

Anne:
Dat klopt ja! Ik werd ook verrast in een woonwinkel, maar om een **hele andere** reden; Ik ben namelijk … ten huwelijk gevraagd!!! Ik ging maandag nietsvermoedend met m'n vriend naar de woonboulevard om te kijken voor een nieuwe bank. En ik had er helemaal niet zo'n zin in, want ik was best tevreden over de bank die we nú hebben thuis; ondanks dat 't een **hele oude** is. Nadat we allerlei banken hadden bekeken, gingen we koffiedrinken.

M'n vriend was net naar het toilet, toen de omroep aanging: of 'Anne, die **hele knappe** in de koffiehoek naar de ingang wilde komen?'. Een vriendelijke verkoopster wees me snel de weg, en toen ik de hoek om kwam – *Wie* zit daar op onze oude bank met een ***hele*** **mooie** gouden ring in z'n handen? Wie zit daar de ingang van die winkel te versperren? !Mijn vriend ja! Of eigenlijk; mijn verloofde nu – ik heb natuurlijk *ja* gezegd.

DJ:
Het is wat dames en heren; wat je al niet kan overkomen in een woonwinkel. Bedankt voor je belletje Anne! Als de meeste luisteraars op jouw verhaal stemmen via de website,dan is de design-kast voor jou! **Hebben ze** de voorkeur voor Francine's verhaal? Dan komt in ieder geval een mooie troostprijs jouw kant op.

Anne:
Oké, ik ben benieuwd! Doei!

DJ:
Dag Anne! … Ennn, over romantische verrassingen gesproken: Wij gaan verder met het mooie maar foute nummer *Love is in the Air* (!) van John Paul Young.

[*muziek "Love is in the Air", John Paul Young*]

<u>Topic 3: Schaatsen</u>

DJ:
Waarschijnlijk heb je het al in je agenda staan, maar half november vinden de World Cup wedstrijden schaatsen plaats in Calgary. Voor de grote schaatstalenten moet je

daar natuurlijk gaan kijken, maar wat nou als je veel liever naar *beginners* kijkt? ☺ Ik ga bellen met Thijs en Robin: twee jonge mannen die hun zwemtraining voor één seizoen inwisselen voor schaatstraining, voor het goede doel. Eens kijken of ik Thijs al aan de lijn heb…

THIJS:
Goeiedag! Met Thijs.

DJ:
Ha die Thijs. Ja, als ik je e-mail goed begrijp, dan voeren jij en Robin op dit moment een soort sport experiment uit voor het goede doel?

THIJS:
Ja, dat klopt ja. Het begon allemaal met een wild idee. Robin en ik kennen elkaar al **meer dan** 10 jaar, van het zwemmen. Een paar weken geleden besloten we dat we wat wilden doen voor de migranten die nu naar Europa proberen te komen. We besloten het roer om te gooien – en geld op te halen door zelf iets te doen. Een zwemwedstrijd organiseren was een logische stap; maar we wilden **iets ludiekers dan** dat. Het werd een schaatswedstrijd. En niet zomaar een, maar een wedstrijd speciaal voor beginnende schaatsers, in februari. Wij doen zelf mee; schaatsen leren we nu op les. Als Robin en ik **sneller schaatsen dan** een andere deelnemer, doneert de verliezer 5 Euro aan ons goede doel. Tot nu toe ben ik **langzamer dan** mijn maten uit de trainingsgroep, dus ik moet nog hard werken. Robin is **slimmer dan** ik; want hij traint één avond extra ;-)

DJ:
Prachtig initiatief hoor. Thijs, bedankt voor je belletje; ik ga nog even door naar je schaatsmaat Robin – om te horen hoe het met zijn schaats-skills gaat.
>> Hallo Robin?

ROBIN:
He, hallo; ja, met Robin.

DJ:
Lekker aan het trainen jongen?

ROBIN:
Ja, zeg dat wel ja. Maar Thijs is niet helemaal eerlijk hoor; hij gaat **feller van start als** ik, dus in de eerste 30 meter ligt hij voor. Verder is het trainen nu lekker – maar ik moest eerst wel wennen. Ik heb hiervoor amper geschaatst, dus mijn enkels zijn **zwakker als** die van andere mensen uit de trainingsgroep. Wat dat betreft moet ik voorzichtig zijn.

Ik heb ook het idee dat de anderen ***minder*** spierpijn hebben **als** ik – hopelijk wordt dat nog beter. Met de aanmeldingen voor de wedstrijd in februari gaat het trouwens top. Twee weken geleden hadden we 10 deelnemers; Maar ik heb vanochtend nog even gekeken, en nu doen er al 40 (!) beginnende schaatsers mee. Dat is al een **grotere** groep **als** verwacht. Super toch? Nu hopen dat ik bij die wedstrijd **beter rijd als** de andere beginners ☺

DJ:
Met goede training zou dat moeten lukken, toch? Misschien dat ik toch ook maar moet overwegen om wat schaatslessen te nemen. He, als luisteraars zich in willen schrijven, waar kunnen ze dan terecht? Enne, hoeveel schaatservaring **hebben ze** minstens nodig om mee te kunnen doen?

ROBIN:
We hebben een website: www.schaats-Robin-en-Thijs-eruit.nl en daar kun je meer informatie over de wedstrijd vinden. Iedere beginner is welkom – als je maar overeind kunt blijven op het ijs kun je meedoen!

DJ:
Hartstikke mooi. www.schaats-Robin-en-Thijs-eruit.nl dus, voor de sportievelingen onder ons. Robin, succes met het project verder!

ROBIN:
Dankje. Komt goed!

DJ:
Wij gaan door met de volgende plaat, met het heerlijke Haus am See van Peter Fox.

[*muziek "Haus am See", Peter Fox*]

DJ:
… Oke, dat was Haus am See…. *En*, heb je je al aangemeld voor de schaatswedstrijd van Robin en Thijs? De mensen van de Nederlandse Schaatsbond en de schaatstrainers en ijshalverhuurders zullen wel blij zijn. **Hun hebben** *gratis en voor niets* (!) 4 minuten uitgebreide radioreclame gehad – beter kan niet. Nouja, misschien **doen hun** in ruil daarvoor nog een bijdrage voor het goede doel – dan is dat ook weer eerlijk.

Ik hoor net trouwens dat wij met wat mensen van de crew bij die wedstrijd zullen zijn, voor een live verslag. Probeer jij al mensen over te halen om mee te doen; maar zijn je vrienden, familieleden, of misschien de senioren waarmee je je huis deelt nog niet echt warm te krijgen;-)? **Hebben hun** allerlei bezwaren, maar wil jij toch meedoen? Schrijf je dan in voor het Radio Nu schaatsteam. Kijken wat **hun zeggen** als *jij* die wedstrijd wint!

Oké, genoeg gepraat. Tijd voor de volgende plaat!

[*muziek "I apologize (Dear Simon)", Moss*]

Appendix E1 | Stimulus sentences original acceptability judgement task

Table E1: An overview of the example sentences, filler sentences and stimulus-sentences included in the original acceptability judgement task. (The usage problems appear in boldface.)

Nr.	Type	Sentence
Ex1	F +	Hij heeft zich vergist: de vergadering was gisteren, niet vandaag.
Ex2	F _	Na het eten **doen** we eerst **afwassen** en pas daarna zetten we de tv aan.
1.	F	Niemand had verwacht dat VVV Venlo de voetbalwedstrijd zou winnen.
2.	–	**Hun** hebben die grap uitgehaald en niet wij!
3.	+	Je kunt s' avonds beter niet in je eentje door die **heel** donkere steeg lopen.
4.	F	Inwoners van Groningen klagen al jaren over de gevolgen van gaswinning.
5.	F	Hoe lang gaat een paspoort tegenwoordig eigenlijk mee?
6.	+	De instructies zijn zo onduidelijk dat een **aantal** mensen herhaaldelijk de klantenservice **hebben** moeten bellen.
7.	+	Mijn buren geven meer uit aan vakanties **dan** aan de tuin.
8.	_	Alleen **hele** arme mensen geven niets met collectes.
9.	F	Vrijdag is bij ons vaak pizza-dag.
10.	+	**Zij** hebben al een compleet plan en wij moeten nog beginnen!
11.	_	De huizenprijzen zijn veel lager **als** tien jaar geleden.
12.	F	Stonden de Toppers nu in Amsterdam of Utrecht op het podium vorige week?
13.	_	De stoplichten springen zo plotseling op rood dat er dagelijks een **twintigtal** automobilisten **wordt** geflitst.
14.	+	Sommige mensen gaan liever uit lunchen **dan** uit eten.
15.	+	Vooral **heel** hippe mensen verhuizen naar Amsterdam Noord.
16.	F	Je moet niet te lang stilstaan bij de risico's die je loopt in het verkeer.
17.	+	Het verjaardagsfeest was dusdanig goed gepromoot dat een **veertigtal** feestgangers **kwamen** opdagen.
18.	+	Hebben **zij** het oud papier al aan de weg gezet of moeten wij dat nog doen?
19.	_	De nieuwe James Bond film is nóg sterker **als** de vorige.
20.	F	Mijn collega's slaan geregeld de koffiepauze over.
21.	_	Het vervelende is dat een **aantal** jongeren uit de buurt het **verpest** voor de hele wijk.

22.	–	Hebben **hun** de wedstrijd uiteindelijk gewonnen of heeft de favoriet de achterstand ingehaald?
23.	F	De bloemenperken voor het huis worden bijgehouden door de gemeente.
24.	_	Een aanrijding meemaken lijkt me een **hele** nare ervaring.

Appendix E2 | Stimulus sentences revised acceptability judgement task

Table E2: An overview of the example sentences, filler sentences and stimuli-sentences included in the revised acceptability judgement task. (The usage problems appear in boldface.)

Nr.	Type	Sentence
Ex1	F–	Na het eten **doen** we eerst **afwassen** en pas daarna zetten we de tv aan.
Ex2	F+	Hij heeft zich vergist: de vergadering was gisteren, niet vandaag.
1.	K–	Blijkbaar **kennen** sommige voetbalsupporters elkaar niet uitstaan.
2.	H+	**Zij** hebben al een compleet plan en wij moeten nog beginnen!
3.	A+	Studenten geven meer uit aan bier **dan** aan boeken.
4.	F(U)	Op sommige basisscholen *heeft kinderen al in groep 1 Engels.
5.	K+	Toeristen **kunnen** makkelijk verdwalen in zo'n grote stad.
6.	H–	**Hun** hebben die grap uitgehaald en niet wij!
7.	F(F)	Groningers klagen tamelijk vaak over de consequenties van gaswinning.
8.	A+	Sommige mensen gaan liever met de fiets **dan** met de auto.
9.	K+	Ze heeft misschien een handicap, maar ze **kan** hardlopen als de beste.
10.	A–	De huizenprijzen zijn veel lager **als** tien jaar geleden.
11.	F(U)	Niemand zag de inbrekers, ondanks dat vier knallen *geklonk heeft.
12.	H+	Hebben **zij** dat probleem al opgelost of moeten wij dat nog doen?
13.	F(F)	Een eerdere racistische uitlating lag ten grondslag aan de protesten.
14.	H–	Hebben **hun** de wedstrijd uiteindelijk gewonnen of toch de favoriet?
15.	A–	De nieuwe James Bond film is nóg beter **als** de vorige.
16.	K–	Als die cursusleider zo zacht blijft praten, **ken** ik er niets van verstaan.

Key to the table

Ex	example sentence
F (U)	filler sentence, ungrammatical
F(F)	filler sentence, highly formal
K	(–)kennen/(+)kunnen
A	(–)als/(+)dan
H	(–)hun/(+)zij
–	variant is considered incorrect by prescriptivists and is viewed as annoying by Van Bezooijen's (2003) participants
+	variant is considered correct by prescriptivists and is thus not viewed as annoying by Van Bezooijen's (2003) participants

Appendix F1 | Question Booklet: Part 1

ONDERDEEL 1. *Radioprogramma*

FRAGMENT 1 *Daniël*

Vraag 1. Wat is je eerste indruk van deze spreker, afgaande op zijn Nederlands? Geef sleutelwoorden:

.....

Vraag 2. Vul de schalen in. De spreker uit dit fragment lijkt me:

A.	vriendelijk	O	O	O	O	O	onvriendelijk
B.	dom	O	O	O	O	O	intelligent
C.	energiek	O	O	O	O	O	lui
D.	leest graag	O	O	O	O	O	leest niet graag
E.	humeurig	O	O	O	O	O	opgewekt
F.	spraakzaam	O	O	O	O	O	teruggetrokken

Vraag 3. Welk opleidingsniveau denk je dat de spreker heeft?

- O universiteit of hoger (WO)
- O hoger beroepsonderwijs (HBO)
- O middelbaar beroepsonderwijs (MBO)
- O middelbare school
- O basisschool of lager

Vraag 4. Welk beroep denk je dat de spreker heeft? (Of voor welk beroep wordt de spreker opgeleid?) Omcirkel dat beroep:

huisarts	architect	journalist	verpleeghulp zorginstelling	supermarkt-medewerker
advocaat	apotheker	nieuwslezer	bakker	postbode
universitair docent	makelaar	leerkracht basisschool	geluidstechnicus	glazenwasser

O Geen van bovenstaande maar een ander beroep: .....

Vraag 5. Wat viel je op aan het taalgebruik van deze spreker? (taalgebruik = de woorden die iemand kiest; niet de uitspraak, intonatie of toonhoogte)

Het viel me op dat: .....

.....

Vraag 6. Lees je antwoord bij vraag 5 hierboven terug. Wat voor conclusie(s) trek je over de spreker op basis van wat jou opviel?

dat: .....

FRAGMENT 7 *Radio Presentatrice*

Vraag 1. Wat is je indruk van deze spreekster, afgaande op haar Nederlands?
Geef sleutelwoorden:

.....

Vraag 2. Vul de schalen in. De spreekster lijkt me:

A.	vriendelijk	O	O	O	O	O	onvriendelijk
B.	dom	O	O	O	O	O	intelligent
C.	energiek	O	O	O	O	O	lui
D.	leest graag	O	O	O	O	O	leest niet graag
E.	humeurig	O	O	O	O	O	opgewekt
F.	spraakzaam	O	O	O	O	O	teruggetrokken

Vraag 3. Welk opleidingsniveau denk je dat de spreekster heeft?

- O universiteit of hoger (WO)
- O hoger beroepsonderwijs (HBO)
- O middelbaar beroepsonderwijs (MBO)
- O middelbare school
- O basisschool of lager

Vraag 4. Het Nederlands dat deze spreekster gebruikt past bij het beroep dat ze uitoefent (radiopresentatrice):

- O geheel mee eens
- O mee eens
- O neutraal
- O niet mee eens
- O helemaal niet mee eens

Vraag 5. Wat viel je op aan het taalgebruik van deze spreekster? (taalgebruik = de woorden die iemand kiest; niet de uitspraak, intonatie of toonhoogte)

Het viel me op dat: .....

.....

Vraag 6. Lees je antwoord bij vraag 5 hierboven terug. Wat voor conclusie(s) trek je over de spreekster op basis van wat jou opviel?

dat: .....

Appendix F2 | Question Booklet: Part 2

ONDERDEEL 2 *Gesproken zinnen*

VOORBEELDZIN 1

Vraag 1a. Hoe acceptabel vind je deze zin als die uitgesproken werd door een:

	Acceptabel				*Onacceptabel*	**Vraag 1b.** Zou je de zin verwachten bij… ?*
a. vriend	O	O	O	O	O	ja / nee
b. collega	O	O	O	O	O	ja / nee
c. onderwijzer	O	O	O	O	O	ja / nee
d. minister	O	O	O	O	O	ja / nee

* Omcirkel je keuze a.u.b.

Vraag 2. Hoe dicht ligt de zin die net gebruikt werd bij jouw eigen taalgebruik?

Zeer dichtbij O O O O O *Zeer ver weg*

VOORBEELDZIN 2

Vraag 1a. Hoe acceptabel vind je deze zin als die uitgesproken werd door een:

	Acceptabel				*Onacceptabel*	**Vraag 1b.** Zou je de zin verwachten bij… ?*
a. vriend	O	O	O	O	O	ja / nee
b. collega	O	O	O	O	O	ja / nee
c. onderwijzer	O	O	O	O	O	ja / nee
d. minister	O	O	O	O	O	ja / nee

* Omcirkel je keuze a.u.b.

Vraag 2. Hoe dicht ligt de zin die net gebruikt werd bij jouw eigen taalgebruik?

Zeer dichtbij O O O O O *Zeer ver weg*

——————————————————ZIN 1——————————————————

Vraag 1a. Hoe acceptabel vind je deze zin als die uitgesproken werd door een:

	Acceptabel				*Onacceptabel*	**Vraag 1b.** Zou je de zin verwachten bij… ?
a. vriend	O	O	O	O	O	ja / nee
b. collega	O	O	O	O	O	ja / nee
c. onderwijzer	O	O	O	O	O	ja / nee
d. minister	O	O	O	O	O	ja / nee

Vraag 2. Hoe dicht ligt de zin die net gebruikt werd bij jouw eigen taalgebruik?

Zeer dichtbij						*Zeer ver weg*
	O	O	O	O	O	

——————————————————ZIN 2——————————————————

Vraag 1a. Hoe acceptabel vind je deze zin als die uitgesproken werd door een:

	Acceptabel				*Onacceptabel*	**Vraag 1b.** Zou je de zin verwachten bij… ?
a. vriend	O	O	O	O	O	ja / nee
b. collega	O	O	O	O	O	ja / nee
c. onderwijzer	O	O	O	O	O	ja / nee
d. minister	O	O	O	O	O	ja / nee

Vraag 2. Hoe dicht ligt de zin die net gebruikt werd bij jouw eigen taalgebruik?

Zeer dichtbij						*Zeer ver weg*
	O	O	O	O	O	

——————————————————ZIN 3——————————————————

Vraag 1a. Hoe acceptabel vind je deze zin als die uitgesproken werd door een:

	Acceptabel				*Onacceptabel*	**Vraag 1b.** Zou je de zin verwachten bij… ?
a. vriend	O	O	O	O	O	ja / nee
b. collega	O	O	O	O	O	ja / nee
c. onderwijzer	O	O	O	O	O	ja / nee
d. minister	O	O	O	O	O	ja / nee

Vraag 2. Hoe dicht ligt de zin die net gebruikt werd bij jouw eigen taalgebruik?

Zeer dichtbij						*Zeer ver weg*
	O	O	O	O	O	

Appendix F3 | Question Booklet: Part 3

ONDERDEEL 3 *Vragen*

Vraag 1. Wie of wat zie je als taalautoriteit voor het Nederlands?

.....

Vraag 2. Waar ga je heen als je advies over taal nodig hebt?

.....

O n.v.t. want ik zoek nooit advies over taal op

Vraag 3. Over wat voor soort kwesties zoek je taaladvies op? Noem voorbeelden.

.....

.....

O n.v.t. want ik zoek nooit advies over taal op

– zie volgende pagina voor het laatste onderdeel –

Appendix F4 | Question Booklet: Part 4

ONDERDEEL 4 *Persoonlijke gegevens*

Vraag 1. Wat is uw geslacht?

- O man
- O vrouw

Vraag 2. In welke plaats heeft u het langst gewoond?

Vraag 3. In welke plaats woont u nu?

Vraag 4. Wat is uw leeftijd?

jaar

Vraag 5. Wat is de hoogste opleiding waarvoor u een diploma heeft gehaald?

- O geen of lager onderwijs (basisonderwijs)
- O lager voortgezet onderwijs (vmbo, mavo, mulo, lts, leao, huishoudschool, etc.)
- O hoger voortgezet onderwijs (havo, hbs, vwo, mms, gymnasium, etc.)
- O middelbaar beroepsonderwijs (ROC, mts, uts, meao, INAS, etc.)
- O hoger beroepsonderwijs (HBO)
- O universiteit

Vraag 6. Wat is uw beroep? (Indien u meerdere beroepen uitoefent, vul dan het beroep in waaraan u relatief het meeste tijd besteedt.)

Vraag 7. Kruis in zinnen a,b,c, en d hieronder aan wat voor u van toepassing is:

a. Tijdens mijn <u>opleiding</u> was het gebruik van correct **gesproken** Nederlands: O belangrijk / O niet belangrijk.

b. Tijdens mijn <u>opleiding</u> was het gebruik van correct **geschreven** Nederlands: O belangrijk / O niet belangrijk.

c. Binnen mijn <u>beroep</u> is het gebruik van correct **gesproken** Nederlands: O belangrijk / O niet belangrijk.

d. Binnen mijn <u>beroep</u> is het gebruik van correct **geschreven** Nederlands: O belangrijk / O niet belangrijk.

Appendix G | Statistics

Table G1: The test statistics of the Kruskall Wallis tests that were carried out for the example sentences in the acceptability judgement task.

Style	Example (1)	Example (2)
friend	($H(2) = 6.30$, $p<.05$)*	($H(2) = .25$, $p>.05$)
colleague	($H(2) = 3.73$, $p>.05$)	($H(2) = 1.24$, $p>.05$)
teacher	($H(2) = 5.13$, $p>.05$)	($H(2) = 1.11$, $p>.05$)
minister	($H(2) = 3.14$, $p>.05$)	($H(2) = 1.41$, $p>.05$)
Selfreport	($H(2) = 2.29$, $p>.05$)	$H(2) = 2.40$, $p>.05$)

Table G2: The test statistics of the Kruskall Wallis tests that were carried out for the highly formal filler sentences in the acceptability judgement task.

Style	Filler (7)	Filler (13)
friend	($H(2) = 4.21$, $p>.05$)	($H(2) = 4.09$, $p>.05$)
colleague	($H(2) = 4.63$, $p>.05$)	($H(2) = 4.39$, $p>.05$)
teacher	($H(2) = .33$, $p>.05$)	($H(2) = .17$, $p>.05$)
minister	($H(2) = .25$, $p>.05$)	($H(2) = .00$, $p>.05$)
Selfreport	($H(2) =12.57$, $p<.05$)*	($H(2) =10.85$, $p<.05$)*

Model 1 (acceptability data)

```
Linear mixed model fit by REML t-tests use Satterthwaite approximations
  to degrees of freedom [lmerMod]
Formula: accept ~ style * edu * corr + (1 | pp) + (style | zin)
   Data: dat

REML criterion at convergence: 6450.1

Scaled residuals:
    Min      1Q  Median      3Q     Max
-3.5462 -0.6577 -0.0263  0.6040  3.1642

Random effects:
 Groups   Name             Variance Std.Dev. Corr
 pp       (Intercept)      0.21992  0.4690
 zin      (Intercept)      0.04626  0.2151
          stylecollega     0.01198  0.1094   1.00
          styleonderwijzer 0.02500  0.1581   0.89 0.90
          styleminister    0.03158  0.1777   0.90 0.91 1.00
 Residual                  1.07398  1.0363
Number of obs: 2159, groups:  pp, 45; zin, 12

Fixed effects:
                                   Estimate Std. Error         df
(Intercept)                        1.344e+00  1.852e-01  6.350e+01
stylecollega                       6.667e-02  1.608e-01  1.723e+02
styleonderwijzer                   4.667e-01  1.674e-01  8.000e+01
styleminister                      9.889e-01  1.707e-01  6.680e+01
eduHBO                            -1.333e-01  2.306e-01  1.129e+02
eduWO                              7.778e-02  2.306e-01  1.129e+02
corrincorr                         5.333e-01  1.982e-01  3.130e+01
stylecollega:eduHBO                1.000e-01  2.185e-01  2.073e+03
styleonderwijzer:eduHBO            1.000e-01  2.185e-01  2.073e+03
styleminister:eduHBO              -5.556e-02  2.185e-01  2.073e+03
stylecollega:eduWO                 1.333e-01  2.185e-01  2.073e+03
styleonderwijzer:eduWO            -5.556e-02  2.185e-01  2.073e+03
styleminister:eduWO               -1.444e-01  2.185e-01  2.073e+03
stylecollega:corrincorr            3.444e-01  2.274e-01  1.723e+02
styleonderwijzer:corrincorr        1.011e+00  2.368e-01  8.000e+01
styleminister:corrincorr           9.111e-01  2.414e-01  6.680e+01
eduHBO:corrincorr                  5.667e-01  2.185e-01  2.073e+03
eduWO:corrincorr                   1.444e+00  2.185e-01  2.073e+03
stylecollega:eduHBO:corrincorr    -3.333e-02  3.090e-01  2.073e+03
styleonderwijzer:eduHBO:corrincorr -7.732e-14  3.090e-01  2.073e+03
styleminister:eduHBO:corrincorr   -7.992e-14  3.090e-01  2.073e+03
stylecollega:eduWO:corrincorr     -1.111e-01  3.090e-01  2.073e+03
styleonderwijzer:eduWO:corrincorr -4.304e-01  3.092e-01  2.073e+03
styleminister:eduWO:corrincorr    -5.556e-01  3.090e-01  2.073e+03
                                  t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)                         7.259 6.81e-10 ***
stylecollega                        0.415 0.678991
styleonderwijzer                    2.787 0.006638 **
styleminister                       5.794 2.03e-07 ***
eduHBO                             -0.578 0.564328
eduWO                               0.337 0.736560
corrincorr                          2.691 0.011343 *
stylecollega:eduHBO                 0.458 0.647206
styleonderwijzer:eduHBO             0.458 0.647206
styleminister:eduHBO               -0.254 0.799300
stylecollega:eduWO                  0.610 0.541740
styleonderwijzer:eduWO             -0.254 0.799300
styleminister:eduWO                -0.661 0.508595
stylecollega:corrincorr             1.514 0.131734
styleonderwijzer:corrincorr         4.270 5.33e-05 ***
styleminister:corrincorr            3.775 0.000343 ***
eduHBO:corrincorr                   2.594 0.009562 **
eduWO:corrincorr                    6.611 4.83e-11 ***
stylecollega:eduHBO:corrincorr     -0.108 0.914098
styleonderwijzer:eduHBO:corrincorr  0.000 1.000000
styleminister:eduHBO:corrincorr     0.000 1.000000
stylecollega:eduWO:corrincorr      -0.360 0.719173
styleonderwijzer:eduWO:corrincorr  -1.392 0.164081
styleminister:eduWO:corrincorr     -1.798 0.072312 .
---
Signif. codes:  0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1
```

Model 2

```
Linear mixed model fit by REML t-tests use Satterthwaite approximations
  to degrees of freedom [lmerMod]
Formula: accept ~ style * edu + style * corr + edu * corr + (1 | pp) +
    (style | zin)
   Data: dat

REML criterion at convergence: 6450.7

Scaled residuals:
    Min      1Q  Median      3Q     Max
-3.4984 -0.6544 -0.0265  0.6042  3.1188

Random effects:
 Groups   Name             Variance Std.Dev. Corr
 pp       (Intercept)      0.21989  0.4689
 zin      (Intercept)      0.04626  0.2151
          stylecollega     0.01198  0.1094   1.00
          styleonderwijzer 0.02493  0.1579   0.89 0.90
          styleminister    0.03157  0.1777   0.90 0.91 1.00
 Residual                  1.07394  1.0363
Number of obs: 2159, groups:  pp, 45; zin, 12

Fixed effects:
                            Estimate Std. Error         df t value
(Intercept)                  1.29737    0.17697   53.00000   7.331
stylecollega                 0.09074    0.13382   85.90000   0.678
styleonderwijzer             0.53830    0.14167   41.70000   3.800
styleminister                1.08148    0.14550   35.60000   7.433
eduHBO                      -0.12917    0.21032   78.50000  -0.614
eduWO                        0.21483    0.21033   78.50000   1.021
corrincorr                   0.62748    0.16539   15.20000   3.794
stylecollega:eduHBO          0.08333    0.15448 2079.00000   0.539
styleonderwijzer:eduHBO      0.10000    0.15448 2079.00000   0.647
styleminister:eduHBO        -0.05556    0.15448 2079.00000  -0.360
stylecollega:eduWO           0.07778    0.15448 2079.00000   0.503
styleonderwijzer:eduWO      -0.27044    0.15459 2079.00000  -1.749
styleminister:eduWO         -0.42222    0.15448 2079.00000  -2.733
stylecollega:corrincorr      0.29630    0.14108   27.20000   2.100
styleonderwijzer:corrincorr  0.86785    0.15568   15.30000   5.575
styleminister:corrincorr     0.72593    0.16258   14.00000   4.465
eduHBO:corrincorr            0.55833    0.10924 2079.00000   5.111
eduWO:corrincorr             1.17033    0.10928 2079.00000  10.710
                           Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)                1.33e-09 ***
stylecollega               0.499528
styleonderwijzer           0.000465 ***
styleminister              9.53e-09 ***
eduHBO                     0.540896
eduWO                      0.310186
corrincorr                 0.001727 **
stylecollega:eduHBO        0.589647
styleonderwijzer:eduHBO    0.517498
styleminister:eduHBO       0.719167
stylecollega:eduWO         0.614688
styleonderwijzer:eduWO     0.080375 .
styleminister:eduWO        0.006327 **
stylecollega:corrincorr    0.045120 *
styleonderwijzer:corrincorr 4.94e-05 ***
styleminister:corrincorr   0.000537 ***
eduHBO:corrincorr          3.49e-07 ***
eduWO:corrincorr            < 2e-16 ***
---
Signif. codes:  0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

Correlation of Fixed Effects:
            (Intr) stylcl stylnd stylmn eduHBO eduWO  crrncr stylc:HBO
stylecolleg -0.170
stylndrwjzr -0.117  0.556
styleminstr -0.087  0.560  0.613
eduHBO      -0.594  0.212  0.200  0.195
eduWO       -0.594  0.212  0.200  0.195  0.500
corrincorr  -0.467  0.003 -0.045 -0.072  0.086  0.086
stylcll:HBO  0.218 -0.577 -0.273 -0.265 -0.367 -0.184  0.000
stylndr:HBO  0.218 -0.289 -0.545 -0.265 -0.367 -0.184  0.000  0.500
stylmns:HBO  0.218 -0.289 -0.273 -0.531 -0.367 -0.184  0.000  0.500
stylcllg:WO  0.218 -0.577 -0.273 -0.265 -0.184 -0.367  0.000  0.500
```

```
stylndrw:WO  0.218 -0.288 -0.545 -0.265 -0.183 -0.367  0.000  0.250
stylmnst:WO  0.218 -0.289 -0.273 -0.531 -0.184 -0.367  0.000  0.250
stylcllg:cr  0.002 -0.527 -0.329 -0.337  0.000  0.000 -0.005  0.000
stylndrwjz: -0.038 -0.315 -0.549 -0.382  0.000  0.000  0.082  0.000
stylmnstr:c -0.061 -0.318 -0.376 -0.559  0.000  0.000  0.130  0.000
edHBO:crrnc  0.154  0.000  0.000  0.000 -0.260 -0.130 -0.330  0.000
edWO:crrncr  0.154  0.000  0.000  0.000 -0.130 -0.260 -0.330  0.000
            styln:HBO stylm:HBO stylc:WO styln:WO stylm:WO stylc: styln:
stylecolleg
stylndrwjzr
styleminstr
eduHBO
eduWO
corrincorr
stylcll:HBO
stylndr:HBO
stylmns:HBO  0.500
stylcllg:WO  0.250     0.250
stylndrw:WO  0.500     0.250     0.500
stylmnst:WO  0.250     0.500     0.500    0.500
stylcllg:cr  0.000     0.000     0.000    0.000    0.000
stylndrwjz:  0.000     0.000     0.000    0.001    0.000    0.598
stylmnstr:c  0.000     0.000     0.000    0.000    0.000    0.604  0.684
edHBO:crrnc  0.000     0.000     0.000    0.000    0.000    0.000  0.000
edWO:crrncr  0.000     0.000     0.000    0.001    0.000    0.000  0.001
            stylm: edHBO:
stylecolleg
stylndrwjzr
styleminstr
eduHBO
eduWO
corrincorr
stylcll:HBO
stylndr:HBO
stylmns:HBO
stylcllg:WO
stylndrw:WO
stylmnst:WO
stylcllg:cr
stylndrwjz:
stylmnstr:c
edHBO:crrnc  0.000
edWO:crrncr  0.000  0.500
```

ANOVA-comparison models 1 and 2

```
Data: dat
Models:
..1: accept ~ style * edu + style * corr + edu * corr + (1 | pp) +
..1:     (style | zin)
object: accept ~ style * edu * corr + (1 | pp) + (style | zin)
       Df  AIC    BIC  logLik deviance  Chisq Chi Df Pr(>Chisq)
..1    30 6465 6635.3 -3202.5     6405
object 36 6471 6675.4 -3199.5     6399 5.9499      6     0.4288
```

Model 3

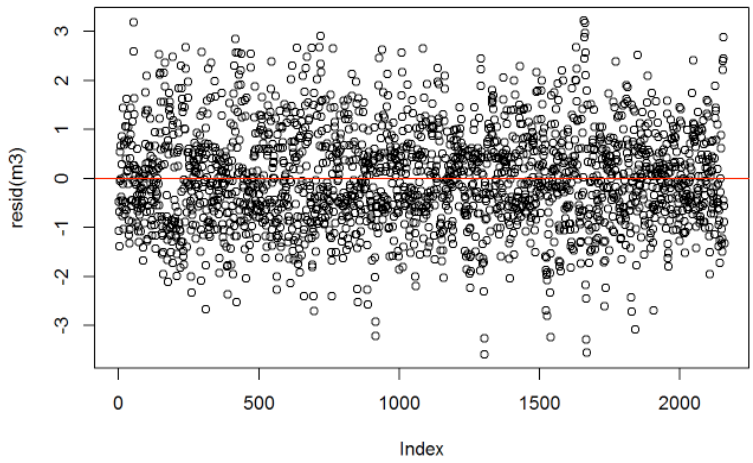
```
Linear mixed model fit by REML t-tests use Satterthwaite approximations
  to degrees of freedom [lmerMod]
Formula: accept ~ style * corr + edu * corr + (1 | pp) + (style | zin)
   Data: dat

REML criterion at convergence: 6454.5

Scaled residuals:
    Min      1Q  Median      3Q     Max
-3.4585 -0.6502 -0.0485  0.6150  3.0980

Random effects:
 Groups   Name             Variance Std.Dev. Corr
 pp       (Intercept)      0.21970  0.4687
 zin      (Intercept)      0.04622  0.2150
          stylecollega     0.01197  0.1094   1.00
          styleonderwijzer 0.02470  0.1572   0.89 0.90
          styleminister    0.03142  0.1773   0.90 0.91 1.00
 Residual                  1.07985  1.0392
```

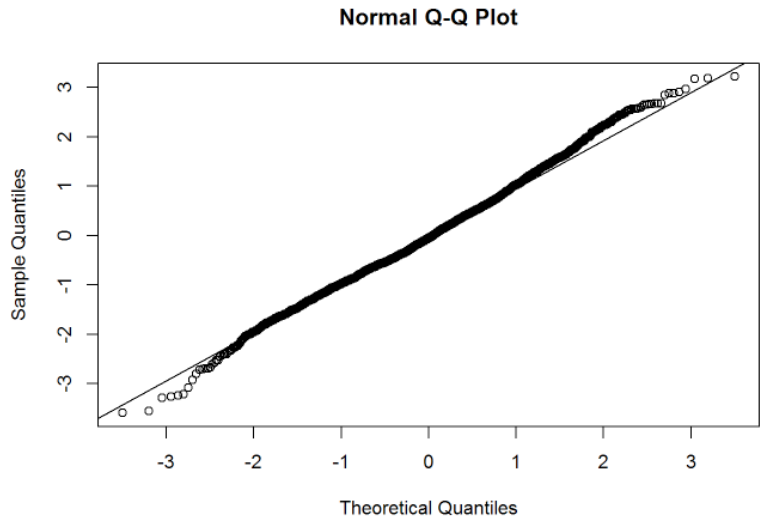
```
Number of obs: 2159, groups:  pp, 45; zin, 12

Fixed effects:
                             Estimate Std. Error         df t value
(Intercept)                   1.33796    0.16837   43.40000   7.946
stylecollega                  0.14444    0.09997   27.30000   1.445
styleonderwijzer              0.48148    0.11007   15.40000   4.374
styleminister                 0.92222    0.11505   14.00000   8.016
corrincorr                    0.62738    0.16555   15.20000   3.790
eduHBO                       -0.09722    0.18786   50.10000  -0.518
eduWO                         0.06111    0.18786   50.10000   0.325
stylecollega:corrincorr       0.29630    0.14138   27.30000   2.096
styleonderwijzer:corrincorr   0.86824    0.15572   15.40000   5.576
styleminister:corrincorr      0.72593    0.16270   14.00000   4.462
corrincorr:eduHBO             0.55833    0.10954 2085.00000   5.097
corrincorr:eduWO              1.17062    0.10958 2085.00000  10.683
                            Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)                 5.31e-10 ***
stylecollega                0.159862
styleonderwijzer            0.000515 ***
styleminister               1.33e-06 ***
corrincorr                  0.001736 **
eduHBO                      0.607074
eduWO                       0.746312
stylecollega:corrincorr     0.045499 *
styleonderwijzer:corrincorr 4.81e-05 ***
styleminister:corrincorr    0.000537 ***
corrincorr:eduHBO           3.76e-07 ***
corrincorr:eduWO             < 2e-16 ***
---
Signif. codes:  0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

Correlation of Fixed Effects:
            (Intr) stylcl stylnd stylmn crrncr eduHBO eduWO  stylc: styln:
stylecolleg -0.005
stylndrwjzr  0.055  0.599
styleminstr  0.089  0.604  0.682
corrincorr  -0.492  0.005 -0.056 -0.091
eduHBO      -0.558  0.000  0.000  0.000  0.096
eduWO       -0.558  0.000  0.000  0.000  0.096  0.500
stylcllg:cr  0.003 -0.707 -0.423 -0.427 -0.007  0.000  0.000
stylndrwjz: -0.039 -0.423 -0.707 -0.482  0.079  0.000  0.000  0.598
stylmnstr:c -0.063 -0.427 -0.483 -0.707  0.128  0.000  0.000  0.604  0.682
crrncrr:HBO  0.163  0.000  0.000  0.000 -0.331 -0.292 -0.146  0.000  0.000
crrncrr:dWO  0.163  0.000  0.000  0.000 -0.331 -0.146 -0.291  0.000  0.001
            stylm: cr:HBO
stylecolleg
stylndrwjzr
styleminstr
corrincorr
eduHBO
eduWO
stylcllg:cr
stylndrwjz:
stylmnstr:c
crrncrr:HBO  0.000
crrncrr:dWO  0.000  0.500
```

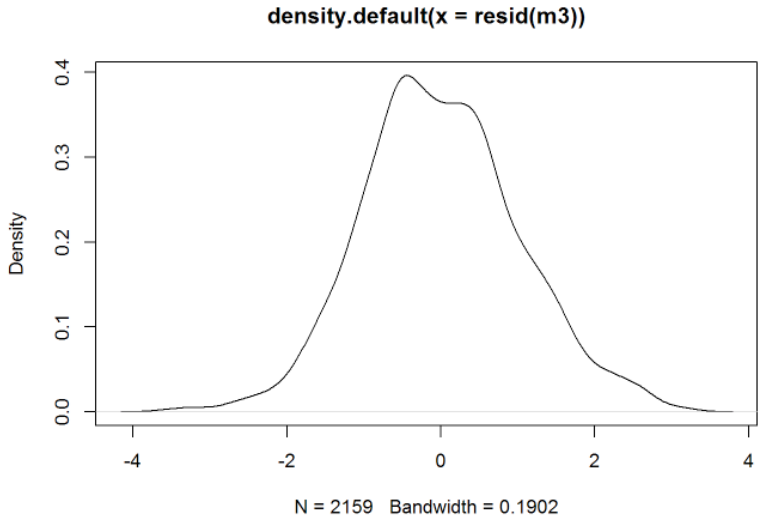
ANOVA-comparison models 2 and 3

```
Data: dat
Models:
..1: accept ~ style * corr + edu * corr + (1 | pp) + (style | zin)
object: accept ~ style * edu + style * corr + edu * corr + (1 | pp) +
object:     (style | zin)
       Df    AIC    BIC  logLik deviance  Chisq Chi Df Pr(>Chisq)
..1    24 6470.5 6606.7 -3211.2   6422.5
object 30 6465.0 6635.3 -3202.5   6405.0 17.486      6   0.007652 **
---
Signif. codes:  0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1
```

Checking the assumptions for model 3 (acceptability data)





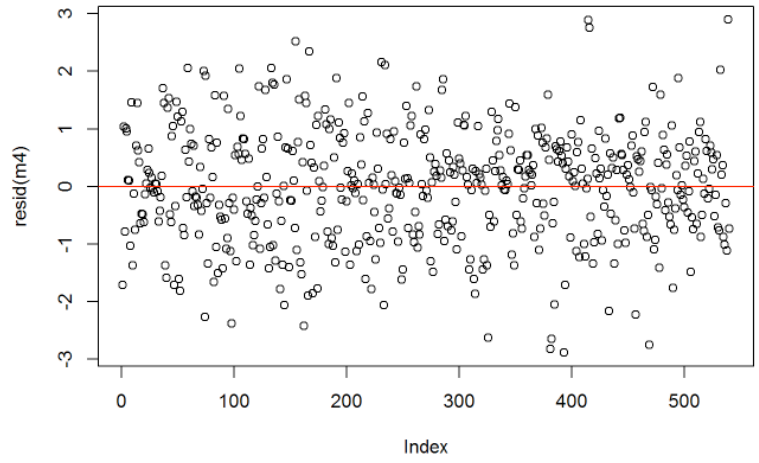


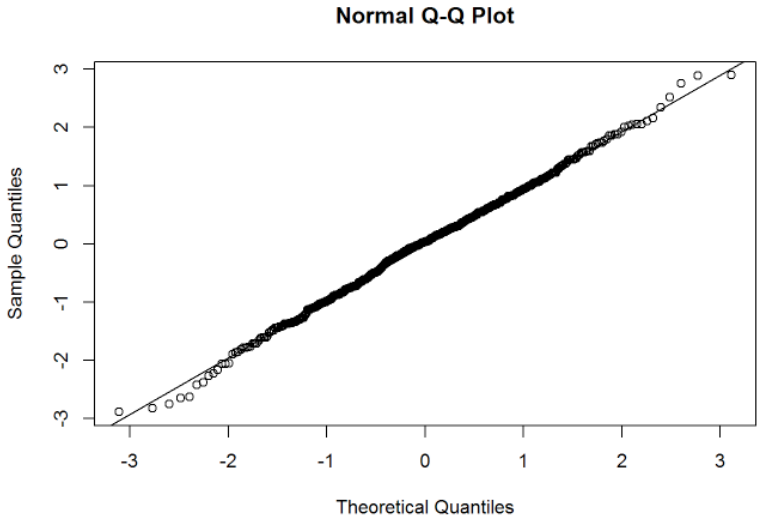
Model 4 (self-report data)

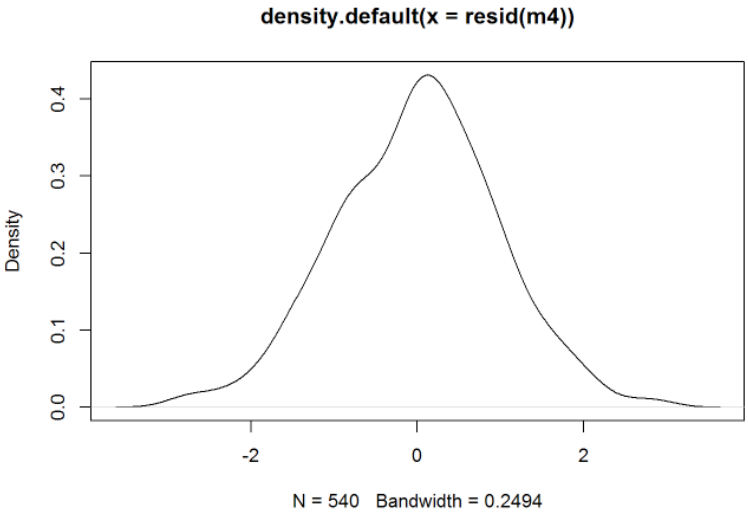
```
Linear mixed model fit by REML t-tests use Satterthwaite approximations
  to degrees of freedom [lmerMod]
Formula: closeness.to.own.use ~ corr * edu + (1 | pp) + (1 | zin)
   Data: dat2
```

```
REML criterion at convergence: 1622.7

Scaled residuals:
     Min       1Q   Median       3Q      Max
-2.84010 -0.66020  0.03975  0.62840  2.84918

Random effects:
 Groups   Name        Variance Std.Dev.
 pp       (Intercept) 0.20282  0.4504
 zin      (Intercept) 0.06167  0.2483
 Residual             1.03099  1.0154
Number of obs: 540, groups:  pp, 45; zin, 12

Fixed effects:
                  Estimate Std. Error       df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)         2.1556     0.1878  43.3000  11.480 1.02e-14 ***
corrincorr          0.8222     0.2085  23.6000   3.944 0.000622 ***
eduHBO             -0.4556     0.2235  70.2000  -2.038 0.045295 *
eduWO              -0.3444     0.2235  70.2000  -1.541 0.127785
corrincorr:eduHBO   0.9556     0.2141 482.0000   4.464 1.00e-05 ***
corrincorr:eduWO    1.7667     0.2141 482.0000   8.253 1.33e-15 ***
---
Signif. codes:  0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

Correlation of Fixed Effects:
            (Intr) crrncr eduHBO eduWO  cr:HBO
corrincorr  -0.555
eduHBO      -0.595  0.246
eduWO       -0.595  0.246  0.500
crrncrr:HBO  0.285 -0.513 -0.479 -0.239
crrncrr:dWO  0.285 -0.513 -0.239 -0.479  0.500
```

Checking the assumptions for model 4 (self-report data)






density.default(x = resid(m4))
Density
0.0
0.1
0.2
0.3
0.4
-2
0
2
N = 540 Bandwidth = 0.2494