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AN ETHNO-SOCLINGUISTIC STUDY OF PELLA DUTCH

Philip E. Webber
Co-Chair, Linguistics
Central College
Pella, Iowa 50219

I am delighted that this conference is attended by colleagues from so many fields, and trust that it will be possible to present results which will give a specific idea of my work to fellow-linguists, while at the same time offering ideas of a more general and perhaps less technical nature to those working in other areas. I have noted with gratification the interlocking nature of my own interests with those of other conference attendees, and would certainly welcome any questions at the paper's conclusion. Because this is a conference of the Association for the Advancement of Dutch-American Studies, I must say at the offset: Please don't pardon me if I sometimes speak Dutch!

It is likewise a pleasure to express my deep gratitude for the vital and generous support which this project has received from several sources. The Central College Faculty Committee on Research and Development has come to my aid on several occasions, and I openly express my thanks for this fact. A much-needed study of the technical models for this study and of vital collateral literature was made possible by my appointment last summer as as Mellon Fellow at University of Iowa's University House program, where I carried out a parallel study on sociolinguistic patterns of Amana German. Finally, I am proud to recognize the help of the half dozen or so students who have entered into more and less formal degrees of collaboration on various aspects of the project.

Like any proper study of human activity, this project has sought as its basis an appreciation for the historical dimensions of the problems involved. I have tried to work with a

multiplicity of historical sources, as illustrated here by both printed material (e.g., Pella's Dutch newspapers) and unpublished data (gleaned primarily from the recollections of older informants willing to be interviewed or--in a precious instance or two--to share written recollections, diaries and notes). Let us turn to some sample data.

Printed Sources.

I shall not reiterate the abundant documentation for the fact that the early movement in Pella was, largely due to the influence of H. P. Scholte, one of linguistic and social acculturation to the American setting. This does not suggest a wholesale abandonment of things Dutch, but rather a determination to meet, and if possible, to compete successfully with the Americans at their own game. We might note that Pella's first newspaper, The Pella Gazette, was published in English. In the opening article of its first issue (February 1, 1855), we read that "...at present the native American population in and around the town has become equal to the number of foreign-born and naturalized citizens. In the Schools the English language is predominant and the Sabbath School is taught in English." It was only in 1860 that Pella's first Dutch newspaper, the Pella Weekblad, appeared; it continued to be published weekly, in Dutch, for 81 years. The Gazette had, meanwhile, floundered, and was replaced only in 1864 by the Pella Blade (which, after merger and change of name, eventually became our beloved Pella Chronicle). The Blade and Weekblad continued to exercise a virtual monopoly on Pella journalism until the period just before and after the turn

of the century, when a number of new (or renamed) papers appeared, including several in Dutch. Of the latter, the Pella Nieuwsblad alone was to survive, only to be consolidated with the Weekblad in 1900.

It is in this period of revived journalistic activity, and in particular of non-English journalism in Pella, that we find a concentration of articles on the Dutch language. A highly visible figure in this movement was P. C. Huet, alias Solano, whose columns regularly included articles dealing with such topics as "Onze Nationaliteit," "Onze Taal," etc. Solano appears to have seen himself as a lonely fighter for disappearing loyalties to homeland and the mother tongue, and typically lauded the efforts of the isolated idealist to surmount great odds and adversity to preserve traditional values. The founding of the "Wilhelmina Societeit" in California by "slechts weinige onzer landgenooten" in 1898 drew the following (stereo)typical response:

Waar niet erg veel Hollanders zijn in de vreemde, daar wordt het Hollandsch bloed in eere gehouden. 'tIs vreemd maar 't is waar. Ik heb 't al meer opgemerkt. Waar slecht enkelen zijn daar sluiten die weinigen zich bij elkander aan, zoekt men door het oprichten van Nederlandsche Vereenigingen de liefde voor taal en land te bestendigen. En waar er velen zijn, zooals in de meeste Hollander zettingen het geval is, daar wordt de schoone Hollandsche taal door het 'waai, waai, waai' der Engelsche neusklanken onderdrukt. Waar er velen zijn daar leven de Hollander vereenigingen niet, toch

sterven door onverschilligheid [!] en tegenstand
een roemloozen dood.

Pella Weekblad XIII:10, March 6, 1903, p. 1.

When the editor-publisher of the Grand Rapids Stem des Volks was unable to continue his work and the paper fell silent, Solano reported as though in an obituary, under the heading "Weer een Blad Minder":

....het heengaan, het afsterven van Een stem der Volks.
[sic] ...daar doet het ons smarte indien het aantal der
enkele "eerlijke" bladen weder met een verminderd is.

Pella Weekblad XLII: 2, January 9, 1903, p. 1.

Whether or not Solano's attitudes can be considered entirely typical for Pella's Dutch-Americans of the period is open to some question. He himself conceded: "Mij wordt verweten dat ik te veel Nederlander ben, dat ik door mijn overdreven ingenomenheid met alles wat Hollandsch is, het goed niet wil zien in andere nationaliteiten." (Pella Weekblad XLI: 39, September 26, 1902, p. 8.) Indeed, at one point he prints a letter from A. J. J. [one of the publishing Jansma brothers?] which is quite instructive on several points. The writer, while born in the Netherlands and proud of that fact, nevertheless hastens to add "maar ik ben nu een Amerikaan en gevoel me er wel bij"; he then goes on to reprove Solano:

...in uw overdrijving van Feiten, in uw jeugdige
onbezonnenheid schijnt u te verbeelden dat ieder
Amerikaan zich zou rekenen als iets hoogers, iets
edellers, iets meer volmaakt dan het beste wezen op

aarde ...en als je nog iets over Amerikanen schrijf,
bestudeert ze dan eerst.

Pella Weekblad XLI: 4, January 24, 1902, p. 2.

I cite this letter as only one of several pieces of evidence to suggest that Solano's problem, and very possibly that of a good number of his readers, stemmed from the unresolved ambiguity of feelings so familiar to members of ethnic communities who on the one hand uncritically lionize everything associated with the distant homeland, yet at the same time suffer from a debilitating and gnawing suspicion that the host society must indeed be reckoned as dominant, regardless of ones feelings about its intrinsic merit.

Interestingly, however, neither A. J. J. nor any of Solano's other critics whom I've read appear to imply that social (including linguistic) acculturation need in any way lead to absolute abandonment of the Dutch language. Indeed, after Solano's unceremonious departure in 1903, the Weekblad continued publication in Dutch until 1941, long after the issue of national loyalties had been settled for Pella's residents. My own composite assessment of the data from this one source of printed records is that, at a critical point in its history as a Dutch-American community, Pella once again affirmed social loyalties to America, while maintaining considerable Dutch linguistic loyalties. It is my less-than-tacit fear that the long-range history of Pella will see virtually the opposite, with much heightened ethnic interest alongside ever-decreasing second-language maintainance.

As a parting observation on journalistic sources, I

would note a recent upsurge in The Pella Chronicle's publication of everything from Dutch nursery rhymes to "Yankee Dutch" selections. It is encouraging that at least some have hinted that publication of pieces on the order of "Humbug met de piegs" may do as much as anything to kindle a desire to revitalize the Dutch language.

Unpublished sources

The data from unpublished sources has taken on many foci, though one familiar theme has predominated: the blow struck by World War I to the use of Dutch in Pella. The theme is a familiar one, and I do not wish to belabor the obvious. For the benefit of visitors from out of state, however, I would point out that the residents of Iowa faced a double peril in speaking Dutch: not only did they have to contend with the distressingly pervasive confusion of Dutch and German by the ignorant, they were indeed forbidden by law from speaking any language in public other than English. On May 23, 1918, Gov. William Harding issued the following four directives, by which, as Nancy Derr has pointed out, he "distinguished himself by becoming the only American governor ever to make it a crime to speak any language but English in his state":

- "English should and must be the only medium of instruction in public, private, denominational or other similar schools.
- "Conversation in public places, on trains and over the telephone should be in the English language.
- "All public addresses should be in the English language."

- "Let those who cannot speak or understand the English language conduct their religious worship in their homes."

(See the Des Moines Register, Dec. 14, 1980, p. A12.)

A retired minister who lived through the period of the enforcement of these proclamations, including unannounced visits by teams of state investigators sent to Pella churches to verify compliance, noted that the governor's action had no impact on the people's loyalty toward either the church or toward the war effort. According to his account (which finds corroboration in the recollection of other informants), however, a subtle change in language behavior took place during the period of prohibition of second languages in public worship services. At the end of the war, there was a sufficient influx of immigrants from the Netherlands and enough of a general revival of linguistic and cultural ties with the European fatherland to make a return to Dutch worship possible. In Pella, however (and in contrast to the situation in some other parts of the country), the faithful had simply become used to worshipping in English, and no longer perceived this activity as one which necessarily prompted a natural code-switch to Dutch. I stress this point here because, as I shall point out later, it is not so much the speakers of Pella Dutch which currently are dying out, as are the social situations which prompt its use as a spontaneous form of language behavior.

Dutch as the language of religion did, of course, survive the war years, and the same minister hastened to add that some were not quickly disabused of the idea that Dutch was "the language they spoke in heaven." I finally have a source, thanks

to this informant, for what I had always assumed to be the apocryphal story of the young man who, returning from college to visit his Dutch mother, was asked: "Do they have any religion there [i.e., in college], or is it all English?"

After the era of second-language prohibition, an abbreviated schedule of Dutch services was reintroduced, though many informants add that their motivation for attending these services was not necessarily to gain greater spiritual insights. More than one person has stated flatly that he or she attended to practice listening to Dutch, a fact that would indicate that Dutch was no longer as universally current as before, but also that the language was not going to be allowed to gasp its way into oblivion without vigorous attempt at resuscitation. The woman who is perhaps my best all-around informant, who reached her majority at about the time of the depression, reports the following experience from her late teen years:

When I was about 18 or 19 we had a minister in our church who had just returned from the Netherlands. He had just finished his thesis and beside that he was a brilliant student. We still had three services on Sundays. The afternoon service was in Dutch so my cousin and I faithfully attended. I'm ashamed to say it was more to learn some modern Dutch [my emphasis] than it was to worship. I don't suppose it did any harm. The minister's name was . . . and he was very proud of the fact that his degree was earned and not honorary.

Language preservation requires motivation, of course, and in this

connection I note that in an earlier taped interview with this informant (which I prefer not to play, in order to protect her anonymity), I almost think I hear a mode of expression which would indicate that the young dominee, in addition to being a brilliant student and captivating speaker, may also have been of a comely appearance.

The Current Language

Although the particular phonological and grammatical patterns of Pella Dutch go beyond the scope of the present paper, I would point out that they have been studied, inter al., in a Senior Honors thesis which I directed one year ago. The author of that paper, Miss Gail Vande Bunte, has expressed interest in a collaborative revision which would bring her findings up to date, and make them available to a broader audience.

Vocabulary, on the other hand, is very much an appropriate topic for treatment in this paper, since the establishment of a "lexical rapprochement" between English and Dutch terms does indeed have a great deal to do with language use as a pattern of selective behaviors. This is especially true for the semi-speakers who constitute the last generation of informants for whom Pella Dutch is an even somewhat naturally learned language. While there is certainly a great deal of English influence on local Dutch vocabulary, influence in the opposite direction is even more striking. In 1979, I published a short report in Taal en Tongval entitled "'Pella Dutch': Mogelijkheden voor Sociolinguïstisch Onderzoek"; I would like to quote briefly from that article, albeit in English. (The paper itself is written in

Dutch.) In the piece for Taal en Tongval, I cite examples from "Pella English" of Dutch loan words, loan compounds and the use of the word-play based on homonymy or near homonymy.

The Loan Word

Even if the number of persons [in Pella] claiming Dutch as a first or second mother tongue is steadily decreasing, the influence of Dutch on local English remains quite clear. Even those who can scarcely be considered semi-speakers of Dutch can still tell you "That certainly was vreselijk (verbazend, etc.)!" Someone who is your good friend can give you a greeting such as "How are you doing, you old paardekoper (mieter, lamzak, etc.)?" Whoever has worries simply says "I'm all benauwd." Parents frequently tell their children "not to be so vies." In such instances, the Dutch word is pronounced with relative correctness.

The Loan Compound

At time [a compound] is translated in whole or in part from Dutch. Hence a lady may be wearing her /hɛdɪduwki:/ (Dutch hoofddoekje). Children who only drink milk or fruit juice look forward to coffee time (koffietijd); it takes us "Americans" (i.e., we poor folks from non-Dutch families) a bit of time to realize that this expression means exactly the same thing as our long-familiar snack (or lunch) time.

The Word Play

It is only the initiate who knows that "spitting in the

garden" is done with a spade, and not with saliva.

When someone makes the comment in mid-January that "the streets in town are really glad," there is certainly no implication that Pella's streets are more cheerful than those of the towns in the surrounding "American" countryside. My secretary, from whose desk I occasionally steal a piece of candy, exposed my addiction to sweets and the not very furtive nature of my reconnaissance missions in one and the same sentence: "Professor, you certainly seem to be quite a snoopy eater."

Taal en Tongval XXXI (1979), 83 f.

Our file of Dutch terms in "Pella English" has grown steadily, and naturally enough, new categories have emerged, of which I shall mention two. First, there is the morphological blend, frequently involving an English lexical form with a Dutch diminutive ending. At a dinner party, a speaker whose sincere affection for the language probably outweighs his fluency, was trying to think of the Dutch word for the candy known in various parts of the United States as "divinity" or "sea foam." Unable to think of Dutch schuimpje, though perhaps remembering the meaning of the word, he turned to his wife and asked her: "What do you call those little candies - foametjes?" Finally, there is the borrowed construction or syntactic appropriation so familiar to any bilingual situation. A telling example was cited by a colleague, whose aunt is perfectly fluent in English, but whose early spiritual experience was in Dutch, and who to this day begins her prayers (which she now chooses to offer in English)

with the phrase "Lord, we nigh unto Thee in prayer" - a construction which is indeed possible in Dutch where the word for nigh (na) lies at the root of the verb naderen.

Our lexical data is organized in great part on the model of Einar Haugen's The Norwegian Language in America. A Study in Bilingual Behavior (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969), and especially on categories outlined in Chapters 4 ("The Confusion of Tongues"), 5 ("The Great Vocabulary Shift") and 18 (on loanblends and loanshifts). We see two differences between our work and Haugen's, however. We believe that we have placed more emphasis upon Dutch influences on English and upon the importance of that fact for the semi-speaker, and we have organized our lexical data not only by such categories as those already discussed (loan words, loan compounds, word-play, etc.), but also on the emotional and experience ranges most repeatedly conveyed by Dutch terms preserved in the local English idiom. I shall return shortly to the importance of the data from such files.

The questionnaire

Most of my current research involves a survey based on the questionnaire which is appended to this paper, and which I would now like to introduce to you via the overhead projector. Models for the questionnaire were provided in great part by Nancy C. Dorian, Language Death (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981), and the studies of E. Glyn Lewis. At the time that the informant is interviewed, we attempt, if at all feasible, to elicit a sample of taped speech. These tapes have

provided information of the most diverse nature, and are only now beginning to be adequately catalogued. The data from the questionnaires is on the computer, where it can be accessed and sorted with the help of a POISE program. (POISE would allow us to carry out such operations as identifying all the questionnaires which give a particular combination of responses to a definite set of questions, e.g., how many respondents always address the spouse in Dutch when angry, but never otherwise).

[pause to introduce the questionnaire]

If there is one general impression which emerges from our questionnaire research, it is that it is not so much the speaker of Pella Dutch which is slowly disappearing, although - to my regret - that seems to be happening; rather, it is the all-important social situation demanding the use of Dutch as a natural linguistic behavior which is dying out. Time allows me only to touch upon selected findings, and I hope that colleagues with particular interests will feel free to zero in on other points at the conclusion of my presentation.

Virtually all informants learned Dutch in the home and spoke it with the entire family. I note with interest that ongoing use of the language with siblings does not seem to depend upon whether the brother or sister is older or younger. This stands in marked contrast to the findings of several studies of obsolescent languages in bilingual communities, including my own survey of Amana German, which supplied me with data from speakers of various ages to suggest that use of the second language was

consistently more frequent with older siblings and relatives than with younger ones.

Such "generational egalitarianism" notwithstanding, our study of Pella Dutch did identify several speakers of a type vividly portrayed by Nancy Dorian in her classic study: the person who is strongly motivated to learn the second language specifically in order to be able to socialize with a beloved but monolingual or near-monolingual grandparent. Though parents are cited with overwhelming frequency as the source of language knowledge, it appears in a recurrent number of cases to have been the grandparent who afforded the motivation for putting linguistic facility into actual practice. Though our data is still too sparse to draw firm conclusions, I hope to determine whether Pella informants who report such interaction with Dutch-speaking grandparents fit the personality type outlined by Prof. Dorian for members of her informant-pool with analogous experiences.

Rather little use of Dutch is reported among casual friends or even among neighbors, though it appears to be used quite consistently among closest friends, and that irrespective of whether the setting is public or private.

An appreciable use of Dutch on the workplace was reported, and especially with co-workers or customers with whom the speaker has daily contact. Several informants stressed the fact that it is simply part of daily business to be prepared to speak with those customers who prefer (or indeed need!) to use Dutch.

One of the most vividly remembered and frequently reported occasions on which Dutch was spoken was the afternoon church service (of both the Reformed Church in America and the Christian Reformed Church) in the period following World War I. Today, however, a surprisingly small number of informants report using Dutch with the minister - or, for that matter, with other confidants, such as the family doctor - and despite almost formulaic claims to "having learned their religion in Dutch," not all that many claim to pray or read the Bible in Dutch with any striking frequency. Nevertheless, in exact parallel to my findings in Amana, the one situation whose seriousness requires Dutch is that of illness and death, and the vocabulary of great distress, sickness, death and the funeral remains in even the most fragmented vocabulary of many a semi-speaker. More than one minister has reported requests that funeral services include at least some Dutch; what one hears is a bit reminiscent of the situation of Erasmus, who spent much of his life expressing himself in another language, only to sigh with his final breath; "O Jesu misericordia; Domine libera me; Domine miserere mei! . . . Lieve God!"

With the passing of speakers, I fear that there may be the loss of a certain emotional vitality in the use of Pella Dutch. Speakers report no preference of language for jokes, derogatory comments or casual greetings, and seem to prefer Dutch primarily for commonplaces and proverbs, and to keep confidentiality in a crowd. English, on the other hand, enjoys a slight but pronounced edge as the language for such emotion-

charged interchanges as addressing a confidant, and recalling the most memorable events of childhood. In contrast to a situation reported by other informant-pools, I find little evidence here for dreaming in Dutch, or of using the language to express anger with the spouse or children. Virtually none reported use of Dutch with those favorite "conversation" partners of so many bilingual speakers: household pets and plants.

Most informants can recognize levels of fluency, though they tend to underestimate their own. The most frequently recognized dialects are Fries (a fact not surprising to someone who peruses Pella's telephone directory), and Gelders. In terms of the latter dialect, I would point out that it was not so many years ago that a major summer event in Pella was the great Hewrijnse picnic, attended so to speak "by everyone and his cousin," i.e., by the numerous Pella residents having ancestors from the village of Herwijnen in Gelderland.

Question: Should Dutch be preserved in Pella? Answer: A resounding "Yes!" Why? Most frequently and emphatically for its own sake: it is an expressive and beautiful language (which, among other things, lends itself well to music), and because it is recognized - to my extreme gratification - that learning a language is a broadening and inherently worthwhile experience. Only medium-high marks were given to Dutch as a means to understanding the community. Language was rated quite highly for the preservation of heritage, though closer questioning revealed that most informants understood "heritage" less in the sense of an awareness of historical roots and more in the

sense of shared values, especially those transmitted within family circles.

I would like to conclude this presentation by sharing a personal experience which gives some idea of Dutch in its social context here in Pella. My family and I belong to a group which sings folk songs and performs traditional dances at our annual Tulip Time. During practice for the first out-of-town engagement in which our family was to participate, the group found itself having to select a person to shout out certain words, to which the others would respond in unison. A veteran of the group said: "I suggest Phil Webber - he has a strong voice, and besides, he speaks Dutch." In discussing this remark with others who had been present, there was agreement that I had not only been assigned a part, but in effect had been told that I, though new to the group, had just been awarded my membership in the "club" of the regulars. I would point out that being Dutch - which I am not - was not a sine qua non for membership, but it certainly did help to be able to speak Dutch!

QUESTIONNAIRE

(All information, especially that of a personal nature, is voluntary.)

Your name: _____
Your place of birth: _____
Your place(s) of residence: _____

Your sex: _____ Your age (approximate) _____
Address: _____ Phone: _____

Your occupation(s): _____

Have you had any special schooling or training? _____ If so, what kind: _____

Do you speak any foreign languages? _____ Which one(s): _____

How many generations back did your family come from the Netherlands?

How many grandparents were from the Netherlands?

When did they come to the United States?

How many grandparents were of Dutch extraction? Which side?

Did they speak Dutch?

How many parents were from the Netherlands?

When did they come to the United States?

Were any of your parents of Dutch extraction? Which side?

Did they speak Dutch?

Have any of your relatives gone back to the Netherlands?

Which one(s)?

How frequently do they go, or when and how long were they there?

Particulars (as tourist, to visit relatives, work, study, etc.):

How many relatives have come back to Pella to live after being away for a number of years? relatives: _____ myself: _____ Any particular details? (how long were you or they gone, for what reasons, etc.)

Are you aware of the province(s), city or cities, town(s) where your relatives in the Netherlands come from? _____ specifically:

Where do you now have relatives or personal contacts in the Netherlands?

With whom do you still keep contact?

What is the nature of that contact?

Do you personally think of yourself as ethnically Dutch?

strongly _____ moderately _____ remotely _____

Was Dutch spoken in your home when you were growing up? _____ When?

By whom?

Did you also speak it?

Who taught Dutch to you?

Who spoke it with you?

Who encourage you to speak or learn it?

Did you teach Dutch to your children, or has someone else? Whom?

Did you ever learn Dutch in school? _____ When?

What school?

Did you ever have a teacher that taught in Dutch?

Any particular subject(s)?

Did you ever have Dutch textbooks?

Did you also speak it in school?

Did you attend a church which gave services in Dutch? _____ When?

Where?

RCA or CRC? (optional) _____

How often was the service in Dutch or English? (Or was only the sermon in Dutch?)

Did you speak Dutch while at church?

Did you ever use Dutch at your place of employment?

Did you use it with coworkers?

With employer?

With customers?

With sales people?

Was Dutch ever spoken in certain societies, clubs or organizations?

When?

Particulars: (church groups, ladies aid, consistory, tulip time committee, etc.)

Do you recall any specific occasions other than those mentioned above when Dutch was generally spoken, e.g. festive occasions like weddings and parties, or special family activities and celebrations?

Check the box that is appropriate for you.

Do you presently use Dutch when speaking:

	always	usually	often	some- times	never	does not apply
1. with parents						
2. with grandparents						
3. with spouse daily						
4. with spouse when angry						
5. with spouse when children are present						
6. with children						
7. with children when angry						
8. with in-laws						
9. with older siblings						
10. with younger siblings						
11. with close relatives						
12. with classmates on playground						
13. with classmates in school						
14. with best friends in public						
15. with best friends in private						
16. with minister						
17. at work with boss						
18. at work with employee(s)						
19. with acquaintances						
20. while shopping with sales people						
21. at religious services and meetings						
22. with girlfriend/boyfriend in public						
23. with girlfriend/boyfriend in private						
24. with doctor						
25. with teacher						
26. with neighbors						
27. with household pets						

Have you ever subscribed to a Dutch newspaper?

If so, which one(s):

Do you correspond with anyone in Dutch? Whom?

Do you converse in Dutch with anyone not mentioned above? Whom?

Check the column which is correct for you, to respond to the statements below.

	never	some- times	often	usually	always	does not apply
1. I read Dutch books.						
2. I read Dutch in the newspapers or church bulletins.						
3. I read the Bible or psalms in Dutch.						
4. I listen to Dutch sermons or church service broadcasts.						
5. I use Dutch in my correspondence.						
6. I use Dutch with my fellow workers.						
7. I pray in Dutch.						
8. I dream in Dutch.						
9. I curse in Dutch.						
10. I count in Dutch.						
11. I make telephone calls in Dutch.						
12. I speak to people from other areas of the U.S. in Dutch.						
13. I discuss local affairs in Dutch.						
14. I discuss national affairs in Dutch.						
15. I discuss religion in Dutch.						
16. I discuss finances in Dutch.						
17. I discuss health in Dutch.						

All things being equal, would you prefer Dutch or English:

Dutch English

		for proverbs, sayings, etc.
		to make plans for a trip.
		when recalling your most memorable events of childhood.
		when talking to a personal confidant about how you feel.
		when talking about the news in the paper.
		to tell a joke.
		to make a derogatory comment.
		to greet a friend on the street.
		to greet a stranger on the street.
		to say something intimate.
		to say something private in a crowd.

Are there any other certain situations where you have a strong preference for speaking Dutch?

Do you recognize some speakers as more fluent than others?

Can you identify a particular dialect?

Which one(s):

How would you rate yourself in terms of fluency (how well can you speak, read, and write Dutch?):

What do you perceive to be the main advantages of speaking Dutch: (for yourself, or if you don't consider yourself a fluent speaker, for those who are fluent).

advantage in family life? _____ specify: _____

advantage in Church? _____ specify: _____

advantage in social life? _____ specify: _____

advantage in community? _____ specify: _____

advantage in business or work situations? _____ specify: _____

advantage in other areas: _____

Do you think there are any disadvantages of speaking Dutch in the above or other situations?

Area:

Disadvantages:

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

Check the correct column for the reasons which seem important or unimportant to you to learn Dutch:

	very important	important	unimportant	no opinion
1. It's broadening to have more than one language.				
2. To be able to enjoy Dutch music better.				
3. Dutch is a very rich and expressive language.				
4. No one can understand Pella properly without Dutch.				
5. To feel more a part of the community.				
6. To be able to read books in Dutch, e.g. the Bible.				
7. It's useful to have a "secret language" that not everyone else understands.				
8. Some of my friends and neighbors speak Dutch.				

	very important	important	unimportant	no opinion
9. To be able to understand programs that are broadcast in Dutch.				
10. To be able to talk to Dutch speakers from other parts of the U.S. in Dutch				
11. To participate in Dutch dance or music groups.				
12. Dutch is a beautiful language to hear and speak				

Should Dutch be preserved in Pella? _____ Why or why not?

How or where should Dutch be preserved?

	yes or no	how or in what situations?
family	_____	_____
schools	_____	_____
church	_____	_____
community	_____	_____
organizations	_____	_____
other	_____	_____

In situations where Dutch is or was spoken, how effective and/or important do you feel it was in:

keeping family together? _____
for instance:

instilling religious or moral values? _____
for instance:

transmitting awareness of Dutch heritage? _____
for instance:

Can you recall any situations which were so serious, that you felt you simply had to handle them in Dutch or in English, even though you would have had the choice of either language?

Do you feel that someone who has a strong pride in his/her Dutch heritage is more likely to be fluent in the language?

Is the person who is fluent in the language more likely to have a strong sense of pride in his/her Dutch?

Would you be biased toward a candidate for public office who spoke Dutch?

Would you prefer to buy from someone who advertised in the newspaper in Dutch, or who now is willing to conduct business in Dutch?

Comments:

Do you feel that the person who is fluent in Dutch is thought of as being "more religious" or somehow in closer contact with the roots of his/her religious heritage?

Comments:

Do you feel that there is any particular status in the community or other social advantage enjoyed by the fluent Dutch speaker?

Comments:

As you've responded to this questionnaire, have you had any other thoughts or recollections which you feel might help us, which you'd like to share?

Thanks very much!

Can you give specific examples of:

"Yankee Dutch:

individual words "only possible in Dutch" that express your moods, feelings, etc.)

Dutch sentence constructions or grammatical types in English.

phrases, proverbs, etc.

names of physical objects which were common household terms

children's lore