

[1442] *Local Identity Construction in Dialect Pop Music: Songs, Narratives, and Social Media Posts*

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Abstract

Social media use has gradually become intertwined with offline social life. Research that relates online identity work to identity performances in offline contexts is, however, scarce. Moreover, scholars have hardly addressed the use of regional/minority languages in identity work on social media, although their importance for identity construction has been recognised. This paper therefore examines the relationship between online identity construction and identity work in offline contexts of the Frisian dialect pop band De Hûnekop. The study compares language practices in songs, a live show, an interview, and social media posts. The results demonstrate that in all forms of communication, De Hûnekop construct local identities through the selection of linguistic forms associated with Frisian and through their choice of topics. De Hûnekop's linguistic practices are often strategically motivated, depending on the context and which language variety will deliver maximum success. The research proves that identities are flexible, relational, and negotiated during interaction at all times.

1. Introduction

Recent years have shown a growing interest in the use of regional/minority languages on social media. Topics that have been studied include the influence of the Internet and new digital technologies on minority languages (c.f. Jones & Uribe-Jongbloed 2013; Kornai 2013), the actual use of minority/ regional languages on social media (e.g. Cunliffe, Morris & Prys 2013; Jongbloed-Faber et al. 2016, 2017; McMonagle et al. 2018; Reershemius 2017), and technological challenges to the online use of lesser-used languages (e.g. Lackaff & Moner 2016). However, the social meaning of the use of those varieties on social media has hardly been addressed. As social media use has become increasingly intertwined with our offline social life (Page 2012:17-18), and identity performances on social media are subject to the norms of offline society (Stæhr 2015), there is a need for multidimensional research that explores the relationship between online identity work and identity performances in offline contexts (Page 2012:17-18). This paper therefore investigates how local identities associated with

(parts of) Fryslân are constructed, and how identity performances in online and offline contexts relate to one another.

Identity is no longer regarded as a fixed phenomenon, nor as a simple result of the general social categories one belongs to. Rather, identity is considered to be both flexible and negotiable, strongly relational and sociocultural, and constructed during interaction (Bucholtz & Hall 2005). An individual can choose from a spectrum of resources to construct his/her identity(ies) (Jørgensen 2010:2). One of the most important resources in local and social identity construction is language, such as accent or a broad linguistic system labelled as language or dialect. Speech that is perceived as regional is no longer considered to be the logical effect of where one was born or raised, but is seen as a “resource for social action” (Johnstone 2004, as cited in Johnstone 2010:389). Speakers are considered as having control over their linguistic repertoire, and identity work can therefore be seen as “performance” (Coupland 2009). In other words, the selection of a particular variety, register, style, or accent in one’s communication is regarded as a conscious choice made to show which particular social group one wants to be identified with. Until recently, the focus of research on local identity construction was mainly on spoken language (Sebba 2012:1). However, with the advance of social media, a new source for the study of linguistic identity construction has become available. “Writing is becoming as diverse as speaking [...] especially on digital media” (Swanenberg 2018:195), and this provides new opportunities to study identity formation.

As in any social interaction, identity production takes place on the Internet as well. While some assume that offline identities can be renegotiated in online contexts, since social cues such as appearance, voice, and pronunciation can be hidden (Zhao, Grasmuck & Martin 2008), others challenge this assumption because online linguistic practices have often proven to reveal traditional offline social roles (Tagg 2015:144). Moreover, online identity may not be the sole result of one’s own utterances, but it may also be influenced by responses and posts of others (Tagg 2015:146). Individuals negotiate their online identity(ies) “through largely text-based visual resources, including written language, typography, orthography and the creative combining of different scripts, as well as photos, other images, videos and the embedding and sharing of hyperlinks to other sites” (Tagg 2015:147) and also through the selection of certain linguistic forms (lexicon, morphosyntax) (Nguyen 2017), language varieties (Hillewaert 2015), non-standard orthographic practices (Sebba 2012:5) and pop music.

Popular music is an important linguistic and cultural practice (Coupland 2011:578). For instance, from the sixties onwards, non-American popular music bands have often reproduced some features of American pronunciation in order to connect to the mainstream pronunciation in the music industry and thus increase their chances of commercial success (Trudgill 1983). In contrast, (punk) bands such as the Sex Pistols rebel against this trend through using dialect features (Coupland 2011). Beal's work (2009) shows that through using dialect in music, pop bands create authenticity (c.f. Gerwin 2017). Hip-hop artists, too, are often concerned with 'Keepin' it real' (see Cutler 2007 for an overview). In the Netherlands, in the seventies, the genre *boerenrock* 'farmers' rock' emerged. The genre can be described as contemporary Dutch music sung in a regional dialect in which the countryside is celebrated (Klumpenhower 2002:153). An example is the band *Normaal* 'Ordinary' who do not sing in Standard Dutch, but in a Low Saxon dialect called *Achterhoeks*. The main heroic character in their songs is the farmer who is challenged, predominantly by new urban norms (Grijp 1995). Through the use of dialect and the theme of their songs, *Normaal* construct a rural identity. Their music has increased the personal and collective self-consciousness of people living in rural areas (Klumpenhower 2002). The music of contemporary Frisian bands, such as *Strawelte*, *De Hûnekop* and *De Doelleazen*, can also be classified as Farmers' Rock. They, too, have (re)invented the culture of their region of origin. Their fascination for the more rebellious aspects of their local culture and their linguistic choices appeal to a broad audience and have become a successful trademark (Jensma 2015).

This paper investigates the linguistic practices of the dialect pop band *De Hûnekop* 'The Dog's Head' from the bilingual Frisian-Dutch province of Fryslân (The Netherlands). As academic research on the social meaning of using regional minority languages is limited, and the relationship between online and offline identity work has hardly been covered, this paper addresses the following research question: How are local identities associated with (parts of) Fryslân constructed in dialect pop music, and how do identity performances in online and offline contexts relate to one another? To answer this question, the linguistic practices of *De Hûnekop* in their songs and their onstage and offstage narratives are related to their linguistic practices in social media posts.

After an explanation of the local context (the province of Fryslân, the Frisian Woods, Frisian varieties and a short biography of *De Hûnekop*) in the following section, the research methodology will be elaborated in

Section 3. Then, in Section 4, 5 and 6, the research results are discussed according to type of communication: in Section 4, an analysis of one refrain and three songs by *De Hûnekop* is presented, followed by an analysis of the linguistic practices in onstage and offstage narratives in Section 5. Section 6 discusses the orthographic practices of *De Hûnekop* on social media. The paper ends with a discussion and conclusions in Section 7.

2. Local context

The province of Fryslân is one of the twelve provinces of The Netherlands. Fryslân used to have an economy that was highly dependent on agriculture, but in the past thirty years it has developed into a service economy. Within the Netherlands, however, Fryslân still has a rural image. Although less than 5% of the Frisian working population is employed in agriculture, the share of agricultural employment remains twice as high as the Dutch average (Provinsje Fryslân 2016).

Frisians are known for their strong sense of independence. The earliest known documentation describing Frisians as “craving liberty” originates from circa 1240 AD (Vries 2015). In the Middle Ages, too, the inhabitants of the Frisian lands defended their self-governance with both words and deeds (Nijdam 2008:108). The strong sense of regional identity was further strengthened during the 19th century when the increasing influence of the Dutch central state and the shift of political, economic and scientific power to other regions was opposed. The stereotype is that Frisians are down-to-earth and straight-forward but also independent, passionate, idealistic and proud (Jensma 2003; Schroor 2007).

The Frisian Woods

The *Fryske Wâlden* ‘Frisian Woods’, the Frisian region where *De Hûnekop* is proud to have its roots, owes its name to the landscape, which is formed by trees and hedges instead of the channels and ditches that characterise the rest of the province. The region is situated in the eastern part of the province. The soil is mainly sandy, making it less fertile than the clay soil found in the other parts of Fryslân. Consequently, the region has always focused less on agriculture, and its inhabitants needed other sources to maintain a living. In the 18th, 19th and early 20th century the population consisted of (seasonal) peat workers, labourers, and small tradesmen (small cattle traders, broom makers, and chair-bottomers). Some villages were also founded as colonies for ‘expelled’ impoverished, fugitive criminals and the socially failed. The living conditions on the heath were extremely harsh.

Large families often lived in a shelter (*spitkeet*) constructed of sod, wood and rush, together with their small livestock. The heath did however support the inhabitants in their livelihoods: on the heath they could find sods for their homes, firewood, food for their cattle, and poaching opportunities. The inhabitants used to be very attached to their village. They were known for their ‘henhouse culture’: persons would rather live in a henhouse on their parents’ property than move to a better house in another village. Young men from other villages with romantic intentions were most often (violently) barred from the village, which could result in fights, which sometimes were fights to the death, and mostly involved knives. Some villages such as *Harkema en De Westereen* are still known for their notorious knife-fighters (Verhaar 1997:17-19; Spahr van der Hoek 1960:95-97).

Just like the inhabitants of many villages and regions in the world, the inhabitants of the Frisian Woods have been nicknamed; they are called *wâldpyk* ‘forest chicken’, both by inhabitants from other Frisian regions and by themselves. According to the stereotype, a *wâldpyk* is a hot-tempered, unrestrained, liberated filibuster with no respect for the government or societal norms (Spahr van der Hoek 1960). Nowadays, a *wâldpyk* is often characterised as a rough and bad-mannered boor.

Frisian varieties

Just over half of the 647,000 inhabitants of the bilingual Frisian-Dutch province of Fryslân consider Frisian (officially labelled as West Frisian, however this label is hardly used outside academia) as their mother tongue (Provinsje Fryslân 2015). While Frisian is used more frequently in the countryside and in informal situations, in the cities and in formal situations Dutch is often used (Gorter & Jonkman 1995). Due to the dominant position of Dutch in Frisian society and education, Frisian is predominantly a spoken language: writing proficiency among Frisian-speakers is low and Standard Frisian is not regularly used in everyday writing (Stefan, Klinkenberg & Versloot 2015). The written standard differs substantially from spoken Frisian and is often associated with official domains and the so-called elite: (governmental) institutions working with the Frisian language and their employees, writers, and language activists. Spoken Frisian varies considerably across the province. The three main dialect varieties are: *Klaaifrysk* (Clay Frisian) spoken in the northwestern part of Fryslân, *Wâldfrysk* (Wood Frisian) in the eastern part, and *Súdwesthoeksk* (Southwestern) in the Southwest (Hof, 1933).

Frisian in all its varieties has gained a presence on social media (Jongbloed-Faber et al. 2016). Research among Frisian teenagers into their language use on social media showed that 87% of the teenagers for whom Frisian is their first language, use what they label as Frisian on social media to some extent. The study showed that peer group, language attitudes, and writing proficiency of those teenagers are reliable explanatory factors for their use or non-use of Frisian on social media, and that the social group one orients oneself towards has an impact on one's use of Frisian on social media (Jongbloed-Faber et al. 2016). There is a large variation in Frisian used on social media: few Frisian teenagers adhere to the official spelling standard and many write in their own way. Therefore, Frisian on social media is an excellent source for the study of identity construction.

Several linguistic features distinguish Wood Frisian from other varieties. Important articulatory characteristics of Wood Frisian with a high token-frequency rate are:

- The personal pronouns *sy* [si] 'she; they', *hy* [hi] 'he', *wy* [vi] 'we', *dy* [di] 'you' (as object form), *my* [mi] 'me' and the preposition *by* [bi] 'by; with'. In the other Frisian dialects these forms are pronounced with a diphthong as [sei], [hei], [vei], [dei], [mei], and [bei], respectively. It should be noted, however, that the pronouns *dy* and *my* are pronounced as [di] and [mi] in the whole language area if they occur in weak position (Taalportaal > Frisian > Morphology > Inflection > Pronouns > Personal pronouns > Form and Taalportaal > Frisian > Phonology > Allomorphy > Clitic allomorphs > Personal pronouns with /ɛj/ and their clitic allomorphs with /i/ in Klaaifrysk)
- In the Northern Frisian Woods, the personal pronoun *dû* [du] (2nd person singular) is used instead of [do:] (Hof 1933:179; Fokkema & Spahr Van der Hoek 1967:34-35, map 6).
- Palatalization of the glide in raising diphthongs, for example [bɨatsjə] instead of [bʉatsjə] 'play' (Dyk 2008).
- In Frisian, the diphthong in words as *wein* 'wagon' is usually pronounced as [aɨ]. However, in the eastern part of the province, this is pronounced as [ɛɨ] (this might be the historic pronunciation as well). In a smaller part of the northeast of the province, around the village of *De Westereen*, this diphthong is monophthongised and raised to [e:] (Fokkema & Spahr van der Hoek 1967:37-40, map 8; Vries 1993).
- [ɪ] before dentals may be rounded. For example [ɪɪlk] 'angry' is pronounced as [lœlk] (Hoff 1933:152-253).

In addition, several lexical items also differ from Standard Frisian, the most recognised one being *saterdei/saterje* [sa:tərdi] [sa:təɾjə] instead of *sneon* [snœ.ən] 'Saturday' (Wurdboek fan de Fryske Taal 1984-2011).

De Hûnekop

The band *De Hûnekop* ‘The Dog’s Head’ was founded on April 4th 2009. The music of the four-headed male formation can be classified as regional pop music (cf. Grijp 1995) and/or farmers’ rock (cf. Klumpenhauer 2002). Jensma (2015) defines their music as *heiderock* ‘moorland rock’. *De Hûnekop* use a mix of the Wood-Frisian variety and Standard Frisian in their songs, blended with many Dutch interferences. Their logo (see Figure 1) emphasises their Frisian identity: one eye of the skull has the shape of the contours of Fryslân (Figure 2) and the other has the shape of a water lily leaf (seven of such leaves are found in the Frisian flag, see Figure 3).



Figure 1: the logo of De Hûnekop



Figure 2: the Fryslân province and its main dialects (copyright Arjen Versloot)



Figure 3: the Frisian flag

De Hûnekop performs in all cities and corners of Fryslân, not only in local pubs and on festivals, but also in theatres. Performances outside Fryslân are rare. Their fan base consists of Frisians of all ages. So far, *De Hûnekop* have produced five albums containing a total of sixty-one songs, a compilation album, and some albums in collaboration with other artists. Out of the sixty-one songs on these five original and single-authored albums, sixty are in Frisian and only one is in Dutch. The songs have all been written by the lead singer of the band, Emiel Stoffers and the first person is used in the texts as if the songs are autobiographical and the singer sings about his own life and experiences (Coupland 2011). Many topics of the songs refer to life of a *wâldpyk* and the daily-life and struggles of the working class, such as daily routines, hierarchical differences at work, drinking alcohol, differences between men and women, and financial problems. Essentially, these are topics their whole audience can identify with, at least to a certain extent. By using the first person, the singer shows that he is one of them.

3. Research methodology

This paper addresses the following research question: How are local identities, associated with (parts of) Fryslân, constructed in dialect pop music, and how do identity performances in online and offline contexts relate to one another? In order to answer the research question the linguistic practices of *De Hûnekop* in three different types of communication are analysed: songs as performed on their CDs, speech of the lead singer both onstage and during an interview with the author, and social media posts.

The four songs that were analysed, were selected, because they each construct regional identity at a different level: In the songs *Alderwetske wâldpyk* ‘Authentic wâldpyk’ and *Ien twa trije* ‘One two three’ an identity is constructed that is typical of an ‘average’ wâldpyk, while in the song *Harrekiet’n* (word denoting inhabitants of the village of *Harkema*) a difference is made between an ‘average’ wâldpyk and those coming from villages notorious for their knife-fighters. Finally, in the Dutch song *Ons Friesche Land* ‘Our Frisian Homeland’ an identity that is stereotypical for all Frisians is expressed.

For the analysis of speech, the author attended a live performance of the band and interviewed the band’s lead singer. The live performance of *De Hûnekop*, the theatre show *Wanklanken fan de wurkflier* ‘Discord from the workplace’, took place on 9 February 2017 in the *Posthuis Theatre* in Heerenveen. The interview with the lead singer of the band, Emiel Stoffers, was held on 16 March 2017.

To analyse the linguistic practices in social media posts, all tweets sent from the Twitter account @de_Hunekop between the day the account was created (February 2011) and December 2017, were collected, as well as all posts on the Facebook page of *De Hûnekop* in 2016 and 2017. The six posts analysed in this paper all contain linguistic practices that enrich our knowledge about (local) identity construction.

In the transcripts that follow, the songs are spelled in Standard Frisian. If a particular pronunciation is of particular interest, this will be marked in IPA in bold and further discussed in the text. To explain the linguistic features throughout the paper, the online version of *Wurdboek fan de Fryske Taal* (the Frisian Academic Dictionary) has been consulted through <http://gtb.inl.nl> between 29 March 2017 and 31 August 2018. The narratives are written in an orthography that follows as closely as possible what has actually been said; using Standard Frisian would not adequately reflect what the singer said on stage and during the interview. This orthographic practice is a combination of Standard Frisian, Standard Dutch, Dutchisms, and an

orthography that reflects the Wood-Frisian pronunciation of words. The social media posts have been taken from the Twitter and Facebook accounts of *De Hûnekop*. The Frisian transcripts and social media posts have been freely translated into English with a focus on content. Each line number therefore represents the same meaning.

4. Identity construction in pop songs

This section investigates how *De Hûnekop* construct an identity associated with (parts of) Fryslân in their songs. A random selection of their song titles is presented in Table 1.

Table 1 **Examples of song titles**

Original song title ¹	Translation
Alderwetske wâldpyk	Authentic wâldpyk
Moai smoar	Happily drunk / happily in love
Harrekiet'n	(word denoting) Inhabitants of Harkema (village in the Frisian Woods, stereotypically a village of hot-tempered knife-fighters)
Ruchhouwer	Boor
Hollânse famkes	Dutch girls
De klomp	The clog
Grûden en bljirren	Scars and blisters
Jild	Money
Tiid foar skoft	Time for a break
Soantsje fan 'e baas	The boss's son
Ons Friesche land	Our Frisian homeland

The selected titles illustrate the main topics of the songs of *De Hûnekop*: life of the working class and of the stereotypical *wâldpyk*. Although the band members of *De Hûnekop* are now making a living through performing and selling their music, through the topics of their songs they construct a (Wood-)Frisian, working class identity.

Four more songs, as performed on the band's albums, will be discussed in more detail. As explained above, in the section on research methodology, the four songs have been selected because they each construct regional identity at a different level. First, the refrain of the lyric *Alderwetske wâldpyk* 'authentic *wâldpyk*', see Extract 1, will be discussed, followed by the full text of the songs *Ien twa trije* 'one two three' in Extract 2 and

1. The names of the songs have been taken from the album covers.

Harrekiet'n (people from the village of *Harkema*) in Extract 3. Finally, the only Dutch song *De Hûnekop* has produced, called *Ons Friesche Land* 'Our Frisian Homeland', can be found in Extract 4.

Extract 1 shows the refrain of the song *Alderwetske wâldpyk* 'authentic wâldpyk'. The title of the song is very informative. Straight away the term *wâldpyk* will trigger thoughts about people from the Frisian Woods. All Frisians have a stereotypical person in mind when thinking of a *wâldpyk*, although, depending on their own life trajectories, some stereotypes will be more nuanced and richer than others. One cannot only recognise a *wâldpyk* by the way he/she speaks, Frisians would say, but also by the way they behave. The title refers to the life of an authentic *wâldpyk*, what it means to be an authentic *wâldpyk*, and not a fake one, nor a *klaaiklút* ('lump of clay' term used to refer to people living on the fertile clay soil in the (North)West of Fryslân). The song is about what everyday life of a *wâldpyk* looks like.

Extract 1 Refrain of Alderwetske wâldpyk

Original lyrics	Translated lyrics
1 Oan in overdosis drank, overdosis swiere sjek.	1 On an overdose of alcohol, overdose of heavy tobacco.
2 Ik hâld fan it leven en it jout my toch gjin sek.	2 I love life and it does not give a fuck.
3 Ik bin net graach nuchter, ik bin leaver smoar.	3 I don't like being sober, I prefer being drunk.
4 Ik gean nei de kroech en gedraach my idioat.	4 I go to the pub and behave like an idiot.
5 Jou my in pot bier en in pak swiere sjek.	5 Give me a pint of beer and a pack of heavy tobacco.
6 Ik bin in âlderwetske wâldpyk en ik hou dy op 'e bek.	6 I am an authentic wâldpyk and I will beat you up.

The refrain expresses the life of an authentic *wâldpyk* as imagined by Frisian people. The person is someone who drinks too much beer to forget his struggles in life (lines 1, 2, 4 and 5), smokes heavy tobacco, instead of expensive cigars or ordinary filter cigarettes (lines 1 and 5), and has a hot-tempered, violent character (line 6); this is identical to the stereotypical *wâldpyk* from the Frisian Woods (see Section 2). Through these themes, a Wood-Frisian identity is constructed.

In the song *Ien twa trije* 'one two three', too, the singer constructs an average *wâldpyk* identity: he is a hot-tempered, unrestrained, and liberated filibuster. In Extract 2 the song has been written down and translated.

Extract 2 Lyrics of Ien twa trije

Original lyrics	Translated lyrics
1-4 Ien twa trije [tre.ɪə] si'k dy snije (4x)	1-4 One two three I'll cut you up (4x)
5 Ien twa trije [tre.ɪə] si'k dy snije	5 One two three I'll cut you up
6 Do mast mar even komme	6 Just come over here
7 Si'k dy by [bi] it strotsje krije	7 I'll grab your throat
8 Ien twa trije [tre.ɪə] sil'k dy snije	8 One two three I'll cut you up
9 Do mast mar even komme	9 Just come over here
10 Si'k dy by [bi] ... it strôtsje krije	10 I'll grab your ... throat
11 Net te leauen jong sa'n grut wurd	11 Can't believe it boy such big words
12 It bekje hjoed wol wer aardich grut	12 You've got quite a big mouth today
13 Mast rap fersichtich wurde	13 Better be careful now
14 mei dyn grutte bek	14 with your big mouth
15 Mast mar even komme jong	15 Just come over here boy
16 dan stek ik dy lek	16 then I will stab holes in you
Refrain (rep. lines 5-10)	Refrain (rep. lines 5-10)
23 Myn messe jûket my yn 'e bûs	23 My knife itches in my pocket
24 Ik jou dy in ritssluting sa moai as poes	24 I give you a zipper as nice as pussy
25 It jout my neat want ik doch dy dea	25 I don't care because I will kill you
26 Ik snij dy read	26 I will cut you red
27 en dan smyt'k dy yn 'e feart	27 and then I'll throw you into the ditch
Refrain (rep. lines 5-10)	Refrain (rep. lines 5-10)
34-36 Ien twa trije [tre.ɪə] si'k dy snije (3x)	34-36 One two three I'll cut you up (3x)
37 Godverdomme bier moat der komme	37 Goddamn we need beer
38 Bist wol wiis, ferstiest wol Fries	38 Are you sane, do you understand Frisian
39 Ik jou dy Nederlânske les, aap noot mes	39 I'll teach you Dutch, monkey nut knife ²
40 Ik haw mar ien geloof, de heer is myn redder	40 I have one faith, the lord is my saviour
41 Dat sit yn myn bûs, en dat is myn Herder	41 It's in my pocket, and that is my Herder ³
Refrain (rep. lines 5-10)	Refrain (rep. lines 5-10)

Ien twa trije refers to the hot-tempered character of the typical *wâldpyk* and more specifically to the notorious knife-fighters from the Frisian Woods (e.g. the introductory lines 1-4, lines 5-10 of the refrain, and lines 16, 23-27, 39, and 41). Not only the topic, but also the pronunciation refers to the Frisian Woods. In some instances, linguistic variants from the village of *De Westereen* and its surroundings are used, so that an identity of a person

2. *Aap noot mies* is the famous start of a Dutch reading board. Instead of *mies* (name), *De Hûnekop* sing *mes* 'knife'

3. *Herder* is a famous trademark of knives, especially popular in the Frisian Woods. There is even a saying *Myn Herder is myn redder* 'My Herder knife is my saviour' (Van der Kooi 2011:number 1253).

feeling connected to that village is constructed. For example, *trije* ‘three’ in lines 1-5, among others, is pronounced as [tre.iə] instead of standard-Frisian [trejə]. In contrast, *snije* [sne.iə] and *krije* [kre.iə] are pronounced in Standard Frisian (Vries, 1993). Furthermore, *by* (lines 7 and 10) is pronounced as [bi] instead of [be.i], a pronunciation being characteristic for the northern part of the Frisian Woods (Wurdboek fan de Fryske Taal, 1984-2011). Thus, throughout the song *Ien twa trije*, both through the use of linguistic features and the topic, a local identity associated with the Frisian Woods is constructed.

Another song in which a Wood-Frisian identity is constructed is *Harrekiet’n* (see Extract 3).

Extract 3 Lyrics of Harrekiet’n

Original lyrics	Translated lyrics
1 Ik wol gjin spul mear ha	1 I do not want to get into trouble
2 mei [mei] Harrekiet’n	2 with people from Harkema anymore
3 Oars ha ik binnenkoart	3 Otherwise I will soon
4 myn lêste stront noch skiten	4 have shit for the last time
5 Ik kin fertaan mar better myn bek mar hâlde	5 I’d better keep my mouth shut in the future
6 Ik wol gjin spul mear ha mei [mei] Harkema	6 I do not want to get into trouble with Harkema anymore
7 Fan it wykein, wie ik wer aardich op dreef	7 Last weekend, I got going quite well
8 Mei de bealch fol mei drank	8 With my body loaded with alcohol
9 fiel ik my aardich geef	9 I feel rather well
10 Ik socht wat slaanderij yn Quatrebras	10 I picked a fight in Quatrebras ⁴
11 Mar dy jongens, dy kamen út Harkema	11 But those guys, they were from Harkema
12 Dêr wie ik noait oan begong,	12 I would never have started it,
13 at ik dat hie witten [vitən]	13 if I had known that
14 Want ik wol gjin spul mear ha,	14 Because I do not want to get into trouble
15 mei [mei] Harrekiet’n	15 with people from Harkema anymore
Refrain (rep. lines 1-6)	Refrain (rep. lines 1-6)
22 Ik hie wat trammelant, yn ’e Heidehoeke	22 I had some trouble, in the Heidehoeke ⁵
23 Ik sei dû [du] mast mar even rap	23 I said you’d better be
24 foarsichtich wurde bûke [bukə]	24 careful now boy
25 Ik joech him op ’e bealch, mar dat foel net ta	25 I beat him up, but that was not easy
26 En toen belle d'r Henkie út Harkema	26 And then he called Henkie ⁶ from Harkema

4. Large dancing/nightclub in the Frisian Woods

5. Pub in a Wood-Frisian village

6. Man’s name

Original lyrics	Translated lyrics
27 No ha se juster jonne [jösterjonə] my de rúten yn smyten	27 Now they smashed my windows last night
28 Ne+e ik wol gjin spul mear ha	28 No, I do not want to get into trouble
29 mei [mɛi] Harrekiet'n	29 with people from Harkema anymore
Refrain (rep. lines 1-6)	Refrain (rep. lines 1-6)
36 Uuuhhh-Harkema	36 Uuuhhh-Harkema
37 Dêr kist mar better gjin spul mei [mɛi] ha	37 You'd better not mess with them
38 Harre-harre-harre-harkema	38 Harre-harre-harre-harkema
39 Dat wurdt dyn dea, dat kin mar sa	39 It will be your death, that's very well possible
2x Refrain (rep. lines 1-6)	Refrain (rep. lines 1-6)

In the song *Harrekiet'n* an identity is negotiated that is even more specific than a Wood-Frisian identity: a contrast is made between a 'regular' *wâldpyk*, the first person in the song, and people associated with the notorious village of *Harkema* (lines 2, 11, 15, 26, and 29). The song tells the story of the singer getting into a fight with guys from *Harkema*. The village of *Harkema*, just as some other villages in the Frisian Woods, is known as the home of hot-tempered knife-fighters. Thus within the Frisian Woods, a distinction is made between *wâldpiken* coming from different villages, revealing a local identity construction on an even smaller scale.

In the song *Harrekiet'n*, place is constructed along two dimensions (Coupland 2011). First of all, the narrative in the song takes place in the Frisian Woods, in the notorious nightclub *Quatrebras* (line 10), in the pub *Heidehoeke* (line 22), and at home (line 27). It names one village in particular, namely *Harkema* (lines 6, 11, 26, 36 and 38). Second, specific linguistic features are used that index the Frisian Woods: for instance, the word *bûke* [bukə] 'boy/mate' (line 24) is used, a word that is still predominantly used in the Frisian Woods (Wurdboek fan de Fryske Taal 1984-2011), and *justerjonne* [jösterjonə] 'yesterday evening' (line 27). The word *jonne* [jonə] is also the form used in the eastern part of the province instead of the standard form [jun] (Wurdboek fan de Fryske Taal, 1984-2011). Furthermore, the pronunciation of some specific words refers to the (northern part of) Frisian Woods: *mei* [mɛi] 'with' (e.g. lines 2, 6, 15, 29 & 37) instead of [maj] and *dû* [du] 'you' (line 23) instead of [do.ɹ]. Finally, the singer pronounces *witten* as [vitən] instead of using the Standard-Frisian [vitən] 'known' (line 13). Thus, in this song, both through the linguistic practices and the topic of the song, a Wood-Frisian identity is constructed. Moreover, the singer, who is not afraid of fighting either, distinguishes the

notorious people from the village of Harkema from other inhabitants of the Frisian Woods, thus constructing a Wood-Frisian identity on an even smaller scale.

Extract 4, below, shows the only Dutch song *De Hûnekop* have produced so far, called *Ons Friesche Land* ‘Our Frisian Homeland’. The actual song (on the recording as well as during live show) is preceded by a telephone call from a Dutch-speaking booking agent who announces that he foresees a promising future for the band, provided that the band sings in Dutch. The Dutch of the agent is extremely posh in contrast with the Dutch used by the singer, who speaks with an unmistakable Frisian accent and mixes his Dutch with several Frisian loanwords. From the outset *De Hûnekop* clearly marks the large difference existing between themselves and Dutch people.

Extract 4 Lyrics of “Ons Friesche Land”

Original lyrics	Translated lyrics
1 Ons Friesche Land	1 Our Frisian Homeland
2 Daar woon ik graag	2 Where I enjoy living
3 Het is een lang, lang, lang, lang eind	3 It is a long long long long way
4 Van Den Haag	4 From The Hague
5 Onze koeien zijn zwartbont	5 Our cows are black and white
6 Het ruikt hier vaak naar stront	6 It often smells of cow dung here
7 Maar dat is voor ons een genot	7 But to us that is a joy
8 We spenderen ook geen tijd	8 We also do not spend time
9 Aan de criminaliteit	9 On crime
10 Dus de achterdeur hoe’t niet op slot.	10 So the backdoor does not need to be locked.
Refrain (lines 1-4)	Refrain (lines 1-4)
15 De mode van de jaren tachtig	15 The fashion from the eighties
16 Dat vinden wij hier prachtig	16 We love it very much here
17 Want dat is bij ons nu pas in	17 Because it has only just come into fashion here
18 Heb je daarop commentaar	18 If you don’t like that
19 Dan ben je de sigaar	19 Then your game is up
20 En slaan we jou een dikke lip	20 And we’ll hit you a big lip
Refrain (lines 1-4)	Refrain (lines 1-4)
25 De politiek is overbodig	25 Politics are unnecessary
26 Dat hebben wij niet nodig	26 We do not need that
27 Want dat vinden wij maar dom praat	27 Because we think that is just foolish talk
28 En we vechten nog altijd	28 And we still fight
29 Voor onafhankelijkheid	29 For independence
30 Van de Nederlandse staat	30 from the Dutch state
2x Refrain (lines 1-4)	2x Refrain (lines 1-4)
During 2 nd repetition of refrain:	During 2 nd repetition of refrain:
35 Ons Friese land dat is een zegen	35 Our Frisian homeland is a blessing

Original lyrics	Translated lyrics
36 En zonder zure regen 37 Want je hebt hier maar amper verkeer 38 Ook files he'we niet 39 En dat doet ons geen verdriet 40 Nou, zeg nou zelf, wat wil je nog meer.	36 And without acid rain 37 Because there is hardly any traffic here 38 nor are there any traffic jams 39 And we do not regret that 40 Well, tell me, what more could you desire.
Refrain (lines 1-4) 45 We zijn doordeweeks aan 't werk 46 En zondags naar de kerk 47 En dan ook het liefst drie keer 48 Want dat moeder ons baarde 49 Op het mooiste land der aarde 50 Daarvoor danken wij de Heer 2x Refrain (lines 1-4) During 2 nd repetition of refrain: 55 Ons Friesche land van pracht en praal	Refrain (lines 1-4) 45 During the week we are at work 46 And on Sunday we go to church 47 preferably three times 48 Because our mother gave birth to us 49 In the most beautiful country on earth 50 For that we thank the Lord 2x Refrain (lines 1-4) During 2 nd repetition of refrain: 55 Our Frisian homeland of splendour and beauty
56 En onze eigen taal 57 Dat kunnen jullie niet verstaan 58 Heb je daarmee een probleem 59 Dan ga je maar weer heen 60 Want dat staat ons toch niet aan Refrain (lines 1-4)	56 And our own language 57 Which you cannot understand 58 If you have a problem with that 59 Then you can leave again 60 Because we do not like that anyway Refrain (lines 1-4)

Although the complete song *Ons Friesche Land* is in Dutch, in this song *De Hûnekop* also construct a Frisian identity. They achieve this through their linguistic practices – many Dutch words have a typical Frisian pronunciation – and through the content of the song. The text of the song *Ons Friesche Land* constructs a very strong, stereotypical Frisian identity, both in the way it is imagined by people from other parts of the Netherlands, and in the way that Frisians imagine how they are perceived by others, outside of Fryslân. In the song, the contrast is explicitly made between Frisians and ordinary Dutch people from the ‘polished’ metropole. Several stereotypes are referred to, such as the idea that in Fryslân, there are more cows than people (line 5), the Frisians are old-fashioned (lines 15-17), and very proud of their own language and culture (lines 48-49, 55-56). The love for the province clearly shows in this song: it is a joy to live in Fryslân (line 2); it is a rural area where people enjoy the smell of cow dung and a clean environment instead of suffering from industrial emissions or exhaust fumes (lines 6-7, 35-40); Fryslân is a safe place to live (lines 8-10); and Fryslân is the best place on earth (lines 48-49 and 55-56). At the same time, the Dutch are vehemently opposed and the criticism of the Dutch of this strong Frisian

identity and their love for the province and language is clearly attacked (lines 18-20 and 58-60). In addition to constructing this ‘general’ Frisian identity, in line 19-20 the hot-tempered, violent Wood-Frisian identity is reinforced. However, throughout the song a Frisian identity is constructed at a general level, as opposed to a Dutch identity. This song shows that even through Dutch a Frisian identity can be negotiated.

The analysis of the four songs shows that in their songs, *De Hûnekop* construct a (Wood-)Frisian identity through their linguistic practices as well as through the content of their songs.

5. Identity construction in onstage and offstage narratives

This section analyses the narratives of lead singer Emiel Stoffers of *De Hûnekop* to find out how local identity(ies) associated with (parts of) Fryslân is(are) constructed in speech. It discusses fragments taken from the theatre show *Wanklanken fan 'e wurkflier* ‘Discord from the workplace’ and an interview with the lead singer. The extracts are written in an orthography that reflects as closely as possible what the singer actually said. In the theatre show, the songs from *De Hûnekop* are alternated with sketches performed by the lead singer Stoffers. Just after the start, Stoffers tells that, as a matter of fact, he was not born in the province of Fryslân but in Groningen (the neighbouring province). Especially between the inhabitants of those two provinces (Fryslân and Groningen) there is animosity, which goes back centuries (Jensma 2003; Schroor 2007). Stoffers is the child of a Frisian and a Groningen parent and moved to Fryslân at the age of four. A part of this scene follows below in Extract 5.

Extract 5 Onstage narrative about Fryslân and Groningen

Original narrative	Translated narrative
1 Ja. Ik bin geboaren dus op 25 juny	1 Yes. So I was born on 25 June 1980
2 1980 yn Grins. (silence, comments).	2 in Groningen (silence, comments).
3 Ja toe maar. Nuh. Pleagje my mar jong.	3 Yes, go ahead. So. Tease me man.
4 Jim mat mar goed raar tsjin my dwaan.	4 Just harass me
5 Mei syn allen tsjin ien. 383 tsjin ien.	5 All of you against one. 383 against one.
6 Bytsje eh grappen meitsje [mɛitsjə]	6 Making eh some jokes
7 oer myn beperking,	7 about my disability,
8 ja, dat is net leuk. Fyn 'k gjin stijl.	8 yeah, that is not funny. It is not fair.
9 Dat is wol hiel dapper	9 It is very brave
10 mei [mɛi] syn allen tsjin ien.	10 all of you against one.
11 Ik koe der ek weinig oan dwaan.	11 I could not do much about it.
12 Ik bin namenlik in krusing tusken in	12 For I am a cross between a Frisian
13 Fries en in Grinslander.	13 and a person from Groningen.

Original narrative	Translated narrative
14 Ja, ik bin in bastaard.	14 Yes, I am a bastard.
15 Mar ik bin yn ieder gefal gjin ynteelt.	15 But at least I am not inbred.
16 En de heupkes bin best. 100% HD frij.	16 And the hips are great. 100% HD free.
17 Dus ja, ik fiel my soms krekt as eh	17 So yes, sometimes I feel just like eh
18 as in hûn dy yn in ‘e hynstestâl geboaren is.	18 like a dog that was born in a horse shed.
19 Dat wol sizze, ik fiel my mear	19 That is to say, I feel more like
20 hûn as hynder.	20 a dog than a horse.
21 Snappe jim dat? Wurdt moeilik hin.	21 Do you get that? Is difficult, right?
22 Ok, eh, wachtsje even.	22 Ok, eh, wait a minute.
23 Ehm it komt der op del, en dat is	23 Ehm it comes down to this, and this is
24 net om by [bɛi] jim om te slijmen,	24 not to flatter you,
25 want ik skyt op jim allegearre.	25 because I shit on all of you.
26 Ik fiel my mear Fries	26 I feel more Frisian
27 as Grinslander.	27 than someone from Groningen.
28 En ik fyn .. (applause)... fantastisch,	28 And I think .. (applause)... fantastic.
29 Nee, ik fiel my mear,	29 No, I feel more,
30 en ik fyn trouwens, en dat ma jim	30 and I think, by the way, and you will
31 ek wol mei [mɛi] my iens wêze,	31 agree with me on that,
32 ik praat ek wol aardich Fries	32 I speak Frisian reasonably well
33 foar in Grinslander. Of net?”	33 for someone from Groningen. Don’t I?”

In this particular extract, the singer does several things. Firstly, he relates his identity to his birth-place, which was not in Fryslân, but in the neighbouring – rival – province of Groningen (*Grins*, line 1-2). Moreover, in lines 12-13 he confesses that he has a Frisian parent and a parent from Groningen. However, he says that he feels more like a Frisian than like a person from Groningen in line 26-27. Interestingly, in line 32-33, he stresses that he speaks reasonably good Frisian for someone from Groningen. At the end of this fragment, Stoffers seems to suggest that although feeling Frisian, and speaking the language, if one was not born in Fryslân, one simply cannot be a real Frisian. His linguistic practices in Extract 5 are fairly neutral, except for *meitsje* [mɛitsjə] instead of [maitsjə] ‘make’ in line 6 and *mei* [mɛi] instead of [maj] ‘with’ in lines 10 and 31. These pronunciations are typical for Wood Frisian. Interestingly, in line 24 he uses the Clay-Frisian variant of *by* [bɛi] instead of the Wood-Frisian [bi] ‘with’.

In the interview, when asked whether he feels more Frisian, Dutch, European or a world citizen, the singer gave the following answer (see Extract 6).

Extract 6 The hybrid identity of the lead singer

Original narrative	Translated narrative
1 It is foar my [mi] hiel lestich.	1 It is very difficult to me.
2 Ik bin eh, Ik bin natuerlik geboaren yn Grinslân,	2 I was ehm, of course I was born in Groningen,
3 en ik bin opgroeid yn Kollumersweach.	3 and I grew up in Kollumersweach.
4 Allinnich dêr bin ik op myn 17de fanôf	4 But at the age of 17 I,
5 op myn 17de bin ik al yn Ljouwert	5 when I was 17 I moved to Leeuwarden
6 wenjen gongen. Dus ja, ik bin fan alles	6 to live there. So yes, I am a little bit
7 krekt neat, wist [vist] wol.	7 of everything you know.
8 Hè, dus ja, sjoch as ik yn it bûtelan bin dan	8 So yes, you see, when I'm abroad then
9 dan sis ik it leafste fan ik bin in Fries	9 I prefer to say that I am a Frisian
10 wist [vist] wol. Ik bin, ik fyn eh,	10 you know. I am, I find ehm,
11 de Fryske kultuer dat dat fyn ik iets	11 the Frisian culture that is something
12 dêr soe'k ja earder grutsk op wêze	12 I could be proud of more easily
13 kinne dan Nederlander ofsa.	13 than of being Dutch or so.
14 Ik fiel my totaal gjin NEDERLANDER	14 I do not feel DUTCH at all.
15 Nee as ik in typyske trochsnee	15 No, if I met a typical average
16 Nederlander tsjin soe komme op fakânsje	16 Dutchman on my holiday
17 dan soe dat net ien wêze wêr't wêr't wêr't	17 then that would not be someone with whom, with whom, with whom
18 ik eh ja eh automatysk goed mei opsjitte	18 I would, ehm, automatically get along
19 kin of sa wist wol. Dus ja it	19 with easily or so, you know. So yes, it
20 is hiel moeilik. Mar ja yn myn teksten	20 is very difficult. But yes, in my texts,
21 eh doch ik myself altiid=altiten foar	21 ehm, I always-always present myself
22 as in ja as in einlik [ɛiˈlɔks]	22 as a, yes, as a matter of fact as an
23 in trochsneed wâldpyk.	23 an average wâldpyk.
24 Yn myn muzyk bin ik dat wol.	24 In my music that is what I am.

Thus, while in their songs *De Hûnekop* construct the identity of an average *wâldpyk* (see Section 3), in real life the singer is more hesitant about his identity. He feels he is a little bit of everything (lines 6-7) depending on the situation. He is very clear, though, that when being abroad (lines 8-9) he presents himself as a real Frisian. More specifically, he prefers being Frisian to being Dutch (lines 11-14), and he even states that he does not feel Dutch (explicitly emphasising the word *Dutch*) at all in line 14. This is an apt illustration that identities are never autonomous and only achieve social meaning relative to other identity positions and during interaction (c.f. Bucholtz & Hall 2005, see also the introduction). Linguistic features (such as style; accent; or shibboleths, a linguistic feature distinguishing one social group from another; but also broad linguistic systems such as languages or dialects) can be employed both to demonstrate conformity with a social group and to distinguish oneself from a particular social group (Bucholtz &

Hall 2005). The lead singer from *De Hûnekop* confirms this theory several times, e.g. during the theatre show (see Extract 5). During the theatre show, he says he identifies more with Frisians than with people from Groningen. In the above extract from the interview, he distinguishes himself from the Dutch, identifying himself as more Frisian than Dutch. In his songs this can also be found, for example, in the song *Ons Friesche Land* (elaborated in Extract 4).

The singer admits to deliberately presenting himself as a stereotypical *wâldpyk* in his music (lines 19-24). Interestingly, in Extract 6, the lead singer only pronounces words in the typical Wood-Frisian way four times: once [mi] instead of [mɛi] ‘me’, once [ɛiⁿlɔks] instead of [aiⁿlɔks] ‘actually’, and twice [vist] instead of the Standard-Frisian [vɪst] ‘know’. In Extract 7, the interview continues. According to the singer, by presenting *De Hûnekop* as Wood Frisian, the band is allowed to sing and say anything, because its audience expects this. The Wood-Frisian identity thus gives the band liberty to use rough texts in its songs and narratives.

Extract 7 The wâldpyk identity provides liberty to use rough texts

Original narrative	Translated narrative
1 En dan is it moaie, dan	1 And then the good thing is, then
2 mei [mɛi] ek alles dan	2 everything is allowed, then
3 mei [mɛi] ek yn ien kear alles	3 really everything is allowed,
4 wist [vist] wol datst	4 you know, that you
5 it wat oandikst ennuh ja, we	5 exaggerate a little, and ehm, yes, we
6 nimme ek totaal gjin eh serieuze	6 do not express any, ehm, serious
7 standpunten yn.	7 points of view.
8 Of der sit einliks [ɛi ⁿ lɔks] ek hielendal	8 Or our music does not actually have a
gjin boadskip [bjatskip] yn use muzyk,	message at all,
9 it is gewoan eh ja lekker	9 it is just, ehm, messing
10 flak ouwhoere ja, en dan meist [mɛi st]	10 around and then one can
11 ek alles sizze [se:zə].	11 say anything.
12 Ien twa trije [trɛiə]	12 One two three
13 si’k dy snije [sneiə]. En dat	13 I will cut you (song text). And those
14 bin einliks [ɛi ⁿ lɔks] hiele ja pakken-	14 are essentially very, yes, catchy
15 de opmerkingen allinnich ja wy [vi]	15 remarks; it is just, yes, that we can
16 meie [mɛiə] it gewoan dwaan want	16 just do it because
17 iederien wit [vit] dat wy [vi]	17 everyone knows that we
18 der toch wol wat de gek mei [mɛi] ha	18 are just making fun.
19 wist [vist] wol	19 you know.

A quick scan of Extract 7 for bold IPA markings shows that once the lead singer has concluded that he presents himself as an average *wâldpyk* in his

music, the number of Wood-Frisian features in his speech increases drastically, compared to the preceding part of the interview in Extract 6. Examples are the use of [mɛi] instead of [maɪ] ‘allowed’, [bjatskɪp] instead of [bʏatskɪp] ‘message’, [mɛɪst] instead of [maɪst] ‘you’re allowed’, [vi] instead of [vɛi] ‘we’, [mɛjə] instead of [maɪə] ‘allowed’, [ɛɪⁿlɔks] instead of [aɪⁿlɔks] ‘actually’, and [vist] and [vit] instead of Standard-Frisian [vɪst] and [vɪt] ‘know’.

De Hûnekop are very aware of the fact that their commercial success can largely be contributed to the use of Frisian in their songs, and shifting to Dutch or English would make the band less successful. See Extract 8 for this part of the interview.

Extract 8 Language choice in songs

Original narrative	Translated narrative
1 Wy [vi] meitsje [mɛɪtsjə] gewoan eh	1 We just make, ehm,
2 Frysktalige muzyk omdat we ja yn	2 Frisian music because we, yes, in
3 it earste plak omdat we dat leuk fine,	3 the first place, because we enjoy it,
4 mar ek yn it twadde plak omdat it	4 but also secondly, because it
5 gewoan sa goed rint. [...]	5 is just such a success. [...]
6 Wy [vi] soene minder suksesfol wêze	6 We would be less successful
7 as wy [vi] yn it Nederlânsk of Ingelsk	7 if we were to sing in Dutch or English.
sjonge soenen.[...]	[...]
8 Wy [vi] soenen echt ús gesicht ferlieze	8 We would really lose face
9 as wy [vi] echt op in Nederlânsktalige toer	9 if we were to make the switch to Dutch.
geane. [...]	[...]
10 Nee, want dan, dan is de hiele sjeu derôf.	10 No, because then, then all charm would be lost.
11 De Hûnekop yn it Nederlânsk,	11 De Hûnekop in Dutch,
12 dat slaat gewoan nergens op.	12 that really does not make sense.

In line 1-3 the singer stresses that *De Hûnekop* make Frisian music because they enjoy that. He also admits, however, that the success they have through singing in Frisian also motivates them to continue (lines 4-5). Not only would they be less successful when singing in Dutch or English (lines 6-7), they would also lose face switching to Dutch (lines 8-9), all charm would be lost (line 10), and singing in Dutch really would not make sense (lines 11-12). So, according to Stoffers, if *De Hûnekop* were to sing in Dutch or English, their performances would no longer be considered authentic and this would have a negative impact on their success.

When the singer of *De Hûnekop* speaks, he predominantly constructs a Wood-Frisian identity. He negotiates this identity through what he talks about as well as through how he talks. Some variants would never be used

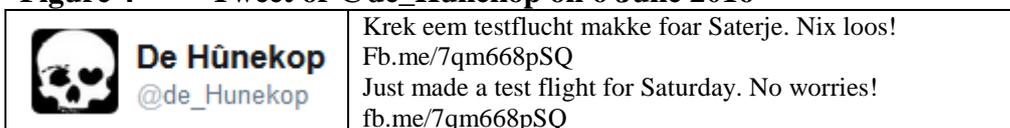
by people from other parts of the province, or people who do not want to be identified with this region. In addition to the extracts above, some other examples that the author heard during the theatre show are *laatsje* [la:tsjə] ‘laugh’, a variant of *laitsje* [laitsjə] that is being used in the Frisian Woods and the Northeastern Clay area, and *heite* [hɛitə], a word mainly used in the Frisian Woods as interjection for boy or friend (Wurdboek fan de Fryske Taal 1984-2011). Nevertheless, during the interview, Stoffers is hesitant about claiming to be an authentic *wâldpyk*, as he was not born in the province of Fryslân. However, when abroad he constructs a real Frisian identity as he does not feel Dutch at all. Parts of the theatre show and the interviews exemplify the hybridity of identities; depending on the context, one will identify more or less with a certain social group. The analysis shows that at all times, identities are dependent on the context and constructed in interaction.

6. Identity construction on social media

In this section the social media posts from *De Hûnekop* are analysed. Although Twitter and Facebook are global media, local spaces are being created, for example through topic or language choice. The Facebook page and the Twitter account of *De Hûnekop* are such spaces. *De Hûnekop* construct a Wood-Frisian identity through their linguistic practices and the topics they sing and talk about. Also on social media *De Hûnekop* incorporates Wood-Frisian features in their posts. The writing in the social media posts is a blend of Wood Frisian, an orthography reflecting Wood-Frisian pronunciation, and Frisian written according to the official standard. In the following section, six Tweets and Facebook posts are analysed. These six⁷ posts were selected for this paper as they all contain linguistic practices that contribute to our knowledge of (local) identity construction.

In Figure 4 a tweet from *De Hûnekop* and its translation is displayed.

Figure 4 Tweet of @de_Hunekop on 6 June 2016



7. Practically all social media posts of *De Hûnekop* include interesting linguistic practices, however, for the sake of space these six posts were selected for the analysis.

This tweet has several interesting features. First of all, a shibboleth from the Frisian Woods is used, namely *saterje* [sa:təɾjə] ‘Saturday’. *Saterje* is the orthographic Wood-Frisian variant of *saterdei* [sa:tərdi], which is the official Wood-Frisian written form, whereas *sneon* [snö.ən] is the Standard-Frisian variant (Wurdboek fan de Fryske Taal 1984-2011). Through the use of *saterje*, one of the strongest shibboleths of the Frisian Woods, a Wood-Frisian identity is constructed. This cannot be missed by people knowing even a little bit of Frisian. In the tweets from the account @de_Hunekop *saterje* [sa:təɾjə] is used almost ten times as much as *sneon* [snö.ən], in the analysed period. In addition, there are several words in the tweet that do not follow the official spelling. In Standard written Frisian *kek* should be *kek* ‘just’. And *nix* in Dutch should be spelled as *niks* ‘nothing’. The combination of an orthography based on the Wood-Frisian pronunciation with unconventional spelling of other Frisian and Dutch words constructs a Wood-Frisian identity. It also shows how multilinguals can draw from many different linguistic resources to get their messages across and construct a hybrid identity.

A shibboleth that returns in recent posts from *De Hûnekop* is *eem*. In their posts, *eem* [e:m] is used as an alternative for *even* [e:vən] ‘just’. In 2016⁸, the variant *eem* is used in twenty-one tweets as opposed to ten times the Standard Frisian/Dutch variant *even*. When asking Emiel *eem* or *even* he replied “*eem* of course”. He was even convinced that he has always used this variant. However, until 2014, *De Hûnekop* had never used the variant *eem* on Twitter. Only from 2014 the variant can be found on Twitter and the frequency has increased dramatically: from six times in 2014, ten times in 2015 to twenty-one times in 2016. In the theatre show Emiel used *eem* only once, and during the whole interview he did not spontaneously use *eem* at all. It seems as if *eem* is deliberately chosen on social media. *Eem* has not yet been observed as a Frisian variant in research about Frisian. It is, however, a common linguistic variant in Low Saxon dialects such as *Gronings* and *Stellingwerfs* (Bloemhoff et al. 2008), and as early as 1948 Hof observed a change in the pronunciation of *-ən/* into *-[m]* after the labio-dentals *f* and *v* along the Frisian language border (Hof 1948). The nasal in *-ən* usually undergoes assimilation to the previous and following consonant (Taalportaal > Frisian > Phonology > Phonological Processes > Assimilation > Progressive place assimilation). But here, the preceding

8. Also in 2017, the variant *eem* was used much more frequently on Twitter than *even* (eleven as opposed to three times). Because the interview took place in March 2017, these numbers are not included in the analysis.

consonant disappears altogether. This appears to be reduction in a high-frequency word. A quick search of a database of Frisian tweets shows that nowadays *eem* is regularly employed by Frisian teenagers, originating from all parts of Fryslân.

In Figure 5, *De Hûnekop* post an announcement of an ‘after-party’ on Facebook. In this Facebook post, too, this typical Wood-Frisian identity is constructed. The translation of the post can be found below the figure.

Figure 5 Facebook post of *De Hûnekop* on 19 January 2017

 <p>De Hûnekop @de_Hunekop</p>	<p>Wy kinne jim net nuchter nij hús gean litte.</p>  <p>Ok, de oare deis dus wol in kater!</p> <p>Above the poster: We cannot let you go home sober Below the poster: All right, so the next day a hangover it will be!</p>
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The Wood-Frisian identity is constructed through several linguistic features. An alternative spelling compensates for the absence of a Wood-Frisian pronunciation in written communication in the case of *nij* ‘to’. *Nij* is the alternative spelling for *nei*, which in Standard Frisian is pronounced as [na.i], instead of [neɪ], which is typical for the Northern Frisian Woods. Because the word is spelled as *nij* (which means ‘new’ instead of ‘to’), the Wood-Frisian pronunciation [neɪ] is reflected in the written text (Wurdboek fan de Fryske Taal, 1984-2011).

A comparable example is a tweet of just a few days earlier (See Figure 6).

Figure 6 Tweet of @de_Hunekop on 16 January 2017

 De Hûnekop @de_Hunekop	Foar de minsken dy't ús graach nei ape mijje play.riffstation.com/results?page1 ... fb.me/5UJmUmxsQ
	For the people who like copying us play.riffstation.com/results?page1 ... fb.me/5UJmUmxsQ

In this tweet, too, the poor reflection of the Wood-Frisian pronunciation in the official Frisian orthography is overcome by choosing an alternative spelling that reflects the Wood-Frisian pronunciation much better. This is the reason why *De Hûnekop* chooses *mijje* [mɛi̯ə] ‘like’ instead of the standard-Frisian spelling *meie* [maɪə]. *Meie* is pronounced as [mɛi̯ə] in the Frisian Woods, while [maɪə] is used in the Clay area and the Southwestern part of Fryslân. Interestingly, *De Hûnekop* does use the standard-Frisian *nei* (and not the spelling *nij* as in Figure 5).

Another tweet where an identity associated with the Frisian Woods has been constructed, is the tweet shown in Figure 7.

Figure 7 Tweet of @de_Hunekop on 18 December 2016

 De Hûnekop @de_Hunekop	Âldegea! Bjusterbaarlik moaie jonne!! Fb.me/6i0iAIsi3
	Âldegea (village)! Extraordinary great evening!! Fb.me/6i0iAIsi3

First, the village *Aldegea* is spelled with the diacritic ‘^’. The use of this diacritic above the vowels ‘a’, ‘e’, ‘o’ and ‘u’ is salient for Standard Frisian; this diacritic is not used in Dutch. However, in Frisian the diacritic ‘^’ is never used with a capital letter. *De Hûnekop* diverges from these spelling rules through writing *Âldegea*. They thus overuse the diacritic sign. Moreover, spelling on social media can be a matter of speed in order to write as quickly as possible (Vandekerckhove & Nobels 2010:178), in this case the use of ‘Â’ requires extra effort: it takes extra time to use the diacritic. Third, the word *Bjusterbaarlik* ‘extraordinary’ is an archaic word the use of which has been documented since 1866 (Wurdboek fan de Fryske Taal 1984-2011). It has an iconic and invigorative meaning which is associated with a primaeval Frisian identity. Finally, *De Hûnekop* writes *jonne* [jonə] ‘evening’, and not standard-Frisian *jûn* [jun].

While most social media posts by *De Hûnekop* are written in Frisian, a few are also written in Dutch. An example is given in Figure 8.

Figure 8 Tweet of @de_Hunekop on 19 November 2017

 De Hûnekop @de_Hunekop	Dames en heren, het eerste en laatste hollandstalige nummer van de hûnekop. fb.me/Lz9zGfid
	Ladies and gentlemen, the first and last Dutch song by de hûnekop. fb.me/Lz9zGfid

In this Dutch tweet, a song in the Dutch language is announced (the song *Ons Friesche Land* which is also discussed in Extract 4 in Section 4). This tweet seems to have two target groups in mind. First of all, a Dutch-speaking audience who can ‘finally’ listen to a song they will understand. Second of all, a Frisian-speaking audience that is being reassured that this Dutch-language song is a one-time adventure only. By including the phrase “the first and the last” in the tweet, *De Hûnekop* communicate that using Dutch in their songs really is an exception. With that statement they indirectly affirm their Frisian authenticity and identity.

While the majority of the social media posts of *De Hûnekop* are a mix of standard and non-Standard Frisian, their press releases, website, and webshop are in Dutch. See Extract 9 below for the relevant abstract of the interview with Emiel Stoffers discussing the choice for Dutch. The lead singer does not express any concerns about their credibility here (in contrast to, for example, his concerns in Extract 8 in Section 4).

Extract 9 Offstage narrative explaining the use of Dutch in communication

Original narrative	Translated narrative
1 Ik doch it ek wolris yn it Nederlansk,	1 I also sometimes use Dutch,
2 dy’t belangryk binne.	2 those that are important.
3 Want dan tink ik ja, net	3 Because then I think well, not
3 iederien dy kin eh goed Fries lêze.	3 everyone can, ehm, read Frisian well.
4 No sa, ús website is ek yn it	4 Well, our website is also in
5 Nederlânsk, en, ja eh,	5 Dutch, and, yes, ehm,
6 persberjochten skriuw [skrjuu] ik	6 I always write press releases
7 altyd yn it Nederlansk. At ik it yn it	7 in Dutch. If I wanted to use
8 Fries dwaan wol, dan moat ik it	8 Frisian, then I would have to do it
9 twa kear dwaan. En it is en	9 twice. And it always is
10 bliuwt [bljuut] toch in hiele protte	10 a lot of
11 wurk gewoan snapst, soms	11 work, you understand, sometimes
12 dan giest ek gewoan foar de	12 one simply chooses the
13 praktyske wei [vɛi] ennuh	13 practical way and ehm,
14 it is sa’t it is. Ik kin wol alles	14 it is what it is. I could do everything
15 yn it Fries dwaan en eh ja wy [vi] ha	15 in Frisian and ehm, we also have
16 ek wol fans bûten Fryslân no ja	16 fans from outside of Fryslân and well,

Original narrative	Translated narrative
17 dy dy misse dat dan allegearre 18 mar ja dus eh 19 dan doch ik it gewoan twatalich 20 en ik bedoel eh elke Fries dy kin 21 wol Nederlânsk lêze dus eh 22 it is wat it is.	17 they, they would then miss it all, 18 but yes, so ehm, 19 then I just do it bilingually 20 and I mean, ehm, 21 every Frisian can read Dutch so, ehm, 22 it is what it is.

In this light, on social media, one other Dutch post stands out (see Figure 9). It asks *Sint* (short for *Sinterklaas*, the Dutch version of Santa Claus, whose holiday is celebrated on December 5th) to order presents from the webshop before 2 December.

Figure 9 Facebook post of De Hûnekop on 27 November 2016

	Beste Sint. Mocht u kadootjes willen kopen bij www. hunekopshop.nl , dan moet dat wel voor 2 Dec. Dan bent u zeker dat de kinderen ze op 5 December hebben. Succes!
	Dear Sint. Should you want to buy presents at www. hunekopshop.nl , then you will need to do so before Dec. 2. Then you can be sure that the children will have them on December 5. Good luck!

In the province of Fryslân *Sinterklaas* predominantly speaks Dutch and hardly ever Frisian (no literature has been found on this topic, so this is based on the researcher's personal experience and that of colleagues from the Fryske Akademy), so the singer of *De Hûnekop* was asked whether the use of Dutch in this post was chosen because *Sinterklaas* speaks Dutch. Research in Limburg, another province in the Netherlands where the Limburgish dialect is spoken next to Dutch, showed that the official language of *Sinterklaas* is Dutch, however, this was reversed during Carnival celebrations, one of the main events where speaking dialect is appropriate and speaking Dutch would be completely out of place (Thissen 2018).

In this case, the singer of *De Hûnekop* explains that using Dutch in this post purely serves a commercial purpose (see Extract 10). They want to sell their merchandise, and by using Dutch they are sure that everyone will understand the post. The words used in line 4, *hannel dwaan* 'making some business', constructs a stereotypical inhabitant of the Frisian Woods as many small merchants used to live in the Frisian Woods (see Section 2) and the inhabitants of the Frisian Woods are still known as small merchants,

often pursuing money-generating activities besides their regular jobs during weekends.

Extract 10 Interview about Dutch *Sinterklaas* post

Original narrative	Translated narrative
1 Nou, dat komt omdat it hiel	1 Well, that is because it is very
2 ynformatyf is. Eh. It giet even om de	2 informative. Ehm. It is about the
3 webshop. En dat is dus, eh, ja, ik	3 webshop. And that is, ehm, yes, I just
4 wol gewoan noch wat hannel dwaan.	4 would like to make some business.
5 En ik wol graach dat iederien	5 And I would like everyone to
6 begrypt dat at se	6 understand that if they
7 dat op 4 eh of op 3 december bestelle,	7 order on 4 ehm or on 3 December,
8 dat se it dan net op tiid krije,	8 that they will not get it in time,
9 wist [vist] wol. [...]	9 you know. [...]
10 Dan doch ik it	10 So I do it
11 mei [mɛi] sin yn it Nederlânsk,	11 in Dutch on purpose,
12 omdat ik graach wol dat iederien	12 because I would like everyone to
13 dat begrypt.	13 understand it.

Singing in Wood Frisian has brought *De Hûnekop* commercial success, and singing in Dutch would not make *De Hûnekop* credible, it would not make sense, according to the lead singer. On the one hand, on social media, *De Hûnekop* strengthens its Wood-Frisian identity through using Wood-Frisian markers, just as in live performances and spontaneous talk. On the other hand, however, when it concerns ‘pure business’ Dutch is preferred on social media in order to avoid misunderstandings and in order to get as high a sales revenue as possible.

7. Conclusions

This paper addressed the question how local identities associated with (parts of) Fryslân are constructed in dialect pop music, and how identity performances in online and offline contexts relate to one another. The linguistic practices of the Frisian dialect pop band *De Hûnekop* were investigated, in their songs, in onstage and offstage narratives, and on social media. The analysis confirms Bucholtz and Hall’s (2005) conclusion that identities are flexible, negotiable, relational, and constructed during interaction.

In its songs, *De Hûnekop* construct local identities associated with the Frisian Woods, and sometimes with Fryslân in general. This association is not only established through the use of specific linguistic features characteristic of the Frisian Woods, but also through the topics and the places the band sings about. Violence, alcohol abuse, and the daily life of the working class are common topics in their songs. The constructed local

identities differ depending on the context. In some songs *De Hûnekop* construct an identity associated with Fryslân in general, for example when singing in Dutch about the stereotypical identity of Frisians as other Dutchmen see it. In other songs a typical Wood-Frisian identity is constructed, as a stereotype for the whole region. Finally, in some songs the band zoom in even further, constructing a local identity associated with a small village within the Frisian Woods. The songs in particular confirm the theory that identities are relational.

In the interview the lead singer says that in real life he does not feel like a typical Wood-Frisian person, however, he does not identify with Dutch culture at all, so he does not feel Dutch either. Abroad he prefers to present himself as Frisian. This shows that identities are constructed during interaction and in relation to each another. Nevertheless, the singer confirms that in his music he is a real *wâldpyk*. He even says that he purposely presents himself as Wood-Frisian as this gives him room to say anything he wants without being taken too seriously. Interestingly, during this specific part of the interview, his use of Wood-Frisian phonetic features increases as this topic is discussed. This instance again proves that identities are constructed during interaction and that identities are negotiable. Furthermore, the singer is very outspoken about the language choice of the songs. Although lately *De Hûnekop* have produced one Dutch song (out of a total of sixty-one songs), he says that it would be unthinkable to sing in Dutch: their commercial success is largely due to singing in (Wood-) Frisian, and *De Hûnekop* would lose all credibility if they switched to Dutch. In other words: if the band switched to Dutch or English, its audience would think *De Hûnekop* would want to conform to mainstream music industry and as a consequence, their performances would no longer be considered authentic and this would diminish their success.

Although in written communication on social media it is possible to hide an association with a particular place, by writing ‘neutrally’, without a specific ‘accent’, *De Hûnekop* often choose to deviate from the official Frisian written standard and to select linguistic features from non-standard Wood-Frisian in their social media posts as well. As in their music, the topics also construct local identities associated with the Frisian Woods. However, when *De Hûnekop*’s social media posts have a purely commercial purpose, Dutch is used. *De Hûnekop* thus seems to employ their linguistic resources strategically: business-like posts are usually composed in Dutch in order to avoid misunderstandings and reach the largest audience possible, thus maximising possible revenue. So, although in the interview the lead

singer says *De Hûnekop* would lose their credibility when singing in Dutch, this language is used on social media to serve a commercial purpose.

With regard to the construction of identity in the three genres that were investigated in this paper, it can be concluded that through linguistic features and content, local identities are constructed in both oral and written communication; in song, speech, or written texts on social media. It seems that *De Hûnekop* and more specifically their lead singer often use linguistic features characteristic of the Frisian Woods on purpose when singing and talking: he clearly negotiates his identity during interaction. On social media, too, often an orthography based on Wood-Frisian pronunciation is used, in that way a Wood-Frisian identity is constructed. However, the practices of *De Hûnekop* demonstrate as well that it is possible to construct one's identity in another language than the variety that is often associated with that particular identity. This paper confirms Coupland's theory (2009) that identity work is often a performance in which specific features from one's linguistic repertoire are consciously selected. The analysis shows that *De Hûnekop* are continuously performing, not only during their core activities, such as recordings and shows when their success demands them to construct a (Wood-)Frisian identity, but also on social media and during informal talk. To conclude, the life trajectory of the singer, his testimony of his struggle to define his identity – “he is a little bit of everything” –, and his identity being context dependent, illustrate the hybridity and complexity of identities.

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