



Bachelor thesis

Narrative persuasion in a foreign language

The effects of foreign language use in a corporate narrative: Comparing the effects of Dutch, English and French on Dutch readers.

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Abstract

Narratives are used in a variety of ways, for example in advertisements. These narratives can be written in different languages. Research has shown that different languages have differing influences on attitudes and perception. Thus, language use in a narrative may affect the way a narrative is perceived and evaluated by the reader. This study aimed to shed light on the influence of foreign language use on narrative persuasion and different dimensions of narrative engagement, consisting of the following: emotional engagement (consisting of sympathy, empathy and enjoyment), identification, transportation and comprehensibility. The languages compared in this study were Dutch (L1), English (L2) and French (L3). The aforementioned dimensions were investigated previously; findings indicated that English as a foreign language did not affect narrative persuasion on Dutch and German readers. French, however, differs from English, German and Dutch as it is a Roman language instead of a Germanic language. For this reason, French may have different effects on the reader, making it an interesting option to investigate. For the present study, a between-subject experiment was set up with 213 Dutch high school pupils, who read the narrative in Dutch, English or French. Results showed that language did not seem to influence sympathy and empathy, but did influence the other dimensions of narrative engagement. No difference was found between the Dutch and English versions. Furthermore, readers of the French narrative had the least positive attitude towards the company, with no differences between readers of the English and Dutch version. Readers of the Dutch narrative had the highest purchase intention, with no differences between readers of the French and English version. These results show that foreign languages in narratives seem to have different effects.

Introduction

In today's commercialized society, companies and organizations are facing more and more challenges when it comes to promoting and maintaining a positive brand image. As their stakeholders are becoming more critical nowadays, companies seek different ways to advertise their products and brand to convince the target stakeholders to think positively about the company. The usual advertisement in which a product or brand is directly advertised may not be appreciated by the public, therefore making it less effective in positively influencing the customer's attitude towards the brand or product (Mehta, (2000) in Spring, 2017). Alternative ways of promoting a product or brand have been found, one of which is narrative persuasion.

Narrative persuasion has been defined as "a message strategy to influence beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors through stories" (Cho, Shen & Wilson, 2014, p. 2). Given the vast number of people who are consuming stories at any given time (e.g., people who are reading newspapers), narratives can hold a useful function for advertisers (Dal Cin, Zanna, & Fong, 2004). Studies have shown that reading or listening to a narrative can influence beliefs that recipients of the message hold about a phenomenon (e.g., Slater, Rouner, & Long, 2006). Hence, narratives can be seen as a useful tool for marketing or external communications for companies.

However, as companies are also becoming more internationally oriented due to globalization, they face the challenge of adapting their communication materials to the various countries in which they are operating. Previous studies have shown that adaptation of advertisements to the local culture may be more effective in some cases compared to standardization (Schmid & Kotulla, 2010). For example, the language of the advertisement could be adapted to the native language. Nevertheless, using a foreign language remains an option. Research has shown that different languages evoke different associations with the product or brand (Gerritsen, et al., 2010). For example, French is often associated with elegance (Haarmann, 1989 in Gerritsen et al., 2010) and English with modernity (Piller, 2001). Given that different languages can evoke different associations, the effects of a narrative may vary per language.

The effects of foreign language use in a corporate narrative have been studied previously by Spring (2017). In her study, the effects of English on Dutch and German students were investigated. Results showed no significant influence of English on the effects of the narrative. A possible explanation could be the high proficiency levels of English. As the only language that was studied was English, it could be interesting to conduct a study to investigate the effects of the French language on Dutch people. French is spoken in 51 countries, and it is the second most widely learned foreign language in the world with 82 million learners (Noack & Gamio, 2015). This makes French an interesting option for marketing and branding strategies for internationally operating companies. This study will therefore compare the different effects of English and French as foreign languages to Dutch as a native language in narratives. In this study, English will be regarded as L2 and French as L3, as schools in The Netherlands start teaching English in elementary school and French in high school.

Theoretical framework

Narrative persuasion

Numerous people the world over are exposed to narratives on a daily basis, whether it is reading a book, watching television or listening to the radio. Multiple studies have shown that narratives in various forms, whether as short stories, books or television series, can influence the beliefs, attitudes and behavior of their audience (Appel & Richter, 2007). This phenomenon in general is referred to as narrative persuasion.

Though narrative persuasion shares some aspects with other persuasive strategies, it differs on others. For instance, when comparing narrative persuasion to rhetorical communications, people are less aware of the persuasive intent of a narrative (Dal Cin et al., 2004). It is for this reason that narratives are thought to be more effective than other more obvious strategies of persuasion. According to Petty and Cacioppo (1986, as cited in Dal Cin et al., 2004), chances are that resistance to persuasion will increase when people are conscious of the persuasive intent of a message. It has been suggested by Dal Cin et al. (2004, p. 177) that narratives may overcome resistance by "reducing the amount and effectiveness of counterarguing or logical consideration of the message" and "by increasing identification with characters in the story".

As narratives seem to be an effective persuasive tool, many forms of narratives have been developed. The current study will focus on corporate narratives. A corporate narrative is a narrative that is used by organizations to maintain or improve their reputation (Dowling, 2006). These narratives could be of importance to companies in order to improve their business.

Narrative engagement

Busselle and Bilandzic (2009) mention different aspects of narrative engagement in their study that have been described in previous studies, such as transportation (Green & Brock, 2000, 2002), identification (Cohen, 2001), presence (Biocca, 2002; Lee, 2004), and flow (Csikszentmihalyi, 1997, in Busselle & Bilandzic, 2009; Sherry, 2004). In their study, Busselle and Bilandzic argued that it was necessary to have more insight into the roles of those aspects in narrative experiences. They identified four dimensions of narrative engagement. Narrative understanding or comprehensibility, the first dimension, has been defined as "ease in comprehending a narrative" (p. 341). The second dimension, attentional focus, refers to the extent to which a reader is focused on or distracted from the narrative. The third dimension, emotional engagement, represents the feelings that are felt for and with characters in the narrative. Different aspects of this dimension will be elaborated upon later. The last dimension is narrative presence, also known as transportation, and it refers to the sensation of having entered the narrative world and having left the actual world. These four dimensions are considered important in the process of narrative persuasion (Busselle & Bilandzic, 2009). What is not mentioned among these dimensions but still seems to be of importance is identification, which refers to the extent to which the audience adopts the character's perspective (Cohen, 2001). This study will focus on comprehensibility, emotional engagement, transportation and identification when it comes to the dimensions of narrative engagement. Attentional focus will not be considered as a separate dimension, but it will be considered as a part of comprehensibility and transportation, as it seems to influence the latter two dimensions (Busselle & Bilandzic, 2009).

Comprehensibility

Comprehension is seen as a primary activity of narrative engagement, as it refers to the extent to which the audience can understand the narrative (Busselle & Bilandzic, 2009).

In the study of Busselle and Bilandzic (2009), results seem to suggest that comprehensibility is correlated to the dimension of transportation; another finding in the study suggested that comprehension could contribute to the level of enjoyment of a narrative. Thus, a lack of understanding of the narrative may impede transportation into the narrative, as well as hinder the enjoyment of a narrative. Lack of attentional focus, also mentioned as distraction, has been mentioned as one of the possible explanations for a lack of understanding, as the attention will be drawn away. Examples include noise or hunger, but also plot flaws (Busselle

& Bilandzic, 2009).

Foreign languages could also affect the comprehensibility of a narrative, as words may not be fully understood. Consequently, the structure and storyline of a narrative may not be clear. Spring (2007) covered the comprehensibility of a narrative written in English, read by Dutch and German students. Findings did not seem to suggest that the English language affected the comprehensibility of the narrative, however. Though English didn't seem to influence the comprehensibility, results may differ when using another foreign language, like French. As proficiency levels in French are usually lower than in English and Dutch, it is expected that comprehensibility levels will be the lowest for French, followed by English and Dutch. This study aims to shed light on this topic.

Emotional engagement

Emotional engagement refers to the arousal of emotions and the sensations that the audience feels for and with characters in the narrative, also described as sympathy and empathy (Busselle & Bilandzic, 2009).

Emotional engagement is central to the process of narrative involvement (Slater & Rouner, 2002), but little is known about what characteristics of narrative messages would foster emotional engagement (Cho et al., 2014). A study conducted by Pouliot and Cowen (2007) suggested that the audience's exposure to fictional narratives evoked stronger emotional arousal than exposure to factual narratives. In another study performed by Cho et al. (2014), in which the roles of perceived realism in narrative persuasion were studied, it was found that plausibility, which is the degree to which events in a narrative could really happen (Hall, 2003; in Cho et al., 2014) may be necessary to stimulate the audience's emotional involvement. Another dimension of realism that seemed to play a role in the process of stimulating emotional involvement was narrative consistency, the degree to which a story is perceived as coherent.

Another part of emotional engagement is enjoyment. Nabi, Stitt, Halford and Flinnerty (2006) suggest that enjoyment may be derived from the arousal of any kind of emotion, even if the emotion itself does not seem enjoyable (such as sadness). Enjoyment should be derived from engagement with a narrative in general. In order to study what variables could predict the various dimensions of narrative engagement, Bilandzic and Busselle (2009) developed multiple scales in three different studies. They found that all subdimensions of narrative engagement (comprehensibility, attentional focus, transportation and emotional engagement) seemed to contribute to enjoyment.

Previous studies have not covered the influence of foreign languages on emotional involvement in a narrative. Words in a foreign language can have less of an emotional impact compared to the equivalents in the mother tongue (Caldwell-Harris, 2015). Research has not yet shown to what extent a foreign language affects the emotional involvement with a narrative, nor has it shown the effects of different foreign languages on emotional involvement. A study by Spring (2017) found that the effects of an English corporate narrative on enjoyment did not differ from the effects of the mother tongue. One explanation could be that the participants were proficient in English, and were therefore able to understand and consequently enjoy the narrative.

Differences may be found when comparing the emotional involvement of a narrative in French. Possible lower proficiency levels in French and linguistic differences may result in varying outcomes. Therefore, it may be useful to investigate the emotional engagement of a narrative in French and compare these to the engagement levels of an English or Dutch narrative.

Transportation

Transportation refers to the feeling of being absorbed into the narrative world; another term that is used in the same context and which is comparable to transportation is flow, which is seen as being concentrated on an activity to an extent where you lose conscious awareness of yourself and your surroundings or time's passage (Busselle & Bilandzic, 2009). Flow experiences have been reported in different activities, including reading (Csikszentmihalyi, 1997, in Busselle & Bilandzic, 2009) and are suggested to be similar to transportation (Green, 2004; Green and Brock, 2000).

Previous studies have suggested three different ways in which transportation could facilitate narrative belief change. First of all, basic cognitive and elaborative activities that are underlying mechanisms in resistance to persuasion may be reduced by transportation (e.g. counterarguing, Green & Brock, 2000). Secondly, transportation stimulates a vivid mental imagery of the events in a narrative, possibly causing these events to be misremembered as actual experiences in real life (Johnson, Hashtroudi, & Lindsay, 1993). Thirdly, transportation goes along with emotional experiences that can facilitate persuasion through positive mood (Green, Brock & Kaufman, 2004 in Appel & Richter, 2010), arousal (Clore & Schnall, 2005) or positive identification with the characters (e.g., Oatley, 1994; Zillmann, 1991, in Appel & Richter, 2010).

As distraction may impede comprehension of a text and since comprehension seems to be correlated to transportation (Busselle & Bilandzic, 2009), distraction may cause transportation to falter. Foreign language use may therefore hinder transportation of a narrative. However, findings of the study conducted by Spring (2017) suggested that foreign language use did not influence the process of transportation. This research was only conducted using English as a foreign language. Therefore, it is unknown whether a French narrative would result in similar findings, since language proficiency levels in French are likely to be lower. In order to further address this gap, this study will compare possible differences in effects of the English, French and Dutch language on transportation into a narrative.

Identification

Identification has been proven to play a significant role in the process of narrative persuasion. Various definitions have been given, e.g. (character) involvement (Murphy, Frank, Moran & Patnoe-Woodley, 2011), perceived similarity and having the desire to share characteristics with a character (Moyer-Gusé, 2008). In general, character involvement or identification refers to the feeling of relating to the character (Murphy et al., 2011). Empirical evidence for the importance of identification to narrative persuasion has been growing; for instance, a research conducted by Cho et al. (2014) showed that identification was of importance even for short narratives in beer advertisements, as well as in antidrinking and antimeth PSAs. Green and Donahue (2009) also argue that identification can serve as a mechanism for narrative persuasion; they also claim that consequences of experiences of the character may be of greater importance in changing a reader's attitude (in Hoeken & Sinkeldam, 2014).

Green and Donahue (2009) explain that there are two ways in which identification can influence people's attitudes (as cited in Hoeken & Sinkeldam, 2014); firstly, people may be more likely to adopt the character's point of view if they identify with the character. De Graaf, Hoeken, Sanders and Beentjes (2012) as well as Hoeken and Fikkers (2014) have conducted experiments that seem to support this statement. Secondly, the character's experiences with which the audience may identify can cause people to form attitudes or opinions towards certain issues.

However, effects of different foreign languages on the dimension of identification with a narrative have not yet been studied. Spring (2017) found that narratives in English as a foreign language did not have any effects on the identification with the narrative. The only foreign language used, however, was English, with Dutch and German participants. As

English is linguistically more similar to the Dutch and German language than French is, effects of a foreign language in a narrative may differ in this case. Besides, proficiency levels in French are likely to differ from proficiency levels in English. It is thus expected that the use of French in a narrative may decrease identification with the characters, compared to an English or Dutch narrative.

Attitude towards company and purchase intention

The attitude one has towards a company is a popular research topic in marketing studies (Spears & Singh, 2004). The attitude towards a company can be seen as the way somebody evaluates the company or brand internally (Mitchell & Olson, 1981, in Spears & Singh, 2004). Together with purchase intention, which has been defined by Spears and Singh (2004, p. 56) as "an individual's conscious plan to make an effort to purchase a brand", these two attitudinal constructs are seen as important constructs to measure consumer behavior (Spears & Singh, 2004).

As mentioned previously, a narrative can influence someone's beliefs or attitudes (Appel & Richter, 2007). Narratives could therefore be used to influence the attitude towards a company in a positive manner, as narratives are not as straightforward as regular advertisements. People are thus less aware of the persuasive intent (Dal Cin et al. 2004). A decrease in this awareness makes people less likely to resist the content of the narrative. According to existing literature, intentions are believed to be determined by attitudes (e.g., Bagozzi, 1981; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975, in Spears & Singh, 2004). Escalas (2004) found that corporate narratives could affect attitudes towards a company positively. As narratives may affect one's attitude towards a company, it may in turn affect one's purchase intention.

The attitude towards the company and the influence of the English language within a corporate narrative has also been studied by Spring (2017). In fact, findings did not suggest any influence of English on the attitude towards the company at all. It may be interesting to replicate the study in French and investigate whether the effects are different compared to English and Dutch, taking the linguistic differences and varying proficiency levels into account. Besides, purchase intention was not taken in consideration in Spring's (2017) study; thus, it may be interesting to include it as an item in the current study.

Attitude towards language

The attitude someone has towards a language can be of importance to the effectiveness of a language used in a narrative. Language can evoke different associations and have different symbolic or literal meanings (Gerritsen et al., 2010), which in turn could lead to a more positive or negative attitude towards the language, depending on the context in which it is used. The attitude towards the language may affect the persuasive quality of a narrative.

The role of one's attitude towards a language in the process of narrative persuasion in a foreign language does not seem to be studied yet. It may be interesting to include it in the current study. Since research has shown that English is associated with modernity (Piller, 2001) and French with elegance and beauty (Haarmann, 1989 in Gerritsen et al., 2010), it is expected that attitudes towards French and English, as well as Dutch, will differ. This could lead to different levels of effectiveness of the narratives.

Language and narrative persuasion

Multiple studies have shown that foreign languages are processed differently than someone's native language, especially when it comes to emotional processing. In a study performed by Pavlenko (2012) (in Caldwell-Harris, 2015), it was found that emotional processing was enhanced in a native or more proficient language, while it was decreased in a less proficient language. This suggests that someone's native language evokes more of an emotional response.

Besides the difference in emotionality, words in a foreign language can be perceived differently. According to the revised hierarchical model (Kroll & De Groot, 1997, in Spring, 2017), concepts that someone reads in a foreign language are processed and stored differently than concepts read in their native language; concepts encountered in a foreign language are given meaning through associations of the word in the native language. All taken together, foreign and native languages are expected to differently affect the way a corporate narrative is perceived, since foreign languages are perceived differently and have a different emotional impact.

Based on this literature review, the following research questions have been formulated:

RQ1: To what extent does the language of the narrative (L1/L2/L3) affect the Dutch reader's emotional engagement (sympathy, empathy, enjoyment), transportation, identification and comprehensibility of the narrative?

RQ2: To what extent does the language of the narrative (L1/L2/L3) affect the Dutch reader's attitude towards the company differently?

RQ3: To what extent does the language of the narrative (L1/L2/L3) affect the purchase intention?

RQ4: To what extent does the Dutch reader's attitude towards the language of the narrative (L1/L2/L3) differ?

Method

Materials

Three versions of a corporate narrative (see appendix) were developed: Dutch (L1), English (L2) and French (L3). The corporate narrative was taken from Spring's master thesis (2017) and a translation-back-translation technique was applied in order to assure the translation quality. The narrative was translated by native speakers of each language to make sure that the content was equal for all narratives.

The narrative was about the founding story of an imaginary company called Perfect Cereal. The story tells how two childhood friends founded the company and became successful after encountering and solving various problems. The product developed by Perfect Cereal was loosely based on mymüsli.com (http://www.mymuesli.com/). The narrative, however, was created by Spring (2017) and not based on the founding history of mymüsli.com, in order to prevent familiarity with the brand and pre-existing attitudes from occurring. In order to have a product that was equally appealing to all readers, food was chosen as a product for the narrative. Additionally, no existing knowledge was necessary to understand what the product was about. One of the names of the characters, Tom, has been changed to Thomas in this study, as Tom is not a commonly known French name. The other name, Oscar, remained the same.

Subjects

A total of 213 students participated in the experiment. 12 participants were removed due to having a non-Dutch nationality, mother tongue, or because they did not finish the questionnaire. Thus, a total of 201 participants were left. All participants in this study were Dutch high school pupils in upper secondary school on either HAVO or VWO, with VWO 5 (45.8%) and VWO 4 (23.4%) being the most frequent levels of education. The age of the participants ranged from 15 to 19 (M = 16.63, SD = 0.95), with 61.2% of the participants being female.

In this study, 72 participants read the Dutch narrative, 75 read the English narrative and 54 read the French narrative. The self-assessed language proficiency tests ranged on a scale from 1 (very bad) to 7 (very good); the participants scored 5.50 (SD = 0.79) on average for the Dutch test. The average score on the English test was 4.97 (SD = 1.35). On the French test, the participants scored 4.28 on average (SD = 0.97). A one-way ANOVA with language

of the narrative as the factor showed a significant effect of language of the narrative on selfassessed proficiency (F(2, 198) = 19.70, p < .001). The self-assessed proficiency levels were significantly higher in Dutch (M = 5.50, SD = 0.79) than in English (p = .010, Bonferronicorrection; M = 4.97, SD = 1.35) or French (p < .001, Bonferroni-correction; M = 4.28, SD = 0.97). Furthermore, self-assessed English proficiency was significantly higher than French (p = .001, Bonferroni-correction).

The average scores on the LexTALE tests ranged from 60% to 97%, with an average score of 84.9% (SD = 7.20) for Dutch, indicating a proficiency level of C1-C2. For English, the scores ranged from 46% to 96% with an average of 69.4% (SD = 11.97), indicating a proficiency level of B2. For French, the scores ranged from 35% to 58%, with an average of 45.5% (SD = 5.29), indicating a proficiency level below B1. A one-way ANOVA with the language of the narrative as the factor showed a significant effect of language on the tested proficiency (F (2, 198) = 301.25, p < .001). The participants scored significantly higher on the Dutch LexTALE test (p < .001, Bonferroni-correction; M = 69.40, SD = 11.97) and on the French test (p < .001, Bonferroni-correction; M = 5.29). The scores for English were also significantly higher than those for French (p < .001, Bonferroni-correction).

Furthermore, 19.9% of the participants indicated they often read stories in their L1; 46.3% of the participants have indicated to sometimes read books in their L1. As for the reading habits in an L2, 18.4% of the participants indicated they often read stories in an L2; 31.8% of the participants have indicated to sometimes read stories in an L2.

A Chi square between educational level and the three experimental groups (based on the language of the narrative) showed a significant relation between the variables (χ^2 (6) = 35.29, p < .001). There were no participants in VWO 6 who had read the English narrative and no participants in VWO 4 who had read the French narrative, indicating an unequal distribution of the questionnaires among the participants on different educational levels. Another Chi square showed no significant relation between gender and the three experimental groups (χ^2 (4) = 6.09, p = .192), indicating that the amount of males and females was equally distributed among the three language groups. Another Chi square showed no significant relation between the reading habits and the three groups in their L1 (χ^2 (4) = 2.56, p = .634) nor in an L2 (χ^2 (4) = 7.29, p = .124).

A one-way ANOVA with the language of the narrative as the factor showed a significant age difference between the three groups (F(2, 198) = 10.73, p < .001). The participants who read the French narrative were older (M = 17.09, SD = 0.73) than those who

read the English narrative (p < .001, Bonferroni-correction; M = 16.35, SD = 1.00) or the Dutch narrative (p = .004, Bonferroni-correction; M = 16.57, SD = 0.90). There were no significant differences between the ages of readers of the Dutch and the English narrative (p = .476, Bonferroni-correction).

Design

In this study, a between-subject design was used. The independent variable is the language (Dutch/English/French) and the dependent variables are emotional engagement, identification, transportation, comprehensibility, attitude towards the company and purchase intention. Language proficiency and attitude towards the language are moderators in this study as they may influence the outcomes, but they have not been manipulated.

Instruments

For this study, a questionnaire was developed to measure the following eight variables (see appendix D):

Emotional engagement. This was measured on different levels, namely enjoyment, sympathy and empathy. Enjoyment was measured using a 1-item 7-point Likert scale (1 = completely disagree; 7 = completely agree) based on Wissmath, Weibel and Groner (2009). The item was "I enjoyed reading the story". The reliability was not calculated as it is a singular item, and should be sufficient to measure enjoyment, according to Wissmath et al. (2009). In order to measure sympathy, a 7-point Likert scale comprising three items (1 = completely disagree; 7 = completely agree) was used. A sample item for measuring sympathy includes "I felt sorry for Tom at some times". For empathy, a 7-point Likert scale comprising four items was used. A sample item for measuring empathy includes "When Tom succeeded, I felt happy, and when Tom suffered in some way, I felt sad". Both scales were based on Busselle and Bilandzic (2009). The reliability of the scale to measure sympathy was acceptable ($\alpha = .74$), and the reliability of the empathy scale was good ($\alpha = .81$).

Identification. A 7-point Likert scale comprising eight items (1 = completely disagree, 7 = completely agree) adapted from Cohen (2001) was used to measure this dimension. A sample item of this scale includes "At key moments in the story, I felt I knew exactly what Tom was going through". The reliability of the identification scale was good (α = .89).

Transportation. This was measured using a 7-point Likert scale consisting of nine items (1 = completely disagree, 7 = completely agree) adapted from Green and Brock (2000).

A sample item for measuring transportation includes "While reading the narrative, I could easily picture the events in it taking place". The reliability of the transportation scale was good ($\alpha = .84$).

Comprehensibility. In order to measure this dimension, a 7-point Likert scale comprising six items (1 = completely disagree; 7 = completely agree) adapted from Busselle and Bilandzic (2009) was used. A sample item of this scale is "At points, I found it hard to make sense of what was going on in the story". Four items were added to this scale by the author to measure comprehensibility more accurately. The reliability of this scale was good ($\alpha = .90$).

Purchase intention. This was measured using a 7-point Likert scale consisting of one item (with 1 = completely disagree and 7 = completely agree), which was: "I would buy cereal from *Perfect Cereal*". As it is a singular item, no reliability was measured.

Attitude towards company. This was measured using 7-point semantic differentials scales (e.g., positive – negative, interesting – not interesting, appealing – not appealing) based on Matthes, Schemer and Wirth (2007). The reliability of this scale comprising six items was good ($\alpha = .80$).

Attitude towards language. The attitude towards the language was measured using the same 7-point semantic differentials scale that was used to measure the attitude towards the company, based on Matthes et al. (2007). The reliability of this scale comprising ten items was adequate ($\alpha = .77$).

Language proficiency. Language proficiency levels were measured using different versions of the LexTALE language test, developed by Lemhöfer and Broersma (2012). This language test consists of a list of existent and non-existent words and participants have to indicate whether the word exists or not in the foreign language. The English version of the test consists of 60 words; the French version, which was developed by Brysbaert (2013), comprises 84 words in total. In this scoring system, a score of 80% or higher indicates a proficiency level of C1 or C2; scores between 60% and 80% equal a proficiency level of B2 and scores below 59% equal a proficiency level of B1 or lower. Furthermore, a self-assessed language proficiency test adapted from Luna, Ringberg and Peracchio (2008) was used, consisting of four items on a scale ranging from 1 (very bad) to 7 (very good). In this test, participants had to indicate their own writing, speaking, listening and reading skills. The reliability of this scale was acceptable ($\alpha = .78$).

Demographic information. Questions concerning the demographics of the participants were also included in the questionnaire, regarding their mother tongue, nationality, age, sex, level of education and reading habits.

Procedure

All participants were reached by contacting high school teachers who are teaching French or English in the final years of high school. After receiving approval of the teachers and planning a day on which the experiment could be conducted, the data collection could start. All of the data was collected throughout April 2018. This experiment was conducted on paper, as research suggested reading texts in print to be more effective than reading them digitally (Mangen, Walgermo & Brønnick, 2013). Participants were informed about the study and about what they were going to do, but no information about the purpose of the study was revealed prior to the experiment. The participants were ensured that their data would be kept confidential and that their participation was voluntary. A short introduction of the questionnaire was included on paper about what was going to follow. Participants had been randomly assigned to a Dutch, English or French narrative. After reading the narrative, they were asked to answer questions regarding emotionality, identification, transportation, comprehensibility, purchase intention, attitude towards the company and attitude towards the language. After those questions, there was a self-assessed language proficiency test as well as a LexTALE test in order to measure their language proficiency levels. At the end of the questionnaire, they had to fill in questions about their demographics. In order to motivate the participants, snacks were distributed during the experiment. The experiment lasted for about half an hour on average.

Statistical treatment

A One-Way ANOVA was used to test the influences of English, French and Dutch on narrative engagement (emotionality, identification, transportation, comprehensibility) and on the attitudes towards the company; this test was also used to compare the differences between the purchase intentions depending on the language in which the participants had read the narrative. The same test was used to examine to what extent their attitudes towards the languages differed.

Results

In the following section, the results of this study will be shown and interpreted. One of the research questions of the present study was to what extent the language of the narrative would affect narrative engagement; these results will be presented first. Thereafter, the effects of language on the attitude towards the company and purchase intention will be shown, as these were the second and third research question. Lastly, the results for the attitudes towards the languages will be shown.

Table 1. The means and standard deviations (within brackets) of sympathy, empathy,
enjoyment, identification, transportation and comprehensibility in function of the language of
the narrative $(1 = \text{completely disagree}, 7 = \text{completely agree}).$

	Dutch (L1)	English (L2)	French (L3)	Total
	M(SD) n = 72	M(SD) n = 75	M(SD) n = 54	M(SD) n = 201
Sympathy	2.88 (1.23)	2.67 (1.25)	2.81 (1.27)	2.78 (1.24)
Empathy	3.98 (1.29)	3.49 (1.32)	3.54 (1.44)	3.68 (1.36)
Enjoyment	4.74 (1.32)	4.81 (1.23)	3.85 (1.42)	4.53 (1.37)
Identification	4.63 (1.06)	4.43 (1.03)	3.62 (1.32)	4.29 (1.19)
Transportation	4.43 (0.93)	4.18 (0.98)	3.47 (1.14)	4.08 (1.08)
Comprehensibility	5.82 (0.66)	5.47 (0.90)	3.89 (1.18)	5.17 (1.21)

Emotional engagement (sympathy, empathy and enjoyment)

A one-way ANOVA with language of the narrative as the factor showed no significant effect of language of the narrative on sympathy (F(2, 198) < 1, p = .560) or empathy (F(2, 198) = 2.84, p = .061). A one-way ANOVA with language of the narrative as the factor did show a significant effect of language of the narrative on enjoyment (F(2, 198) = 9.81, p < .001). As can be seen in table 1, participants who read the French narrative (M = 3.85, SD = 1.42) were shown to enjoy the narrative significantly less than those who read it in Dutch (p = .001, Bonferroni-correction; M = 4.74, SD = 1.32) or English (p < .001, Bonferroni-correction; M = 4.81, SD = 1.23). No significant differences were found between the enjoyment levels of the Dutch and English narratives (p = 1.000, Bonferroni-correction).

Identification

A one-way ANOVA with language of the narrative as the factor showed a significant effect of language of the narrative on identification (F(2,198) = 13.44, p < .001). As can be seen in table 1, participants who had read the French version of the narrative (M = 3.62, SD = 1.32) were shown to identify less with the characters in the narrative than those who read the Dutch (p < .001, Bonferroni-correction; M = 4.63, SD = 1.06) or the English version (p < .001, Bonferroni-correction; M = 4.43, SD = 1.03). There were no significant differences between the identification levels with Dutch and English versions (p = .834, Bonferroni-correction).

Transportation

A one-way ANOVA with language of the narrative as the factor showed a significant effect of language of the narrative on transportation (F(2, 198) = 14.52, p < .001). As shown in table 1, participants who read the French narrative (M = 3.47, SD = 1.14) were shown to be less transported into the narrative compared to those who read the Dutch (p < .001, Bonferronicorrection; M = 4.43, SD = 0.93) or the English narrative (p < .001, Bonferronicorrection; M = 4.18, SD = 0.98). No significant differences were found between the transportation levels of readers of the Dutch and the English narrative (p = .429, Bonferroni-correction).

Comprehensibility

A one-way ANOVA with language of the narrative as the factor showed a significant effect of language of the narrative on comprehensibility (F(2, 198) = 75.41, p < .001). As shown in table 1, the participants who read the French narrative (M = 3.89, SD = 1.18) were shown to comprehend the narrative less than those who read it in Dutch (p < .001, Bonferroni-correction; M = 5.82, 0.66) or English (p < .001, Bonferroni-correction; M = 5.47, SD = 0.90). There were no significant differences in levels of comprehension between readers of the Dutch and the English narrative (p = .071, Bonferroni-correction).

Table 2. The means and standard deviations (within brackets) of the attitude towards the company (1 = very negative, 7 = very positive) and the purchase intention in function of the language of the narrative (1 = completely disagree, 7 = completely agree)

	Dutch (L1)	English (L2)	French (L3)	Total
	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>) <i>n</i> = 72	M(SD) n = 75	M(SD) n = 54	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>) <i>n</i> = 201
Attitude towards the company	5.53 (0.94)	5.48 (0.81)	4.91 (0.93)	5.34 (0.93)
Purchase intention	4.64 (1.80)	3.87 (1.87)	3.80 (1.51)	4.12 (1.79)

Attitude towards the company

A one-way ANOVA with language of the narrative as the factor showed a significant effect on the attitude towards the company (F(2, 198) = 8.75, p < .001). As shown in table 2, participants who read the French narrative (M = 4.91, SD = 0.93) were shown to have a less positive attitude towards the company than those who read the Dutch narrative (p < .001, Bonferroni-correction; M = 5.53, SD = 0.94) or the English one (p = .001, Bonferronicorrection; M = 5.48, SD = 0.81). There were no significant differences between readers of the Dutch or the English narrative (p = 1.000, Bonferroni-correction).

Purchase intention

A one-way ANOVA with language of the narrative as the factor showed a significant effect on the purchase intention (F(2, 198) = 4.85, p = .009). As can be seen in table 2, participants who read the French (M = 3.80, SD = 1.51) and English narrative (M = 3.87, SD = 1.81) were shown to have significantly lower purchase intentions than those who read the Dutch narrative (p = .025, Bonferroni-correction; M = 4.64, SD = 1.80). No significant differences were found between the purchase intentions of readers of the French or English narrative (p = 1.000, Bonferroni-correction).

Table 3. Means and standard deviations (within brackets) of the attitude towards the language(1 = very negative, 7 = very positive)

	Dutch (L1)	English (L2)	French (L3)	Total
	M(SD) n = 72	M(SD) n = 75	M(SD) n = 54	M(SD) n = 201
Attitude towards language	4.13 (0.69)	5.12 (0.78)	5.33 (0.70)	4.82 (0.89)

Attitude towards language

A one-way ANOVA with language of the narrative as the factor showed a significant difference between the attitudes towards the three languages (F(2, 198) = 51.83, p < .001). As shown in table 3, the attitudes of the participants towards French (M = 5.33, SD = 0.70) and English (M = 5.12, SD = 0.78) were more positive than the attitude towards Dutch (p < .001, Bonferroni-correction; M = 4.13, SD = 0.69). There were no significant differences between the attitudes towards French and English (p = .338, Bonferroni-correction).

Conclusion and discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine the different effects foreign languages could have on narrative engagement, and how this could affect somebody's attitude towards a brand and purchase intention. This was studied by using a corporate narrative in different languages and questionnaires. A corporate narrative may be beneficial for organizations by improving and maintaining their reputation with their customers (Dal Cin et al., 2004; Dowling, 2006). In this section, the results per research question will be discussed. Thereafter, the discussion section will focus on limitations of the present study as well as theoretical and practical implications of the results and recommendations for future research.

The first research question examined the different effects of the native language versus foreign languages (L1/L2/L3) on the readers' level of narrative engagement, measured in emotional engagement (sympathy, empathy and enjoyment), identification, transportation and comprehensibility. It was expected that Dutch readers would be more engaged with the narrative in Dutch (L1), and that the level of engagement would differ between English and French as proficiency levels were expected to be higher in English (L2), compared to French (L3). Not all expectations could be confirmed, however. Among most dimensions of narrative engagement, significant differences could be found. Levels of enjoyment, identification, transportation and comprehensibility differed depending on the language of the narrative. Participants who read the narrative in French enjoyed the narrative less, identified less with the characters of the narrative, experienced less transportation into the narrative and had less of an understanding of the narrative compared to the readers who read it in Dutch and English. Although a difference was also expected between those who read the Dutch narrative and those who read the English one, this was not confirmed. Furthermore, no significant differences were found among the three languages when comparing the levels of sympathy and empathy.

These outcomes seem to be partly in line with findings of previous studies. As mentioned by Bilandzic and Busselle (2006, in Busselle & Bilandzic, 2009) comprehension of a narrative could be hindered by distraction, and foreign language use could be seen as a distraction. As comprehension seemed to influence enjoyment and transportation as well (Busselle & Bilandzic, 2009), foreign language use was expected to affect these dimensions negatively. The finding that participants scored similar levels of sympathy and empathy, regardless of the narrative language, may be explained by the suggestion of Cho et al. (2014). They suggested that plausibility leads to more emotional involvement. This may in turn have affected the emotional engagement levels more than the foreign language in this study. Another possible explanation could be that foreign languages did not play a role at all for sympathy and empathy. For example, the fact that this was an experiment that they did not do for their own enjoyment, may have affected the amount of investment in the story and consequently the way they read the story. This finding also seems to contradict the suggestion that words in a foreign language could have less of an emotional impact than equivalents in the mother tongue (Caldwell-Harris, 2015). Furthermore, the lack of differences between the scores on narrative engagement between readers of the Dutch and English narrative may be explained by Spring (2017), who found similar results. Spring (2017) suggested that this could be explained by high enough proficiency levels and constant exposure of the participants to the English language nowadays (Puntoni, De Langhe & Osselaer, 2009).

The second research question examined whether the language of the narrative had an influence on the reader's attitude towards the company. It was expected that readers who read the narrative in their native Dutch, would have a more positive attitude towards the company than those who read it in English or French. It was also expected that those who read it in English would have a more positive attitude than those who read it in French. These expectations are based on the possibility that language proficiency may affect engagement levels, which may in turn affect the attitude one has towards the company. These expectations were partly confirmed. The attitudes of the participants who read the narrative in French were more negative than the attitudes of those who read it in English or Dutch. No difference was found between the attitudes of the participants having read the narrative in Dutch or English.

These findings seem to be partly in line with results of previous studies. Foreign languages are expected to differently affect the way a corporate narrative is perceived (and thus affect the attitude towards the company) because words in different languages may be perceived differently (Kroll & De Groot, 1997, in Spring, 2017). That no differences were found between the Dutch and English narratives regarding the attitude towards the company may be explained by the proficiency levels. Spring (2017) suggested that high enough proficiency levels may have affected the engagement levels, possibly leading to a more positive attitude towards the company. This, in turn, could also explain why readers of the French narrative had the least positive attitude towards the company. The results of the language proficiency tests seem to support this suggestion. Proficiency levels were significantly lower in French (below level B1) than in English (level B2) and Dutch (level C1-C2).

The third research question investigated whether the language of the narrative affected the reader's purchase intention. The purchase intentions were expected to be the lowest for the participants having read the French version, followed by the readers of the English narrative and the Dutch narrative. This was partly confirmed; those who read it in Dutch indeed had the highest purchase intention, but no significant difference was found between the English and French version.

A previous study by Puntoni et al. (2009) indicated that native languages evoke more emotions than a foreign language. According to Gass and Seiter (2009), emotions could lead to higher purchase intentions as people may be inclined to buy things because of emotional reasons. This may explain why purchase intentions were higher for participants who read it in their native Dutch, compared to those who read it in French or English, since people could have felt more emotions when reading the Dutch narrative.

The fourth research question examined whether the attitudes towards the languages differed. Previous studies have shown that English is, for example, associated with modernity (Piller, 2001) and French with elegance (Haarmann, 1989 in Gerritsen et al., 2010). It was therefore expected that the attitudes towards French and English would be more positive compared to Dutch. This was indeed confirmed; the attitude towards French was the most positive, followed by the attitude towards English, and then Dutch. Although the attitude towards French was the most positive, the participants scored lower on engagement levels, the attitude towards the company and the purchase intention. This seems to suggest that the attitude someone has towards a language might not affect the aforementioned variables.

Limitations of the present study and future research

The methodological procedure of the current study was carefully developed, as it was made sure to inform the participants that they were participating in this study voluntarily, and that their responses and information would be kept anonymous and would be used solely for the purpose of this research. However, there are still some limitations to this study, which will be discussed in the following.

Two limitations of the study are linked to each other. There was a difference between the amounts of participants for the three language groups, where the group that had to read the French narrative had the least participants. This in turn led to an unequal distribution of participants per language and educational level. There were no participants in VWO 4 who had read the French narrative, and no participants in VWO 6 who had read the English one. It is therefore recommended to try to include more participants for every language on all educational levels for a more equal distribution.

Another limitation concerns the fact that only participants with a Dutch nationality were included, and no questions regarding their ethnic background were included. A study by Murphy, Frank, Chatterjee and Baezconde-Garbanati (2013) suggested that different cultural backgrounds may influence the willingness to engage with a narrative. Therefore, it may be interesting to replicate this study with a different population, such as people from other nationalities or ethnic backgrounds. Additionally, this could also be extended to populations other than teenagers (e.g., adolescents), as corporate narratives will not always target teenagers.

Theoretical and practical implications

To conclude, this study was one of the first to investigate the effects of foreign language use in a narrative on narrative engagement and narrative persuasion. This study was new in this field with regards to the studied languages; previously, the influence of English was studied, whereas in this study French was also investigated. The expected results were mostly confirmed. Readers of the French narrative scored the lowest and least positively on narrative engagement levels (except for sympathy and empathy), attitude towards the company and purchase intention. This might have been caused by lower proficiency levels.

The findings in this study have some important theoretical as well as practical implications. Regarding theoretical implications, foreign language use in a narrative was found to affect narrative engagement levels, possibly influenced by proficiency levels of the language. In the present study, French was shown to be less effective in narrative persuasion than Dutch and English. This contradicts the suggestion by Spring (2017) that foreign language use did not affect narrative persuasion. This may be of relevance for future research in the field of foreign language use in narrative persuasion, as different languages do seem to have different effects. As the present study seems to suggest that language influences the effects of a corporate narrative, this might also suggest an influence of language on narratives in general.

As the French language led to lower levels of engagement and participants scored the lowest on the French proficiency tests, it is for example advisable to companies to not use a foreign language in corporate narratives, when proficiency levels are expected to be on the low side for that language. Using English in The Netherlands, for example, might not lead to less engagement as English proficiency levels were high for the population of the current study. This will in turn lead to better persuasive effects of the narrative, depending on the target group. Purchase intention, however, remains unaffected and does not increase when using English. If an increase in purchase intention is a company's goal, it may be advisable to stick to Dutch.

Furthermore, even though the attitudes towards French and English were more favorable than towards Dutch, the Dutch narrative seemed to be the only version that evoked higher purchase intention levels. Companies might want to take this into consideration when considering using foreign languages in any kind of advertising strategy, thinking it would be favorable because of an expected positive attitude towards the language. Taking these implications into account, the present study makes a contribution within the research field of narrative persuasion, as it shows that different foreign languages can affect the reader differently.

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Appendix

Appendix A: the Dutch narrative

Alles behalve rozijnen

Ik hou van kamperen. Toen ik klein was, ging ik vaak op vakantie met mijn familie en beleefde ik geweldige dingen in de wereld. Mijn buurman en beste vriend Oscar was altijd bij ons. Hij is de grappigste vent die ik ooit heb ontmoet in mijn leven en hij kon een achterwaartse salto, wat hem groot respect opleverde in de hele buurt. De tijd vloog voorbij: Ik groeide op, maakte de middelbare school af en begon wiskunde te studeren om leraar te worden. De tripjes met mijn ouders waren verleden tijd, maar Oscar was nog elke keer aan mijn zijde en in onze oude roestige auto gingen we twee keer per jaar de wereld ontdekken. Het was een van die legendarische vakanties waar het allemaal mee begon!

Onderweg naar de mooie stranden van Frankrijk hoorden we een verschrikkelijke radioreclame waarin een piepstemmetje ontbijtgranen met rozijnen als hun nieuwe smaak probeerde te adverteren. Na een levendige discussie waren Oscar en ik er zeker van dat we niet alleen betere radiocommercials wilden maken – waarom niet ook betere ontbijtgranen? Ik bedoel, kom op: wie wil er nou rozijnen in zijn ontbijtgranen? Aangezien Oscar en ik een passie voor eten delen, kostte het ons de resterende uren in de auto richting Frankrijk en de eerste twee dagen van onze vakantie om erover te discussiëren wat de perfecte ontbijtgranen zijn. We dachten aan bananen, lijnzaad en bosbessen of zelfs cashewnoten in combinatie met mango. Voor Oscar was het een mix van fruitige en knapperige ingrediënten, voor mij was chocolade het belangrijkst. Uiteindelijk realiseerden we ons dat de perfecte ontbijtgranen voor iedereen iets anders zijn. Het idee achter Perfect Cereal was geboren.

Eenmaal thuis presenteerden we ons idee aan familie en vrienden en gelukkig was iedereen er enthousiast over. In onze fantasie hadden we al miljoenen euro's verdiend met dit geweldige plan, maar in werkelijkheid bleek het lastiger dan ik had verwacht. Ik moest mijn opleiding op de universiteit nog afmaken en Oscar zat vast in een negen tot vijf baan in een stad verderop. We hadden heel weinig tijd om aan ons idee te werken en geen ervaring met het opzetten van een bedrijf. In die tijd wist ik nog niet helemaal zeker of ondernemen mijn doel in het leven was. Kon dit echt werken? Eerlijk gezegd had ik op dat punt misschien ook kunnen stoppen en had ik nu een fantastische leraar geweest kunnen zijn, maar ik had niet gerekend op Oscars enthousiasme. In eindeloze vergaderingen aan zijn keukentafel overtuigde hij me ervan dat

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Perfect Cereal echt zou kunnen werken en dat ons idee het waard was om voor te vechten. Tot op de dag van vandaag ben ik dankbaar voor zijn koppigheid.

In de volgende maanden staken we onze koppen bij elkaar om uit te zoeken hoe ons bedrijf zou kunnen werken. Omdat we allebei de stemmen van onze moeders in ons hoofd hoorden zeggen "Ontbijt is de belangrijkste maaltijd van de dag", besloten we dat Perfect Cereal bij moest dragen aan een gezonde manier van leven (chocolade telt officieel als gezond in kleine hoeveelheden!). Ons assortiment ontbijtgranen zou biologisch moeten zijn, zonder toegevoegde kleur- en smaakstoffen en bestaan uit allerlei ingrediënten. Van bananen, sesam en vijgen tot chocolade stukjes, je kan alles kiezen voor je eigen perfecte ontbijtgranen! We hadden geld geleend van familie en vrienden om onze eerste opslagruimte te openen. Helaas was het op de bovenste verdieping van een gebouw, wat veel traplopen betekende voor ons en onze eerste twee werknemers. Afgezien daarvan liepen de zaken goed. Onze website was klaar en Perfect Cereal kon eindelijk online besteld worden! Ons idee waar we al die eindeloze dagen en nachten aan gewerkt hadden, onze baby. Ik was erg blij dat ik deze reis was begonnen met mijn beste vriend.

Toen kwam echter de schok.

Een paar maanden nadat we gestart waren, stagneerden de orders voor Perfect Cereal. Iedereen die we verteld hadden over ons bedrijf was erg enthousiast, maar tot nu toe waren we er nog niet in geslaagd om ons product te adverteren. "Hallo. Wij maken ontbijtgranen. Je kan je eigen smaken online kiezen en wij sturen ze naar je op". Blijkbaar was dit niet genoeg om vanzelf te werken. Ons product had wat hulp nodig, maar er was geen budget meer over vanwege de hoge kosten voor verzending en opslag . Ik had me eerlijk gezegd nooit voor kunnen stellen hoe duur professionele advertenties zijn. Aan de ene kant verklaart dit natuurlijk de verschrikkelijke commercial die ons toentertijd inspireerde, maar aan de andere kant kon dit ook het eind van onze droom betekenen. Hoe konden we dit niet hebben zien aankomen? We hadden echt bijna opgegeven. Ik herinner me nog duidelijk één van die slapeloze nachten in Oscars keuken, waar we al onze opties bespraken met een kop vreselijke smakende, zwarte koffie. Ik zat onderuitgezakt op mijn stoel, terwijl Oscar tegen de houten tafel leunde, trommelend met zijn vingers tegen zijn mok.

Oscar: "Maar wat als we…" Ik: "Dat hebben we al geprobeerd." Oscar: Ja, dat weet ik, Thomas, maar misschien kan mijn oom…" Ik: "Hoe? Je oom heeft geen geld meer... dat heeft niemand. Aargh! Ik kan nog steeds niet geloven dat één enkele advertentie zo duur is om te produceren! Konden we het nou maar zelf doen!"

Oscar: "Hmm" Ik: "Hmm niet naar me! We hebben een serieus probleem naast het feit dat jij geen fatsoenlijke koffie kan maken!"

Oscar: "Ik zat net te denken...Als we het probleem van adverteren niet op kunnen lossen, moeten we misschien iets anders proberen...Wat als we ons product zichtbaarder maken zonder het echt te adverteren?"

En zo kregen we onze eerste winkel. Uiteindelijk was Oscars idee gewoon briljant! Gelukkig vonden we een winkel dichtbij het centrum tegen een lage huurprijs. Hier waren we zichtbaarder voor iedereen. Doordat nieuwe klanten spontaan de winkel in konden lopen, hadden we de mogelijkheid om de verzendkosten te verlagen en onze merkbekendheid te vergroten. Verder hoefden we niet meer 47 traptreden op om bij onze opslagplaats te komen en konden we meer ingrediënten opslaan tegen minder kosten. Eindelijk stegen de verkoopcijfers weer. Hierdoor geïnspireerd probeerden we meer alternatieve manieren te vinden om onze ontbijtgranen te adverteren. We flopten met een enorm opblaasbaar ontbijtgranenbord, maar de stickers met ons logo bleken een enorm succes. Het kostte ons nog een paar maanden voordat we eindelijk genoeg geld hadden om een echte advertentie te maken. Ik wil niet opscheppen, maar die was heel goed! De verkoopcijfers bereikten een nieuw hoogtepunt en alles was fantastisch. Nou ja, naast de kleine problemen die elk bedrijf heeft, zoals vertraagde verzendingen of dat je tien werknemers ervoor stemmen om rozijnen op je lijst van ingrediënten te krijgen (blijkbaar zijn er toch mensen die dat echt lekker vinden...). Uiteindelijk was het allemaal dankzij de koppigheid en creativiteit van mijn beste vriend dat onze droom is uitgekomen. Dit is niet het einde, maar pas het begin van onze reis! Onlangs hebben we ontdekt dat eten veel beter smaakt in de nacht bij een kampvuur of onder de eindeloze, blauwe lucht - dus waarom zouden we geen vleugels kunnen geven aan ons idee? Perfect Cereal to go? We komen eraan!

Thomas

Appendix B: the English narrative

All but raisins

I love camping. When I was young, I often went on holidays with my family and experienced what was magnificent in the world. Always with us was my neighbour and best friend: Oscar. He is the funniest guy I have ever met in my life and was able to do a back flip, which earned him great respect all around the neighbourhood. Time flies: I grew up, finished school and started studying math to become a teacher. The trips with my parents became a thing of the past but, Oscar was still with me every time and in our old rusty car we went to discover the world twice a year. It was one of those legendary trips that started it all!

On our way to the beautiful beaches of France, we listened to a horrible radio spot in which a squeaky voice tried to advertise cereals with raisins as their new flavour. After a vivid discussion, Oscar and I were sure that not only did we want to make better radio ads - Why not also better cereals? Because, I mean honestly: Who would want raisins in their cereals? As Oscar and I share food as passion, it took all the remaining hours to France and the first two days of our journey to discuss what makes a perfect cereal. We thought about bananas, linseeds and blueberries or even cashew nuts combined with mango. For Oscar, it was a mix of fruity and crunchy ingredients, for me chocolate was the most important. Eventually we realised that the perfect cereal was something different for everyone. The idea behind Perfect Cereal was born.

Back home, we presented our idea to family and friends, and luckily everybody was excited about it. In our imagination we had already made one million Euros with this awesome plan. But in practice, it turned out to be more difficult than I had expected. I still had to finish my studies at university and Oscar was stuck in a nine to five job in the next town. We had very little time to work on our idea and no experience in setting up a business. At this time, I also wasn't sure whether being an entrepreneur should really be my aim in life. Could this really work? Honestly, I might have stopped at that point and now be a phenomenal and muchloved teacher, but I didn't take Oscar's enthusiasm into account. In endless meetings at his kitchen table, he convinced me that Perfect Cereal could really work and that our idea was worth fighting for. And to this day, I am still thankful for his pigheadedness.

In the following months, we put our heads together to figure out how our business could work. As we both heard our mothers' voices ringing in our heads "Breakfast is the most important meal of the day", we decided that Perfect Cereal should contribute to a healthy way of living (chocolate officially counts as healthy in small amounts!). Our range of cereals should be organic, without added flavouring or colouring, and consist of ingredients of all kinds. From bananas, sesame and figs to bits of chocolate: You can choose everything for your own perfect cereal! We had borrowed money from family and friends to open our first storehouse. Unfortunately at the top floor of a building, which meant a lot of stair climbing for us and our first two employees. But apart from that, our business was going well. Our website was finished and Perfect Cereal could finally be ordered online! Our idea that we had worked for all these endless days and nights. Our baby. I was really glad to have started this journey with my best friend.

But then came the shock.

A few months after we started, the orders for Perfect Cereal stagnated. Everyone we had told about the business was very enthusiastic, but so far now we had not managed to properly advertise our product. "Hello. We make cereals. You can choose your own flavours online and we will send them to you". Apparently this was not enough to work by itself. Our 3 product needed a little help, but there was no budget left due to the high costs for shipping and storage. I could honestly never have imagined how expensive professional advertising is. On the one hand, that might explain the horrible radio commercial that inspired us, but on the other hand, that could also be the end of our dream. How could we not have seen this coming? We were really close to giving up. I clearly remember one of those sleepless nights in Oscar's small kitchen, where we were discussing all the possible options over a cup of horrible black coffee. I was sitting sunk down on my chair, while Oscar leaned against the wooden table drumming with his fingers against his mug.

Oscar: "But what if we..."

Me:" We have already tried that."

Oscar: "Yes I know, Thomas, but maybe my uncle can..."

Me:" How? Your uncle has no money left...no one has. Aargh! I still can't believe that a single advertisement is so expensive to produce! I wish we could just do it ourselves!" Oscar:" Hmm"

Me: "Do not hmm at me! We have a serious problem besides you lacking skills for making decent coffee!"

Oscar: "I was just thinking... if we cannot fix the advertising problem maybe we should try something else...What if we make our product more visible without really advertising it?"

And this is how we got our first shop. In the end Oscar's idea was simply brilliant! Luckily, we found a shop close to the city centre for a low rent. Here, we were more visible to everyone. With the new customers who could spontaneously walk into the shop, we were able to reduce our shipping costs and increase our brand awareness. Furthermore, we didn't have to walk 47 steps to get to our storage room anymore and could store more ingredients at smaller costs. Finally, the sales went up again. Inspired by that, we tried to find more alternative ways to advertise our cereals. We flopped with a giant inflatable cereal bowl, but the stickers with our logo on them turned out to be a huge success. It took us another few months before we ultimately had enough money to make a real advertisement. And I do not want to brag, but it was really good! The sales reached a new high and everything was fantastic. Well, apart from the little problems every business has like delayed shipping or that your ten employees vote to get raisins into your list of ingredients (apparently there are people who really like that...). In the end, it was all thanks to the stubbornness and creativity of my best friend that our dream came true. And this is not the end, but just the start of our journey! Recently we discovered that food tastes much better at night by a campfire or under the endless blue sky - so why not give wings to our idea? Perfect Cereal to go? Here we come!

Thomas

Appendix C: the French narrative

Tout sauf les raisins secs

J'adore faire du camping. Quand j'étais petit, j'allais souvent en vacances avec ma famille et je savourais la beauté du monde. Mon voisin et meilleur ami Oscar était toujours chez nous. Il est la personne la plus drôle que j'ai jamais rencontrée dans ma vie. Il pouvait faire un salto arrière, ce qui lui a donné un grand respect dans le quartier. Le temps passait vite, j'ai grandi, j'ai terminé mes études secondaires et j'ai commencé à étudier les mathématiques pour devenir enseignant. Les voyages avec mes parents étaient du passé, mais Oscar était toujours avec moi et dans notre vieille voiture rouillée, nous découvrons le monde deux fois par an. C'était l'une de ces vacances légendaires qui a tout déclenché !

Sur la route vers les belles plages de France, nous avons entendu à la radio une mauvaise publicité dans laquelle une voix grinçante essayait de promouvoir le nouveau goût des céréales aux raisins secs.

Après une discussion animée, Oscar et moi étions certains que nous ne voulions pas simplement faire des meilleures publicités radio – pourquoi pas de meilleurs céréales ? Allez après tout : qui veut des raisins secs dans ses céréales de petit-déjeuner ? Depuis qu'Oscar et moi partageons une passion pour la nourriture, il nous a fallu le reste des heures dans la voiture en France et les deux premiers jours de notre voyage pour discuter de ce que sont les céréales parfaites. Nous avons pensé aux bananes, aux graines de lin et aux myrtilles ou même aux noix de cajou en combinaison avec la mangue. Pour Oscar c'était un mélange d'ingrédients fruités et croquants, pour moi le chocolat était le plus important. Finalement, nous avons réalisé que les céréales de petit-déjeuner parfaites sont quelque chose de différent pour tout le monde. L'idée derrière « Perfect Cereal » est née.

Une fois de plus à la maison, nous avons présenté notre idée à la famille et aux amis, et heureusement tout le monde était enthousiaste à ce sujet. Dans notre imagination, nous avions déjà gagné des millions d'euros avec ce grand plan. Mais en réalité, cela s'est avéré plus difficile que prévu. J'ai dû terminer mes études à l'université et Oscar était coincé dans un emploi de neuf à cinq dans la ville voisine. Nous avons eu très peu de temps pour travailler sur notre idée et aucune expérience avec la création d'une entreprise. À cette époque, je n'étais pas entièrement sûr qu'être entrepreneur soit mon objectif dans la vie. Cela pourrait-il vraiment fonctionner ? Honnêtement, j'aurais pu m'arrêter à ce moment-là et j'aurais pu être un grand professeur bien aimé, mais je n'ais pas compté sur l'enthousiasme d'Oscar. Dans des réunions interminables à sa table de cuisine, il m'a convaincu que « Perfect Cereal » pouvait vraiment fonctionner et que notre idée valait la peine de se battre. Jusqu'à présent, je suis toujours reconnaissant pour son entêtement.

Dans les mois qui ont suivi, nous avons joint nos forces pour rechercher comment on peut démarrer notre entreprise. Parce que nous entendions tous les deux les voix de nos mères dans nos têtes disant « Le déjeuner est le repas le plus important de la journée », nous avons décidé que « Perfect Cereal » devrait contribuer à un mode de vie sain (le chocolat est officiellement considére comme sain !). Notre gamme de céréales de petit-déjeuner devrait être biologique, sans arômes ou colorants ajoutés, et composée de toutes sortes d'ingrédients : des bananes, du sésame et des figues, des morceaux de chocolat : vous pouvez tout choisir pour vos propres céréales de petit-déjeuner !

Nous avons emprunté de l'argent à la famille et aux amis pour ouvrir notre premier espace de stockage. Malheureusement, au dernier étage d'un immeuble, ce qui signifie beaucoup d'escaliers pour nous et nos deux premiers employés. Mais à part ça, ça s'est bien passé. Notre site Web était prêt et « Perfect Cereal » pouvait enfin être commandé en ligne ! Notre idée, pour laquelle nous avions travaillé pendant tous ces jours et ces nuits interminables. Notre bébé. J'étais très heureux d'avoir commencé cette aventure avec mon meilleur ami.

Mais après, le choc est venu.

Quelques mois après notre départ, les commandes de « Perfect Cereal » ont stagné. Tous ceux à qui nous avons racontés au sujet de notre entreprise étaient très enthousiastes, mais jusqu'à présent, nous n'avons pas encore réussi à faire la publicité de notre produit. « Bonjour. Nous faisons des céréales pour le petit-déjeuner. Vous pouvez choisir vos propres saveurs en ligne et nous vous les envoyons. » Apparemment, ce n'était pas suffisant pour fonctionner automatiquement. Notre produit avait besoin d'aide, mais il n'y avait plus de budget en raison des coûts élevés d'expédition et de stockage. Honnêtement, je n'ai jamais imaginé ce que les publicités professionnelles coûtent. D'une part, cela pourrait expliquer la terrible publicité radiophonique qui nous a inspiré, mais d'un autre côté, cela pourrait aussi être la fin de notre rêve. Comment n'avons nous pas pensé à ça ? Nous avions vraiment presque abandonné. Je me souviens clairement d'une de ces nuits sans sommeil dans la cuisine d'Oscar, où nous avons discuté de toutes nos options autour d'une terrible tasse de café noir. Je m'affalais sur ma chaise, alors qu'Oscar s'appuyait contre la table en bois, tambourinant des doigts contre la tasse.

Oscar : « Mais si nous... » Moi : « Nous avons déjà essayé cela. » Oscar : « Oui, je sais, Thomas, mais peut-être ton oncle peut... » Moi : « Comment ? Ton oncle n'a plus d'argent... personne ne l'a fait. Pffff ! Je ne peux toujours pas croire qu'une seule publicité est si chère à produire ! Si seulement nous pouvions le faire nous-mêmes ! » Oscar : « Hmm » Moi : « Hmm pas à moi ! Nous avons un problème sérieux en plus du fait que vous ne pouvez pas faire du bon café ! »

Oscar : « Je pensais juste... Si nous n'arrivons pas à résoudre le problème de la publicité, peutêtre nous devrions essayer autre chose... Et si nous rendons notre produit plus visible sans vraiment le promouvoir ? »

Et c'est ainsi que nous avons eu notre premier magasin. En fin de compte, l'idée d'Oscar était simplement géniale ! Heureusement, nous avons trouvé un magasin près du centre à un loyer bas. Ici, nous étions plus visibles pour tout le monde. Avec les nouveaux clients qui pouvaient spontanément entre dans le magasin, nous avons pu réduire nos coûts d'expédition et accroître notre notoriété. Inspiré par cela, nous avons essayé de trouver d'autres moyens de faire de la publicité pour nos céréales. Nous avons échoué avec notre énorme assiette gonflable de céréales, mais les autocollants avec notre logo étaient un énorme succès.

Il nous a fallu quelques mois avant que nous ayons finalement assez d'argent pour faire une vraie publicité. Et je ne veux pas me vanter, mais c'était très bien ! Les chiffres de vente ont atteint un nouveau record et tout était fantastique. Eh bien, en plus des petits problèmes comme dans n'importe quelle entreprise : comme les retards de livraison, ou vos dix employés qui ont tous voté pour ajouter les raisins secs sur votre liste d'ingrédients (apparemment il y a des gens qui l'aiment vraiment...). En fin de compte, c'est grâce à l'entêtement et à la créativité de mon meilleur ami que notre rêve s'est réalisé. Et ce n'est pas la fin, mais seulement le début de notre voyage ! Récemment, nous avons découvert que la nourriture était de meilleur goût la nuit autour d'un feu de camping ou sous le ciel bleu sans fin – alors pourquoi ne pas donner des ailes à notre idée ? « Perfect Cereal » à emporter ? Nous arrivons !

Appendix D: the questionnaire

Beste deelnemer,

Hartelijk bedankt voor je deelname aan dit experiment voor mijn afstudeeronderzoek. Tijdens het experiment krijg je een kort verhaal over Thomas en Oscar te lezen en daarna word je gevraagd om een korte vragenlijst in te vullen. Er zijn geen foute antwoorden; we zijn geïnteresseerd in jouw mening! Het invullen van de vragenlijst zal ongeveer 30 minuten duren. Door de vragenlijst af te ronden, geef je aan dat je vrijwillig aan het onderzoek deelneemt en toestemming geeft om je antwoorden te gebruiken. Je gegevens blijven volledig anoniem en worden alleen gebruikt voor dit onderzoek.

Nogmaals bedankt voor je deelname!

Met vriendelijke groet, Wenjie Chen De volgende stellingen gaan over het verhaal dat je zojuist gelezen hebt.

Sympathy

Geef op een schaal van 1 tot 7 aan of je het eens of oneens bent met de stellingen (1 =

helemaal mee oneens; 7 = helemaal mee eens)

	Helemaal mee oneens (1)	Mee oneens (2)	Enigszins mee oneens (3)	Neutraal (4)	Enigszins mee eens (5)	Mee eens (6)	Helemaal mee eens (7)
Ik had medelijden met Thomas	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ik voelde plaatsvervangende schaamte voor Thomas	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ik maakte me zorgen om Thomas	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Empathy

Geef op een schaal van 1 tot 7 aan of je het eens of oneens bent met de stellingen (1 =

helemaal mee oneens; 7 = helemaal mee eens)

	Helemaal mee oneens (1)	Mee oneens (2)	Enigszins mee oneens (3)	Neutraal (4)	Enigszins mee eens (5)	Mee eens (6)	Helemaal mee eens (7)
Op bepaalde momenten in het verhaal, wist ik precies wat Thomas emotioneel gezien doormaakte	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ik voelde precies dezelfde emoties als Thomas	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Als Thomas succes had, voelde ik me blij. Als Thomas faalde, stelde me dat teleur.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Ik voelde niet 0 0 0 0 0 0 dezelfde emoties als Thomas		0	0	0	0	0	0	0
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Enjoyment

Geef op een schaal van 1 tot 7 aan of je het eens of oneens bent met de stellingen (1 =

helemaal mee oneens; 7 = helemaal mee eens)

	Helemaal mee oneens (1)	Mee oneens (2)	Enigszins mee oneens (3)	Neutraal (4)	Enigszins mee eens (5)	Mee eens (6)	Helemaal mee eens (7)
Ik vond het leuk om het verhaal te lezen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Identification

Geef op een schaal van 1 tot 7 aan of je het eens of oneens bent met de stellingen (1 =

helemaal mee oneens; 7 = helemaal mee eens)

	Helemaal mee oneens (1)	Mee oneens (2)	Enigszins mee oneens (3)	Neutraal (4)	Enigszins mee eens (5)	Mee eens (6)	Helemaal mee eens (7)
Ik was in staat de gebeurtenissen in het verhaal te begrijpen op dezelfde manier als Thomas	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ik denk dat ik Thomas goed begrijp	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ik geloof dat ik de redenen begrijp waarom Thomas doet wat hij doet	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Terwijl ik het verhaal las, kon ik de emoties voelen die Thomas ervoer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Terwijl ik het verhaal las, voelde ik dat ik echt in het hoofd van Thomas kon kijken	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Op belangrijke momenten in het verhaal dacht ik precies te weten wat Thomas meemaakte	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Terwijl ik het verhaal las, wilde ik dat Thomas erin zou slagen zijn doelen te bereiken	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Toen Thomas succes had, was ik blij en toen hij faalde, was ik verdrietig	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Zie volgende pagina. Geef op een schaal van 1 tot 7 aan of je het eens of oneens bent met de stellingen (1 = helemaal mee oneens; 7 = helemaal mee eens)

Transportation

	Helemaal mee oneens (1)	Mee oneens (2)	Enigszins mee oneens (3)	Neutraal (4)	Enigszins mee eens (5)	Mee eens (6)	Helemaal mee eens (7)
Tijdens het lezen van het verhaal kon ik de gebeurtenissen voor me zien	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tijdens het lezen van het verhaal dacht ik aan andere dingen die om me heen gebeurden	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ik kon me voorstellen dat ik me zelf bevond in de gebeurtenissen die beschreven werden	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mijn gedachten waren betrokken bij het verhaal tijdens het lezen van het verhaal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Toen ik klaar was met het lezen van het verhaal, vond ik het gemakkelijk om er niet meer aan te denken	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ik wilde weten hoe het verhaal zou aflopen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Het verhaal raakte me emotioneel gezien	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ik merkte dat ik dacht aan manieren waarop het verhaal anders had kunnen lopen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ik merkte dat ik afgeleid was tijdens het lezen van het verhaal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Comprehensibility

Geef op een schaal van 1 tot 7 aan of je het eens of oneens bent met de stellingen (1 = helemaal mee oneens; 7 = helemaal mee eens)

	Helemaal mee oneens (1)	Mee oneens (2)	Enigszins mee oneens (3)	Neutraal (4)	Enigszins mee eens (5)	Mee eens (6)	Helemaal mee eens (7)
Ik kon de actie en gebeurtenissen makkelijk volgen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ik vond het moeilijk om de rode draad van het verhaal te herkennen.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Het verhaal was logisch en overtuigend	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ik begreep waarom het verhaal is gelopen zoals het is gelopen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Op sommige momenten in het verhaal was het niet helemaal duidelijk waarom iets gebeurde	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ik vond het moeilijk om te begrijpen wat er in het verhaal gebeurde	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Attitude towards company

Geef op een schaal van 1 tot 7 aan wat jouw mening ten opzichte van het bedrijf *Perfect Cereal* is. Naar mijn mening is het bedrijf *Perfect Cereal* uit het verhaal...

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	
Sympathiek	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Onsympathiek
Onvriendelijk	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Vriendelijk
Negatief	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Positief
Aantrekkelijk	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Onaantrekkelijk
Interessant	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Oninteressant
Modern	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Ouderwets

Purchase intention

Geef op een schaal van 1 tot 7 hoe graag je de ontbijtgranen van *Perfect Cereal* zou willen kopen naar aanleiding van het verhaal:

	Helemaal mee eens (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	Helemaal mee oneens (7)
Ik zou het product willen kopen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Attitude towards language

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	
Sympathiek	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Onsympathiek
Onvriendelijk	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Vriendelijk
Aangenaam	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Onaangenaam
Elegant	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Onelegant
Lelijk	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Mooi
Rationeel	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Emotioneel
Modern	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Ouderwets
Internationaal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Nationaal
Hoog aanzien	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Laag aanzien
hebben								hebben
Goedkoop	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Duur

Ik vind de Nederlandse/Engelse/Franse¹ taal....

Self-assessed language proficiency

Geef op een schaal van 1 tot 7 aan hoe goed je bent in de volgende vaardigheden in de Nederlandse/Engelse/Franse taal² (1 = heel slecht, 7 = heel goed)

	Heel slecht (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	Heel goed (7)
Lezen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Schrijven	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Luisteren	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Spreken	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

LexTALE test

De test die nu volgt bestaat uit 63 (84)³ testobjecten. Je krijgt steeds een letterreeks te zien. Jouw taak is om te beslissen of dit een bestaand Nederlands/Engels/Frans⁴ woord is of niet. Als je denkt dat het een bestaand Nederlands/Engels/Frans woord is, kies je "ja/yes/oui", als je denkt dat het geen bestaand woord is kies je "nee/no/non".

Als je er zeker van bent dat het woord bestaat, ook als je niet precies weet wat het betekent, mag je toch met "ja/yes/oui" antwoorden. Maar als je twijfelt of het wel een bestaand woord is, kies dan "nee/no/non".

 $^{^{\}rm 1,\,2,\,4}\,$ Depending on the language of the narrative

³ 63 for the Dutch and English LexTALE, 84 for the French one

Je hebt zoveel tijd als je wilt voor elke beslissing. Als alles duidelijk is kun je het experiment nu starten.

The Dutch LexTALE

	Ja	Nee
1 pastitie	0	0
2 scheur	0	0
3 fobisch	0	0
4 markatief	0	0
5 laakbaar	0	0
6 slaags	0	0
7 riant	0	0
8 joutbaag	0	0
9 doornat	0	0
10 woelig	0	0
11 paviljoen	0	0
12 doop	0	0
13 starkatie	0	0
14 onledig	0	0
15 toetsing	0	0
16 affiniteit	0	0
17 mikken	0	0
18 knullig	0	0
19 streuren	0	0
20 rups	0	0
21 paars	0	0

	Ja	Nee
22 speven	0	0
23 geraakt	0	0
24 martelaar	0	0
25 ontpelen	0	0
26 stagnatie	0	0
27 dronkenschap	0	0
28 voornemen	0	0
29 vertediseren	0	0
30 normatief	0	0
31 zetelen	0	0
32 zolf	0	0
33 publiekelijk	0	0
34 vluk	0	0
35 compromeet	0	0
36 romig	0	0
37 getint	0	0
38 gelovig	0	0
39 nopen	0	0
40 kluiper	0	0
41 geloei	0	0
42 retorisch	0	0

	Ja	Nee
43 maliteit	0	0
44 verspilling	0	0
45 haperie	0	0
46 proom	0	0
47 fornuis	0	0
48 exploitatie	0	0
49 acteur	0	0
50 hengel	0	0
51 flajoen	0	0
52 aanhekking	0	0
53 kazerne	0	0
54 avonturier	0	0
55 leurig	0	0
56 chagrijnig	0	0
57 bretel	0	0
58 klengel	0	0
59 etaal	0	0
60 matig	0	0
61 futeur	0	0
62 onbekwaam	0	0
63 verguld	0	0
	•	

The English LexTALE

	Ja	Nee
1 platery	0	0
2 denial	0	0
3 generic	0	0
4 mensible	0	0
5 scornful	0	0
6 stoutly	0	0
7 ablaze	0	0
8 kermshaw	0	0
9 moonlit	0	0
10 lofty	0	0
11 hurricane	0	0
12 flaw	0	0
13 alberation	0	0
14 unkempt	0	0
15 breeding	0	0
16 festivity	0	0
17 screech	0	0
18 savoury	0	0
19 plaudate	0	0
20 shin	0	0
21 fluid	0	0

	Ja	Nee
22 spaunch	0	0
23 allied	0	0
24 slain	0	0
25 recipient	0	0
26 exprate	0	0
27 eloquence	0	0
28 cleanliness	0	0
29 dispatch	0	0
30 rebondicate	0	0
31 ingenious	0	0
32 bewitch	0	0
33 skave	0	0
34 plaintively	0	0
35 kilp	0	0
36 interfate	0	0
37 hasty	0	0
38 lengthy	0	0
39 fray	0	0
40 crumper	0	0
41 upkeep	0	0
42 majestic	0	0

	Ja	Nee
43 magerity	0	0
44 nourishment	0	0
45 albergy	0	0
46 proom	0	0
47 turmoil	0	0
48 carbohydrate	0	0
49 scholar	0	0
50 turtle	0	0
51 fellick	0	0
52 destription	0	0
53 cylinder	0	0
54 censorship	0	0
55 celestial	0	0
56 rascal	0	0
57 purrage	0	0
58 pulsh	0	0
59 muddy	0	0
60 quirty	0	0
61 pudour	0	0
62 listless	0	0
63 wrought	0	0

The French LexTALE

	Oui	Non
1. Cheveux		
2. Soumon		
3. Cloche		
4. Fascine		
5. Huif		
6. Semonce		
7. Canoter		
8. Infâme		
9. Fourmi		
10. Cadenas		
11. Racaille		
12. Pourcine		
13. Oeillet		
14. Raplaner		
15. Plaiser		
16. Cerveler		
17. Endifier		
18. Jamain		
19. Ennemi		
20. Pouce		
21. Metter		
22. Fosse		
23. Inciter		
24. Salière		
25. Fouet		
26. Cessure		
27. Clouer		
28.		
Mappemonde		

	Oui	Non
29. Gloque		
30. Lézard		
31. Sacher		
32. Nouer		
33. Occire		
34. Écouce		
35. Osseaux		
36. Rejoute		
37. Escroc		
38. Hache		
39. Parchance		
40. Pinceau		
41. Poisson		
42. Robinet		
43. Amadouer		
44. Peigne		
45. Retruire		
46. Crayon		
47. Sentuelle		
48. Alourdir		
49. Marteau		
50. Esquif		
51. Treillage		
52. Dauphin		
53. Orgueil		
54. Amorce		
55. Cintre		
56. Chameau		

	Oui	Non
57. Bouton		
58. Capeline		
59. Lanière		
60. Honteur		
61. Abêtir		
62. Fenêtre		
63. Écureuil		
64. Caddie		
65. Détume		
66. Oeuiller		
67. Balai		
68. Prioche		
69. Vicelard		
70. Joueux		
71. Agire		
72. Éventail		
73. Boutard		
74. Panier		
75. Citrouille		
76. Bouilloire		
77. Parir		
78. Remporter		
79. Procoreux		
80. Tanin		
81. Église		
82. Indicible		
83. Réporce		
84. Mignon		

Tot slot zou ik graag nog wat algemene zaken van je willen weten (omcirkel wat van toepassing is):

Opleiding	sniveau:				
HAVO 4	HAVO 5	VWO 4	VWO 5	VWO 6	
Nationali	teit:				
Nederland		ers			
Moederta	al:				
Is Nederla	nds je moederta	al/één van je n	noedertalen?		
Ja	Nee				
Geslacht Man	Vro	uw	Anders		
Leeftijd: _					
Lees je va	ak verhalen/bo	eken? (kruis	aan en omcirk	kel wat van toej	passing is)
0 Ja	, alleen in het Ne	ederlands/een	andere taal, na	melijk	/beide
0 So	ms, alleen in het	Nederlands/e	en andere taal,	namelijk	/ beide
0 Ne	e				
7 :	, .	• • 4 ••	1	iain asianaa fi	.

Zo ja, wat voor genre lees je? (bijv. romans, biografieën, science-fiction, etc.)_____

EINDE

Heel erg bedankt voor het invullen van de vragenlijst!