Meertens instituut
Research and documentation of Dutch language and culture

Despite or because of intensive contact? Internal and external aspects of divergence in modern dialects and ethnolects of Dutch

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1. A methodological preliminary

- convergence, stability and divergence are relational concepts
- hence real time (diachronic) or apparent time ('micro-diachronic') data required for at least one of the language systems studied

2. Some key notions

Language contact, dialect contact

- Language contact
  - maintenance
  - shift
  - creation of a new language
- Dialect contact

Dialect contact

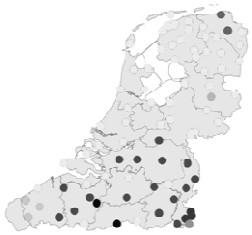
- convergence – divergence
- cross-dialectal dimension (horizontal) – dialect-standard dimension (vertical)

Dialect-standard dimension

- cross-dialectal convergence as a side-effect of dialect-standard convergence (Sobrero 1996: 'passive koineisation')
- cross-dialectal divergence as a side-effect of convergence towards different standard languages (D – G) / different varieties of the standard language (NLs – Flanders)

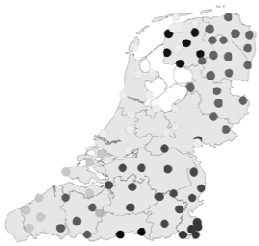
W. Heeringa

'From dialect to regiolect' project (2007-2011)



Map 1.
Morphology – data from older male speakers

Map 2.
Morphology – data from younger female speakers



Map 3.
Sound components – data from older male speakers

Map 4.
Sound components – data from younger female speakers

Hyperdialectisms; 1

- by L2 speakers: over-application of a dialect feature in contexts where it does not 'belong' historically

dialects of German (e.g. the one spoken in Leipzig)
in which standard <ei> usually corresponds to [eː] - but not always:

*[leːpʦ]	~	[lɛipʦ]	'Leipzig'
*[meːnəbeːnə]	~	[mɛinəbeːnə]	'meine Beine'

Phonetics vs. phonology

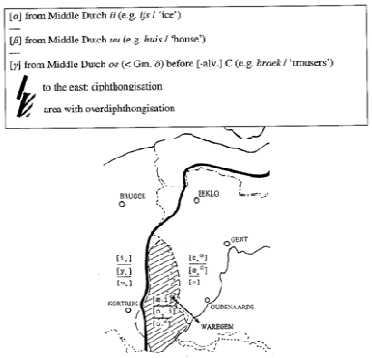
- /r/ and variable /r/-vocalisation by ethnic Italians in Philadelphia (Labov 2001):
  - phonetic quality of 'constricted' /r/ identical to that of AmE = convergence
  - post-vocalic realisation ('vocalisation') differs from that of AmE = divergence

Hyperdialectisms; 2

- by L1 speakers: in order to dissociate; 'polarisation' (Hock 1991)
  e.g. *nabooposisjon* (Larsen 1917)

J. Taeldeman

'Polarisation revisited', in Hinskens (ed.) 2006

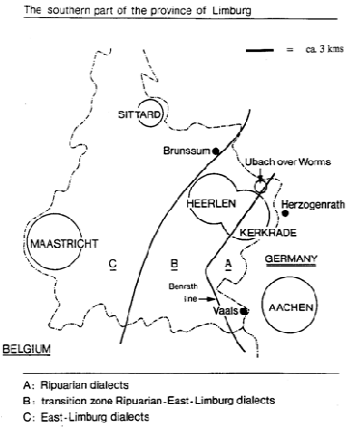


Map 5. Overdiphthongisation

3. Dialect levelling in L/Rimburg

Map 6. Dialect levelling in L/Rimburg

Map 7.



Method

- apparent time method: representatives of three different age groups
- per speaker three different types of data: elicitation, in-group conversations, out-group conversations

Table 1. Some main findings from the elicited data

		LOSS ?	
	overall	conditions	dimensions
A 'Ach-laut' allophony	+	10/14	0/6
γ'-weakening	+	7/7	0/3
I-lowering	–	0/6	0/3
dorsal fricative deletion	+	6/6	0/3
[s] in dimin. suffix	+	3/4	0/2
B R deletion		5/13	2/5
n-deletion	–	1/9	0/3
deriv. suffix -'ly'	+	5/6	1/3
V preter. suffix weak verbs	–		
V prefixless past participles	+		
V subjunctive	+		
V strong/irreg. ~ weak conjug.	+		
C t-deletion	–	0/11	0/5
sandhi voicing	–	0/30	0/14
deriv. suffix -'da'	–	1/2	0/1
absence inflectional -s	+	3/6	0/3
noun pluralization	+	5/25	1/10
V strong/irreg. ~ weak conjug.	–		
V stem V 2 & 3 sing. pres. indic.	–		
oblique form of certain pronouns	–	0/0	0/3
expletive element	+	2/2	1/1

Cross-dialectal convergence and dialect-standard divergence

in the case of the loss of

- 'Ach-laut' allophony:
  surviving /ç/ vs. standard /x/ all over
- non-palatalisation of epenthetic /s/ in allomorph of diminutive suffix following velars:
  [ʃ] all over the place in onset clusters

4. r-lessness in three groups of Dutch dialects

The (historical) deletion of postvocalic /r/ before coronal obstruents in dialects of Dutch, e.g. in dialect variants of standard Dutch

(1)	kort	'short'
	woord	'word'
	baard	'beard'
	beurs	'wallet; stock market'
	koorts	'fever'
	eerst	'first'
	worst	'sausage'

A quantitative diachronic study

Method

Data from

- ***Reeks Nederlandse Dialectatlassen*** **(RND)**
  fieldwork between 1925 (South-West) and the mid sixties (North);
  1956 local dialects,
  135 sentences plus isolated words and paradigms;
  narrow phonetic transcriptions

- **Goeman-Taeldeman-vanReenenproject (GTR)**
  fieldwork between roughly 1980 and 1995;
  631 dialects of Dutch and Frisian;
  1854 words and 22 sentences;
  narrow phonetic transcriptions;
  digitized; database accessible through website Meertens Instituut;
  source of *Fonologische Atlas van de Nederlandse Dialecten*
  and *Morfologische Atlas van de Nederlandse Dialecten*

Some overlap between RND and GTR as regards

- local dialects
- lexical items

For this study: overlapping RND- and GTR-data for:

50 dialects: 16 North-East, 17 Centre, 17 South-East

Choice of dialect areas based on

maps 187-190 of FAND vol. 4 (*hart*, *kort*, *baard*, *dorst*).

Map 8. r-lessness in three groups of Dutch dialects

... and overlapping RND- and GTR-data for 9 lexical items;

monomorphemic and monosyllabic

Choice of items balanced for five phonological parameters:

- preceding vowel: back – front,
- preceding vowel: low – non-low
- preceding vowel: rounded – not rounded
- preceding vowel: V – VV (or lax - tense)
- following coda obstruent(s): C – CC

RND- and GTR-data coded:

'0' /r/ phonetically realized
'1' variants with and without phonetically realized /r/
'2' r-less variant(s)

as well as for the type of phonetic realisation of /r/:
{[r]} - {[R]} in postvocalic position

Coded data per dialect per source (RND; GTR) per item (50 x 2 x (9+1) = 1000 relevant observations) stored in an SPSS database.

Statistical analyses:
- r-lessness: analyses of variance (ANOVA); t-tests; correlation (Pearson's r)
types of phonetic realisation of /r/: frequency counts, crosstabs, χ^2

Some main findings

overall r-lessness significantly affected by

time (RND - GTR)	yes: increase
geogr space (North-E - Centre - South-E)	yes: S > M > N
phonetic realisation of /r/ ({[r]} - {[R]})	no
time x space	yes: N increase, C increase, S decr
time x phonetic realisation of /r/	no
space x phonetic realisation of /r/	yes: N only [r], C [r] > [R], S [r] > [R]

	Preceding vowel				Following obstr
	back-front	low-nonlow	rounded-unrounded	V-VV	C-CC
correlation [1]	.77	.85	.82	.78	.71
different level of r-lessness? [2]	front > back	--	unrounded > rounded	--	--
r- lessness per factor group significantly affected by: [3]					
time x phon.fact.	--	--	--	--	--
time x phon.fact. x real. /r/	T	--	--	+	--
time x phon.fact. x space	--	T	--	--	--

Table 2 The main findings for the analyses of r-lessness per factor group.
Legend: '--' = no significant effect, 'T' = tendency (.05<p<.1), '+' = significant effect (p<.05)

[1] All (paired samples) correlations p=.000

[2] t=3.911 df=92 2-tailed p=.000, t=-2.740 df=99 2-tailed p=.007.

[3] Outcomes of ANOVA's with repeated measures with phonological factor group as within subjects variable and time (RND-GTR), phonetic realisation of /r/ and space (or region) as between subjects variables.

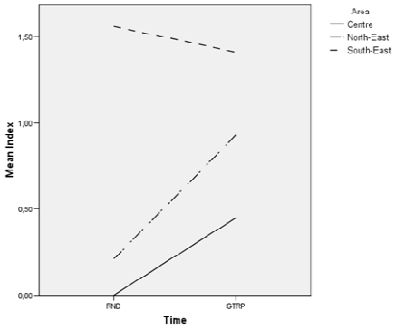


Figure 1. Real time change in the overall proportions of r-lessness in three groups of Dutch dialects

r-deletion:
conditioned sound change (still productive or lexicalized) or dialect borrowing
restoration of /r/:
re-lexification with the standard variants

effects token frequency, type frequency?

5. Amsterdam ‘grave’ /s/

Map 9. Amsterdam ‘grave’ /s/

Prins (1916: 3, 9):
Yiddish dying, but not without leaving traces behind

"There is a variety of Dutch, that only Jews know, and there is a variety of Yiddish that can pass for Yiddish only in the Netherlands."

‘ghetto-pronunciation’ of Dutch

(2)

transliterated	*standard Dutch*	
sjterve	sterven	'to die'
sjtinkende	stinkende	'(evil) smelling'
kunsjt	kunst	'art'
posjt	post	'post; mail'

Jewish German (Ree 1844; Matras 1991):
transfer of sibilants, i.e. the mixing up of 'hushers' and 'hissers' (next to a number of morpho-syntactic and prosodic traits)

Winkler (1874) and Prins (1916):
in the main Jewish neighboorhood in Amsterdam, Jewish Dutch also used to be spoken by non-Jews / Christians

Den Besten (2006):
in Dutch Bargoens (thieves' cant) /z/ in originally Yiddish / Hebrew words was sometimes devoiced, while /s/ was sometimes palatalized and /ʃ/ was sometimes depalatalized

Merely ‘circumstantial evidence’

6. Two dimensions of ethnolectal variation in the realisation of /z/

'The roots of ethnolects, An experimental comparative study'

Conceived and supervised by Pieter Muysken (Nijmegen) and Frans Hinskens (Amsterdam)

Financed 2005-2009 by
- Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO),
- Meertens Instituut, and
- Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen

2005 and 2006:
Esther van Krieken (Nijmegen) and Wouter Kusters (Amsterdam)
2007-2009:
Hanke van Buren (Nijmegen) and Arien van Wijngaarden (Amsterdam)
2009 – 2011:
Linda van Meel (Nijmegen and Amsterdam) and Arien van Wijngaarden (Amsterdam)

Map 10. Two dimensions of ethnolectal variation in the realisation of /z/

city	total n of inhabitants	Moroccan descent (%)	Turkish (%)
Amsterdam	742 783	8.7	5.1
Nijmegen	158 215	2.0	3.2

Table 3. Three demographic facts about two Dutch cities

Method and design

Factorial design:

a) speakers

city	main lg background		age group 12 years old	age group 18 to 20 years old
A'dam	Moroccan	2x3=	6	6
	Turkish		6	6
	native Dutch + 'ethnic ties'		6	6
	native Dutch - 'ethnic ties'		6	6
Nijmegen	Moroccan		6	6
	Turkish		6	6
	native Dutch + 'ethnic ties'		6	6
	native Dutch - 'ethnic ties'		6	6

Table 4. Speaker design

b) four recordings of every single speaker (except for the ones in the native Dutch with weak 'ethnic ties' group):

- conversation with a speaker whose main lg background is
  - Moroccan
  - Turkish
  - native Dutch with strong 'ethnic ties'
- individual elicitation

Some features of Moroccan and Turkish Dutch

(morpho-) syntax
phonology / phonetics

exotic as well as
local / regional dialect

more different variants

variation in the realisation of /z/:

endogenous: devoicing

exotic: overlength

'sharp' realisation

regr voice assimilation to a preceding obstruent

'super-diversity'

regressive voice assimilation to preceding obstruent

(3) "op zich" as such
[bz]
Mohammed (Moroccan, 20 years old, Amsterdam)
Mustapha (Moroccan, 20 years old, Nijmegen)

(4) "nou moet ik zien harten te gooien" now I should try to play hearts
[gz]
Emre (Turkish, 20 years old, Nijmegen)

Some main findings from the conversational data

researcher:
Linda van Meel (Radboud Universiteit / Meertens Instituut)

Sharpness
Findings

No 'sharp z' by Dutch speakers in our sample

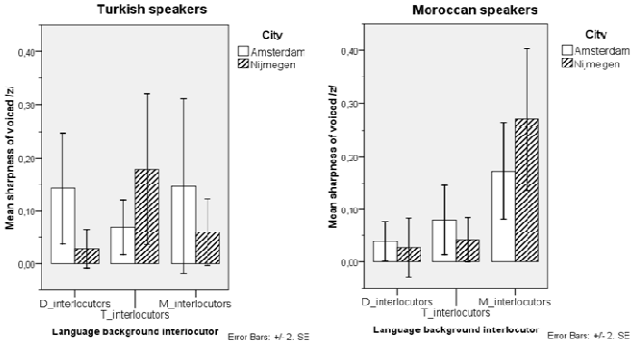


Figure 2 Mean sharpness of voiced /z/ by T speakers and M speakers, split for city and interlocutor.

Voicing Findings

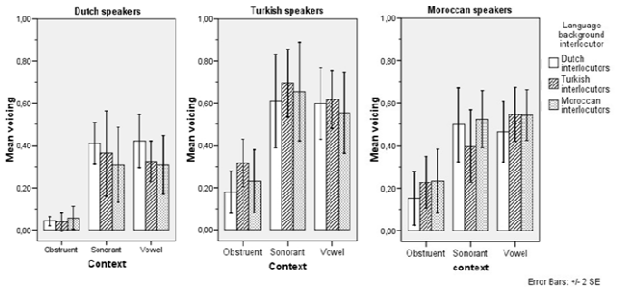


Figure 3 Mean voicing of /z/ for D, T and M speakers, split for context and interlocutor.

7. Sizing up

	PHENOMENON	DIVERGENCE TOWARDS WHAT/WHOM?	CONVERGENCE TOWARDS WHAT/WHOM?
HEERINGA	morphol. sound comp	contiguous dialects neighbouring country	stand. variety own country
LABOV	postvoc. realisation /r/	phonol. norms AmE	phonetic norms AmE
TAELDEMAN	reflexes WGmic high Vs	West Flemish dialects of Dutch	?
L/RIMBURG	-successor 'Ach-laut' allophone /ç/; -newly palatalised /s/ in dim. allom.	standard Dutch	less 'deep' surrounding Limburg dialects
R-LESSNESS	deletion postvoc. /r/ before coron obstr. in NE and C Dutch dialect groups	standard Dutch	r-deleting Dutch dialects?
A'DAM GRAVE' /S/	realisation /s/ by *gojim*	local dialect norms awa standard Dutch	Jewish ethnolectal Dutch (and Yiddish?)
TURK&MOR. ETHNOL. /Z/	-'sharp' realisation /z/ -sandhi voicing of prec. obstr.	(standard awa non-standard) Dutch	-Turks towards Moroccans' variety of Dutch -Turks and Moroccans towards (standard awa non-standard) Dutch voicing, but in this context they overshoot the target

Table 5

	MOTIVATION STRUCTURE?	CONTACT?	SOC.PSYCH.?
HEERINGA		with stand. variety in own country	
LABOV	sonority /r/ in Ital	with AmE dialect Philad.	
TAELDEMAN	(no, but it helps)		dissociation
L/RIMBURG	-/s/ in allom. dim.: abolish opacity	with less 'deep' Limburg dialects	
R-LESSNESS	*COMPLEXCoda and OCP helps a hand	with r-less dialects?	
A'DAM 'GRAVE' /S/		with Jewish ethnolectal Dutch (and Yiddish?)	
ETHNOLECTAL /Z/	-('sharp') lgs from Morocco		dissociation?

Table 6

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Thank you!

Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences