

Modern Moroccan and Turkish ethnolects of Dutch: phonetic and grammatical aspects

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1. Ethnolect. Concept and approaches

		originally mother tongue?	
		Yes	No
in the same language area?	Yes	dialects, sociolects regiolects, varieties of the standard language	ethnolects
	No	transplanted varieties	daughter languages (mixed languages, pidgins, creoles)

Table 1. Four situations and the related types of language variety

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Some important 'early' work:

Garland Bills 1976
>> Chicano English

Elisabeth Carlock & Wolfgang Wölck 1981
>> the Buffalo ethnolects experiments

William Labov & Wendell Harris, 1986, De facto segregation of black and white vernaculars. In: D. Sankoff (ed), *Diversity and diachrony*. Amsterdam (Benjamins), 1-24

Ulla-Brit Kotsinas 1988
>> sketches Rynkeby Svenska - multilingual practices in adolescent peer groups in Rynkeby and other suburbs of Stockholm

Ad Backus 1996
>> ethnicity as a sociolinguistic factor in lg variation

Michael Clyne 2000
>> ethnolect / multi-ethnolect

Jannis Androutsopoulos, 2001, *From the streets to the screens and back again: On the mediated diffusion of variation patterns in contemporary German*. LAUD Linguistic Agency, Series A: No. 522. Universität Essen.

Peter Auer 2003
>> primary - secondary - tertiary ethnolect

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the 'kissing number' concept

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Two approaches to the study of ethnolectal variation:

- language centered
- ethnographic

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language centered approach:

- terminology such as 'ethnolect', 'multi-ethnolect' and 'multicultural variety'
- 'etic', 'objective' definition of ethnicity (language, race, descent)
- highlights features of linguistic structure, their origin and distribution
- tries to disentangle the laws, generalisations and restrictions on these resources
- quantitative
- Labovian tradition
- macro-social angle
- representatives include Hoffman, Walker, and Kerswill cum suis

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ethnographic approach:

- terminology such as 'style' and '(pan-)ethnic style'
- 'emic', 'subjective' definition of ethnicity (social construction; perception)
- reactive and initiative uses of linguistic and paralinguistic features
- language systems are infinite resources from which speakers may freely choose to shape their identity, the language centered approach
- interpretive
- Gumperz' comprehensive style concept; styles have a prototype organization. Accordingly, "ethnic ways of speaking" are seen as "rather fuzzy phenomena with some core linguistic features and more variable features at the boundaries" (Kern 2011: 9). Styles are continuously being constructed as socially and interactively significant products. Cf. Eckert's (2008) view that ethnolects are fluid rather than fixed entities
- micro-social angle
- other representatives Benor ('ethnolinguistic repertoire'), Kern, Selting and Keim.

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International perspective

Europe

- Scandinavia – 'Rinkeby Svenska' (Kotsinas 1988) (Fraurud & Boyd 2006; Quist 2000)
- German(y) – 'Kanakspråk' (Kern; Keim 2002; Wiese 2009 – 'Kiezdeutsch')
- UK – 'Glaswegian' (Kahn 2006; Kerswill, Cheshire et alii. on MLE)

Africa

- South Africa (Mesthrie 2012)

North America

- USA (Newman 2010)
- Canada (Boberg 2004; Hoffman & Walker 2010)

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Ethnolects of Dutch

- Jewish Dutch
- Indonesian Dutch
- Curaçao Dutch
- Surinamese Dutch
- etc.

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2. '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)

2012 -2013:

Linda van Meel (Nijmegen and Amsterdam)

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Some of the research questions:

Re linguistic make-up

Q1. Which aspects of lg use / which components of the grammar characterise ethnolects as distinct varieties?

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	Indonesian	Curaçao	Suriname
Phonology			
slightly nasalised /E/ before nasals			✓
bilabial /w/	✓	✓	✓
apical /r/			✓
devoicing of fricatives	✓	✓	✓
seemingly deviating word stress	✓		
realisation of /y/ as [h]		✓	
Morphology			
deviating gramm. gender	✓	✓	
variable 'omission' er and (pron.) het	✓	✓	
hun (dative 'them') as subject pron.			✓
Syntax			
gaan ('go') auxiliary			✓
frequent SVO word order			✓
subordinate clauses without dat			✓

Table 2. Features of three ethnic varieties of Dutch (as mentioned in the literature)

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Q2. To what extent are ethnolect based on interference from the original language of the ethnic group in question ('substrate effects')?

Q3. To what extent can we reduce features of ethnolects to properties resulting from processes of second language acquisition?

Q4. To what extent are ethnolects based on local (urban) dialects or other indigenous non-standard varieties?

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Re spread of ethnolect features

Q5. Are ethnolects specific for an individual ethnic group, or different ethnolects have linguistic features in common? Do ethnolects reflect a more global non-native identity?

devoicing of fricatives & *hun* (dative 'them') as a subject pronoun
also occur in indigenous non-standard varieties of Dutch
gaan ('go') auxiliary
similar to that in the Flemish dialects of Dutch?

Re place in the speakers' verbal repertoires

Q8. To what extent can speakers of an ethnolect shift to more standard varieties and to non-ethnic non-standard varieties?

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Method and design

Factorial design:

a) speakers

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

Table 3. Speaker design

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Map 1. Sample points

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

Table 4. Three demographic facts about two Dutch cities

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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

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2.1 First impression

Some features of Moroccan and Turkish Dutch:

(morpho-) syntax
phonology / phonetics

exotic as well as
local / regional dialect

more different variants

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E.g. variation in the realisation of /z/:

-endogenous: devoicing

-exotic: overlength

‘sharp’ / dental realisation

reg voice assimilation to a
preceding obstruent

‘super-diversity’

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regressive voice assimilation to preceding obstruent

- (1) “op zich” as such
[bz]
Mohammed (Moroccan, 20 years old, Amsterdam)
Mustapha (Moroccan, 20 years old, Nijmegen)
- (2) “nou moet ik zien harten te gooien” now I should try to play hearts
[gz]
Emre (Turkish, 20 years old, Nijmegen)
- “ik heb laatst nog een nieuwe PC gekocht” I bought a new PC recently
[pe:ze:]
Bart (native Dutch, 20 years old, Nijmegen)

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3. Three variable phenomena

3.1 The study of /z/

- Recorded material and data coded by Linda van Meel.
Analyses by Linda van Meel and Roeland van Hout
- One of the features that characterize and differentiate the speech of Dutch adolescents of Moroccan, Turkish and Dutch descent is the pronunciation of the /z/
- Two variables:
 - Sharpness of /z/, i.e. dental place of articulation
 - (De)voicing of /z/

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Methods: Analyses /z/

- From each conversation, 30 /z/-initial prosodic words were selected per speaker
- ≥ 5 for each left-hand context (obstruent, sonorant, vowel).

Coding:

- Sharpness z: 0 = ‘non-sharp’, 1 = ‘sharp’
- Voicing: 0 = unvoiced, 1 = voiced.

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Sharpness

Examples

‘Non-sharp z’ (= indigenous Dutch)

- maar je moet er ook wel **z**in in hebben hoor
but you also have to feel like it

‘Sharp z’

- luister als ik uh **hartziektes** had
listen, if I had heart diseases

- en **z**ijn ze allemaal door?
and are they all through?

- ik heb geen **z**in meer, man
I don't feel like it anymore, dude.

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Sharpness

Background

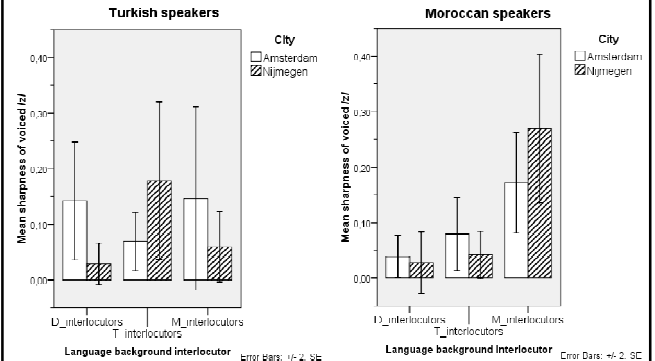
- 'sharp z' does not exist in Dutch.
- 'sharp z' has more frication and tenseness than the average Dutch one.
- the position of the corona is more forward in the Moroccan languages as well as in Turkish than in Dutch, i.e. dental (or denti-alveolar) instead of alveolar.

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Sharpness

Findings

■ No 'sharp z' by Dutch speakers in our sample



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Voicing

background

- all languages (Dutch, Moroccan Arabic, Berber and Turkish): distinction voiceless /s/ and voiced /z/.
- Dutch:
 - Voice contrast merely in onset position; Final Devoicing
 - obligatory devoicing of fricatives, including /z/, after voiceless obstruents (Progressive

zitzak	opzoeken	gaat zomaar
/zitzak/	/ɔpsukən/	/χat zomar/
[zitsak]	[ɔpsukən]	[χat somar]
'bean-bag'	'look up'	'goes-3SG just (like that)'

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Voicing

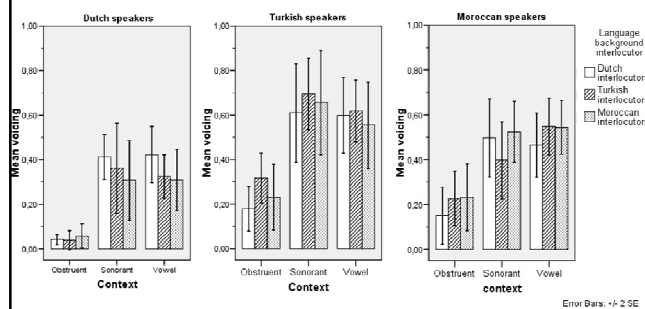
background

- tendency to devoice the z in modern standard Dutch
- Dialects of Amsterdam and Nijmegen
 - Amsterdam: relatively much devoicing of z, in all sectors of society
 - Nijmegen: also devoicing of z, yet more variably than Amsterdam

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Voicing

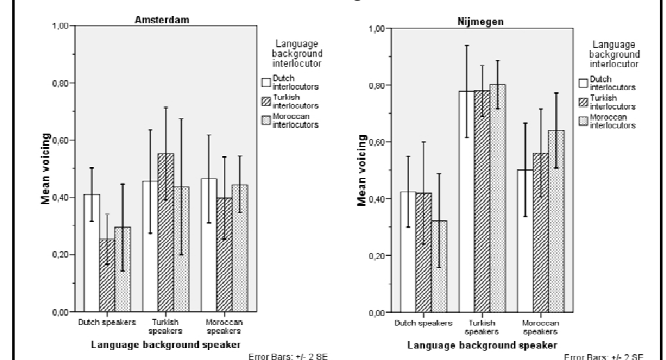
Findings



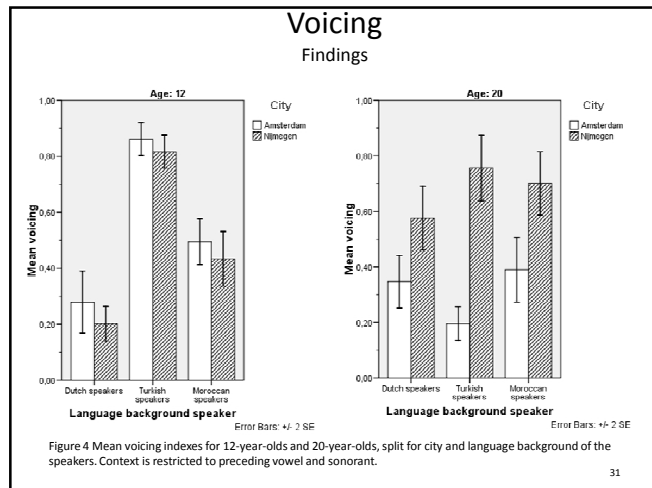
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Voicing

Findings



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Conclusions

	Sharpness	Voicing
1. 'substrate effects'	Yes	?
2. 'structure effects'	No	Yes
3. 'regional effects'	No	Yes
4. 'inter-ethnic convergence effects'	Yes, but...	Yes, but...
5. 'crossing effects'	No	No
6. 'style shifting effects'	Yes	No

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1. 'substrate effects'

To what extent can variation patterns be related to interference from the original languages of the ethnic groups?

- **Sharpness:** seems to have roots in M (Arabic and Berber), borrowed by T
- **Voicing**
 - Both M and T use voiced [z] after obstruents, which is virtually absent in D speakers.

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2. 'structure effects'

To what extent does native Dutch linguistic conditioning apply in the patterns of variation in ethnic groups?

- **Voicing:** voicing of /z/ following obstruents and regressive voice assimilation to a preceding obstruent by Turks and Moroccans, not by Dutch.

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3. 'regional effects'

To what extent can variation patterns of devoicing be related to the impact of the local non-standard varieties?

- **Sharpness:** no main effect of the speakers' city
- **Voicing:** Amsterdam significantly less than Nijmegen.
 - particularly strong in the 20-years old participants

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4. 'inter-ethnic convergence effects'

Do the two non-native ethnic groups investigated, Turkish and Moroccan, differ in their variation patterns or do they share a more global non-native identity?

- **Sharpness:** T and M constitute one homogeneous group distinct from D, but : evidence that M are leading the use of sharp variants
- **Voicing:**
 - after obstruents: the D on the one hand differ from the M and T on the other
 - after vowels and sonorants: we find a different pattern. T seem to voice more

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5. 'crossing effects'

Is there any evidence of spread of ethnic patterns of variation to native peers?

- **Sharpness:** The D speakers do not adopt the ethnic sharpness variants at all.
- **Voicing:** D on the one hand are different from T and M on the other

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6. 'style shifting effects'

To what extent can speakers shift between standard and non-standard patterns, depending on the ethnicity of the interlocutor?

- **Sharpness:** speaker adapt their speech to the ethnic background of the interlocutor
- **Voicing:** No style shifting effects were found.

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In sum

- T & M Dutch are variable, but the variability is structured, and both regionally and sociolinguistically / stylistically conditioned (cf. Bills 1976 on Vernacular Chicano English)

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3.2 The study of /ɛi/

- Recorded material and data coded by Linda van Meel. Analyses by Linda van Meel and Roeland van Hout
- how do current Dutch ethnolects deal with Dutch phonemes that
 - do not exist in the original languages of migrant groups speaking an ethnolect
 - are at the same time involved in regional and social patterns of stratification
- The Dutch diphthong /ɛi/

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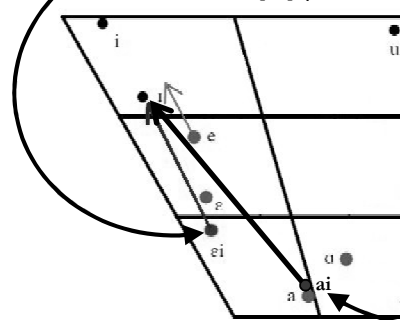
Diphthong /ɛi/

- **schrijf**
dus uh **schrijf** je zo een uh een A of een uh een uh een E.
"so uh in that way you write uh an A of an uh an uh an E."
- **bijbaantje**
een **bijbaantje** misschien.
"a job on the side maybe"
- **heenreis**
heenreis he.
"outward journey he."

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Diphthong /ɛi/ in Dutch (1)

- 'standard Dutch' [ɛi] (in the Netherlands):



- a new variant ('Polder Dutch'):
- the lowered, diphthongal variant [ai].

(Dutch has 15 full vowels. Not all of them are represented here.)

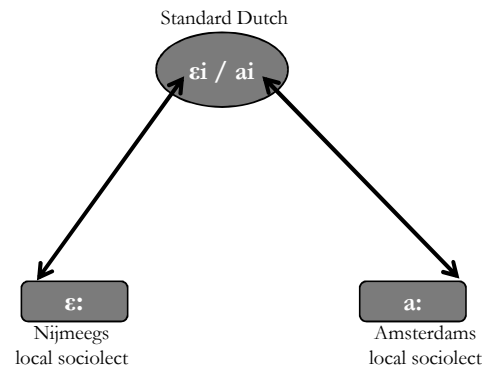
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Diphthong /ɛi/ in Dutch (2)

- Nijmegen (Nimwegen)
 - Nijmegen vernacular is marked by monophthongization
 - /ɛ:/
- Amsterdam
 - Amsterdam vernacular is marked by monophthongization and also lowering of the 1st element of the diphthong:
 - /a:/

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Diphthong /ɛi/ in Dutch (3)



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Diphthong /ɛi/ in Turkish and Moroccan

- Inventory of vowels in Turkish:
- Moroccan Arabic:
- Berber has 3 'vocalic phonemes': i, u and a or æ
- M-A as well as Berber has 3 'vocalic phonemes', and about 10-12 'vocalic (allo)phones'
- /ɛi/ does not occur in Turkish and Berber
- /ɛi/ occurs as a dialectal allophone in certain Moroccan Arabic dialects.

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Diphthong /ɛi/ in Turkish and Moroccan

- /ɛi/ does not occur in Turkish and Berber
- /ɛi/ occurs as a dialectal allophone in certain Moroccan Arabic dialects.
- Question: What variants will speakers of Dutch ethnolects use?
 - E.g. Standard or local variants?
 - New (exotic) variants?

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Variables

Coding schemes (+ Some examples)

- Monophthongization**

1	No monophthongization (Clear diphthong)	meisjes 'girls' [ɛi]
2	Slightly monophthongized (Minor diphthong)	
3	Monophthongized	[ɛ:]
- Height**

1	e or i	(mid-)high / close
2	ɛ	mid
3	æ or a	mid-low / near open
4	a	low / open

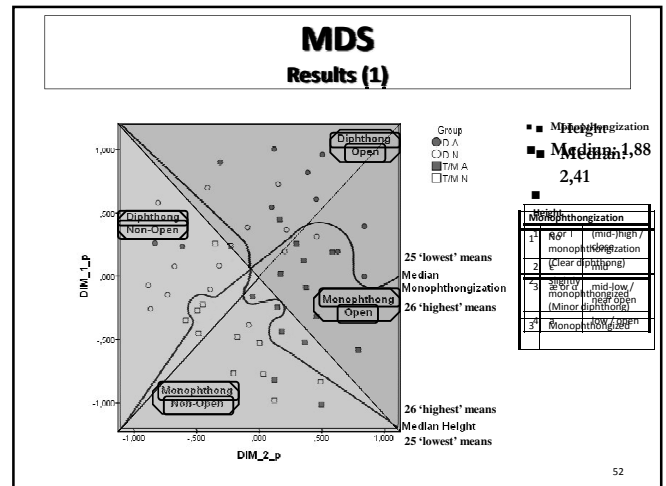
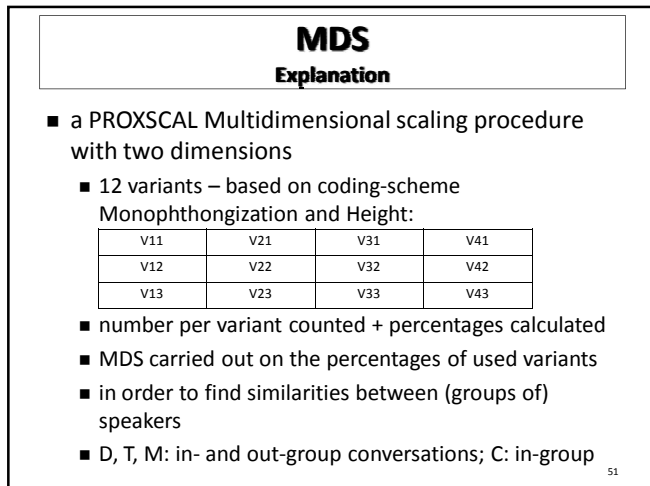
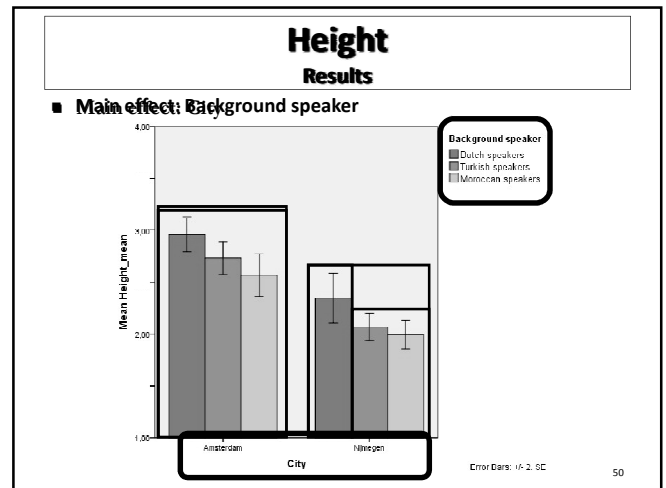
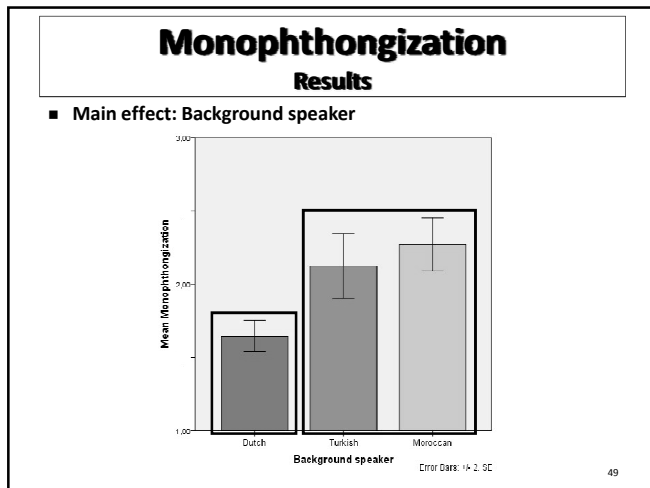
hij 'he' [ɛi] [ai]

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LMM Explanation

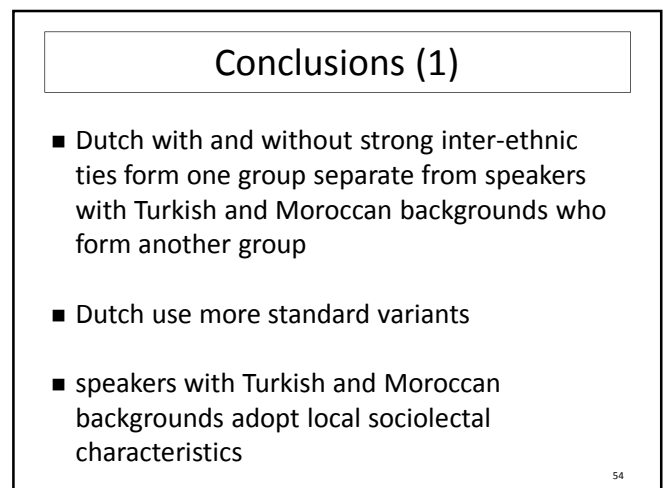
- Linear mixed models analyses
 - (using SPSS 19) on Monophthongization as well as Height
 - Factors:
 - Background speaker (T, M, D)
 - City (A, N)

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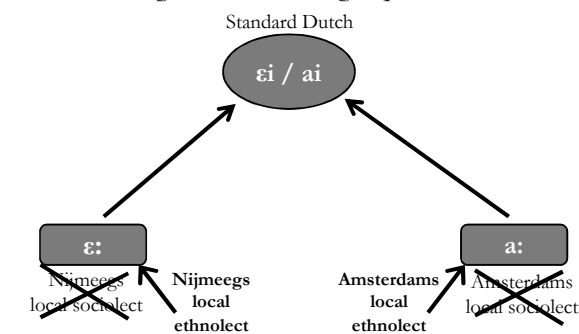
MDS Results (2)

	Diph + open	Diph + non-open	Monoph + open	Monoph + non-open	Total
D A	8	2	1	0	11
D N	4	7	2	1	14
T/M A	1	0	10	3	14
T/M N	0	3	0	9	12



Conclusions (2)

- The Dutch are shifting from local sociolect to standard Dutch.



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3.3 The study of the variation in the expression of grammatical gender

flexion:

- determiners (def. articles; demonstratives)
- adnominals (mainly adjectives)

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Table 5. Determiners in Standard Dutch

	definite		indefinite	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
common	de	de	een	-
neuter	het	de	een	-

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- ja is goed maar sluit de onderwerp dan, sluit **de** onderwerp (Erhan, 47:30)
'yes is good, but close the subject then, close the subject'
- op het laatst moeten ze naar **de** leger (Volkan, 22:44)
'at last they have to go to the army'

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Table 6. Demonstratives and relative pronouns in Standard Dutch

	demonstrative		relative	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
common	deze, die	deze, die	die	die
neuter	dit, dat	deze, die	dat	dat

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- dit weekend was **die**, eh hoe heet **die** feest ook alweer? (Murat, 7:10)
'this weekend was that, eh what is that party called again?'
- meester, **deze** plein is een beetje raar (Volkan, 21:42)
'teacher, this square is a bit strange'

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Table 7: Flexion schwa's in adnominals

	definite		indefinite	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
common	Y	Y	Y	Y
neuter	Y	Y	-	Y

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(7) tegenwoordig komt de krant altijd met eh met **negatieve** nieuws (Erhan, 5:29)
'these days the newspaper always comes with eh negative news'

(8) hij had **gele** haar (Bilal, 11:23)
'he had yellow hair'

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Turkish has no gender distinctions to speak of

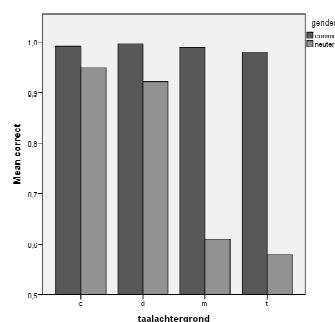
Both *Moroccan-Arabic* and *Berber* distinguish gender in various subsystems of the grammar

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Recorded material and data coded by Ariën van Wijngaarden. Analyses by Frans Hinskens and Roeland van Hout

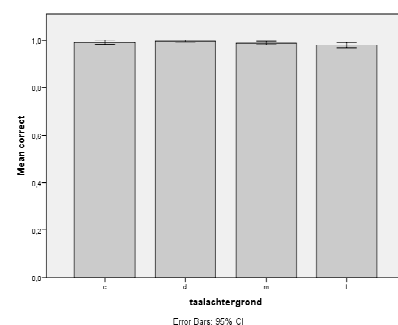
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Fig. 5. Overall average use of standard flexion per background



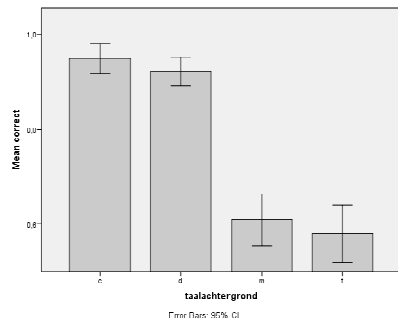
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Fig. 6. Common gender: average use of standard flexion per background



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Fig. 7. Neuter gender: average use of standard flexion per background



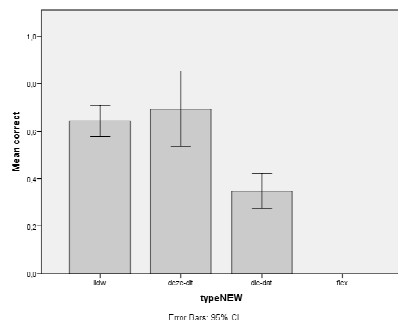
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Zooming in on neuter gender

... for that's where the action is

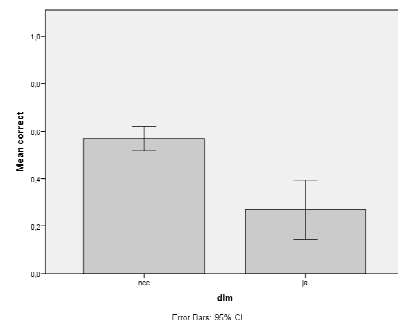
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Fig. 8. Three significant effects on use of standard flexion on determiners: article / proxim demonstr / non-proxim demonstr



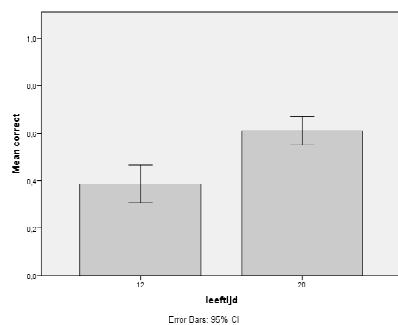
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Fig. 9. Significant effects on use of standard flexion on determiners: non-dimin / diminutives



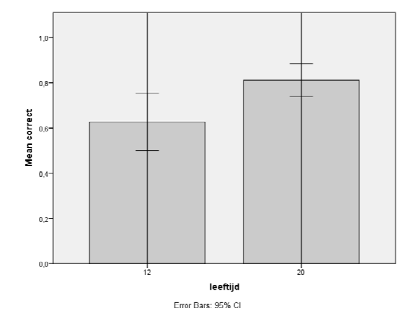
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Fig. 10. Significant effects on use of standard flexion on determiners: speakers' age group



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Fig. 11. Only one significant effect on use of standard flexion on adnominals: speakers' age group



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Variation in gender marking

Linguistic make-up of ethnolects

- substrates?
- second language acquisition?
- endogeneous non-standard varieties?

Place of the ethnolect in the verbal repertoires of its speakers

Spread of ethnolectal features to other groups

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4. Provisional synthesis

	/z/		/Ei/		gramm.gender
	'sharp'	voicing	monophth	height	
ling 'tic make-up: < substrate	yes	?	no	no	no
ling 'tic make-up < second lg	no	?	no	no	yes
acquisition ling 'tic make-up < endogen. dialects	no	yes	no	yes	no
verbal repertoire: style shift	yes	no	no	no	no
spread to other groups	M→T D: no	D: no	M and T adopt old dialect variants, which D are abandoning		probably not