

Roots of Ethnolects

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Roots team

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European context 1: immigration

- Percentages for most countries of up to around 20 of population with an immigrant background; however, much higher percentages among children in larger cities
- Strong presence of people from Italy (earlier) and Turkey (slightly later) immigrants in most NW European countries;
- Continuous immigration, with increasingly different national and ethnic backgrounds involved.

European context 2: reactions

Sweden: Rinkeby Swedish	urban ghetto
Danmark: Multi-ethnolects	multiple identities
Germany: Kanakensprache	complex ethnicity
France: Verlan etc.	opposition
UK: ethnic local varieties, Glaswasian etc.	local identities
Netherlands: Straattaal	street, youth

‘Hans und Gretel’ in ‘Kanakisch’ or ‘Kanak Sprak’

Murat und Aische gehen dursch [Ø] Wald, auf [Ø] Suche nach korrekte Feuerholz.
Aische fragt Murat: "Hast Du [Ø] Kettensäge, Murat?"
Murat: "Normal! [Ø] Hab isch in meine Tasche, oder was!?"
Auf der Suche nach [Ø] korrekte Baum, verirren sie sisch krass in de Wald.
Murat: "Ey scheisse, oder was!? Hast du [Ø] konkrete Plan, wo wir sind, oder was!?"
Aische: "Ne scheisse, aber isch riesche [Ø] Dönerbude!"
Murat: "Ja faaaatt!"
Aische: "Normal, da vorn an den Ecke!"

Post-immigration stress syndrome

Once upon a time ...
all children had names like Hans and Gretel ...
all verbs were inflected ...
all cases marked.
Our language was uniform and complete.

Contamination

Viele, selbst deutsche Jugendliche bedienen sich heute einer Ausdrucksform, die umgangssprachlich wohl als "kanakisch" bezeichnet wird. Nun geht es diesen Jugendlichen anscheinend nicht darum, gewisse Modewörter in den eigenen Sprachschatz zu übernehmen, sondern sie verändern ihren gesamten Ausdruck derart, dass es sich so anhört, als wäre nicht Deutsch, sondern eher Türkisch die Muttersprache.

Dabei entstehen übrigens bereits sehr weitreichende Probleme. Manche deutsche Jugendliche sind kaum noch in der Lage, diese Ausdrucksweise, die sie sich selbst angewöhnt haben, auch nur zeitweilig ganz abzulegen. Es gibt Ausbildungsbetriebe, die sich mittlerweile weigern, solche jungen Leute einzustellen.

Distinction 1: *Street language* and *ethnolect*

	Ethnolect	Street language
<i>Stability</i>	More or less stable	Highly dynamic
<i>Consciousness</i>	At most semi-conscious	Conscious
<i>Ethnicity</i>	Inherent	Dynamic
<i>Features</i>	Phonology, syntax	Lexicon, pragmatics
<i>Domain of use</i>	Intergroup, in-group	In-group

Distinction 2: *Ethnolect narrow* and *Ethnolect broad*

Ethnolect narrow:

Variety of a dominant (often national) language spoken by a specific (non-dominant) ethnic group

Ethnolect broad:

The varieties in the repertoire of a non-dominant ethnic group used in a larger context (includes heritage language, code-mixing, etc.)

Dutch ethnolects (broad)

	<i>Date of genesis</i>	<i>Setting of genesis</i>	<i>Where spoken</i>	<i>Maintenance / shift</i>	<i>Mixture</i>	<i>Main other language(s) involved</i>
Yiddish Dutch	1750	Immigration	Urban	Shift	Accent Lexicon	Yiddish, Hebrew
Indonesian Dutch	1900	Colonial	Urban	Shift	Phonology Syntax, Lexicon	Malay, Javanese
Moluccan Malay	1930	Colonial	Army camps, communities	Partial maintenance	Mixed variety Syntax	Moluccan Malay
Surinamese Dutch	1900	Colonial	Urban	Partial maintenance	Code-switching Phonology Syntax	Sranan
Antillean	1950	Colonial	Urban	Partial maintenance	Code-switching	Papiamentu
Moroccan Dutch	1970	Immigration	Urban	Shift	Phonology Syntax	Moroccan Arabic, Berber
Turkish	1970	Immigration	Urban	Partial maintenance	Code-switching	Turkish, Kurdish

Questions

post-colonial ethnolects versus pure immigration ethnolects?

multi-ethnolects versus mono-ethnolects?

Why do ethnolects emerge at all?

What forms do they take?

Ethnolects broad: Suriname community chat site Sranan-Dutch

Code-switching and approximation to the standard

Jamal na mi boi jere. Hij komt over als een jongen die hier niet lang is.
'Jamal is my boy you hear. He comes across as a boy that is not here very long.'

[Schwa] deletion and paratactic patterns in L2 Dutch

Welk[Ø] meid van hem heeft hij een vrendin dan
'Which girl of his he has a girlfriend then?'

[er] deletion in standard Dutch utterance

als ik [Ø] een scheutje essence bij deed in de rum variants
'if I put a bit of essence in, in the rum variant'

Perspectives 1

L1 dimension: the local variety of the original language

Haugen 'The Norwegian Language in America'
 'American Finnish'
 Italian in Toronto
 'Turkish in Germany, the Netherlands'
 Koines in the 'Hindi diaspora'

Perspectives 2

L2 dimension: approximation to input from the target

Labov (2008: 316-7) "Sociolinguistic studies in English speech communities in North America have found extensive linguistic variation conditioned by age, gender, social class and social networks. But ethnicity – Italian, Jewish, Irish, Polish, German family background has not appeared as a major factor."

Perspectives 3

L1/L2: convergence between L1 and L2

a. DaR -l house-1	'my house'	- in Morocco + in Netherlands
b. D-DaR dyal-l D-house PS-1		+ in Morocco ± in Netherlands
c. weld t-tažer son D-merchant	'the merchant's son'	- in Morocco - in Netherlands
d. l-weld dyal t-tažer D-son PS D-merchant		+ in Morocco + in Netherlands

Moroccan Arabic (Boumans 2004)

Perspectives 4

universal principles (UP): simplification and omission of unstressed functional elements in most ethnolects narrow

- optionality of *gender* and *number*
- Less marking of *copula* and *tense*
- Loss of *determiners* and *definiteness*
- Tendency towards *canonical word order*

Perspectives 1-4

L1 : elements of the original community language

L1/L2 : convergence between L1 and L2

-L1/-L2 : universal principles (UP) of reduction and simplification

L2 : approximation to input from the target

Perspectives 1-4

local variety of original language

L1

convergence

L1/L2



UP

L2

simplification

approximation target

Determining factors

Power relations
Time depth
Barriers to language learning
Ethnicity
Numbers of speakers
Competing forms (local variety of L1)
Cross-ethnic identifications

'Créolité hierarchy' on the L2 dimension?

Radical creoles
Mesolectal creoles
Semi-creoles
Koinés
Ethnolects
Vernaculars
Standard languages

Current project

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2005-2011

Research question 1

Which aspects of language use (components of the grammar) characterize the ethnolects in question as distinct varieties?

Naturalistic sociolinguistic corpus study in the Netherlands
Structured elicitation task

Research question 2

To what extent are ethnolects based on *interference from the original language (L1)* of the ethnic group in question?

Two ethnic groups (Moroccan Dutch mostly with Berber, Turkish Dutch with Turkish as L1)

Research question 3

To which extent can we reduce features of ethnolects to properties resulting from *processes of L2 acquisition*

Two age groups: 12 and 20
Comparison with Dutch as an L2 literature

Typology of ethnolectal features

- ± L1 properties
- ± filtered out by target norms
- ± reached level of consciousness
 - local
 - salient
 - visible
- + part of L2 learning

Ethnolect \neq Interlanguage

- Strong rigid SVO iso. V2/Vfin effects in first generation interlanguage for many speakers, independent of L1 background
- Very limited SVO effects in second generation ethnolectal speech

Morphosyntax (Arien van Wijngaarden)

- Object pronouns
- Subject pronouns
- Grammatical gender
- Deictics
- [R]-omission
- No [R]-split

morpho-syntax 1: object pronoun omission

Waarom doe je [me] na?
'Why do you imitate [me]'

Ja ik weet [het].
'Yes, I know [it].'

morpho-syntax 2: subject pronoun omission

Hoezo, wat wat voor spelletjes moeten [we] dan?
'How so, what kind of games must [we] (play) then?'

Oh [het] is nog net geleden joh.
'Oh, [it] just happened, you know.'

morpho-syntax 3: grammatical gender

die meisje [st.Du. **dat** meisje]
'that girl'

mooie spel [st.Du. **mooie** spel]
'beautiful playing'

- Overuse of the non-neuter article *de* over *het*
- Overuse of the generic inflected adjective rather than the non-inflected article limited to neuter indefinite contexts

morpho-syntax 4: deictics rather than definite articles

Die jongen 'that boy'

iso.

De jongen 'the boy'

in non-deictic contexts

Quantitative results 1

Almost no variation in article use in non-neuter contexts

Turkish & Moroccan background significantly more neuter > non-neuter than Dutch background

No significant locality effect

Interlocutor effect only for Moroccan background speakers

Quantitative results 2: deictics

Grammatical gender effect with deictics much stronger than with articles

<<overgeneralization of *die*>>

For all groups significant age differences

In deictic use significant interlocutor effect in Moroccan background group

morpho-syntax 5: [R] (incl. [er])locative pronoun omission

Ja maar hij zegt [er] niks over.

'Yes but he does says nothing [there] about.'

Hij heeft [er] negen gedaan. Ik heb er acht gedaan.

'He did [there] nine. I have done there eight.'

morpho-syntax 6:
[R] locative pronoun split

R omission

Ja maar hij zegt niks *over*.

Non-R

Ja maar zegt niks *over het* (only 10 cases)

R-non split

Ja maar hij zegt niks *er over*.

R-split

Ja maar hij zegt *er* niks *over*.

'Yes but he says nothing about it.'

Quantitative results

D > T > M R-realization

D > T > M R-split

much stronger significance if locative and presentational R are taken out

D > M > T interlocutor R-split (weak)

Phonology (Linda van Meel)

Sharp and voiced /z/

realization of /r/, also in relation to preceding central vowels

word-final [t] deletion

- in final clusters (general)

- lexicalized in *wat* 'what', *dat* 'that', *niet* 'not' (Nijmegen)

palatal vs velar /ɣ/

[šx] for /sx/, also across word boundaries

aspiration of voiceless plosives

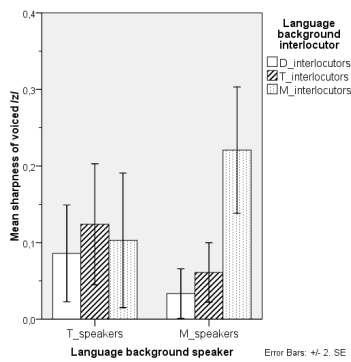
realization of diphthongs

phonology 2: sibilants /s/ and /z/

Voice: regional and age effects

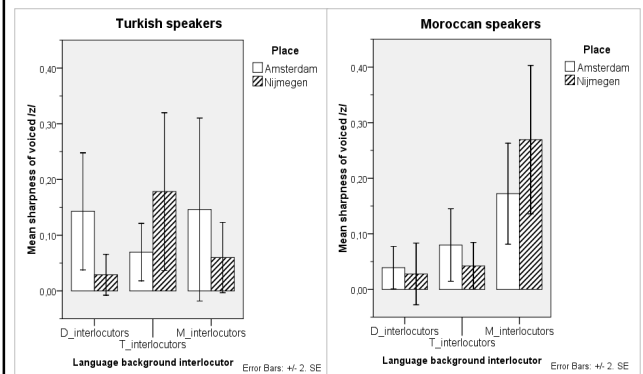
Sharpness: ethnicity * ethnicity interlocutor

Sharpness (1)



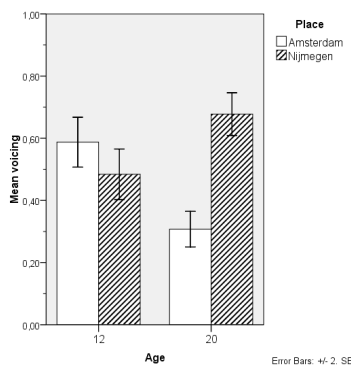
Mean sharpness of voiced /z/ by Turkish and Moroccan speakers

Sharpness (2)



Mean sharpness of voiced /z/ by (a) Turkish speakers and (b) Moroccan speakers.

Voicing



Mean voicing indexes for 12-year-olds and 20-year-olds for Amsterdam and Nijmegen (contexts vowel and sonorant).

Overall results

Within 'ethnolect narrow' larger differences between M and D groups than between T and D groups

T often intermediate position

Interlocutor effects for M groups

But:

T recordings contain T/D CS, M recordings no CS

'ethnolect broad' for T group contains CS

Prospects

Attitudes

Schools

Stability

Links to other ongoing changes

Newspaper 1

Straatcultuur ondermijnt de schoolcultuur. Straatcultuur leidt tot spijbelen, taalachterstand en agressief gedrag. Scholen moeten de straatcultuur weren. Dus geen iPod in de les. Het probleem van straattaal is dat die het taalniveau van veel kinderen omlaag haalt. Schoolopdrachten en sollicitatiebrieven wemelen van de fouten. "Het taalgebruik is werkelijk dramatisch", zegt ...

[Street culture undermines the school culture. Street culture leads to absenteeism, delayed language development, and aggressive behavior. Schools should ban street culture. Hence no iPod in the classroom. The problem with street language is that it brings down the language level of many children. School assignments and job application letters are full of mistakes. "Language use is truly dramatic", says [an education researcher who has been working in the schools.]

Newspaper 2

Integreren doe je dus met straattaal.

Wij spreken allemaal ABN. Geen nieuwe taal. We missen in het Nederlands gewoon creativiteit en bepaalde woorden. We vullen de taal aan.

Straattaal laat zien dat er al integratie heeft plaatsgevonden. Het zegt dat jongeren uit verschillende culturen van elkaar leren.

[Integrating you do with street language.

"We all speak Standard Dutch. Not a new language. We just miss creativity and certain words in Dutch. We simply complete the language."

Street language shows that there has been integration already. It says that young people from different cultures learn from each other.]

Regional / ethnic (with Julian Rott)

Dönerdeutsch

Türkendeutsch

Yugo-Deutsch

/ Jugo-Tüütsch

Balkandeutsch

Turkentaal

Surinaams Nederlands

Melaju Sini

Mokrotaal

Indisch Nederlands

Pejorative

Ghetto sprache

Ghetto slang

Pidgindeutsch

Kanakendeutsch

Kanakisch

Smurfentaal

Colonial

Kanakendeutsch

Kanakisch

Indisch Nederlands

Surinaams Nederlands

Youth

Hiphop Slang Jeugdtaal
Lansprache
Jugendsprache
Juventulekt

'street' / 'urban'

Stadtteilsprache Straattaal
Kiezdeutsch Bijlmers
 Wakaman taal
 Verkavelings-vlaams
 Cités

Immigrant

Gastarbeiterdeutsch

Mixed

Gemischtsprechen Murks 1
Mischsprache Mokrotaal 2
Hybridolekt
Multi-Ethnolekt
 (1 =marokkaans-turks)
 (2 mokro = sranan for marokkaans)

Broader context?

Ethnolects part of a more general trend towards broader range of varieties used in the public domain?

Bedankt!

Çok teşekkür Shukran
Baie dankie
Vielen Dank
Thank you
Merci beaucoup
Hopi danki
Muchas gracias
....