

## 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

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## 'Hans und Gretel' in 'Kanakisch' or 'Kanak Sprach'

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 sich krass in de Wald.  
Murat: "Ey scheissse, oder was!? Hast du [Ø] konkrete Plan, wo wir sind, oder was!?"  
Aische: "Ne scheissse, 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
Stability	More or less stable	Highly dynamic
Consciousness	At most semi-conscious	Conscious
Ethnicity	Inherent	Dynamic
Features	Phonology, syntax	Lexicon, pragmatics
Domain of use	Intergroup, in-group	In-group

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### 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)

	Date of genesis	Setting of genesis	Where spoken	Maintenance/shift	Mixture	Main other language(s) involved
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
Antillian	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[ə] 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 [ə] 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 -I<br>house-1                          | 'my house'           | - in Morocco<br>+ in Netherlands |
| b. D-DaR dyaI-I<br>D-house PS-1               |                      | + in Morocco<br>± in Netherlands |
| c. weld t-tažer<br>son D-merchant             | 'the merchant's son' | - in Morocco<br>- in Netherlands |
| d. I-weld dyaI t-tažer<br>D-son PS D-merchant |                      | + in Morocco<br>+ 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*

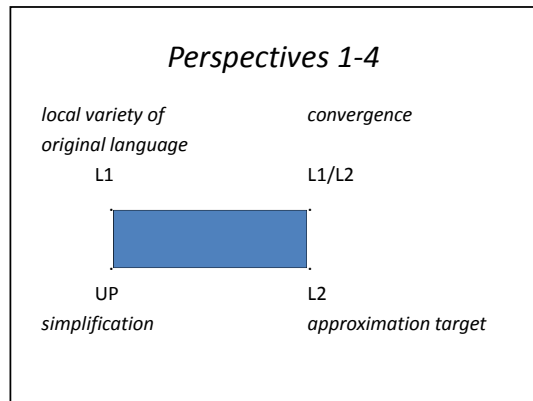
### Perspectives 1-4

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



### 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

### The Latino world

- ‘Standard’ English
  - Other local varieties of English (e.g. from the South in the U.S.)
  - Afro-American Vernacular English (AAVE)
  - Varieties of Latino English in different Latino communities
    - Non-native Spanish-influenced English
    - Code-switching and -mixing
    - Non-native English-influenced Spanish
  - Varieties of Latino Spanish
    - Regional varieties of Spanish (e.g. Puerto-Rican Spanish)
- ‘Standard’ Spanish

### Turkish-Dutch code switching (Backus 1992)

**Cassette**recorder-nan    **friet**tent-e    **gidelim**    **la**  
 tape recorder-with    fries.booth to    go-wish-we    Question  
 ‘Shall we go with the tape recorder to the fries booth?’

**bir tane**    **donkere** **jongen**-nan  
 one piece    dark boy-with  
 ‘with a dark boy’

**Engels**-I    **bir tane**    **blonde** **meisje**-den    **allyordun**  
 English-acc    one piece    blond girl-from    you got  
 ‘You got English from a blond girl.’

### Amsterdam recordings

A: **V yok. Is Q. Tamam mi?**  
 V there.is.no. is Q. OK Question.Particle  
 ‘There is no V. It is Q. OK?’

B: **Tamam.** OK.  
 OK

	Context	Language acquisition	Second language	Third language	Foreign language
Stable	+	-	-	±	+
Individual	-	+	±	±	±
Signal of identity	+	-	+	+	+
Specific to a particular group	+	±	-	+	+
Specific to a particular setting	-	-	+	+	-
Requires a thorough knowledge of the original language of the own group	-	±	±	+	+
Words or constructions from the home language	-	-	±	+	+
Newly formed words	-	-	+	-	+
Words from the language of other group(s)	-	-	+	-	-
Particular pronunciation or sentence intonation	+	+	±	±	±
Non-standard grammatical basic patterns from the national language	±	+	-	+	±
Non-standard use of endings from the national language	+	+	±	±	-
Polysyllabism instead of verb endings	±	+	+	-	±

	Features	Classification ethnolects as in Van der Sijs 2005	Comments-Muysken
1	No gender in nouns	+	Variable undifferentiation
2	Nominial inflection	+	Variable
3	More regular SVO order	+	Tendencies in some sentence types
4	Invariant pronouns for case and gender	±	Variable
5	No passive verb forms	±	Should be compared with non-immigrant peers
6	No morphologically derived comparative and superlative	-	Should be studied for non-frequent adjectives
7	Tense marked with preverbal particles	-	Tendencies towards overuse auxiliaries
8	Nominial plural through addition of plural third person pronoun	-	-
9	No uninflected forms of the verb	-	Possibly a misunderstanding on the part of Van der Sijs or sources cited by her
10	Same verb for existence and possession	-	Highly specific some creoles
11	A single preverbal negation	-	Needs further investigation

### Current project

Funded by Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO), grant to Pieter Muysken  
 Collaboration between Meertens Institute and Centre for Language Studies, Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen  
 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

### Research question 4

To what extent are ethnolects based on *local non-standard varieties*?

Two cities with well-described urban dialects: Amsterdam and Nijmegen

### Research question 5

Are ethnolects specific for an individual ethnic group, or do they reflect a more *global non-native identity*? Do features spread across ethnolects?

Comparison two ethnic groups  
 Interethnic conversations

### Research question 6

Is there any evidence of spread of ethnic varieties to peers outside of the ethnic groups involved?

Two groups of Dutch boys, [+/-] with ethnic network

### Research question 7

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

Record people in various interaction settings

T – T      T – M      M – M      T – D  
 T – M      D1 – D1      D2 – D2

### Overall design

Recordings, mostly in schools, of dyadic conversations. Researcher only lightly present.  
 Games, informal topics

Elicited repetition task

Web survey with teachers

### Speaker design

Ethnic group	Turkish		Moroccan		Dutch			
	tight ethnic network		tight ethnic network		tight ethnic network (Du1)		no ethnic network (Du2)	
years of age	12	20	12	20	12	20	12	20
Amsterdam	2x3	2x3	2x3	2x3	2x3	2x3	2x3	2x3
Nijmegen	2x3	2x3	2x3	2x3	2x3	2x3	2x3	2x3

### Typology of ethnolectal features

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

### Ethnolect =/= 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)

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

### morpho-syntax 1: Absent definite determiners

ze denken wat doen deze mensen hier **op tweede verdieping?** (Mourad, 13:58)  
 gaat gewoon **in zak** van die hoge Pietjes denk ik (Murat, 16:57)  
**regels** zijn gewoon zo (Erhan, 48:13)  
 oké rustig kom naar kom **naar kantine** (Murat, 62:28)  
 ja **keeper** is man of the match (Volkan, 2:08)  
 gewoon **van internationale team** (Volkan, 2:39)  
 eerst hebben ze **Turkse beker** gedaan (Tunahan, 2:45)  
**keeper** heeft hem met zijn voeten tegengehouden (Volkan, 3:51)  
 hij gaat altijd **naar Flevopark** (Tunahan, 5:15)  
 en wie moet er nog **van andere kinderen van klas?** (Aissam, 2-4:19)

### morpho-syntax 2: Absent indefinite determiners

misschien staat er in dat je **zak geld** vindt of zo (Mourad, 4:03)  
 ik ga zo **afpraak** met hem maken voor morgen (Mohammed, 13:34)  
 ja dat ga ik echt doen wat denk je dat ik **grappas** ben of zo hiero? (Murat, 32:42)  
 het is **heel groot gebouw** (Aissam, 23:18)  
 is **grappige wezen** (Bilal, 25:29)  
 hij had **string** aan (Tunahan, 24:32)  
 kijk daar is **stoplicht** (Aissam, 2-10:10)  
 je moet **hoofddoekje** dragen en zo (Aissam, 2-19:33)

### morpho-syntax 3: Object pronoun omission

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

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

### object pronouns 2

ik heb [Ø] niet gezien (Mohammed, 3:20)  
 ik kan me [Ø] wel voorstellen begrijp je (Mohammed, 39:24)  
 ja je moet [Ø] een beetje leren toch? (Murat, 30:40)  
 ik ga [Ø] zo wissen man op m'n computer (Murat, 34:29)  
 alleen hij gaat [Ø] horen (Aissam, 1:44)  
 ja dat is een astronaut ik weet [Ø] (Volkan, 7:32)

### morpho-syntax 4: 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.'

### subject pronoun omission 2

[Ø] is een beetje gelukkige goal van Kuyt (Mourad, 3:21)  
 ja [we] zijn nu klaar toch? (Bilal, 37:42)  
 die stadion werd niet zoveel gebruikt omdat [het] niet van clubs is (Volkan, 2: 35)

### morpho-syntax 5: 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 6: deictics vs. articles

*Die jongen* 'that boy'  
 iso.  
*De jongen* 'the boy'

in non-deictic contexts

### Morphosyntax 7: absent conjunctions

ik zie [Ø]Manchester **heeft** gelijk gespeeld (Mourad, 7:10)  
 ik heb gehoord [Ø] hij **heeft** Boukhari bijna gekapt (Mohammed, 11:33)  
 nee en weet je wat de grap is hij denkt ook [Ø] hij **is** echt goed man (Mourad, 11:52)  
 nee hij dacht [Ø] iedereen **het gaat** horen (Aissam, 2:00)

### Morphosyntax 8: Replacement neuter definite determiner

ja is goed maar sluit de onderwerp dan, sluit de onderwerp (Erhan, 47:30)  
 die was van de ziekenhuis gekomen (Tunahan, 17:47)  
 op het laatst moeten ze naar de leger (Volkan, 22:44)  
 en daar is de raam weet je (Tunahan, 23:44)

### Morphosyntax 9: *deze/die* i.s.o. *dit/dat*

dit weekend was *die*, eh hoe heet **die feest** ook alweer? (Murat, 7:10)  
 geef eens **die microfoontje**, versta je geen Nederlands of zo? (Murat, 1:19)  
 mag je als **deze gesprek** hebt... (Erhan, 19:52)  
 meester **deze plein** is een beetje raar (Volkan, 21:42)

### Morphosyntax 10: Adding *-e* (shwa) on neuter indefinite articles

tegenwoordig komt de krant altijd met eh met **negatieve** nieuws (Erhan, 5:29)  
 kijk als u tweetalig was zou u toch ook af en toe per ongeluk een **Turkse** woord zeggen?  
 ik heb een **betere** contact met m'n familie hier in Amsterdam dan... (Murat, 60:16)  
**onze** verhaaltje is afgelopen (Volkan, 27:22)  
 hij had **gele** haar (Bilal, 11:23)  
 't is heel erg **mooi**e land (Bilal, 13:38)

### Morphosyntax 11: prepositional phrases

en dat **ga** je ook goed kunnen gebruiken voor... (Mourad, 54:34)  
**over wat** zullen we het hebben? (Murat, 16:29)  
 Nijmegen, ver! gaat u helemaal **naar daar**? (Aissam, 2-1:20)  
**gebeurt** soms vieze dingen in (Bilal, 2-21:13)

### 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

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### 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)

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### 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	Turkentaal
Türkendeutsch	Surinaams Nederlands
Yugo-Deutsch	Melaju Sini
/ Jugo-Tüütsch	Mokrotaal
Balkandeutsch	Indisch Nederlands

### Pejorative

Ghettosprache	Smurfentaal
Ghettoslang	
Pidgindeutsch	
Kanakendeutsch	
Kanakisch	

### Colonial

Kanakendeutsch	Indisch Nederlands
Kanakisch	Surinaams Nederlands

### Youth

Hiphop Slang	Jeugdtaal
Lansprache	
Jugendsprache	
Juventulekt	

### 'street' / 'urban'

Stadtteilsprache	Straattaal
Kiezdeutsch	Bijlmers
	Wakaman taal
	Verkavelings-vlaams
	Cités



### Immigrant

Gastarbeiderdeutsch

### 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

....