Ethnolects.
Where language contact, language acquisition and dialect variation meet

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1. Ethnolect. Concept, older scholarship and approaches[1]

Ethnolects are varieties of a language (usually the dominant language) which originated in a specific ethnic or cultural group. This preliminary definition, which will be refined below and in sections 3.1 and 3.3, is related to Thomason & Kaufman's (1988) conception of ethnolects as products of language shift.

Important 'early' work includes Lavandera's (1976) description of Cocoliche, a variety of South-American Spanish which developed in the harbor area of Buenos Aires out of mixed L2 Spanish of Italian immigrants; it was named after the originally Italian actor Antonio Cocoliche who, during a performance, unintentionally slipped back into his 'semi-Spanish'. Cocoliche Spanish is a highly variable system, which can be closer to certain Italian dialects or to the Spanish of the first generations of Italians living in the Buenos Aires harbor area.

Garland Bills (1976) described an English vernacular variety has emerged among members of the Chicano community. In the southwestern part of the USA. Bills (1976) discusses the question if this variety should be considered as the result of Spanish interference in the L2 English or rather as a discrete variety of English. He argues for the status of a discrete variety (Vernacular Chicano English, henceforth VCE) for three reasons: 1) the features of VCE cannot be predicted on the basis of a contrastive analysis of Spanish and English, 2) VCE is variable, but the variability is structured and sociolinguistically conditioned, rather than in terms of the English skills of its speakers, 3) "VCE is not a [...] transitional phenomenon", as it is also used by Chicanos who do not speak Spanish.

Carlock & Wölck (1981) report on the Buffalo ethnolects perception experiments, for they played fragments of the speech of inhabitants of the neighborhood West Side, an originally Italian neighborhood. Older listeners identified it as Italian English, but the younger the listeners, the more often the speech fragments were associated with the West Side – as the variety had spread to members of other groups in the neighborhood. A similar development has been discussed (Chambers 2003), who described how speech characteristics of the English of ethnic Italians in Toronto (e.g. the realization of 'sandwich' als *sa[ŋ]wich*) seem to spread to the ethnic Greeks living in the same neighborhood, East End.

Danesi (1985: 118) defined an ethnolect as "the variety of a language that results when speakers of different ethnolinguistic backgrounds attempt to speak the dominant language (e.g. 'Chicano English')". In Danesi's view, ethnolects are hence products of language shift à la Thomason & Kaufman 1988. In this view, e.g. Hiberno and Scottish English also count as (former) ethnolects. Labov & Harris (1986) showed how the local varieties of English spoken by black and white inhabitants of Philadelphia are gradually diverging because the

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black, most of whom are cut off from the 'mainstream', living in other neighborhoods in their own social networks, hardly participate in sound changes such as the fronting of the /ɑu/ diphthong (in items such as 'house'). Both groups appeared to be aware of this mutual divergence, which may lead to the emergence of separate ethnolects.

Kotsinas (1988) sketched how in Rynkeby and other suburbs of Stockholm peer groups of adolescent members of ethnic minority groups developed their own multilingually mixed substandard varieties of Swedish for in-group use. In a publication from 1996, the Dutch linguist Backus explicitly pled for the inclusion of ethnicity as a sociolinguistic factor in studies of language variation. Clyne was one of the scholars who introduced the notions of ethnolect which he defined as "varieties of a language that mark speakers as members of ethnic groups who originally used another language or distinctive variety" (2000: 86) and multi-ethnolect.

In Androutsopoulos' (2001b: 322) view, an ethnolect is "a variety of the majority language (or 'host language') which is used by and regarded as a vernacular for speakers of a particular ethnic descent and is marked by certain contact phenomena". Language shift and incomplete second language acquisition play a minor role in Androutsopoulos' conception. The author (2001a,b) paid ample attention to the role of the mass media in the dissemination of (what is perceived as) ethnic features. This is an important link to Auer's 2003 paper which introduces the three-way distinction primary - secondary - tertiary ethnolect (à la Coseriu's 1980 tripartition distinction primary - secondary - tertiary ethnolect). Whereas secondary ethnolect is the transformation of the variety by media genres such as comedy or film,[2] tertiary ethnolect is used by adolescents without direct knowledge of the primary ethnolect.

Ethnolects have a relatively high 'kissing number'. The 'kissing number' is a concept from nano-physics and it refers to a property of e.g. an atom: the number of neighboring atoms (which is high in crystalline structures). The kissing number of the ethnolect concept is 7, as work on ethnolects is relevant to the study of language contact and bilingualism, to quantitative sociolinguistics, interpretive sociolinguistics, ethnographically enriched sociolinguistics, historical linguistics, and dialectology.

In general, there are two distinct approaches to the study of ethnolects: the language centered and the ethnographic approach. Whereas the ethnographic approach conceives language systems as infinite resources from which speakers may freely choose to shape their identity, the language centered approach tries to disentangle the laws, generalisations and restrictions on these resources. The language centered approach typically stands out by
- the use of terminology such as 'ethnolect', 'multi-ethnolect' and 'multicultural variety',
- 'etic', 'objective' definitions of ethnicity (language, race, descent),
- quantitative methodology (often in the Labovian tradition),
- focus on form, structure and the distribution of variation,
- a macro-social angle.

The ethnographic approach typically stands out by
- the use of terminology such as 'style' and '(pan-)ethnic style',[3]
- 'emic', 'subjective' definitions of ethnicity (social construction; perception),[4]
- attention for both reactive and initiative uses of linguistic and paralinguistic features,
- interpretive methods,
- focus on social meaning ('indexicality', 'indexical fields') and its fluidity,
- a micro-social perspective.

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[2] Or, one might add, the theatre, as in the case of Cocoliche (above).
[3] On concepts and terminology, see Kern (2011: 4-10).
[4] Cf. Fought (2013).

2. International perspective

In *Europe,* important work has been done in Scandinavia – to begin with Kotsinas' (1988) work on 'Rinkeby Svenska', sketched above. Fraurud & Boyd (2006) deconstruct the concept of the native speaker on the basis of data of 222 speakers in the contemporary multilingual urban settings in the Swedish cities of Göteborg, Malmö and Stockholm. Bodén (2005) focuses on features[5] of the variety of Swedish spoken in Rosengård, a suburb of Malmö. Quist (2008) zooms in on sociolinguistic developments in younger varieties of Danish as spoken in Kopenhagen, which make her introduce the concept of the multi-ethnolect.

For the German language area, there is a decades old sociolinguistic tradition of the study of Gastarbeiterdeutsch (roughly: immigrant workers' German) initially as a second language and later also as a variety which is colored by the heritage language. In the German situation this is mainly Turkish. Work on what used to be called 'Kanaksprak' (a derogatory label) has been done by Deppermann (2007), Kern, Selting (2011) and Wiese[6] (2009, 2013), focusing on the Berlin situation, Keim (2002) for Mannheim, and Auer and colleagues (Hamburg; Freiburg i.Br.).

Much of the work on ethnolectal and related variation in French seems to concentrate on lexical aspects. Among the noteworthy studies are Jamin et al. (2006) on variation (mostly in the realization of specific cosonants) in the French spoken in suburbs of Marseille, Grenoble and Paris. Fagyal & Stewart (2011) study developments in certain Parisian banlieues and zoom in on phenomena such as phrase-final intonation movements.

The developments in the UK are strongly determined by the consequences of postcolonial migration flows – mainly from south Asia and the Caribean region. 'Glaswasian', i.e. Glasgow Asian colored varieties of English have been studied by Stuart Smith et al. (2011) and the English of Pakistani and Black Caribean groups in Birmingham by Kahn (2006 - below). Cheshire et al. (2011) zoom in on the complex multifaceted developments in Modern London English.

For the range of sociolinguistic situations in *Africa,* where "multilingualism is perceived as a normality, rather than as a special case" (Wiese 2016: section 3.1), the boundaries between ethnolects, mixed languages and youth languages are less obvious. Kiessling & Mous (2004) present a thorough overview of youth languages in urban settings, Nassenstein (2014) is an indepth study of a Lingala-based urban youth language spoken in Kinshasa (DR Congo) and Rüsch & Nassenstein (2016) zoom in on northern Uganda. Mesthrie (2012) studies variation in the realization of coronal obstruents in South African English by speakers of Colored, Indian and Black descent.

In the *North American* context, most studies concern English. For the US, some of the oldest studies (Labov 1972; Labov & Harris 1986) zoom in on the Black English Vernacular (later referred to as Ebonics or Afro-American Vernacular English) in New York City and Philadelphia. On the basis of data for New York Latino English, Newman (2010) addresses the question of the systematicity in the use of ethnolect features – an issue that was taken up in Hinskens & Guy (2016). Eckert (2008) focusses on Chicano English. For the Canadian context Boberg (2004) and Hoffman & Walker (2010) should be mentioned – like the studies by Labov and most British colleagues, these are language-centered studies.

Also for *Australia*, most studies concern English – largely but not uniquely from the point of view of the other settlers' languages; so e.g. Clyne (2003) and Clyne et al. (2002) mainly look into Greek and other European ethnolects of English. Holmes (1997a, b), however, discusses Maori substrate. For almost every region and language mentioned, there are more

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[5] Concerning among other things Vfin placement, the lack of reduction of elision of unstressed vowels; resulting in a staccato rhythm, and exotic ways of realizing Accent I and Accent II.

[6] Wiese refers to Kiezdeutsch (roughly: hood German).

(and sometimes more recent) studies; some of these will be sketched in section 4.1 below. A much more systematic and fairly up-to-date overview is contained in Van Meel (2016: 3-6 and 158-175).

3. Ethnolects of Dutch

In the literature some attention has been paid to ethnolects of Dutch. Section 3.1 contains an overview of the ethnolects which have been documented and studied – even if only superficially. The oldest known and relatively well documented historical Dutch ethnolects, Jewish Dutch, will be sketched in section 3.2. In section 3.3 attention will be shifted to the present – and some more recent refinements of the insights will be discussed. In section 4 a large research project focusing on modern Moroccan and Turkish Dutch will be introduced.

3.1 Overview

Muysken (2013: 740) summarizes some essential properties of the main historical and modern ethnolects of Dutch as follows:

	Date of genesis – approx.	Setting of genesis	Where spoken	Maintenance / shift	Mixture	Main other language(s) involved
Jewish Dutch	1750	immigration	Urban	Shift	phonology, syntax, lexicon	Yiddish, Hebrew
Indonesian Dutch	1900	Colonial	Urban	maintenance shift	mixed variety; phonology, syntax	Malay, Javanese
Surinamese Dutch	1900	Colonial	Urban	Maintenance	code-switching; phonology, syntax	Sranan
Moluccan Malay Dutch	1920	Colonial	army camps, communities	Maintenance	mixed variety; syntax	Moluccan Malay
Antillian Dutch	1950	colonial	Urban	Maintenance	code-switching	Papiamentu
Moroccan Dutch	1970	immigration	Urban	Shift	phonology, syntax	Moroccan Arabic, Berber
Turkish Dutch	1970	immigration	Urban	partial maintenance	code-switching	Turkish, Kurdish

Table 1. *Initial characteristics of a number of ethnolects in the Netherlandic domain*

A general distinction can be drawn between immigration based and (post-) colonial ethnolects. The former category developed 'extra muros'; this holds for Indonesian Dutch, Moluccan Dutch, Surinamese Dutch and Antillian Dutch, all of which emerged outside the language area where the dominant language is spoken, more in particular the Netherlands and Flanders. An important representative of the former category is Jewish Dutch which, on the recessive side, is largely rooted in Western Yiddish dialects spoken by Ashkenazim. The next section will zoom in on Jewish Dutch, which seems to be virtually extinct.

3.2 The past. Dutch Jews and Jewish Dutch

From 1492, the days of Los Reyes Catolicos and the period of the Inquisition and Counter-Reformation onwards, Jews fled from Spain as well as from Portugal, where the Inquisition was established in 1536. Many Sephardim (Jews from the Iberian Peninsula) settled in the Low Countries, i.e. in present-day Belgium and the Netherlands.[7]

In 1585, after the Fall of Antwerp to the Spanish and the Catholic Inquisition, very many of the Sephardim who had settled in what is now Belgium fled to the Netherlands; in 1593 the first Sephardim arrived in Amsterdam. Especially the so-called Maranos or crypto-Jews (Jews who had converted to Catholicism but continued to practice their Jewish religion in secret) were attracted to the newly independent Republic of the United Netherlands and many of them openly returned to Judaism after they had settled there. From the beginning of the 17th century the Jews in the Netherlands stepped into the daylight. Official Jewish communities were founded; they were called the Portugese Natie 'Portuguese Nation'. Many Sephardim became confirmed supporters of the House of Orange, which developed into the Dutch monarchy.

Apart from traders and merchants, there were several physicians among the Sephardim in Amsterdam; after all, Jews were permitted to enroll as students at the university to study medicine. Jews were not allowed to join the trade guilds, although exceptions were made in the case of trades which were related to their religion, such as estate agency, printing, bookselling, as well as the sale of meat, poultry, groceries, and medicine. … well-to-do …

The Sephardim spoke Judeo-Spanish (also known as Judeo-Romance, Ladino or Judesmo) and Judeo-Portuguese. Portuguese had more prestige and won out among the Dutch Sephardic Jews. Although many Sephardic Jews gave up their language (Störig/Vromans1988: 232), according to Prins (1916: 4), Judeo-Portuguese and even Judesmo were spoken until the middle of the 19th century.

After expulsions from German cities such as Frankfurt (1615) and in the course of the 30 Years War, from 1618 onwards, Jews from Central and Eastern Europe (Ashkenazim) migrated to the Netherlands. They were primarily Western Yiddish speakers from Germany and other parts of north-western Europe. In the aftermath of the massacres in the wake of the Chmielnicki Uprising against the Polish landed gentry in the Ukraine, which took place in 1648 and '49, many Eastern-European Jews (including people from Poland and Lithuania - Störig/Vromans 1988: 231) fled to Holland.

As the big majority of the Ashkenazim were poor, they were less welcome. With only few exceptions they were not allowed to settle in Amsterdam, Therefore many of them settled in rural areas, where they earned a living as pedlars and hawkers. They became the founders of numerous small Jewish communities throughout the Dutch provinces. As far as their language situation is concerned: from 1686 onwards, the first Yiddish newspaper in the Netherlands appeared.

In the course of the 18th century, the Dutch economy suffered a setback. As many of the Ashkenazim in the rural areas were no longer able to subsist, they moved to the cities looking for jobs. Since, according to religious laws, it took ten adult males to celebrate major religious ceremonies, many small Jewish communities fell apart. As a result of this, even more Jews then migrated to the cities where the Jewish populations grew enormously, causing the Jewish quarters to become overcrowded. In Amsterdam[8] but currently much more

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[7] This section is based on Hinskens & Muysken (2007).

[8] Or *Mokum* '(Yiddish) city' originally in Jewish parlance, *Mokum Mollof* < *Mokum Ollof*, lit. City A, 'Amsterdam'. Cf. *Mokum Reis/ Rijst*, City R[otterdam]. *Mokum* is etymologically rooted in Hebrew *māqōm*. (Den Besten 2006).

widespread), very many J but currently much more widespread), very many Jews lived in a neighbourhood known as Jodenhoek, 'Jew Corner'.

The Sephardim and the Ashkenazim, quickly numerically superior, kept separate communities. Many Sephardim became upper class, while the Ashkenazim became a largely empoverished lower class. Despite co-existence and some inter-marriage, the two groups kept distinct also politically and culturally; this includes their liturgy and language use. Nevertheless many Sephardim learned or shifted to Yiddish, thus Van Ginneken (1913: 59).

1796 was the year of the Emancipation of Dutch Jewry, a political move of the government and one of the results of the French Revolution. From 1796 onwards, Jews in the Republic had civil rights and thus lost their status of stranger. Yiddish was proscribed. Among the Jews there were both proponents and opponents of the enforced assimilation. Napoleon was defeated in 1815 at Waterloo. In 1814, a law had already been passed abolishing the French régime. After his enthronement in 1815, King William I took measures to enhance the integration and assimilation of the Jews. These measures included: a) the obligation for all faiths to establish religious communities. This put an end to the existence of the independent Jewish communities, b) Jewish schools were obliged to teach not only religious subjects, but also wordly / secular subjects, c) the use of Yiddish or Ladino in schools and synagogues was forbidden. In 1849 the first Jewish weekly in Dutch started appearing.

Despite the fact that it was proscribed, Yiddish remained the language of the large majority of the Ashkenazim; initially it remained the language of the masses, although its use was already largely confined to the domain of the family. In the course of the second half of the 19th century the numbers of speakers rapidly decreased. The Dutch Ashkenazic Jews born before 1875 almost certainly knew Yiddish actively - after 1875 much less so, and the number of speakers started decreasing. Partly because of the educational reforms which resulted from the 1857 and 1878 education acts, Dutch-Yiddish bilingualism grew in the 19th century and it must have been relatively stable for several generations.

For Yiddish the tide turned in the last quart of the 19th century. Prins (1916: 3) wrote that Yiddish was dying, but not without leaving traces behind, namely Jewish Dutch. The author pointed out that 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 NLs" (Prins 1916: 3, 9 - my translation).

The latter has also been noticed by other authors. Incidentally, Jewish Dutch was not only spoken by Jews. According to Winkler (1874: 88) and Prins (1916: 10), at least in the Amsterdam 'Jodenhoek', Jewish Dutch was also spoken by the gojim , the Christians, who lived there.

During the Second World War 80.000 Jewish inhabitants of Amsterdam were murdered, about one tenth of its population (De Rooy 2007). In 1968, Izak Kisch, who must have been retired at the time, notes that he and the members of his generation who have survived the Holocaust, are the last of the Dutch Jews who had the 'ghetto-pronunciation' of Dutch (Zwarts 1937).

Among the features of Jewish Dutch -now virtually extinct- were

• the aspiration of word-initial voiceless stops, a general 'confusion' of the [+/- voice] specification of obstruents, and more in particular the voiced realisation of voiceless non-velar obstruents (*zoebel*, st. Dutch 'soepel', 'supple, pliable', *zijver*, st. Dutch [s]ijfer 'digit' - Gans 1988: 639),

• the palatal realisation of /s/ (typically transliterated as <sj>) preceding _[t], e.g.

(1) *transliter.*   *st.Dutch*
    a.   sjterve   sterven   'to die'
        sjtinkende   stinkende   '(evil) smelling'

   b.   kunsjt   kunst   'art'
       posjt   post   'post; mail'

- 'h aspiré' and 'h muet' –which must have originated among the Sephardim- as in *ebben*, standard Dutch 'hebben', '(to) have', *andel* , st. Dutch handel ('trade'), and the hypercorrect reaction to it (*hop*, st. Dutch op 'on', *havond*, st. Dutch avond 'evening', etc.), and
- the unrounding of round front vowels.

In the domains of (morpho-) syntax
- the complementizer *as* (where native varieties of Dutch have *dat*) and
- the particle an which can precede nominal and pronominal subjects and objects. This particle may have been rooted in Portuguese (where *a* plus article marks direct/indirect objects).

At present, many originally Jewish lexical items (words of Hebrew-Aramaic origin as well as Dutch Yiddish words of Germanic origin) are in general use in Amsterdam and more general in colloquial Dutch. Many if not all of these items have been included in Van de Kamp & Van der Wijk's (2006) well documented dictionary, which also contains 'Portuguese' Jewish items.

The 'Amsterdam' pronunciation of /s/ deserves special attention. The observation by Winkler (1874) and Prins (1916) that in the main Jewish neighborhood in Amsterdam, Jewish Dutch also used to be spoken by non-Jews seems to be 'circumstantial evidence' for the hypothesis that the characteristic Amsterdam 'grave' and slightly palatal pronunciation of /s/ may derive from the so-called 'ghetto-pronunciation' of Dutch or, indirectly, from Yiddish (Hinskens 2004: § 5.3). This is reminiscent of Den Besten's (2006) observation that in Dutch Bargoens (thieves' cant), /z/ in originally Yiddish/Hebrew words was sometimes devoiced, while /s/ was sometimes palatalised and /ʃ/ was sometimes depalatalised.

3.3 The present

For the modern, often quite complex linguistic situation in Western Europe, the definition of ethnolects needs to be further refined. A first distinction is that between ethnolect and youth language (cf. Table 2 below), although they can co-occur and the boundaries are less clear-cut than the overview may suggest.

	Ethnolect	*Youth 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

Table 2: *Features distinguishing street language from ethnolect* (from Muysken 2013: 742)

Youth language tends to be ephemeral, as it is mainly characterized by lexical and pragmatic peculiarities; it is typically used deliberately to mark or (re-) define identity in in-group interactions. Ethnolects, on the other hand, are less elusive as they are mainly characterized by phonological and syntactic peculiarities; their use is at best semi-conscious and not confined to in-group contact.

A second distinction is that between ethnolect in the narrow sense and ethnolect in a broad sense. Whereas 'ethnolect narrow' can be described as a variety of a dominant (often national) language spoken by a specific (non-dominant) ethnic group, 'ethnolect broad' refers to all the linguistic systems in the repertoire of a non-dominant ethnic group used in a larger

context, including the heritage language (e.g., Arabic in Sweden or the Netherlands, Turkish in Germany or the Netherlands, etc.), code-mixing, etc. Examples (2-4) for ethnolectal utterances in the broad sense come from the chat site Sranan-Dutch of a Suriname community.

Code-switching and approximation to the standard
    (2)   ***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
    (3)   Welk*[ø]* meid van hem heeft hij een vrendin dan
            'Which girl of his he has a girfriend then?'

The deletion of the prononmial adverb [er] - in a standard Dutch utterance:
    (4)   als ik *[ø]* een scheutje essence bij deed in de rum variants
            'if I put a bit of essence in, in the rum variant'

And (5) is an example of Turkish-Dutch code-mixing, from Backus (1992)
    (5)   ***Engels**-I bir tane **blonde meisje**-den   alIyordun*
            English-acc one piece   blond girl-from you got
            'You got English from a blond girl.'

In the latter utterance, Dutch lexical material is grammatically integrated into Turkish.
    Even ethnolect in the broad sense does not overlap with 'interlanguage' (the third distinction). So whereas the speech of many L2 speakers of Dutch or German displays strong rigid SVO instead of V2/Vfin effects (iindependent of L1 background), SVO effects in second generation ethnolectal speech are limited at most.

4. 'The Roots of Ethnolects, An experimental comparative study'
The first Dutch research project which systematically pays attention to language contact and universal traits of second language acquisition as sources of synchronic variation is 'The roots of ethnolects. An experimental comparative study'.[9] The project focuses on synchronic variation in the speech of bilingual as well as monolingual native speakers of Dutch, on the speech of members of the 'white' majority as well members of two specific ethnic minority groups. The study zooms in on the emergence, position and social spread of two young ethnolects of Dutch in the cities of Amsterdam and Nijmegen; cf. Map 1.

Map 1. *Sampling points for 'The roots of ethnolects'*

The ethnolectal varieties are spoken by second and third generation migrants of Turkish and Moroccan descent. Table 3 contains some relevant demographic facts (from 2005, the year the project and the fieldwork started) about the two cities.

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 relevant demographic facts about the Dutch cities of Amsterdam and Nijmegen*

The approach is language-centered rather than ethnographic. One set of research questions concerns the linguistic makeup of ethnolects: to which extent are they rooted in substrates, in phenomena that are typical of second language acquisition and in endogeneous non-standard varieties? Another set of questions concerns the place of the ethnolect in the verbal repertoires of its speakers. Yet other questions concern the spread of ethnolectal features to other ethnic groups.

4.1 Research questions and methods
Some research questions[10] concern the linguistic make-up and the origins of the constituent features.

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[10] This section is based on Hinskens (2011, 2014).

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

As far as Q1 is concerned, Table 4 contains (non-exhaustive) inventories of features of modern ethnolectal varieties of Dutch which are spoken by people who / whose ancestors came from former Dutch colonies. Curaçao is one of the Antillean Islands in the Caribean Sea; today it is an autonomous country of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

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

Table 4. *Features of three ethnic varieties of Dutch, as mentioned in the literature*

There are striking similarities between these ethnolects of Dutch, although Malay / Javanese, Papiamentu and Sranan, respectively, are unrelated and do not have much in common. Both Indonesian Dutch (De Vries 2005: 72-74) and Curaçao Dutch (Joubert 2005: 37-39, 45-47) are characterized by (among other things) deviating usage of grammatical gender as well as by the variable non-realization of the adverbial pronoun *er* , 'there', and (pronominal) *het*, 'it'. The bilabial realisation of /w/ occurs in Indonesian, Curaçao and Surinamese Dutch; this also holds for the voiceless realisation of the fricatives.

Phenomena which characterize different ethnolects are sometimes referred to as 'multi-etnolect' (Clyne 2000; Quist 2008). There is a paradox: for the linguist smooth transitions exist between language varieties, but for the speakers discrete boundaries exist between groups (Herson Finn 1996).

Dittmar & Steckbauer (2007: 78-81) discuss features of the (mainly Turkish) ethnolect of German that is presently spoken in Berlin; the features are phonetic (segmental), prosodic (word and phrasal stress), morpho-syntactic, semantic, 'syntactic-semantic', lexical and pragmatic in nature. Keim (2007: 95-96) lists features of (again mainly) Turkish ethnolectal German as it is spoken today in the German city of Mannheim; the features of this variety, which the speakers refer to as 'unseren Ghettoslang', i.e. 'our ghetto slang', are from the provinces of morphology, morpho-syntax, syntax, lexicon, pragmatics as well as from "a complex of prosodic-phonetic features". In his study among English, Pakistani and Black Carribean groups in Birminghan, UK, Kahn (2006) focussed on one morphological (past tense BE) and four phonological phenomena (the voiced and voiceless interdental fricatives and the diphthongs in items such as *goat* and *price*).

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

This question is obviously based on the view of ethnolects as the babies of language shift *sensu* Thomason & Kaufman (1988). Labov's (2001: 250-256) finding regarding r-vocalisation in the
English of ethnic Italians in Philadelphia is relevant: although phonetically the 'Italian
American' realisation of /r/ does not differ from that of other groups of speakers of American English, from the distribution of r-vocalisation it appears that the 'Italian-American' /r/ has another sonority value than the /r/ as it is used in other mainstream varieties of American English. Cf. also Kern's contribution to this volume, briefly discussed below, sub Q8.

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

Evidence for the assumption in Q3 is provided by Cornips (2008). Referring to unpublished work by Unsworth, Cornips shows that the overgeneralization of Dutch common gender at the expense of the grammatical common-neutre distinction does not only occur in L2 but also in bilingual L1 speakers (in the age range between 5 and 17 year old) of Dutch.

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

In connection with Q4, it is relevant that the voiceless realisation of fricatives which occurs in
Indonesian, Curaçao and Surinamese Dutch (Table 4) also occurs in indigenous (non-and substandard) varieties of Dutch; this also holds for the use of *hun* (dative 'them') as a subject pronoun. Further research is needed to determine if and to which extent the use in Surinamese Dutch of *gaan* ('go') as an auxiliary is similar to that in the Flemish dialects of Dutch.

So much for the question where ethnolect features may come from. Another questions is where they go to and how they spread:

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?

Chambers (2003: 105-107) demonstrated how speech characteristics of the English of ethnic Italians in Toronto seem to spread to the ethnic Greeks in East End, a neighborhood where both groups coexist. The conscious adoption of speech characteristics of other ethnic groups has been referred to as 'crossing' (Rampton 1995).

Q6. Is there any evidence of spread of ethnic varieties outside of the ethnic group?

Holmes (1997a; b) demonstrated Maori influence on the English of the dominant group (white New Zealanders, also refered to as 'Pakeha') in the use of the tag *eh*, the high rising terminal countour, syllable timing and increasing /z/ devoicing. Certain features of Jewish Dutch have spread to indigenous varieties of Dutch; among them is the present-day Amsterdam variant of /s/ (cf. section 3.2 above).

A final question concerns the place of ethnolectal variation 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?

There are indications that to speakers who control the standard or standard-nearer varieties, ethnolect features are a means for stylisation and playing with identities. Keim & Knöbl (2007) present some findings of a longitudinal case study of Murat, a young man of Turkish extraction, living in Mannheim. He has been recorded when he was 17 and 19 years old. Detailed linguistic analyses made plain that in a section of his verbal repertoire Murat indeed grew towards "standard-near and elaborate" German (p. 194, my translation, FH). Kern (2011) goes one step further, demonstrating that in Turkish German, rhythm (as constituted in accent isochrony and particular metrical stress patterns resulting in 'utterance isochrony') shows "systematic and conversationally functional" variation. This variation is used "either as a powerful contextualization device for sequence organization, or as a rhetorical device in turn construction." So an ethnolect is not a learner's variety, but rather a stylistic device.

The data for the *Roots of Ethnolects* project were collected such that they fit a factorial design, constituted by equal numbers of young male speakers from Amsterdam and Nijmegen, of three backgrounds: Moroccan, Turkish and 'white' Dutch and two age groups - with age group serving as an apparent time or cross-sectional operationalization of acquisition, one of the hypothesized roots of ethnolectal variation. The speakers with Moroccan and Turkish backgrounds (referred to as 'M' and 'T', respectively) grew up bilingually in the Netherlands; hence they are also native speakers of some variety of modern Dutch. Among the 'white' Dutch boys, a distinction is made between those with strong (D) and those with weak or no network ties with boys from other ethnic groups ('D' and 'C', respectively). Cf. Table 5.

city	*Background*	age group	
		10 to 12 years old	18 to 20 years old
A Amsterdam	*M* Moroccan-Dutch	6	6
	T Turkish-Dutch	6	6
	D 'white' Dutch with strong inter-ethnic ties	6	6
	C 'white' Dutch with weak inter-ethnic ties	6	6
N Nijmegen	*M* Moroccan-Dutch	6	6
	T Turkish-Dutch	6	6
	D 'white' Dutch with strong inter-ethnic ties	6	6
	C 'white' Dutch with weak inter-ethnic ties	6	6

Table 5. *Speaker design*

Except for the 'white' Dutch boys who have but few if any friends from other ethnic groups ('weak inter-ethnic ties'), four recordings are being made of every single speaker; three recordings concern conversations, one with a speaker whose main background is Moroccan, one with a speaker with a Turkish background and one with a 'white' Dutch boy with friends from other ethnic groups. The conversations were typically made in school canteens; the speaker and the interlocutor were often friends; and the fieldworker was usually absent for a part of the recording session. Additional recordings of these speakers concern individual elicitation sessions.

Per variable phenomenon, data for some 55 speakers in our sample ('core corpus') were analysed; the data consisted of 15 to 30 realizations per speaker. Statistical analyses included mixed models regression and speakers and items were usually included as random effects.

4.2 Findings

Features of Moroccan and Turkish Dutch in the recorded data[11] include variation in (morpho) syntax (e.g. regarding gender marking in determiners, demonstratives and relativizers; the variable omission of functional elements such as object pronouns, subject pronouns, the locative and the quantitative pronoun *er*) as well as phonology and phonetics (several speakers with a Turkish background nasalize any lax vowel preceding /n/ which is tautosyllabically followed by another consonant).

The feature pool contains both exotic and local / regional dialect features; yet other features (e.g. concerning gender marking) are typical language acquisition phenomena. The number of different variants of prior-existing linguistic variables is sometimes higher than in indigenous varieties. E.g., the southern Dutch dialects (including the one spoken in Nijmegen) have a palatal realization of the velar fricative /ɣ/, whereas the western and northern dialects do not. The Turkish-Dutch and (even more so) Moroccan-Dutch speakers in our sample add uvular and pharyngeal realizations, thus widening the spectrum of variants.

The data show several different types of variation in the realization of the voiced and the voiceless coronal fricatives /z, s/. The <u>variation in the realization of /z/</u> is partly endogenous, in that it is frequently devoiced into [s], which is fairly common in colloquial standard speech in a large part of the Dutch language area. Like German, Dutch categorically devoices final obstruents, so [voice] contrasts only in initial position; but even initially we find neutralization in a northern and northwestern parts of the language area. Exotic variants include

● overlong [z:], although there is no phonemic length contrast in Dutch consonants. An utterance containing this variant is

(6)   [z:]e wil nou niet   'she doesn't want now'
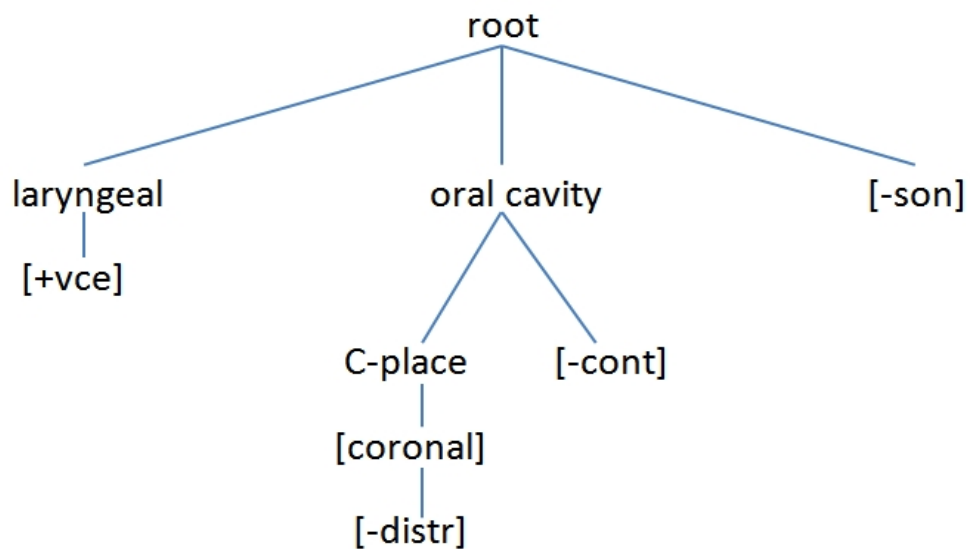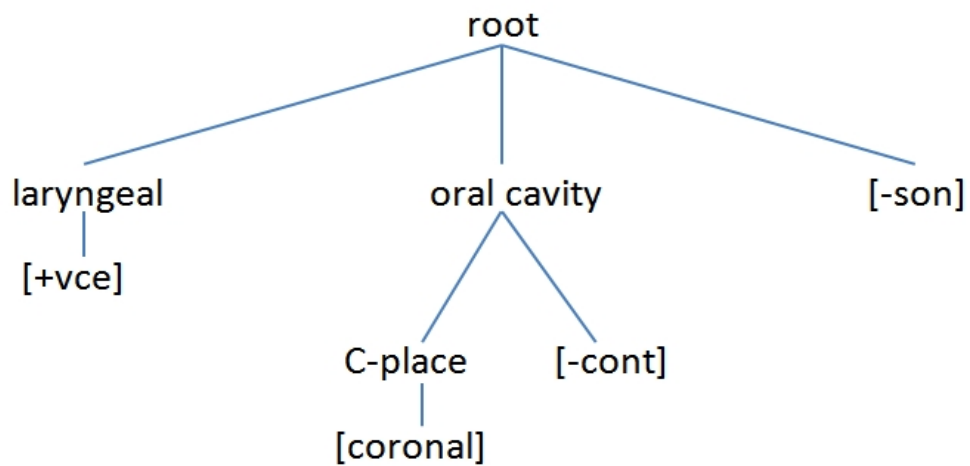   Mustapha (Moroccan-Dutch, 20 years old, Nijmegen)

● a 'sharp', dental realization, resulting in a 'hisser' with relatively much frication, hence [ẕ] or, voiceless [s̱]. E.g.

(7)   ik heb geen [ẕ]in meer, man   'I don't feel like it anymore, dude'
         Mustapha (Moroccan-Dutch, 20 years old, Nijmegen)

The 'sharp z' does not occur in endogenous Dutch. It has more frication and tenseness than the average Dutch realization, and articulatorily the position of the corona is more forward in the Moroccan languages and in Turkish than in Dutch, i.e. dental (or denti-alveolar) instead of alveolar. In classical feature geometry (Clements & Hume 1995), the representations are those in (8) – on top the traditional standard Dutch realization, at the bottom the new, 'exotic' dental realization, where [coronal] is further specified as [-distributed]. However, this does not concern a contrast – the bottom-most representation is phonetic in nature and therefore variable.

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[11] The following paragraphs are based on Hinskens (2014).

(8)

```
                              root
              _____ /  |  \ _____
             /              |             \
      laryngeal         oral cavity        [-son]
          |              /      \
       [+vce]        C-place    [-cont]
                        |
                    [coronal]
```

```
                              root
              _____ /  |  \ _____
             /              |             \
      laryngeal         oral cavity        [-son]
          |              /      \
       [+vce]        C-place    [-cont]
                        |
                    [coronal]
                        |
                     [-distr]
```

● regressive voice assimilation to a preceding obstruent as in
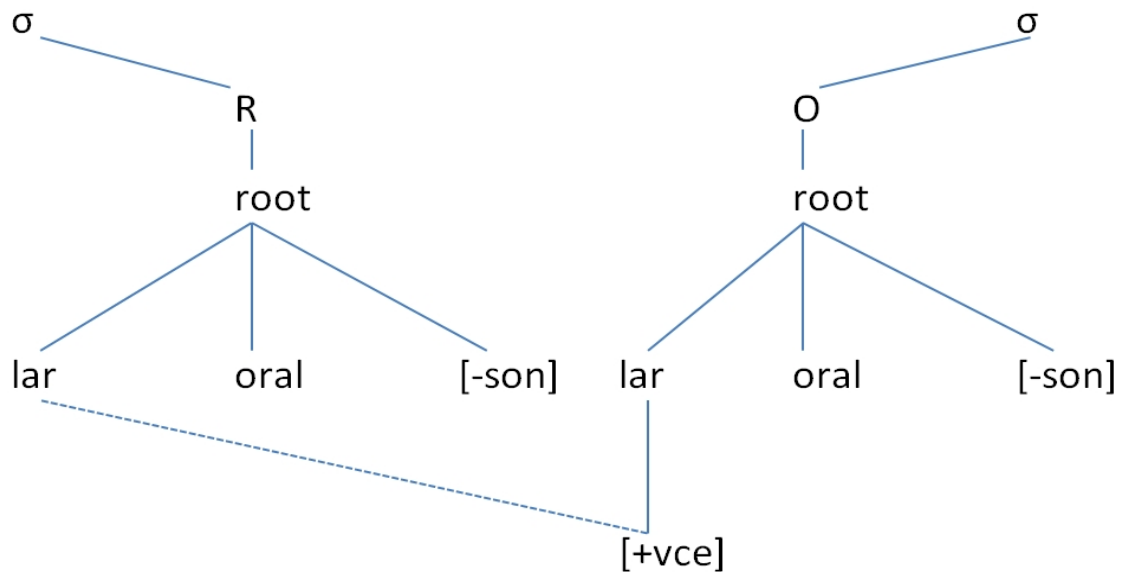
(9)
a. o[bz]ich ~ endogenous: o[ps]ich,   <op zich>   'as such'
        Mustapha (Moroccan-Dutch, 20 years old, Amsterdam)

b. nou moet i[gz]ien ~ endogenous: i[ks]ien <ik zien>   'now I must see'
        Emre (Turkish-Dutch, 20 years old, Nijmegen)

Feature geometrically, the assimilation process can be described as in (10):[12]

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[12] Irrelevant structure omitted.

(10)

The [+vce] specification spreads to the immediately preceding obstruent, which may or may not be lexically specified as [+vce], but in coda position it will always be voiceless – except in Moroccan and Turkish Dutch.

The sandhi voicing of a preceding obstruent by a voiced fricative is very 'undutch' (it does not occur in any endogenous variety of modern Dutch) and it is quite salient to the Dutch ear. It may be supported by the phonology of Tarafit Berber, in which obstruent clusters are typically either voiced or unvoiced (McClelland 2008: 58). The dental realization may be related to the fact that both Turkish and Moroccan Arabic have been described to have dental /z, s/; for references see Van Meel et al. (2013).

For the phoneme /z/ there are no fewer than four different non-standard realizations. The variation in the realization of /z/ thus shows 'super-diversity' in micro-cosmos.

Indepth quantitative analyses of the variation in the voiced coronal fricative /z/ were confined to the variables 'sharpness' of /z/ (i.e. the question how the dental and alveolar articulations of /z/ are distributed) and the (de-)voicing of /z/.[13] The outcomes of the statistical analyses allow the variation to be interpreted against the background of the three bundles of questions.

First, as regards the roots and the conditioning of the variation: 'sharpness' or dentalization seems to have roots in Moroccan Arabic and Berber and to tell from our data it has been borrowed by the Turkish Dutch speakers. Both Moroccan and Turkish Dutch speakers use voiced [z] after obstruents (with regressive voice assimilation), which is virtually absent in white Dutch speakers. Overall and regardless of their background, speakers from Amsterdam devoice /z/ more than the Nijmegen speakers and this effect is particularly strong among the 20-years old participants.

Next, as regards the spread of the phenomenon: with respect to dentalization, the Turkish and Moroccan Dutch constitute one homogeneous group distinct from the white Dutch, but there is evidence that the Moroccan Dutch are leading in the use of dental variants. For the

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[13] The following is a summary sketch of the results presented and discussed in Van Meel et al. (2013). Here and below only statistically significant effects will be discussed.

voiced realization of /z/ after an obstruent the Turkish and Moroccan Dutch again constitute one homogeneous group distinct from the white Dutch, but after vowels and sonorants, the Turkish Dutch voice more than the Moroccans.

And, finally, concerning the place of the variation in the verbal repertoires: with respect to dentalization, the speakers of Moroccan and Turkish Dutch adapt their speech to the ethnic background of the interlocutor. This is not the case for voicing.
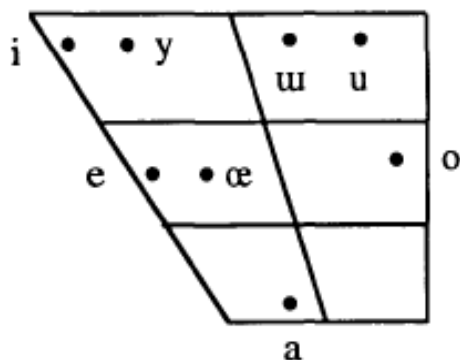
In sum: with respect to the variation in the place of articulation and the voicing of /z/, Turkish and Moroccan Dutch are fairly variable, but the variability is structured, and regionally, ethnically and stylistically conditioned (cf. Bills 1976 on Vernacular Chicano English).

The second of the four variable phenomena that have been studied and analysed so far concerns the Dutch front, unrounded diphthong /ɛi/. The data for the variation in the realization of this diphthong allow us to establish how current Dutch ethnolects deal with Dutch phonemes which (a) do not exist in the original languages of migrant groups speaking an ethnolect and (b) are at the same time involved in regional and social patterns of stratification in the dominant language.[14]

Alongside the standard Dutch realization [ɛi], the new substandard diphthongal variant [ai] has emerged; it stands out by its lowered prominent, first element. Originally, this lowered diphthongal variant is a dialect variant specific to a subgroup of Hollandic dialects spoken north and northwest of Amsterdam. It has meanwhile found its way to a larger part of the language area and can thus be labeled supra-regional.[15] The diphthongal variants correspond to two fairly salient monophthongal variants in the urban dialects: [a:] for Amsterdam, and [ɛ:] for Nijmegen.

The vowel inventories of the heritage languages Arabic, Berber and Turkish can be visualized as follows:

(11) a. *Vowel inventory of Turkish*   b. *Moroccan Arabic*
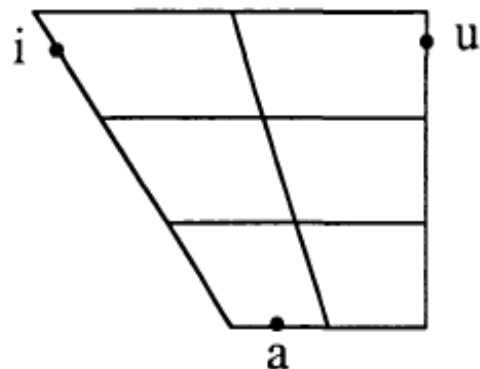
Berber has 3 'vocalic phonemes': /i/, /u/ and /a/ or /æ/. Both Moroccan Arabic and Berber have three 'vocalic phonemes', and 10 to 12 'vocalic (allo)phones'. /ɛi/ does not occur in Turkish and Berber; /ɛi/ occurs as a dialectal allophone in certain Moroccan Arabic dialects.[16] The substandard lowered diphthongal variant [ai] and the non-standard monophthongal

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[14] The following paragraphs are based on Van Meel et al. (2014).

[15] The other two diphthongs of standard Dutch, /œy;ɔu/, equally undergo lowering of the prominent, first element; simultaneously the long mid vowels /e;ø;o/ are diphthongized. Jacobi (2009) showed that the changes in this chain shift are led by members of higher socio-economic classes.

[16] Sources for Turkish: Göksel & Kerslake (2005), Kornfilt (1997), for Moroccan Arabic: Harrell (1962), Heath (2002), for Berber: Kossmann & Stroomer (1997).

variants [aː] and [ɛː] of the diphthong /ɛi/ are thus not rooted in or even supported by the sound patterns of the heritage languages.

The outcomes of the statistical analyses allow an answer to the question: what variants will speakers of Dutch ethnolects use? Standard, substandard or local variants? In other words: which variants spread and where to? Do new, exotic variants develop?

Table 6 specifies the numbers of speakers per variant – the majorities per variant are printed boldface.

	diphth + open [ai]	diphth + non-open [ɛi]	monophth + open [aː] A'dam	monophth + non-open [ɛː] Nijmegen	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
Total	13	12	13	13	51

Table 6. *The numbers of speakers per variant. The majorities per variant are printed boldface.*

The numbers show that in both cities the 'white' Dutch have shifted from local dialect variants to standard or substandard Dutch variants. Speakers with Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds have meanwhile adopted the respective local dialect variants. Further analyses made plain that 'white' Dutch speakers with and without strong inter-ethnic ties form one group separate from speakers with Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds - who form another group.

A re-interpretation or a re-shuffling of the monophthong variants appears to be going on. The local Amsterdam and Nijmegen monophthongal variants of standard Dutch /ɛi/, the use of which had gradually narrowed down to the lower socio-economic strata, seem to be in the process of being ousted; eventually they may not even survive in the supralocal regiolects.

But for the time being these variants appear to be saved by the speakers of Moroccan and Turkish Dutch and they may thus be starting a new life as an ethnolect feature.

Finally, with regard to the place of the variation in the realization of this diphtong in the speakers' repertoires, style effects in the sense of effects of the interlocutors' backgrounds can be reported for monophthongization. However, the patterns cannot be interpreted as accommodation to the interlocutors' variation patterns.

The third variable phenomenon that has been studied and analysed concerns the phonemic contrast /ɑ - a/. There are countless minimal pairs, e.g.

(12) h[ɑ]k – h[a]k   'heel'-'hook'
      b[ɑ]n – b[a]n   'excommunication'-'job'

This contrast is based on a double distinction, as the segments differ both quantitatively (in length or 'duration') and qualitatively (back-front).

Dialect differences (here between the Amsterdam and Nijmegen urban dialects) for the pair of segments pertain to quality alone, with the Amsterdam variants of /a/ ranging between [a] and [ɔː] and the Nijmegen variants ranging between [æː] and, more frequently, [ɑː]. Turkish, Berber, Moroccan Arabic do not contrast /ɑ/ and /a/ in their vowel inventories (cf. Table 7). More generally, these languages do not have phonemic length contrasts, which may be related to the fact that Turkish, Berber and (Moroccan) Arabic are syllable-timed systems (unlike Dutch which, like all Germanic languages, is stress-timed). This led us to predict substrate effects; we expected the length contrast to vary in the speech of the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch.

Language	Phonemes, features	Variability
Dutch	/a/ and /ɑ/ tense vs. lax, different in PoA and length	
Amsterdam	/a/ and /a/ tense vs. lax, different in PoA and length	PoA variants for both phonemes stable length distinction
Nijmegen	/a/ and /a/ tense vs. lax, different in PoA and length	PoA variants for /a/ stable length distinction
Turkish	/a/, also represented as /ɑ/	allophonic variation in PoA and length; long variant in loans
Moroccan-Arabic	/a/	allophonic variation in PoA and length
Tarifit	/a/	allophonic variation in PoA long realization in closed syllables

Table 7. *Overview of relevant phonemes and their features in the language systems involved;*
    PoA = place of articulation

As far as the variation in the realization of each of the two segments is concerned, the main findings can be summarized as follows.[17] No main effects of the background of the speaker or the interlocutor were found for the two phonemes, neither in the two linguistic

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[17] The following is a summary sketch of the results presented and discussed in Van Meel 2013: 94-102.

conditions studied (before a nasal, before an obstruent), nor for the two dimensions of variation. Interestingly, however, the backgrounds of the speaker and of the interlocutor were involved in several interaction effects. The clearest one is a 'language style as audience design' (Bell 1984) effect in the speech of the Moroccan Dutch speakers in the context before obstruents. Turkish Dutch speakers produce the shortest /a/'s when speaking to the endogenous 'white' Dutch, whereas Moroccan Dutch speakers produce the longest /a/'s when speaking to the endogenous 'white' Dutch. For both groups, whilst speaking with members of the other ethnic minority group, there is hardly any difference in /a/ duration.

In the realization of /ɑ/, there appears to be more variation in the place of articulation (related to city and age group, not to speakers' or interlocutors' backgrounds) than in duration.

As far as the variation in the differentiation between two segments is concerned, the main findings are: in so far as the Turkish and Moroccan Dutch do not realize the distinction between /ɑ/ and /a/ in the same way as their 'white' Dutch peers, they do so in place of articulation – not in duration. In this respect they do not differ from the Amsterdam 'white' Dutch young men with strong interethnic ties, nor (in the context before a nasal) from the 20 year old Nijmegen speakers. We can thus establish that the expected L2 effect (induced by the typological distinction between syllable- versus stress-timed systems between the heritage languages on the one hand and Dutch on the other) does not manifest itself.

The fourth and final variable phenomenon that has been studied and analysed so far concerns the expression of grammatical gender.

Unlike most Romance languages, in a Germanic language such as Dutch grammatical gender cannot be predicted from the phonological form of a noun – and only from part of the stock of derived nouns. In Dutch, as in Greek, the distribution of grammatical gender across nouns is largely arbitrary. Grammatical gender is marked in determiners (definite articles, demonstratives), relativizers and (through suffixation) on adnominals such as adjectives.[18] Among the articles, definite singular is where the action is:

Table 8. *Determiners in Standard Dutch; the contrasting ones in bold - articles*

	Definite		*Indefinite*	
Gender	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Common	**De**	de	een	-
Neuter	**Het**	de	een	-

(13)	*de* man	[COM.DEF.SG]	'the man'
	de mannen	[COM.DEF.PL]	'the men'
	het mannetje	[NTR.DEF.SG]	'the little man'
	de mannetjes	[NTR. DEF.PL]	'the little men'

Table 9 specifies the demonstrative and relative pronouns:

	Demonstrative		*Relative*	
Gender	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Common	**deze, die**	deze, die	**die**	die
Neuter	**dit, dat**	deze, die	**dat**	die

Table 9. *Demonstrative and relative pronouns in Standard Dutch; the contrasting ones in bold*

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[18] The following paragraphs are based on Hinskens et al. 2018.

In singular, the gender difference is also multiplied by the semantic difference between proximate (*deze*; *dit*) and distal (*die*; *dat*):

(14) *deze* man   [COM.DEF.SG]   prox   'this man'
      die man   dist   'that man'
      deze mannen   [COM.DEF.PL]   prox   'these men'
      die mannen   dist   'those men'
      dit mannetje   [NTR.DEF.SG]   prox   'this little man'
      dat mannetje   dist   'that little man'
      deze mannetjes   [NTR. DEF.PL]   prox   'these little men'
      dei mannetjes   dist   'those little men'

The distribution of the schwa suffix for the flexion of adnominals can be summarized as follows:

Table 10. *Flexion schwa's in adnominals*

	definite		indefinite	
	singular	plural	Singular	plural
common	ə	ə	ə	ə
neuter	ə	ə	--	ə

(15) *de* klein*e* jongen   'the little boy'
      de klein*e* jongens   'the little boys'
      een klein*e* jongen   'a little boy'
      Ø klein*e* jongens   'little boys'
      het kleine meisje   'the little girl'
      de kleine meisjes   'the little girls'
      een kleinØ meisje   'a little girl'
      Ø klein*e* meisjes   'little girls'

So far for modern standard Dutch. Among the endogenous dialects there is significant geographical dialect variation: the southern dialect groups (Flemish, Brabantic, Limburg) have preserved the old three-gender system, Masculine – Feminine – neuter.

In the heritage languages at issue the picture is different again: while Turkish has no gender to speak of, Moroccan Arabic marks gender in endings, both nominally (15a) and verbally (15b):

(16) Moroccan Arabic gender endings
   a.   ustad   'male teacher'
        ustada   'female teacher'
   b.   xddam   'working (masc. participle)'
        xddama   'working (fem. participle)'

In this respect, Berber is somewhat similar to Moroccan Arabic. According to Kossmann (2000), all Berber languages have a gender system with two members, Masculine and Feminine. These genders surface in agreement, but are in most nouns also overtly marked on the noun.

What we find in our recorded data is among other things /a/ the replacement of the neuter definite determiner *het* by common gender *de.* Examples are

(17) 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'

This results in the overuse of the non-neuter article *de* over neuter *het.*

b/ demonstratives: *deze/die* in stead of *dit/dat.* Examples are

(18) 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'

c/ adding –ə on adnominals in neuter indefinites. Examples are

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

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

Neuter indefinite singular is the weak point in the paradigm of adnominal inflection. According to Sapir (1921: 38) "all grammars leak". And indeed: in the adnominal flexion of modern Dutch, there seems to be a tendency towards regularization of the paradigm; in our ethnolect data, there is overuse of the generic inflected (schwa-bearing) adjective in neuter indefinite singular contexts. The opposite, the use of non-inflected (schwa-less) adjectives in common gender indefinite singular or in common and neuter definite singular contexts, does not occur in our data.

    Quantitative analyses of the *Roots of Ethnolects* data reveal that the inflection of the determiners and adnominal elements (in our data mainly adjectives) before common nouns hardly shows any variation; as all groups of speakers appear to use almost 100% standard forms for common nouns, we focus on neuter gender marking – that is where the variational action is.

    In the determiners, the Turkish Dutch and Moroccan Dutch speakers use significantly fewer standard forms than the speakers from the 'white' Dutch groups. Second, the 18-20 year old speakers use more neuter forms than the 10-12 year olds and this probably points towards an overall acquisition effect. Third, the Nijmegen speakers use significantly fewer neuter forms than their Amsterdam counterparts. The fact that Nijmegen borders on dialect areas with three-gender systems (Brabant and Limburg dialects) may well play a role here. The background of the interlocutor has an effect in that fewer neuter standard forms are used in interaction with Moroccan and Turkish Dutch speakers; this is a clear style as audience design effect (Bell 1984).

    Three internal factor groups were studied: one of them regarding the determiner type, and the others a formal and a semantic property of the noun: is it a diminutive or not (diminutives are always treated as grammatically neuter) and does it refer to an animate entity or not. There are no statistically significant main effects of any of the three internal factor groups. However, the determiner type is involved in a statistically significant interaction with speaker

background: the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch show remarkably high non-standard, common gender scores for the non-proximate (or 'distal') demonstrative *die*, such as *die boekje, die raam* for standard Dutch *dat boekje* 'this little book', *dat raam* 'this window'.

For the adnominals, the analyses were confined to indefinites. In about one third of the cases, the Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch use non-standard inflected forms. In all three groups, the 10-12 year olds use fewer standard inflected forms than the 18-20 year olds; the 10-12 years old Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch use non-standard inflected (i.e. schwa-bearing) forms in almost half of the cases. The linguistic factor 'animacy' appears to be a prominent determiner of the variation, with inanimate heads being the main predictor of non-standard schwa-suffixation to the adnominal element. It seems to be an instance of (re-)semanticization (Dahl 1999; Audring 2006), since in nouns referring to animated entities, there is a tendency for biological gender to outweigh grammatical gender (genus), as in e.g. *de meisje*; *de wijf*; *de jongetje*; *de dier* ('the girl', 'the woman', 'the boyDIM', 'the animal'); in standard Dutch these nouns have neuter gender (and thus select the definite article *het*).

4.3. Sizing up...

For the three bundles of research questions, the findings for the four linguistic variables can be summarized as follows:

	/z/		/ɛi/		/ɑ - a/		gramm. gender	
	dentaliz.	voicing	monophth	height	length	place of articul.	determ.	adnom. flexion
linguistic make-up: <substrate	Yes	?	no	No	no	no	no	no
linguistic make-up: <L2 acquis.	no	?	no	No	no	no	yes	yes
linguistic make-up: <endog. dialects	no	yes	yes	Yes	no	yes	no	no
style shifting	yes	no	yes	No	yes	no	yes	no
spread to other groups	M → T D: no	D: no	M and T adopt dialect variants, which D are abandoning		no	no	probably not	

Table 11. *Summarizing the findings regarding the three bundles of research questions for the four linguistic variables*

Substrate effects are only discernable for the dental variant of /z/ and L2 effects only for the variation in grammatical gender marking in both determiners and adnominal flexion. Effects of the surrounding endogenous dialects dominate – and they are visible in the devoicing of /z/, the monophthongization and variation in the height of /ɛi/, as well as in the place of articulation of the low vowels /a/ and /ɑ/.

Stylistic variation in the sense of effects of the interlocutors' background were found in the use of the dental variant of /z/, of /a/ before obstruents in Moroccan Dutch, and in the fact that fewer standard grammatical gender determiners were used in the interactions with speakers of Moroccan and Turkish Dutch. All these effects are instances of audience design; that does not hold for the style effect in the variable use of monophthongal variants of /ɛi/.

Spread to other groups has been established for the dental variant of /z/, which originated in Moroccan Dutch, but has clearly been adopted by the Turkish Dutch. It has also been established for the endogenous local dialect variants of /ɛi/, which are being abandoned by the 'white' youth; for the time being, these variants have been rescued by speakers of Moroccan and Turkish Dutch – as a result of which the dialect features have been recycled as an ethnolect feature.

5. ... and looking ahead

So far, *Roots of Ethnolects* data have been studied systematically only for four phenomena and only as far as the conversational speech is concerned. Many phenomena which are interesting from the point of view of both the research questions and current theoretical debates have yet to be studied – at all or at least in the *Roots of Ethnolects* data. The study of some of these phenomena can probably be partly automatized. In sofar as vowels are concerned (either directly, as dependent variables, or indirectly, as independent variables), forced alignment and automatic vowel measurement (FAVE, cf. http://fave.ling.upenn.edu) may be most useful, since this technique, which builds on transcriptions and digitalized recordings, enables the semi-automatic acoustic analyses (e.g. regarding formant values) of vast amounts of relevant observations in large data sets and corpora (cf. Labov et al. 2013). The subcorpus of elicited speech has not been systematically analysed yet.

It might well be worth exploring the sociolinguistic situation in other cities in the Dutch language area; where else have ethnolects developed, by whom, how and what do those ethnolects look like? Are there similar developments in less urbanized or even rural areas where migrants have settled?

A question that has not been thoroughly addressed so far concerns the extent to which ethnolects resemble code-switched varieties or mixed languages.

Clyne et al (2002) and Tamis (2009) investigated Greek ethnolects of Australian English. As was briefly pointed out above, Chambers (2003) studied developments among the ethnic Italians and Greek in Toronto. Doubtlessly, there are more ethnolects with Greek substrate – and probably not only of English. Conversely, given the long and rich history of the Greek culture in the wider Mediterranean and Minor Asian context, it seems likely that in the history of the language, a range of ethnolects of Greek have developed. New ethnolects of Greek may well be emerging today among refugees from the larger Middle East and North African regions who recently arrived and decided to settle (sometimes illegally) and start a new life in Greece. Linguists can help them learn Greek and in so doing they may also be able to collect data which may be interesting for comparative research. It may be viable to study the development of new ethnolects and the spread of their properties *in vivo*; this might even result in data which can be compared across ethnolectal varieties of Greek - or with ethnolects of different European languages developed by refugees speaking the same languages and who settled elsewhere in Europe.

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