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Gouda Moroccan Dutch

Linguistic Ideology and Practice in an Urban Youth Variety

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Abstract
This study describes certain aspects of the Moroccan Dutch youth variety in Gouda (the Netherlands). It adopts a critical approach with regard to youth language using current sociolinguistic concepts and tools. This study contains two parts. The first part is largely focused on methods and metalinguistic analysis, the second part is the description of the linguistic data which is subdivided in a phonetic part and a morphosyntactic part.

This a fieldwork-based study which includes material based on a number of interviews with Moroccan Dutch teenagers. While the amount of fieldwork was sufficient for the initial goal of the study, namely a description of the phonetics, for it to dig deeper and uncover linguistic usage and ideology, metalinguistic data was collected as well. These data were used to uncover information, not only about language practice, but also about tribal origins, cultural stereotypes and heritage language use. Interethnic language practices, accent and code switching are included as well.

The second part deals with the salient segmental phonetics, beginning with the consonants and ending with the vowels. Possible substrate influence, mainly based on Tarifiyt Berber, and inter-generational and interethnic differences are sketched as well. In the final part some conspicuous morphosyntactic phenomena are touched upon, such as grammatical gender and the genitive.

To conclude, this study aims to provide an insight from a sociolinguistic perspective into Gouda Moroccan Dutch language practice, form and ideology. That is, it describes social interaction and linguistic practice from a multifocal and dynamic viewpoint.

Résumé
Cette étude décrit les aspects de la variété des jeunes maroco-néerlandais à Gouda (Pays Bas). Elle adopte une approche critique vis-à-vis du langage des jeunes en utilisant les concepts et outils sociolinguistiques actuels. Cette étude contient essentiellement deux parties. La première partie est largement centrée sur les méthodes et l'analyse métalinguistique, la seconde partie est la descripttion des données linguistiques qui se subdivise en une partie phonétique et une partie morphosyntaxique.

Il s'agit d'une étude de terrain qui comprend du matériel basé sur un certain nombre d'entretiens avec des adolescents maroco-néerlandais. Alors que la quantité de travail de terrain était suffisante pour l'objectif initial de l'étude, à savoir une description de la phonétique, pour creuser plus profondément et découvrir l'usage et l'idéologie linguistiques, des données métalinguistiques ont également été collectées. Ces données ont été utilisées pour découvrir des informations, non seulement sur la pratique de la langue, mais aussi sur les origines tribales, les stéréotypes culturels et l'utilisation de la langue d'origine. Les pratiques linguistiques interethniques, l'accent et le changement de code sont également inclus.

La deuxième partie traite de la phonétique segmentaire saillante, en commençant par les consonnes et en terminant par les voyelles. L'influence possible du substrat, principalement basée sur le tarifiyt berbère, et les différences intergénérationnelles et interethniques sont également esquissées. Dans la dernière partie, certains phénomènes morphosyntaxiques évidents sont évoqués, tels que le genre grammatical et le génitif.

Pour conclure, cette étude vise à donner un aperçu de la pratique, de la forme et de l'idéologie de la langue néerlandaise marocaine Gouda d'un point de vue sociolinguistique. Autrement dit, elle décrit l'interaction sociale et la pratique linguistique d'un point de vue multifocal et dynamique.

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Chapter 1
Introduction

<1> Moroccan Dutch plays a pivotal role in the development of a new (urban) variety of Dutch characterized, among others, by diverging phonetics from Indigenous Dutch.[1] The Moroccan Dutch (henceforth: MD) comprise the second largest migrant community in the Netherlands after the Turkish Dutch. Their migration started in the early sixties as the Dutch workforce ran short of manual laborers (cf. Bouras 2012; Obdeijn & De Mas 2012). Today, they mainly live in the big cities in the west of the Netherlands (*Randstad*). In 2016 their total number in the Netherlands was 385,761.[2] One of the cities with a relatively large MD population is Gouda, a relatively small city with little over 70.000 inhabitants, which has proportionally the largest Moroccan heritage community in the Netherlands with about 10% of the population.[3]

The MD are known to use Dutch as their main means of communication while at the same time retaining to a certain extent their heritage languages (cf. Dorleijn et al. 2005). The community in Gouda is quite homogeneous in that Tarifiyt Berber is the main heritage language, that is, the main language of most parents, while the size of other ethnic communities (Surinamese, Antillian and the Turkish population) is negligible.[4]

<2> Quite a number of studies on MD youth variety have appeared over the past two decades in the Netherlands (cf. Nortier, 2001, Dorleijn & Nortier 2006, Nortier & Dorleijn, 2008, Hinskens, 2011, 2014, van Meel, 2016). This is not without reason. While internal sociolinguistic dynamics of the MD group – language loss, partial maintenance and a fairly quick switch to the dominant language – may favor the development of a distinct (youth) variety, one should not underestimate the impact of the mainstream popular discourse (Storch 2018). With the demise of political correctness in Dutch politics and mainstream media following the assault on 9/11 and the rise of anti-islam rhetoric especially in the case of the assassinated politician Pim Fortuyn in 2002, the MD were a conspicuously targeted group. Polarization in Dutch society (and worldwide) increased in the beginning of the 2000s, which led to more clearly defined identities (Nortier & Dorelijn 2008). Furthermore, MD youngsters, partly based on their negative image, gained quite some prestige in the popular genres such as music, movies and fashion.

It is therefore not surprising that researchers started studying the MD youth variety, as they were closely connected to mainstream negative discourse. Simultaneously, some of the dis-advantaged profited from this constellation as they gained "presence in their engagement with power" (Sassen 2017:37ff). This divergence thus is both a consequence of marginalization and a gesture of resistance (cf. Lüpke & Storch 2013).

Many studies on MD frequently noted only some of its conspicuous phonetic characteristics. The conceptualization of the youth variety as an ephemeral and temporary construct certainly contributed to this approach. This changed notably with the advent of the *Roots of Ethnolects* project which has, as the title suggests, a different objective, namely the search for an ethnolect based on Moroccan and Turkish Dutch. The project has resulted in a number of important publications on the phonetics of Dutch youth varieties spoken by people from different heritage

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1 I use the term "Indigenous Dutch" following Kossmann (2017:3) who uses the explicitly exoticizing term "Indigenous Dutch" in order to counteract the implicit exoticization of a term like "Moroccan Dutch".

2 These numbers, from the *Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek* (CBS), refer to people who were born abroad or who have at least one parent who was born abroad. Dutch citizens with a Moroccan heritage fall into this category, however, note that people whose parents were both born in the Netherlands are not taken into account.

3 About half of the MD population in Gouda belongs to the second generation, meaning that they were born in the Netherlands and have at least one parent who was born in Morocco.

4 The Turkish Dutch, another large immigrant group in the Netherlands, are represented by only 459 people in Gouda in 2017.

backgrounds (cf. Hinskens 2011; van Meel et al. 2013, 2014, 2015; van Meel 2016).[5] It explores some of the conspicuous phonetic features of Dutch ethnic youth varieties in detail in two Dutch cities, Amsterdam and Nijmegen (cf. van Meel 2016). *Roots of Ethnolects* aimed at a quantitative comparison between speakers from four different social groups, two different age groups, two different cities, communicating in several speaker configurations. This has resulted in very detailed study of a limited number of variables.

<3> In the present study, I focus only on the MD, belonging to one age group (late teens), living in one city (Gouda), without big divergences in speaker configurations, aiming at capturing (part of) their language practice and its accompanying variables. What was lost vis-à-vis *Roots of Ethnolects* in the detail, was gained in breadth. The MD group in Gouda was sometimes contrasted with speakers from other groups (Indigenous Dutch, henceforth: ID and L2MD speakers, Moroccan Dutch speakers who migrated as adults to the Netherlands and therefore learned Dutch as a second or third language). This, however, was not done in the same consistent way as in *Roots of Ethnolects*. Moreover, I chose to make recordings in more or less natural conversational environments, while *Roots of Ethnolects* used a semi-experimental design (cf. van Meel 2016:9). This latter type of ethnolectal study is built upon two pillars: it uses quantitative sociolinguistic methods, while simultaneously focussing on language contact phenomena (cf. van Meel 2016:1; Muysken 2013).

In the present study, I aim to continue this line of study of phonetic features, with the difference that I view MD not as a stable set of linguistic rules and conventions obligatorily linked to a social group, i.e., an ethnolect. An ethnolect is more of a reified type of speech, which, in this case, without a doubt has its origins in the MD group, but ignores the dynamic, multilateral process wherein the speakers display their identity and agency (cf. Johnstone 2016). My approach allows one to circumvent the link of linguistic features solely with geography and demography and instead allows one to ask oneself how actual language practice, i.e. words, grammatical patterns and phonetic features "come to point to particular identities and activities" (Johnstone 2016:632).

1.1 Enregisterment and metalinguistic commentary

<4> The present study is a data-oriented study focusing on phonetic and grammatical description; it takes a critical stance with regard to the conceptualization of youth language. Rather than positioning oneself on an axis between ethnolect and stylistic practice, this study focusses on youth variety as part of a broader type of ordinary everyday language (cf. Nassenstein et al. 2018). First of all, youth variety is not necessarily confined to youth. In fact, a number of older people outside this study, exhibit the same type of language characteristics.[6] Indeed, the term "*contemporary urban vernaculars*" (Rampton 2011) captures more precisely speech styles that are not necessarily bound to age group or social group. Rather, a variety can in a certain context be a practice put on record as "youth language" while in another context it can be put down as "local" (Nassenstein, Hollington & Storch 2021). Here, the concept of enregisterment "*helps us see how linguistic variation becomes linked with (and may help create) contextual variation of any kind*" (Johnstone 2016). The concept has proven especially fruitful in the study of linguistic forms in combination with place. MD is for both linguists and lay people primarily linked with (ethnic) identity; however, as this study shows, location is an extremely relevant factor and cannot be ignored.

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[5] For more information and references to other studies the reader is referred to the website: http://www.rootsofethnolects.nl/.

[6] Sibilant palatalisation already existed among MD teenagers in 2002 in Gouda. From personal observation I know that people in their late thirties and forties use some of the features. What indexicalities they display remains an open question.

While in previous studies a major question in the analysis of speech forms such as the varieties of Dutch spoken by MD youngsters in Gouda was to what extent they should be considered ethnolects (e.g. Hinskens 2011; van Meel 2016) or specific speech styles (like Moroccan Flavored Dutch, Nortier & Dorleijn 2008), I would rather consider MD as a grouping of features with converging, but not necessarily identical, indexicalities (as suggested in Kossmann 2017). Indexicality is a key concept in the framework developed by anthropologists linking "social meanings" with linguistic choices, which by virtue of their interconnectedness can become understood as varieties (Johnstone 2016:633; cf. Silverstein 1993, 2003; Agha 2007). A particular word or feature may be used in connection with "*a particular style of dress or grooming, a particular set of social alignments, or a particular social activity*" so that it *"may evoke and/or create a social identity…*" (Johnstone 2016:633).

<5> The methodology adopted in this study of group interviews for the purpose of linguistic description did not include tests aiming at capturing style shifting as found in classical variationist interviews (Labov 2000, cf. Labov 1966). Thus, for example, no word-reading task was performed. The reason behind this is that the participants were told beforehand about the subject of the investigation (how MD speakers in Gouda speak), so that a reading test could both lead to upward style shifting as intended by the method, and to stereotyping. My aim is therefore to understand youth language as fluid, dynamic and part of changing repertoires (Nassenstein et al. 2018). Youth language practices are understood as "*ways of making secrecy, as a device of stylizing and constructing identity, challenging social norms and restrictions, and claiming agency against others*" (Hollington & Nassenstein 2015a: 2ff). MD may be considered a creative way of playing with "*non-standard language and anti-normative enregisterment*" which, like all register-like languages, includes "*conscious language engineering*" (Nassenstein et al. 2018). Speech varieties such as these contain vocabulary and phonological or phonetic features that are "*emblematic of non-conformity to social norms in a [larger] community*", as will be illustrated in due course in the metalinguistic comments (Nassenstein et al. 2018).
In many instances the agency of the speaker is undeniable. For example, participant MD-B was interviewed several times (see 1.5.1). In his first interview, which partly focused on his educational aspirations, he displayed a speech "style" very close to ideas of standard ID when speaking with the interviewer. In other interviews and during side-conversations with other Gouda MD youth, his "style" acquired more deviant features.

<6> The interviews in this study are slightly ambiguous as to the conditions for style choice. On the one hand, the inherent formality of any interview situation with an unknown, highly educated person who is 10 to 15 years older could easily trigger a rather formal style (as in the case of MD-B during his first interview with the author). On the other hand, the interviews were carried out in rather informal contexts, e.g. on the street, in a Taekwondo club, often with other MD-background peers. The general topics of the interviews, and the interviewer being of MD background himself, could certainly be an incitement to generally using a less formal and more "Moroccan Flavored" style (cf. Nortier & Dorleijn 2008).
Here I had to face the interview "problem": very few studies are based on immersion field-work of linguists who spent a longer period of time in the respective communities. Many studies are based on short overview descriptions which reveal little of the social interactions of the speakers (cf. Beyer 2014, 2015).
This problem was alleviated by the large number of questions about daily language usage. The resulting metalinguistic comments, which form a large part of the interviews, indicate that different speakers do make different conscious choices (cf. chapter 2). Metalinguistic commentary proves to be a solid method to uncover linguistic usage and ideology (cf. Gal & Irvine 1995).

<7> A case in point is the metalinguistic commentary on sibilant palatalization, a typical feature of MD, not only in Gouda. Sibilant palatalization is a process in which Dutch /s/ and /z/ become palatalized into /š/ [ʃ] and /ž/ [ʒ] in certain linguistic environments (cf. Mourigh 2017). When

asked what is typical of their way of speaking, sibilant palatalization is among the first phonetic features mentioned by the speakers, usually immediately after mentioning typical lexical items, showing that this linguistic feature ranks high on their awareness level (Int. = interviewer, MD = Moroccan Dutch teenager).

Int.	*Maar wat is zeg maar typisch voor, als je iets moet noemen, typisch Gouds?* *Van ... hoe jullie praten zeg maar.*	But what is typical for, if you have to name something, typical about Gouda? Like ... how you talk, say.
MD-I	*Typisch Gouds?*	Typical about Gouda?
MD-E	"*šo*!" *Dat is het joh.*	"wow!" That's it.
MD-I	*Ja, die "š", "šla šnijden", zo praten wij meer.*	Yes, that "š", "cut lettuce", that's how we talk.
MD-U	"*šneeuw*"	"snow"
MD-I	"*šneeuw*"	"snow"
MD-U	"*Het heeft gešneeuwd*"	"It has snowed."
Int.	*Ja, ja, ja.*	Yes, yes, yes.
MD-I	*Je weet toch?*	You know?
Int.	*Ja, ik hoor het wel vaak bij Marokkanen*.	Yes, I often hear it with Moroccans.
MD-I	*Ja, dat hebben wij echt veel*.	Yes, we have that a lot.
MD-E	"*žo!*" "*žo*" *ook, i weḷḷah*[7]	Like this!" "Like this" as well, [I swear].

<8> In another interview, immediately following the interview from which the previous excerpt was extracted, the speakers recognize the forms after the interviewer asks them about the use of the form *žo* (Dutch *zo*), "like this". MD-F, who uses /šC/ consistently during the interview, demonstrates that he can manipulate his speech, a form of less explicit metalinguistic awareness.

Int.	*Iemand zei net tegen mij "žo".*	Somebody just told me: "like this".
MD-V	"*žo*"*, ja (lachen)*	"Like this", yes (laughter)
MD-G	*Ja, "žometeen".*	Yes, "in a moment".
MD-F	*Of de "s", "šchool", "šchool", niet "school", maar "šchool".*	Or the "s", "ʃχool", "ʃχool", not "sχool", but "ʃχool".[8]
MD-G	"*šchuur", "šchool"*	"shed", "school"
MD-V	"*šchoenen"*	"shoes"
MD-G	*Ja, dat wel.*	Yes, that's true.
MD-V	*Dat ook, heb je, hoor je veel.*	Yes, that as well, you hear that a lot.

<9> It is clear that the speakers are aware of their deviant "accent". When asked why they speak in this manner, a very interesting comment is made on the social meaning of this feature. They do

[7] The transcription of Berber and Arabic follows standard transcription rules. The consonants are ḷ = [lˤ], ṛ = [rˤ], ṣ = [sˤ], ṭ = [tˤ], ẓ = [zˤ], x = [x], ɣ = [ɣ], ḥ = [ħ], ḍ = [dˤ], ɛ = [ʕ] ř = [r], ž = [ʒ], š = [ʃ], e = [ə].

[8] In the English translation I have chosen to represent only the divergent features with IPA symbols.

not comment only on the way they speak. The following fragment shows that sibilant palatalization refers to a way of being, in other words, it present a stance (Mourigh 2017, cf. Kiessling 2009).

Int.	*Doe jullie dat expres?*	Do you do that on purpose?
MD-U	*Nee, zo zijn wij allemaal.*	No, that's the way we all are.
MD-I	*Zo zijn wij (lachen).*	That's the way we are (laughter).
Int.	*Is het natuurlijk om zo te praten?*	Is it natural to speak that way?
MD-U	*Bij ons is dat allemaal zo.*	With us, everybody does that.
MD-I	*šo ben ik ook.*	That's how I am.
MD-E	*šo ben ik (lachen).*	That's how I am (laughter).

<10> These examples illustrate that it is necessary to pay attention not only to the linguistic forms the speakers use, but also to "[*the*] *metapragmatic activities in which they create and circulate ideas about how they talk*" (Johnstone et al. 2006:99). There are different types of metalinguistic commentary; three subtypes of "metalanguage" can be distinguished, two of which are relevant for our study (Preston 2004). The first type is overt comments about language and linguistic features. The second type is "*where a speaker uttering metalanguage type I observes, that, for instance, AAVE sounds like "hybyahubyhuby"… and then evaluates it explicitly by saying that persons speaking in this way are lazy…*" (cf. Nortier & Dorleijn 2017). The combination of the two types of metalanguage makes the underlying language ideology more insightful for the linguistic researcher. An insightful definition of language ideology may be the following one (cf. Nortier & Dorleijn 2017:3):

> "In the realm of social life in general, more or less coherent patterns of meaning which are felt to be so commonsensical that they are no longer questioned, thus feeding into taken for-granted interpretations of activities and events, are usually called ideologies. (…) when elements of metapragmatic awareness can be seen to form persistent frames of interpretations related to the nature and social functioning of language which are no longer subject to doubt or questioning, it becomes possible to talk about ideologies of language." (Verschueren 2004:65)

<11> Taking into account the previous arguments, we can then define a metalinguistic comment as "*A comment on language which a) makes clear that the issuer is aware of the pertaining linguistic item or variety; b) has an evaluative character, and c) implicitly expresses underlying ideologies (as defined by Verschueren above)*." (Nortier & Dorleijn 2017:3).
Metalinguistic comments come in a number of guises. They can be verbal or non-verbal. In our study mainly verbal comments such as puns and other-correcting appear, however, the main type of metalinguistic comment is reported speech. Non-verbal comments such as laughter occasionally appear in metalinguistic comments as well.
The advantage of this method is that, it is a quick and efficient means of collecting data. The fuller picture of the "total linguistic fact" that emerges helps understanding the development of ongoing language contact (Silverstein 1985). Traditional sociolinguistic interviews require a lot of preparation and methodological robustness, something I did not aim at from the outset.

<12> In this introduction background information about the setting, methods, fieldwork and speaker choice is discussed, after and during which metalinguistic comments are provided. The core of this book consists of a primary description of the data, which was the main goal from the beginning, supplemented with metalinguistic comments to uncover linguistic ideologies.

Possible substrate effects from the heritage languages will be touched upon as well. In this way, I will attempt to combine an emic and etic perspective to describe Gouda MD.
The MD accent is prominent in Dutch urban youth vernacular. Therefore a substantial part of this study is devoted to the phonetics. Since the phonetics of a language variety comprise many aspects, choices had to be made about the specific topics. The main part of this study therefore focusses on the segmental phonetics. Some conspicuous morpho-syntactic features will be commented upon in the final chapters.

1.2 The MD in Gouda

<13> Most people of Moroccan heritage in Gouda originate from the region of Nador in northern Morocco, specifically from the Ait Said (or: Bni Said) tribal area. Recent research confirms the dominant presence of people from this region (de Mas 2017).
The speakers were always queried about their linguistic and cultural background. These meta-comments reveal interesting information about the facts, but also about implicit ideas or ideologies, thus forming a valuable qualitative supplement to the existing statistical data. Below, I provide some comments on the cultural background of the speakers according to the speakers themselves. These comments show that the MD teenagers are very well aware of each other's Moroccan regional background, even though they were all born in the Netherlands. The comments confirm the data that many people are indeed from the Ait Said, as are the two speakers in the following fragment.

Int.	*ook Ait Said veel of?*	A lot of Ait Said or?
MD-A	*Ait Said, Nador, alles.*	Ait Said, Nador, everything.
Int	*In deze regio heb je echt die groep hè?*	In this region, it is really that group huh?
MD-A	*Ja, ook Ait Waryagheř heb je ook heel veel hiero.*	Yes, there are many Ait Waryaɣeř as well here.
Int.	*Ja?*	Yes?
MD-A	*Ja, [ṣḥab] Al Hoceima heb je ook heel veel hier.*	Yes, there are a lot of [people of] Al Hoceima as well.
MD-S	*Maar die zitten dan weer verdeeld een beetje, Oosterwei.*	But they are a bit scattered, Oosterwei.
MD-A	*Ja, verschillend, Bloemendaal [iɛemmar s] Ait Said en zo.*	Yes, it differs. Bloemendaal [is full of] Ait Said etc.
Int.	*Want zeg maar, waar de meesten zitten is Oosterwei?*	Most are in Oosterwei?
MD-A	*Oosterwei zitten echt, ja maar,* *weet je wat het met Oosterwei is, die,* *Goverwelle is gewoon precies daarnaast, bijvoorbeeld [aqq-c]* *hier is Oosterwei, Goverwelle zit er gewoon tegenaan geplakt.* *Dus al die gasten van Goverwelle komen naar Oosterwei* *en dan chillen ze hem daar* *met zijn allen, [tfehmed]?*	In Oosterwei there really are, yes but, you know what the thing is with Oosterwei, that, Goverwelle is exactly next to it, for example [look] Oosterwei is here, Goverwelle is stuck to it. So, all those guys from Goverwelle go to Oosterwei to hang out together, [you understand]?

Int.	*En Korte Akkeren daar zitten ook veel Marokkanen?*	And Korte Akkeren, are there many Moroccans as well?
MD-A	*Ja, daar zitten ook veel Marokkanen, bij de Herenstraat daarzo in de buurt, bij de Plus.*	Yes, there are many Moroccans as well, near the Herenstraat, at the Plus (supermarket).

<14> This shows that not only the general Moroccan identity is important in Gouda, but also local affiliations. On several occasions, the author was asked about his own background, as in the following fragment. The end of the fragment reveals a possible stigma about other tribal groups.

MD-I	*En waar kom jij vandaan?*	And where are you from?
Int.	*Ik kom uit Nador.*	I'm from Nador.
MD-I	*Nador?*	Nador?
Int.	*Ja, [Azɣenɣan]*	Yes, [Zegangan].
MD-I	*Ja, [aqeřɛi].*	Yes, [aqeřɛi] (a tribal group).
Int.	*[Aqeřɛi].*	[Aqeřɛi].
MD-I	*Ja, die hebben we ook hiero (lachen).*	Yes, we have them here as well (laughter).
MD-U	*Ja, die zijn we helemaal zat (lachen).*	Yes, we're fed up with them (laughter).
MD-I	*Ja, die zijn er ook hoor, maar die zijn we helemaal zat (lachen).*	Yes, they are here as well, we're really fed up with them (laughter).

Another fragment confirms the stereotypes that exist about people with other tribal affiliations.

MD-P	[*Ait Waryaɣeřs] vinden zichzelf de beste,* *meeste die ik ken,* *zeggen ze altijd wij zijn de besten.*[9]	[Ait Waryaɣeřs] think they are the best, the most I know, they always say: we are the best.

<15> Furthermore, the ideological and linguistic differences between Arabic and Berber heritage language speakers are another relevant factor. Not only do the speakers remark on their differing languages, one speaker also stresses the perceived cultural differences between Arabs and Berbers. In the following fragment, a teenager who is of mixed Arabic/Berber origin but was raised in Arabic, gives his perspective on the difference.

MD-H	*Zo'n mattie van mij is ook Berber,* *maar ik merk aan hem bijvoorbeeld zijn ouders zijn wat strenger.* *Nou, bijvoorbeeld mijn moeder, weet je,* *ik weet niet of dat...* *persoonlijke mening is,*	This friend of mine is Berber, but I notice that his parents are stricter. Well, for example, my mother, you know, I don't know if that is my personal opinion,
	maar weet je dat merk ik gewoon, weet je, *dat Berbers onderling,* *ik weet niet, over het algemeen,*	but, you know, I just notice, you know, that Berbers among each other, I don't know, in general,

[9] Note the plural Dutch *-s* on the plural Berber ethnonym *Ait Waryaɣeř* "people of *Waryaɣeř*".

	zijn volgens mij wel wat strenger dan Arabische gezinnen, Arabische ouders.	they are stricter than Arabic families, Arabic parents.
Int.	*Maar hoe bedoel je strenger dan, wat?*	But what do you mean by stricter?
MD-H	*A gewoon, a gewoon qua regels qua…, weet je, bijvoorbeeld uh, ja, wat zal ik zeggen?* *Als ik bijvoorbeeld een weekendje weg wil met deze boys,* *kan gewoon, weet je, als ze bij mij gaan logeren,* *kan gewoon, maar bijvoorbeeld met andere vrienden,* *Berberse vrienden die ik heb uh,* *ja, dan is het echt van uh,* *ja broer, ik moet om uh zo laat thuis zijn,* *want ja, mijn moeder heeft me nodig,* *mijn vader heeft me nodig, van ja,* *ik moet eventjes iemand ophalen.*	Well just the rules and, in fact, you know, for example, yes, what can I say? If I want to go somewhere on a weekend trip with these guys, that's possible, you know, if they come and stay over, that's possible, but for example with other friends, Berber friends that I have, well, then really they are like: Well, brother, I have to be home at this time because my mother needs me, my father needs me. Yes, I need to pick up someone.
MD-H	*Moet, moet, is echt volgens de regels, snap je?* *Wij zijn, ik weet niet.* *Ik heb vaak het gevoel dat wij meer worden losgelaten.* *Je weet toch, wij hebben meer die vrijheid.*	They have to, according to the rules, you understand? We are, I don't know. I often have the feeling that they leave us freer. You know, we have more freedom.

<16> It may be inferred from this discourse that the perceived cultural difference is in fact a difference of community size. Berbers are part of a larger community in Gouda and are generally more dependent or subject to social control and obligations. It also shows that the MD in Gouda are a small tight-knit community. In the following excerpt, the interviewer asks whether MD in Gouda know each other while another group of youngsters walks past.

Int.	*Kent iedereen elkaar, kennen Marokkanen elkaar?*	Does everybody know each other?
MD-E	*Ja, ja.*	Yes, yes.
MD-I	*Iedereen kent elkaar.*	Everybody knows each other.
Int.	*Ja?*	Yes?
MD-I	*Het is niet net als Rotterdam. Rotterdam, als ik bijvoorbeeld in het centrum daar loop.*	It is not like Rotterdam. Rotterdam, if I'm in the center there.
MD-E	*Daar loopt ding va, van die wijk.*	There is that guy, from that neighbourhood.
MD-I	*Uit Zuid, uit Oost, Noord, je weet toch, is anders.*	From South, from East, North, you know, it's different.
MD-E	*Uit Zuid, dit, dat, Mo die [buyiẓẓan] uit Oost.*	From South, this, that, Mo that [shithead] from East.

MD-I	*Nee, hier niet,* *hier iedereen kent elkaar, letterlijk* *iedereen.*	No, not here, here everybody knows each other. Literally everybody.
MD-E	*Hier [feckal], dat is [feckal] aan Gouda,* *we kennen elkaar, iedereen groet elkaar,* *ook al haten ze elkaar*	Here [great], that is [great] about Gouda, we all know each other, and everybody greets each other, even though they hate each other.

While there are many more interesting comments on the cultural intricacies of the Gouda MD community, I cannot pursue this issue further here. These comments show that there is a relatively big community with many people from the same region.

1.3 Heritage language use

<17> Morocco is a multilingual country with three major Berber languages spoken in the North-East (Tarifiyt), central Morocco (Tamazight), and Southern Morocco (Tashelhiyt). The lingua franca is Moroccan Arabic, which shows some dialect variation (cf. Heath 2002). Standard Arabic is the language of education, i.e., of reading and recited texts. It plays an important role in religious life and in the media (cf. Ennaji 1999). However, it is rarely used for every-day communication. In addition, French is quite influential: mainly educated, city-dwelling people have a good command of this language. Spanish used to be the language of the colonial zone of the North and still plays a role in cities bordering the Spanish enclaves Melilla and Ceuta (cf. Vicente 2011).

The spoken languages Moroccan Arabic and Berber have a low status compared to the written languages Standard Arabic and French. Standard Arabic is the language of education and religion, while French is the language associated with business, commerce and modernity (cf. Ennaji 1999, Youssi 1995). Moroccan Arabic has a lower status, but still functions, often in combination with Standard Arabic, as a general lingua franca. Berber languages have an even lower status and are viewed by many people as local dialects (cf. Ennaji 1999).[10] All male Berber speakers speak Moroccan Arabic but Berber is hardly ever learned by a Moroccan Arabic speaker.

<18> In Gouda a large percentage of the MD community have Tarifiyt Berber as their home language or their mother tongue. People who were born and raised in the Netherlands mainly use Dutch in daily life while Berber or (dialectal) Arabic is mostly used with parents, often with Dutch code-switching (already in 1980s, cf. de Ruiter, 1989). Berber and Arabic can therefore be considered heritage languages (cf. Montrul 2016).

The variety of Dutch spoken in Gouda belongs to the western varieties on which standard Dutch is based (cf. Smakman 2006:37). A study of the Gouda dialect appeared fifty years ago; it was then already based on old people's speech (Lafeber 1967). This dialect does not exist any longer, although some features may have survived. The general idea is that the dialect of Gouda has become part of a larger shared variety (sub)standard Dutch (cf. Geeraerts & Van de Velde 2013:542-545).

<19> For MD who were born and raised in the Netherlands, Dutch is the preferred language (cf. Dorleijn et al. 2005). Their mastery of the heritage languages lags behind in comparison to their peers in Morocco (cf. Aissati 1997; E-Rremdani 2003). The MD community in Gouda does not diverge from this pattern. The speakers indicate that *straattaal*, a variety of Dutch which is a (stylistic) combination of Sranan Tongo (Surinamese) lexicon and Moroccan accent, is not used in Gouda by the MD speakers (cf. Nortier & Dorleijn 2008; Appel 1999; Appel & Schoonen

[10] Despite efforts in the past dedicated to promoting the Berber language(s), its status in daily usage has hardly changed.

2005). For them the term *straattaal* necessarily implies Sranan Tongo lexicon. The use of this lexicon is stigmatized by the MD and mainly associated with the big city and black people (cf. Mourigh 2017; Kossmann 2017). Instead, they use a youth variety based mainly on Berber lexicon. It appears to be the main youth variety in Gouda (cf. Mourigh 2017). Most teenagers indicate that they still use the heritage languages. Therefore, metalinguistic comments on heritage language usage and Dutch are presented below. In addition, the comments of an older MD speaker who is very active within the community will be included.

Int.	*Wat praten jullie thuis?*	What do you speak at home?
MD-U	*Arabisch*	Arabic
MD-E	*Arabisch*	Arabic
MD-I	*Berbers*	Berber
Int.	*Praat je altijd Arabisch thuis?*	Do you always speak Arabic at home?
MD-E	*Ja*	Yes
Int.	*Of doe je een beetje mixen, soms Nederlands, soms Arabisch?*	Or do you mix a bit, sometimes Dutch, sometimes Arabic?
MD-U	*Nee, man, bij mij thuis totaal niet zelfs*	No, man, at home totally not.
MD-E	*(CLICK) nee, man*	No, man.
Int.	*En Berbers ook gewoon 100%?*	And Berber also 100%?
MD-I	*Ja, ik versta wel Arabisch en zo,* *ik kan het wel een beetje praten,* *maar uh thuis is gewoon echt Berbers*	Yes, I understand Arabic, I can speak it a bit, but at home it is really Berber.
Int.	*Ja, ja, en zeg maar met broertjes en zusjes?*	Yes, yes, and say with brothers and sisters?
MD-I	*Nee, broertje en zu…, tenminste* *ik heb alleen maar broers, alleen maar Nederlands.* *Ja, niet, ik weet niet,* *Nederlands met paar Marokkaanse woorden tussen,* *ik weet niet.* *Gewoon als het, soms Marokkaans,* *soms Nederlands, soms uh,* *verschillend.*	No, brothers and sis… well, I only have brothers, only Dutch. Well, not, I don't know, Dutch with a couple of Moroccan words in between, I don't know. Like, sometimes Moroccan, sometimes Dutch, sometimes, different.
Int.	*Je gebruikt wel meer Nederlands dan, als je met je broers praat?*	You use more Dutch then, when you talk with your brothers?
MD-I	*Ja, dan wel.*	Yes, then I do.

<20> Another interview confirms the maintenance of the heritage language at home; we can conclude from it that this relates especially to the communication with their parents. However, matters are a bit more complex for the following speaker. In this excerpt, the difference between linguistic ideology and practice is mentioned. While the speaker should speak Berber at home

and Dutch outside, in reality Berber and Dutch are mixed in the communication with the parents.

Int.	*Wat praten jullie thuis eigenlijk?*	What do you speak at home?
MD-A	*Berbers*	Berber
Int.	*Met je ouders?*	With your parents?
MD-A	*Ja*	Yes
Int.	*Altijd? Of doe je soms ook zeg maar Nederlandse woorden?*	Always? Or do you do Dutch words sometimes?
MD-A	*Ja, soms praat ik ook gewoon,* *met mijn moeder praat ik af en toe gewoon ook Nederlands.* *En ja, met mijn vader ook soms gewoon.* *Maar sinds jongs af aan al, als ik thuis kom, ze zeggen tegen mij:* "*thuis praat je Berbers, buiten praat je maar Nederlands, zo.* "	Yes, sometimes I speak, with my mother I sometimes just speak Dutch. And yes, with my father as well sometimes. But since I was young, when I come home, they tell me: "At home you speak Berber, outside you speak Dutch, like that."

The rationale behind this ideology is, according to the speakers, the communicative function of Berber with non-Dutch speakers, as the same speaker reports to us in the following excerpt.

MD-A	*Waarom? Anders gaan wij, je weet toch, op vakantie,* *we kennen geen Berbers niks, dat staat ook niet, snap je?* *Dat is ook weer sfettaḥ, je weet toch.* *Ken je niet met je oma, met je eigen opa praten,* *dat is erg a ṣaḥbi.*	Why? Because otherwise we go, you know, on holiday, we don't know Berber, nothing, that is not acceptable, you understand? That's also [shameful], you know. You can't talk to your grandmother or your grandfather, that's bad [my friend].

<21> Undoubtedly, the same is true for speakers of Moroccan Arabic. Thus, in the following excerpt, another speaker confirms that the heritage language is alive and kicking and is frequently used in intergenerational communication, but that Dutch is the preferred language of everyday intragenerational communication.

Int.	*Praat je ook vooral Arabisch met dinges*?	Do you speak Arabic with thingy?
MD-F	*Ik ben Arabisch opgevoed. Ook gewoon Nederlands, allebei.*	I was raised in Arabic. Also Dutch, both.
Int.	*Maar als je thuis*?	But if you at home?
MD-F	*Allebei, ligt eraan.*	Both, it depends.
Int.	*Is het dan een mix, dat je de ene keer de ene taal gebruikt en..*	Is it a mix, that you use one language one time and..

MD-F	*Ja, is gewoon mix, is gewoon allebei.*	Yes, it is a mix, both.
Int.	*En is er nog een verschil of je, zeg maar, met je ouders praat of met je broertjes en zusjes*?	And is there a difference if you, say, talk to your parents or with your brothers and sisters?
MD-F	*Nee, dat niet echt.*	No, not really.
MD-G	*Nee, met me broertjes praat ik ook gewoon soms Arabisch.*	No, with my brothers I sometimes speak Arabic as well.
Int.	*Ja*?	Yes?
MD-G	*Ja*.	Yes.
Int.	*Zeg je: [jib-li dak]*	Do you say: …[give me that…]
MD-G	*Ja, zoals als je iets wil gaan halen of als je iets wil vragen, ja.*	Yes, like if you want to get something or if you want to ask something, yes.
MD-F	*Korte dingen.*	Short things.
MD-G	*Niet echt lang of zo, maar*	Not really long or so, but.
Int.	*Niet hele verhalen of zo*?	Not complete stories or so?
MD-G	*Nee.*	No.
Int.	*En jij*?	And you?
MD-H	*Ja, ik ook, nee, met mijn moeder praat ik Arabisch,* *met mijn zussen, broers, Nederlands.*	Yes, me too, no, with my mother I speak Arabic, with my sisters, brothers, Dutch.

<22> An older MD participant tells us something about language use in the MD community in Gouda. He has been active in civic associations for a considerable period and knows many members of the MD community. He works especially with youngsters (homework tutoring and social work). His comments confirm the general idea that young MD predominantly speak Dutch among each other.

Int.	*Ja, praat je [Tmazixt] met hun?*	Yes, do you speak [Berber] with them?
L2MD-B	*Ja, ik praat met hun [Tmazixt],* *maar hun praten alleen Nederlands.*	Yes, I speak [Berber] with them, but they only speak Dutch.
L2MD-D	*Maar hun begrijp jou.*	But they understand you.
L2MD-B	*Die grote wel, die kleintjes mmm*	The big one does, the little ones mmm
L2MD-D	*Ja, nou bij iedereen*	Well, with everybody
L2MD-B	*Ik wil graag dat ze Arabisch leren en, snap je, maar*	I want them to learn Arabic and, you know, but
Int.	*[Tmazixt] of Arabisch?*	[Berber] or Arabic?
L2MD-B	*[Tmazixt] en Arabisch, maar niks,* *het lukt niet, alleen maar Nederlands.*	[Berber] and Arabic, but nothing, it doesn't work, just Dutch.
Int.	*En met hun moeder?*	And with their mother?
L2MD-B	*Zelfde, ook Nederlands*	The same, also Dutch.

Int.	*De moeder praat alleen maar [Tmazixt] met hun,* *maar toch, ze krijgt Nederlands terug.*	Their mother speaks only [Berber] with them, but still, she gets Dutch back.
L2MD-B	*Op school ook tijdens rapport en alles: wat praat je met hun thuis?* *Ik zeg: ik praat alleen maar Arabisch uh [Tmazixt], Berbers.* *Ik zeg: ik wil graag dat ze Arabisch praten.*	At school as well, when discussing reports etc.: "what do you speak to them at home? I say: "I only speak Arabic uh [Berber], Berber." I say: "I want them to speak Arabic."
Int.	*Wat zegt ze dan de lerares?*	What does the teacher say then?
L2MD-B	*Jij moet Nederlands met hun praten.* *Ik zeg: ik wil liever dat hun Arabisch praten, het lukt mij niet.* *Ik moet iets doen om hun Arabisch te praten en het lukt mij niet.* *Nederlands praten ze automatisch.*	You have to speak Dutch with them. I say: "I prefer them to speak Arabic, but I can't get them to." I have to do something to make them speak Arabic, but I can't. They speak Dutch automatically.
Int.	*En onderling?*	And among each other?
L2MD-B	*Alleen Nederlands. Maar niet alleen bij hun.* *Als je nu op de straat loopt, zie je twee Marokkanen,* *moet je eens luisteren, ze praten alleen Nederlands.* *En zie je twee Turken, die praten alleen maar Turks. Ga, ga, ga onderzoeken!*	Only Dutch. But not only them. If you go out on the street, and you see two Moroccans, listen to them, they only speak Dutch. When you see two Turks, they only speak Turkish. Go, go, go and research!

<23> A moment later in the conversation the interviewee resumes the topic. He again draws the comparison with the other large minority group in the Netherlands, the Turkish Dutch.

L2MD-B	*[Qa] ik heb nooit zo'n dom volk gezien,* *[weḷḷah] als wij.* *Waarom? Je ziet vier, vijf Marokkanen,* *uh oudere een beetje,* *[weḷḷah] als je er langs loopt, hoor je Nederlands,* *dan denk ik, soms denk ik hè,* *waarom praten we Nederlands eigenlijk?* *En bij Turken niet.*	[Indeed] I have never seen such a stupid people, [By God] like us. Why? You'll see four, five Moroccans, older ones a bit, [By God] if you walk past them, you hear Dutch, and then I think, sometimes I think: Hé, why do we speak Dutch? And the Turkish do not.

<24> Even though Dutch is the dominant language of the MD second generation, and though the heritage languages are mainly used in intergenerational communication, and for short code-switches in intra-generational conversation, there are some metacomments to be made about their strategic use. In some contexts, the heritage languages are used to exclude non-speakers communicatively or socially (Jaspers 2004:287).

Int.	*Je zei dat je het zeg maar een beetje mixt af en toe,*	You said that you sometimes mix it now and then,

	[Tmazixt] en Nederlands, als je met elkaar praat.	[Berber] and Dutch, when you talk to each other
MD-A	*Ja, als je met elkaar bent wel, ja.*	Yes, if you're with each other, yes.
Int.	*Maar is het dan meer Nederlands of meer [Tmazixt] of een beetje allebei?*	But is it more Dutch or more [Berber] or both a little bit?
MD-A	*Gewoon een beetje allebei, ja, soms meer Nederlands,* *maar als een [aṛumi] bijvoorbeeld naast ons komt zitten,* *Nederlander, dan gaan wij volop Berbers gewoon praten, je weet toch?* *Want dan hoeft hij niet, als het, als het iets is* *wat hij niet hoeft te weten,* *dan houden we het gewoon onderling snap je?*	Just both a little bit, sometimes more Dutch, only if a [Dutchman] for example comes and sits next to us, Dutchman, then we speak Berber a lot, you know? Because he doesn't have to, if, if it is something that he doesn't need to know, then we keep it among us, you know?

<25> In one interview I, as a linguist, ask the speakers if they think it would be bad if Berber or Arabic would cease to exist as a spoken language in the Netherlands. Interestingly, the use of Berber is associated with backwardness and life on the street, revealing the low status of this language and, possibly, one of the reasons why there is an ongoing language shift.

Int.	*Je hebt nu kinderen, weet je wel, die kunnen geen,* *misschien verstaan ze een paar woordjes of zo.* *Maar ze kunnen niet goed…ze kunnen niet praten.*	There are children now, you know, they can't, maybe they understand a couple of words. But they can't speak…
MD-I	*Ja*	Yes.
Int.	*Maar zouden jullie het erg vinden…stel je voor…* *jouw kinderen bijvoorbeeld.* *Zou je het erg vinden* *als ze geen Berbers meer kunnen praten?*	But would you think it's bad…imagine… your children for example. Would you think it's bad if they can't speak Berber anymore?
MD-I	*Ik weet het niet. Ik zeg je eerlijk.* *Als ik zo kijk,* *ik wil wel dat-ie beter leven heeft dan mij, weet je.*	I don't know. I'll tell you the truth. If I look at it in this way, I want him to have a better life than me, you know.
MD-U	*Ik wil niet dat-ie elke dag shisha gaat roken of...* *ik wil dat-ie van school*	I don't want him to smoke shisha every day or… I want him to come from school
MD-I	*Als-ie op leeftijd is, dat-ie dat kan doen.* *Dat-ie gewoon normaal iemand is, ja toch,* *hij doet geen [ssdaɛ] of zo, hij doet geen politie.* *Denk ik bij mezelf: chicha kan.*	When he reaches a certain age he can do that. If he's just a regular person, doesn't cause [trouble] or so, doesn't do police. Then I think: shisha is possible.

<26> Furthermore, the multilingual background of the Moroccan community does not facilitate communication in one of the heritage languages. Because many Berber speakers do not speak Arabic and Arabic speakers generally do not learn Berber, Dutch is used, as exemplified in the following excerpt.

MD-B	*Op school komt er iemand weet je hij is Tunesisch*	At school somebody comes who you know is Tunisian,
	moet je Arabisch met hem praten.	you have to speak Arabic to him.
	Komt er iemand je weet hij is Berbers…	Or somebody comes you know he is Berber…
	maar soms zit je met iemand hij is Marokkaans,	but sometimes you're with somebody who's Moroccan,
	dan moet ik denken:	and then I have to think:
	oké, moet ik nou Berbers of Arabisch met hem praten,	alright, do I have to speak Berber or Arabic with him,
	want het is altijd een gok.	because I have to guess.
	Dan zeg ik tegen hem: [iwa, mliḥ nix?]	Then I tell him: [he, how are you?]
	En dan: [a] ik weet niet wat je zegt a [mattie],	And then: [well] I don't know what you're saying my [friend],
	want ik ben Arabisch.	I'm Arabic.

<27> Finally, an excerpt shows that a language used at home is Dutch as well, even though the teenagers mostly say they combine the heritage language and Dutch.

MD-D	*Beetje lastig man, gewoon even kijken, iwa, als we iets gaan eten of zo.*	That's tricky man, let's see. Well, if we're going to eat something,
	Wat gaan we eten? [Min ɣa necc?]	what are we going to eat? [what are we going to eat?].
	Dat zeg ik niet gelijk, ik zeg gewoon wat gaan we eten,	I wouldn't say that directly, I just say what are we going to eat,
	standaard, ik zeg dat automatisch.	normally, I say that automatically.
Int.	*Maar als je bijvoorbeeld zegt, pak iets, weet je wel,*	But if you say for example, get something, you know, get,
	pak, geef me de afstandbediening of zo.	give me that remote control.
MD-D	*Dat zeg ik wel in het Nederlands.*	I would say that in Dutch.

These comments show that Berber and Arabic are heritage languages in the sense of Montrul (2016). In a recent immigrant community one would expect a large amount of interspeaker variation pertaining to the level of perceptive and productive proficiency. However, the comments do not show how the heritage languages are actually used by the youngsters. In chapter 7 some examples of code-switching and lexical insertions will be discussed.

1.4 Methods of inquiry

<28> The data in the present study is taken from a corpus of interviews conducted by the author with MD youth in Gouda from 2014 until 2017 for the purpose of a phonetic and grammatical description. Most interviews were conducted in 2014 when the author visited Gouda on a regular basis. I first contacted a taekwondo teacher whom I had known for many years. The teacher, who is of Moroccan Berber origin, teaches taekwondo to (mainly) MD children and

teenagers. I was able to conduct several interviews between the training sessions in the hallway or in a separate closed dressing room. The recordings were a good way of getting in touch with some MD teenagers, but the situation was not ideal because of the limited time between training sessions and other obligations the teenagers were bound to. Although in the end a reasonable amount of material was recorded in this context, I still decided to visit other places where teenagers have more leisure time. Afterwards, I decided to go to a school for lower vocational education (*ID-college*) where a large slice of the population is MD. A number of interviews were conducted outside the school in a quiet park. Simultaneously, I frequented the city center on Thursday evening when the shops stay open until late. At that time groups of teenagers hang out or walk around in the city center. One interview was conducted in a car with the relatives of a friend who are from Gouda and another interview was conducted in an educational center. All interviews were conducted in Dutch, with occasional Berber or Arabic code-switching. The interviews generally started with an introduction of the interviewer and the participants. In the beginning, I usually also asked some questions about language usage, specifically aiming at *straattaal* (Appel 1999). After that, the conversations usually digressed, ranging over diverse everyday topics such as school, holiday, police, girls and racism. For this purpose, a number of propositions were put forward in order to incite a (hoped for) heated discussion among the speakers. In this way, the interviewer hoped to invoke a different, less formal interview style. Examples of questions are "Can MD find a job as easily as ID?", "It is better to marry a MD woman than a woman from another culture", "Messi is the best football player in the world."

<29> The interviews were conducted using a Tascam Linear PCM Recorder DR-07MKII in 44.1 KHZ WAV format. All interviews were transcribed using ELAN resulting in a searchable database. In total, the database contains 28 people. For various reasons, but mainly because they spoke for a continuous span of time, the 18 people in table 1 feature in the various chapters, except for section 5.3, which features a number of additional speakers.[11] Two of the speakers in table 1, MD-B and MD-E, were recorded on multiple occasions, either by coincidence, as was the case of MD-E, or on purpose, in the case of MD-B. In this study these separate interviews with the same speakers are often lumped together. The interviews were conducted with boys in the range of 16 - 21 years who share a similar educational background. At the time of recording, they were in secondary school (*VMBO*, *speciaal onderwijs*) or in lower vocational training (*MBO*). This choice is motivated by the fact that traditional studies in sociolinguistics assume that 17 to late adolescence is the age at which the "adolescent peak" is reached (cf. Labov 2001). Table 1 shows the selection with background data of the interview and the participants.

Table 1

Speaker	Date	Location	Heritage language	Duration	Age
MD-A	20-11-2014	City Center	Berber	45 min	18
MD-B1	2-10-2014	Sports Club	Berber	23 min	17
MD-B2	2-10-2014	Sports Club	idem (same speaker)	8 min	17
MD-B3	16-10-2014	Sports Club	idem (same speaker)	36 min	17
MD-C	2-10-2014	Sports Club	Arabic	23 min	16
MD-D	26-10-2014	Park	Berber	35 min	17
MD-E1	26-10-2014	Park	Arabic	35 min	17
MD-E2	15-06-2015	City Center	idem (same speaker)	60 min	17

[11] MD-B and MD-E were interviewed on different occasions. Therefore, they have an additional number in the table indicating the chronological order of interviews.

Speaker	Date	Location	Heritage language	Duration	Age
MD-F	26-10-2014	Park	Arabic	40 min	18
MD-G	26-10-2014	Park	Arabic	40 min	17
MD-H	26-10-2014	Park	Arabic	40 min	17
MD-I	15-06-2015	City Center	Berber	60 min	21
MD-J	27-10-2014	Car	Berber	84 min	17
MD-K	30-10-2014	Community Center	Berber	90 min	16
MD-L	30-10-2014	Community Center	Berber	90 min	16
MD-M	30-10-2014	Community Center	Berber	90 min	16
MD-P	27-10-2014	Car	Berber	84 min	16
MD-R	30-10-2014	Community Center	Berber	90 min	16
MD-S	20-11-2014	City Center	Berber	45 min	18
MD-T	16-10-2014	Sports Club	Berber	36 min	16
MD-U	15-06-2015	City Center	Arabic	10 min	18

<30> In addition, four types of interviews were conducted which were not part of the database; (1) an interview with MD teenagers in the neighboring village of Waddinxveen and an interview with two MD teenagers and an ID teenager together, (2) an interview with two MD teenage girls (and a boy), (3) several interviews with ID teenagers and (4) an interview with three L2MD speakers who grew up in Morocco. The other interviews are only occasionally used in this study. Two MD girls were interviewed in the park outside their secondary school.

Table 2:

Speaker	Date	Location	Duration	Language	Age
FMD-A	11-11-2015	Park	20 min	Berber	16
FMD-B	11-11-2015	Park	20 min	Arabic	16

<31> The ID speakers that appear in this study are shown in table 3 below. All speakers were born and raised in Gouda except for ID-D who is from the neighboring village of Boskoop. Some of the people present have not been included in our study for various reasons: either they hardly spoke in the interviews or they were not clearly recorded or they were L2 speakers. These include one ID and a Polish Dutch teenage boy who were present at the school; one teenage boy who was together with ID-B in the city center; one ID boy present with ID-C; and two ID boys present with ID-D. Finally, one Polish Dutch girl was excluded who was pre-sent in the interview with ID-E and ID-F.[12] The latter speakers were interviewed in the quiet environment of the library. For this reason, they feature prominently in the chapter on vowels.

[12] My thanks to Renger van Dasselaar for conducting several interviews together with me, two of which are included here.

Table 3:

Speaker	Date	Location	Duration	Language	Age
ID-A	11-11-2015	School	8 min	Dutch	17
ID-B	11-02-2016	City Center	15 min	Dutch	16
ID-C	24-03-2016	City Center	15 min	Dutch	16
ID-D	24-03-2016	City Center	28 min	Dutch	17
ID-E	15-02-2017	Library	70 min	Dutch	17
ID-F	15-02-2017	Library	70 min	Dutch	17

<32> Finally, three older MD men were interviewed in Dutch for the purpose of looking for features that may have influenced MD youth variety.[13] Speaker L2MD-B was present at an earlier recording with a number of youngsters in the community center.

Table 4

Speaker	Date	Location	Duration	Heritage Language	Age
L2MD-A	2-10-2014	Taekwondo Club	8 minutes	Berber	43
L2MD-B	11-02-2016	Community Center	2 hours	Berber / Arabic	55
L2MD-C	11-02-2016	Community Center	2 hours	Arabic	68
L2MD-D	11-02-2016	Community Center	2 hours	Arabic	65

<33> The interviews inevitably suffer from the observers' paradox: even though the interviewer shares the ethnic background of the interviewees, he does not share other characteristics such as age and place of residence. The interviewees gave the impression of being quite comfortable; however, the rarity of certain lexical elements, such as Berber and Arabic discourse markers, which are typical of MD discourse, indicates that their speech was somewhat influenced by the presence of the interviewer. As indicated earlier, one way to overcome this problem is to explore the metalinguistic knowledge of the speakers.

1.5 Speaker choice and variation

<34> In the phonetic part of this study, I will mainly, but not solely, focus on a number of speakers that make use of a stylistic repertoire that is most divergent from the ID norm. Therefore, for a number of the phonetic variables under consideration, the participants with the most pronounced non-ID style have been chosen.

Some speakers can, as indicated earlier, hinge on either one end of a stylistic continuum and shift, sometimes for reasons of stance-taking, while other speakers maintain a so-to-say "strong" MD pattern based upon a number of co-occurring features. These features will be discussed separately, and therefore contextual usage of their contextual speech repertoires is largely ignored. Two speakers who had a consistent non-ID pattern in their speech, MD-I and MD-E, feature in every chapter of this study alongside a changing variety of other speakers. These two speakers form the basis for researching the core features of MD, because they score on the high end in terms of deviant phonetic features. They show high rates of regressive voice assimilation before obstruents, high rates of *r*-realization in coda position, and high rates of

[13] I am grateful to Maarten Kossmann for accompanying me during the interview. This prevented the speakers from switching to Moroccan Arabic or Berber.

sibilant palatalization before continuants (cf. Mourigh 2017). Furthermore, consonant lengthening is prominent in their speech, and with regard to morpho-syntax, they show high percentages of common gender use on neuter gender nouns and the use of the genitive *de*-construction.

All this makes them feature prominently in the chapter on vowels as well. Other speakers were selected randomly in the case of consonantal phonetic features. Another practical consideration guiding this choice is the quality of the recording.

<35> There are a number of additional features, some of which speakers are well aware of, which are different from ID. In order to get an idea where a certain speaker positions himself on the stylistic continuum, such markers are used. As will be shown in more detail below, there are considerable differences between participants as regards these features, and there is enough co-occurrence to establish a certain general characterization of the chosen style per speaker. At the same time, the variation raises the question as to whether we are dealing here with a variety that has developed through a process of "transmission with incrementation" (Labov 2007). This presupposes that after a period of language acquisition from the primary caregiver, a period of vernacular reorganization follows and a new norm, driven by social forces, develops (Kerswill & Williams 2000).

1.6 Language contact and substrate

<36> The two heritage languages, Moroccan Arabic and especially Tarifiyt Berber, have influenced MD, not only lexically, but also phonetically. However, there are several problems here. When we point to possible substrate influence it is often hard to distinguish between the languages, as the phonetics and phonology of Tarifiyt Berber and Moroccan Arabic share many similarities (cf. Dell & Elmedlaoui 2002). In many cases, the choice was made to refer to Tarifiyt Berber because of its prominence in Gouda. All depends of course also on the available literature and material. In addition to the literature I analyzed some online material of Tarifiyt Berber and Moroccan Arabic. A subsequent question is whether we can assess if there really is substrate influence or whether the developments are the outcome of independent processes. Some of these questions cannot be answered within the framework of this study. Often it seems that MD youth language is so-to-say "inspired" by L2MD speech (cf. Mourigh 2017).

From metacommentary not much can be said about phonetics, most commentary is focused on the lexicon and ways of speaking. The following commentary gives the reader an insiders' view on the adoption of lexical and intergroup dynamics.

<37> In the first excerpt the speakers clearly show that they use many swear words among each other. These words may come from different languages, but the speakers contend that it is not the variety associated with the black population in big cities like Rotterdam and Amsterdam. MD heritage speakers do not adopt the Sranan Tongo-based lexicon on an ideological level, in the sense that they dissociate themselves from Surinamese or a "black" ethnicity in general. On a practical level, the speakers in Gouda mostly avoid using Sranan Tongo lexicon (Mourigh 2017; cf. Kossmann 2017).

Int.	*Maar hoe zit het met die straattaal van jullie?*	But what about that street language of yours?
MD-I	*Wij hebben niet echt straattaal.*	We don't really have street language.
MD-E	*Onze straattaal is scheldwoorden.*	Our street language is swear words.
Int.	*Maar als jij met hem praat bijvoorbeeld*.	But if you talk to him for example.
MD-E	*Ondertussen hebben we elkaar sowieso al duizend keer uitgescholden.*	In the meantime, we have cursed each other a thousand times.

MD-I	*Ja.*	Yes.
Int.	*[A zzammeř] a dit en dat.*	[you faggot] this and that.
MD-I	*Juist.*	Right.
MD-E	*Wat ga je doen [a zzameř] vanavond?*	What are you going to do tonight [faggot].
MD-I	*Ik zeg: wat ga je doen?* *Zegt-ie: ik ga even naar die man toe.* *A as iniɣ: [iwa zzameř], gaat [zeɛma] ergens anders heen.* *Kapsones, ja toch?*	I say: what are you going to do? He will say: I will go to that man for a minute. [I will say: you faggot] you go somewhere else. Cocky right?
MD-E	*Laat je mij in de steek*	You're going to leave me in the lurch.
MD-I	*Soort van…ja, je geeft elkaar zo'n gek gevoel.* *Je probeert elkaar te raken.*	Kind of…you give each other this weird feeling. You try to hurt each other.
Int.	*Maar je gebruikt gewoon die tmazight?*	But you just use that [Berber]?
MD-I	*[Tmazight, taɛraft], je gooit de gekste woorden erin.* *Nederlands, weet ik veel, dan gooi je illegale woorden,* *weet ik veel, šo ben ik. De gekste dingen.* *Het is niet "he [faka brada, me waka] richting die kant."*[14] *Je weet toch? Dat hebben wij niet.* *Wij bedoelen het anders dan wat we zeggen, en dan moet je het maar begrijpen.*	[Berber, Arabic] You throw in the weirdest words. Dutch, I don't know, then you use illegal words, I don't know, that's me. The craziest things. It's not like "[he, how are you, I'm walking] in this direction." You know. We don't have that. We mean something else than what we say, and then you just have to understand.

<38> From the outsider perspective, that of the Dutch teenagers, this Moroccan way of speaking is confirmed. According to them it marks their "antisocial" behavior. Their way of speaking, the stance they adopt, but also the linguistic features that are clearly different from the ID communicate an antisocial image. All these aspects are further elaborated in the metalinguistic comment below.

Int.	*Merken jullie aan Marokkanen dat ze een bepaald accent hebben?*	Do you notice that Moroccans have a certain accent?
ID-D	*Ja, dat kan je heel snel horen.*	Yes, you can hear that very quickly.
Int.	*Je herkent ze ook meteen aan hun taal?*	Do you recognize them based on their language?
ID-D	*Ja.*	Yes.
Int.	*En wat is dan kenmerkend voor hun accent?*	What is characteristic of their accent?

[14] This is the use of Sranan Tongo in Dutch. The speaker shows his knowledge of this way of speaking.

ID-D	*Het is zeg maar, het klinkt veel agressiever.*	It's like, it sounds more aggressive.
	Het is gewoon een hele andere taal.	It's just a completely different language.
	Het klinkt zo, zeg maar, gewoon de manier waarop ze praten.	It sounds so, let's say, just the way they talk.
	Als bijvoorbeeld, als ze tegen iemand willen zeggen van:	Like for example, if they want to tell somebody:
	uh sorry, ik ben al iets aan het zeggen, zeggen ze: hallo, hallo, hallo!	O sorry, I'm already saying something, they say: Hey, hey, hey!
	Niet zeg maar, sociaal.	Not let's say, social.

<39> Furthermore, their language is perceived by the ID youngsters as part of a larger community of Muslims. This of course includes the Turkish Dutch as well as other Muslim minority groups.

Int.	*Maar ook bijvoorbeeld hun uitspraak:*	But also for example their pronunciation:
	dat ze šchool zeggen, in plaats van school?	that they say [šchool] instead of [school]?
ID-D	*Ja, dat kan je ook horen.*	Yes, you can hear that as well.
Int.	*Doen Marokkanen dat veel?*	Do Moroccans do that often?
ID-D	*Ja, best wel. Maar niet alleen Marokkanen,*	Yes, quite often. But not only Moroccans,
	maar ook uh, meer zeg maar uh,	but also, more like,
	de meeste moslims hebben zo'n accent.	most Muslims have such accent.
Int.	*Ja?*	Yes?
ID-D	*Ja, gewoon Arabisch, de Arabische taal.*	Yes, Arabic, that Arabic language.
	Berbers een beetje, anders.	Berber a little bit, different.
Int.	*maar nemen Nederlanders dat ook over? Die manier van praten?*	But do Dutchmen copy that? That way of talking?
ID-D	*Ja, als ze alleen met dat soort mensen omgaan.*	Yes, if they have a lot to do only with those kinds of people.

<40> There are many sociopolitical factors which contribute to polarization in the Netherlands. Muslims and Islam have become a regular subject of national discourse, especially after 09-11-2001. MD teenagers especially have regularly received negative media attention due to relatively high criminal records and adherence to extremist Islamic groups (cf. Nortier & Dorleijn 2008; Bovenkerk 2014). Gouda has been one of the places which has received regular media attention. The negative stereotype is confirmed by a MD youngster himself, who quotes a Dutch man.

MD-S	*Ik zat met een man in de trein, hij zegt tegen mij,*	I was sitting with a man in the train, he told me,
	hij is kapper in Schiedam. Hij woont in Gouda.	he's a hairdresser in Schiedam. He lives in Gouda.
	Hij zegt tegen mij: ik zoek naar een zaak in Utrecht,	He told me: I want to open a shop in Utrecht,
	omdat ik daar mensen kan knippen.	so I can cut people's hair.

Ik zeg tegen hem: waarom begin je geen zaak in Gouda?	I told him: Why don't you open a barbershop in Gouda?
Hij zeg tegen mij: zodat ik in Utrecht ook in de nacht kan knippen.	He says because in Utrecht I can also cut people's hair at night.
Want…avondleven, snap je? Mensen gaan uit.	Because.. night life, you know? People go out.
Hij zeg tegen mij: als je hier in Gouda iemand in de nacht ziet lopen,	He told me: if you see somebody walking outside in Gouda at night,
is het 100% een Marokkaan,	you're 100% sure it's a Moroccan,
en is het 100% dat-ie in wil breken.	and 100% sure he will want to commit burglary.
Want als je hier bijvoorbeeld om 12 uur 's avonds,	Because if you see somebody at 12 o'clock in the evening,
zie je een Marokkaan in de wijk en je ziet hem gewoon lopen,	you see a Moroccan walking in the neighbourhood,
is het 100% een inbreker.	100% it's a burglar.

<41> The MD youth in Gouda generally avoids Sranan Tongo lexicon, as different teenagers testify. When used, it is confined to jokes.

Int.	*Gebruiken jullie ook Surinaamse woorden?*	Do you sometimes use Surinamese words?
MD-G	*Weinig*	Few
Int.	*[Faka, waggie], dat soort dingen?*	[How are you?], [car], that kind of thing?
MD-F	*Sommige woorden*	Some words
MD-H	*Niet vaak*	Not often
MD-F	*Het is niet zoals in Amsterdam of Rotterdam, continu.*	It's not like in Amsterdam or Rotterdam, all the time.
Int.	*Wat zijn woorden die je bijvoorbeeld gebruikt?*	What are the words that you use for example?
MD-G	*Hangt ervan af welke situatie.* *Kijk, als we elkaar in de ochtend zien of zo.* *Zeggen we sowieso: [iwa].* *Ene keer [faka], ene keer…*	It depends on the situation. Look, when we see each other in the morning, we say: [well?]. Sometimes [how are you], sometimes…
MD-F	*Die surinaamse woorden, soms doe je dat voor de grap,* *zeg je dat [zeɛma]. Meer Marokkaans een beetje.*	Those Surinamese words, sometimes just for laughter, you say that [say]. More Moroccan actually.
MD-G	*Als je een grapje maakt,* *dan gooi je in één keer met straattaal.* *Verschilt eigenlijk.*	I you make a joke, then you suddenly throw off street language. It differs actually.

<42> Note that in saying this, the speakers always refer to the big cities in the Netherlands (cf. Mourigh 2017). They stress that their youth variety is different. Moreover, several times they say that the ID youth uses the Sranan Tongo-based lexicon more often than the MD youth.

Int.	*Gebruiken jullie ook de straattaalwoorden zoals [waggie] en zo, zoals in Rotterdam?*	Do you also use street language words like [car] etc, like in Rotterdam?
MD-J	*Overal is het natuurlijk anders he.*	It's different everywhere.
Int.	*Ja, daarom, ja. Als je in de grote steden, als je naar Amsterdam gaat is het anders, in Den Haag is het weer net iets anders. Maar ze gebruiken wel vaak die woorden, [pokoe] en [patta's] en dat soort dingen. Gebruiken jullie die hier ook?*	Yes, that's why, yes. If you go to the big cities, if you go to Amsterdam it's different, in The Hague it's a bit different again. But they often use those words, [song] and [shoes] and those kinds of things. Do you use them here as well?
MD-P	*Nee, Hollanders gebruiken die hier vaak.*	No, Dutchmen use them a lot here.
Int.	*Ja?*	Yes?
MD-P	*Wij praten gewoon Nederlands of Berbers met elkaar.*	We just speak Dutch or Berber with each other.

<43> The Moroccan lexicon is used frequently according to the speakers. The lexical items are usually limited to swear words, or some discourse markers. The MD teenagers notice that in school some ID youngsters take over Moroccan words.

Int.	*Nemen Nederlanders dat ook over?*	Do the Dutch copy that?
MD-A	*Ja, verschillend van die Hollanders die zeg maar VMBO of zo doen en die met die Marokkanen in de klas zitten en zo. Dan gaan ze automatisch ook paar van die woorden overnemen en zo ja. Bijvoorbeeld [iwa], of paar scheldwoorden, je weet toch. Dat leren ze dan vanzelf.*	Yes, that differs. The Dutch who go to VMBO (lower vocational education) and who are in the same class as the Moroccans. They automatically also take over some of those words. For example [well], or a couple of swear words, you know? They learn that automatically.
Int.	*Zoals?*	Like?
MD-A	*Gewoon [zzameř], [řqehba], (lachen) je weet toch!*	Just [faggot], [whore] (laughter), you know?

<44> The following excerpt shows that some ID speakers take over the MD accent. However, the speakers quickly revert to the adoption of lexicon again, a more conspicuous aspect. MD youngsters who speak without an accent are very rare, according to them. Only older, working people and MD who have become assimilated speak without an accent.

MD-D	*Zo praten hun, soort van Nederlands, je weet toch, echt Nederlands. Maar in Gouda niet, praten ze, dan hoor je*	That's how they talk, kind of Dutch, you know, real Dutch. But not in Gouda, when they speak you

	gewoon gelijk d *at het een Marokkaan is, als je alleen zijn stem hoort en hoe die praat* *hoor je gelijk dat het een Marokkaan is.*	immediately hear that it's a Moroccan, if you only hear his voice and how he talks, you immediately hear that it's a Moroccan.
Int.	*Ja? En, denk je ook dat Nederlanders dat overnemen?* *Sommige Nederlanders?*	Yes? And do you think that Dutchmen also copy that? Some Dutchmen?
MD-D	*Sommigen wel, paar in de klas.*	Yes, some of them, a few in class.
MD-E	*Heel veel gasten, ja, (klik).*	A lot of people, yes.
Int.	*Bij jullie op school?*	At your school?
MD-E	*Ja, bij ons in de klas. Vandaag zelfs.*	Yes, in our class. Even today.
MD-D	*Schelden, scheldwoorden.*	Cursing, swear words.
MD-E	*Scheldwoorden.*	Swear words.
Int.	*Ja, zoals?*	Yes, like?
MD-E	*[Buyiẓẓan]*	[shit-head]
MD-D	*[Buyiẓẓan]*	[shit-head]
MD-E	*Hun zijn grappig, joh.*	They are funny, man.
Int.	*Ja.*	Yes.
MD-D	*Gelijk, als je het een keer zegt, onthouden ze het gelijk,* *je weet toch.* *Hun willen een beetje, gewoon een beetje iets anders leren.* *Hun vinden het wel leuk.*	Immediately, if you say it once, they remember it immediately, you know. They want to be a bit, they want to learn something else. They like that.
Int.	*Dus je zegt, zeg maar, dat wat anders is, is, zeg maar, echt het accent.*	So you say, that which is really different is the accent.
MD-D	*Juist.*	Right.
Int.	*Maar zijn er ook, ook Marokkanen die heel netjes,* *echt Nederlands, heel netjes.*	But are there also Moroccans that are really proper, real Dutch, very proper.
MD-E	*Mijn ooms, heel deftig.*	My uncles, very posh.
Int.	*Deftig, ja, maar hier op school ook of,* *of is dat veranderd?*	Yes, but here at school as well, or has that changed?
MD-D	*Sommige mensen, misschien één van de tien.*	Some people, like one in ten.
MD-E	*Beetje van die verkaasde Marokkanen, je weet toch,* *die echt Nederlands alleen maar praten* *en die ook geen Berbers of Arabisch begrijpen.*	Like those Moroccans who have become Dutch, you know, who only speak Dutch and don't understand Berber or Arabic.

<45> Below is a final text excerpt of MD who give some examples of adopted words.

MD-F	*Nederlanders beginnen ook steeds meer straattaal joh.* *Ze beginnen steeds meer op Marokkanen te lijken.*	The Dutch also speak more street language man. They are beginning to look like Moroccans more and more.
MD-G	*Ook een paar Hollanders bij ons in de klas.*	Also a couple of Dutchmen in our class.
MD-F	*Die zeggen ook [qewwed] en [ḥaweř].*	They also say [fuck off] and [careful].
MD-G	*[Zeɛma]*	[As if]
Int.	*Kunnen ze dat ook uitspreken?*	Can they pronounce that?
MD-F	*Nee, zaama, zaama (lachen)*	No, zaama, zaama (laughter)
MD-G	*Sommigen kunnen het. Andere willen erbij horen.*	Some can. Other are wannabes.
MD-F	*Ze willen erbij horen.* *Ze willen meedoen.*	They want to be part of it. They want to join in.

<46> ID speakers themselves sometimes say they use Moroccan lexicon in addition to Sranan Tongo based lexicon. However, the way they use it differs from MD.

Int.	*Ook Marokkaanse woorden?*	Moroccan words as well?
ID-D	*Ja*	Yes
Int.	*Kun je bijvoorbeeld iets noemen?*	Can you give an example?
ID-D	*Ja, [wola].*[15] *(lachen).*	Yes, wola (I swear!). (laughter)
Int.	*Hoe gebruiken jullie dat dan?*	How do you use that?
ID-D	*Nou, als mensen iets gaan zeggen en je bent het er mee* *eens, dan zeg je gewoon: ja, [wola] (lachen).* *Iemand ging dat de hele tijd zeggen, vonden we allemaal* *zo dom en nu zeggen we het allemaal.*	Well, if people say something and you agree, you say: yes, wola (lo!). Somebody said that all the time, we thought it was stupid and now we all say it.
Int.	*Maar zeg je dan: [wola] hij is dom?*	But do you say: wola (lo!) he is stupid.
ID-D	*Nee, dat niet. Dat doen meer de Marokkanen bij ons.*	No, we don't. That's what the Moroccans do here.
Int.	*Dus jullie gebruiken het op een andere manier dan de Marokkanen?*	So you use it in a different way from the Moroccans?
ID-D	*Ja*.	Yes.

<47> Other words are generally known even if the speaker does not use them himself.

Int.	*Gebruiken jullie ook wel eens [zzameř]?*	Do you ever use [faggot]?

[15] This is the Dutch way of pronouncing the aforementioned *weḷḷah* "I swear".

ID-B	*Nee, ik niet. Het komt wel eens langs, maar ik gebruik het zelf nooit.*	No, I don't. It passes sometimes, but I do not use it myself.
Int.	*Maar je kent het wel?*	But you know it?
ID-B	*Ja*	Yes

These metalinguistic comments show that the MD community is very present in Gouda. Furthermore, there exists a general awareness that they have a different accent or even a different language. This is primarily shown by lexical examples both from the ingroup of MD youth as from the outgroup of ID. MD carries a stigma, or to put it in linguistic terms, a second order indexicality that refers to toughness, aggressiveness and antisocial behavior. That is, in terms of Silverstein (2003), "*speakers notice the linguistic forms and attribute meanings to them that are shaped by ideologies*" (Aarsæther et al. 2015:255). These linguistic forms will be the subject of the following sections.

1.7 Lexical insertions

<48> Examples of lexical items given by the respondents during the interviews include təẓẓ xaš "shame on you", ašekkam "traitor", zzameř "faggot", buyiẓẓan "shit person", ṣaaf "money", ḥaweř "watch out", qewweḏ "get lost!" which are all clearly recognizable Berber lexical items.[16] The question is whether these are instances of code switching. Code switching is certainly part of MD discourse. However, the Berber lexical items are used by Moroccan Arabic heritage speakers and ID speakers as well, indicating that these items are part of the youth variety. When heritage speakers use these lexical items it is not clear what their exact status is, i.e. whether they are code switches or part of Gouda MD urban youth variety. In this section only lexical insertions by heritage speakers are discussed. One speaker confirms that Berber is the source of street language in Gouda.

MD-I	*Die [Tmazixt] is eigenlijk onze straattaal*	"That [Berber] is actually our street language."

The same speaker indicated that he does not use intersentential code switching.

Int.	*Je gebruikt wel meer Nederlands dan?* *Als je met je broertjes praat?*	But you use more Dutch then? When you talk to your brother?
MD-I	*Dan wel*	Then I do
Int.	*Maar als je Berbers gebruikt, gebruik je dan één woord of zo?* *Of gebruik je wel hele zinnen?*	But if you use Berber, do you use one word? Or do you use whole sentences?
MD-I	*Nee, dan gebruik je wel hele zinnen.*	No, then you use whole sentences.
Int.	*Zeg je [awi dd ijj n řkas n wataỵ]?*	Do you say [bring me a glass of tea]?
MD-I	*Het is niet van "geef eens [ijj n řkas n wataỵ]" of zo.* *Begrijp je? Nee.* *Dan maak je het wel gewoon helemaal af.*	It's not like "give me [a glass of tea]". You understand? No. Then you finish it completely.

[16] Many words are borrowings from Moroccan Arabic that have been given Berber phonology.

<49> Another speaker admits that Dutch is the main language and Berber sometimes is used in between, after the interviewer gives an example.

Int.	*Maar denk je dat Marokkanen veel Berbers praten* *onderling of Arabisch?*	But do you think that Moroccans use a lot of Berber among each other or Arabic?
MD-A	*Ja, Berbers.*	Yes, Berber.
Int.	*Ja, meer Berbers, niet meestal Nederlands met elkaar?*	Yes, more Berber, not more Dutch with each other?
MD-A	*Ja, gewoon gemixt eigenlijk weet je,* *je weet toch?* *Van die šcheldwoorden ertussen en dan normaal praten.*	Yes, just mixed, you know. You know what I'm saying. Like those swear words in between and then normal speech.
Int.	[*Iwa a saḥbi] wat ga je doen?*	[he my friend] what are you going to do?
MD-A	*Juist ja, op die manier ja.*	Yes, in that way, yes.

<50> MD speakers master the heritage languages to varying degrees. Even though it was not possible to verify their fluency, it may be assumed that speakers have at least a receptive knowledge of the language, judging by their comments and by their occasional use of the language(s). A number of speakers do not use the heritage languages at all in the interviews, except for purposes of citation. In the cases where code switching occurs, Berber was used most frequently, while Arabic was used only rarely. This may be due to the background of the interviewer, and of course the dominance of Berber speakers in Gouda.
In this section I will briefly review the type of code switches found in the speech of two speakers: MD-A and MD-I. In addition, two short conversations between L2MD speakers and heritage language MD speakers will show intergenerational communication and code switching.

<51> By far the most common type of code switch is the insertion of individual lexical items from the heritage languages. These can be divided in two basic types; one is a strongly evaluative type (negative or positive), while the second is made up of culture specific terms which are often untranslatable or not readily translatable into Dutch. Some examples of negative and positive evaluative lexical items are:

(1) *We zijn geen [zzwameř a ṣaḥbi], we zijn geen negers*[17] (MD-A, 18)
"We are not [faggots my friend], we are not blacks."

(2) *alleen maar [ixarwiḍen]* (MD-I, 21)
only [difficulties]

An interesting case is the use of a Berber word with a Dutch plural suffix marker. This is a case of intra-word switching, which may be caused by the fact that *buyiẓẓan* does not have a plural form in Tarifiyt Berber.

[17] This is a pejorative term which is in mainstream discourse shunned more and more. Even though it does not have exactly the same connotation as the English equivalent, it is best avoided as it is perceived by many black people as an insult.

(3) *wat die [buyiẓẓans] overnemen, ja* (MD-A, 18)

"What those [shithead]s take over, yes."

<52> Culture-specific terms can be subdivided into behavior, Islamic religion and concepts tied to nature or general Moroccan culture, for example:

(4) *hij doet geen [ṣṣḍaɛ] of zo* (MD-I, 21)

"He doesn't cause [trouble] or so."

(5) maar is *[feckal]* om soms die *[tayennant]* bij hun te doen (MD-A, 18)

"But it is [nice] to apply that [stubbornness] to them."

(6) *hun doen ook heel veel [bidɛa a saḥbi]* (MD-A, 18)

"They do a lot of [religious innovation, my friend]."

This also includes place names and names for tribal affiliation.

(7) *Ja, ook [ait waryayeř] heb je ook heel veel hiero.* (MD-A, 18)

"Yes, also [ait waayagher] are here a lot as well."

Interestingly, the Berber speaker uses the Arabic pronunciation for the following religious terms. The same terms occur in Berber, but are pronounced differently.[18]

(8) *Je kan ook met [meɣreb] en [leɛca] gewoon naar de moskee gaan* (MD-A, 18)

"You could also go at [evening prayer] and [night prayer] go to the mosque."

<53> The following example contains a number of Berber words referring to typical Moroccan items typical. These include lexical items referring to nature and clothing.

(9) *alleen weet je wat het irritante is, die [tahendect], cactus, als je [řeɛbaya] alleen aan hebt, die wind gaat die dinges gooien, hè. die [isennanen]* (MD-A, 18)

But you know the annoying thing is, that [cactus], cactus, if you only wear your [gown], the wind throws those things, those [thorns].

In addition, there is another group of single lexical items, pragmatic particles such as *qa*, *iwa*, *weḷḷah,* and *zeɛma* (cf. Boumans 2003; Kossmann 2017). Some of these particles are stylistically salient, in that they belong to a specific type of discourse expressing a particular stance (cf. Kossmann 2017). Some elements, such as *iwa*, *zeɛma* and *weḷḷah* have made it to other forms of Dutch youth language. When a heritage language speaker uses an item, it is difficult to decide whether it should count as a stylization or simply as a code-switch (cf. Poplack & Dion 2012). Another element of MD discourse is the use of interjections and function words, which derive from both Berber and Arabic, such as weḷḷah "I swear!", teẓẓ=expression of disapproval, ʕeyyeq "very", iżżen=indefinite article, a/ya=exclamatives, waš=question particle,

[18] In Tarifiyt Berber, Arabic *lmeɣreb* > *řmeɣɣarb* "evening prayer" and *leɛca* > *řeɛca* "night prayer".

zeɛma “like” (cf. Kossmann 2017;Nortier and Dorleijn 2008:130). In the metalinguistic comments a Berber heritage speaker and an Arabic heritage speaker say they often use the Berber discourse element *ijjen* “a/one” in their speech.

Int.	*Maar gebruik je ook veel, bijvoorbeeld als je praat,* *zeg je dan bijvoorbeeld, geef me [ijjen] iets*?	But do you use a lot, for example when you talk, do you say for example, give me [one] something?
MD-D	*Ja, tegen mijn broertjes en zusjes zeg ik het wel.*	Yes, to my brothers and sisters I do say it.
Int.	*En gebruik je [waḥed] ook, geef me [waḥed]?*	And do you us [one/a] as well, give me [one/a]?
MD-E	*Ja, geef eens [ijjen] broodje.*	Yes, give me [one] sandwich.
MD-D	*Ik zeg altijd [ijjen].*	I always say [one].
MD-E	*[ijjen] broodje.*	[one] sandwich.
Int.	*In het Nederlands gebruik je dat dan?*	In Dutch you use that?
MD-E	*Ja, mix met Marokkaans.*	Yes, mixed with Moroccan.
MD-D	*Ja, allebei, beetje voor beetje.*	Yes, both, a little bit.
Int.	*Nederlands, alleen [ijjen] zeg je in het Marokkaans?*	Dutch, only [one] you say in Moroccan?
MD-E	*Geef eens [ijjen] broodje alsjeblieft.*	Give me [one] sandwich please.

<54> Various discourse markers are used, some of which are more frequent than others. *iwa* appears very often in discourse. Some examples are:

(10) [*iwa] hoe ga je dat zeggen?* (MD-A, 18)
“[well] how are you going to say that?”

(11) *nee, zij luistert naar haar broer, [iwa] luister naar je broer* (MD-I, 21)
“No, she listens to her brother, [well] listen to your brother.”

The element *qa* signals present relevance in Tarifiyt Berber (cf. Mourigh & Kossmann 2020).

(12) *[qa] is gewoon democratie* (MD-A, 18)
“[QA] it is just democracy”

(13) *[qa] dat zijn dingen* (MD-I, 21)
“[QA] those are things.”

Other frequently occurring items are *zeɛma*, *muhim* and *weḷḷah*.

(14) *camera [zeɛma] uit* (MD-I, 21)
“Camera is [supposed] to be turned off.”

(15) *[muhim], wat er was gebeurd* (MD-A, 18)

"[anyway], what had happened?"

(16) *[weḷḷah] die gasten zijn gevaarlijk* (MD-A, 18)

"[By God] those guys are dangerous."[19]

This group also includes indefinite determiners (cf. Kossmann 2017), e.g.

(17) *ja, precies, als je bij [ijjen] weg komt* (MD-A, 18)

"Yes, exactly, if you get there to [a] road."

<55> Berber pronouns are also quite frequently inserted in extrasentential position. The pronoun in such cases is always emphatic, and is repeated in the sentence. This also commonly occurs in Tarifiyt Berber (cf. Kossmann & Mourigh 2020; Kossmann 2012).

(18) *[neccin] wij komen daar als bolletjes aan* (MD-A, 18)

"[we], we arrive there as fatties."

(19) *[necc], ik heb altijd al, nog nooit wat gehad met Marokkaanse wijven* (MD-I, 21)

"[I], I have always, never had anything with Moroccan chicks."

<56> Code switching of complete clauses from Tarifiyt Berber is less frequently attested. There are examples of both inter and extrasentential code switching. Intrasentential switches are short and often involve idiomatic expressions. Evaluation of the situation plays an important role.

(20) *min ttqewwaded?* (MD-A, 18)

"What the hell are you doing?"

(21) *maca iqewwd ayi tt* (MD-A, 18)

"But he fucked it up for me."

(22) *met die Rotterdammers, soms ja, zeggen ze fawaka dit, faw, [kkaa a tneggzed]* (MD-A, 18)

"With those people from Rotterdam, sometimes yes, they say *fawaka* (a Surinamese expression) this, [go and jump]."

(23) *wenni iruḥ dayes nican* (MD-A, 18)

"He is truly lost."

This type of code switch can occur with a Dutch discourse marker, a so-called tag switch, e.g.

(24) *[ad iraḥ ad iqewwed] joh* (MD-A, 18)

"[Let him fuck off], man."

[19] *weḷḷah* is glossed as "by God" which is close to the literal meaning. In English, one would perhaps rather say "I swear".

Some code switches of this type cannot be termed idiomatic. Such instances are quite infrequent.

(25) *met die geld, [iruḥ ɣars ɣar ř̆qehwa]* (MD-A, 18)
with that money, [he went to him to the café]

<57> Intersentential code switches are a bit more frequent in discourse. An example is the following verbal expression in Berber with a following complement in Dutch. In Moroccan Arabic-Dutch code-switching studies from the 1990s, comparable constructions have been attested (cf. Boumans 1998:223). The embedded phrase can be a verb phrase or a noun phrase. Most examples are Berber phrases with Dutch insertions.

(26) *[iruḥ yegga] schieten op de man van zijn zus* (MD-A, 18)
"[He went and did] shoot the husband of his sister."

(27) *[netta iruḥ yegg ac] Joodse tekentjes* (MD-A, 18)
"[He went and did] Jewish signs."

(28) *[a wi c ɣa yeggen] controleren? [a yinni mři ufin iři ggin cekk] al lang van school aftrappen* (MD-I, 21)
"[Who is going to] check on you? [They, if they could, would have] kicked you from school a long time ago."

Only very rarely is a Berber phrase embedded in a Dutch phrase, e.g.

(29) *[muhim] ze hebben [ssḥarqen] daar je weet toch,* (MD-A, 18)
"[anyway] they have [burnt it down] there, you know."

Finally, the following sentence presents a code switch within a calque on Dutch. In Berber the expression is totally different, namely *dayes amarwas* "in him is debt" while in Dutch "in de schulden zitten" is a normal idiom.

(30) *[yeqqim di] schulden* (MD-A, 18)
[he sits in] debt

Chapter 2

Phonetics

In this section, I limit myself to segmental phonetics: the description of consonants and vowels. Consonants were mostly analyzed based on auditory transcription, rather than on acoustic measurements, mainly because of the quality of the recordings. This was less of an issue in the case of the vowels. Therefore, vowels were acoustically measured using PRAAT (Boersma 2001). As there were no hypotheses and the corpus size was limited, no inferential statistical analyses were used.

In chapter 2 regressive voice assimilation with respect to the /z/ in MD is studied. Chapter 3 is dedicated to the different ways in which consonants, including /z/, are lengthened. The consonant /r/ is another conspicuous consonant in MD and constitutes the subject of chapter 4. Other quirky consonants are touched upon in chapter 5. In chapter 6 some conspicuous vowels get a more in-depth treatment. Where relevant, Tarifiyt Berber data are discussed, because of its presence in Gouda.

It should be noted that, in addition to the features studied here, a number of interesting and possibly central phonetic features remain unstudied. Among these are the frequent use of clicks to express agreement or disagreement, the frequent deletion of schwa, the relation between tense and lax consonants, and suprasegmental features such as intonation.

2.1. Voicing assimilation of obstruent + /z/

<58> In an interview with two ID speakers the following features of MD are mentioned.

Int.	*Herken je Marokkanen echt aan hun taal?*	Do you recognize Moroccans really on the basis of their language?
ID-B	*Jawel.*	Yes.
Int.	*Ik bedoel niet aan hun eigen taal,* *maar hoe ze Nederlands praten.*	I don't mean their own language, but how they speak Dutch.
ID-C	*Uitspraak, ja, ja.*	Pronunciation, yes, yes.
Int.	*Uitspraak van het Nederlands*.	Pronunciation of Dutch.
ID-C	*Ja, ja.*	Yes, yes.
Int.	*Kun je iets noemen?*	Can you name something?
ID-B	*Ja, gewoon een beetje dat accent van hun,* *en dan maken ze…dan hebben ze ook veel straattaal* *en dan mixen ze dat een beetje.*	Yes, just like that accent of theirs, they make…they also have a lot of street language and they mix that a bit.
Int.	*Merk je ook dat het populair is* *en dan het wordt overgenomen door anderen?*	Do you notice that it's popular and is being adopted by others?
ID-B	*Jawel, het wordt ook wel door Nederlanders overgenomen,* *die denken dat, die vinden dat…ik weet niet hoe ze dat vinden.* *Maar die willen ook Marokkaans praten of zo.*	Yes, it is also taken over by Dutchmen, they think that, they think it's, I don't know how they find that. But they also want to speak Moroccan or so.
Int.	*Ja, en wat vind je ervan?*	Yes, and what do you think of that?
ID-B	*Ja, ik vind het een beetje dom om dat te doen.*	Yes, I think it is a bit stupid to do that.

ID-C	*Eigenlijk wel ja*	Yes, it is actually.
Int.	*Denk je dat dat slecht is voor je toekomst?*	Do you think it's bad for your future?
ID-B	*Nee, dat niet, hoezo zou je dat zo praten, als je gewoon Nederlander bent.*	No, not like that. Why would you talk like that if you're a Dutchmen?
Int.	*Ja, dat staat niet echt bedoel je?* *Kun je iets noemen?*	Yes, it doesn't really fit, you mean? Can you name something?
ID-B	*[zzameř]*	[faggot]
ID-C	*[zzameř] of zo (lachen).*	[faggot] or so [laughter]
ID-B	*Zulk soort dingen.*	Those kind of things.
Int.	*Gebruiken jullie het ook wel eens?*	Does it happen to you as well?
ID-C	*Ja, dan wel in Nederlandse uh,* *niet met die z:*.[20]	Yes, but in Dutch, not with that z:.

<59> Clearly, the accent is what makes MD stand out. Even though lexicon is taken over generally, there is a difference with respect to the phonetics, in this case the conspicuous consonant /z/. In interviews with MD speakers, the same feature is mentioned as being typical for (Gouda) MD. After mentioning some typical words, which are mostly from Arabic or Berber, the youngsters comment on their pronunciation of the typical Moroccan-Dutch /z/.

MD-F	*Wij hebben misschien de harde "z"* *van "z:iek", ["z:ameř"], je weet toch?*	We maybe have the hard "z" like in "sick", "[faggot]", you know?

2.1. /z/ in MD

<60> Several studies mention the realization of /z/ as a particularly striking element of Moroccan and Turkish Dutch: "*In the realization of Dutch /z/ by people with a Moroccan background there are three things that sometimes strike the ear: voicedness, extra duration, and the re-gressive [+voice] assimilation to preceding voiceless obstruents*" (Hinskens 2011:116). These features point to a process that goes in the opposite direction of the general historical tendency of fricative devoicing in northern Dutch (Dutch in the Netherlands, excluding Flanders, cf. van der Velde et al. 1996). In Northern Dutch, devoicing follows a historical pattern in which the /ɣ/ devoiced first, then the /v/, and finally the /z/. Hinskens (2011:116–117) suggests that the MD realization of /z/ has roots in the Moroccan heritage languages, which have dentalized /z/ and make a distinction between short and long consonants. In a more elaborate study, dentalization and voicing were measured (van Meel 2016:25-51). The results of his study show that dentalization of /z/ is subject to style-shifting, depending on the ethnic background of the interlocutor. Dentalized /z/ is used more frequently in conversations with speakers of the same ethnic background (van Meel 2016:49). The other feature, voicing, leads to different results. Voicing was measured in several linguistic contexts: in post-vocalic, post-sonorant and post-obstruent position. The degree of voicing showed different results for the first two contexts in all heritage groups, but there was no statistically significant difference. However, in post-obstruent position, the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch speakers show significantly different behavior from the ID group (van Meel 2016:43). Regressive voicing assimilation (henceforth: RVA) before /z/ is virtually absent in the speech of the ID participants, while RVA of obstruents before /z/ is well attested among the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch speakers in the study. In

[20] The speakers imitate the overlong and dentalised MD /z/.

addition, no style-shifting effects were noted, suggesting a structural resetting of the Dutch assimilation rules for obstruent + /z/ clusters.

<61> I will now focus on one aspect: voicing assimilation of obstruent +/z/ clusters. This study allows us to show the same phenomenon in Gouda as in Amsterdam and Nijmegen. A comparison of voicing assimilation of the /z/ in a group of MD and ID speakers in Gouda will show that voicing assimilation in MD is different from ID. In addition, I will address the substrate question. L2MD speakers show similar voicing assimilation to younger speakers, therefore a discussion of the heritage languages Tarifiyt Berber and Moroccan Arabic is necessary. Berber and Arabic seem to have similar but less elaborate voicing assimilation processes than MD.

2.2. Dutch voicing assimilation

<62> Dutch voice phenomena are complex, which is the reason why they have received ample attention in the theoretical literature (cf. Zonneveld 2007:1; van de Weijer & van der Torre 2007). One of these voice phenomena is progressive voicing assimilation (henceforth: PVA). In ID, PVA is a categorical rule; voiced fricatives devoice after a voiceless obstruent (cf. Booij 1995:58, Trommelen & Zonneveld 1979). This process applies both within words as well as across word boundaries, for example (adopted from van Meel, Hinskens & van Hout 2016:302):

zitzak	[zɪtsɑk]	“bean-bag”
opzoeken	[ɔpsukə]	“look up”
gaat zomaar	[χa:t soma:ɾ]	“goes just like that”

In Gouda Dutch, the same rule applies (cf. Lafeber 1967:15-26). In a control group of five young ID speakers from Gouda and its direct environs, RVA was checked. In obstruent + /z/ clusters only PVA occurred, as expected, and not a single case of RVA was found. Even though the number of tokens is not very high, no exceptions occurred and therefore the expected categorical rule no doubt applies in Gouda ID as well.

Table 5: ID speakers

Cluster	**RVA**	**PVA**	**N**
obstruent + z	-	100%	42

(31) *dat zeg ik wel eens* (ID-A, 17)
[dɑt sɛx]
“I sometimes say that”

(32) *ik zelf* (ID-B, 16)
[ɪksɛlf]
“I myself”

(33) *ik zit op de mavo* (ID-C, 16)
[ɪksɪt]
“I am attending vocational school”

(34) *hetzelfde* (ID-D, 17)
[ətsɛlfdə]
“The same”

<63> This confirms Van Meel's results, which showed that "*voicing of /z/ after obstruents is virtually absent in the speech of these Dutch participants*" (van Meel 2016:48). Meanwhile, the categorical rule is violated in the speech of Moroccan and Turkish Dutch youth in Amsterdam and Nijmegen in which "…*it occurs in about one fifth and one quarter of the realizations produced by the Moroccan Dutch and Turkish Dutch, respectively*" (van Meel 2016:48). Voiceless obstruents are sometimes voiced, assimilating to the voicedness feature of the /z/, e.g. in the speech of 18-year-old Mohammed of MD origin.

(35) *nou moet ik zien* (Hinskens 2011:115)
[…gz…]
"now I have to see"

2.2. MD voicing assimilation

<64> The MD data from Gouda confirm that obstruents preceding /z/ are often subject to RVA.[21] The results were obtained by counting all occurrences of obstruent + /z/ for nine speakers. Speaker selection was based on total recording time - the relevant clusters must occur frequently - and the quality of the recording. Voicing assimilation was counted in both word-internal and in sandhi clusters. A number of points had to be taken into account for the clusters in sandhi, which are by far the most frequent. Clusters were not considered when:

- An obstruent was dropped (especially /t/ in forms like niet > nie "not" (cf. Ernestus 2000:112-116)
- Speech is interrupted by a pause or hesitation
- There is too much (background) noise
- The speaker is not clearly audible, i.e. speaks softly
- The clusters were (perceptually) partly voiced
- The sibilant is palatalized, resulting in a realization of the /z/ > /ž/ [ʒ] (cf. Mourigh 2017).

Table 6 shows percentages of PVA and RVA in obstruent +/z/ clusters for nine MD speakers.

Table 6

Speaker	**Age**	**PVA**	**RVA**	**N**
MD-I	21	37%	64%	84
MD-E2	18	17%	83%	30
MD-A	18	21%	79%	95
MD-H	18	32%	68%	34
MD-F	17	25%	75%	12
MD-G	17	28%	72%	17
MD-B	17	61%	39%	77
MD-P	16	61%	39%	31
MD-L	16	49%	51%	92
Mean percentage / total N		**37**%	**63**%	**472**

[21] Other obstruents + fricative clusters show different behavior. The consonant /v/ has merged with /f/ and is therefore irrelevant. The /w/, often realized as a fricative, has both RVA and PVA (see 11.6). The combination of an obstruent and /m/ or /n/ shows either RVA or no assimilation.

<65> All speakers in this sample violate the categorical PVA rule. The table shows some inter-speaker variation. While most speakers have a higher percentage of RVA as opposed to PVA, for two speakers, MD-B and MD-P, RVA is lower than PVA. In general, Table 6 confirms what previous studies showed (van Meel 2016, Dorleijn et al. 2005:162). The following examples illustrate RVA in obstruent + /z/ clusters.

(36) *dat <u>wordt zeg</u> maar* (MD-A, 18)
[wɔrd zɛχ]
"that's going to be, you know…"

(37) *<u>niet zo</u> grote mond hè* (MD-A, 18)
[nid zo]
"don't be too bold"

(38) *gewoon een <u>sportzaal</u>* (MD-H, 18)
[spɔrdza:l]
"just a gym"

In addition, an interview with a MD girl was auditorily checked for RVA in the same context. Several instances of RVA appear, for example:

(39) *dan hoor <u>ik ze</u> echt grappen maken* (FMD-B, 16)
[ɪgzə]
"then I really hear them make jokes"

<66> In a number of cases, a preceding voiceless consonant cluster becomes completely voiced before /z/. All cases involve a final /t/ becoming /d/, which in turn can cause the preceding consonant to take over the voicing. Undoubtedly, this type of voicing adds to the "exoticism" of MD.

(40) *zijn echt ziek in hun hoofd* (MD-A, 18)
[ɛɣd zik]
"(they) are really sick in their heads"

(41) *Salaheddin die trekt zeg maar veel mensen* (MD-A, 18)
[trɛgd zɛχ]
"Salaheddin [a Moroccan Dutch comedian], he attracts, you know, a lot of people"

(42) *je <u>daagt ze</u> uit* (MD-I, 21)
[da:ɣd zə]
"you challenge them"

(43) *die mannetje <u>heeft ze</u> geld gepakt* (MD-I, 21)
[he:vd zə]
"that little guy took his money"

2.4. L2 speakers and substrate

<67> RVA before /z/ is frequent in MD but not in ID. Therefore, the question of its origins arises. As parallel transfer from Dutch peers is impossible, a transfer scenario from L2MD speakers, that is, the parents and grandparents' generation of the interviewees, has to be examined. For this purpose, RVA before /z/ was studied in the interviews of the three adult L2MD speakers. The participants were born in different parts of Morocco and grew up there until at least their late teens or early twenties. At the time of recording, they were middle aged or seniors and had lived most of their lives in Gouda. Two of them speak Moroccan Arabic as their mother tongue, while one speaks Tarifiyt Berber as his mother tongue. The latter, L2MD-B, was recorded on two separate occasions. He was present at a recording of youngsters. In addition, five minutes of a joint interview with the other L2MD speakers was transcribed. For the two other speakers about 20 minutes of recording was checked for voice assimilation.
The sample size is much smaller than that for the MD youngsters. Nevertheless, the data show similar results with respect to RVA. Like the MD youngsters the mean percentage RVA is much higher than PVA, as the following table exhibits.[22]

Obstruent + /z/

	Age	**PVA**	**RVA**	**N**
L2MD-B	55	32%	68%	19
L2MD-C	68	33%	66%	12
L2MD-D	65	13%	86%	8
Total		**26%**	**73%**	**39**

<68> In the examples below both RVA and PVA in sandhi are shown in obstruent + /z/ clusters.

(44) *ik zie meer spuug* (L2MD-B, 55)
[ɪg zi]
"I see more saliva."

(45) *ja, dat zeg ik ook tegen hun* (L2MD-B, 55)
[dɑt sɛχ]
"Yes, I say that to them as well."

(46) *ik zijn te jong voor vliegtuig* (L2MD-C, 68)
[ig zɛin]
"I'm too young for airplane."

(47) *niet zomaar* (L2MD-C, 68)
[nit soma:r]
"Not just like that."

(48) *ik was hier op zaterdag* (L2MD-D, 65)
[ɔp sa:tərdɑχ]
"I was here on Saturday."

[22] Note that an /s/ is often realized as /š/ and a /z/ as a /ž/.

(49) *gebruik ik ook zelf* (L2MD-D, 65]

[og zɑlf]

"I use it myself too"

These results show that there is a distinct MD pattern as to RVA both in the MD group and in the L2MD group. This points to a possible transfer from the heritage language(s).

<69> Voicing assimilation in Tarifiyt Berber has not been studied as a subject of its own. Most likely, this is because it seems to be a marginal phenomenon. For Tarifiyt Berber, Lafkioui (2007:84) discusses voice assimilation for what she calls *assimilations paradigmatiques*, which refers to word-internal context. She states that "*Dans le cas des assimilations de sonorité, il est généralement question de dévoisement d'une des deux séquences en contact.*"[23] In the examples she gives there is RVA, for example (transcription slightly adapted) :

(50) /ɣt/ > [xt] t̲asməɣt̲ > *t̲asməxt̲* "female black slave"

(51) /zt/ > [st] t̲argazt̲ > *t̲argast̲* "courage, manliness"

Kossmann (2000:20) discusses obligatory voicing assimilation of adjacent alveolar stops for Eastern Tarifiyt Berber. Irrespective of the voicing of the second consonant in a cluster of alveolar stops, there is always RVA. In the cases summed up below there is RVA and assimilation of place of articulation. RVA is not always obligatory. There is no description of RVA in sandhi phenomena or to /z/. No processes of PVA are known.

(52) d̲/d [ð]/[d] + t̲/t [θ]/[t] > tt [t:][24]

d̲ t̲meṭṭut̲ > *t tmeṭṭut̲*

"it is a woman"

t̲mellḥed̲=t̲ > *t̲mellḥet_t*

"you have salted it"

(53) ḍ̲ [ðˁ] + t̲/t [θ]/[t] > ṭṭ [t:ˁ]

yelqeḍ̲ t̲azart > *yelqeṭ ṭazart̲*

"he has picked figs"

(54) t̲/t [θ]/[t] + d̲/d [ð]/[d] > dd (d:)

ttuɣa_t̲ d̲i > *ttuɣa_d di*

"he was in…"

t̲d̲ehned̲ > *ddehned̲*

"you have rubbed"

[23] English translation: In the case of voice assimilation, generally there is devoicing of one of the two segments in contact.

[24] A line under a consonant indicates fricativisation, while a dot indicates pharyngealisation. An equal sign indicates a clitic.

(55) t̲/t [θ]/[t] + d̲ [ð] > d̲d̲ (dːˤ)

t̲d̲eḥk̲ed̲	> *d̲d̲eḥk̲ed̲*
“you will smile”	
t̲d̲uft̲	> *d̲d̲uft̲*
“wool”	

<70> The question of assimilation in obstruent + /z/ clusters is not addressed anywhere in the literature, as far as I am aware. Therefore, five random YouTube videos in Tarifiyt Berber were chosen and carefully listened to for verification. The videos include an Islamic lecture, two hidden-camera interviews, an interview with a politician, and the first episode of a soap series.[25] In all videos Tarifiyt Berber from Nador is spoken, a variety very close to the heritage language of most speakers. They include about 84 minutes of audio in total.
When listening to the audio, one is hard-pressed to find any occurrence of an obstruent + /z/ cluster, especially in sandhi. In fact, only one example of an obstruent preceding a geminate /zː/ was found in this context. Based on auditory perception, the preceding /f/ in the following example becomes partially voiced.

(56) *a neɛtaref zzayes*
[ɛ nəʕtɑrəv zzɛjs]
“We will acknowledge it”

<71> An important point is that while assimilations seem to be obligatory in the context described by Kossmann and Lafkioui above, they do not necessarily apply across word boundaries. The next excerpt shows that (voice and place) assimilation is optional for the element *d* “hither”, which is a verbal particle that signals motion towards the speaker. In other words, the assimilation processes are to some degree optional and morpheme dependent.

(57) *a d t̲arnid̲*
[a tːaːnið ~ a d θaːnið]
“you will add (hither)”

Interestingly, the data show that obstruent + /z/ clusters hardly ever occur in running texts. In this respect, Tarifiyt Berber differs from Dutch, where obstruent + /z/ clusters occur frequently, even in short texts. Moreover, in the cases where RVA occurs in Tarifiyt, which is mainly bound to morpheme-specific contexts, it often remains optional. Nevertheless, the general rules of voice assimilation in Tarifiyt Berber are very different from ID, as PVA does not exist in Tarifiyt Berber.

<72> In Moroccan Arabic, similar voice assimilation processes occur as in Tarifiyt Berber. Most of them are “*non-general assimilatory processes that apply only in environments created by specific morphemes*” (Keegan 1986:22). With regards to voice assimilation, (58) the intransitive prefix *t-* assimilates when preceding /ž/, /z/, /d/ or /ḍ/, (59) the second person marker of the

[25] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cqyPlsUGyts accessed 27 July 2016
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sZ09aPsxUvo accessed 27 July 2016
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NABRsGktDow accessed 27 July 2016
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ooVaNuoxY0M accessed 28 July 2016
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DfIJTZE7Ugc accessed 28 July 2016

imperfect undergoes voicing assimilation when the first segment of the verb stem is voiced and (60) final /d/ and /ḍ/ undergo voicing assimilation when followed by the first person singular -*t*, second person singular -*ti* and second person plural -*tu* suffixes of the perfective stem (Keegan 1986:24-26).

(58)	*zayed*	"add!"	*dzayed (<tzayed)*	"bid higher!"
	žaweb	"answer!"	*džaweb(<tžaweb)*	"answer each other!"
	daḥes	"jostle!"	*ddaḥes (<tdaḥes)*	"jostle each other!"
(59)	*zur*	"visit!"	*dzur*(<*tzur*)	"she will visit"
(60)	*rfed*	"he carried"	*rfett (<rfedt*)	"I carried"

Generally, the data correspond to the results of the *Roots of Ethnolects* study with respect to RVA in obstruent + /z/ clusters. There are many instances of RVA in these clusters, a process absent in ID. The RVA pattern in MD speech is similar to the L2MD speech of the parents and different from ID. This strongly suggests that the pattern is spread by diffusion from the parents to the children, which does not mean that it is necessarily a substrate effect from the heritage languages (Labov 2007).

<73> The results for the MD youngsters in Gouda show a considerably higher mean percentage than those found by *Roots of Ethnolects* (63% against approximately 20% for MD and 25% for Turkish Dutch in Amsterdam and Nijmegen). The question then arises what the possible cause of this higher figure might be. In *Roots of Ethnolects* it was demonstrated that the voicing of /z/ does not show a stylistic shift in post-obstruent position, i.e. the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch speakers do not adjust the frequency of voicing to the ethnic background of the interlocutor (van Meel 2016: 50). If we accept this argument, an in-group effect, in other words an interaction with the interlocutor, who shares the same ethnic background, can be excluded as a cause. The /z/ has an emblematic status in MD, not only among MD as mentioned in the metalinguistic comments. Hinskens (2011) already noted there might be "boosting" of this frequently occurring, often voiceless consonant. A possible other reason might be the local effect. The distinction between voiced and voiceless sibilants is clearly audible in Gouda ID, while in the Amsterdam colloquial variant there is no voicing opposition.[26]

[26] Note that I have found a higher token frequency in our study, namely 472 against 116 instances of /z/ in *the Roots of Ethnolects* (4 x 29 for the MD in the 18-20 age group).

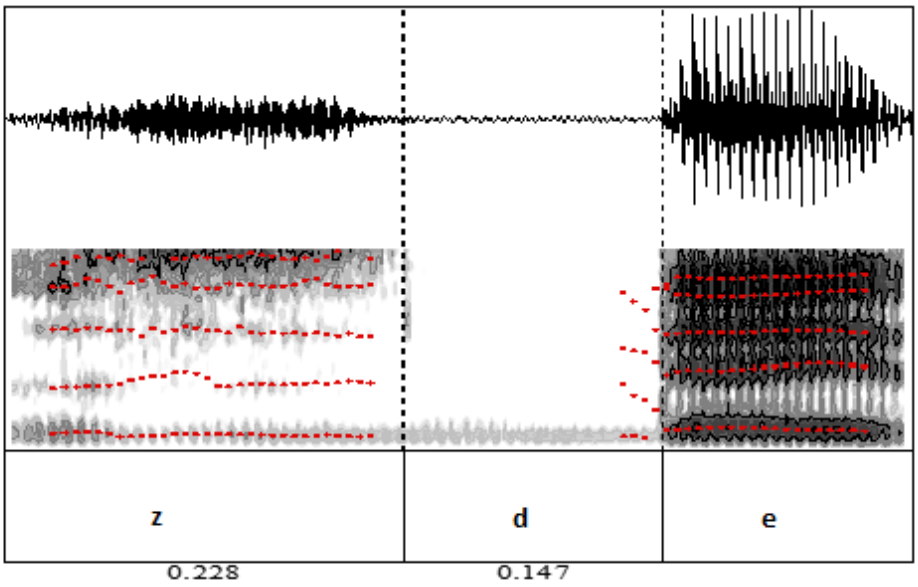
Chapter 3

Consonant duration

<74> In the study of youth varieties, a choppy or staccato rhythm is reported (cf. Cheshire et al. 2015:8). While rhythmic structure is a broad notion, one of the factors that may contribute to a divergent rhythm is consonantal and vocal segment duration. Listening to MD speakers, one gets the impression that some consonants are overlong (cf. chapter 12.3 for vowel length). The following example, an excerpt from an interview with two MD teenagers in The Hague in which the consonants /z/ and /d/ are realized overlong, may illustrate this.[27] A PRAAT slice shows the particularly long duration of the /z/ and the long stop gap of the /d/.

(61) *ze deden geen vlieg kwaad* [z:d:eɪdə] (z = 0.228s d = 0.147s)

"They did nobody wrong."



PRAAT Slice 1 Overlong Consonants

<75> Hinskens (2011) studied duration with respect to the realization of /z/. It is realized differently in MD than in ID, as it is often dentalized, more often voiced and it can have an overlong or "geminate" realization. The author contends that the overlong realization probably has its origins in Moroccan Arabic and/or Berber, as both languages have lexical and derived geminate consonants. As gemination is phonological, all consonants have geminate counterparts in Moroccan Arabic and Berber. Therefore, one wonders if only /z/ is affected. For this reason, Hinskens rightly asks "*is there also gemination in the coronal stops and sonorants?*" (cf. Hinskens 2011:118). In this chapter I argue that indeed all consonants in MD can be lengthened. Overlong consonants occur in clearly definable linguistic contexts, which -at least partly- mirror processes in Tarifiyt Berber (and Moroccan Arabic). However, the number of overlong or "geminate" consonants is quite limited and the phenomenon is probably best considered a stylistic feature.

In section 3.2 of this chapter, I compare the Berber (and Arabic) consonant systems to Dutch with respect to lengthening. In section 3.3 the duration of the different segments will be studied from an intraspeaker perspective. This is followed in section 3.4 by an interspeaker comparison

[27] The sound fragment is taken from an interview on the online news-channel PowNews found on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c5FFDtMVmcU. 0.40 - 0.48

including an ID speaker. A selected number of vowels will be compared to the duration of the consonants in section 3.5. In the final section, the overlong consonants will be discussed in the light of substrate influence.

3.1 Methods of measurement

<76> The consonants were measured for duration. For the fricatives, the discernable frication noise was measured in the spectrogram. Where necessary, auditory information was used to set the boundaries, especially where there is an adjacent consonant. I only measured the stop gap for stops, because the release often merges with the following segment in the spectrogram. For this reason it was ignored. This is not a big loss, as the stop burst makes up only a short element of the complete stop, the stop gap being by far the longest element (cf. Di Paolo & Yaegar-Dror 2010:91). Stops at the beginning of an utterance were ignored, as it is very difficult to establish their exact onset.

For three speakers I measured the absolute duration of a number of overlong consonants. In addition, a number of short consonants were measured for the purpose of comparison. Speakers MD-I and MD-E were chosen for their "strong" MD. The reasons for this choice were explained in section 1.6.

3.2 Geminates in Moroccan Arabic, Berber and Dutch

<77> Lexical consonantal geminates are not part of the Dutch phonological system. However, two adjacent single segments can be realized relatively long if the segments are part of separate prosodic words (cf. Ernestus 2000). The same applies to clusters in which one segment differs in underlying voice-specification. In other contexts, two adjacent consonants are frequently realized as a single element or only slightly longer (Ernestus 2000:65, cf. Booij 1995:68). Some examples are (adopted from Ernestus 2000:65):

(62)	*lasster*	/las+ster/	[lɑsːtər]	"female welder"
(63)	*kerkklok*	/kerk + klok/	[kɛrkːlok]	"church bell"
(64)	*at tonijn*	/at/ + /tonijn/	[ɑtːonɛɪn]	"ate tuna"

A recent study confirms that there are indeed differences between single and long realizations of plosives, fricatives, liquids and glides (Jacobs et al. 2017:71). While single plosives and geminate plosives and glides hardly differ in duration across word boundaries, there are relatively large differences in duration between single fricatives and liquids.

<78> In Tarifiyt Berber and Moroccan Arabic gemination is a prominent feature of consonants. All simple consonants have a geminate counterpart. Geminates can be part of the lexical word but they can also be the result of (morpho-)phonological processes. They are represented by double consonants. An example of a geminate in a lexical stem in (Nador) Tarifiyt Berber is the /ww/ in *acewwaf* [ɛʃəwːɛf] "hair". Furthermore, two phonetic contexts trigger gemination. The first one is the "schwa-retention" context. Schwa is an unstable vowel, which has a semi-phonological status, and therefore its position can be predicted to a certain degree (cf. Kossmann & Stroomer 1996:463-464). Phonetically, it is often absent, even though speakers have strong opinions about its presence. Schwa is inserted from right to left in a CC sequence and cannot occur in open syllables (cf. Kossmann 1995). To avoid schwa ending up in an open syllable, it can be deleted, leading to resyllabification as in (65), or the gemination of a single consonant as in (66) and (67) below.[28] This only occurs in word-final position.

[28] Lafkioui (2007:26) mentions the option of no resyllabification, i.e. the form stays the same.

(65) *řxe̲me̲t̲ inu* > *řex̲em̲t̲ inu*

"my job" (Lafkioui 2007:26)

(66) *řxe̲me̲t̲ inu* > *řxe̲me̲tt̲ inu*

"my job" (Lafkioui 2007:26)

(67) *t̲fehme̲d̲ əyyi* > *t̲fehme̲d̲d̲ əyyi*

"you understand me" (Kossmann 2000:18)

Interestingly, the MD example Hinskens gives of /z/ gemination is exactly in the context of schwa in open syllable.

(68) *ze wil nou niet*

[z:ə] (Hinskens 2011:120)

"she doesn't want now"

<79> In addition, assimilation can produce geminates. Especially dental consonants are subject to assimilation. In Tarifiyt Berber, the single dentals are fricatives, but they are realized as stops when geminated, except in the schwa-retention context. In such cases, there is always regressive voice assimilation, e.g. d̲/d + t/t̲ > tt in *d̲ tmeṭṭut̲* > t tmeṭṭut̲ "with a woman" (see 8.6.1 above; Kossmann 2000:20; Lafkioui 2007:84). Finally, there is expressive lengthening, which means that any consonant or vowel, including schwa, can be lengthened for emphatic purposes (cf. Dorleijn et al. 2005:162). Its functions have not been studied in detail, but the general meaning is exaggeration or emphasis. Some examples from Tarifiyt Berber are:

(69) *d ṭuuumubin* [tˁːʊːːmʊβin]

"It is a (very) nice car."

(70) *niiiican* [niːːʃɛn]

"exactly"

(71) *yigggweeeej* [jigʷːəːːʒ]

"It is (very) far."

<80> There is a major debate among Berber linguists whether the main feature of geminates is tenseness or duration (cf. Galand 2010; Chaker 1984; Ridouane 2009). In recent years, articulatory and acoustic analyses have repeatedly shown that "*the most systematic acoustic and articulatory correlate distinguishing Tarifit Berber singletons from geminates is consonant duration*." (Bouarourou et al. 2015, cf. also Bouarourou 2010, 2011, 2014). Speech tempo may be a cause of differences between speakers, even though the results of our measurements do not show any large interspeaker divergences. However, Bouarourou shows that speech tempo does not significantly alter consonant duration and geminates are significantly longer than singletons in terms of absolute duration. Finally, consonantal gemination does not influence the length of adjacent vowels. In the following, all these characteristics of geminates in Tarifiyt Berber are shown to be relevant also in MD.

3.3. Intraspeaker variation

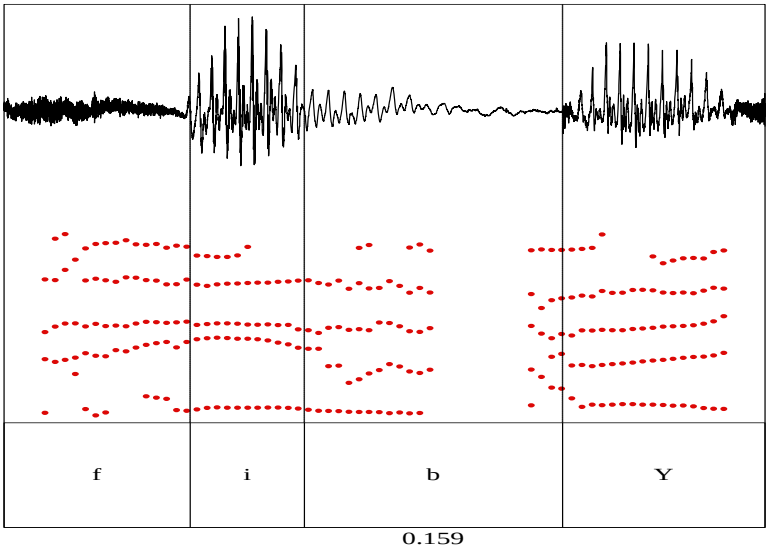
<81> MD allows for all consonants to be overlong in a number of contexts. The first context is "consonant assimilation". The consonant immediately preceding the overlong consonant is not visible in the spectrogram. The following example illustrates a consonant that is perceived as long by the author. In example (72) /l/ fully assimilates to /x/ and in (73) /r/ fully assimilates to /b/. The two assimilated consonants are not visible in the spectrograms.

(72)	*zijn allemaal gek, joh*	[ɑm:ɑx:ɛk]	(MD-I, 21)
	"They are all crazy"	(x = 0.159 ms)	

Speaker MD-E shows the same lengthening process in the following examples, where a consonant is assimilated to a stop (73) and a fricative (74). The expected /r/ is an alveolar tap (cf. chapter 4).

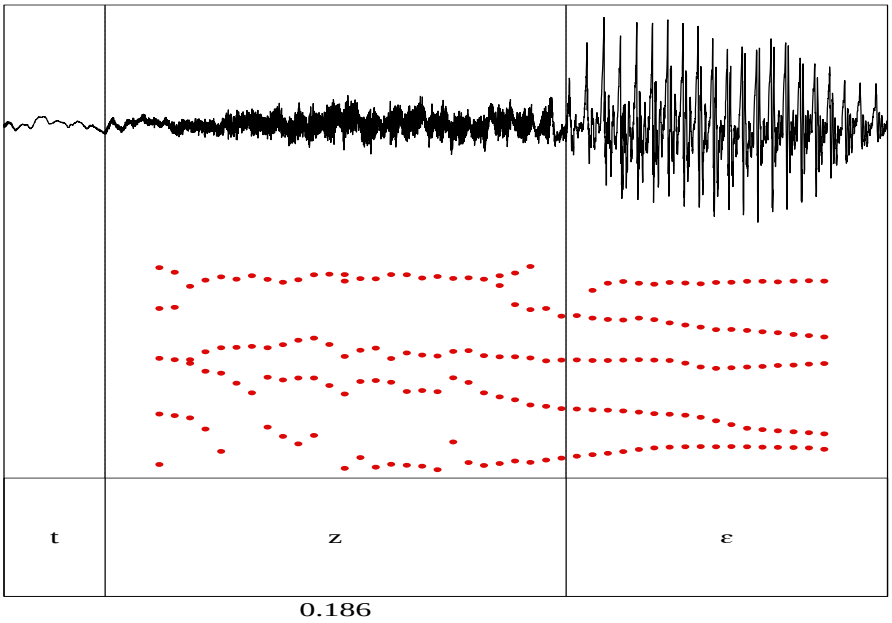
(73)	*zag ik vier busjes*	[fib:ɜʃəs]	(MD-E, 18)
	"I saw four small busses."	(b = 0.159 ms)	

The oscillogram below shows that the stop gap of /b/ is very long.



Slice 2 Stop gap /b/

(74)	*dat is zelfde*	[dˀdz:ɛlvdə]	(MD-E, 18)
	"That's the same."	(z = 0.186 ms)	



PRAAT Slice 3 Overlong /z/

<82> The second context is what I call "schwa-retention", an analogy to a process in Tarifiyt Berber, in which a consonant lengthens to prevent schwa from being in an open syllable. Most often a nominal or verbal clitic is involved, such as the pronoun *ze* "they" or the article *de* "the". However, it does include other contexts as well. Sometimes it occurs in CəC syllables in word-initial position, often in cases where the verbal prefixes *ge-* and *be-* are involved. Our data show that it cannot be predicted which consonant lengthens: both the consonant preceding or following the schwa can become overlong. In example (75), the initial consonant is lengthened while in example (76) the second consonant is lengthened.

(75)	*ik heb <u>wel gebokst</u>*	[ɣɛɬx:əbokst]	(MD-I, 21)
	"I did play boxing."	(x = 0.123 ə= 0.023 b =0.0965)	
(76)	*je weet toch, zo'n <u>aparte wijk</u>*	[apɑɾtə̯v:ɛɪk]	(MD-E, 18)
	"You know, a strange neighbourhood."	(t = 0.0508 e= 0.023 = w = 0.138)	

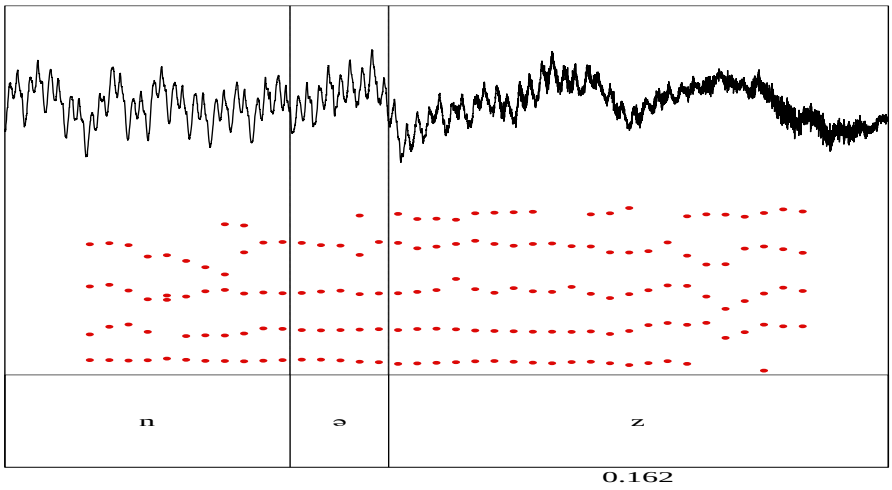
<83> The following examples show further cases of consonant lengthening in schwa-retention contexts. Schwa can be present phonetically, but it is often not present.

(77)	*bij ons altijd, altijd <u>in de pan</u>*	[ɪndp:an]	(MD-I, 21)
	"With us always, always in the pan."	(p = 0.139 ms)	
(78)	*dus hij heeft <u>de zusje</u> van zijn vrouw geschoten*	[dz:Yʃə]	(MD-I, 21)
	"So he shot his wife's sister."	(z = 0.165 ms)	

An interesting case is example (79), where a short vowel /ɪ/ reduces to schwa. Subsequently, the following /s/ lengthens because the ensuing schwa would otherwise be in open syllable.

The resulting /z/ is overlong and has other MD characteristics, namely dentalization and strong voicing.

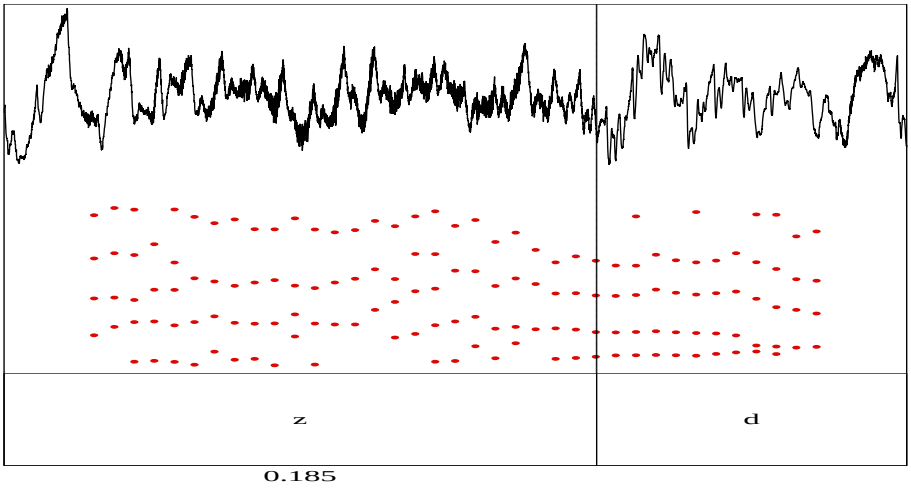
(79) *dan is het letterlijk* [dn̪°z̪:t] (MD-I, 21)
"Then it is literally" (z = 0.162)



PRAAT Slice 4 Overlong /z/

<84> The realization of /z/ in example (80) is also illustrative for this context. The spectrogram shows heavy frication and long duration.

(80) *ze dronken gewoon bier op deze school* [z:dɾɔ̃kə] (MD-E, 18)



PRAAT Slice 5 Overlong /z/

Example (81) shows an overlong stop /d/.

(81) *bḥal we halen drie blikjes of žo* [vha:lədːɾi] (MD-E, 18)
"Like we bring three cans or so." (d = 0.165 ms)

The final category is more diffuse and therefore I choose to use the rather broad term "emphatic lengthening", which refers to a process of consonant lengthening to add emphasis to the utterance.

(82) *is gek* [ˀsx:ɛk] (MD-I, 21)
"Is crazy" (x = 0.131 ms)

(83) *welḷah ik had nooit problemen, niks, met school niet, niks* (MD-E, 18)
[khən:ɔ:ɪtˀprobleɪmˀn:eks]
"By God I never had problems, nothing, not with school, nothing" (first n = 0.263 ms)

<85> The tables below show consonants compared in contexts with no adjacent schwa, without assimilation and without emphatic lengthening, that is, contexts that were not discussed above and where one would not expect lengthening. One expects these consonants to be shorter than the overlong contexts, because of the lack of the triggering contexts. They show the mean, the minimal and maximal duration of the consonants for the two "strong" MD speakers mentioned in section 1.6. The consonants were measured in word-initial or word-medial position. For MD-I the consonant /s/ was ignored because there were no overlong variants to compare it to.

Table 8 MD-I

	N	**Mean (ms)**	**Min (ms)**	**Max (ms)**
z	10	0.067334	0.0499	0.0858
m	9	0.074189	0.0178	0.1365
x	7	0.060786	0.029	0.096
w	10	0.04381	0.029	0.067
p	10	0.08499	0.0527	0.112
b	10	0.06743	0.036	0.086
d	10	0.03961	0.023	0.0639

Table 9 MD-E

	N	**Mean (ms)**	**Min (ms)**	**Max (ms)**
z	9	0.08085	0.057	0.0936
m	7	0.072071	0.025	0.0992
x	10	0.08611	0.043	0.139
w	10	0.04565	0.02	0.065
s	6	0.10065	0.0645	0.128
p	10	0.080765	0.0447	0.106
b	10	0.07112	0.0159	0.112
d	10	0.06171	0.0312	0.136

<86> In general, MD-E's overall means are higher than MD-I's overall means. This fits the impression of MD-E's slower and more laid-back speech style. At the same time, MD-E generally shows more variation. The overlong consonants have varying durations, but they are all longer

than the longest consonants outside of the "lengthening" contexts. They are much longer than the mean duration of non-overlong consonants.
Another way of looking at duration is comparing the total length of two immediately adjacent consonants within a word which fall outside the lengthening contexts with "schwa-retention" contexts. Non-lengthening contexts are compared with lengthening contexts. I show the minimum and maximum absolute length of the consonant clusters (not means). There are not so many instances of adjacent consonant clusters that correspond to schwa-retention clusters, i.e. the exact same adjacent consonants without schwa. However, the few clusters generally show a shorter absolute duration than the "schwa-retention" clusters.

MD-I

Adjacent Cluster	**N**	**min (ms)**	**max (ms)**
sb	7	0.100	0.135
sm	10	0.0976	0.157

The following examples show "schwa-retention" with the same clusters. The total durations (between brackets) are all higher than the maximal duration of non-schwa retention contexts.

(84)	*ik heb een <u>Hollandse buurjongen</u>*	[holɑntsbːyrjoŋe]	(MD-I, 21)
	"I have a Dutch neighbour."	(s = 0.0949 b = 0.0767 tot. = 0.1716)	
(85)	*jouw <u>Hollandse man</u>*	[holɑ̃tsᵊmˤːɑ̃n]	(MD-I, 21)
	"Your Dutch husband"	(s = 0.1083, m = 0.128 tot = 0.2363)	
(86)	*<u>ze willen</u> ehh*	[zːvelə]	(MD-E, 18)
	"They want ehhh"	(z = 0.124 w = 0.079 tot = 0.203)	
(87)	*kleine kinderen <u>zaten te spelen</u>*	[zatːːspeɪlə]	(MD-E, 18)
	"Small children were playing"	(t = 0.133, s = 0.10667 tot = 0.239)	
(88)	*de beste <u>Marokkaanse meisje</u>*	[mɑrokɑ̃ːsmːɛːʃə]	(MD-E, 18)
	"the best Moroccan girl"	(s = 0.127 m= 0.125, tot = 0.252)	

<87> Consonant lengthening remains optional for the speaker. The following examples attest to the difference in which in the "schwa-retention" context the same consonant cluster can be realized as either long (89) or short (90) by the same speaker.

(89)	*<u>ze gaan</u> elkaar helpen*	[sxan]	(MD-E, 18)
	"They will help each other"	(z (> s) = 0.102 x = 0.0589 tot. = 0.16)	
(90)	*<u>ze gunnen</u> elkaar niet het beste*	[zəxːənə]	(MD-E, 18)
	"They don't want the best for each"	(z = 0.159, e = 0.0364, x = 0.149 tot = 0.344)	

3.4. Comparison with ID

<88> No overlong consonants exist in ID in the contexts sketched above for MD (with the possible exception of assimilation). However, I encountered the possibility of consonant lengthening for emphatic purposes.

(91)	*kwam er ook een man <u>aangesprint</u>*	[ãːxˀspːʁɪnt]	(ID-E, 17)
	"A man came running."	(p = 0.172 ms)	

In the utterance immediately following the speaker repeats the same word. This time, the /p/ is much shorter.

(92)	*die kwam helemaal <u>aangesprint</u>*	[ãːxˀspʁɪnt]	(ID-E, 17)
	"He came running"	(p = 0.079 ms)	

Table 10 shows the duration of a number randomly selected ID fricatives for one speaker. The chosen contexts are the same as the MD contexts, i.e. outside the MD lengthening contexts. The means and the minimal and maximal range of the fricatives are comparable to the durations of the fricatives of the MD speakers.[29]

Table 10: ID-E

	N	Mean (ms)	Min (ms)	Max (ms)
z	7	0.074086	0.0596	0.086
m	10	0.06635	0.0377	0.13
x	10	0.07605	0.042	0.128
w	10	0.0368	0.0188	0.0609
s	10	0.09491	0.08	0.116

<89> In the examples below an ID utterance in a "schwa-retention" context is shown. The duration of the consonants in this context falls within the range of the consonants outside this context, i.e. there is no lengthening. There is no difference between consonants in either linguistic environment.

(93)	*dus <u>we zaten</u> daar een half uurtje*	[wəzaːtə]	(ID-E, 17)
	"So we sat there for half an hour."	(w = 0.0317 ms, z = 0.074 ms, tot =0.1477)	
(94)	*<u>ze w</u>eten wel*	[zəw]	(ID-E, 17)
	"They know"	(z = 0.0890, w = 0.0421, tot = 0.1311)	

3.5. Consonants followed by vowels

<90> Another aspect of MD speech that may have an impact on the perception of auditorily long consonants is the relative duration of adjacent accented vowels. Some vowels can be unexpectedly short which contributes to a perceptually different consonant-to-vowel ratio. In the following examples, the consonants are in schwa-retention context and are not realized overlong. They fall within the normal range (compare Table 10). However, in all examples, the vowels are extremely short compared to the means or general vowel duration (cf. section 6.4 for vowel duration of speakers MD-I and MD-E).

[29] For comparison to Dutch consonants which were measured in an experimental setting I refer the reader to van der Harst et al. 2007, Kissine et al. 2003. The ID /z/ and /s/ turn out to have much longer absolute durations in the latter study than in our data (Kissine et al. 2003:98).

(95)	*die mannetje heeft weer een nieuwe <u>zaak</u> geopend*	[zaːk]	(MD-I, 21)
	"That guy opened a new business"	(z = 0.094 /aː/= 0.097)	

In examples (96) and (97) /m/ is overlong and labialized. Labialization could be the effect of a release of a long /m/. This process is not unknown in Moroccan Arabic. In example (88) /m/ is long, while vowel /aː/ is extremely short. They fall in the lowest range of the first quartile of the /aː/ vowel (cf. chapter 6.4). The vowel /aː/ of the ID speaker does not become this short at all (cf. idem).

(96)	*<u>ze maken</u> voor dertig personen*	[zəmʷːak]	(MD-I, 21)
	"They make for thirty persons"	(z = 0.081 m =0.089, /aː/ = 0.0476)	
(97)	*<u>ze maken het</u> zo negatief*	[zəmʷːakənət]	(MD-I, 21)
	"They make it so negative"	(z = 0.062, m = 0.0896, /aː/ = 0.048)	
(98)	*<u>supermarkten gaan</u> dicht*	[sːpərmɑɾktəxːan]	(MD-E, 18)
	"Supermarkets close"	(s = 0.131 p = 0.138 m = 0.078 g = 0.126 a = 0.065)	

Chapter 4

/r/ realization in MD

<91> The phoneme /r/ has many different realizations with large inter and intraspeaker variation in varieties of Dutch. Van de Velde (1996) identifies ten variants of Dutch /r/, Sebregts (2015) distinguishes twenty different variants and Smakman (2006) distinguishes even more. There is a lot of allophonic variation and a great number of variants occur only in coda position. In Gouda MD speech, /r/ does not have that many allophones.
This chapter deals specifically with /r/-variation in coda position in MD. While Gouda ID speakers often have a retroflex/bunched approximant realization [ɻ] (and other vocalized variants) in this position, a variant that has in recent years swiftly gained territory, the commonest realization of /r/ in Gouda MD is the alveolar tap [ɾ] (cf. Sebregts 2015:196-200).

4.1. /r/ deletion in ID

<92> /R/-deletion is a gradient and not a categorical process: the /r/ may be not fully deleted (cf. Booij 1995:126). This is not surprising, as /r/ is a variable feature in sociolinguistic terms (cf. Labov 1972). Cucchiarini & Van den Heuvel (1995) distinguish three *r*-deletion contexts for Dutch in coda position (Sebregts 2015:218); the IPA notations (by the present author) represent standard Dutch pronunciation in South-Holland.

- After schwa, except in word-final position

Rotterdam	[ʁotədɑm]	(place name)
vaders	[vaːdəs]	“fathers”

- After unstressed short vowels

parkeren	[pɑkeːʁə]	“to park”
portier	[pɔtiːɹ]	“doorman”

- After long vowels, but only in conjunction with lengthening and diphthongization towards schwa

noorden	[noːᵊdə]	“north”
paars	[paːs]	“purple”

<93> While the above is based on the author’s intuitions, results from later studies show that /r/ is deleted more often after schwa (-ər) (34% - 66.3%) than after full vowels[30] (6% - 34%).[31] Following these results and the results from Plug and Ogden (2003), Sebregts formulated the following predictions (2015:219):

1. There should be more “zero” variants after schwa than after full vowels.
2. There should be more “zero” variants in those contexts where the vowel variants (the-next-to-most lenited variants) are also most found.
3. There should be more “zero” variants with retraction in the context of final coronal obstruents.

[30] By this, Sebregts means the retraction of a coronal consonant as a consequence of /r/-deletion.

[31] The percentages give the variation based on different means of measurement. I present them in this way as they merely serve to show the differences between the contexts, and they are not directly pertinent to the study of /r/ in this chapter. Note that none of the results is based on data obtained from spontaneous conversation.

His study shows that /r/-elision is most frequent in Nijmegen, Utrecht and Rotterdam. More importantly, he did not find any effects depending on vowel context, whereas there is an effect by the following consonantal context: "*r-elision is more frequent before coronal consonants than in absolute word-final position (and elsewhere…)*" (Sebregts 2015:220). Based on these results in ID, I have chosen to investigate /r/ in pre-coronal obstruent position as this is the context is which most elision of coda /r/ is to be expected.

<94> Measuring /r/ is a complex matter as it may manifest itself in different ways, in vowel formants or only by very subtle tongue movement (cf. Sebregts 2015:219). These subtle manifestations are often not perceptible to the ear. In this study, I randomly selected data from the Gouda MD corpus and counted the perceptible presence of /r/ before coronal consonants based on auditory transcriptions. In addition, some ID speaker data were checked in the same context to ascertain the realization of /r/. The ID speakers' data, even though limited to two speakers, suggest that the retroflex/bunched approximant is dominant in coda position, both in final position and in pre-obstruent position. In a few cases, either another vocalized variant appears; the palatal approximant [j], or there is complete elision. In onset position, one speaker, ID-E (N = 24), consistently realizes a uvular fricative [ʁ] while the other speaker, ID-F (N = 17), most frequently has an alveolar tap in these positions. In one case, this speaker uses an alveolar trill.

4.2. /r/ in MD

<95> The most conspicuous fact about MD /r/ is that, if realized at all, it is virtually always an alveolar tap irrespective of its position in the syllable. All onset /r/'s in clusters are alveolar taps. A subset of the /r/'s in the corpus were checked auditorily for each speaker, every single one realized the onset /r/ as an alveolar tap. Intervocalically, there is no variation pertaining to the realization of the /r/ in the cluster /ərə/, which is, again, always an alveolar tap. In pre-consonantal coda position, /r/ is realized mostly as an alveolar tap, but in a small number of instances, a voiceless alveolar tap is realized. The latter realization seems to occur mainly in high speech tempo, and the alveolar tap might be the target. In addition, vocalization of /r/ is found in this position.

<96> In Table 11 below all Dutch vowels followed by an orthographic /r/ are presented. I measured all vowels + /r/ + coronal obstruent clusters in the corpus (either d, t or s).[32] All 18 MD speakers are included in Table 11. Very few attestations of clusters *ir* and *our* exist in the corpus.

Table 11: Pre-obstruent coda /r/ per vowel context

Orthography	IPA	N	Alveolar tap	Vocalized	Alveolar tap	Vocalised
ier	iːr	18	78%	-		22%
ir[33]	ɪr	1	100%	-		-
uur	yr	36	67%	5%		28%
ur	Yr	43	93%	2%		5%
ər	ər	131	34%	-		66%
er	ɛr	22	60%	-		40%
or	ɔr	41	61%	-		39%
oor	oːr	21	86%	-		14%

[32] Note that in some Dutch varieties, in coda clusters of /r/ and a non-coronal or nasal consonant an ephenthetic schwa can be inserted, making the /r/ intervocalic (Sebregts 2015:236). For this study this is irrelevant, as only contexts with coronal consonants are studied.

[33] The one word in the corpus containing this vowel is cirkel "circle".

Orthography	IPA	N	Alveolar tap	Vocalized	Alveolar tap	Vocalised
aar	aːr	30	60%	-		40%
ar	ɑr	45	71%	2%		27%
eer	eːr	29	62%	-		38%
eur	øːr	11	72%	-		28%
oer, our	uːr	15	48%	-		52%
Total		**422**	**58%**	**1%**		**41%**

Table 11 shows that percentagewise most /r/'s in coda position are realized as alveolar taps. In all clusters, except for /ər/ and /uːr/, the alveolar tap is dominant. The exceptions can be explained. In the case of /uːr/, the percentage is skewed by the fact that the lexical item *journaal* /ʒu(r)naːl/ "television news" consistently has deletion of /r/ ($n = 5$). This may be due to its strong association with formal contexts. As for /ər/, the first prediction made by Sebregts – "*there should be more "zero" variants after schwa than after full vowels*" - is apparently borne out for MD.[34]

Some lexical items occur frequently because of the subject, among these are names of cities, such as *Rotterdam* and *Amsterdam*, *zwart*(*e*) "black"[35], *Turk* "Turk" and some numerals. For the cluster /oor/ only the item *woorden* "words" was selected. For some very frequent clusters such as /ər/ a number of random items were chosen, in addition to frequently reoccurring lexical items, such as *anders* "different".

<97> In Table 12 below the number of realizations are broken down per speaker. The total number of clusters measured is lower than in Table 11, as speakers with fewer than five items are neglected.

Table 12 Pre-obstruent coda /r/ per speaker

Speaker	N	Alveolar tap	Alveolar fricative	Vocalised
MD-E	12	100%	-	-
MD-A	38	84%	-	16%
MD-U	10	80%	10%	10%
MD-M	20	80%	-	20%
MD-F	13	77%	-	23%
MD-K	28	68%	-	32%
MD-I	59	67%	-	33%
MD-S	6	67%	-	33%
MD-C	6	67%	-	33%

[34] The total number of (voiced and voiceless) alveolar taps in coda position is only 7.6% out of a total of 7,551 tokens in Sebregts Dutch corpus (Sebregts 2015:75). Conspicuously, the voiced alveolar tap is the most frequent /r/ in other syllabic contexts; word onset, intervocalic and ə-insertion context (cf. Sebregts 2015:75). The numbers for the coda are not directly comparable to the data in Table 12 as they include word-final /r/ and coda clusters with /r/ followed by coronal obstruents. The numbers, however, point to large differences with our data.

[35] This is because of an extensive discussion on the abolition of *Zwarte Piet* "black Pete", the servant of *Sinterklaas* cf. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zwarte_Piet.

Speaker	N	Alveolar tap	Alveolar fricative	Vocalised
MD-K	9	67%	-	33%
MD-B	41	66%	-	33%
MD-J	18	39%	6%	55%
MD-D	8	38%	-	62%
MD-L	56	36%	-	64%
MD-T	6	33%	-	67%
MD-G	20	25%	-	75%
MD-P	32	21%	-	79%
Tot	**382**	**57%**	**1%**	**42%**

For most speakers (eight out of 12) the alveolar tap is dominant. Among the speakers with more than 30 tokens, MD-I, MD-B and MD-A have high percentages of alveolar taps while MD-P and MD-L have more vocalized variants. The speakers MD-I and MD-A are known to have a pronounced MD accent, as is borne out by, for example, the high frequency of sibilant palatalization, while MD-B style-shifts in the different recordings from a stronger to less strong MD accent. The low frequency of the alveolar tap for speaker MD-P may be explained by his high speech rate while MD-L's general MD accent is not very pronounced.

4.3. Other realizations

<98> In addition to the alveolar tap [ɾ], there are three other realizations of /r/ in the corpus. The first is a pronunciation with pharyngealized coarticulation, [ɾˤ], which is encountered in the single lexical item *Arabisch* [aɾˤɑbɪs] "Arabic" (N=45, 31 pharyngealized, 14 non-pharyngealized). This single lexical item is realized with pharyngealization which must be somehow linked to its reference. In Berber and Arabic the corresponding terms also have pharyngealized /r/ (written orthographically with <ṛ>): Berber /t̲aʕṛaft/; Arabic /ʕəṛbiya/. The second realization is only attested for speaker MD-B. This speaker uses the retroflex/bunched approximant [ɻ] in coda when speaking about formal subjects. This shows that shifting to a more ID kind of style (with the accompanying indexicalities) is part of the linguistic repertoire of this speaker.

(99) *jij zoekt het <u>werk</u> niet, maar het <u>werk</u> komt naar jou* 2x [ʊɛɻk] (MD-B, 17)
"You don't look for the job, but the job will come to you."

<99> The third realization is the trill [r], which is used by certain speakers in contexts where a consonant can be realized as overlong or geminated (cf. chapter 3). These trills are found in the cases in which there is assimilation of two adjacent /r/'s, as in example (100). Another case is example (101). In this case, a preceding schwa in open syllable provokes the gemination of the /r/. This is a so-called "schwa-retention context" (cf. chapter 3.2).

(100) *alleen <u>voor Ramadan</u>* [forɑmɑdɑ̃n] (MD-E, 18)
"only for Ramadan"

(101) *<u>korte rok</u>* [kortərok] (MD-I, 21)
"short skirt"

The omnipresence of the alveolar /r/ indicates that it seems to be a central feature in the MD speech repertoire. Variation among speakers suggests that it is also stance-related in that it is correlated with other MD features. Moreover, its interactional and situational occurrence is shown by its conscious manipulation, as the more widely spread retroflex/bunched approximant remains an optional realization as well.

Chapter 5

Other consonants

<100> This chapter presents some remarks on other conspicuous consonants in MD without discussing them in detail. Generally, MD speech is characterized by a more pronounced articulation of consonantal segments. The listener sometimes has the impression that the segments are more emphatic in MD, especially in combination with MD intonation. The following two phrases show how an MD (102) and a hypothetical ID (103) utterance would differ; schwa is more present in ID, /x/ would be an approximant-like consonant more often in ID, /r/ is vocalized in ID and there is more often a release of consonants.

(102) *dat is de enigste plek waar ze worden aangenomen* (MD-I, 21)

[dɑz d̥ ʔeɪnəxst plɛk vaɾ zᵊ voɾdᵊ ʔãːxənoʊmᵊ]

"That's the only place where they would be hired"

(103) *dat is de enigste plek waar ze worden aangenomen* (hypoth. ID)

[dɑs d̥ə eɪnəstə plɛk̚ ʊaːᵊ zə wɔᵊdə ʔãːxənoʊmə]

"That's the only place where they would be hired"

<101> Some segments realized differently from ID are the /l/ and /x/. In this chapter, they will be briefly discussed. In addition, five other conspicuous segmental features of MD will be touched upon: the different realization of the velar /ŋ/, the /d/, and the /v/, /f/ and /w/. Again, most of these features occur in the speech of one of the two "strong" MD speaker, MD-I.

5.1. The /l/

<102> The /l/ in Dutch is "*articulated by the blade/front of the tongue rising to make a central contact with the alveolar ridge*" (Collins & Mees 2003:197). The /l/ has some alternative realizations, such as velarized (dark) [ɬ], depending on the position in the word. In final position "*many speakers realise /l/ as a strongly pharyngealised vocoid without any alveolar contact*" (Colin & Mees 2003:197). The authors go on to suggest that for many speakers it is "*an unrounded back vowel of a [ɤ] type*". Our impression is that there is some lip rounding involved as well, at least in Gouda ID.

In MD, /l/ is sometimes realized in coda position as a voiced alveolar lateral approximant. One of the "strong" speakers, MD-I, realizes /l/ in this way most frequently. In his speech both the "vocalised" and the "segmental" realization occur. The "segmental" distribution is conditioned: the speaker realizes /l/ without velarization in all contexts, except after open back vowels where he realizes a dark [ɬ]. The preceding vowel, if phonetically long, is shortened. In addition, what are phonetic diphthongs in ID, /eː/ [e(ː)ɪ] and /oː/ [o(ː)ʊ] are realized as monophthongs. Some examples are:

(104) *niet zoveel, maar je hebt ze <u>wel</u>* [væl] (MD-I, 21)

"Not so much, but they are there"

(105) *je geeft elkaar zo'n gek <u>gevoel</u>* [xəfʊl] (MD-I, 21)

"You give each other a strange feeling."

<103> The following examples show how the preceding diphthongs are realized as short monophthongs.

(106) *was het een <u>Pool</u>* [pol] (MD-I, 21)

"It was a Polish man"

(107) *met WK als Nederland speelt* [spəlt] (MD-I, 21)

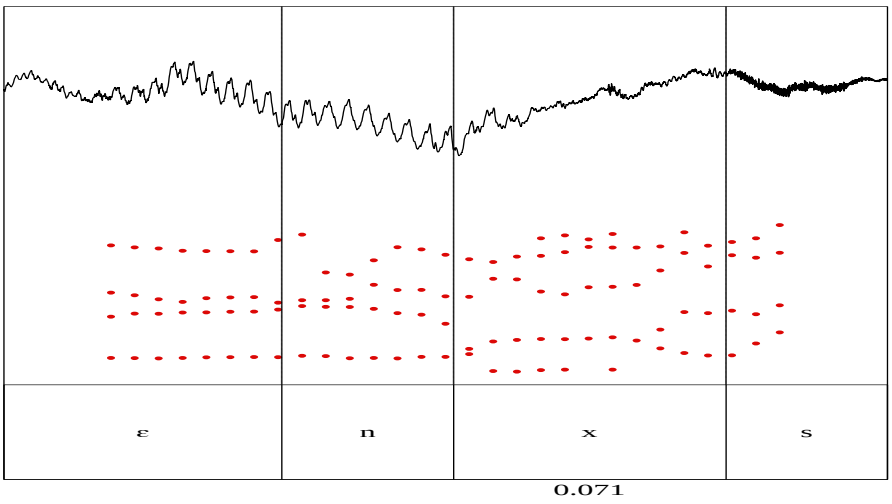
"During the Word Cup, when Holland plays."

Often the vowel /a:/ before the alveolar /l/ is also realized as short by MD-I. For example, in *allemaal*, the first short /a/ often is as long as the second long /aa/. Some other speakers have a voiced alveolar liquid in this position as well, even though not nearly as often as speaker MD-I.

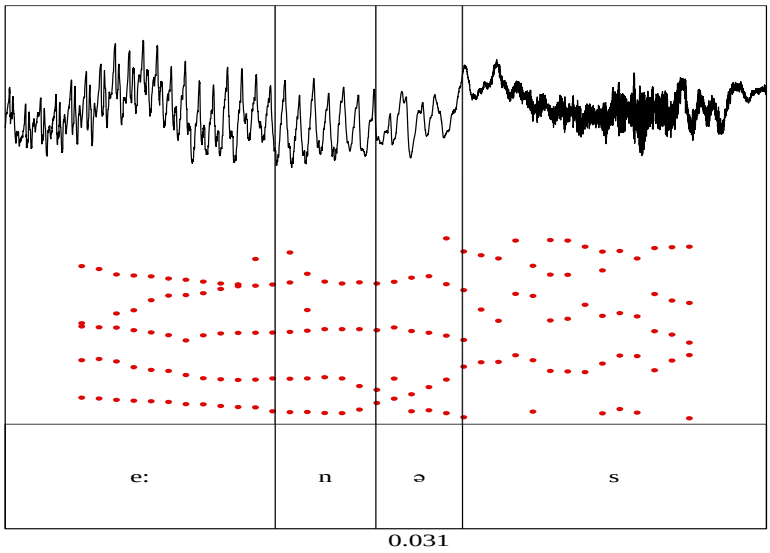
5.2. The /x/

<104> In ID, /x/ is a consonant in which "*the back of the tongue makes a light contact with the rear of the velum… but is probably more precisely described as post-velar [x̠] or pre-uvular [χ̟]* (Collins & Mees 2003:197)". They add that the /x/ "*in (NL) ABN [standard Dutch] has a very energetic articulation with considerable scrapiness*". As for MD /x/ it has been claimed that there is "*gemination of the typical Dutch uvular /χ/, which sounds sharper and harder than in standard Dutch*" (Nortier & Dorleijn 2008:130). In MD, /x/ can be geminated in the appropriate context (cf. chapter 3). However, based on our data there is no reason to assume that the MD /x/ is consistently "sharper" or "harder", which I interpret as having more articulatory tension. The main difference with ID, in my opinion, is that /x/ is more often realized as a fricative than in ID, which, in discourse, may give the impression of a harder or sharper sound. In ID /x/ is often elided or articulated as a different, more lax variant, often an approximant (Smakman 2006:234). MD speakers tend to articulate the tense, fricative /x/ more often in spontaneous speech than ID speakers. In addition, /x/ is frequently pronounced where it is absent in Gouda ID, for example in the consonant clusters /sxr/, where MD has [sxɾ] or [ʃxɾ] (e.g. in *schrijven* "to write").

<105> Two PRAAT slices illustrate the difference between tense and lax /x/ in the word *enigste* "the only". In the PRAAT slice 6 the /x/ from *enigste* in example (102) above is highlighted. Although the fragment contains a lot of noise, it shows that the consonant has a considerable length: it is an overlong consonant. PRAAT slice 7 shows an example of the same speaker who pronounces the same word *enigste* "the only"; however, the /x/ is totally missing and there is a direct continuation of the /ə/ and the /s/. This is a pattern one would expect more often in ID, especially preceding a voiceless consonant, showing that the speaker varies.



PRAAT Slice 6 MD /x/



PRAAT Slice 7 ID /x/

5.3. The /ŋ/

<106> ID has a nasal phoneme [ŋ], which does not occur word-initially. In Gouda MD it is normally realized as in ID; however, in a few instances in the corpus it is realized as [n]. This happens most often in verb forms with *ging* [xɪŋ] "went", e.g.

(108) *en we gingen zwemmen* (MD-R, 16)
[ɛn və xɪnə zvɛmə]
"And we went for a swim."

(109) *toen ging ik helemaal kaal doen* (MD-L, 16)
[tun xɪnɪk ɪləmɑł ka:ł dun]
"Then I did completely bald."

5.4. The /ð/

<107> There are a few cases in the corpus in which /d/ is realized as a fricative [ð] instead of as a voiced alveolar stop. Only speaker MD-I realizes this consonant this way. All examples follow an /r/.

(110) *liever ðan een andere cultuur* (MD-I, 21)
[lifər ðɑn ə ʔɑndərə kəłtyʏ̯]
"I prefer another culture."

(111) *iets ouder ðan mij* (MD-I, 21)
[its ʔʊədər ðɑ mɛɪ]
"A bit older than me."

(112) *voor ðe nieuwe moskee* (MD-I, 21)
[for ðə niu məske:]
"For the new mosque."

5.5. The /v/ and /f/

<108> In ID, obstruents, including voiced fricatives /v, z, ɣ, ʒ/ are devoiced in final position (Kooij & van Oostendorp 2003:64).[36] In addition, a historical process of devoicing of fricatives in onset positions has been taking place over a significant period of time in Dutch (cf. van der Velde et al. 1996). Some fricatives have become fully voiceless. For instance, in many varieties of (standard) Dutch, /ɣ/ has merged with /x/. Moreover, /v/ is being replaced by its voiceless counterpart [f] (cf. van de Velde et al. 1996).

In MD, the distinction between voiced /v/ and voiceless /f/ has completely disappeared, whereas the local variety of ID preserves the distinction to a considerable extent. In order to show this, I studied the realization of /v/ and /f/ by five MD speakers, MD-I, MD-E, MD-A, MD-H and MD-L, and four ID speakers, ID-A, ID-B, ID-C and ID-D. For the MD speakers, 84 realizations of /v/ were auditorily checked. Most /v/'s that were studied were in intervocalic position (N=61), while the others were utterance-initial (N=23). For the ID speakers a sample of 32 instances of /v/ were auditorily checked.[37] Each case was marked as either voiced, partially voiced or voiceless. The labelling was done by the author, and double-checked by a phonetically trained linguist. In total, the MD speakers provided 82 instances of voiceless /v/, one partially voiced /v/ and one fully voiced /v/. The one instance of a voiced /v/ occurred in a proper name, which was a nickname of one of the participants *Novitc* [no:vi͡ʃ]. The ID group, by contrast, shows a different distribution: 10 instances of voiceless /v/, 7 instances of partially voiced /v/ and 15 instances of voiced /v/. In utterance-initial position only voiceless /v/'s were found (N=3), while one more attestation appeared at the start of an intonational contour. This is not surprising, as devoicing of utterance-initial /v/ is typical for the Dutch dialects spoken in the province of South Holland (cf. van de Velde 1996). Most other instances were measured intervocalically, some following a non-obstruent consonant. The partially voiced /v/'s confirm the instability of the voiced fricatives shown in previous studies (cf. van der Velde 1996). The most relevant finding in our study is the fact that many more instances of voiced /v/ occur in the ID sample than in the MD sample.

<109> In addition to the auditory transcription, a number of /v/'s and /f/'s were measured acoustically. 79 instances of /v/ and 36 instances of /f/ were selected among the same MD speakers. The /v/'s partially overlap with the /v/'s that were auditorily checked. In the analysis, the results of harmonicity (harmonics-to-noise-ratio) to measure voicing were neglected, as the recordings contain too much background noise. Instead, absolute duration was taken as indication for the merger of these fricatives. In ID the voiceless consonant /f/ is longer than the voiced or partially voiced /v/ (cf. van der Velde 1996), whereas the mean length of both fricatives in MD is the same, 93 milliseconds. Even though a number of the intervocalic consonants were preceded by schwa, which can be a consonant-lengthening context, not in one single case was there an overlong consonant in MD.

5.6. The /w/

<110> The labiodental approximant /w/ is often articulated differently from ID /w/ [ʋ], which is described as being articulated by an "*approximation between the upper teeth and the inner part of the lower lip*" (Collins & Mees 2003:198). The MD /w/ differs in that often the upper part of the lower lip touches the upper teeth creating a sound similar, but not identical, to ID [v].

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36 /ʒ/ occurs solely in loanwords.

37 It goes without saying that /f/ would be realized as a voiceless consonant, which after auditory verification, turned out to be true. When in contact with a voiced obstruent, progressive voicing assimilation occurs.

Chapter 6 Vowels

Introduction

<111> MD speakers with a "strong" accent give the auditory impression of vowel centralization, especially the front and back vowels seem more centralized compared to vowels of ID speakers. Also, the high vowels, especially the front mid-high and high vowels appear to be lowered. I will therefore focus on some of the mid-close and close vowel realizations of a number of speakers. In section 6.1.3, the vowel space of MD and ID speakers will be discussed using descriptive statistics and vowel plots. Later, in a case study, two "strong" MD speakers will be compared to one "regular" MD speaker and one ID speaker and some conspicuous tendencies will be discussed. In section 6.1.5, the central and high front monophthongs of the two "strong" MD speakers will be dealt with. After that, front high diphthongs will be examined. Section 6.3 is dedicated to another striking aspect of "strong" MD: variable vowel duration.

6.1 Monophthongs

6.1.1 Methods of measurement

<112> The data for phonetic measurements of the vowels were collected from a selected subgroup of speakers. Since they have a "strong" accent, again speakers MD-I and MD-E feature prominently in this chapter (the second interview with this speaker, MD-E2 is used). They show a high incidence of typical MD-features, such as frequent sibilant palatalization, a high percentage of regressive voice assimilation in obstruent clusters, and a number of other features (cf. Mourigh 2017). For these two speakers MD-I and MD-E all the vowels in 15 minutes of speech were segmented in PRAAT. This resulted in 745 segmented vowels for MD-I and 146 vowels for MD-E, because the first speaker spoke more often than the second speaker. Other speakers feature in this chapter as well. In the sections on vowel space and diphthongs, vowels for five other MD speakers were segmented and measured. I randomly selected these vowel realizations, with the obvious requirement that they were not distorted by background noise or in any other way. A recording with two ID speakers was also analyzed for the purpose of comparison. This particular recording was chosen for its low background noise. The vowels were randomly selected. Table 13 shows the speakers featured in this chapter.

Table 13

Speaker	Date	Location	Duration	Heritage Lang.	Age
MD-I	15-06-2015	City Center	60 min	Berber	21
MD-E2	15-06-2015	City Center	60 min	Arabic	17
MD-L	30-10-2014	Community Center	90 min	Berber	16
MD-H	26-10-2014	Park	40 min	Arabic	17
MD-J	27-10-2014	Car	84 min	Berber	17
MD-P	27-10-2014	Car	84 min	Berber	16
MD-B3	16-10-2014	Sports Club	36 min	Berber(/Arabic)	17
ID-E	15-02-2017	Library	70 min	Dutch	17
ID-F	15-02-2017	Library	70 min	Dutch	17

113> Vowel segmentation is based on visual and auditory information in the spectrogram and the oscillogram. Where the vowel is adjacent to consonants, the vowel onset and offset are readily observable. In the case of a preceding or following vowel, a change in formant frequency in combination with auditory information were used to establish the vowel boundary. I neglected

any vowel that showed noise or for any other reason did not have clear spectral values. After segmentation a PRAAT script was run to extract the formant values and duration of each vowel.[38] Standard measurements in PRAAT were used, which means that for every 10 milliseconds a spectrum was calculated after which the median was determined. In the case of diphthongs, the same procedure was followed, whereby the vowel was split in half. I sorted and selected the data using Excel. The vowels for each speaker were separately normalized using LABONOV vowel normalization.[39] This normalization works best for Dutch vowels (cf. Adank et al. 2004).[40]

Plotting vowel means of groups can give a skewed view, especially when there is a fairly limited number of speakers and vowel tokens.[41] The measurements have been executed, but I do not present them here because, quite frankly, they do not tell us very much about individual variation, the most interesting part of vowels in this study. Therefore, I proceed immediately to the study of some individuals. In the following section I will focus on the two MD speakers MD-I and MD-E. The choice of these speakers is not only because they are "strong" MD speakers, but they were also recorded on the same occasion. They are close friends. I maintain the ID speaker(s) as a control group.

6.1.2 Mid and high monophthongs

<114> The vowel measurement resulted in a relatively large number of vowels for MD-I and fewer vowels for MD-E (see section 6.1.2). In addition, a number of random mid and high vowel tokens were measured for ID-E. Vowel plot 1 below shows the mean F1 and F2 of the high front vowels for the three speakers. As the back vowels (u, o, ɔ) of the ID speaker and the MD speakers do not differ substantially I have refrained from showing the data.[42] I decided to focus on the mid-high and high front vowels as there are interesting results in this area.

Vowel Plot 1 shows that the means of MD-I's front-high vowels are quite close to each other. They are much more back, i.e. centralized, than for the other two speakers. In addition, his /ɪ/ is slightly higher than his /i/, which is different for the two other speakers. In fact, MD-E's /i/ is similar to ID-E's /ɪ/. While for the other MD speaker, MD-E, the /i/ is almost equivalent to ID-E's /i/, his other vowels /ɪ/ and /ɛ/ are much lower than both of the other speakers, pointing to vowel lowering. Again, a look at the spread of the individual vowel variations provides more clarity. For this purpose, the boxplots below show formant values for individual speakers.

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38 I would like to thank Jos Pacilly for his help with PRAAT script and the procedure of vowel extraction.

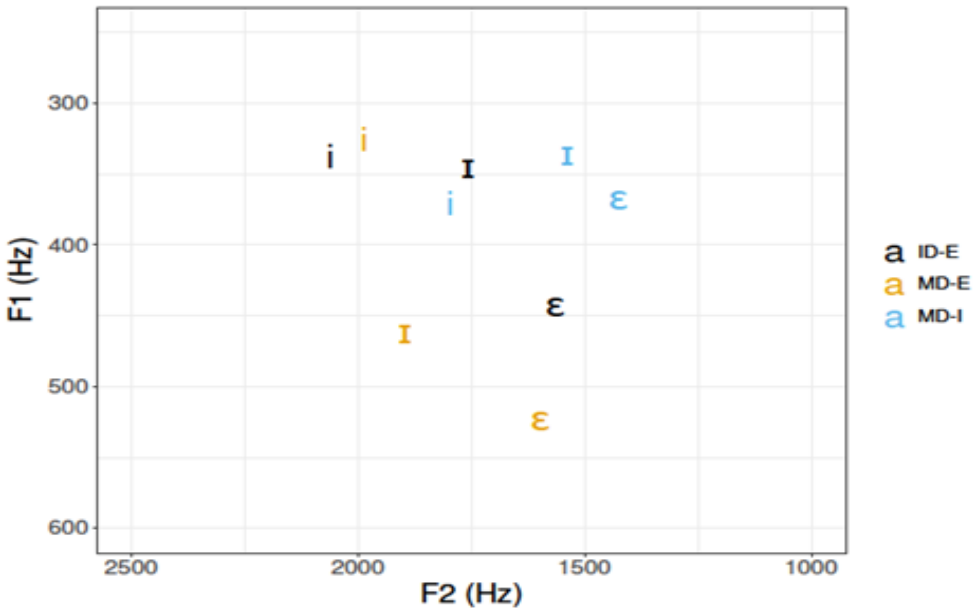
39 Each vowel normalization method has its advantages and disadvantages. "The Lobanov method does an excellent job of factoring out physiologically-caused differences in formant values while retaining sociolinguistic differences. Moreover, Adank et al. (2004) found that, overall, it performed the best of all the techniques they tested in a discriminant analysis of normalized Dutch vowels…" cf. http://lingtools.uoregon.edu/norm/norm1_methods.php

40 The website of the University of Oregon was used. http://lvc.uoregon.edu/norm/norm1.php

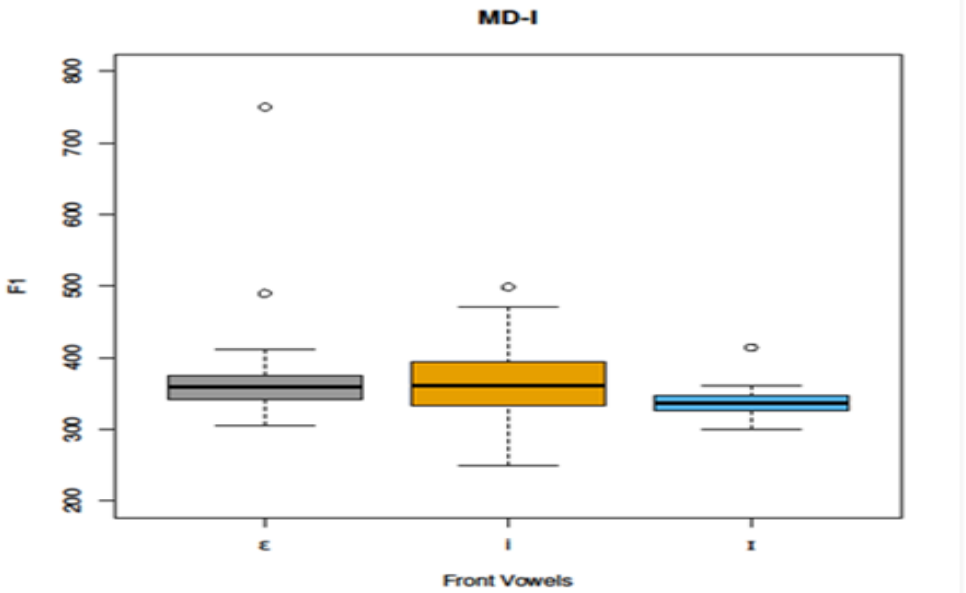
41 Establishing the significance can give some indication as to how groups differ. I have chosen another path, namely that of the individual differences.

42 This may be due to the more limited number of attestations of back vowels.

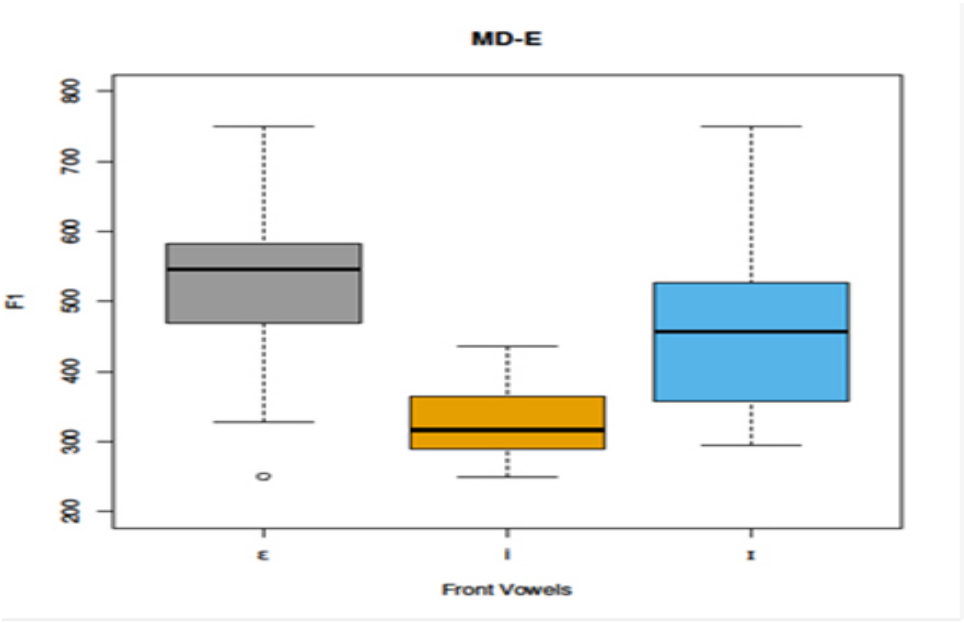
Vowel Plot 1: Lobanov mean vowel plot



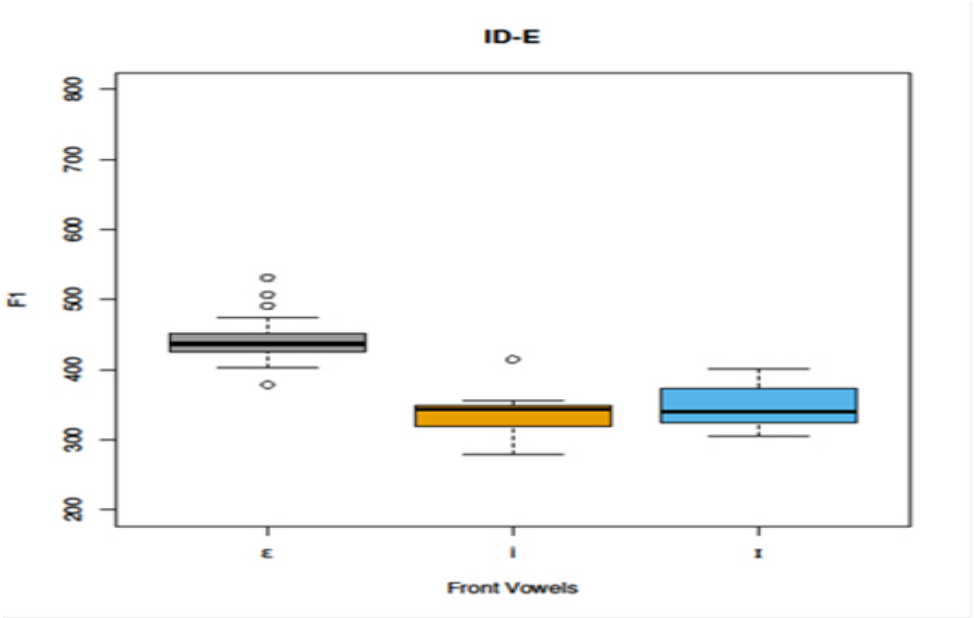
Boxplot 1 MD-I: F1 /i/ N=29 /ɛ/ N=52 /ɪ/ N=37



Boxplot 2 MD-E: F1 /i/ N=21 /ɛ/ N=20 /ɪ/ N=20



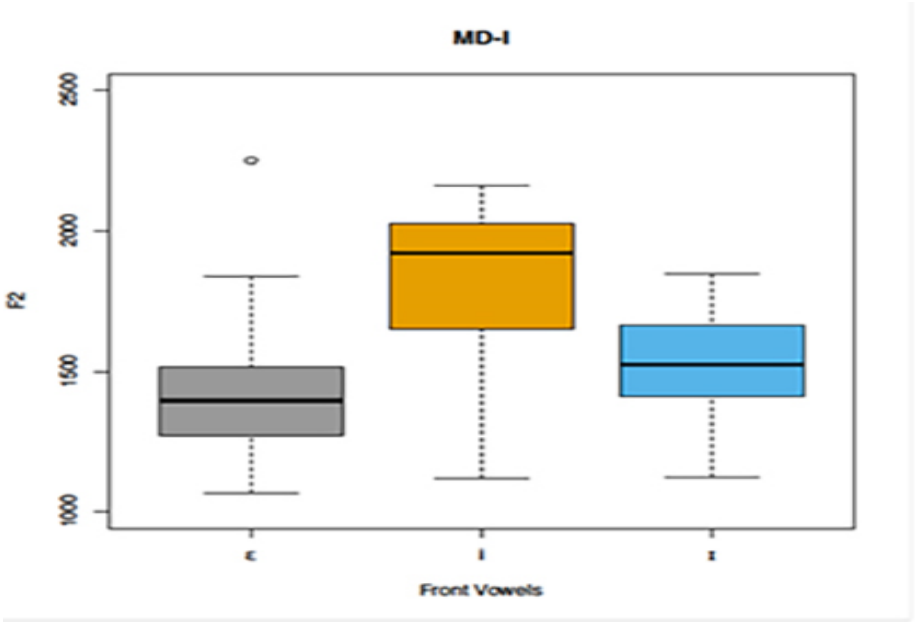
Boxplot 3 ID-E: F1 /i/ N=18 /ɛ/ N=21 /ɪ/ N=13



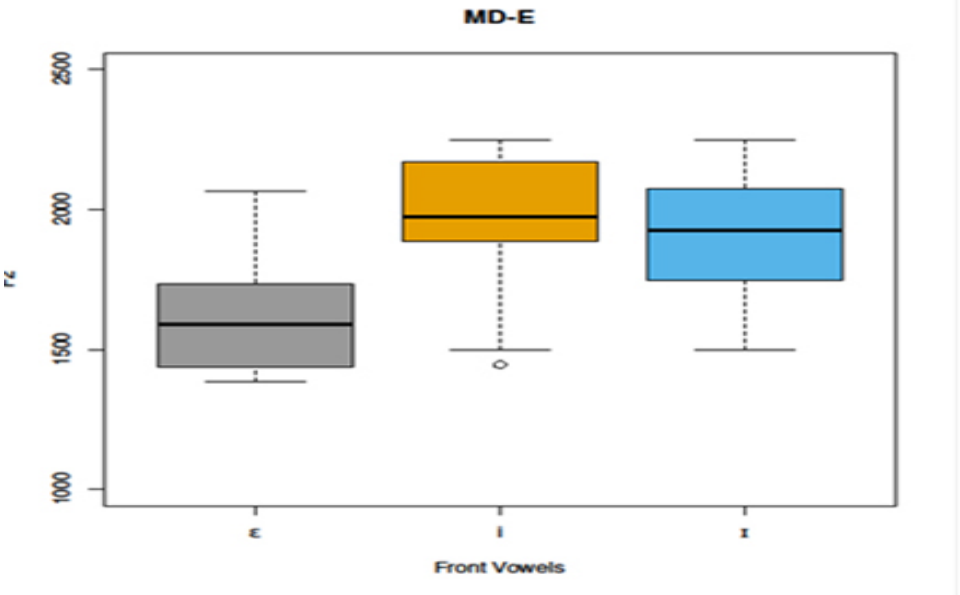
<115> The boxplots show the F1 variation. Interestingly, MD-I's vowels in boxplot 1 show approximately equal medians, with a bit more variation for /i/ which shows greater variability (ignoring outliers). Its realization can be both higher and lower than the two other vowels. MD-E's realization of /ɛ/ and /ɪ/ shows relatively high medians, pointing generally to a low realization of these two vowels. These vowels show a lot of variation, meaning they cover a large area in the vowel spectrum. MD-E's /i/ is comparable to MD-I's /i/ although it covers a slightly more restricted area. For ID-E, the boxplots show a much greater difference between the /ɛ/ and the other vowels and, even though the medians of the /i/ and /ɪ/ are approximately equal, the difference between the upper and lower quartiles shows that, as expected, the vowel /i/ is more

often realized higher than /ɪ/. Below the boxplots for the F2 of the three vowels for each speaker are shown.

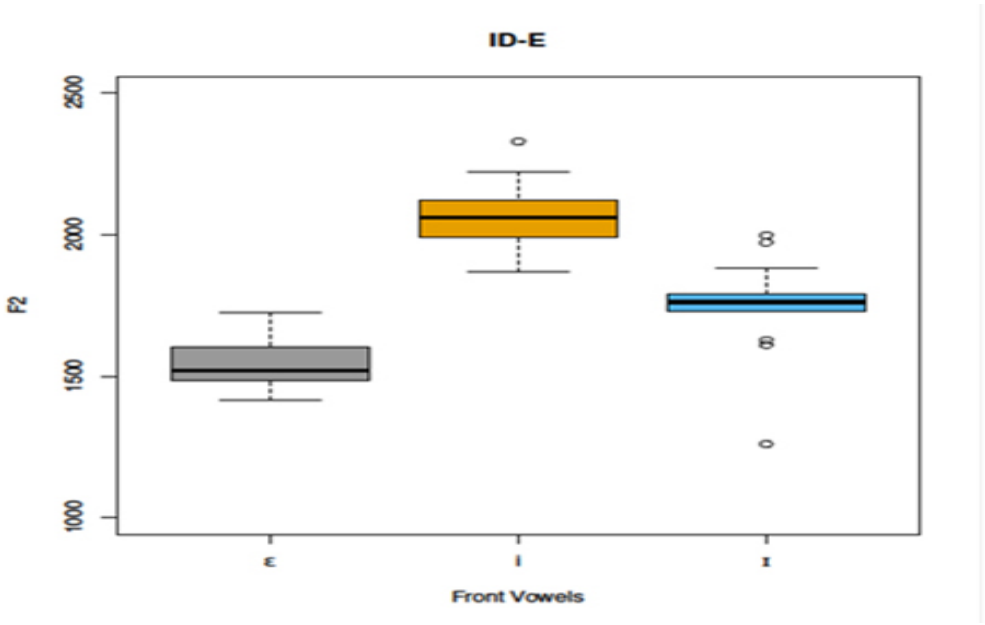
Boxplot 4 MD-I: F2 /i/ N=29 /ɛ/ N=52 /ɪ/ N=37



Boxplot 5 MD-E F2 /i/ N=21 /ɛ/ N=20 /ɪ/ N=20



Boxplot 6 ID-E: F2 /i/ N=18 /ɛ/ N=21 /ɪ/ N=13



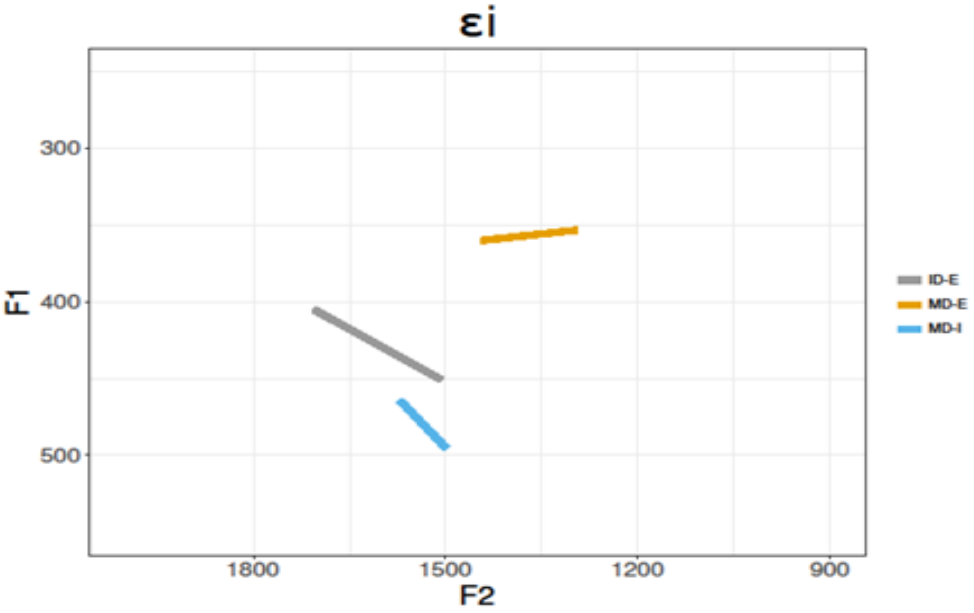
<116> The boxplots show that MD-E's and ID-E's vowels are less variable than MD-I's vowels. MD-I's vowels on the F2 axis show different medians, albeit with large variation. While ID-E's vowels are realized in quite separate areas (again ignoring the outliers), there is an important overlap between MD-I's vowels on the F2 axis. This means that, for example, ID-E's /i/ can be realized in the same position as the MD speakers, but often it is not. Moreover, there is a large overlap with the two other vowels. All vowels can be centralized to a large extent. Note that the lower quartile of the /i/ is approximately as low as the lower quartiles of the other vowels. For MD-E, even though the F2 variation is lower, it is similar to MD-I's F2 values in that the three vowels cover approximately the same areas with slight differences in medians and the division of the quartiles. In the case of ID-E's vowels, one observes a clearer distinction between the three vowels indicated by the medians and the division of the quartiles. However, his vowel realizations of /i/ show a number of outliers.

MD-I shows little variation on the F1 axis and large variation on the F2 axis. The vowels are realized in the front and in the back of the mouth at approximately the same height. MD-E shows a lot of variation in F1, in height, while his F2 shows less variation. However, his three mid-high vowels are realized approximately in the same front area. Overall, the ID speaker keeps the vowels more separate. Therefore, phonetically, the ID speaker more strongly separates his vowel realizations than the "strong" MD speakers, who generally keep the vowels less separate, giving them a distinct sound.

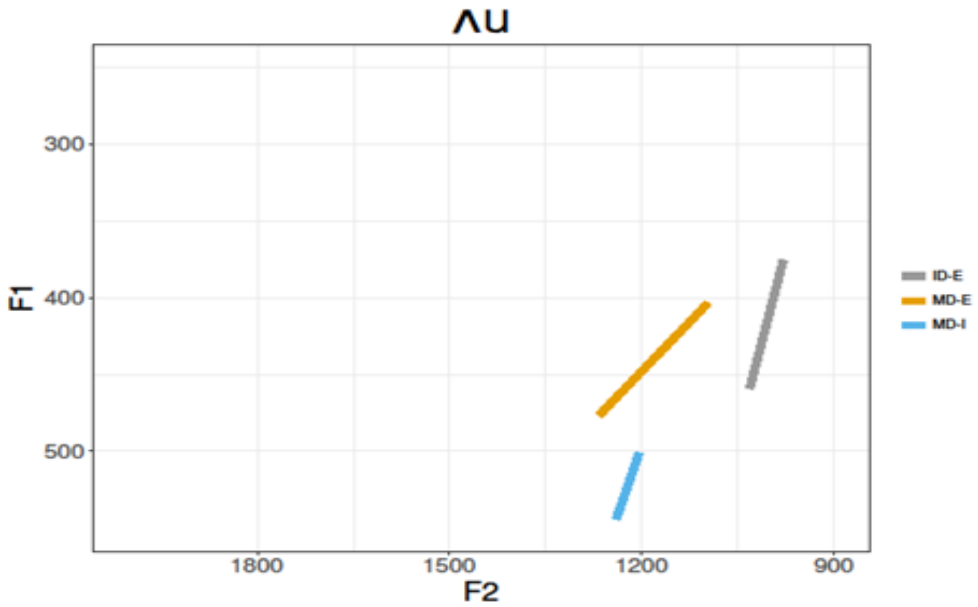
6.2 Diphthongs

<117> Phonologically, there are three diphthongs in standard Dutch (cf. Moulton 1962). In addition, for *Randstad* dialects like Gouda, the tense mid vowels are realized more diphthongal (cf. van Oostendorp 2013:405-408). However, they are often not analyzed as diphthongs because of their distributional properties (cf. Moulton 1962 [2002]). In our corpus, two of the three traditional phonological diphthongs occur. Vowel plots 2 and 3 show the means of the diphthongs for three aforementioned speakers; the "strong" MD speakers, MD-E and MD-i, and ID-E, for the aforementioned reasons.

Vowel plot 2 MD-I N = 30, MD-E N = 9, ID-E N = 16



Vowel plot 3 MD-I N = 11, MD-E N = 1, ID-E N= 2

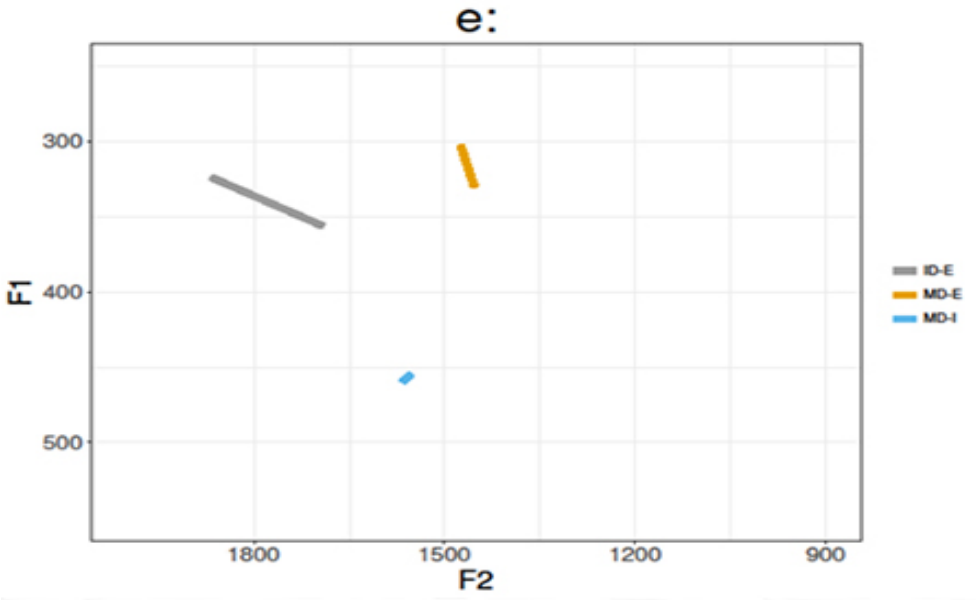


The diphthongs /ɛi/ and /ʌu/ show the expected movement, even though MD-I's diphthongs show little upward movement and only slight sideward movement. MD-I's /ɛi/ and /ʌu/, just like his monophthongs, are quite centralized, especially compared to ID-E's vowels. MD-E's /ɛi/ and /ʌu/ are relatively centralized as well. For MD-E's /ɛi/ one observes that, contrary to the other speakers, the endpoint is approximately at the same height as the starting point. It makes a straight movement whereas his /ʌu/, even though having a substantial upward movement, is also quite centralized on the front-back axis, comparable to MD-I's /ʌu/. ID-E's /ɛi/ shows a more fronted position and it has a more upward movement compared to the /ɛi/ of the two other speakers. His /ʌu/ is more back and less centralized, and makes an upward and slightly backward movement.

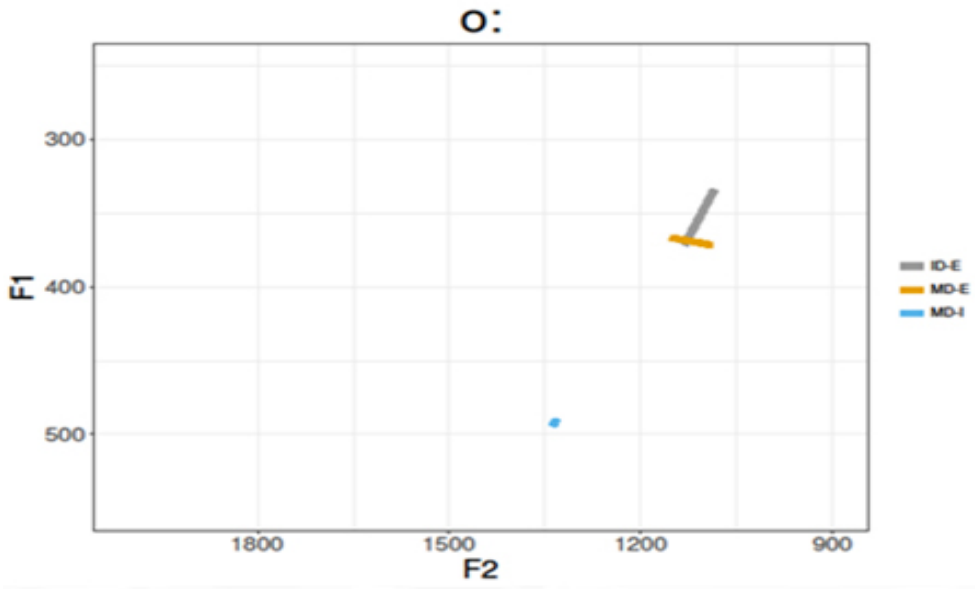
<118> In addition to the traditional diphthongs, the two tense mid vowels /e:/ and /o:/ have a diphthongal realization. They are displayed in vowel plots 4 and 5. However, one notices that

MD-I's /e:/ and the /o:/ show virtually no movement. They do seem to be realized as monophthongs. Interestingly, MD-E's /o:/ does not show upward movement; instead, the vowel moves slightly backward. His /e:/ moves slightly forward and upward, as expected from this vowel. The vowel /e:/ of the ID speaker is much more fronted than the /e:/ of the MD speakers and has a slight upward tilt. ID-E's back vowel /o:/ is in a similar position as MD-E's /o:/. It differs only in that ID-E's vowel shows a slight upward movement.

Vowel plot 4 MD-I = N=76, MD-E N=9, ID-E N=37



Vowel plot 5 MD-I N=60, MD-E N=18, ID-E N=27

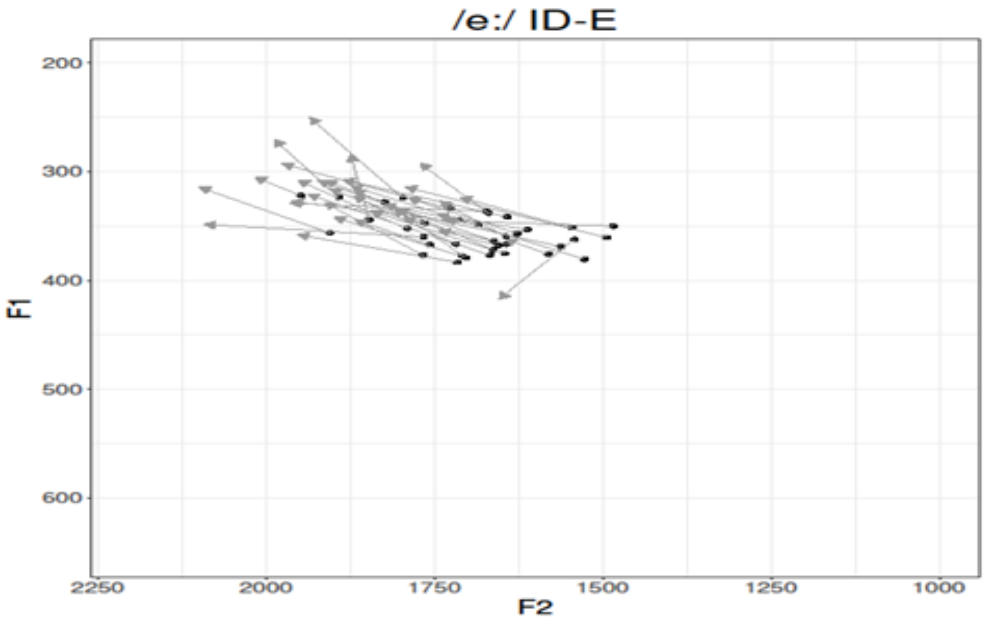


Generally, the diphthongs, similar to the monophthongs, are more central in the case of the MD speakers. In addition, the diphthongs of the ID speaker show a more pronounced movement to the endpoint, especially compared to MD-I's diphthongs. The most telling observation is the monophthongal realization of the /e:/ and the /o:/ by MD-I. Based on the higher number of attestations, I choose to study the front vowel /e:/ in the following section.

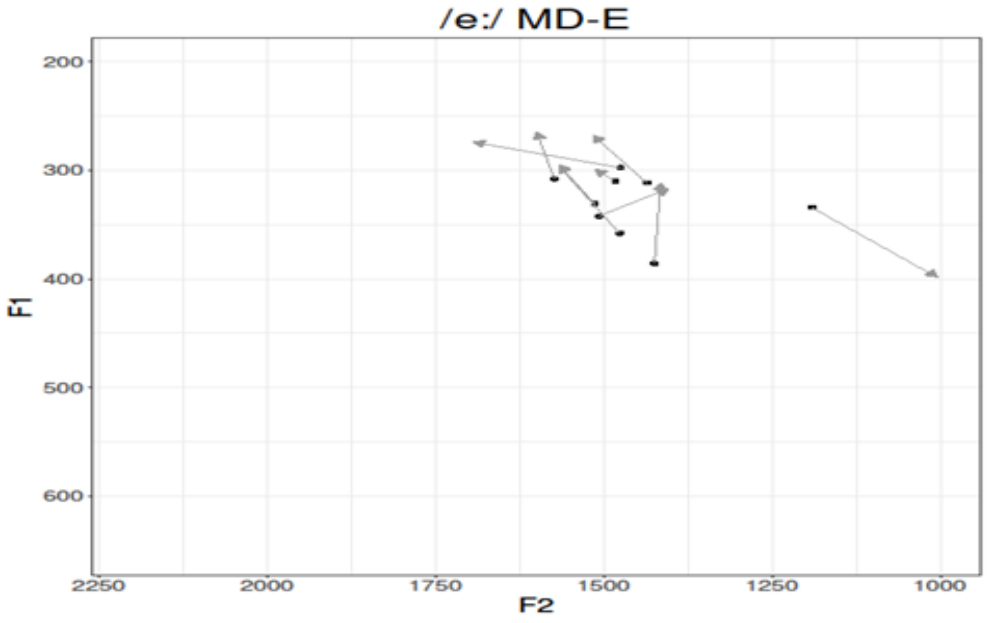
6.3 Diphthong /e:/ per speaker

<119> The vowel plots below show the mean starting point and endpoint of /e:/. Vowel plot 6 shows ID-E's vowels, the other vowel plots show the MD speakers' vowels. Clearly, ID-E's and MD-E's diphthongs often show a forward and slight upward movement of the tongue.

Vowel plot 6 ID-E N= 37

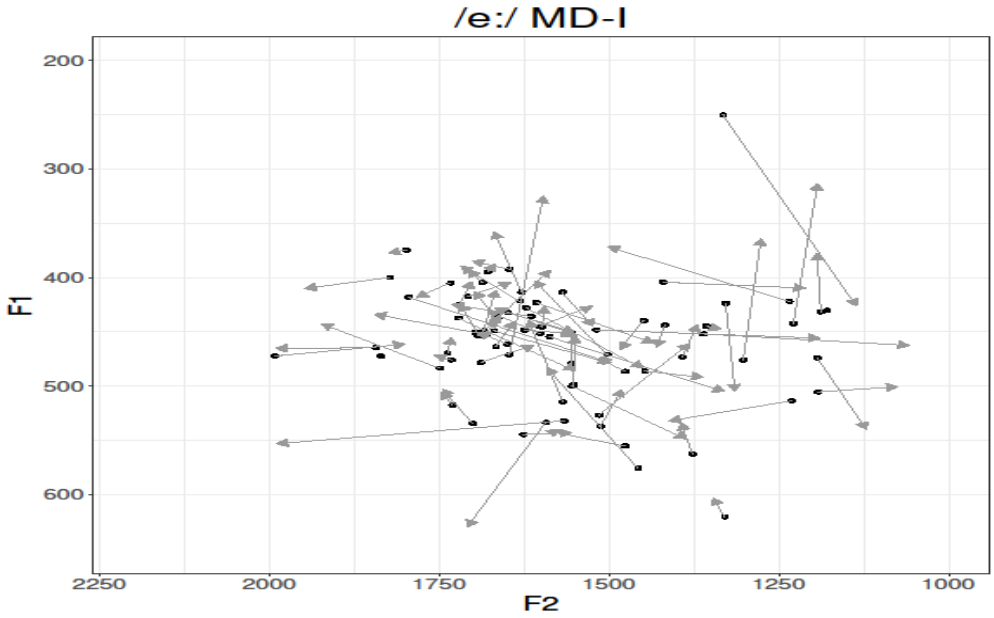


Vowel plot 7 MD-E N = 9



In vowel plot 8 for MD-I, the results show much more spread and the lines overlap to a great extent.

Vowel plot 8 MD-I N=76

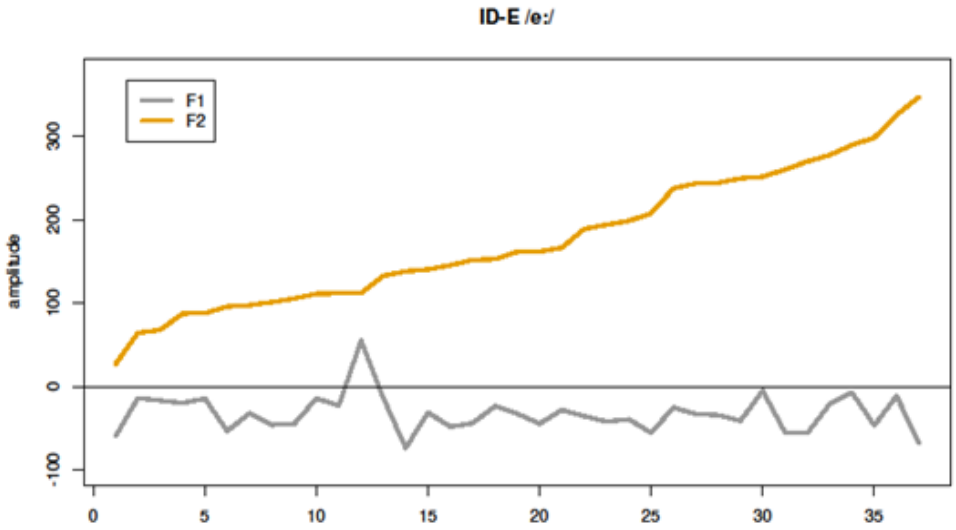


<120> One can distinguish four different types of vowel realizations for this speaker, summarized in table 14. There are realizations that have a backward movement, with a falling F2 and an (almost) stable F1, monophthongs that have a stable F1 and F2, vowels that have a forward-falling movement and vowels that have the expected forward and slightly rising movement. Especially the first two realizations are unexpected. In the following table, vowel realizations are summarized with approximate vowel realizations symbolized by a combination of two vowels.

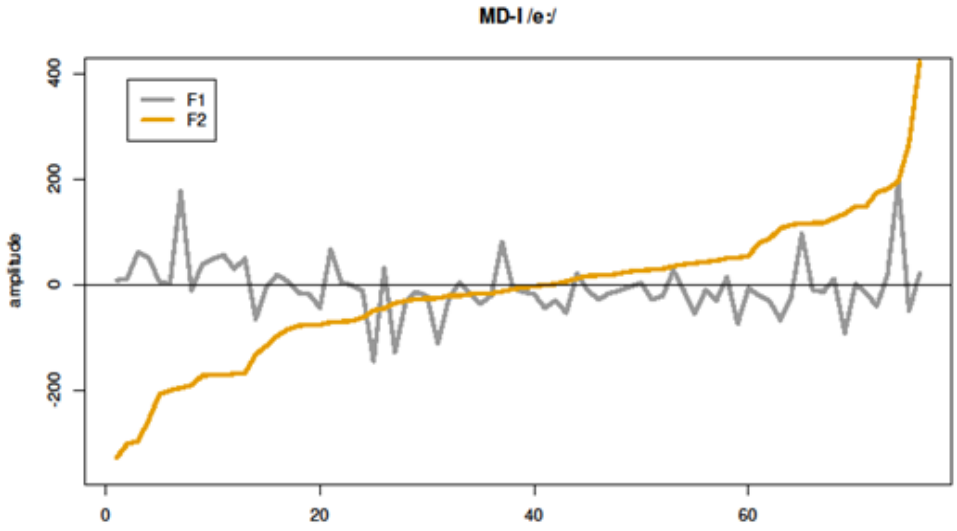
Table: 14 MD-I			
	F1	**F2**	**Vowel Realization**
1.	stable	falling	eY
2.	stable	stable	eː
3.	rising	rising	ei̯
4.	falling	rising	eɪ

These vowel realizations are different from what one would expect from ID /e:/ as for example shown above by ID-E, especially in the area of South Holland (cf. Adank et al. 2007). In graphs 1 and 2 the difference between the begin and endpoint of the vowel is represented by two lines for ID-E and MD-I. The yellow line represents the movement of the F2 while the grey line represents the movement of the F1. On the X-axis the vowel attestations are represented by number. The lines are sorted on the basis of lowest to highest difference of F2, that is, the leftmost vowel, number 1, for ID-E in graph 1 shows the slightest upward movement while the last vowel shows the largest upward movement.

Line Graph 1



Line Graph 2

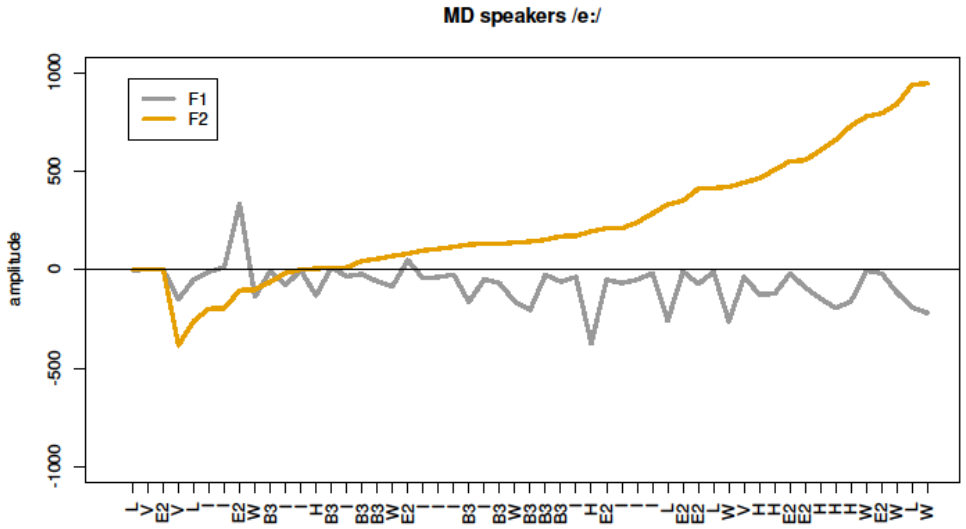


<121> ID-E's F2 line is always higher than F1. It shows a somewhat stable rising F1 with the exception of some vowels around token 12. One expects this pattern for the Dutch /e:/ as it is realized in Holland (cf. van Oostendorp 2013). In Graph 2 MD-I shows a different pattern; F2 varies from retraction in the beginning to protraction at the end of the scale. Quite a number of vowel tokens show a rising F1, which means that the vowel is lowered instead of heightened. Conspicuously, quite a number of vowels, approximately from 26 until 55, have an F2 value that is close to zero. The F1 of these vowels oscillates around zero, which implies that there is hardly any tongue movement, which points to a monophthongal realization. In the part where F2 shows its expected raising, there are a number of vowels which have a descending F1, i.e. the vowel is fronted and lowered.

While these results may be surprising, they are only based on one speaker. Although this particular speaker scores high on other MD features and has a quite typical MD "sound", the feature is further examined for a larger group. A number of /e:/ realizations (N = 54) were

evaluated by the author and a trained phonetician. Both listeners noted that a number of vowels was realized as either a monophthong or an /eY/, as in table 14 above. As a follow up therefore, these vowels were examined for other speakers, to wit: MD-B3, MD-E2, MD-H, MD-I, MD-J, MD-L, MD-P (cf. table 1). A random selection of their front close vowels was made in contexts in which they were followed by a stop or a fricative. A number of word-final vowels were included as well. In line graph 3 the accumulated F1 and F2 /e:/ for these seven MD speakers is shown (N = 54). The letters (and numbers) on the x-axis represent the speakers.

Line Graph 3



<122> The F2 line shows a negative peak at the beginning, like MD-I's F2, but soon reaches the zero axis. All seven speakers are represented in this part of the Line Graph. In addition, it also shows the existence of a monophthongal realization for a number of speakers, where the F2 and F1 lines come close to crossing. While a number of vowels are realized as monophthongs, this is much less so than in the case of speaker MD-I alone. After that, the F2 shows a relatively gradual slope, which reaches a very high F2 endpoint: some vowels appear to make a very steep movement towards the front high position. The F1 line makes oscillating down-ward movements, showing that most /e:/ tokens are realized in the expected way. These results make clear that, while the /e:/ is realized by the ID speaker as described in previous studies on Dutch, MD speakers sometimes show some diverging vowel realizations.

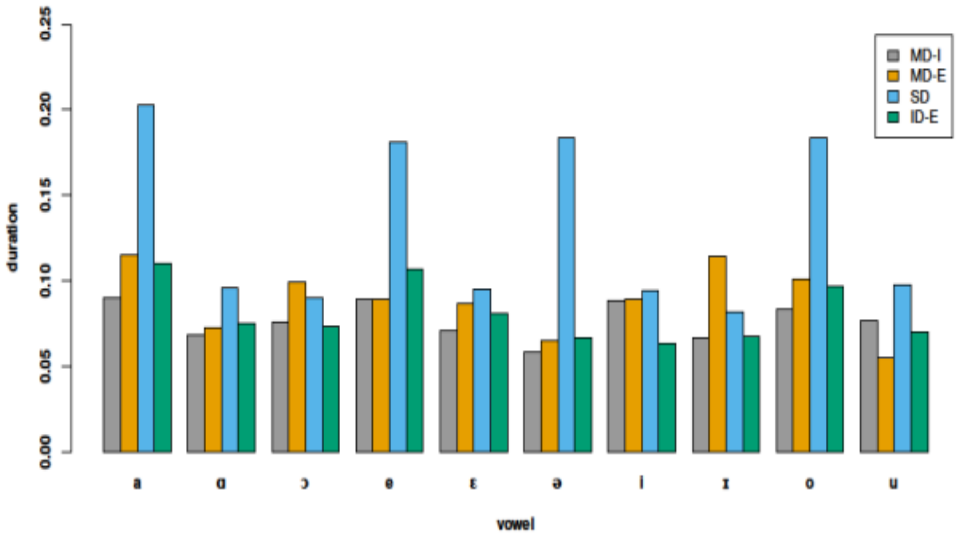
6.4 Vowel duration

In Dutch there are phonetically short and long vowels (also analyzed as tense versus lax, cf. Gussenhoven, 1999). One gets the impression, when listening to MD, that long vowels are shortened, a development observed more generally in European youth varieties (cf. Cheshire et al. 2015). For this reason, I represent all measured monophthongs for the two "strong" MD speakers and the ID speaker ID-E in Bar Chart 1 below. In addition, measurements of Standard Dutch reading style vowels are added (Adank et al. 2004:173). The vowels /e:/ and the /o:/ are treated as the monophthongs in this case. Schwa is also included. The Bar Chart below shows that there are no great differences between MD and ID vowels with regard to absolute duration. However, while the means of all short vowels (/ɑ/ /ɔ/ /ɛ/ /i/ /ɪ/ /u/) are generally close to each other, there are large differences between the means of the long vowels (/a/ /e/ /o/).[43] Vowels

[43] /Y/ and /y/ are ignored because there only a few attestations in the corpus.

are conspicuously longer in Standard Dutch reading style than spontaneous Dutch vowels, with no difference between ID or MD speech (Adank et al. 2007). Schwa is particularly long in Standard Dutch reading style as well.

Bar Chart 1



The bar chart shows that most vowel durations are similar. However, absolute length can be deceiving. With this in mind, the ratio of long and short vowels per vowel pair between the three groups, MD speakers, ID speakers and Standard Dutch (SD) reading style speakers, is compared. Table 15 below shows two points: the relative mean duration in spontaneous speech is different for read out Standard Dutch speech and there are no striking length differences between the MD speakers and the ID speaker.

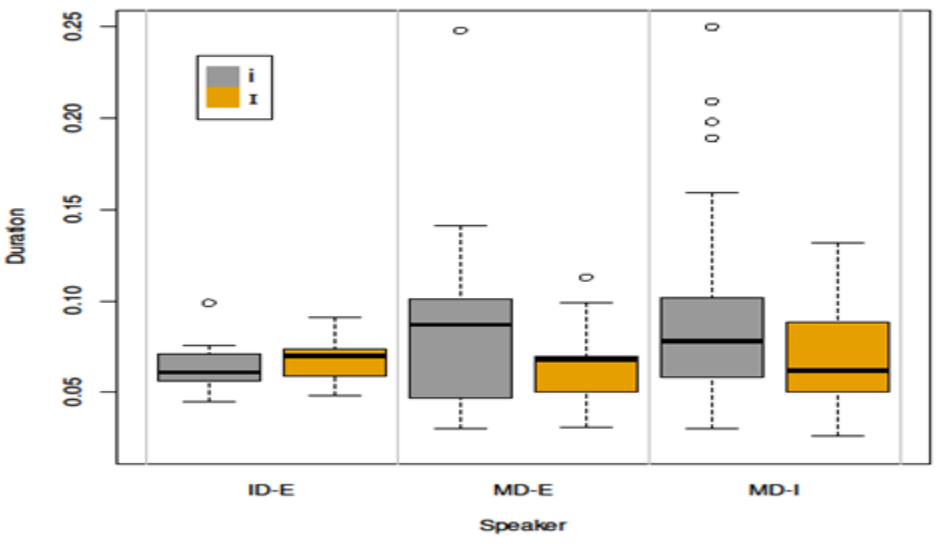
Table 15: Long (tense) vowels: short (lax) vowels				
Vowels (long:short)	**MD-I**	**MD-E**	**ID-E**	**SD**
a:ɑ	1.3	1.6	1.45	2.1
e:ɛ	1.3	1.0	1.3	1.9
o:ɔ	1.1	1.1	1.3	2.0
i:ɪ	1.3	0.8	0.9	1.1

The ID speaker maintains a length distinction between short and long vowels; long vowels are generally longer than short vowels. The lower two quartiles of the long vowel by and large overlap with the higher two quartiles of the short vowels. However, the pair /i/ – /ɪ/ forms an expected exception, as /i/ is not phonetically long in Dutch in general (cf. Adank et al. 2007). In fact, in our data the realization of /ɪ/ is generally even slightly longer than that of /i/.
For the MD speakers the same applies for these vowels, but variation is much greater. They realize /i/ and /ɪ/ both longer and shorter than the ID speaker. For the other vowels a different picture emerges. MD-E /e/ and /ɛ/ hardly show a length difference: they appear to have merged in terms of duration. Furthermore, the /o/ is often shorter than the /ɔ/, even though the small

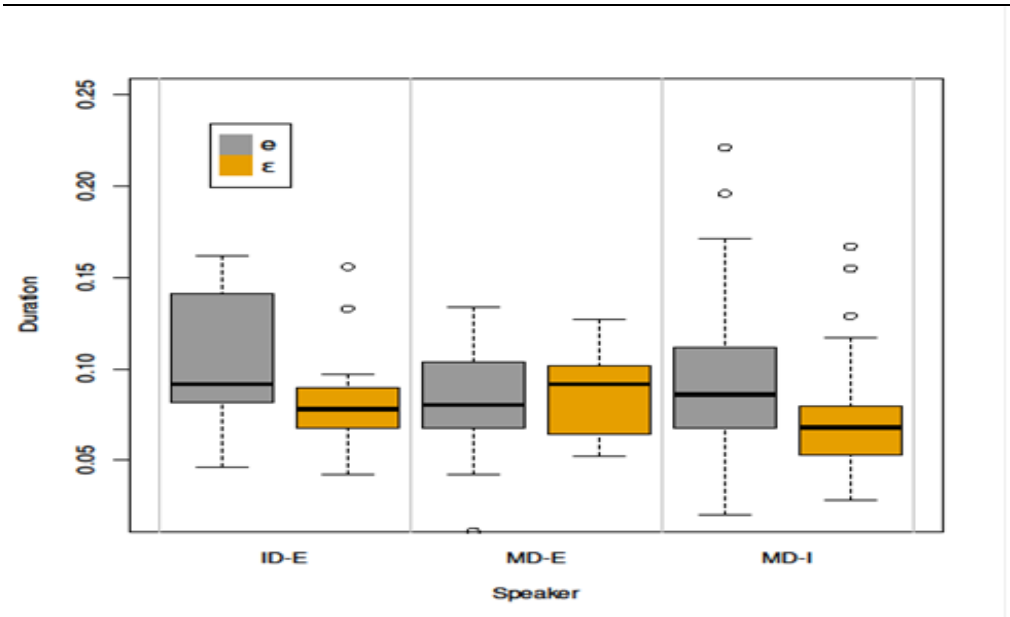
number of tokens for the latter vowel may distort this result. The difference between /a/ and /ɑ/ for this speaker is comparable to ID-E. MD-I shows the clearest results. The "long" and the "short" vowels show a similar range of variation, except that /e:/ tends to be slightly longer than /ɛ/.

This lack of difference in variation between "short" and "long" vowels accounts for the impression one gets that there is no vowel length distinction in MD. As shown above, the difference between the ID speaker and the MD speakers is not absolute duration, nor is it relative mean duration. Rather, for some vowels the range in variation is larger with the MD speakers, and generally there is more overlap in duration between vowel pairs (cf. van Meel 2016).

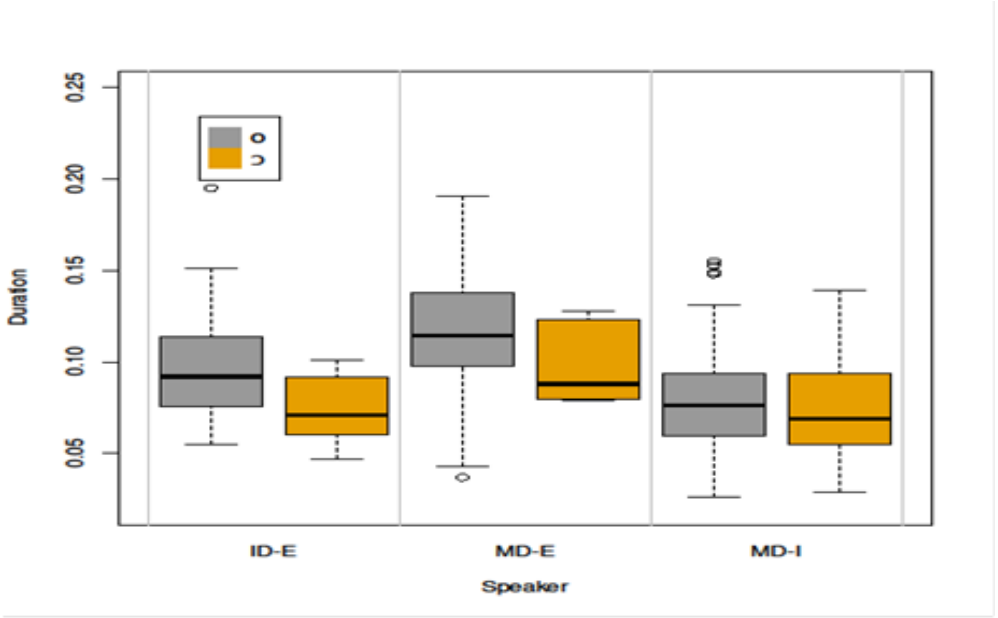
Boxplot 7 N: ID-E i = 18 ɪ = 13 MD-I i = 49 ɪ = 39 MD-E i = 13 ɪ = 13



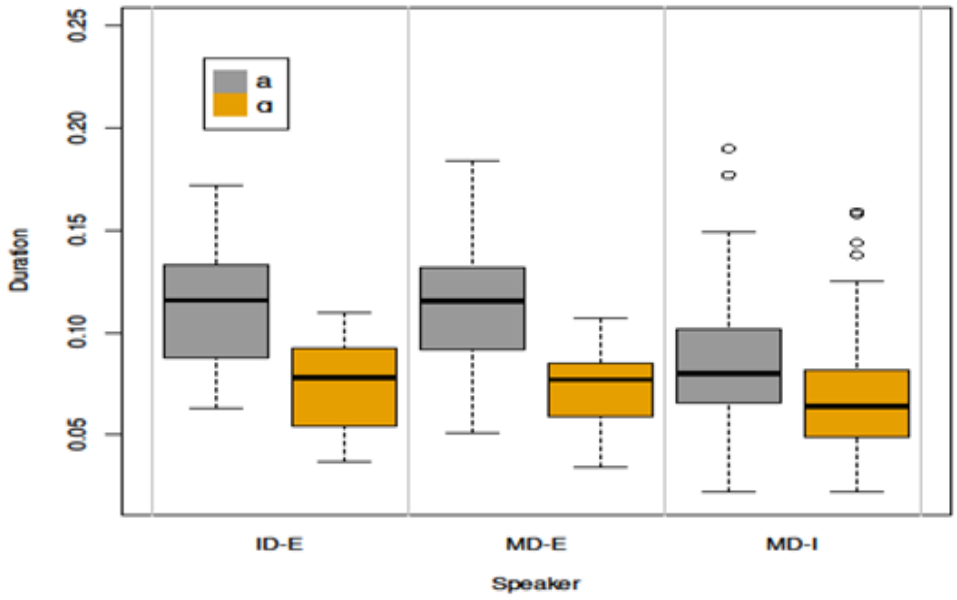
Boxplot 8 N: ID-E e = 36 ɛ = 21 MD-I e = 76 ɛ = 77 MD-E e = 10 ɛ = 10



Boxplot 9 N: ID-E o = 27 ɔ =9 MD-I o = 60 ɔ = 37 MD-E o = 18 ɔ = 5



Boxplot 10 N: ID-E a= 27 ɑ = 27 MD-I a = 81 ɑ= 111 MD-E a = 16 ɑ = 23



6.5 Summary

<123> The monophthongs of the MD speakers generally show a quite compressed and centralized mean vowel space. Since there is considerable interspeaker variation, two "strong" MD speakers were chosen for further investigation. MD-I especially shows large variation on the F2 (front-back) axis for the outer vowels, in particular for the front high vowel /i/. In the area of the close front and mid front vowels the "strong" MD speakers show a great deal of overlap of the vowels /i/, /ɪ/ and /ɛ/. Speaker MD-E, on the other hand, has widespread variation on the F1 axis. The ID speaker, whose speech served as a point of reference, keeps these vowels more separate on both F1 and F2 axes.

Furthermore, the data point up some surprising results for the two "traditional" diphthongs studied. The front vowel /eː/ is realized in a number of deviant ways by MD-I. A larger group of MD speakers also shows these realizations upon closer investigation.

As for vowel duration it was shown that the monophthongs (now including /eː/ and /oː/) of the ID speaker and the MD speakers hardly differ in terms of absolute mean duration or in terms of relative mean duration. However, with respect to the range, the ID speaker generally keeps the "short" and "long" vowels more clearly distinct than the MD speakers.

6.6 Discussion

<124> Do the phonetic features originate from the heritage languages and if so how did they come about? There is no general answer; some features are indeed present in the heritage languages or in L2 MD, that is, Dutch as spoken by Moroccans who migrated as adults to the Netherlands. However, the following points can be made.

It was shown that regressive voice assimilation is certainly part of the phonetic rules of both heritage languages, Tarifiyt Berber and Moroccan Arabic, unlike PVA, which does not occur at all. However, RVA in the heritage languages is a non-general process, which is bound to morphologically set contexts. There is very little evidence for regressive voice assimilation triggered by /z/ outside these set contexts.

MD sometimes has consonant lengthening in contexts where ID has not. The "schwa-retention" context is the most obvious substrate effect, as the same effect is clearly present in Tarifiyt Berber. It is not clear whether the substrate languages or ID are the basis for the assimilation process, as all these languages have assimilatory lengthening processes. Expressive lengthening in MD occurs with both fricatives and stops. As there was only one single occurrence of emphatic lengthening in the ID corpus, nothing more can be said about the distribution of this phenomenon.

<125> The pharyngealised /ṛ/ in *Arabisch* "Arabic" is concrete evidence for the existence of substrate influence. The results for coda /r/ are quite remarkable, given the large-scale geo-graphical and sociolinguistic variation within Dutch. Certain substrate traits may be relevant to account for the patterns. Phonetically, /r/ is an alveolar tap in most varieties of Tarifiyt Berber and Moroccan Arabic, which could be a source for the alveolar tap realization in MD. However, in Tarifiyt Berber there is a pervasive development known as /r/-vocalization. The /r/ in coda position is mostly not realized (even though it resurfaces in certain phonetic contexts) (Lafkioui, 2007:29-30).[44] However, Tarifiyt also has an [r, ɾ] which is realized in all positions.[45] It is not clear whether it is realized as a tap or a trill in Ait Sɛid.

Other consonants show patterns that may point to heritage language influence. Non-velarized pronunciations of Dutch /l/ are probably influenced by the heritage language(s), as /l/ in Tarifiyt Berber and Moroccan Arabic is always a voiced alveolar lateral without velarization.

The consonant /x/ in Tarifiyt Berber and Moroccan Arabic has the same place of articulation as its Dutch counterpart. The main difference is therefore not the place of articulation, but the fact that in Berber and Arabic it is consistently realized as a voiceless velar fricative, whereas in ID it is much more subject to lenition and elision.

Neither of the two heritage languages has a phoneme /ŋ/. In Tarifiyt Berber, /ŋ/ only occurs as an allophone of /n/ before velars and in the complex labialized phoneme /ŋʷ/, which is very rare. This realization is very common among L2MD speakers.[46] Some examples are *regerin* "government", *rekenin* "bill", *ervarin* "experience", *vergaderin* "meeting" and *belastin* "tax". The same applies to the [ð], which is part of the Tarifiyt Berber phoneme inventory.

<126> The development of the ID labiodental consonants /v/ and /w/ in ID is very interesting. Moroccan languages have no phoneme /v/, and in loanwords from French the consonant is

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[44] Only in some dialects on the outer borders of the Tarifiyt area is speaking the coda /r/ systematically realized. However, none of those dialects is represented by any significant number of speakers in Gouda.

[45] This consonant originates etymologically from an /l/.

[46] The well-known mayor of Rotterdam Ahmad Aboutaleb, whose first language is Tarifyt Berber, consistently uses an alveolar /n/ in his otherwise exquisite Dutch.

normally adapted to a voiced bilabial stop /b/ in Moroccan Arabic or a voiced bilabial fricative [β] in Tarifiyt Berber, for example *lavabo* > laβaβu "sink". There is no equivalent to ID /w/ in Moroccan languages either. The consonant transcribed <w> in these languages is a labio-velar approximant, just like English <w>. This pronunciation is found in insertions from heritage languages into MD discourse, such as the frequent discourse marker *iwa* [ewa] "well, then".
The /f/ in the heritage languages does not differ from ID. As the ID speakers have maintained a difference between voiced and voiceless labiodental fricatives, the lack of this in the sub-strate languages may have accelerated the already on-going process of devoicing. The pronunciation of Dutch /v/ and /w/ is different in MD. In MD, /w/ is a voiced labiodental fricative, but slightly different from the ID pronunciation of /v/, as the place of articulation is between the upper teeth and the upper part of the lower lip, while in ID, the place of articulation is between the upper teeth and the (upper) back of the lower lip. MD /w/ is thus quite close to ID /v/, with the difference that the latter is often voiceless. This could be understood as an effect of the absence of [v] in the substrate languages, but is also consistent with an internal development in ID. It is interesting that devoicing only involves /v/, while /z/ is well preserved and even exaggerated (cf. Hinskens 2011 and chapter 2 above).
There are few phonetic studies on the vowels of Tarifiyt Berber and the and the methods used in these studies on vowel quality make it difficult to compare them with the current study. As for vowel length, phonetically long duration only exists in the two diphthongs of Tarifiyt Berber. In Tarifiyt Berber, systematic length opposition is not distinguished. This may have influenced MD length distinctions between short and long vowels.

Chapter 7

Possessive constructions

<127> MD possessive constructions show interesting developments. In ID there are three types of possessive constructions. The first one is the so-called *-s*-construction; the pre-head possessor is linked to its head now by means of a clitic *-s* (example 141). The second one is the *z'n*-construction in which the masculine pronoun *z'n* "his" or the feminine pronoun *d'r* "her" connects the pre-head possessor to the head noun. These constructions share that "*the prenominal position is accessible only to possessive pronouns [e.g. iemand > iemands "somebody" elkaar > elkaars "each other's"], proper names with -s (Willems, Maria's boek), or nouns that are strictly speaking not names (e.g. buurvrouws "neighbor's") but can be used in address and receive a type of proper-name interpretation.*" (Weerman & de Wit 1998:1167).[47] This means that they express either a kinship or "part-of" relationship. Some examples are:

(141)	*Piet's dochter*	Piet's daughter (lit. Piet's daughter)
(142)	*Piet z'n dochter*	Piet's daughter (lit. Piet his daughter)

The third construction uses the preposition *van* "of", which is used for possessive relations as well as for other types of relation between the head noun and the adjunct, e.g.

(143)	*De trui van Marie*	Marie's sweater (lit. the sweater of Marie)

<128> In the Gouda MD corpus, all three constructions are found; examples are given below. There is no difference between MD and others with respect to this construction (cf. Pijpops & Van de Velde 2015, based on online data).

(144)	*ik heb het over <u>mijn moeder's kant</u>*	"I'm talking about my mother's side."	(*-s* clitic)	(MD-L, 16)

The following example shows the only *z'n*-construction in the corpus. The pronoun has the masculine gender, it should be *d'r* "her". Interestingly, there is not a single example of a *d'r*-construction in our corpus, which might be due to the limited frequency of occurrence.

(145)	*onder <u>jouw moeder z'n voeten</u>* (*z'n* construction)	"Under your mother's feet." (lit. under your mother his feet)	(MD-M, 16)

Below is an example of a *van*-possessive construction. This construction is quite common in the corpus.

(146)	*de eigenaar <u>van die ding</u>*	"The owner of that thing."	(MD-I, 21)

The following example shows that instead of an expected pre-nominal possessive pronoun, possession can be marked by a *van*-construction followed by a pronoun.

(147)	*<u>broer van haar</u> zegt: nee, hoeft niet*	"Her brother says: No, not necessary." (lit. brother of her says)	(MD-I, 21)

[47] For the differences between the *z'n* and the *-s* construction cf. Weerman & de Wit (1998).

In addition to these constructions, known from ID, a unique construction exists in MD.[48] This will be called the *de*-construction. In this construction, the possessor noun is followed by the element *de* and the possessive noun. Nine instances of this construction occur in the corpus. Interestingly, all but one attestation are found in the speech of speakers that have a "strong" MD accent, namely MD-I and MD-E. The construction is found in both subject and object position.

(148)	*die pistool ging over voor mijn vader de hoofd a ṣaḥbi*	"That gun went off before my father's head [friend]." (lit. my father *de* head)	(MD-I, 21)
(149)	*hij heeft binnen op mijn vader de hoofd gericht*	"Inside he aimed at my father's head." (lit. my father *de* head)	(MD-I, 21)
(150)	*op zijn dochter de naam*	"on his daughter's name" (lit. his daughter *de* name)	(MD-I, 21)
(151)	*Ja, die Emilio de broer*	"Yes, that Emilio's brother" (lit. that Emilio *de* brother)	(MD-I, 21)
(152)	*Emilio de broer*	"Emilio's brother" (lit. Emilio *de* brother)	(MD-E, 18)
(153)	*Mijn vader de kant, mijn vader de familie, die woont daar helemaal*	"My father's side, my father's family lives way up there." (lit. my father *de* side, my father *de* family)	(MD-L, 16)
(154)	*Naufal de vriendin is Kosovaar toch?*	"Naufal's friend is from Kosovo, right?" (lit. Naufal *de* friend)	(MD-R, 16)

<129> This construction is more frequent than the other prenominal-possessor constructions in the corpus, i.e. the *s* and the *z'n*-constructions. In example (155), where one would expect the *s*-construction in ID, (or the *van*-construction) the reciprocal pronoun *elkaar* "each other" is constructed with the *de*-construction.

(155)	*ze zouden elkaar de zaak verbranden of žo*	"They would burn each other's business or so." (lit. each other *de* business)	(MD-E, 18)

On MD internet fora and Twitter, similar examples are found in which a pronoun functions as the possessor linked by *de* to the possessum.[49] In the examples the pronouns *iedereen* "everybody" and *iemand* are used.

(156) *Iedereen de mama kan het goed voorbereiden.* (marokko.nl)

"Everybody's mom can prepare it well." (lit. everybody *de* mom)

[48] While the data presented here are based on MD participants, evidence from the internet suggests that the construction is more widely used among non-ID speakers of Dutch (Maarten Kossmann, p.c.).

[49] Most of the examples from internet were found and collected by Maarten Kossmann. The following MD person commented on the construction long before linguists did: *Ik zie altijd dingen als 'zus de auto' en 'vader de telefoon'. Serieus ga Nederlands leren ik krijg er kots neigingen van.*
'I always see things like [*zus de auto*] "sister *de* car" and [*vader de telefoon*] "father *de* phone". Seriously, learn Dutch, you make me want to vomit.' (twitter; @Aittouzin, 28 july 2014).

(157)	*Woḷlah ik ging net op iemand de profiel (…)*		(twitter;
	"[By God] I just went on someone's profile (…)" (lit. somebody *de* profile)		@Rdammer_5314)

Example (158) shows that a determiner can precede the possessor noun. In ID this is possible with a *z'n* construction, but impossible with the *s*-construction (cf. Weerman & de Wit 1998: 1173).

(158)	*je bent gekk als je aan een meisje de kont gaat zitte*	"You're crazy if you touch a girl's butt." (lit. a girl *de* butt)	(chaima.nl)
(159)	*de jongen z'n boek* (lit. the boy his book) **de jongens boek* (lit. *the boy's book)	"The boy's book."	(Weerman & de Wit, 1998:1171)

<130> The following examples illustrate a concatenation of possessors. In this case the head noun is preceded by two other nouns both linked by means of *de*. This construction with multiple subsequent possessors is found on the internet as well.

(160)	*mijn vader de vriend de zoon*	"My father's friend's son." (lit. my father *de* friend *de* son)	(MD-K, 16)
(161)	*Ik was alleen in me oma de zus de huis (…)*	"I was alone in my grandmother's sister's house..." (lit. my grandmother *de* sister *de* house)	(marokko.nl)

In ID, a construction like in (161) could be rendered by the following equivalent constructions (ignoring the *van*-construction which is the most common way to form such a combination in a possessive construction).[50]

(162)	ID *mijn vaders vriend z'n zoon*	(lit. my father's friend his son)	"My father's
	ID *mijn vader z'n vriend z'n zoon*	(lit. my father his friend his son)	friend's son."

Due to the limited size of our corpus only a few instances of the *de*-possessive construction were found. However, as already shown above, in online written communication the construction is more frequent. It has been around for at least ten years, as it was already found in 2007 (and possibly earlier) on the *chaima.nl* forum (cf. Kossmann 2017). Some examples are:

(163)	*gaa naar kahlid de moeder en blijf daar*	(chaima.nl)
	"Go to Khalid's mom and stay there."	(lit. Khalid *de* mother)
(164)	*ik bel van me vriend de telefoon*	(chaima.nl)
	"I'm calling with my friend's phone."	(lit. my friend *de* telephone)

The final example shows that the *de*-construction is used for plural nouns as well.

[50] This was confirmed by two scholars in Dutch linguistics (Geert Booij, Ton van der Wouden p.c.).

(165) *Bni Bouayach me ouders de geboorteplaats* (chaima.nl)

"Bni Bouayach, my parent's birth place."
(lit. my parents *de* birth place)

<131> The *de*-construction has a less restricted use than the *s*-construction. It was shown above that the *s*-construction cannot take a preceding determiner while the *de*-construction can. It differs from the ID *z'n*-construction in that it does not distinguish number and gender. The question about its origins now arises. There is a good chance that the ID article *de* was reanalyzed for use in possessive noun phrases; the lack of gender agreement would have been triggered by the large-scale gender neutralization found with definite determiners (see above).
Another, less likely possibility, would be the overgeneralization of the ID feminine pronoun *d'r* which is phonetically very close to *de*. In old-fashioned Gouda ID *d'r* is not only used for the feminine gender but for plural marking as well, e.g.

(166) *mijn ouders d'r vrienden* (Lafeber 1967:36)

"My parent's friends."

However, the written evidence on internet fora suggests its spread is much wider than Gouda. Therefore, influence from colloquial Dutch seems unlikely. Furthermore, there seems to be no particular reason why the feminine should take over the masculine form and not the other way around.

<132> A final example deserves special attention because of its popularity in Dutch social media and its sub-sequent spread to the general public (partly through other media).[51] It was (probably) first used by a MD teenager who appeared on the social media news platform *PowNews* in 2013. After that it became a popular meme. It was used on Twitter and in other forms on other channels.[52] It also received some attention in the scholarly literature (van Oostendorp 2016).

(167) *Ik neuk jullie allemaal de moeder*

"I fuck the mothers of you all." (lit. you all *de* mother)

In Dutch this construction would be formed differently, similar to the English phrase or by using a *van*-construction.

(168) *Ik neuk de moeder(s) van jullie allemaal / Ik neuk van jullie allemaal de moeder(s)*

"I fuck all your mothers."

On the basis of this one phrase it would be possible to argue that *ik neuk jullie allemaal de moeder* is a dative possessive phrase, which exists in eastern Dutch varieties and to a lesser extent in western varieties as well (van Bree 1981). However, in light of the discussed data showing the existence of *de*-possession in MD, it more likely is a possessor phrase, in which the possessor *jullie allemaal* is linked to *moeder* by means of possessive linker *de*.

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51 The website *geenstijl.nl* and *dumpert.nl* played an important role in popularizing the phrase.

52 This website contains some information on its development: http://knowyourmeme.com/memes/ik-neuk-jullie-allemaal-de-moeder

Discussion

<133> As for gender and possessive constructions, substrate influence cannot be established as the heritage languages have different systems from those in MD. In Tarifiyt Berber and Moroccan Arabic, masculine and feminine marking is expressed by means of affixes on the noun. (cf. Galand 2002; Lafkioui 2007; Caubet 1993; Harrell 1962).[53] In Dutch, gender is expressed on determiners. One possible reason for the high frequency of *die* in MD may be the influence of the Tarifiyt Berber nominal anaphoric marker *-nni* "that". This postnominal clitic refers to elements that have already been introduced before in the discourse.

There is no reason to assume substrate influence in the development of the possessive *de*-construction. While in the MD construction, the head noun is the final constituent preceded by *de,* in both Tarifiyt Berber and Moroccan Arabic the head is the first constituent followed by the possessor, which are linked by means of a preposition (cf. Kossmann 2015:65; Caubet 1993: 207-208).

[53] For the purpose of this study the facts have been somewhat simplified. The reader is referred to the cited studies for more information.

Chapter 8 Other morphosyntactic developments

<134> There are a number of other (morpho-)syntactic features in MD that are different from ID. The following table lists some morphosyntactic aberrations in Gouda MD. In the table, the examples are followed by the expected ID variant between brackets.

8.1. V3

V2 (positioning the verb after the first element of the main clause) is quite often violated when preverbal adverbials are used, leading to V3 order (contrary to recent claims, cf. Frey-wal et al 2015; cf. Meelen et al 2020).

(169) *je weet toch, soms ik gooi iets op de grond*
(*…soms gooi ik iets*…)

"You know, sometimes I throw something on the flour."

(170) *één keer we zaten bij big Mo film te, televisie te kijken*
(*…één keer zaten we bij…*)

"Once we were at big Mo, watching television."

(171) *één keer we zaten bij big Mo film te, televisie te kijken*
(*…één keer zaten we bij…*)

"Once we were at big Mo, watching television."

8.2. Adverbial placement

Adverbs often precede the noun.

(17) *ik betaal nooit per maand die huur.*
(*ik betaal de huur nooit per maand*)

"I never pay the rent per month."

(173) *ze hebben gewoon daar gangs.*
(*ze hebben daar gewoon gangs*)

"They have gangs there."

8.3. Absence of a complementizer

In the following examples, verbs are serialized. In ID, if the first verb is followed by a complementizer *dat* "that", the complement takes the form of an embedded clause. Exceptions are reported speech, which the following examples are certainly not.

(174) *elke dag zie je jouw vrienden worden opgepakt*
(zie je dat jouw vrienden worden opgepakt)

"Every day you see that your friends get apprehended."

(175) *ja, denk je hij weet Gouda uit zijn hoofd?*
(denk je dat hij Gouda uit zijn hoofd weet/kent)

"Yes, do you think he knows Gouda by heart?"

(176) *hij denkt hij kan vloeiend Nederlands praten*
(hij denkt dat hij vloeiend Nederlands kan praten)

"He thinks he can speak Dutch fluently."

(177) *denk je ze gaan met Marokkaan weet ik veel wie op straat lopen?*
(Denk je dat..)

"Do you think they will walk with a random Moroccan on the street?"

(178) *ze doen altijd stoer joh, ze denken ze hebben uniform dan gaan ze gangster doen*
(*ze denken dat ze een uniform hebben*…)

"They always act tough, they think because they have a uniform, they can act like a gangster."

8.4. Adjoined relative clauses

MD often has indefinite relative phrases without the relative pronoun *die/dat*. These are often accompanied by a Moroccan intonation contour. This type of relative clause also exists in Berber languages and in Moroccan Arabic (cf. Galand 2010:173).

(179) *maar iemand je kent hem niet en zo, is toch anders*
(maar iemand die je niet kent en zo, is toch anders).

"But somebody who you don't know, it is different."

(180) *komt er iemand je weet hij is Berbers*
(*komt er iemand van wie je weet dat hij Berbers is*)

"Somebody comes who you know is Berber."

8.5. Frequent omission of quantitative "er"

It is not clear to what extent other uses of "er" are omitted.

(181) *ik heb eentje gezien*
(*Ik heb er eentje gezien*)

"I have seen one."

(182) *er komen vier*
(*er komen er vier*)

"Four will come."

8.6. Locatives without prepositions

(183) *niet die, die Rotterdam op school zitten en zo*
(*die in Rotterdam op school zitten en zo*)

"Not those, those that go to school in Rotterdam and so forth."

8.7. Auxiliary verbs

Certain auxiliary verb + verb constructions exist which are not possible in ID. In this case, they seem to copy constructions from Tarifiyt Berber or Moroccan Arabic in which this type of constructions are possible.

(184) *je zit heel de dag in de auto zitten*
(je zit heel de dag in de auto)

"You are sitting there all day in the car."

(185) *of je gaat naar de bibliotheek, je vindt daar meisjes zitten*
(je vindt daar meisjes)

"Or you go to the library, you find girls sitting there."

8.8. Idioms

Some of the idioms are unusual or impossible in ID, and clearly constitute calques from the heritage language, e.g. the ubiquitous reference to the addressee of verbs of speaking. In Berber and Moroccan Arabic the Direct Object pronoun is almost obligatory in verbs of speaking, e.g. *yenna ayi* (Tarifiyt Berber) / *gal li* (Moroccan Arabic) "he says to me". The second example is also a loan translation from Berber; "speaking from the nose" means "speaking fluently".

(186) *hij zegt tegen hem: luister*

"He says to him: listen."

(187) *als je thuis veel Berbers praat dan ga je uiteindelijk Berbers uit je neus kunnen praten*

"If you speak a lot of Berber at home, then you will eventually be able to speak Berber
from your nose (that is: fluently)."

8.9. Use of local ID forms

As expected, the MD speakers use local and/or substandard ID forms frequently. This in-cludes pronouns, verbs and adverbs.

(188) *hun hebben werk*
(zij hebben werk)

"They have a job."

(189) *nee, joh, dat ken je wel zien*
(dat kan/kun je wel zien)

"No man, that is quite clear."

(190) *toen gingen ze daaro*
(toen gingen ze daar[heen])

"Then they went there."

8.10. Use of weak participle forms

There are a number of instances where the speakers use weak participial forms with verbs where ID has strong forms.

(191) *het land is eigenlijk gesteeld door Frankrijk*
(*…is eigenlijk gestolen door Frankrijk*)

"The country has in fact been stolen by France."

(192) *twee jaar geleden verkoopte hij ze voor tweehonderd toch?*
(…geleden verkocht hij…)

"Two years ago he sold them for two hundred right?"

8.11. Pronouns

A conspicuous feature of MD is the frequent use of full pronouns where in ID a weak form is expected. In spoken ID strong pronouns are to a large degree confined to contrastive contexts. This concerns both personal pronouns and possessive pronouns. In the following examples there is no reason to assume that there is a contrast (the addressee vs. somebody else).

(193) *want jouw ouders willen jou toch zien*
(*want je ouders willen je toch zien*)

"Because your parents want to see you anyway."

(194) *ja, maar is, is anders, hun hun komen ook anders op jou af*
(…komen ook anders op je af)

"Yes, but, that is different, they come to you differently."

(195) *ze laten jou rotten daar*
(*ze laten je daar rotten / rotten daar*)

"They let you rot there."

8.12. Valency

Some verbs are constructed with a different valency than in ID. In the first example, one would expect an adjunct phrase with the verb *stelen* "to steal" in ID. In the second example, an adjunct with the verb *schieten* "to shoot" would have been expected.

(196) *als jij heel de dag tegen mij zegt van: jij hebt mij gestolen, jij hebt mij gestolen, jij hebt mij gestolen, word ik toch ook gek?* (…*jij hebt van me gestolen*…)

"If you say to me all day long: you have stolen [from] me, you have stolen [from] me, you have stolen [from] me, then I would also become crazy."

(197) *is-tie naar hem toegegaan, heeft-ie hem geschoten* (…*heeft-ie op hem geschoten*…)

"He went to him, and shot [at] him."

Chapter 9
Conclusion

<135> The linguistic data have shown that MD is different from ID in a number of salient linguistic features. Features in MD like sibilant palatalization, regressive voice assimilation in obstruent + /z/ clusters, /r/-realization, voicing of /f/ and /v/, vowel quality and length, consonant lengthening, and the realization of certain consonants may cause the linguist to define MD as a specific, distinctive variety. These phonetic features may be further supported by many divergent grammatical aspects, about which only some initial remarks were made in this study.

If these were structural features which speakers obligatorily use in their everyday language practice, one would be tempted to speak of an MD ethnolect. If, however, these features are optionally used, based on context and for the purpose of style and stance, the variant would probably need to be considered an urban (youth) speech repertoire. And, in fact, there are several reasons for inclining towards the latter view.[54]

As for the evidence of substrate or heritage language influence, it is very thin and often absent. One has to remain agnostic here until more detailed studies are initiated. For the moment, it seems much more likely that some aspects of MD have been so-to-say inspired by the heritage languages and L2 Dutch.

<136> The metalinguistics show that different levels of Enregisterment operate. The speakers are aware of local features such as ž, which points to other levels of Enregisterment and identity construction, as does the awareness of tribal, original affiliations, the perceived distinction between Arabs and Berbers, but also locality. Gouda MD or local speech is seen as a distinct entity with respect to the big city of Rotterdam. There is a high awareness of using Berber and/or Arabic with Dutch i.e. code switching.

Manufacturing local identity goes hand-in-hand with transnational Moroccanness, the relation with relatives in Morocco is underlined, and with Berberness. It also goes hand-in-hand with perceived interethnic differences (with Turkish Dutch for example).

Metalinguistic commentary shows that the multilingualism of the MD also makes communication among the interlocuters in one of the heritage languages complicated. The mutual incomprehensibility between Arabic and Berber is one of the reasons that makes youngsters prefer using a variety of Dutch.

<137> *Straattaal* is not recognized as a separate variety by the speakers. They say their speech is full of swearwords and is rather rough. Berber plays a role in the words they insert in their language. ID youngsters immediately recognize the aggressiveness of MD displayed by their language: a central feature of a tough identity (which fits with the negative discourse and society-wide stigma). ID link this type of speech variably, not always necessarily, with MD but with Muslims in general.

The Surinamese lexicon, which the MD clearly recognize, is used in specific contexts and its use is limited. Additionally, this lexicon has different indexicalities: it not only refers to “black” speech, but also to the big city and identity, which the local MD speakers clearly distance themselves from.

MD is not a monolithic speech; it is rather a repertoire that is variably used not only by MD but also by ID and other relevant groups. In the MD group the varying linguistic results clearly point in this direction, while meta comments tell us that ID and other groups take over the speech repertoire.

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[54] I have argued elsewhere that sibilant palatalization is a stance-marker, which functions as a device for stylizing, challenging or affirming social norms and claiming agency against others (Mourigh 2017). This may well be true for other features as well. However, some features like regressive voice assimilation and vowel quality may be harder to manipulate.

Meanings are not stable and robust across time and place. Register-like speech, such as MD, is fluid and one should be aware of the complexities and the processes within which social meaning is created.

<138> MD is a speech repertoire that has arisen in the tight-knit recently migrated community, which continues to be stigmatized. The variety can communicate an aggressive, tough stance but also a cool, laid-back stance. It is characterized by a number of divergent features, most of which a speaker can use and manipulate to assign different social meanings to it. Interesting research questions such as more in-depth research on suprasegmental and grammatical features remain, especially in the light of questions of crossing and interethnic contact.

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