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determiners in Dutch

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Maarten Kossmann

1. Introduction

As a result of large-scale immigration during the second half of the twentieth century,[1] the Netherlands and Flanders are home to a large community of people with a Moroccan background. From early on, Dutch played an important role among Moroccan-heritage people growing up in the Netherlands, not only when dealing with people with other linguistic backgrounds, but also within the community, and even among siblings (De Ruiter 1989: 58). In the early 21st century, Dutch can be considered the most common mode of interaction among Moroccan-heritage youngsters who were raised in the Netherlands or Flanders. It is among this group that specific ways of speaking have emerged, probably in

the early years of the new millennium (Nortier & Dorleijn 2008; Mourigh 2017; Mourigh 2019; Doreleijers, van Koppen & Nortier 2019). Among other features, this style (or these styles)[2] is characterized by the frequent use of words with a Moroccan etymological background (Arabic or Berber) in speech which is otherwise Dutch (cf. Kossmann 2016a; 2017; 2019). Many of these words have pragmatic or grammatical functions, as illustrated by the following citation from Twitter:[3]

(1) Wow, mensen vragen <u>hayack</u> vaak om fotos. <u>Wesh</u> denk je ben <u>izjen</u> fotomodel ik ga 80 foto's op een dag maken <u>nigh</u>

Wow, people ask exceedingly [ʕəyyəq] *often for photos.* [waš] *do you think (I) am* <u>ižžən</u> *['a'] photo model and I would make 80 photos a day, do you* [niɣ]?

[@loubnaloukili, 25/12/2014; twitter.com]

In this example, there are elements from Moroccan Arabic, *waš* 'yes/no question marker'

and *ʕəyyəq* 'excessively', while the indefinite article *ižžən* and the interrogative tag *niɣ* 'or' stem from Berber.[4] Both the structure and all content words in the tweet are Dutch.

The choice of these words is not entirely free: some elements are frequent, while others hardly appear at all. Thus, while indefinite determiners are frequently introduced from Moroccan languages – the subject of this article –, this is highly unusual with expressions of definiteness.[5] Put otherwise, the insertion of these elements is to a large degree conventional and not the result of a free choice among the full potential of Moroccan elements. It should be stressed that – whoever the speaker and whatever the conversational situation – there is no obligation to insert Moroccan elements under any circumstances. Because of this, the insertion of Moroccan function words seems to be somewhere in between borrowing and code-switching: the conventionalization of the set of inserted elements could be considered an argument to consider them borrowings, while the optionality and stylistic effect of their usage are more reminiscent of code-switching.[6]

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[2] I use the term "style" in the sense of a more or less coherent set of linguistic choices made by the speaker that is, at least partly, dependent on the social context of communication, and which conveys certain social meanings (cf. Coupland 2007; Dorleijn, Mous & Nortier 2015).

[3] In the examples, my conventions are as follows: In the Dutch text, all Moroccan elements are underlined. In the translations, indefinite determiners are represented in their phonological form, underlined and followed by a loose equivalent in English between square brackets. All other Moroccan elements are translated and followed by a phonological transcription of the original between square brackets. In the translations, no effort has been made to render non-standard and expressive spellings, and, where appropriate, punctuation has been changed or added. Citations from Moroccan Arabic and Berber are provided with glosses. In order not to clutter the text with irrelevant information, these glosses provide only part of the grammatical information expressed in the word forms, and leave grammatical marking for categories such as State and Aspect unaccounted for (see Mourigh & Kossmann 2020). Moroccan Arabic and Berber are written phonologically, using IPA symbols, except in the following cases: š = IPA [ʃ], ž = IPA [ʒ]; pharyngealization is marked by a dot underneath the sign.

[4] On the alternation of Moroccan Arabic and Tarifiyt Berber elements in Dutch contexts, see below (section 3.2) and Kossmann (2016a).

[5] This is not likely to be due to general functional motivations, as in a similar constellation – Kabyle Berber insertions in French speech – Berber definite markers are commonly introduced (Mettouchi 2008).

[6] I will refrain from exact definitions of code switching and borrowing. Following the multi-dimensional continuum approach of Matras (2009: 111), the features described here would be halfway the continuum. They would be like borrowing on the dimensions of *composition, operationality*, and *regularity*, while they would be like code-switching on the dimensions of *bilinguality*, and *functionality*. I find it difficult to apply Matras' dimensions of unique referent and structural integration to the indefinite expressions studied here.

This article will focus on one specific set of Moroccan elements that frequently appear in Moroccan Dutch[7] speech, indefinite determiners. I will largely restrict myself to three questions. First, as Arabic and Berber indefinites occur side by side, the question of their distribution will be addressed. Second, it will be studied to what extent structural differences between Dutch and Moroccan languages may account for the choice of Moroccan indefinites in some contexts. Third, a shift in meaning from indefinite with expressive connotations to a pure intensifier will be documented both among speakers with a Moroccan linguistic heritage and others. The article will not study the communicative effects of using Moroccan elements in Dutch speech in detail, as this was already the subject of an earlier article by the author (Kossmann 2017). Accordingly, the choice of data is less restricted than in the previous case.

The article is based in the first place on materials from computer-mediated communication, especially from internet forums that are specifically geared towards the Dutch-speaking Moroccan community (for other studies using the same type of corpus, see El Aissati 2008; Lafkioui 2008; Kossmann 2016a; 2017; 2019). Such forums play an important role in the community, as shown by the sheer number of user profiles. Thus, the largest forum, marokko.nl, has accumulated 208.980 profiles during the seventeen years of its existence.[8] This does not, of course, correspond to the number of individual users, as a single person may create several profiles in the course of her or his community life, while other profiles are ephemeral and only used once or a few times. Still, the number of user profiles is an indication of the importance of such forums in the social life of a community of, in total, 385,000 people in the Netherlands (2015)[9] and about 142,000 in Flanders (2012).[10] These forums provide us with a huge amount of linguistic materials – thus, for example, the marokko.nl forum had hosted 41,488,485 posts by October 14, 2019. In addition, some internet platforms that do not have a clear heritage profile have been used as a data source, especially twitter.com. While the ethnic background of the posters is less clear than in forums dedicated to the Moroccan community, profile information, as well as choice of user names and avatars, often allow one to make educated guesses as to the heritage background of the user (cf. Nortier 2016).

The written internet materials have been studied through what has been called "guerilla tactics" in internet ethnography (Yang 2003: 471, Androutsopoulos 2006: 527), by exploring the website by means of search quests and reading extensively through promising and less promising threads.[11]

In addition to the written materials, oral usages have been used. This has been done partly

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[7] One of the referees objects to the use of the term "Moroccan Dutch", because of its potential of essentialization and stigmatization. I use the term here in the sense of "people/language use associated with a Moroccan heritage". Of course, not everybody with an immigration background from Morocco considers her/himself part of a Moroccan community, and even among people that do, the specific features described here are not used (or even known) by everybody. It should be noted that in Dutch "Marokkaanse Nederlander" is often used in public discourse as a correct alternative to "Marokkaan".

[8] http://forums.marokko.nl/. Accessed 14/10/2019.

[9] https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/achtergrond/2016/47/bevolking-naar-migratieachtergrond. Accessed 14/10/2019.

[10] http://www.bladna.nl/marokkanen-vlaanderen,03217.html. Accessed 14/10/2019.

[11] All internet data studied here are publicly available, or can be accessed by means of an automatically approved registration, obviously meant to protect the sites from robots.

on the basis of scattershot listening to materials posted on the internet (especially youtube. com), partly on the basis of the corpus of sociolinguistic interviews with Moroccan heritage youth collected by Khalid Mourigh in the city of Gouda in the Netherlands (Mourigh 2015–2016).

The items under investigation are variants of two different expressions of indefiniteness. The first expression, roughly equivalent to indefinite articles in languages of western Europe, comes in two major forms: *wahəd/wəhd/ wahid*, which is from Moroccan Arabic, and *ižžən/idžən*, which is from Tarifiyt Berber. Both the Arabic and the Berber form are etymologically related to the numeral 'one'. The second expression also comes in different forms: *ši* from Moroccan Arabic, and *šan/šin* from Tarifiyt Berber. This is not unlike English 'some'. While Moroccan Arabic and Tarifiyt Berber are very different languages, over a thousand years of language contact has led to large-scale convergence (Kossmann 2013), and the uses of the two indefinite expressions seem to be similar in the two languages. More information on forms will be provided in section 3.1 below, while their uses will be discussed in section 4.1.

2. Background: Moroccan elements in Dutch speech

From the early 2000s onwards, observers have pointed to the development of a specific Moroccan-based way of speaking Dutch, which has alternatively been analyzed as a style or an ethnolect (cf. Hinskens 2011, van Meel 2016 and Doreleijers, van Koppen & Nortier 2019 for recent discussions; Jaspers 2008 and Nortier 2008 for critical assessments).

This way of speaking includes both phonetic features (Mourigh 2017 and work in progress by the same author) and morphosyntactic peculiarities (Cornips 2008). In addition, one remarks the insertion of a number of lexical elements. The large majority of these lexical elements belong to the following categories, cf. El Aissati et al. (2005: 171–174), who do not mention type (e), however:

a. Referential nouns referring to culturally salient items, e.g. *lməɣrib* 'Morocco'; *rwina* 'a way of causing chaos in a more or less funny way that is considered to be typical of Moroccan youth' (see Kossmann 2016b).

b. Religious exclamations and interjections, e.g. *l-hamdu l-illah* 'praise the Lord!'; *ma-ša-ḷḷah* 'wow!'.[12]

c. Utterance modifiers (cf. Matras 1998), e.g. *muhim* 'well', *zəʕma* 'you know' (Boumans 2003).

d. Interjections, including expletives, e.g. *wayyaw* 'wow!', *ṭəẓẓ* 'yuck'.

e. A small set of clause-internal function words (Kossmann 2017).

The indefinites discussed in this article belong to the last category, together with markers of yes/no interrogation (Kossmann 2016a) and the similative preposition *bhal* 'like'.

There is no reason to assume that all features enumerated above have the same social or communicative associations. It is very well

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[12] Note that, depending on context, *wəḷḷah* 'by God!, lo!, absolutely!' can be categorized as a religious exclamation or as a simple interjection.

possible – and suggested by observation – that inserting Moroccan utterance modifiers such as *muhim* 'well' and *iwa* 'well' has different social meaning (in the sense of Coupland 2007) than using indefinite determiners, for example; this is obviously also the case with religious exclamations. Moreover, there are many Moroccan Dutch speakers who do not use Moroccan clause-internal function words at all, except, sometimes, when imitating other people's speech. In contrast, the use of religious exclamations and Moroccan utterance modifiers seems to be much more wide-spread as long as conversations are among members of the Moroccan Dutch community.[13]

In the case of clause-internal function words, Kossmann (2017) has argued that they provide a more laid-back, slightly ironic key to the utterance.[14] These conclusions were based on an analysis of the use of Moroccan clause-internal function words among members of one specific forum, chaima.nl (now discontinued), a forum geared towards adolescent and young adult women with a Moroccan background in the Netherlands and Flanders. The results showed, for instance, that these function words were especially frequent in posts with light, humorous content, while being all but absent in more serious posts, such as posts providing or asking for advice, or discussing religious subjects.

Speakers are aware of these insertions, and it is not difficult to find metacommentary about them, e.g., as a negative commentary:

(2) {context: A complaint about the excessive use of certain words in conversation.}

Izjen, izjen, izjen...
100 keer in 1 verhaal.. Zooooooooooo hinderlijk!

ižžən, ižžən, ižžən *['a, a, a']*...
a 100 times in one story... So annoying!'

[@ArabicLady; 23/10/2012; marokko.nl][15]

In a different vein, in (3) the poster @Bisou relishes in using the element *ižžən* 'a' in internet writing, while affirming she would not do so in other circumstances:

(3) {context: a thread about winter clothes}

@XL!: Gewoon zo'n chiffonrok over izjen dikke joggingsbroek aantrekken! (...)

@FATIMAZOHRA85: dat ziet er toch sloeberig uit, of niet

@XL!: Dat van die rok was ook een grapje. (...)

@Bisou: izjen dikke panty Ik praat nooit zomaar nu kon ik izjen gebruiken

@XL!: *Just put on a chiffon skirt over* ižžən *['a'] thick sweatpants! (...)*

@FATIMAZOHRA85: *But that would look shabby, wouldn't it?*

@XL!:   *That about the skirt was just a joke. (...)*

@Bisou: <u>ižžən</u> *['a'] thick panty.*
          I never talk like that, but now I could use
          <u>ižžən</u> *['a'].*

          [9/10/2012; marokko.nl]

Comments like this show that Moroccan indefinite determiners are a recognizable feature of a certain way of speaking Dutch.

3. The forms of the Moroccan indefinite elements inserted into Dutch

Before going into the semantics and pragmatics of Moroccan indefinite elements in Dutch, it is important to provide some details about the forms that are used in the heritage languages and the way they appear in Dutch. In this paragraph, first the different Moroccan Arabic and Tarifiyt Berber forms and their spellings will be shown, and then the linguistic choice between Moroccan Arabic and Tarifiyt Berber forms in Dutch discourse will be discussed.

3.1 Moroccan indefinite elements: Forms

The Moroccan immigration towards the Netherlands and Flanders mostly originated from the northern part of Morocco (Cottaar, Bouras & Laouikili 2008). As a result, two heritage languages are common in the immigrant community, Tarifiyt Berber and Moroccan Arabic. In addition, there is an important group of speakers of southern Moroccan Berber languages. This multilingual make-up of the community is reflected in the Moroccan elements that are inserted into Dutch.

The inserted indefinite markers come in several forms, depending on the language of origin, Moroccan Arabic or Tarifiyt Berber. While the two languages have similar systems of indefiniteness (see section 4.1), the forms are different:

	'a' (specific indefinite)	'some' (non-specific indefinite)
Moroccan Arabic	*waħəd*, *wəhd*, *waħid*	*ši*
Tarifiyt Berber (eastern)	*ižžən*	*šan*
Tarifiyt Berber (western)	*ižžən*	*šin*
Tarifiyt Berber (southeastern)	*idžən*	*šan*

Table 1. Forms of the indefinite determiners in Moroccan Arabic and Tarifiyt Berber

The Moroccan Arabic variants *waħəd* and *wəhd* (also *whəd*) are probably in free variation, with *wəhd* (~ *whəd*) functioning as an allegro variant. A further variant appearing in Dutch contexts is *waħid*.

For a more precise description of the geographical distribution of the Tarifiyt Berber variants, the reader may consult Lafkioui (2007, maps 174 and 175). Tarifiyt *šin*, *šan* – and arguably also *ižžən*, *idžən* – include the possessive preposition *n*, which is regularly used in combination with quantifiers. In Dutch linguistic contexts, the final *n* is almost always present, and the complex seems to function as a single word.[16] In Tarifiyt Berber, *ižžən/idžən* can be used both with masculine and feminine nouns. In addition, there exists a dedicated feminine form

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[16] For ease of reference, *n* will be written as part of the word both in Moroccan and in Dutch contexts, except in Tarifiyt Berber examples.

išt(ən). The latter form has not been attested in Dutch linguistic contexts. Southern Moroccan Berber has different forms for the indefinite article, such as *yan* and *yiwən*. I have not encountered any of these forms in Dutch linguistic contexts, even within forums especially geared to people with this background, such as ouarzazate.nl. The following lists some examples:

(4) {context: a thread about recipies}

Wahd vriendin van me ma maakt het heerlijk met extra peper

waħəd ['a'] friend of my mom makes it; delicious with extra pepper

[@martilchikk; 12/12/2009; marokko.nl]

- -

(5) heb net iejen film gezien

(I) just watched ižžən ['a'] movie

[@Miss_Elwafa; 29/5/2011; marokko.nl]

- -

(6) hij heeft ižžən ziekte of zo, hè

he's got ižžən ['an'] illness, hasn't he?

[Gouda; Mourigh 2015–2016]

- -

(7) {context: a not-so-serious thread about how men should/could treat their wives}

Ff serieus kom en verras me eens met idjen lekker ontbijtje home made

just seriously, come and surprise me with idžən ['a'] delicious breakfast home-made.

[@justmimz; 11/10/2011; marokko.nl]

- -

(8) Waarom is redbull niet in shi anderhalve literfles te krijgen

why can't you get Redbull (an energy drink MK) in ši ['some'] 1.5 litres bottle?

[@olympico; 24/4/2008; marokko.nl]

- -

(9) ze zei dat je met shen dikke jongen had

she said that you are having (a relationship) with šan ['some'] fat guy.

[@ibrahimovic10; 5/5/2015; marokko.nl]

- -

(10) {context: a thread about what kind of car oil is to be preferred}

waarom ga je dat niet navragen bij shien garage
en iesjen hele goeie tip als er geen verstand van hebt laat het dan door iemand vullen die dat wel weet

Why don't you ask at šin ['some'] garage? And ižžən ['a'] very good advice: if (you) don't know about it, let somebody fill it up who knows.

[@Simssima; 2/6/2010; marokko.nl]

Dutch Moroccan internet writing has no strict spelling conventions for Moroccan sounds. As a result, there exists large-scale variation in the spelling of *waħəd/wəħd* and *ižžən/idžən*, which contain sounds that are foreign to Dutch (*ħ*, *w*[19]) or quite rare (*ž*). The following tables list all the variants that I encountered on the forum marokko.nl:

izn	izjn			(isjn)[17]	ishn		
izen	izjen	ijen	ijjen	isjen	ishen	(ischen)	igen
izun	iezjun	ijun					
iezn	iezjn	iejn					
iezen	iezjen	iejen	iejjen	iesjen	ieshen	(ieschen)	
iezun	izjun	iejun					
	idzjn						
idzen	idzjen	idjen					
iedzen	iedzjen	iedjen					

Table 2. Spellings of Tarifiyt Berber ižžən / idžən as found in the forum marokko.nl

wahed	wa7ed	wa3ed	waged	waghed	ouahed	oua7ed
wehad	we7ad	(we3ad)				
wahad	wa7ad	wa3ad	(wagad)		ouahad	oua7ad
wehed	we7ed	we3ed	weged		ouehed	
wahd[18]	wa7d		wagd		ouahd	oua7d
wehd	we7d		wegd		ouehd	
whed	w7ed	w3ed			ouhed	
whd	w7d				ouhd	
whad					ouhad	ou7ad
(wahid)	wa7id	wa3id	wagid		(ouahid)	
wehid	(we7id)		(wegid)			
wahied	wa7ied	wa3ied	wagied			
wehied	we7ied	we3ied	(wegied)			

Table 3. Spellings of Moroccan Arabic waħəd / wəħd / wħəd / waħid as found in the forum marokko.nl

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[17] Spellings between brackets are very rare.

[18] <wahd>, <wehd> and similar forms could stand both for *waħəd* and *wəħd*.

[19] Dutch /w/ is phonetically [ʋ] or [ɥ], and thus different from Moroccan Arabic and Berber /w/ (= [w]).

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The spellings represent different interpretations of sounds that are absent or rare in Dutch. In some instances, the grapheme representing a phonetically similar sound in Dutch has been chosen, e.g. Dutch <h> [ɦ] and <g> [x] for Moroccan [ħ]; in other cases, the spelling is inspired by foreign language conventions, e.g. French <j> for ž and <ou> for w, or English <sh> for š. Spellings with numbers are inspired by the so-called Arabizi Arabic chat alphabet, which uses numbers to represent Arabic or Berber sounds that cannot be written with a Latin keyboard. In this alphabet, <7> stands for [ħ], while <3> stands for [ʕ]. Apparently, the conventions are not entirely clear to all posters, and sometimes the wrong number is used, e.g. <wa3ed> for *wahəd*.

In spoken materials, people with a Moroccan background pronounce the indefinite determiners according to their original pronunciation. In crossing, i.e., when used by people that do not have a Moroccan background (see also section 4.4), more Dutch-like pronunciations may be encountered, e.g. [vɛɦət] instead of [wæħəd] (*wahəd*).

3.2 Berber versus Arabic forms

The use of Berber or Arabic forms is not entirely determined by the linguistic heritage of the speaker. In fact, many posters with a Berber background choose Arabic forms in the single-word insertions studied here (see also Kossmann 2016a). Sometimes they use Berber and Arabic forms in alternation, as in the following example from a long series of posts by a girl complaining about miserly behavior by Moroccan boys. As indicated by the

poster, the whole thread presents a stereotype of Moroccan boys, and seems to emulate unserious girls' speech (i.e., a stylization in the sense of Coupland 2007).[20]

(11) <u>wajoo</u> ik had <u>izjen</u> date met zo een jongen dus ik dacht ik ga met hem mee zonder geld even naar de mac enzo je weet. (…)
we gingen naar binnen en we gingen zitten hij bestelde 1 vismenu voor mij en eentje voor hem.
ik d8 hij heeft 2 voor mij gehaald dus ik pak zo die menu van hem,
opeens hij geeft mij <u>wahed</u> klap hij zegt blijf van mij eten af. (…)
1 vismenu <u>tarrrr</u> alsof ik <u>shen</u> vliegje ben ofzo alsof ik kan leven op 5 gram junkfood <u>allatief</u>. (…)
aneeee zijn ogen waren gericht op die broodje hij leek net <u>shie</u> verslaafde.

Wow! [wayyaw] *I had* <u>ižžən</u> *['a'] date with a boy, so I thought I'll join him without money to go to Mac(Donalds) and things, you know (…)*
We went in and we sat down and he ordered one fish menu for me, and one for himself.
I thought he had taken two for me, so I take his menu,
all of a sudden he gives me <u>waħəd</u> *['a'] slap and he says: Keep your hands off my food (…)*
One fish menu, bah [təṛṛṛṛ] *as if I were* <u>šan</u> *['some'] little fly or things, as if I could live by five grams of junk food, my God* [a laṭif]. *(…)*
O no, his eyes were focussed on that little bread roll, he looked like some <u>ši</u> *['some'] (drug) addict.*

[@utrechttttttttt; 29/12/2007; marokko.nl]

In this fragment, Berber forms (*ižžən, šan*) alternate with Arabic forms (*waḥəd, ši*). Similarly, in the following conversation from a piece of creative writing, a contrastive statement is made by means of *waḥəd* and *ižžən*:

(12) {context: The protagonist has just seen somebody she thought was attractive from far, but turned out to be less interesting}

Van ver <u>wahed</u> lekkerding van dichtbij <u>iezen</u> enge turk.

At a distance <u>waḥəd</u> *['a'] tasty boy, from closeby* <u>ižžən</u> *['a'] scary Turk.*

[@mocrootje163; 2/6/2013; marokko.nl]

There may be local preferences in the choice of Berber or Arabic vocabulary, independent of the heritage background of the speaker. Thus it is sometimes suggested that Arabic insertions are common in Amsterdam, while Moroccan heritage youth in cities like The Hague and Rotterdam would be more prone to use Berber words. This is stated, for example, in the following post about language use in Amsterdam:

(13) @Koning: Klopt die ‚<u>Shie</u>" is geïntroduceerd door de <u>Chamaliyen</u>. 😁
In andere steden hoor je ‚<u>Ijen</u>" meestal...

@zonmaansterren: Ja zelfs ras echte <u>rwafa</u> gebruiken <u>Shie</u>

@Koning: *You're right, that* ši *['some'] has been introduced by the Northerners* [šamaliyin, *Arabic speakers from Northern Morocco*] 😁 *In other cities you normally hear* <u>ižžən</u> *['a']…*

@zonmaansterren: *Yes, even pure-bred Rif-Berbers* [ṛwafa] *use* <u>ši</u> *['some'].*

[28/2/2013; marokko.nl]

A similar observation about Amsterdam is made in the following post:

(14) Volgens mij krioelt Amsterdam van d riffies
Als ik in Amsterdam ben hoor ik alleen maar Arabisch
Waar hebben jullie zo goed Arabisch leren praten <u>a</u> Amsterdammers/riffies?
Krijgen jullie daar een bepaalde lespakket op de basisschool ofzo?

I think, Amsterdam is teeming with Rif-Berbers
When I am in Amsterdam, I only hear Arabic
Where did you learn to speak Arabic that well, o [a] *Amsterdam/Rif-Berber people?*
Do you get special educational materials for that in primary school?

[@Madamepuur; 12/8/2013; marokko.nl]

On the other hand, Khalid Mourigh (p.c.) observed that in Gouda, a city where most Moroccan youth have a Berber linguistic heritage, heritage speakers of Moroccan Arabic use Berber insertions in their Dutch, such as *ižžən*.

Such observations must of course be taken with a grain of salt, as there is no reason to assume that Moroccan communities make homogenous choices. Moreover, the ascription of variants to geographical locations is a well-known model for people to interpret linguistic variation (localization in the sense of Aarsæther et al. 2015). While this may be less strong so in this specific case – the default expectation would be to inserts elements from one's own heritage language – this undoubtedly plays a role here.

In general, the choice of the language in an insertion is not further remarked upon by other posters. The following is an exception, no doubt as the interaction took place on a website dedicated to the Berber cause:

(15) {context: A thread about a Moroccan singer}

@fattoma: moooi man ik had <u>wahed</u> bandje van hem..echt cool..vooral als samira zingt.. hebben jullie meer?

@rif-boe3iash: <u>Mena wahed ienie ‚'iezen'' e temsjoent</u> !

@Tikinas: Juist ja, <u>TTTTTTTemsjoent</u>!

@fattoma: <u>ewa</u> je weet <u>nechien thimazighen tarwa ntmout</u>!! wij spreken alle talen sorry

@fattoma: *Beautiful, man, I used to have* <u>waħəd</u> *['a']* *tape recording of him… really cool… especially when Samira sings… Do you have more?*

@rif-boe3iash: *What "*<u>waħəd</u>*", say "*<u>ižžən</u>*", you naughty girl!* [mana waħəd, ini ižžən a tamšunt!]

@Tikinas: *Exactly, she is a naughty girl* [t tamšunt]*!*

@fattoma: *well* [iwa]*, you know, we Berbers are children of our country* [nəššin timaziɣin t tarwa n tmurt]!! *We speak all languages, sorry.*

[13/6/2006; amazigh.nl]

4. Moroccan and Dutch indefinite systems and the insertion of Moroccan indefinites

It is of course very well possible that the choice of Moroccan indefinite determiners in Dutch is to some extent due to differences between the Dutch system and the systems in the Moroccan languages. One may hypothesize that speakers choose to use Moroccan determiners as a way to add nuances that are difficult to express in Dutch. The present paragraph first provides the reader with a short (and simplified) contrastive overview of the Dutch system and the systems used in the Moroccan languages. After this, possible implications of the differences for the insertion of Moroccan indefinites in Dutch will be discussed.

4.1 Some semantic differences between Dutch and Moroccan indefinite determiners

While there is highly detailed information available on the Dutch system (as analyzed and summarized in Broekhuis & Den Dikken 2012 and Haseryn 1997), our knowledge of the Moroccan languages is much more restricted. The uses of the indefinite determiners in Moroccan Arabic have been studied, among others, by Harrell (1962: 147; 189) Caubet (1983; 1993: II, 265ff.), Brustad (2000: 18ff.) and Maas (2011: 155). As far as I am aware, the uses of indefinite determiners in Tarifiyt Berber have never been a subject of investigation (see El Mountassir 2012 on Tashelhiyt Berber). I have tried to mend this by doing some own research using text materials and elicited sentences kindly provided to me by Khalid Mourigh.[21] As this analysis is not based on an extensive investigation, there is room for caution, however.

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[21] I greatly profited from discussions with Khalid Mourigh, Bouke Slofstra, and Stanly Oomen on this matter.

In the following, two aspects of the indefinite system will be contrasted: the use of non-specific indefinite determiners (similar to English 'some') and the use of indefinite determiners in combination with numerals. Other important differences between Moroccan languages and Dutch will be left out of the discussion, such as the use of bare nouns in Moroccan languages in certain situations where Dutch would have an indefinite article.

The Moroccan languages have a dedicated indefinite determiner that is used for non-specific reference. According to Maas (2011: 155), the unspecific indefinite *ši* in Moroccan Arabic expresses that neither the speaker, nor the hearer can identify the referent; i.e., the referent is not concrete, but vague, uncertain, or potential (Harrell 1962: 147). Based on my own experience with Moroccan Arabic, I would tend to rephrase the difference a bit, by stating that *ši* does not necessarily mark that the speaker is unable to identify the referent, but rather that its identity is not deemed relevant. This is typically the case when the speaker cannot identify the referent himself, but may also include cases where the referent is known to the speaker. When used with mass nouns and plural nouns, *ši* also has effects on quantification, adding an element of paucity.

In Moroccan Arabic, *ši* can be combined with singular count nouns, with mass nouns, and with plurals. In Tarifiyt Berber, the use of *šan/šin* is similar to that in Moroccan Arabic, but not identical. Even though a proper investigation into this question is lacking, it seems that, like in Moroccan Arabic, Tarifiyt Berber *šan/šin* refers to non-specific entities. It can be combined with singulars and with plurals, but is less easily combined with mass nouns than in Moroccan Arabic. It may have a slightly stronger effect of vague reference than in the latter language.

Dutch indefinites are very different. In the first place, there is no division between specific and non-specific reference in the singular: in both situations *een* is normally used (Broekhuis & Den Dikken 2012: 688; Haeseryn 1997, § 14.3.1). In order to put emphasis on the unspecific reference it is possible to use a rather heavy expression, *de één of andere*. lit. 'one or the other'. In the plural and with mass nouns, neither *een* nor *de één of andere* is possible. Instead, one finds bare plurals and bare mass nouns. In order to add paucity, it is also possible to use *wat* or, only with plurals, *een paar* (Broekhuis & Den Dikken 2012: 909ff.; 912ff.).[22]

These differences are summarized in table 4, which also includes the specific indefinite with singulars. The table is meant for ease of reference and does only provide the most common ways of expression; in all languages under investigation, other expressions are available.

	specific indefinite (singular entities)	non-specific indefinite (singular entities)	non-specific indefinite (mass nouns)	non-specific indefinite (plural entities)
Dutch	*een*	*een*	*wat*	*wat* ~ bare noun
Moroccan Arabic	*waħəd*	*ši*	*ši*	*ši*
Tarifiyt Berber	*iẓẓən*	*šan / šin*	(bare noun)	*šan / šin*

Table 4. Non-specific indefinite expressions in Dutch, Moroccan Arabic and Tarifiyt Berber

[22] There are other existential quantifiers in Dutch, like enkele and sommige, on which see Broekhuis & Den Dikken 2012: 907ff.

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Thus there are many expressions where Moroccan Arabic and Tarifiyt Berber would have the non-specific determiner *ši/šan/šin*, while Dutch would have *een* or a bare noun instead. The following examples illustrate the use of *šan* in Tarifiyt Berber as opposed to their Dutch translations:

(16) tʕälläm <u>ša n ṣṣänʕät</u>!
     learn *ša* of craft

     [Tarifiyt Berber, Mourigh & Kossmann 2020: 167, transcription adapted]

     Dutch translation:
     leer <u>een vak</u>!
     learn *een* craft
     just learn <u>some/a craft</u>!

- -

(17) ařmani yiwäḍ ɣar <u>ša (n)</u>[23] <u>iɣarwad n thändäšt</u>
     until he.arrived at *ša* (of) leaves of prickly.pear
     d <u>ša [n] isännanän</u> d <u>ša n wäšfiř</u>
     and *ša* (of) prickles and *ša* of prickly.pear.plant

     [Tarifiyt Berber; Amaziɣ 2012: 48, transcription adapted]

     Dutch translation:
     Tot hij aankwam bij <u>wat/ø cactusvijgbla-deren</u> en <u>wat/ø stekels</u> en <u>wat/ø cactus-planten</u>
     until he arrived at *wat/ø* prickly.pear.leaves and *wat/ø* prickles and *wat/ø* prickly.pear. plants
     until he arrived at (a place with) <u>prickly pear leaves</u> and <u>prickles</u> and <u>prickly pears</u>

In addition, in the Moroccan languages *ši/šan/šin* can be combined with numerals, expressing approximation. In Dutch, such contexts demand for very different constructions, like *een stuk of* NUMERAL, literally 'a piece or NUMERAL', *zo'n* NUMERAL, literally 'such a NUMERAL', e.g.

(18) <u>ša n tnayän</u> n ṭṭunubinat nniḍän
     ša of two of cars other

     [Tarifiyt Berber; Amaziɣ 2012: 114, transcription adapted]

     Dutch translation:
     <u>een stuk of twee</u> andere auto's
     een stuk of twee other cars
     <u>about two</u> other cars

The same is possible using *wahəd/ižžən*, although the meaning seems to be slightly different. While *ši/šan/šin* + NUMERAL implies that the quantity can be slightly more or less, *wahəd/ižžən* + NUMERAL implies that the uncertainty is only at one side, and is thus translatable as 'at least' (Dutch *tenminste*) or, less frequently, 'at most' (Dutch *hoogstens*) (Khalid Mourigh, p.c.). The following example – including a bit of Arabic-French code switching – comes from a Morocco-based website.

(19) ba9i lia hir wa7ed 2 mois f l carte d séjour
     (baqi liya ɣir <u>waħəd *2 mois*</u> f-l-*carte-de-séjour*)
     still at.me only *wahəd* two months on-the-residence.permit

     [@blackastron; 7/5/2012; wladbladi.net]

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[23] In Nador Tarifiyt, the preposition n is absent when the following word starts in a vowel.

Dutch translation:
ik heb hoogstens nog <u>zo'n twee maanden</u>
op mijn verblijfsvergunning
I have at.most still just *zo'n* two months on
my residence.permit
I have just at most <u>some two months</u> left on
my residence permit

4.2 Indefinite insertion: A way to mend a structural mismatch?

As Dutch and the Moroccan languages have overlapping but far from identical systems, one may ask to what extent the insertion of Moroccan indefinite determiners in Dutch speech is a way to mend this mismatch. That is, do Moroccan heritage speakers use these determiners in order to be more explicit in their expression of Dutch?

One very clear case of this is the use of *ši/šan/šin* with numeral expressions. As remarked above, Dutch does not have a dedicated way to achieve approximation with numerals – although it can of course express this – and one can well imagine that a Moroccan speaker chooses to use her/his heritage expressions to achieve this. Indeed, *ši/šan/šin* is very common in Moroccan Dutch approximative number expressions, e.g.

(20) {context: a thread about what one has eaten for breakfast}

Normaal altijd <u>shie</u> 3 boterhammen en <u>shie</u> gevulde koek met thee maar vandaag <u>walou</u> dit is me nooit voorgekomen dat ik wakker word en naar de keuken ga en er is geen ontbijt

Normally always <u>ši</u> ['about'] three sandwiches and <u>ši</u> ['some'] stuffed biscuit with tea, but today nothing [walu]; *This has never hap-*

pened before, that I woke up and went to the kitchen and there was no breakfast.

[@crazy2000; 19/8/2003; maroc.nl]

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(21) {context: The poster tells about how she once, as a child, climbed into an olive tree}

Ik zat daar <u>shen</u> 2 uurtjes vast, durfde er echt niet meer uit 😳
I was stuck there about <u>šan</u> ['about'] two hours, really didn't dare to get out of it 😳

[@--SKM; 20/7/2010; marokko.nl}

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(22) {context: A thread in which the posters predict the outcome of a football match}

zeker <u>shie</u> 5-0
certainly <u>ši</u> ['about'] 5-0.

[@Elhaj_Rwiena; 6/7/2010; marokko.nl]

Like in the heritage languages, in such contexts *wahəd/ižžən* is also possible:

(23) Ik wil daar een appartementje kopen maar daar zijn ze duur! zeker <u>izjen</u> 40 jaar sparen.

I want to buy a small appartment there, but they are expensive over there! Definitely <u>ižžən</u> ['at least'] 40 years of saving.

[@Samir; 15/1/2012; rkempo.nl]

More in general, one may surmise that the use of *ši/šan/šin* makes explicit that the identity of the referent is unknown and/or irrelevant, e.g.

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(24) {context: a girl explains how she was listening to music}

en zing ik zo hard mogelijk mee als shi jankende hond tot ik het uit zette en ik iemand hoorde aanbellen

so I sing along as loud as possible like <u>ši</u> *['some'] whimpering dog, until I put it out and I heard somebody ringing at the door.*

[@Halima123; 12/3/2015; chaima.nl]

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(25) {context: a girl talks about the ethnic composition of her school in Antwerp}

<u>Wollah</u> als ik <u>shi</u> belg zie dan denk ik huh wat doe die hier?? <u>bhal</u> <u>shi</u> buitenaards wezen ofzo.
Als je op school zit met alleen marokkanen en turken en zwarten enzo, dan is da heel raar als je <u>shi</u> belg ziet.

Lo! [wəḷḷah] *when I see* <u>ši</u> *['some'] Belgian, I think "huh, what's he doing here?", like* [bħal] <u>ši</u> *['some'] alien or so. When you are at school with only Moroccans, Turks and Blacks and the like, then it is very strange when you see* <u>ši</u> *['some'] Belgian.*

[@LaBellaMtiwia; 8/5/2007; chaima.nl]

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(26) {context: a topic opened on Valentine's day}

of zullen we <u>shen</u> rijke man zoeken??? 😜
or shall we go looking for <u>šan</u> *['some'] rich man???* 😜

[@ait-touzintje; 12/2/2013; rkempo.nl]

An explanation in terms of the linguistic differences between Dutch and the Moroccan heritage language is less obvious in the case of *wahəd/ižžən*. Like in Moroccan Arabic and Berber, these elements refer to identifiable indefinite referents in Dutch contexts. In this case, Dutch *een* has broader uses than the specific indefinites in the Moroccan languages. As long as the referent is specific – as is of course the case in many contexts –, *een* and *wahəd/ižžən* can be used as translation equivalents. While it is clear that in non-specific indefinites a structural mismatch may be felt and mended by either using Moroccan non-specific indefinites or bare noun constructions (on which see Doreleijers 2016 and Doreleijers, Van Koppen & Nortier 2019), it seems to be a stretch to assume that *wahəd/ižžən* is operationalized just for stressing that we are dealing with a specific indefinite. Still, Moroccan elements are also found with specific indefinites, as illustrated in examples (27–29).

(27) <u>Ewaa</u> beste leden we gaan <u>idjen</u> wedstrijd organiseren dus stuur een foto van jouw Mooie of Lelijke Ogen en we plaatsen die hier op onze pagina.

well [iwa], *dear members, we are going to organize* <u>idžən</u> *['a'] contest, so send a photograph of your Beautiful or Ugly Eyes and we'll post it here on our page.*

[@MarokkaanseFeiten; 13/11/2013; facebook.com]

(28) Vandaag werd ik volgens mij stoned van chloor 🤓
<u>izjen</u> schoonmaker had <u>3ayak</u> veel chloor gebruikt.

today I got stoned from chlorine, I think 😵 *ižžən ['a'] cleaner had used an exorbitant [ʕəyyəq] amount of chlorine.*

[@R010TTERDAM; 24/1/2015; marokko.nl]

- -

(29) {context: a question about where a certain activity at university is going to take place}

Ikkee ff kijken ze verwachten me om 09:30uur bij lokaal B.2.27 (B4.01) of A.5.26 bij <u>wahed</u> vrouw van de opleiding ben haar naam vergeten, boogaard of boogerd ofzo, <u>allah a3lam</u> (…)

me, just a look, they expect me at 9:30 in room B.2.27 (B4.01) or A.5.26 with <u>waħəd ['a']</u> woman from the department, (I) forgot her name, Boogaard or Boogerd, something like that, God knows [lḷahu 'aʕlam][24] (…)

[@elmoejahida; 1/9/2007; marokko.nl]

As argued in Kossmann (2017), a major function of inserting Moroccan indefinites is keying the message as not-so serious and laid back, and this, rather than stressing specificity, seems to be the main point of using *wahəd* or *ižžən* rather than *een*. In principle, one insertion of this type is enough to achieve this keying, and Dutch and Moroccan indefinites can easily cooccur in a sentence, e.g.

(30) {context: a topic about how long the posters are}

@suikermeloentj: liever een dwerg dan <u>izjen</u> lange reus

(I) prefer (to be) a midget rather than <u>ižžən ['a']</u> long giant

@Teaser: liever <u>izjen</u> lange reus dan een dwerg

(I) prefer (to be) <u>ižžən ['a']</u> long giant rather than a midget

[21-22/5/2013; rkempo.nl]

5. New uses of Moroccan elements

This paragraph studies developments in the semantics of Moroccan indefinite determiners as used in Dutch contexts. It is shown that these determiners sometimes develop into markers of expressivity to the determined noun. Especially when used by people who do not have a Moroccan heritage, they may develop into pure intensifiers and lose their indefinite semantics altogether.

5.1 New uses of Moroccan elements by people with a Moroccan linguistic heritage

The choice between *wahəd* and *ižžən* is not entirely determined by the heritage language of the user, and, moreover, users with different Moroccan heritage languages regularly interact using Dutch. As such, there is a potential of confusion as to what the inserted elements exactly mean. For Arabic *wahəd*, this may be less so, as the word also occurs in Berber counting: even though a Berber speaker would not use the Arabic numeral as a determiner in her or his heritage language, s/he should not have a problem in interpreting it (see however exx. 42 to 44 below). This is different from Berber *ižžən* as regards heritage speakers of Arabic. Indeed, it

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[24] Literally 'God is the most knowledgeable'; a common religious expression of uncertainty.

is not uncommon to find remarks and questions about the exact meaning of this word in the forum posts, e.g.:

(31) {context: a topic entitled "<u>izjen</u> belan-grijkke probleem met me man" '<u>ižžən</u> *['an']* important problem with my husband')}

Nou van de topic zelf geloof ik niks van. Maar gezien we toch bezig zijn met slap lullen. Wat is de letterlijke betekenis van <u>Izjen</u>? Kan iemand vertallen?

Well, I don't believe anything of the topic itself. But as we are just twaddling around: What is the literal meaning of <u>ižžən</u>? *Could anybody translate?*

[@87zahra87; 16-02-2012; marokko.nl]

The unfamiliarity of many Arabic speakers with *ižžən* (and to a lesser extent of Berber speakers with *waħəd*) can lead to a shift in usage of the word. This is explicitly acknowledged in the following exchange:

(32) @Aᵒ'76: Heb <u>izjen</u> respect voor haar, man.

@Lady-Dounya: <u>Iezjen waha</u>? Gier.

@Aᵒ'76: <u>Izjen</u> is veel, man.

@Lady-Dounya: Serieus? Leg es uit dan.

@Aᵒ'76: Ik ben geen <u>riffia</u>, dus betekent <u>izjen</u> iets anders voor mij dan voor de riffijnen.
IZJENPOWEEEEEEERRRRRRRRRRRR

@Aᵒ'76: *(I) have* <u>ižžən</u> *respect for her, man.*

@Lady-Dounya: *Just one* [<u>ižžən</u> waha]*? Miser!*

@Aᵒ'76: <u>ižžən</u> *is a lot, man.*

@Lady-Dounya: *Seriously? Please explain.*

@Aᵒ'76: *I am not a Riffian* [rifiya]*, so* <u>ižžən</u> *means something different to me than to the Riffians.* IŽŽƏN *POWER*

[maroc.nl; 5/6/2007]

In this exchange, @Aᵒ'76, a speaker of Arabic, expresses her deep respect by using *ižžən*. In this case, *ižžən* is clearly used as an intensifier, and not as a singular indefinite. @Lady-Dounya, who is a Berber speaker, reacts to this by calling her a miser – just "one" respect does not seem to be much. After this, @Aᵒ'76 explains her use of the word as different from that by native speakers of Tarifiyt Berber.

On a more general note, the use of determiners in keying an utterance can lead to changes in their meaning. Different from utterance modifiers such as *iwa* 'well' or interjections such as *waḷḷah* 'by God! lo!', determiners are bound to a nominal head. Thus, while their stylistic effect concerns the whole utterance, the syntactic scope of the determination is much smaller. As a result, it is not unlogical to restrict the scope of the keying to the determined noun too. One can easily imagine a phrase like "Ik geef hem <u>wehed</u> harde klap" 'I will give him *waħəd* (a) hard slap' [@Menselijk; 19/11/2008; marokko.nl] to acquire a meaning 'I will give him a freaking hard slap', where *waħəd* would thus mark expressiveness/intensification on the level of the noun phrase, rather than keying the whole utterance . Of course, such a development is difficult to discern in a corpus, as long

as the original indefinite meaning remains relevant too. It is, however, remarkable that *waħəd/ižžən* is quite frequent with nouns referring to beatings and the like. These are of course contexts where an expressive reading of the noun is to be expected, e.g.

(33) {context: a televized interview with some young boys that sometimes wreak havock in a Rotterdam neighborhood.}

    A: Ja, als ik iets fout doe dan ga ik naar binnen

    B: Ikke niet, ik krijg <u>ižž</u> zzweep

    A: Yes, when I do something wrong I go inside [to my parents]

    B: Not me, I [would] get <u>ižž</u>[25] ['a'] lash

    [Premtime: Kinderterreur in Katendrecht; 7/5/2008; 2:49]

There are also usages where the expressive nature of the elements stands beyond doubt. This is, in the first place, found in the frequent juxtaposition of *ižžən* and *waħəd* into a phrase *ižžən waħəd* or *waħəd ižžən*. As the elements come from two different languages, this is evidently a Dutch creation, e.g.

(34) <u>Wahed</u> <u>izjen</u> goeieeeeeeeemorgen mensen. 😄🟢✋

    <u>waħəd ižžən</u> *good morning, people.* 😄🟢✋

    [@Chida!; 25/10/2006; maroc.nl]

(35) Ja <u>a sahbi</u> kheb <u>izjen</u> <u>wahed</u> goeie trouwmateriaal gevonden naast albert heijn

    Yes my friend [a ṣaħbi], *I found* <u>ižžən waħəd</u> *good material for marriage next to Albert Heijn (a major supermarket chain MK)*

    [@Inolvidable__; 19-05-2013; marokko.nl]

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(36) {context: a vlogger tells about how Moroccan brothers get angry.}

    daarna hij pakt jou weer zo //[26] gaat jou <u>ižžən</u> Zidane kopstoot geven // dan <u>ižžən</u> elleboog van rechts // <u>ižž</u> elleboog van onder// daarna gaat hij jou <u>ižžən</u> <u>waħid</u> drie high kicks geven.

    Then he grabs you like this // gives you <u>ižžən</u> *headbutt like Zidane*[27] *// then* <u>ižžən</u> *elbow from the right //* <u>ižž</u> *elbow from below // then he'll give you* <u>ižžən waħid</u> *three high kicks.*

    [Youstoub: Marokkaanse Broers; 17/6/2014; 1:09]

In some usages the expressive meaning of *waħəd/ižžən* must have become dominant over the indefinite meaning, and indefinites show up in contexts where an indefinite determiner is unexpected, either because the context is definite, or because another indefinite marker is present. This is, for example, the case in the following excerpts from creative writing by @Nadoriia, a Moroccan-heritage girl from Eindhoven, posted between November 5, 2008 and January 4, 2009

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[25] Atypically, the speaker uses the short form *ižž* rather than *ižžən*.

[26] // is used here to mark an intonation break.

[27] The famous football player Zinédine Zidane was sent off the 2006 World Cup final because of headbutting an opponent.

on the forum chaima.nl. Example (37) has *wahəd* combined with the Dutch definite determiner *die*, while in (38) *wahəd* is combined with the Dutch indefinite article *een*.

(37) <u>Awillie</u> over die <u>wahed</u> loverboy, blijf uit hem buurt hij!

    O dear [a wili] *about that* <u>waħəd</u> *lover boy, keep away from him!*

- -

(38) Opeens zie ik daar zitten een <u>wahed</u> lekkere boy met groene ogen.

    All of a sudden, I see there a <u>waħəd</u> *tasty boy with green eyes.*

There are even cases where *wahəd* or *ižžən* is used as an adverb, something unthinkable in the heritage languages, e.g.:

(39) Omggg deze 2 weken gaan <u>wahed</u> snel voorbij!

    Oh my God, these 2 weeks pass <u>waħəd</u> *fast!*

    [TrotseTawayagtsh ♥! @r_dounia; 10/5/2013; twitter.com]

It may be no coincidence that both posters with atypical usage of Arabic *wahəd* 'a' in the preceding examples, @-Nadoriia and @r_dounia, have a Berber background;[28] like in example (32) above, they may not be aware of – or do not mind – the original meaning of the word as it is not part of their own heritage language.[29]

In general, however, the usage where the indefinite meaning has been obliterated entirely seems to be rare in communication among people with a Moroccan linguistic heritage, and only few examples were encountered.

5.2 New uses of Moroccan indefinites when used among people without a Moroccan linguistic heritage

Moroccan elements in Dutch are also used by people who do not have a Moroccan linguistic heritage (Nortier & Dorleijn 2008; Kossmann 2019). This crossing (Rampton 1995) also happens with the indefinite elements. As is clear from metacommentaries, speakers without a Moroccan linguistic heritage are sometimes well aware of the original meaning of the elements, as in the following tweet by a Dutch person without a recent migration background, which even shows knowledge of the backgrounds of *wahəd* and *ižžən*:

(40) <u>Wahed</u> broodje chocopasta, voor de Arabieren. Anders worden ze <u>izjen</u> beetje boos omdat ik Berbers voortrek. Boos <u>nigh</u>.

    <u>waħəd</u> *['a'] breadroll with nutella, for the Arabs. Otherwise they get* <u>ižžən</u> *['a'] little bit angry because I am preferring Berbers. Angry, or?* [niɣ].

    [@Derek_Otte; 16/08/2011; twitter.com]

In general, however, in crossing, *wahəd*, *ižžən* and *ižžən wahəd* are predominantly intensifiers,

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[28] I conclude this because of their aliases. @-Nadoriia no doubt has her background in the city or the province of Nador in northern Morocco, which is mainly Berber-speaking. The twitter name "Trotse Tawayagtsh" ('proud Waryagher girl') of @r_dounia refers to the Berber-speaking region Ayt Waryagher, also in northern Morocco.

[29] Unfortunately, we have no data on the knowledge of Arabic among Dutch youth with a Tarifiyt Berber linguistic heritage background. My personal impression is that it is quite common, but certainly not general.

and they frequently appear in definite contexts and sometimes as adverbs. This usage was confirmed by a number of youth without a Moroccan heritage background in Leiden interviewed by a peer, who described *wahəd* as an expletive similar to English "freaking".[30] The following examples from computer-mediated communication illustrate this. Examples (41) and (42) have *ižžən* in combination with a definite noun; example (43) shows the combination of *ižžən* and *wahəd* (section 5.1) in combination with a plural noun, while example (44) has *ižžən* as an adverb.

(41) Raporteeer deze kanker hoer kijk die <u>izjen</u> fotos die ze tweet

     Report this damn whore, look at those <u>ižžən</u> *photographs she is tweeting*

     [Husankk @KurdProud; 22/3/2014; twitter. com – in view of the alias @KurdProud no doubt somebody with a Kurdish background]

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(42) Dus ik had omn 0720 ofgesproke, maar door mijn <u>izjen</u> domme pa kom ik nu vasttelaat :|

     So I had made an appointment at 7:20, but because of my <u>ižžən</u> *stupid dad I am probably going to be late :|*

     [Cheyenne.◉ @Cheeeyyftw; 22/8/2011; twitter.com – other tweets and social media clearly show a non-Moroccan background]

(43) Volg @Basnetron hij schiet <u>izn</u> <u>wehed</u> kk harde videosss, heb jij die nouveau riche promo 8gezien dierentuintje allles

     Follow @Basnetron, he shoots <u>ižžən waħəd</u> *damn hard video (clips), did you see that "Nouveau Riche" promo, little zoo, everything*

     [Ronell Plasschaert @RonnieFlex2907; 27/05/2011; twitter.com – a Dutch rap artist with a Surinamese background]

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(44) Hij forceert <u>izjen</u> die schiedam parkweg

     He is forcing <u>ižžən</u> *that Schiedam Parkweg*

     [Dion jajij? @kleineantii; 26/01/2013; twitter. com – in view of the alias @kleineantii no doubt someone with a background in the former Dutch Antilles]

6. Conclusions

The introduction of indefinite determiners is one of the most remarkable features of Moroccan Dutch speech style. Some of these insertions can be considered ways to mend the absence of good equivalents of Moroccan expressions in Dutch, but in many cases using the insertions instead of the Dutch indefinites does not seem to add much semantically. Using these elements adds to the general keying of the utterance as unserious and laid-back (Kossmann 2017), but otherwise expresses indefiniteness just like in the heritage languages.

In some cases, one observes a semantic shift, and they have come to mark the expressivity of the determined noun rather than general key

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of the utterance as a whole, that is, the stylistic associations of using the indefinite determiner have become part of their inherent semantics. This can be stressed by using Arabic *waḥəd* and Berber *ižžən* in one single determination. In the Moroccan Dutch speech style(s) studied here, the indefinite meaning is preserved; in the instances where this is not the case, we are mostly dealing with Arabic-heritage posters using the Berber determiner or with Berber-heritage posters using the Arabic determiner.

When used by speakers that do not have a Moroccan linguistic heritage, the expressive meaning has become generalized, and such users do often not seem to be aware of – or care much about – the indefinite semantics of the original forms. The former indefinites have become pure intensifiers.

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