Is Dutch Straattaal a mixed multiethnolect? A Moroccan perspective

Kossmann, M.G.

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version
(if applicable).

Maarten Kossmann*

Is Dutch Straattaal a mixed multiethnolect? A Moroccan perspective

Abstract: Dutch Straattaal is often described as a multiethnolect that is not only used among members of several different heritage groups, but also marks new identities. In this article, the focus is on the position of Straattaal among Moroccan youth, based on data from internet exchanges. The general observation is confirmed that Surinamese elements in Straattaal are used by Moroccan youth, and mixed with etymologically Moroccan elements. However, a different picture arises when studying meta-commentary by Moroccans about Straattaal. It appears that young Moroccans construct the use of lexical items from Sranan – the most salient feature of Straattaal – as something belonging to the Black community, and not as something they identify with. Thus, while Straattaal could be considered a multiethnolect on the level of actual speech, it is ideologically kept apart, and at that level much less multiethnic than is sometimes suggested.

Keywords: Moroccan Dutch, crossing, multiethnolects, metalinguistic commentary, Straattaal

1 Introduction

Over the last decades, the study of new urban varieties and linguistic styles in Europe has been a major topic.[1] The dynamics of such varieties and styles are derived from the participation of speakers whose heritage languages are different from the dominant language in the country. In situations where such a new variety or style is a vehicle of communication between members of a single heritage community, they can be called ethnolects or ethnic styles (cf. the

discussion in Muysken 2010; Hinskens 2011; van Meel 2016). For cases where the new variety has a more diverse group of users, the term multiethnolect is often used. The general assumption is that multiethnolects emerge from the dynamics of multi-heritage groups (Quist 2008: 44; Cheshire et al. 2011), and that they serve as a way to establish a new identity (Clyne 2000: 87; Nortier and Dorleijn 2013) – a project identity in the sense of Kießling and Mous (2004), that symbolically expresses a new, urban identity of young people from different backgrounds.

The term multiethnolect has been criticized for multiple reasons, often by the authors who use it themselves. Thus, "lect" may be a wrong denominator for what many authors consider styles or stylizations (e.g. Nortier and Dorleijn 2013), while the term "ethnic" not only puts focus on just one aspect of a socially multifaceted phenomenon, but is also vague and not necessarily appropriate for the migrant communities in Europe. As these are to some degree terminological questions, they will not be further addressed here.

The purpose of this article is to study whether one of these proposed multi-ethnolects, Dutch Straattaal, is indeed a Multiethnolect, in the sense that it is not only used by members of different communities, but also conceived of by members of these communities as transcending "ethnic" boundaries. In order to tackle this question, I take the perspective of the Moroccan heritage community in the Netherlands as reflected in internet communication. The study is grounded in extensive reading in Internet fora geared towards the Moroccan Dutch community.[2] Such fora provide us with an incredible amount of linguistic and metalinguistic data. Although such data is perforce less structured than one could get, for instance, in a sociolinguistic interview, they lack the effect of the Observer's Paradox. They provide us with a perspective on how Moroccan Dutch people discuss and negotiate their linguistic repertoires.

Speaking about these types of language use, which have undergone a degree of conventionalization and gained a certain stability over time, is wrought with terminological problems. Rampton (2015) and Cornips et al. (2015) have pointed to the dangers involved in labelling varieties; Rampton (2015) proposes to rename them "contemporary urban vernaculars". This term is hardly helpful in the Dutch situation. In the first place, if one follows Nortier and Dorleijn (2013) in considering Straattaal a style rather than a lect, "vernacular" is hardly the appropriate term.[3] Moreover, the term "contemporary"

---

[2] 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.

[3] This is deliberately the case with Rampton (2015), who considers his Contemporary Urban Vernacular to be a more or less unstylized variant; I do not know how to align this with Cornips

would encompass any variety spoken nowadays, and it needs a pragmatic implicature in order to designate the varieties of speaking we are talking about, something like: "as it is unexpected to speak about most currently used varieties as contemporary, something specifically new must be meant here". Finally, while labelling is certainly not the innocent scientific act that we would like it to be, refusing to name a relatively well-recognized variety like Straattaal comes close to denying its relevance, and thereby refusing to recognize the voice of its users (cf. Bucholtz 2003 on strategic essentialization).

There are many reasons to reject the term Straattaal. However, as it has, to a large extent, gained acceptance among its users (e.g., the speakers studied in Cornips and De Rooij 2013), I will not problematize the denomination as such. It should be stressed, though, that the term is by no means always used in the same way (its exact referent will be discussed further below). Ideologically maybe even more problematic than the term Straattaal is the question how to refer to the people who do not have a more or less recent immigration background, and the ways of speaking associated with them. Calling such varieties "normal", "standard" or" dominant" Dutch, and calling the people "autochthonous", or "white", or simply "Dutch" (as most Moroccan Internet posters would) provides them with a color of normality – at least in the dominantly white, autochthonous context of academic linguistics – that automatically exoticizes other varieties. Instead of choosing a descriptive term, I will try to counter-act this exoticization by choosing an exoticizing label itself: Indigenous Dutch. The associations with colonial and neo-colonial stereotypes of "indigenous people" are intended by this choice.

The Netherlands are special within the European context in that researchers have identified two different multiethnic styles based on Dutch that use large amounts of non-Dutch lexical elements, Straattaal and *Moroccan Flavored Dutch* (MFD; Dorleijn et al. 2015). The latter is associated with the young Moroccan community, and was identified by Jacomine Nortier and Margreet Dorleijn in their groundbreaking article in the *International Journal of Bilingualism* (Nortier and Dorleijn 2008). According to Nortier and Dorleijn, MFD is in the first place characterized by certain phonetic features, to which they add a number of lexical and morphosyntactic peculiarities. It is not entirely clear to what extent the term MFD refers to a way of speaking by Moroccan-descent youth, to a way of speaking that emulates Moroccan speech by people with other backgrounds, or both. It should be noted that the different features associated with MFD by Nortier and Dorleijn do not seem to have the same geographical distribution.

---

et al., who, in other publications, emphasize the importance of stylization in the sense of Coupland (2007: 154).

Thus, the phonetic features of MFD are predominantly found in the western part of the Netherlands, and seem to be all but absent in the southern part of the country and in Flanders. On the other hand, some of the more salient lexical features, such as the use of Moroccan function words, are found all over the Netherlands and Flanders (Kossmann 2016, 2017).

While MFD and Straattaal may very well be regarded specific styles, each with a certain amount of coherence, at least in some parts of the Dutch language territory, their exact delimitations are rather vague, and difficult to operationalize. Therefore, in the framework of this article, I will add more descriptive categories. These categories are defined on the basis of lexical features, first, because lexicon is most saliently attached to certain ethnic backgrounds and easy to recognize, and, second, because studying the computer-mediated communication as is done here inevitably limits the researcher to studying the lexicon primarily.

The first category established here is MLD, Moroccan Lexical elements used in Dutch.[4] MLD elements are mostly utterance modifiers (in the sense of Matras 1998), other function words (Kossmann 2016, 2017) and expletives from Tarifiyt Berber (hence: Berber) and Moroccan Arabic. A typical illustration of MLD is found in the following post on the Internet forum www.chaima.nl, geared towards Moroccan adolescent and young adult girls.

(1)   _Meskiena, ik dus ook ik moest flesjes water verkopen mesha was voor_
        kinderen uit Afrika.
        Mijn broer zo "wollah meh ik koop die van jou wesh denk je echt hun sturen
        die geld naar arme".
        'Poor me, me too, I had to sell little bottles of water, but it was for children
        in Africa. My brother like: I will certainly not buy these from you, _waš_ do

---

4 I exclude from MLD Arabic religious terms, which are not specifically Moroccan, and which seem to have different indexicalities than other types of lexical insertions into Dutch. The status of _wəḷḷah_ 'by God, assuredly, lo!' is ambiguous. This interjection is found in many youth registers in Europe, both among Muslims and among non-Muslims (Cheshire et al. 2015: 6). In Moroccan Arabic, and also in Moroccan Dutch discourse, it is often used to express strong assertion without strong religious connotations, but it can also function as a religious oath formula (Procházka 2012: 394–397). Its use in religiously inappropriate contexts is often commented upon negatively in the fora (see, among many other examples, (14) below). Note that there is a different meaning potential to _wəḷḷah_ (and variants) for people with a Muslim background, who may use it as an oath formula or simply as an interjection, and people that have no such background, and to whom the Islamic connotation is therefore less relevant. This is a major caveat to pragmatic analyses that do not differentiate between heritage groups, cf. Opsahl (2009). In the following, I will use "lo!" as the general translation of the word. The negation _wəḷḷah ma_ is translated by 'certainly not'.

you really think they send that money to poor (people)?'
[chaima.nl; @barcaalover; 22/3/2012]
[etymological comments:[5] *maša* 'but' < Berber; *waš* (question particle) < Arabic; *məskina* 'poor one (feminine) and *wəḷḷah ma* 'certainly not' are both used in Berber and in Moroccan Arabic.]

Only a few content words from Berber or Arabic regularly appear in MLD, all of them with strong cultural or expressive associations, e.g. *lməɣrib* 'Morocco', *rwina* 'chaos', *zzaməř* (< Berber) ~ *zaməl* (< Moroccan Arabic) 'homosexual', *ibəʕʕaš* (< Berber) ~ *ləḥnaš* (< Moroccan Arabic) 'police (negative term)'. The set of commonly used MLD elements is therefore rather restricted, and by no means a case of free choice among the elements one happens to have access to; people with a Berber background may use elements from Moroccan Arabic and vice versa (see also the discussion in Kossmann 2016, 2017).

The exact make-up of Straattaal is the main object of discussion in this paper, but in general one may state that Straattaal is at least characterized by a considerable influx of Sranan Tongo (Surinamese Creole) lexicon. In addition to this, a number of morphosyntactic and syntactic features have been identified. It is important to note that Appel (1999) and many after him consider the Sranan element just one among many parts of the Straattaal lexicon, and point to the importance of other languages in its constitution, including vernacular Dutch, Papiamentu, Turkish, and substandard English. In order to avoid further terminological confusion, the lexical set from Surinamese within Straattaal will be called here SLD, Surinamese Lexical elements used in Dutch.

Different from the Moroccan lexical elements in MFD, Sranan lexemes in Straattaal are to a large extent concrete nouns and adjectives, many of which do not have a referent whose semantics automatically bring up expressive associations, e.g. *wagi* 'car', *oso* 'house', *pata* 'shoe'. SLD includes a number of intensifiers from Sranan, but hardly any utterance modifiers. Cf. the following post on twitter.com in which a certain lady is criticized:

---

5 In the examples words with a non-Dutch background are marked by underlining. The fonts and colors of the original posts are not taken over in the citations. No effort has been made to render non-standard and expressive spellings into the English translation, while, where appropriate, interpunction has been changed or added in the translations. When discussing non-Dutch and non-English words, I follow standard orthography with Sranan and Papiamentu. Moroccan Arabic and Berber are written phonologically. Following practices in the field, š stands for [ʃ], ž for [ʒ], ḥ for [ħ], and, in Berber, ř for [r]. Other consonants with a dot underneath are pharyngealized.

(2) *Kaolo* *bitch* *denk k wil dr* *chanten* *ofzo* *skeer* *eye* *alles* *BITCH* *je hebt een*
      mapangpang *BATJAUWLIP k kyk na die* *kaolo* *sahara op je lip*
      'Terrible bitch, [she] think[s] I want to chant her or something, broke, eye
      everything, bitch, you have a blasted dried-out lip, I am looking look at
      that terrible Sahara on your lip.'
      [twitter.com; @KaliBwoyKarlito; 7/5/2013]
      [etymological comments: *kaolo* 'terrible', *sker* 'broke', *ma pampan* (exple-
      tive, lit. 'mother's vagina'), *batyaw* 'dried-out' (lit. 'stockfish') are from
      Sranan. English slang provided the verbs *chant* and *eye*, as well as the
      noun *bitch*.]

As said before, the purpose of this article is to study the claim that Straattaal is a
mixed multietholect. In order to do so, I will first confirm that this claim is
justified when looking at the actual discourse in which Straattaal occurs.
Following this, I will study to what extent Straattaal is conceived of as multi-
ethnic in the eyes of Moroccan youth.

2 Straattaal as a mixed multiethnolect

From the earliest studies onward, Straattaal has been described as a style or
variety with an etymologically mixed lexicon, and it is commonly included in
the category of multiethnolects (e.g., Nortier and Dorleijn 2013; Cheshire et al.
2015). Both claims will be studied and, to some degree, endorsed in this section.

   The first question considers the etymological make-up of the lexicon in
Straattaal. In the way the term is used in scientific discourse, Straattaal refers
to a way of speaking that combines lexicon from at least two strata, colloquial
Dutch and Sranan Tongo. The question here is whether Sranan Tongo is the only
(or even the main) contributor to the non-Dutch lexicon.

   René Appel's first article on Straattaal (1999) and its follow-up by Appel
and Schoonen (2005) were based on questionnaires asking what words youth
considered to be typical of Straattaal, in addition to questions about its use
and value. A study with a similar design was run by Nortier (2001) in Utrecht.
The ensuing lists contain a large number of words from different minority
languages in the Netherlands, esp. Sranan, but also Moroccan heritage lan-
guages, Turkish and Papiamentu. In addition, they show loans from English
and substandard Dutch expressions. Appel (1999) and Appel and Schoonen
(2005) conclude that this points to a mixed lexicon style with elements from
multiple sources. This is, as they admit themselves (Appel and Schoonen 2005:

99, similarly; Nortier 2001), a gross overgeneralization. Straattaal is not a strictly defined term, and can be interpreted as simply meaning 'the type of speech that you would use on the streets (i.e. outside home, classroom or work)'. As such, different speakers may have hugely different conceptions of what belongs to Straattaal. Put otherwise, the fact that certain words co-occur in a general Straattaal list does not mean that they co-occur in actual language use. Moreover, some Straattaal terms that are listed are parts of expressive lexicon general among young speakers of Dutch in all but the most formal styles (e.g. the intensifier *vet* ('fat') and the English loan *cool*), and thus have much broader usage than SLD words such as *oso* 'house'. Thus, one may conclude, the lists presented by Appel (1999), Appel and Schoonen (2005), and Nortier (2001) should not be taken for more than what they are: a set of lexical items used by young speakers of Dutch, and considered by them as substandard and juvenile. They do not necessarily constitute a unity.

This does not mean, however, that Straattaal words from different sources cannot co-occur in one sentence. In fact, among youth in cities such as Amsterdam and Rotterdam such usage is well-attested, as shown by examples from spoken interactions in van Lier (2005) and by remarks on language use by Surinamese-descent youngsters in Cornips and De Rooij (2013). I will give a few additional examples from Internet discourse (see for a sophisticated analysis, Nortier, this volume). The following sentence is a (no doubt stylized in the sense of Coupland 2007: 154) quotation from a certain girl called Hind, a Moroccan class mate of the poster. The poster is also a Moroccan-descent girl, who uses this quotation to illustrate a way of speaking of Moroccan girls that she personally rejects.

(3)   *Hind: Ey <u>faka</u> dan met die <u>torrie</u> op <u>scorro</u>? Was er <u>fittie</u> tussen Mo en Apps, <u>wollah</u> gruwelijk <u>eh mattie</u>.*
      'Hind: Ey <u>hi</u> then with that <u>story</u> at <u>school</u>? Was there a <u>fight</u> between Mo and Apps, <u>Lo</u>!, gruesome, <u>mate</u>.'
      [chaima.nl; @LipPGlosßJee; 3/8/12/2010]
      [etymological comments: *faka* (< *fa waka*) 'hi', *tori* 'story', *skoro* 'school', *feti* 'fight' and *mati* 'mate' all come from Sranan. *wəḷḷah* and the vocative particle *a* have a Moroccan background and are both used in Berber and in Arabic.]

Here most content words (*tori* 'story', *skoro* 'school', *feti* 'fight') are from Sranan, as is the greeting *faka*. On the other hand, the interjection *wəḷḷah* 'lo! assuredly, by God!', is Moroccan, as is the vocative particle *a*. The word *mati* 'mate' has a Sranan background, but has gained general use also in otherwise MLD contexts

(see below). Another post, from a girl with a Moroccan background, shows the same conjunction of Sranan and Moroccan elements:

(4) *ik heb een tante in marokko*[6]
  <u>wallah</u> je gaat helemaal <u>nokkie</u> met haar
  t is de oudste zus van mijn moeder!
  zij is echt <u>fatoe</u>!
  en ik heb <u>wahed</u> @#$%^%^^@$%@# tante, die al haar zonen een voor een
  op me af stuurt:evil:zij en der zoon irriteren me mateloos!
  'I have an aunt in Morocco.
  <u>Lo</u>!, you get totally <u>knocked out</u> with her.
  It's the oldest sister of my mother!
  She is really <u>fun</u>.
  And I have <u>a</u> @#$%^%^^@$%@# aunt, who sends her sons to me [as candidates for marriage] one by one:evil: She and her sons annoy me terribly!'
  [ouarzazate.nl; @tagoet; 7/4/2006]
  [etymological comments: *fatu* 'fun' has a Sranan background (*fatu* 'joke'), while the etymology of *nokkie* is unclear (from English *knock-out*?). *wəḷḷah* 'lo!' has a Moroccan background (both Berber and Arabic), while *waḥəd* 'a' stems from Arabic.]

This way of speaking is parodized (cf. Jaspers 2006) in the following post where a girl is posing as a boy, emulating street boy style:

(5) *Ewa lekkertje, ik zag jouw foto gisteren in <u>izjen</u> plaats je kont topic. <u>Aaaight</u>*
  <u>chickie</u>, die <u>sanka</u> van jou!!
  Google earth is niikkkksss vergeleken met die <u>ass</u>. <u>Wajauw</u>.
  Pingen <u>meh</u>?!
  '<u>Well</u> tasty thing, I saw your photo yesterday at <u>a</u> "post-your-buttocks" topic. <u>All right</u> <u>chickie</u>, that <u>buttocks</u> of yours!! *Google Earth* is nothing in comparison to that <u>ass</u>. <u>Wow</u>.
  Like to send me a ping message, <u>ma</u>?!'
  [marokko.nl; @nourelayn, 11/12/2011]
  [etymological comments: *iwa* 'well' and *wayyaw* 'wow' are generally used Moroccan elements. *ižžən* 'a' and the interrogative tag *ma* are Tarifiyt Berber. *aight*, *chickie* and *ass* stem from informal English, while *sanka* 'buttocks' has a Papiamentu background.]

---

6 This is the title of the topic. It refers to a Dutch children's song "*Ik heb een tante in Marokko en die komt*" 'I have an aunt in Morocco who is coming'.

Speakers from other backgrounds also mix Sranan and Moroccan elements into their speech. A good example is the following post on ask.fm (also m.ask.fm) by a certain @Güney, who is, according to his own profile, half-Indigenous Dutch, half-Turkish. Ask.fm is a website where people can, anonymously if they want, ask questions or post remarks to a profile holder, which are then answered. Such questions and remarks can be genuine demands for information and advice, playful teasing, pleasing and flirting, or outrightly abusive. @Güney criticizes an anonymous poster who called the profile holder by the Moroccan expression *qəḥba* 'whore'.

(6)   *Ik <u>mix</u> hiertussen maar <u>ewa</u> die persoon die hier zo met <u>e kehba</u> gaat zitten praten, sws ben jij <u>wahed</u> <u>tatta</u>, praat lekker eigen taal, <u>wesh</u> ik ken jullie niet maar niet zo <u>biggy</u> anoniem.*
        'I am <u>mix</u>ing into this [conversation], but <u>well</u>, that person who is talking like "*a qəḥba* (<u>you whore</u>)", you are in any case <u>a Dutchman</u>, speak your own language. <u>Lo</u>!, I don't know you, but don't talk <u>big</u> like that anonymously.'
        [m.ask.fm; @Güney in a post to @Gwenovergaagxx]
        [etymological comments: *iwa* 'well' and *a qəḥba* 'o whore' are general Moroccan expressions. *waḥad* 'a' and the expressive marker *waš* (cf. Kossmann 2016 on this usage) have a Moroccan Arabic background. *tata* 'Indigenous Dutch' and *bigi* 'big' stem from Sranan. The verb *mix* is from English.]

This post is interesting for several reasons. In the first place, the poster uses elements from two languages that he probably does not speak himself, Sranan (*tata, bigi*) and Moroccan Arabic (*iwa, waḥad, waš*). In the second place, he criticizes somebody who uses Moroccan Arabic words in his Dutch by framing him as a *tata* 'Indigenous Dutch'. He thus positions himself – who is of mixed Dutch-Turkish descent – as a legitimate user of this mixed discourse, but considers its use by a *tata* as inappropriate.

    While the use of Sranan and Moroccan elements in the same discourse is well-attested among Moroccans, Surinamese speakers are reported to be more reluctant in their use of Moroccan elements (van Lier 2005: 17; Dorleijn et al. 2015: 278, see however (13) below); in Vermeij's study of crossing of lexical elements from different languages, the use of Sranan words by Moroccans is much higher than the use of Moroccan ("Arabic" in her terminology) elements by Surinamese respondents (Vermeij 2004: 159). It should be noted, however, that such uses are sometimes observed. The following observation is by a Moroccan woman who works at a school that mostly draws pupils from the Bijlmer, a predominantly Surinamese neighborhood in Amsterdam:

(7) *maar nu beginnen veel Marokkanen te komen dan hoor ik die <u>3waza</u> de hele dag*
<u>wollah à sahbi</u> en of <u>a</u> meester mag ik op <u>shie</u> pc <u>wella</u> zeggen. Ik ga stuk om hun
'but now a lot of Moroccans have started to come (to the school where the
poster works) and so I hear those <u>Blacks</u> saying all day long "*wəḷḷah a ṣaħb-i*
(lo! my friend)" and/or "<u>o</u> master, can I use *ši* (some) computer, *wəlla*?" It's
hilarious!
[marokko.nl; @MaMaLuLu; 28/2/2013]
[etymological comments: *ʕwazza* 'Blacks', *ši* 'some' and the interrogative tag
wəlla (not to be confused with *wəḷḷah* 'lo!') are from Moroccan Arabic. The
expression *wəḷḷah a ṣaħbi* 'lo! my friend' and the vocative particle *a* are used
both in Arabic and Berber discourse.]

From the point of view of actual discourse, the characterization of Straattaal as a
style that integrates lexicon from different heritage languages (esp. Sranan and
Moroccan) can therefore be accepted: such discourse is actually attested and
seems to be even rather common, especially among speakers with a Moroccan
background.

The second question is to what extent the users of Straattaal belong to
different heritage backgrounds. At this point, from the point of view of actual
discourse, there is little question that Straattaal elements are used among speak-
ers from all heritage backgrounds in the Netherlands, including Indigenous
Dutch. This was already amply illustrated in the preceding part of the paragraph.
One more Moroccan example is provided in the following quotes from an
exchange between a Moroccan girl and her boyfriend in a forum thread about
Wat is de laatste smsje die jij van je vriend heb ontvangen. ('what was the last sms
you got from your boyfriend') on the Moroccan Internet forum chaima.nl:

(8) hij: **k wou vndg komen man met je zus (...) maar jii werd opgehaald met*
           <u>wagii</u>
      ik: **ja k had geen sin om lopend naar <u>osso</u> te gaan had zware tas*
      hij: **oww oke*
      'he: * I wanted to come today, man, with your sister (...), but you were
            collected with the <u>car</u>.
      I: * Yes, I didn't feel like walking <u>home</u>, (I) had a heavy bag.
      he: * Oww, okay.'
      [chaima.nl; @Laydy_M; 17/5/2012]
      [etymological comments: *wagi* 'car' and *oso* 'house' stem from Sranan.]

In general, the Internet data therefore indicate that the characterization of
Straattaal as a way of speaking used by people from different heritage

backgrounds with specific lexical elements taken from a variety of languages is a correct description of actual discourse. Note that, according to the definition by Nortier and Dorleijn (2013), this would be sufficient to call it a multiethnolect, as they focus only on the actual use in discourse.

3 The ideological dimension: Claiming

Linguistic varieties like Straattaal are not neutral. This is not only clear from the many negative reactions it provokes in mainstream society (cf. Nortier 2001), but also from the way users reflect on it themselves. There are two sides to these reflections, which were identified by Cornips and De Rooij (2013) as the Selfing and the Othering aspects. The Selfing aspect implies that one claims (elements from) a certain speech style as one's own, and therefore considers oneself in the position to evaluate its use by others. Uses by others may be accepted or rejected, but in both cases the user considers him/herself as the expert who is entitled to provide such evaluations. The Othering aspect implies that one rejects certain ways of speaking because they would belong to other groups and identities than one's own. As I do not mean to to address the broader sociological implications of this behavior here, I will use 'claiming' rather than 'Selfing' and 'rejection' rather than'Othering'.

When it comes to MFD, there is no doubt about the expert status of Moroccans, at least according to themselves. Uses of Moroccan features by speakers with an Indigenous Dutch background are largely dismissed as inappropriate, as in the following posts from a thread with the title *Nederlanders die proberen Marokkaans te praten..*, '(Indigenous) Dutch who try to speak Moroccan', on the forum marokko.nl.

(9)   *Ik vind het echt Super Iritanttttttttttttttttttt*
       Laats liep ik door de stad..en toen hoorde ik de hele tijd marokkaanse woorden op zo'n allochtonie manierr..en ik dacht zullen vast wel marokka-nen zijn die achter me lopen … keek ik later om..zag ik een stel nederlandse jongens..zogenaamd stoerr doen … pfff iritaties <u>oe safe</u>
       'To me it is terribly annoying. Lately I was walking in town.. and then I heard all the time Moroccan words in such an allochthonous (i.e. non-Indigenous) way.. so I thought, no doubt Moroccans walking behind me.. When I looked behind me later.. I saw a group of Dutch boys.. pretending to be tough … Pfff annoyance <u>and that's all</u>'
       [marokko.nl; @La__Perla, 13/5/2006]
       [etymological comments: *u ṣafi* 'that's all' is used both in Berber and Moroccan Arabic doscourse.]

(10) *Het is grappig om ze een paar woorden te leren en als ze het dan proberen te zeggen ... maar als ze het gaan gebruiken zonder dat ze het door hebben en nog proberen een soort accentje erbij te doen. Daar word ik dus echt kotsmisselijk van*

'It is funny to teach them [Indigenous Dutch] a few words and when they try to say it ... but when they start using it without noticing and then they try to perform a kind of accent ... That really makes me violently sick.' [marokko.nl; @Letchiinaa_; 14/4/2007]

Others are milder, especially within mixed friendships:

(11) *Ik vind het wel leuk Als je een multiculturele vriendengroep hebt is het toch logisch dat je dan veel op pikt van die ander. Behalve Straattaal dat vind ik niks*

'I kind of like it. When you have a multicultural group of friends it is logical that you take over things from the other. Except Straattaal, I don't like that.' [marokko.nl; @nana_; 13/5/2006]

(12) *Ik heb echt geen probleem met die mensen die er een paar woordjes tussen gooien, kbdoel ik heb antiliaanse vriendin en dan zegt zij iets in marokkaans ik iets in anti's.*

Kheb vooral een hekel aan die bruggers die gangster komen doen, terwijl het gwoon grote nurden zijn. Van die pietjes die BEZEZZZZ marokkaans willen worden.

Accepteer wie je bent..

'I really have no problem with people who mix in a few [Moroccan] words, I mean, I have an Antillian friend, and she sometimes says something in Moroccan, and I in Antillean.

I mainly hate those first-graders who act gangster while they are simply nerds. Those Piet [a stereotypical Indigenous Dutch name] who by force want to become Moroccan.

Accept who you are..

[marokko.nl; @ritaa; 14/5/2006]

[etymological comments: *bəzzəz* 'by force' comes from Moroccan Arabic.]

Finally, the following post makes a difference between learning the language (which is appreciated) and using Moroccan lexicon in a Dutch context (i.e., MLD):

(13)   *kvindt da nie erg als ze echt marokkaans spreken*
       maar wel van <u>ewa</u>, <u>shabi</u>, <u>wollah</u>, en al die vieze woordjes etc etc ... .
       daar kan ik der totaal nie tegen
       'I don't mind when they speak real Moroccan.
       But I do with *iwa, ṣaḥbi, wəḷḷah* (<u>well</u>, <u>my friend</u>, <u>lo</u>!) and those dirty words
       etc. etc ... ..
       I can't stand that at all.'
       [marokko.nl; @ghimaar; 19/1/2007]
       [etymological comments: *iwa* 'well', *ṣaḥbi* 'my friend' and *wəḷḷah* 'lo!' are
       general Moroccan expressions.]

I found only a few comments on the use of Moroccan words by members of other non-Indigenous heritage communities. The following example scorns the use of *wəḷḷah* ('lo!, by God') by Surinamese. This is not necessarily a comment on the use of Moroccan words in general, but refers to the religious connotation of the term, which would make it inappropriate for non-Muslims:

(14)   @Carpe diem: *of die negers die met <u>wollah</u> zweren <u>bhel</u> het is Straattaal*
                            geworden
      @ayalou: *oh nee dat heb ik nog nooit gehoord maar dat wil ik niet*
                            horen nee
      @Carpe Diem: *oh hier in rotterdam vooral kruiskade gedeelte zweren ze*
                            allemaal met <u>wollah</u> <u>eh wollah</u> eh <u>sahbie</u> ik heb haar
                            geklaard vooral negers dus
      @ayalou: *ik haat kruiskade ... .zoveel negers bahh*
      '@Carpe diem: Or those Blacks[7] who swear with *wəḷḷah* ('by God, lo!')
                            <u>like</u> it has become Straattaal.
      @ayalou: Oh no I never heard that. But I don't want to hear it
                            either, no.
      @Carpe Diem: Oh here in Rotterdam, especially the Kruiskade part,
                            they all swear with *wəḷḷah*. "*i wəḷḷah a ṣaḥbi* ('o my
                            friend'), I did her." Especially Blacks.
      @ayalou: I hate Kruiskade ... .. so many Blacks, yuck.'
       [zoubida.nl; 20/9/2010]
       [etymological comments: *wəḷḷah* 'lo!' and *a ṣaḥbi* 'my friend' are generally
       used in Moroccan Arabic and Berber. *bḥal* 'like' is from Moroccan Arabic.]

---

7 I use capitalized 'Black' to translate Dutch *neger*, which is considered abusive when uttered by Indigenous Dutch speakers, but which is common as a self-designation among people with a Surinamese, Caribbean or African background (Cornips and De Rooij 2013). Alternatively, the Moroccan Arabic term *ʕazzi* (plural: *ʕwazza*) 'Black person' is found.

When it comes to SLD, there is a similar claim to expertise by Surinamese. This is nicely illustrated by the following answer on ask.fm, in which the poster – a half-Surinamese girl from The Hague, who does not seem to have Sranan as her heritage language – undermines an abusive remark in which she is characterized as a *kaulo gehandicapte eend* ('terribly handicapped duck') by correcting its wording:[8]

(15)   *En het is* <u>kaolo</u> *niet* <u>kaulo</u> *spreek alsjeblieft geen andere taal als je dat niet kunt, verder heb ik geen handicap en ben ik geen eend*
      'And it is *kaolo* ('terribly' < Sranan), not *kaulo*, please don't speak another language when you aren't able to; moreover I do not have a handicap and I am not a duck.'
      [ask.fm; @djannn_]

The Surinamese young men interviewed in Rotterdam about Straattaal reported in Cornips and De Rooij (2013) included Antilleans and Moroccans among the groups for whom using of Straattaal is acceptable (Cornips and De Rooij 2013: 139). Indigenous Dutch, on the other hand, were excluded. The same feeling that Straattaal is less appropriate for Indigenous Dutch than for minority groups is sometimes expressed by Moroccans, as in the following quote:

(16)   @khadijaatje_: *weet je wat echt irritant is als die* <u>tatta</u>'s *Straattaal gaan praten staat voor geen meter*
      @CherryPie: *Nee, een* <u>mocro</u> *die* <u>suri</u> *Straattaal praat ... dat klaart `m*
      @khadijaatje_: *als een marokkaan dat doet is* <u>be3dak</u> *veel beter dan als een nl zo gaat praten want het is echt lelijk, het staat ze gwn niet.*
      '@khadijaatje_: Do you know what is really annoying: when those <u>Dutch</u> start to speak Straattaal, doesn't fit them at all.
      @CherryPie: No, a <u>Moroccan</u> who speaks <u>Surinamese</u> Straattaal ... that does it!
      @khadijaatje_: When a Moroccan does that it is <u>kind of</u> much better than when a Dutchman starts to talk like that, because it is really ugly, it simply doesn't fit them.'
      [marokko.nl; 22/2/2008]
      [etymological comments: *tata* 'Indigenous Dutch' is from Sranan. *mocro* 'Moroccan' and *suri* 'Surinamese' are specifically Straattaal words, the utterance modifier *bəʕdak* 'like, kind of' is from Moroccan Arabic.]

---

8 I want to express my gratitude to Dianne Parlevliet, who drew my attention to this post. The spellings *kaulo* and *kaolo* may represent different pronunciations; something like [kaulo] vs. [kaʔolo].

In this exchange @khadijaatje_ and @CherryPie are establishing a hierarchy of Straattaal use. While it is typical for Surinamese, its use by Moroccans is considered less appropriate; however its use by Indigenous Dutch is considered even worse.

The fact that Moroccans consider Moroccan words as 'their own' and Surinamese claim expertise on Surinamese lexicon is in itself not surprising. Different from members of other communities, the words in question are also part of their wider repertoires (in the sense of Blommaert and Backus 2011), and have associations with home and heritage situations that are irrelevant to other users. The extent to which other users are able (and willing) to identify the etymological background of Straattaal words is no doubt different from person to person. When such etymologies are made, at least Moroccan Internet posters often mix up Sranan (Surinamese) and Papiamentu (Antillean) origins, if they make the difference at all, while they have less problems in identifying Turkish lexicon.

4 The ideological dimension: Rejection

In Moroccan Dutch Internet fora, Straattaal is rejected by many people on many different grounds. In the following, I will focus on those rejections that are grounded in the idea that this way of speaking does not belong to the own (the Moroccan) community.

Studying Moroccan Dutch opinions about Straattaal is not without problems, as the definition of Straattaal is by no means fixed. Within the Moroccan Dutch Internet community, the following three uses of the term Straattaal are commonly found, showing its general ambiguity:

(1) Following the general etymology of the word 'language of the street', it is sometimes simply used as 'abusive, inappropriate language'. This is the case in the following fragment, where the common Indigenous Dutch words *verdomme* 'damn it' and *draaikont* 'twister, hypocrite, lit. turn butt' lead to it being called Straattaal, a characterization which is rebutted by the person who is criticized. The context is an exchange about plans for an Islamic activity by @achebdan. He is severely criticized as both men and women are invited, and he is asked rhetorically if he would approve of his sister going to such an activity.

(17) @achebdan: *Nogmaaals ik hoef me verdomme niet te verantwoorden bij jou het is nogmaals een domme vergelijking en mijn zusje heeft hier niks mee te maken. Ik ontwijk je vraag niet ik antwoord alleen niet om domme en ik antwoord niet op vragen van draaikonten ik laat het hierbij wollah ik word er alleen maar agressief van*

@Lady_X: *En Achebdan let is op je woorden! Straattaal moet je hier niet spreken eh! Schaam je..*

@achebdan: *uhmmm Straattaal????? het is gewoon nederlands ladyy x en ik geef mijn mening het is niet tegen jou gericht dus maak je maar niet druk*

@Lady_X: *Je kan je mening ook geven op een beschaafde manier! En ja Straattaal, hoe noem je het dan?*

'@achebdan: Again, I do not have to justify myself to you, damn it; again, it is a stupid comparison and my sister has nothing to do with it. I don't avoid your question, I just don't answer to stupid [questions] and I don't answer to questions by twisters, and I leave it like that. By God (*wəḷḷah*), this just makes me aggressive.

@Lady_X: And Achebdan, watch your words! You shouldn't talk Straattaal here, hey! Shame on you!

@achebdan: Ehh Straattaal????? It's normal Dutch, @Lady_X, and I am giving my opinion. It is not addressed to you, so just don't mind.

@Lady_X: You can also give your opinion in a civilized way. And yes, Straattaal, how would you call it otherwise?'

[rkempo.nl; 29/12/2012]

(2) Straattaal may refer to MLD, or, more generally, to the use of a Moroccan heritage language or features of it among youth. This is the meaning found in the following discussion, where an MLD sentence is identified as Straattaal:

(18) @SammieTouzientj: *De meeste jongen seggen dingen soals; "ewa zina mag ik je nmr" (...)*

       @Moslim: *(...) Ten tweede die Straattaal is een afknapper, van hey z.. mag ik je nummer etc ...,*

       @SammieTouzientj: Most boys say things like: "*iwa zina* ('hey, beauty'), can I have your [phone] number?" (...)

       @Moslim: (...) In the second place, that Straattaal is a letdown, like "*Hey z[ina]* can I have your [phone] number", etc ...

[rkempo.nl; 10/8/2012]

[etymological comments: Moroccan Arabic (and also Berber) *iwa zina* 'hey beauty' is a well-known phrase uttered by Moroccan youth at (young) women passing by.]

Moroccan Straattaal (i.e., MLD) may be contrasted with "Black" Straattaal (i.e., SLD), e.g.

(19) *marokaanse straat taal is gewoon beetje mix van nederlands en marokaans*
      er bij die andere is voor negers
      'Moroccan Straattaal is just a bit of a mix of Dutch and Moroccan, the other
      one is for Blacks.'
      [chaima.nl; @mocro; 7/7/2007]

(20) @Ariffi:[9]   *He maar, dit is gewoon die negertaal. Bij ons is de enige*
                         Straattaal tamazight, vooral voor buitenstaanders.
      @MocroStylo030:   *Meen je die? Tamazight als Straattaal?*
      @Ariffi: <u>*I shit you not*</u>. *In elk geval geen surinaams. Niets tegen*
                         jou <u>*awma*</u>.
      '@Ariffi: Hey, but that is just that Black language [referring to an
                         expression in an earlier post]. For us the only Straattaal
                         is Berber, especially for outsiders [implied: it is espe-
                         cially used when there are outsiders present, so they
                         may not understand, MK].
      @MocroStylo030:   Are you serious? Berber as Straattaal?
      @Ariffi: *I shit you not*. In any case not Surinamese. No offense to
                         you, <u>brother</u>.'
      [zoubida.nl; 10/5/2010]
      [etymological comments: *Tamazight* is the autonym for the Berber lan-
      guage. *a wma* 'my brother' is Berber, while *I shit you not* is an English
      expression with Dutch syntax.]

(3) Straattaal refers to a way of speaking that includes many Sranan words, that
is, basically to SLD, e.g.

(21) @Girl94_A: *Hahaha* <u>*migado*</u> *is o mijn god in* <u>*3waza*</u> *taal*
      @Madeliefjee: *Straattaal.*
      @Girl94_A: Hahaha *mi gado* (< Sranan) means 'o my God' in <u>Black</u>
                     language.
      @Madeliefjee: Straattaal.
      [chaima.nl; 23–24/7/2013]
      [etymological note: ʕ*wazza* 'Blacks' is from Moroccan Arabic]

In this sense, the term Straattaal does not include Moroccan elements. This is
nicely illustrated by a topic on the Internet forum zoubida.nl, a forum geared
towards pious muslim women of Moroccan background, in which a Straattaal

---

9 As shown in other posts, @Ariffi lives in Amsterdam, probably in its western suburbs; in view of
the area code included in the alias, @MocroStylo030 is no doubt from Utrecht (cf. Nortier 2016).

quizz is opened. The quizz master gives a Straattaal word, and the participants have to choose between three alternative meanings. The Straattaal words in question all belong to SLD or to substandard English, never to MLD. In one instance one of the proposed glosses of a Straattaal word is in fact a Moroccan term, *rwina* 'chaos':

(22)   *Vanavond gaan we spacen!*
        Wat betekent Spacen in deze zin?
        A. Gek doen
        B. Rwina zetten!
        C. Vechten
        'Tonight we are going to *space*!
        What does *to space* mean in this sentence?
        A. To act silly
        B. To provoke <u>chaos</u>!
        C. To fight.'
        [zoubida.nl; @MocroStylo030; 9/5/2010]
        [etymological note: The Moroccan Arabic term *rwina* 'chaos' is very common in MLD, and refers to (mostly) joyful noisy behavior, and its connotations range from friends making music on the street via children in a classroom with a new teacher, to outright hooliganism.]

In this conception MLD is not part of Straattaal. This is further confirmed by threads that contain lists of Straattaal words on Moroccan Dutch Internet fora. As far as they have not been copied from other sources, such lists typically do not contain words with a Moroccan background. Apparently, even though Sranan and Moroccan elements are used together in discourse, they are kept well apart in the minds of the Moroccan speakers.

    The use of SLD by Moroccans is rejected in a large number of posts on Moroccan Dutch Internet fora on the basis that it would be a language for "Blacks".

(23)   *vind het sowieso ook niet staan als een marokkan Straattaal praat want het*
        is egt zo surinaams enso! je bent tog een marokkaan?!
        'I don't find it fitting anyhow when a Moroccan speaks Straattaal, because it is so Surinamese and things! You're a Moroccan after all?!'
        [marokko.nl; @farfallina; 22/2/2008]

(24)   *Trouwenssssssssssssss,, Kwee nie of jullie dat hebben gemerkt maar de*
        marokanen/turken doen zwaaaaaaar de suri's naa want alle straataal

woorden zijn surinaams Voel je je nu nie zwaar laag dat je die Straattaal nog eens zelf gebruikt.
Vooral adam west,Dikke negertaal
'By the way, I don't know if you have remarked, but the Moroccans/Turks are heavily imitating the *Suri's* (Surinamese people), because all Straattaal words are Surinamese. Don't you feel terribly low that you use that Straattaal yourself? Especially Amsterdam-West, heavily Black language.'
[chaima.nl; @Youssepoes[10]; 25/4/2010]

(25)   Context: A reaction to preceding posts where two posters seem to get in an argument.

   @mimit: *ahahaha* catfight(*b i t c h fight*) *ahahaha ik zet* doekoe *in op samiro, klinkt beetje als mannenwijf daarom*
   50 euro wie durft de weddenschap aan!

   @MTL: *wat ben jij* wannabe *neger?? dat je* doekoe *zegt*

   '@mimit: Ahahaha catfight (bitch fight), ahahaha!
   I bet [my] money on Samiro, [she] sounds a bit like a mannish woman.
   Because of that:
   50 Euro, who dares to bet with me!

   @MTL: What, are you a wannabe Black?? That you say duku?'
   [rkempo.nl; 9/6/2012]
   [etymological comments: *cat fight* and *bitch fight*, as well as *wannabe* are informal English. *duku* 'money' is Sranan.]

The association of SLD with Black life is nicely illustrated by the following passage from the story *17 jaar≫ JONGENS,MAKE-UP,STAD,PLAYEN ≫totdat … ..* '17 years old≫BOYS,MAKE-UP,TOWN,PLAY ≫until … ..' by @bekeerde-moslima, about a Moroccan girl who turns into a sinner and then reconverts to orthodox Islamic life. The story was originally posted on marokko.nl and later on copied into at least three other Internet sites: the Moroccan-Dutch forum chaima.nl, the Turkish-Dutch forum hababam.nl and the facebook page Islam 4ever. The writer clearly has a Tarifiyt Berber background. At a certain point in the story, the protagonist does not feel like dressing nicely, as would be fit for a Moroccan girl, but just puts on some easy clothing. This is apparently considered typical of Black behavior, and she is reproached by her friend. The protagonist then starts to tease her friend by speaking SLD:

---

10 According to other posts, @Youssepoes lives in Amsterdam-West herself.

(26)　*Bij de bushalte zag ik Soumaya al staan ...*

soum:　　"<u>wallah</u> ga terug nu naar huis!!"

ik:　　　"ga ga wat ga ik terug naar huis"

soum:　　"ik dacht dat je een negerin was..doe gelijk die broek in je sokken joh"

ik:　　　"hhahaha <u>ejej</u>(laat me) vandaag geen zin in blousjes en strakke kleertjes ... "

soum:　　"als fikri ziet dat je zijn joggingpak aan hebt hij sloopt je!"

ik:　　　"<u>ewa saffie</u> dan doe ik de raam niet meer voor 'm open op vrijdagavond..kan die ook niet meer uit"

soum:　　"hahaha <u>etemschoent</u> ... echt een <u>niggro</u>"

ik:　　　"ik heb kk <u>skit tha lidda</u> ... deze pak zitte kk lekkah..kom we gaan vandaag naar <u>Agga</u> of gaan we gelijk naar <u>osso</u>?"

soum:　　"waaa doe normaal nu lijk je d"r prescies op ... echt vandaag blijf uit me buurt"

ik:　　　"kom <u>eh mocro</u> bus staat er al ... gaan we naar <u>scorro</u>"

soum:　　"hahaha zieke <u>niggro</u>"

'I saw Soumaya already at the bus stop ...

Soum:　　<u>Lo</u>! go back home immediately!!

I:　　　Go, go, what [do you mean by]: I should go home?

Soum:　　I thought you were a Black girl.. Put immediately those pants into your socks, man!

I:　　　Hahaha. <u>Leave me in peace</u>. Today I didn't feel like blouses and tight clothes ...

Soum:　　If Fikri [the protagonist's brother] sees that you are wearing his jogging suit he'll demolish you!

I:　　　<u>Well, ok</u>,, in that case I won't open the window for him anymore at friday night. So he won't be able to get out.

Soum:　　Hahaha, <u>you naughty girl</u>, a real <u>Black person</u>

I:　　　I have f** <u>skit tha lidda</u> ... This suit fits perfectly. Come on, we are going today to <u>The Hague</u>, or are we going <u>home</u> immediately?

Soum:　　Waah, act normally, now you really look like it ... Really, stay away from me today.

I:　　　Come, <u>Moroccan</u>, the bus is already there ... We are going to <u>school</u>.

Soum:　　Hahaha, sick <u>Black person</u>!' [marokko.nl; @bekeerdemoslima; 20/8/2004]

[etymological comments: *wəḷḷah* 'lo!', *iwa* 'well', *ṣafi* 'enough' and the vocative particle *a* are generally used in Moroccan Arabic and Berber.

əžž-ayi (<ejej>) 'leave me' and *tamšunt* 'naughty girl' are Berber. The terms *oso* 'house' and *skoro* 'school' are Sranan, while *negro* <niggro> may be English or Papiamentu. *Mocro* 'Moroccan' and *Agga* 'The Hague' are specifically Straattaal words. Although I have no interpretation for *f** skit tha lidda*, there is no doubt that it is (meant to be) English slang.]

This passage eloquently shows how SLD is associated with the Black community, and that when one chooses a style that could be interpreted as Black (in this case, wearing a jogging suit to school) the language comes as an extra.

In conclusion, one may say that, among Moroccans, SLD is by no means put on a par with the Moroccan elements in Straattaal. It is strongly associated with the Black community, and as such considered by many members of the heritage group as improper for use by Moroccans.

It should be noted that there is one term that originates in SLD that seems to have been fully accepted in Moroccan Dutch youth speech, and that has clearly lost any association with Black speech. This is the term *mati* (spelled <mattie>) 'mate, friend'. It is, for example, well-attested in the recordings of Moroccan Dutch youth made by Khalid Mourigh in Gouda, a town where SLD is not used otherwise by Moroccans (see Mourigh, this volume) and strongly criticized.

5 Conclusion

In this article, it was shown that there is a discrepancy between actual language use and the language ideologies worded in the meta-commentary. Taking the Moroccan Dutch community as an example, one sees that many Moroccans use the etymologically mixed variety Straattaal, and use both Moroccan and Surinamese (and other) elements when speaking it. As argued above, this would fit the characterization of Straattaal as a mixed multiethnolect.

On the level of metalinguistic awareness, a radically different situation is found. Moroccan Dutch posters clearly consider the Moroccan element in Straattaal as different from words from other sources. This discrepancy between usage and ideology may be understood in the following way: There exists a way of moroccanizing one's discourse by means of the insertion of Moroccan (Arabic or Berber) utterance modifiers and the like. This strategy can be used with "normal" Dutch as its matrix, and then could be considered part of Moroccan Flavoured Dutch in the sense of Nortier and Dorleijn (2008). When used in combination with SLD, this strategy leads to the mixed discourse that is so typical for many Moroccan Straattaal users. For Moroccans, therefore, a

discourse using both SLD and MLD may be a kind of productive on-the-spot fusion, and not a unitary variety as has been claimed for Straattaal.

When it comes to ethnic associations, considering Straattaal a multiethnolect is problematic, too. Metalinguistic comments clearly show that Moroccans construct SLD as "Black" language, and thus belonging to a different community. While different people may have different appreciations for this type of crossing (Rampton 1995), there is no sense of a blended variety that transcends ethnic boundaries and is devoid of any specific ethnic associations. To members of the Moroccan Dutch community, Straattaal in the sense of SLD belongs to Others, and while one may participate in practice, this does not need to imply blending into a sense of shared identity. Put otherwise: the use of SLD words in Moroccan Dutch youth discourse should be considered crossing – using a variety that is not your 'own' – and not an instance of a multiethnolect.

6 Discussion

The present study has a number of potential limitations, which have to be addressed here. In the first place, it has taken an exclusively Moroccan perspective. It is very well possible that Straattaal is indeed a mixed multiethnolect on all levels except that Moroccans do not share in this multiethnolect. This may hold both for the linguistic part (is it mixed?) and for the sociological part (is it a multiethnolect?). Thus Straattaal is reported to include many English expressions taken from slang and from hip-hop style African-American English. It is an open question whether these are to be considered on a par with the Sranan vocabulary, or that they are considered by the users and their peers to belong to a different stratum. The same is true for a small number of Papiamentu words and expressions that are considered part of Straattaal, such as *dushi* 'sweetheart'.

Moreover, while the etymological strata may be kept apart by members of the communities whose heritage language contributed to Straattaal discourse, it is likely that (some) members of other communities do not feel this divide. Thus, to Indigenous Dutch, Polish or Ghanaian users, it is very well possible that Berber *ižžən* ('a') belongs to the same linguistic entity as Sranan *kaolo* ('terribly').

On the sociological level, the present study clearly shows that Moroccans consider SLD as belonging to 'Others', and that their use of it is closer to crossing than to blending. This does not mean that this is also true for members of other heritage groups. It is very well possible that SLD is not only a marker of being Surinamese, but rather a marker of being "Black" in general, including Antilleans and people with a sub-Saharan African background (cf. Cornips and De Rooij 2013 for the complicated negotiations pertaining to such identities). In that case,

Straattaal could be called a multiethnolect on the ideological level after all, even though it would be less encompassing than suggested by the discourse data.

Finally, this study has focused exclusively on lexical elements. As Straattaal is a youth variety that is to a large extent defined by its lexical characteristics (more so than, for example, MFD), I think this is a reasonable choice. This does not rule out that some non-lexical features may be freely spreading over styles used by different heritage groups. In fact, this has been claimed on good grounds for gender neutralization (Cornips 2008 and others), and may be true for some new expressions too, such as the ubiquitous *je weet toch* 'you know', which could be a calque on Sranan *i sabi* 'you know'.

References

Appel, René. 1999. Straattaal. De mengtaal van jongeren in Amsterdam [Straattaal. The mixed language of youth in Amsterdam]. *Toegepaste Taalwetenschap in Artikelen* 62. 39–55.

Appel, René & Rob Schoonen. 2005. Street language: A multilingual youth register in the Netherlands. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 26(2). 85–117.

Blommaert, Jan & Ad Backus. 2011. *Repertoires revisited: 'Knowing language' in superdiversity*. (Working Papers in Urban Language & Literacies 67). London: King's College.

Bucholtz, Mary. 2003. Sociolinguistic nostalgia and the authentication of identity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7(3). 398–416.

Cheshire, Jenny, Paul Kerswill, Sue Fox & Eivind Torgersen. 2011. Contact, the feature pool and the speech community. The emergence of Multicultural London English. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 15(2). 151–196.

Cheshire, Jenny, Jacomine Nortier & David Adger. 2015. *Emerging multi-ethnolects in Europe*. (Queen Mary's Occasional Papers Advancing Linguistics 33). London: Queen Mary University of London.

Clyne, Michael. 2000. Lingua franca and ethnolects in Europe and beyond. *Sociolinguistica* 14. 83–89.

Cornips, Leonie. 2008. Loosing grammatical gender in Dutch: The result of bilingual acquisition and/or an act of identity? *International Journal of Bilingualism* 12(1–2). 105–124.

Cornips, Leonie, Jürgen Jaspers & Vincent de Rooij. 2015. The politics of labelling youth vernaculars in the Netherlands and Belgium. In Jacomine Nortier & Bente A. Svendsen (eds.), *Language, youth and identity in the 21st century*, 45–70. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cornips, Leonie & Vincent de Rooij. 2013. Selfing and othering through categories of race, place, and language among minority youths in Rotterdam, The Netherlands. In Peter Siemund, Ingrid Gogolin, Monika Edith Schulz & Julia Davydova (eds.), *Multilingualism and language diversity in urban areas. Acquisition, identities, space, education*, 129–164. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Coupland, Nikolas. 2007. *Style. Language variation and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dorleijn, Margreet, Maarten Mous & Jacomine Nortier. 2015. Urban youth speech styles in Kenya and the Netherlands. In Jacomine Nortier & Bente A. Svendsen (eds.), *Language, youth and identity in the 21st century*, 271–289. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hinskens, Frans. 2011. Emerging Moroccan and Turkish varieties of Dutch. Ethnolects or ethnic styles? In Margret Selting & Friederike Kern (eds.), *Ethnic styles of speaking in European metropolitan areas*, 101–129. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Jaspers, Jürgen. 2006. Stylizing standard Dutch by Moroccan boys in Antwerp. *Linguistics and Education* 17(2). 131–156.

Kießling, Roland & Maarten Mous. 2004. Urban youth languages in Africa. *Anthropological Linguistics* 46(3). 303–341.

Kossmann, Maarten. 2016. Yes/No interrogatives in Moroccan Dutch. In George Grigore & Gabriel Biţună (eds.), *Arabic varieties: Far and wide. Proceedings of the 11th conference of AIDA, Bucharest 2015*, 351–358. Bucharest: Editura Universităţii din Bucureşti.

Kossmann, Maarten. 2017. Key and the use of Moroccan function words in Dutch Internet discourse. *Nederlandse Taalkunde* 22(2). 223–248.

Lier, Eva van. 2005. Straattaal. *Neerlandica Extra Muros* 43(1). 12–26.

Matras, Yaron. 1998. Utterance modifiers and universals of grammatical borrowing. *Linguistics* 36(2). 281–331.

Meel, Linda van. 2016. *The roots of ethnolects. A sociophonetic study in Amsterdam and Nijmegen* (CLS/LOT 421). Utrecht: LOT.

Muysken, Pieter. 2010. Ethnolects as a multidimensional phenomenon. In Muriel Norde, Bob de Jonge & Cornelius Hasselblatt (eds.), *Language contact: New perspectives*, 7–25. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Nortier, Jacomine. 2001. *Murks en Straattaal: Vriendschap en taalgebruik onder jongeren [Murks and Straattaal: Friendship and language use among youths]*. Amsterdam: Prometheus.

Nortier, Jacomine. 2016. Characterizing Urban Youth Speech styles in Utrecht and on the Internet. *Journal of Language Contact* 9(1). 163–185.

Nortier, Jacomine & Margreet Dorleijn. 2008. A Moroccan accent in Dutch. A sociocultural style restricted to the Moroccan community? *International Journal of Bilingualism* 12(1–2). 125–142.

Nortier, Jacomine & Margreet Dorleijn. 2013. Multi-ethnolects. Kebabnorsk, Perkerdansk, Verlan, Kanakensprache, Straattaal, etc. In Peter Bakker & Yaron Matras (eds.), *Contact languages: A comprehensive guide*, vol. 6, 229–272. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Opsahl, Toril. 2009. *Wolla I swear* this is typical for the conversational style of adolescents in multiethnic areas in Oslo. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 32(2). 221–244.

Procházka, Stephan. 2012. The main functions of theophoric formulae in Moroccan Arabic. *STUF – Language Typology and Universals* 75(4). 383–397.

Quist, Pia. 2008. Sociolinguistic approaches to multi-ethnolect. Language variety and stylistic practice. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 12(1–2). 43–61.

Rampton, Ben. 1995. *Crossing. Language and ethnicity among adolescents*. London & New York: Longman.

Rampton, Ben. 2015. Contemporary urban vernaculars. In Jacomine Nortier & Bente A. Svendsen (eds.), *Language, youth and identity in the 21st century*, 24–44. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vermeij, Lotte. 2004. "Ya know what I'm sayin'?"'. The double meaning of language crossing among teenagers in the Netherlands. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 170. 141–168.