



Università degli Studi di Padova

Corso di Laurea Magistrale in

Lingue e Letterature Europee e Americane
Classe LM-37

Tesi di Laurea

***Evolution and spreading of
Citétaal among adolescents in
Houthalen-Helchteren***

Relatore

Prof. Charles Van Leeuwen

Laureanda

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n°matr.1183553/LMLLA

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis deals with Citétaal, a Dutch contact language spoken in the region of Belgian Limburg, the mining area of eastern Belgium. The thesis offers an overview of its historical and social developments, its linguistic characteristics and the main concepts and theories explaining the origins and development of this language variety. The main focus of the thesis is a survey carried out under young speakers of Citétaal. It makes clear that Citétaal, though officially the language used by the older generations of miners, is now also understood and practiced by teenagers, fulfilling specific needs of group identity. The thesis thus documents a kind of transition in the use and perception of Citétaal, from a low status contact language in a professional domain towards a multi-ethnic group language or sociolect among a second and third generation of the migrant population, thus similar to other varieties identified as *Straattaal*, *Jongerentaal* and MFD (Moroccan flavoured Dutch). Citétaal is a sociolect born in conjunction with the migration of populations from the first post-war period. Factors such as the interaction between heterogeneous groups of immigrants, mutual help and the need to understand each other, especially during work underground, have led to the formation of this jargon language. This sociolect takes its name from the *cités*, the *garden-cities* designed by urban planner Ebenezer Howard who proposed this model of city during the industrialization period in England. Pollution and overcrowding are the main problems of English cities in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the garden-city model proposes to resolve both: according to Howard, the main cause of city congestion is private speculation which gives rise to intensive exploitation of land. Furthermore the concentration of interests makes the city grow in an unlimited way. Without speculation, large green areas could be interposed between buildings, the incentive to the huge growth of cities would disappear and limits could be placed on the size of urban centers, so that the countryside can always be reached from the city with a simple walk.

The Belgian neighborhoods, called *cités*, were created specifically to give home to the miners and their families and they still survive, partly refunded, with the third and fourth generations that have decided to stay and live there. In the second chapter a more detailed description of the sociolect can be found. In this dissertation *Citétaal* is being compared with other slang languages such as *Argot* and *Verlan*. *Argot* is a linguistic register proper to a social group, whose purpose is to exclude outsiders from communication, encrypting the messages exchanged. This is one of the main differences with *Citétaal*, whose purpose is not to exclude others but is actually a sociolect born to help people from different countries to communicate in a simple way. It is not a technical language: the latter in fact is not used by professionals in the same field and is specifically designed to be cryptic for non-members of the group. There is not just one, but different speeches developed in various eras within the most diverse social classes.

The use of *Argot*, like slang, is a way of dealing with common taboos: current language tends not to evoke certain realities explicitly. *Argots* are therefore very rich in terms of subjects such as sex, violence, crime and drugs. *Verlan* is another particular form of slang used in France. It is characterized by new words obtained mainly through syllabic inversion. The same word *Verlan* is in code: it means à *l'envers*, that is "backwards". The era in which the language was born is still subject of controversy, but it is known that it dates back to the second post-war period; it developed as a half-secret form of communication to establish itself definitively around the eighties. The need for secrecy was not dictated by security reasons, but also and above all by the need for a common belonging and by an innate game instinct with the structures of the language. Despite insufficient education and a non-standard use of the language, *Verlan* speakers produced a rich lexical repertoire.

Citétaal can be compared with these but also with other famous language variations, now used only by young people, and also to minor ones, such as *straattaal*, which is actually more present in the Netherlands than in Belgium, above all because in Belgium there are some alternatives, like *tussentaal*, *poldernederlands* or *turbotaal*. *Straattaal* is a kind of register, spoken by young

people and probably also by young people in other multi-ethnic, multilingual cities in the Low Lands. It seems to be comparable to other monolingual forms of youth language with respect to its function.

Another distinction should be made, in fact Citétaal is a sociolect, but also a linguistic variation. In linguistics, a sociolect is a linguistic variety typical of a social class, a professional, ethnic-geographical group, to be distinguished from idiolect and topolect, or from other neologisms such as regiolect. The property of an entity to assume different manifestations, to be realized in different ways, to know alternatives that do not change the fundamental nature of the entity itself, however, seems to be innate to languages.

Although it is being spoken mainly by youngsters it is more than a youth language. Youth language refers to the variety of language used in peer group relations by adolescents and post-adolescents, consisting mainly of lexical and phraseological peculiarities (and, to a lesser extent, morphosyntactic and phonetic). While initially it mainly included words related to the mine and its processing, with sometimes untranslatable terms as specific and concerning particular actions, Citétaal is now used in other ways. In the phase in which the sociolect took shape, its vocabulary was based above all on specific terms in the mining context. The vocabulary of *steencoolcités*, the first form of Citétaal, was certainly poor, and lacking a lexicon conforming to the various spheres of life, therefore it is possible to document almost only words related to the work in the mine, and also difficult to translate as extremely specific to the sector: [Roetsj]; schudgoot, a sort of shaker belt used to remove impurities from coal.[Sjravele]; graven, dig. [Koale dabbe]; de koollaag losmaken, remove the coal from the rock. The interlayers and exclamations remained, but the terms proper to the mine disappeared, replaced by words typical of interaction between young people.

The basis of the language is therefore the Dutch, with Arabic, English, Greek, Italian and Turkish influences, that is of the main ethnic groups present in the mining sites. The linguist who most studied this sociolect was Ward Ramaekers, who drew up a list of most used words, which are now part of the *Algemeen Cités Woordenschat*, or a dictionary of Citétaal. Italian affects more than other languages

and is very evident in some typical expressions (*Che? Mii! Scasseren*), so it can be stated that lexicon is important, but there are also some grammatical and phonological rules to keep in mind: the voiceless fricative [s] is always read [sj], (stijl> sjtijl) [ʃteil] instead of [steil]. The w is pronounced bilabial (waarom> oewaarom). The *i* is pronounced similarly to *u* (vis = mus). Taking in consideration intonation, Citétaal is a very rhythmic sociolect, due to the Italian influence but also to the intonation of Limburgish dialect.

This dissertation aims at tracing the evolution of this sociolect: from its birth in the Limburgish mines to its current use, in the cités, as an advertising slogan and not only. Advertising was soon noticed by the increasingly evident communicative power of young people. In fact, until a few decades ago young people were not at the center of consumption. Today the "young" target has been revalued in some way and advertising is increasingly talking to a young audience using, or trying to use and sometimes in a limited way, their own language, but it is much more than that, in fact advertising aimed at young people concerns, of course, the products intended for them: drinks (Red Bull, Coca Cola, etc.), beers (Peroni, Nastro Azzurro, etc.), snacks (Kit Kat, Mars, etc.), cars, scooters, lotions for pimples (Topexan) and so on, but since the advertising taken in consideration is from Media Markt, a German distribution chain specialized in electronics and household appliances, it can be stated that this particular advertising is not only for young people but for everyone. Vance Packard for the first time had revealed how the persuasive power of advertising was the result of complex strategies, which drew on studies of cognitive processes and behavior in psychology and social sciences, therefore it can be said that the target is larger and as a consequence maybe Citétaal is more than a youth language.

Citétaal is also used as a way to express themselves for some singers, poets, film makers and so on. Don Luca is a rapper from Genk, one of the largest cités, engaged in spreading the memory of the mines and the language, Citétaal. Remo Perrotti is a Belgian actor and filmmaker. He has had a career with countless twists and turns, including street worker, music journalist and assistant optician. Perrotti is the son of Italian immigrants who moved to the Limburg mining region.

In 2008 he made a theater performance, *Baraka*, with theater maker Kris Kaerts about the Limburg mining history. Perrotti also made a film (Mamma Irma) after his originally Italian mother died, which made him look back on the past of the first generation of migrants in Limburg. Wiel Kusters is a Dutch poet. He is maybe the only exception taking in consideration he has lived his life in Kerkrade, still in the Limburgish area but in the Netherlands, rather than in Belgium. He was a professor of literature at the University of Maastricht. Kusters was particularly active in Limburgish literature, among other things as chairman of the Southern Department of the Society of Dutch Literature. One of his most recent publications is *In en onder het dorp, mijnwerkersleven in Limburg*, in this, his connection with the Limburg mining region, where he grew up and his father worked as a miner, is one of the most important themes. More and more Kusters' work emphasizes the linguistic side of poetry. His poems become experiences converted into language, which are thereby detached from their cause. In the third chapter there will be an exposition of the survey, carried out with a questionnaire containing first of all questions about the place of birth of the students and the birthplace of the parents. Most of the students were born in Limburg but were of Turkish origin. In fact Limburg has 40,000 people of Turkish origin and the former mining municipalities are by far in the first place where they live. The largest concentrations can be found in Limburg where municipalities such as Maasmechelen, Genk, Heusden-Zolder, Beringen or Houthalen-Helchteren have five times more Turks than the national average.

Not so many studies have been dedicated to Citètaal, but Stefania Marzo's investigations are certainly the most important when talking about vernaculars in eastern Belgium. Stefania Marzo is an associate professor of Italian Linguistics at the University of Leuven. Together with Evy Ceuleers she writes “The use of Citètaal among adolescents in Limburg. The role of space appropriation in language variation and change”, an article published in the *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural development*. Her research interests broadly fall into the area of variationist sociolinguistics and contact linguistics. She focuses specifically on the diffusion of urban vernaculars in Flanders, and Limburg, concentrating especially

on the use of Citétaal among young people.

In 2016 she worked on another research, “Exploring the social meaning of contemporary urban vernaculars: perceptions and attitudes about Citétaal in Flanders” published in the *International Journal of Bilingualism*. Marzo investigates the perception and attitudes towards the sociolect combining, unlike the previous investigations, qualitative and quantitative approaches. On a quantitative point of view surveys have been carried out, to study the perception and representation of the sociolect, but also to compare it with other linguistic varieties such as Standard Dutch, and Flemish. Furthermore the qualitative data will be used to interpret the results of this experiment. In this inquiry Citétaal is perceived as a vernacular spoken by foreign speakers, and this may be the biggest discrepancy with the survey carried out in this dissertation, where students that may have a foreign background but are born in Belgium. This survey brings new data to the sociolinguistic community. With this contribution we can attest that Citétaal has evolved further, Italian influences have diminished to make room for another great linguistic community: that of the Semitic languages. Furthermore, studies concerning the use of sociolects in specific contexts such as moments of anger, sadness and happiness haven't been conducted yet. A further in-depth study useful to the academic community that studies the linguistic variations of Flanders and Limburg, is the section devoted to the use of Citétaal in written form as well as in oral form. This novelty was not present in the first studies the sociolect has undergone, used mainly - if not totally - in oral form, so it's possible to study the importance of the written form nowadays.

The survey took place at the Don Bosco Technical Institute in the mining cité of Houthalen-Helchteren in March 2019. The research is between quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative, as the word itself says, it serves to quantify, use numerical data or otherwise data that can then be easily transformed into statistics, and measures the behavior, opinions, attitudes of a very large respondent sample.

More specifically it's a PAPI (Paper And Pencil Interviewing), including questionnaires given face to face with paper and pen. It is the most frequently used method for data collecting. It represents a process of personal interviewing where

the pollster holds a printed-out questionnaire, reads the question to the respondent and fills the answers into the questionnaire.

The students answered some questions about Citétaal, a section of the survey was dedicated to lists of words in Dialect, Straattaal, Citétaal and Standard Language and the students had to find the term in Citétaal among all the others. Furthermore there were questions about the people with which Citétaal was spoken the most, and also in which occasion. What was also important in the questionnaire was a section about Citétaal use and feelings related to it. Is this jargon mostly spoken in a sad context, or an angry one, or maybe only to make fun, in cheerful occasions? The last part of the survey concerned their music taste, with choices between genres like hip-hop, local rappers, pop and others, so that the importance of local rap songs, containing Citétaal terms, could be studied. Famous rappers are mostly from Amsterdam, where a particular form of slang has been spreading. It's the case of Moroccan Flavored Dutch (MFD). It is a phenomenon, a creative process, concerning above all phonetics with an "ethnic" accent that carries the characteristics of Moroccan Berber and Arab idioms. But it has also a varied lexicon, some of the main features of MFD are also to be found in Citétaal, like for example the absence of neuter nominal gender markers: dutchmen of Moroccan descent typically use the common instead of the neuter article, as in *de woord* ("the word" non-standard) instead of *het woord* ("the word" standard). (Grondelaers, van Gent, van Hout, 2015)

This thesis aims to further studies. Future research should also make clear how and whether speakers use these linguistic forms to distinguish themselves from others, and what meanings they convey. After all, individuals within a group behave, feel, think and appreciate themselves in interaction with others in a certain way. Citétaal is excellent for very diverse social "deliver messages". Its use among young people can express solidarity and belonging to a group, thus shaping a we-versus-them feeling. In addition, and even at the same time, its use can be employed against outsiders to shock or insult them to maximize the distance between their own group of street language speakers and outsiders, but this case seems improbable since Citétaal was born precisely to bind people of different nationalities and connect

them together in the difficulties that the mines brought.

§ 1

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE BELGIAN LIMBURG MINING CITÈS

The history of the mines, and therefore also the history of the *cité*, is a book made of many stories, which can be read in multiscale. There are great events linked to the industrialization processes of the Limburg *kempenstreek* and its continuous progress to the closure of the mines and to the post-industrial history; there are histories of strikes, of solidarity among migrants, of desperation, of debasement in the subsoil, of upheaval at the closing of the mines, of anger and death for tragedies at work and occupational diseases; then there are also small episodes, of the father who no longer returns home after an explosion, of those who leave the family, of those who learn new languages to make themselves understandable, of migrants who arrive in a completely new place, lost, alone. Tales that a father passes on to his children, who give meaning to his life, stories that become the cultural memory of a community.

The Limburgic cités have an inextricable link with the mining activity of the twentieth century. Alongside the mining and industrial areas, these housing areas for miners have gradually formed, which are now an important part of what remains of Limburg's mining heritage. Many of these small neighborhoods are still active, inhabited by the children of the miners who carry on some traditions, especially the language.

1.1 Historical period and birth of the *cité*

The coal era began in the mid-1600s, following the need to find an alternative energy source to wood. Until then, in fact, wood was the most used source of energy, but an excessive exploitation of the woods led in many European countries to the progressive destruction of the forests, so much so that the wood began to be scarce. The fossil coal seemed, therefore, the most valid alternative. It was in fact present in the subsoil of many countries in central Europe and lent itself very well as a source of energy for the first steam engines. In just a few decades the demand

for coal increased exponentially to fuel an increasingly flourishing European industry.

To find suitable mining areas, engineers started by studying aerial photos to identify geologically interesting zones, up to the study of soil samples from which to obtain more detailed information. Once a site has been identified, in particular its position and conformation, the construction of the mine site is carried out. The coal is found at depths not exceeding 30 meters, it is extracted in open-cast mines, where the deposit is made accessible after the elimination of the layers of soil and rock overlying with the help of explosive charges. As for the coal veins at depths greater than 30 meters, access to the reservoir is obtained by digging underground mines, formed by at least two tunnels, for the passage of miners and machinery to the reservoir. In open-cast mines, coal is extracted after being freed from the overlying rocks. In the case of underground mines, the extraction is carried out in two ways: the "abandoned pillars" and the "long fronts". The first system consists in extracting coal through pillars supporting the ceiling of the mine. In the case of long fronts, instead, a series of support structures are used, called "armours" which are easily movable and support the ceiling in the excavation area. As the extraction proceeds, the armor is moved and the ceiling collapses. The two methods differ in the soil instability they cause (Salsi 2013 pp. 11-18).

The extraction of coal is a dangerous activity, as there are well-founded risks of collapses and explosions, which can be fatal. An example is the Marcinelle massacre of August 1956, characterized by a fire that spread from one of the main entrances, filling all the dungeons with smoke, where 262 people lost their lives. There are also occupational diseases of miners: prolonged exposure to silica-containing dust causes distress, dry cough and chest pains. The course of silicosis is chronic and leads to cardiocirculatory failure.

Limburg, known since 1604 with this name derived from a castle of the same name in the territory of Udon, is a territory that has always been inhabited by Dutch speakers. Beginning in the early decades of the 1900s, the villages of Genk, Waterschei and Winterslag began to change drastically, directing their economy into the mining industry. Limburg thus becomes an important center with the

headquarters of large mining industrial complexes in Belgium.

A significant crisis occurred in the first post-war period. The Belgian mining industry was at a loss and was forced to bring together various mines to avoid the closure and dismissal of thousands of workers: it is in this period that the first migratory flows arrive, especially from Eastern Europe: Ukrainians, Poles, but also French and Italians arrived en masse, forced to reside initially in barracks. The merger of various mines to revive the economy had been successful and coal production continued to grow. Large groups of workers arrived from Turkey and Morocco and just after the Second World War, Italian emigration to Belgium also took on substantial dimensions. At the end of the Second World War, the Italian government, engaged in the reconstruction of the country and in the difficult task of reviving the economy, sees emigration as the almost natural outlet of a large mass of dispossessed, which in Italy would have only swelled the ranks of unemployed and helped to increase social tension. Emigration, which also means entering valuable currencies into the country through remittances sent by workers to families left behind, is a strategic component of the industry's liberalization plan, centered on the balance of payments balance. This is why the De Gasperi government is already working to promote the escape of Italian workers, mostly workers, unskilled workers or masons. The displacement of the Italian population was favored by the Italo-Belgian Protocol, signed in Rome on June 23, 1946. The agreements provided for the transfer of 50,000 Italian miners to Belgium at the rate of 2000 per week. With this agreement, the Italian government, and De Gasperi in particular, showed the world that they wanted to contribute to Europe's economic revival. The Belgian government promised Italy to engage in the monthly sale of a minimum of 2,500 tons of coal, equivalent to 1,000 Italian immigrant miners. In reality, the situation proved very different to the Italians, once they arrived at their destination: the "Promised Land" which had driven more than 50,000 workers to sign labor contracts proved to be a land of human tragedies, caused by the difficult housing conditions and the hard work in the mine. In fact, many Italians decided to leave, deluded by what was reported in the pink posters of the Belgian Carboniferous Federation.

The pink posters informed the prospective miners about the tasks to be carried out in the mine, about the income they would make from the work itself and about the convenient conditions for families, which included family allowances, holidays, birth premiums, insured lodgings and free coal. Nothing was said about the procedures of the train journey to Belgium which lasted three days and three nights. Arriving at their destination, the housed found themselves living in former concentration camps, located in wooden and sheet metal shacks, and sleeping on bunk beds, straw mattresses, often without linen.

At first the men arrived alone, they stayed at "La Cantina", a sort of hotel-inn, obtained equally in one of the usual barracks and managed by emigrants. The rooms, of six square meters, housed six people. In addition to the beds there were closets where the few personal things were stored. Some decided to continue living in these cellars, others found accommodation with relatives or friends, others sought a house together, outside or inside the organization of the Carboniferous Society. Once the arrangement was found, the miners brought wives and children from Italy, despite the sad conditions to which they knew they were subjected; the distance from their family must have been much sadder.

The presence of wives and families represented the outlet of an otherwise unacceptable situation. Wives recreated, albeit with great effort, the home environment (Cuoco, 2007, p. 18). Indeed, it can be seen that emigration has sometimes served to strengthen the original constraints, supporting and favoring the processes of settlement and social mobility; nevertheless it stands out as the occasion that has most allowed the opening of its protagonists towards new objectives and new interlocutors (Corti, 2003, p. 49). When the workers settled down with their families, the shacks began to be narrow, besides they didn't want to get to the formation of uninhabitable dwellings, with lack of hygiene and unsustainability to life. The sudden arrival of masses of immigrant workers headed for mining centers was something exciting but at the same time tragic. Certainly these movements were fascinating, but they also sanctioned the final change of the region, internationalizing it and triggering further changes. For these reasons the mine owners found themselves forced to proceed with the construction and

enlargement of the *cit *, receiving pressure from the government, which did not want the general degradation and discontent that had arisen in Wallonia, which had created fertile land for the spreading of socialist ideas. Small towns were therefore created on the model of the *tuinsteden*, the garden-cities, which offered city life, combined with the life of the countryside (Pistocchi, 2017). Great help came from Ebenezer Howard who proposed this model when a considerable increase in population due to industrial development, brought inconvenience and ugliness to the city. (Figure 1)

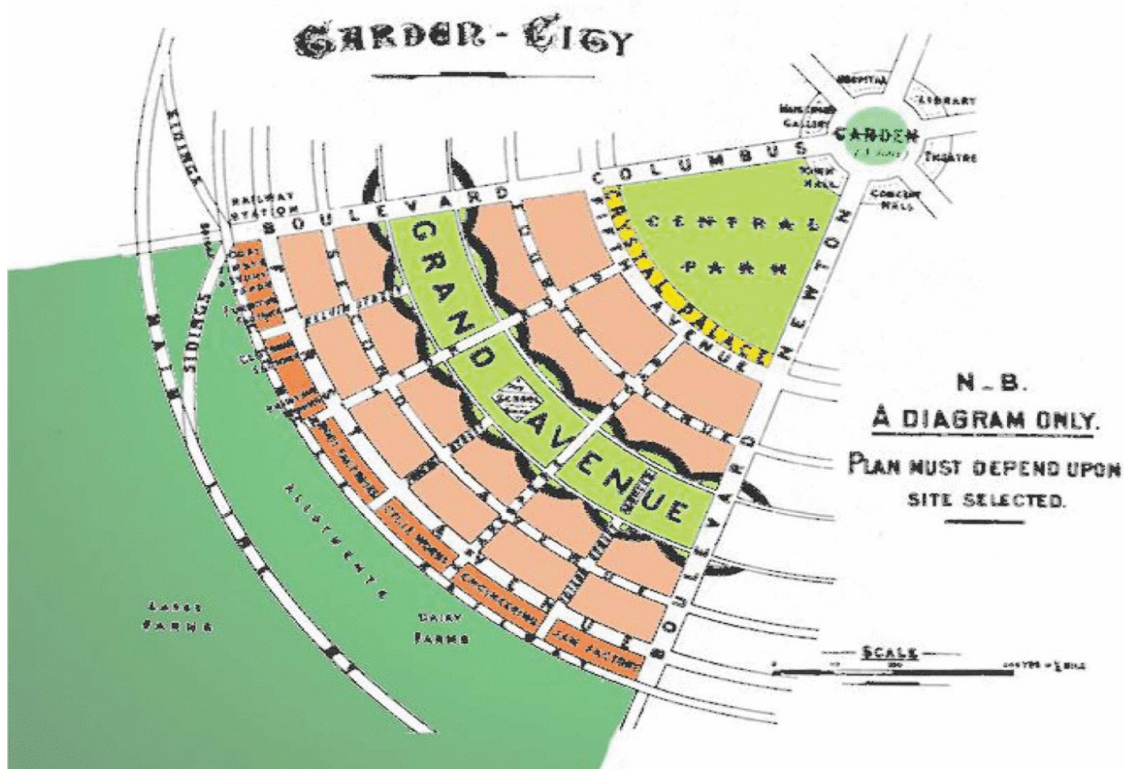


Figure 1. Ebenezer Howard's vision of a garden city, 1898

Obviously what a *cit -jardin* offered was not at all comparable to the houses in which the miners lived. The luxurious villas, the extensive gardens and the comforts offered by those cities were not included in the mining areas, except for managers and engineers. In addition to this, the war slowed down the work, and modified its plans. Prices became too high, coal production still did not yield enough and so it was thought to lower production costs, making houses much simpler and more modest. With low-cost loans the government tried to build houses

that were therefore extremely cheap. On a positive note it was necessary to take into consideration the advertising that took place at the mine which presented a residential neighborhood where workers could stay. The first neighborhoods to be born were those of Winterslag, Eisden, Zolder, Beringen, and Waterschei (Keunen, 2010, 42).

1.2 Limburg today

These spaces were occupied by immigrants, each with its particularities, traditions and cultures, so the territory is transformed into a more comfortable space for everyone. The cités became the first house after the disastrous barracks of the abandoned concentration camps, so their inhabitants tried to reproduce some characteristics of the country of origin. We must take into consideration that initially the cité remained quite isolated from the outside world, so the promotion and reproduction of the home atmosphere were very important for everyone's morale. Those were cities for migrants, planned according to a reiterated rationalist model, where the geographical space was conceived as a balanced geometric space, harmonious in its parts, and yet aseptic, since not planned as a place, since not conceived as a milieu, expression which encompasses both the concept of "heritage territory" and that of "project territory" (Dematteis, 1997). The house became a sanctuary, tales of youth, folk songs, kitchens where typical regional dishes were recreated from various parts of Italy, and from other states, were readily shared with neighbors, from the same country or from other regions: this ritual was not only used to reiterate the own identity and to strengthen it in foreign territory, but also to encourage new forms of sociality, of a hybrid sociality, the most possible shared by all, since known by all. (Salsi, 2017, 148-149)

1.3 Living in the cité

The coal company allowed workers to host other people in their own homes, outside of their own family, making the rent drastically lower. Obviously many miners decided to adopt this method to save money by hosting foreigners in their homes. A community of people was thus formed, coming from various countries, who tried to communicate by developing a language that everyone could understand. The miners approached and above all identified themselves as a community, they felt at home, even if in a cité far from their country, thanks to their language.

Another thing that initially weighed heavily on people's morale was the constant emphasis on hierarchies: the mine manager had a luxury house, as did the engineers, while the workers had much more humble homes.

To be taken into account is certainly the hygienic situation, the cleaning of the cabin was difficult as it was made entirely of cement which, with the sedimentation of the dust from the mine, had to be washed continuously. Moreover, life in the mine was quite oppressive: clothes, food, furniture were all things that could be bought in the cité itself, without having to pay directly, but deducting the costs from the paycheck. This generated a kind of continuous control of people. The difficulties of integration were therefore innumerable, one of the major obstacles was the language (French in Wallonia and Dutch in Flanders); in the family the local dialect was spoken, and between neighbors, usually compatriots, the Italian language. Even women, who arrived successively when men had settled better, as a pillar of the family, became embarrassed just outside the house, in a place that disoriented them. Trying to help economically, they earned some extra money by ironing the shirts of other men, cleaning in the dormitories, washing the dishes of the refectories and doing other tasks in the spare time.

This situation became more and more distressing, so much so that in 1952 the government created a cultural agreement: to put the cities in contact with the external society and thus bring about a climate of improvement among the people of the mining district.

This convention included a series of laws that relaxed the suffocating grip on citizens. Churches, schools and other institutions were managed by independent committees and no longer by the mine managers who, in this way, were able to control the citizens throughout the day. The church controlled most of the daily actions of the population: the parish priest went door-to-door to talk about the family situation, the education of the children and encouraged them to mining. However, the various communities were helped a lot by the church when it changed the management of the institutions; they tried to support migrants, with all their integration difficulties. Some parish priests helped energetically in the construction of schools, for example Father Albinus, as Sonia Salsi explains (Salsi, 2013, 33), who was chaplain, teacher, builder and architect, was a very important figure for the Lindeman community. The community was very hardworking and managed to obtain the independence of its own parish, besides it worked for the construction of another church, where the mass was held in Italian, and actively engaged for the construction of an evangelical church, for the numerous Protestant Germans living in the area. The church therefore has as always an important role in the city, soon becoming part of the local identity, inviting reflection and dialogue between people from various countries and teaching the Flemish to citizens. With the cultural agreements the rent of one's own house to other people was abolished, as it alienated the family. The mine company had to be free, independent and ready to learn the Dutch language. It was from this moment on that the citizens strove to learn this language but always with influences of their own mother tongue, in most cases Italian, Turkish and Moroccan. Learning the foreign language did not seem to be a dominant problem among the population, above all because the locals proved flexible in learning some dialect terms of the various regions to meet people and help them understand. It is also for this reason that the Citétaal contains so many regional terms in other languages.

Another problem to be taken into consideration is the difficulty of integration, especially on the part of Italians who were all close. These arrangements had the consequence of forming ghettos, criticized by the Belgians who accused the Italians of not knowing how to integrate themselves, despite the fact that the

Belgians themselves marginalized the Italians in those areas and later in the peripheral areas of the cités. A typical case in which the *endogroup*, that is the local people, tend to exclude the other, the *esogroup*, and amplify their differences to the point of marginalizing them completely. (Portera, 2015)

The truth is that Limburg would not be what it is without the history of immigrants, especially Italians who are among the protagonists of a migration phenomenon among the most important that the country has known (Table 1).

Presence of foreign communities in Limburg:

Inhabitants	805.786
Foreigners	64.444
Percentage foreigners	7.99 %

Italians	19.74 %
Turks	9.11 %
Morokkans	3.45 %
Greek	2.02 %
Spaniards	2.83 %
Dutch	50.45 %

Tab. 1. Source: NIS – National Institute of Statistics, data 1.1.2004

1.4 Associationism

Social promotion associations are organizations set up to carry out activities of social utility in favor of associates, non-profit and in full respect of the freedom and

dignity of the associates, who are part of it in order to achieve social, civil and ethical research objectives , promoting solidarity and pluralism.

The associations born in Limburg have welfare purposes, preserve the identity of migrants and their rights. The associations, committed to maintaining ties with Italy, were almost always Catholic missions, and initially they were also lived simply as a meeting place for people who shared the same ethno-linguistic context (Verdini, 2007, 35). The Acli (Italian Worker Christian Associations) played a key role in Belgium from the period following the coal agreements of 1946, and they were more successful in the Flanders area for the simple reason that integration was more difficult than in the Wallonian areas where he spoke French, a language certainly more accessible to an Italian than Dutch.

The problem in Belgian Limburg was therefore communication, and since the ACLIs were recognized as a training and promotion service for workers they committed themselves drastically to causes such as housing, wages, pensions, teaching the Italian language to the generations following the first, undertaking significant struggles for the recognition of citizenship rights of immigrants in Belgium. Efforts were made in every way to involve the second and third generations to pass on the memory and the sense of belonging to the identity, and in a certain sense we can say that it worked. The ACLI circles were always frequented by young people, and became the site of interesting debates of political, social and cultural kind. On the other hand the presence of these circles slowed down the meeting with the other communities: finding themselves always among them, the Italians did not come across other cultures, thus giving the impression that the Italian one was a closed community. On the other hand, this attachment to the community was precisely the element that kept alive the traditions and memories of one's own country, the sharing of customs and traditions of one's own lands, of dishes, of the saints to whom they relied, kept alive in all the memory of the native country.

1.5 Six Limburgish cités from east to west

We can not talk about all the cités in the same way. Each has its own history and its peculiarities, and we must find ways to look at them in various ways. The historical-cultural aspects serve to understand that the past is an essential source for understanding the cité today; urban aspects serve to understand the concept of cité-jardin, of how they have evolved since their birth; the social aspects serve instead to understand the people who lived there, how they lived, how they interacted with each other, what produced this mixture of nationalities and how the cité is seen today by those who live there.

Furthermore, a distinction must be made between *cité pavillonnaire* and *cité industrielle*. The *cité pavillonnaire* are characterized by a periphery of very large terraced houses. The *cité industrielle*, designed by Tony Garnier, are more or less contemporary with Howard's garden cities. Often the *cité industrielle* is contrasted with the *cité-jardin* but in reality it has many points in common. First of all the industrial center is built and around it prefabricated concrete, with a bare and simplistic style, giving up any kind of extravagance for needs of a representative nature. (Fig. 2).

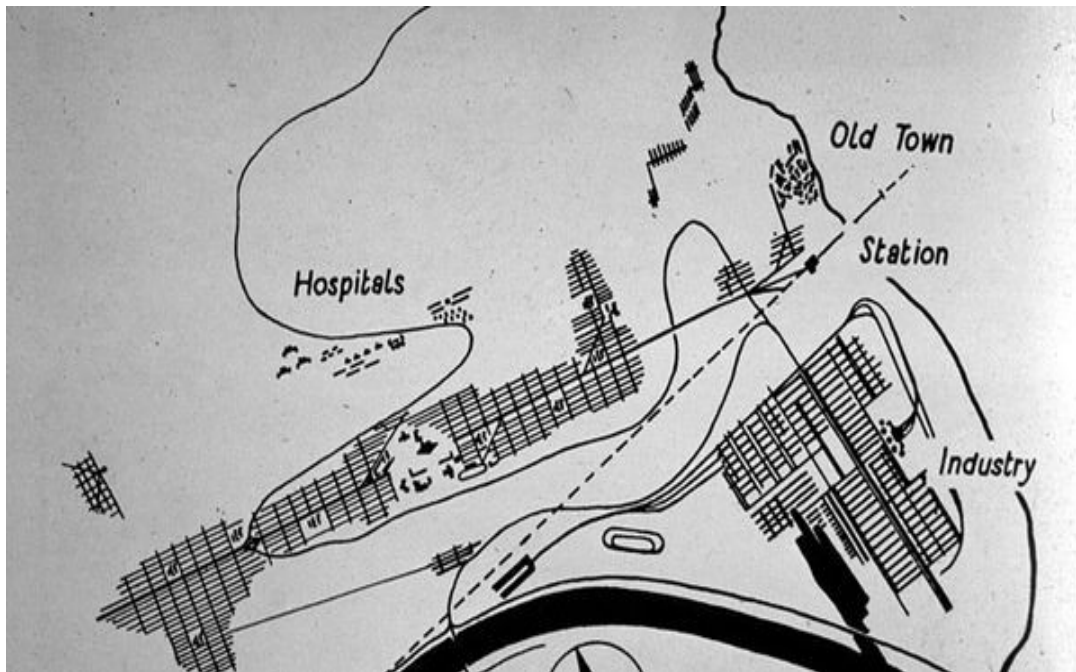


Fig. 2 *Une cité industrielle*, Tony Garnier, 1917.

1.5.1 Eisden

Eisden was the first *cité pavillonnaire* to be built in 1907, inspired by the model of English houses of the nineteenth century. Queen Elizabeth visited the garden city in 1922 and for this reason the main street was renamed Avenue Elizabeth, in her honor. In the *cité* of Eisden there was a melting pot of different cultures, mainly from the Mediterranean basin and Eastern Europe (Keunen, 2010, 46).

Following the closure of the mine there were many opportunities to visit, including the various underground galleries, so that everyone could relive what the miners had been through in their time, and keep the memory of those places alive. It was the first mine to open to the public, and although it is no longer possible to visit it due to landslides and floods.

1.5.2 Waterschei

Waterschei was the largest of the mines in the municipality of Genk. The *cité industrielle* conceived by the engineer Verwilghen presents the typical urban planning from an industrial city, to a network, with houses all identical to each other, which act as a suburb to the large industrial center. On one side all the houses of executives, engineers and high-ranking people, on the other the houses and prefabricated workers.

The story of Genk has always been troubled; a city that has touched the tragedies of war, attacked by the nazis, subjected to bloody raids, sees a renaissance when geologist André Dumont finds coal deposits. The city has developed progressively, becoming and becoming an increasingly important industrial site.

The subsoil immediately showed fractures and landslides causing infiltration of all kinds. This led the engineers to take measures that were not enough to stabilize the safety level of the mine. However, many tunnels were excavated to connect the Waterschei mine to the Eisden mine, at least improving ventilation (Salsi, 2013, 23).

1.5.3 Zwartberg, Winterslag, Houthalen-Helchteren, Heusden-Zolder

Zwartberg is a *cit  industrielle* where the hierarchical differences between managers, engineers and workers were very marked, as well as in Winterslag, a *cit  pavillonnaire* even divided into *cit  1*, *cit  2*, *cit  3* and *cit  4*. The first is obviously the old *cit *, then there is one for small houses for workers built during the First World War, the *cit  3* for executives and the last area, the most recent, has a cinema, cafes, casino and newer attractions. Interestingly, Winterslag was the first *cit -jardin* to be created, after various studies on Howard and Benoit-Levy, conceived by Adrien Blomme. Initially it was known to be a mine with unsafe land that often killed, but after the Second World War the director Alexandre Dufrasne improved it making it one of the safest mines work-wise. Winterslag was the first mine to produce coal in the Limburg area, and the first buildings built in 1906 are still visible.

Houthalen, on the other hand, is the youngest *cit *, and at the end of the First World War another area was added, Meulenberg, named for the mountain on which it stands.

The subsoil was frozen with innovative methods to start drilling and the construction of wells, the positive side of being the last mine to start extracting coal from the ground. Before the war there were mainly former Russian prisoners who, forced to live in an inhuman way, malnourished and with poor physical condition, dug a tunnel to escape from the field where the mine was located (Salsi, 2013, 19). In Heusden-Zolder, on the other hand, a large mosque can be found, a symbol of the various Islamic populations that lived there.

Four kilometers away there is the *cit * of Lindeman, composed of many terraced houses built on the ruins of the previous barracks. Lindeman was under the municipality of Zolder and had its own parish, Berkenbos, as well as its own school. The Lindeman populations were varied and counted 18 different nationalities (Table 2).

Lindeman 1948 population by nationality / number of inhabitants:

Italians	525	Germans	25
Poles	366	Estonians	14
Ucranian Poles	163	Latvians	15
Russians	21	Lituanians	4
Ucranian Russians	1	Dutch	3
White Russians	24	French	1
Slavs	54	Austrians	3
Hungarians	4	Romanians	4
Serbs	1	No nation	33

(Tab. 2. Salsi, 2013)

1.6 The closure of mines

The closure of the mines in the Dutch province of Limburg took place between the 60s and the 70s and is mainly due to the decline in the demand for coal due to new alternative energies.

Obviously, if we consider that the support of these areas was precisely the wanted and the mineral extraction, we can well understand what could have been the impact of the closure of one of the industrial sites: over 38% of active males were employed there . It all started with the closure of the Zwartberg mine, one of the most technologically advanced, and suddenly thousands of families found themselves in desperate conditions and ready to clash violently against the authorities. In fact, the closure foreshadowed something much greater: the golden times in which Belgium represented Europe with natural riches worthy of pride seemed to be over.

With the closure of the mine, more than 4,000 people lost their jobs, and the

Houthalen mine also closed automatically. It was then that the Zwartberg Agreements were established.

The agreements provided that when a mine was closed, a job had to be found for all those people who were left without. The mines of Eisden, Winterslag and Waterschei would undertake to hire around 2,500 workers and above all the unemployed would receive part of their paycheck in the months following the dismissal. It was difficult to keep the agreements in a drastic situation where losses were greater than profits, so workers were not always helped.

The drop in coal demand was not the only reason, even the oil crisis largely influenced the final closure of the mines on December 19, 1974, where 45,000 men found themselves without a job. Oil, much more ductile, easily replaced coal and so on 31 December of the same year it closed the last Limburgish mine, but with the Zwartberg agreements some of the youngest workers managed to find work at ESM chemical companies (Ermittlungs- und Sicherheitsmanagement), while others received an early pension. Of all the many migrants, they remained in the cities that were now perfectly integrated into society, others decided to re-migrate to their country of origin.

§ 2

FROM STEENKOOLCITÈS TO CITETAAL

2.1 The language of the mines: Steenkoolcités

de pijl van de tijd
is onmerkbaar
adieë zegt de hand

of zegt ze *ho stop?*
Niet doen, niet doen?

De fotograaf drukt af
maar de pijl van de tijd
staat nooit stil



(Wiel Kusters, *Koempel, adieë!*, 2005)

In the phase in which the sociolect took shape, its vocabulary was based above all on specific terms in the mining context. Just as the Argot of butchers included a rather large vocabulary in reference to words of the trade, so also the lexicon of Citétaal was born in the depths, due to the need of the miners to understand each other during work, which was dangerous and required a rapid and understandable language for all the nationalities present in the subsoil.

Thus the language originated in the underground with the interaction between *koempels*, - that is, comrades friends and colleagues - and this happened in all the mines. For this there are more variants of the language.

Similar to Citétaal is Citéduits, or "German of the cités". Citéduits, unlike the common Citétaal, has many German influences and is born in a somewhat bizarre way, as told in an anecdote handed down: Jan Kohlenbacher, resident in the cité of Eisdén recalls that during the liberation, in October 1944, an American reconnaissance plane landed and immediately after took off on the fields arousing amazement in a Polish boy who exclaimed *Kuck da, ein Pachakonik!* The Dutch and German influence is visible (*kuck da* = *kijk daar*, look over there), but not immediately understood the meaning of *pachakonik* which turned out to be "grasshopper" in Polish. From that day, however, the word *pachakonik* was used to describe the small reconnaissance planes that passed through the sky. This phenomenon was very common, if only we think of how many different nationalities lived together in the same place: it was very easy to exchange a word for another and then make it become commonplace.

Citéduits, as already mentioned, is not German, Dutch, or Limburguish. It is a particular mix of these, but with grammatical rules that, from time to time, seem to follow none of the three languages:

Ich wuß wohl dat er konnt singe gut.

(Citéduits)

Ich wußte wohl daß er gut singen konnte.

(Duits)

Ik wist wel dat hij goed kon zingen.

(Nederlands)

Furthermore in the Citéduits the article is often omitted, following a probably Slavic grammatical rule:

Met Pasen gingen we naar Kirche that in German would be - *zu der Kirche* and in Dutch - *naar de Kerk*.

The vocabulary of the first Citétaal, *Steencoolcités*, was certainly poor, and lacking a lexicon conforming to the various spheres of life, therefore it is possible to document almost only words related to the work in the mine, and also difficult to translate as extremely specific to the sector:

[Roetsj]; schudgoot, a sort of shaker belt used to remove impurities from coal.

[Bleech]; drinkbus, a water bottle that the miners brought to the basement to drink.

[Lampeboed]; ruimte waar lampen staan, area where the miners took the lamps to go down into the mine. The lamps were left there to be cleaned and preserved.

[Koelkap]; helm, sort of miner's helmet.

[Sjravele]; graven, dig.

[Koale dabbe]; de koollaag losmaken, remove the coal from the rock.

[Roofbietel]; bietel di boven op de pneumatische hamer staat, as the prefix “roof” denotes is a tool positioned above the pneumatic hammer.

(Kusters, 2012)

2.2 Citétaal

“Citétaal, dat is eigenlijk gewoon kapot Nederlands.

Het letterlijk vertalen van de moedertaal, geen gevoel voor lidwoorden.”

(Don Luca)

"Citétaal is nothing but ruined Dutch.

Literal translation of the mother tongue, no sensitivity to the articles."

As Gaetano Berruto writes, sociolinguistics and above all the study of sociolects are sciences that are difficult to define, as they are constantly evolving, whose boundaries are unstable and easily influenced. (Berruto, 1993)

Citétaal is a linguistic variation, and that is precisely an element of the linguistic system, at any level of analysis, that is realized in different forms in correlation with social factors. Each of the forms is a variant, the set of forms constitutes the variable. A first assumption in sociolinguistics is that languages vary through social stratification. The social network has in fact become increasingly important. A social network is the structured and dynamic set of social and communicative relationships that individuals weave between them. Depending on the position it occupies within a given social network, a speaker is more or less exposed and sensitive to this or that model of linguistic behavior. This variation is called diastratic (through the layers). This dimension can be conceived as a vertical axis that goes from the "top" variants, to those "at the bottom" (recurrent forms among uncultured speakers). The second assumption is that language varies across space. This variation is usually evident in the lexicon and phonetics. This dimension is called diatopic (through the place). In fact, we often have geosynonyms, or different words in various geographical areas with the same meaning, very common in everyday life. Equally widespread are the semantic regionalisms, the same word acquires a different meaning depending on the area. The diatopic variation in phonetics is even more relevant, even if these variations are diminishing among young people. A third general assumption is that language varies through communicative situations and the characters and factors that mark it. In every language there are ways to designate things and constructs that are typical of common speaking and others that are instead typical of a more refined language. This variation based on the context is called diaphasic (through speaking). Multiple factors are involved in this variation. There are two large sub-categories, connected in an essential manner respectively with the social character of the situation and with the type of existing relationship, or that is established between the speakers and with the content sphere and the subject of the discourse. For the first sub-category we talk about register or style variation, for the second the terminology is more fluctuating but often we talk about variation of sub-code or sector variation. However, another alteration is inserted within this variation. The variation in the medium or in the physical transmission channel. This is the differentiation between speech and written use of the language. This variance is often considered a fourth

type, the diamesic variation (through the medium). However, these four variations are all synchronic, i.e. they occur at the same time. The fifth is the one that takes place through time, i.e. the diachronic one, which also leads to linguistic change. (Berruto, 1993)

Certainly we can attest that the Citétaal is a jargon created to sanction belonging to a particular group, compared to jargons born to isolate themselves, not to be understood, or in any case linked to crime situations. This jargon is characterized by a specialized lexicon, that is by a particular terminology that gives it the title of sectorial language, or specific in a particular context, which in this case is that of creating an identity within the mining world. Leonie Cornips, a sociolinguist at the University of Maastricht, writes:

«Identiteit is een dynamisch, meervoudig en ambigu resultaat van het voelen, denken en handelen van individuen of groepen. Identiteitsformatie speelt zich af tussen tegenstellingen die door mensen zelf geconstrueerd en beleefd worden» (Cornips, 2010).

«Identity is a dynamic, plural and ambiguous result of the feeling, thinking and acting of individuals or communities. Identity training is based on contradictions that people themselves build and live».

The origin of the Citétaal lies within the Limburg mining sites where Italians, Turks, Moroccans and Greeks supported each other after the severe losses of the war and the hard work in the mine. Initially it took the name of Steenkoolcités, because it was born in the cités and was used by the miners, while today it survives as a sociolect used by young people.

This language is widely described by researchers Ward Ramaekers, Stefania Marzo and Evy Ceuleers, who focus on the use of this language among today's youth.

As already mentioned, the basis of the language is therefore the Dutch, with Arabic, English, Greek, Italian and Turkish influences, that is of the main ethnic groups present in the mining sites. The linguist who most studied this sociolect was Ward Ramaekers, who drew up a list of words used, which are now part of the *Algemeen*

Citès Woordenschat, a dictionary of Citétaal. Italian affects more than other languages and is very evident in some typical expressions:

Che? [kèh]: (Wat? Welk? Welke?)

A: Wanneer geeft ge me eindelijk die geld terug?

B: Che geld?

A: When are you giving me my money back?

B: What money?

Ga kakken: literal translation for the Italian "va a cagare!"¹

Mii: Sicilian exclamation

Scasseren: from the Italian "scassare, rompere"²

A: ik ga trouwen...

B: Scasseer me niet!

A: I'm getting married

B: Say no bullshit/don't annoy me

We zien ons: literal translation for the Italian phrase "see you", incorrect, indeed non-existent in the standard Dutch, since the pronoun "ons"³ has no reciprocal value but only reflective.

The study of Citétaal does not stop at the lexicon, but there are also some grammatical and phonological rules to keep in mind.

The voiceless fricative [s], is always read [sj], (stijl> shtijl) [fteil] instead of [stèil].

The w is pronounced bilabial (waarom> oewaarom).

The i is pronounced similarly to u (vis = mus).

At the suprasegmental level, more specifically intonation, the Citétaal is a very

1 Go fuck yourself.

2 To annoy someone.

3 Us

rhythmic sociolect, due to the Italian influence but also to the intonation of the Limburgish dialect.

There is no distinction between the articles *de* and *het*, only *de* is used (heb je de weer gezien?) is being used. As a result of this, the demonstrative adjective is also limited to the use of *die* (kijk naar die meisje in place of kijk naar *dat* meisje).

On a morphological level, a different meaning is attributed to some Dutch words: for example *vies* *wenig* which would be translated literally with "very little". *Vies* is used a lot and can be compared with words used in a youthful context such as "mega, super" in English (Ward Ramaekers, 1998).

2.3 Citétaal among young people

A considerable number of young people living in the region today speak neither standard Dutch nor Limburgish dialect, but Algemeen Cités. It is called *smeltkroestaal*, from *smeltkroes*, a word deriving directly from the American *melting pot* which in sociological studies is used as an indication of a set of cultures that form a subculture (Marzo, Ceuleers, 2011).

Now this is the language of young trendsetters, usually from the mining towns of Belgium or otherwise in contact with that reality, especially Maasmechelen and Genk. It is a "bastardized" language, full of licentious and popular vocabulary, sometimes rude, with predominantly Limburgish grammar, Italian musicality, and vocabulary of both. What remains of the original vocabulary of Citétaal, that is, that specific mining language difficult to understand outside the mines, is reduced to a minimum: in fact, the interlayers, the colloquial exclamations and little else remain, with respect to the wide range of words indicating objects and actions typical of underground work that are no longer in use (Ramaekers, 1998).

As Stefania March underlines, «In plaats van stoer te doen, gebruiken jongeren de taal veel liever om te gekscheren. Cités geeft hun een groepsgevoel» (Marzo, 2006: "Rather than posing, young people use this language to joke. Cités gives them a group feeling). This sociolect is particularly popular in recent years, helping to

identify a real youth movement, which also stands out in the field of fashion, in fact, many young people from Genk and surrounding areas are mobilizing with interviews and workshops to help affirm what they call *Genkse cité stijl*, the style of the Genk cité. Some interviews also ended up in AF, a fashion magazine that states: «Een Genkenaar herken je sowieso aan z'n Citétaal» (Kristien Follon, coordinator of the magazine AF: "You immediately recognize someone from Genk from his Citétaal").

This style comes from the productive mix of various nationalities and cultures, adapted to a casual-sporty clothing. Perhaps this style comes from the interest in football of many young people of the cité; it is no coincidence that the Genk Racing team, also known as the *mijn club*, is famous in Genk, with an interesting pun since *mijn* means both the possessive pronoun, and the substantive indicating the system of holes in the ground where substances such as coal, metal, and salt are removed. There are even t-shirts on the market with Citétaal terms: this denotes the attachment that young people still feel for the places where they live, grew up or where their parents lived:

«Met hun kleding en Citétaal geven de jongeren de identiteit van hun wijk sterk weer en in elke wijk zijn er verschillen in wat ze dragen. Dat komt door de diversiteit in culturen, toch het DNA van onze stad. En de jongeren zijn trots op hun cité of wijk. Dat laten ze ook horen in een eigen taaltje dat ze ontwikkeld hebben (Anniek Nagels, Minister of culture)».

«With this style and language, young people have strongly brought their identity back to life. In each cité there are differences in clothing. This is due to the difference of cultures, DNA of our city. And young people are proud of their cité or their neighborhood. They do well in the language they have developed».

The magazine has also compiled a list of the most popular expressions:

Citétaal	ALGEMEEN NEDERLANDS	ENGLISH
Wa make	Wat ben je aan het doen?	What are you doing?
Een affe wijf	Een mooie vrouw	A beautiful girl
Zwijg u lip	Hou je mond	Shut up
Een patat van een auto	Een indrukwekkende auto	A nice car
Madòò!	Amai!	Oh my God!

With the cultural and social changes of the last decades, linguistic evolution has been significant, a fact common to all European cities with different ethnic groups and their descendants who have developed new linguistic varieties.

In Belgian Limburg also the standard language was influenced by various subcultures, phenomena described as contemporary urban vernaculars (Rampton, 2011), or youth speech styles (Nortier, 2016).

The fact that the second and third generation of migrants were given lessons in Dutch drastically increased the use of the language, instead decreasing the use of regional dialects typically used by the first generation of migrants in the cités. This phenomenon puts the Dutch language in close contact with the various regionalisms for a period of time large enough to allow the development of the modern Citétaal of young multi-ethnic people.

Citétaal as we know it today, or youth language, is a diaphasic variety of language, used only in certain contexts, above all among teenagers, and to talk about certain things. It is a heterogeneous language: just think how difficult a homogeneous language can be between people who are between fourteen and twenty. Another feature is its variability in time and space (diachronic and diatopic): the lexicon is in fact dynamic and constantly changing, and can vary from area to area (Berruto, 1980).

The sociolinguist Stefania Marzo has conducted a research in which it finds that a native dutch speaker on the three in the zone of Genk speaks it. This sociolect has spread to the point of being used routinely in the Limburgish areas even outside the already mining contexts. Marzo however didn't stop to this finding and makes an experiment to understand if young people are more likely to buy something if the advertisement is in Citétaal. The experiment shows clearly positive opinions so as to be deepened in further research: is there a difference between young residents in the city of Genk compared to people who live outside of it?

Here we denote the difference between those who live in the cité, more attracted by advertising in slang, and those who show less interest in this fact, living outside the nerve center of this sociolect (Marzo, Ceuleers, Schoofs, 2006).

2.4 “Mi jo, wat een sjikke prijzen!”: the role in advertising

The Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (University of Louvain) is committed, also by using social networks, to promoting the potential of the Citétaal. On the University's Twitter profile we read this opinion regarding the sociolect's advertising development⁴:



⁴ Ku leuven, University of Louvain tweets: “Young people from Limburg think that advertising in Citétaal is rockin’”, November 3rd 2015.

Exclamations such as *gans geflipt* and *wasgebezig?* (groovy and what are you doing?) are on everyone's mouth by now, making Citétaal an increasingly widespread and developing language in the Dutch-speaking areas.

Citétaal has become so widespread among Limburgish youth that it has also been used for advertising purposes. Every day the advertisements storm the potential customer: wherever there are images, every empty space is exploited. The advertising is on the pages of magazines and newspapers, at the bus stop, at the football stadium, on clothes and of course on TV. In recent years, it is present everywhere and is therefore visible to all. The well-known electronics brand Media Markt, better known in Italy as Media World, has decided to use a typical expression in Citétaal as an advertising slogan. It has certainly been very successful, an innovative find appreciated by everyone. (Visani Bianchini, 2017)



Joyce Koeman, Professor of International Communication at the KU Leuven, states in this regard: «Let op je woorden! Citétaal in reclame is vies belangrijk voor limburgse jongeren!» Or «Be careful how you talk! Citétaal is very important for young Limburgish!».

Joyce Koeman, along with Stefania Marzo, has focused a lot on the phenomenon of Citétaal, of its diffusion also in the media, finding positive reactions to

advertisements in this sociolect.

The goal of advertising is to convince the consumer to buy the advertised product. It is therefore necessary to attract attention, launch the product and transmit the message in such a way as to entice the public to buy. The image used is important, but the main role is held by the language used that guarantees (or not) the effectiveness of the advertising campaign. What many companies do is to whet the public's interest in the latest news, the latest fashions, with various expedients, for example by making famous people appear in advertisements (Giacomelli, 2003). The same principle is used in the case of the Citétaal which is enjoying great success and a wide diffusion in the Limburgish area so as to become the best means to promote some products.

The advertising campaign is in fact the result of a thorough research of the target; psychology experts helped in understanding what the elements that influence those you want to persuade are.

Peter Fransen, marketing manager of Media Markt, has created both *Mi jo, wat een sjikke prijzen*⁵ and *Mi jo, wa een stijle keuze*⁶, both slogans that have been very successful. Fransen states:

«We wilden de mensen op een grappige, vlotte manier aanspreken in Genk. Ondertussen weet iedereen in Genk dat de jeugd er het cités gebruikt, en dus ben ik wat op internet gaan surfen om een paar toffe slogans te vinden. Via Wikipedia vond ik al heel wat. Ik sluit niet uit dat we in de toekomst nog eens reclame maken in het cités». (Peter Fransen, interview for “Het Belang Van Limburg”, 2008)

«We wanted to attract the people of Genk in a nice and fast way. Meanwhile everyone in Genk knows that young people use cités, so I surfed the internet a bit to find some good slogans. With Wikipedia I found many things. I do not exclude the possibility of making other advertisements in cités in the future».

So the promotion of the sociolect is an issue that many have wondered about. Young

5 “Wow, such good prices”

6 “Wow such a stylish choice”

people of Genk are mobilizing with a new project called *Genkse woorden*⁷, conceived by Peter Baeten, where young people from all over the country are committed to using Citétaal as an expressive tool.

Furthermore, with the application *Het mijnverleden in je broekzak* by Toerisme Limburg, you can get information about anything related to the mine and its language. Don Luca, the famous rapper of the cité, Racing Genk, the football team of Genk, and the famous director Stijn Coninx, who conceived various videos of the app, collaborate with this project.

However, although it may seem in vogue, nowadays the possibility that the language can expand outside of Limburg is to be considered rather low. If you think of it in the short term, it will probably not be used by young people from other provinces, even if it is not certain. The problem lies in understandability, which is limited outside of Limburg, but still has long-term potential (Marzo , 2009).

An important role is also held by media outlets such as Youtube and social networks. Words and exclamations such as "bordel", "fataal" and "vies veel", so frequently used by today's youth, have developed through Youtube and the internet in general:

«Op YouTube zijn tientallen filmpjes terug te vinden van jongeren die cités spreken. Zo hebben een paar gasten van jeugdhuis Eldorado in Winterslag een video gepost waarin ze op een grappige manier een aantal basisbegrippen van het cités uit de doeken doen. (Marzo, 2006)».

«On Youtube there are dozens of videos of young people who speak cités. A couple of guys who are at the Eldorado in Winterslag have posted a video in which they talk in a nice way and give some tips on the basic notions of the cités⁸».

2.5 Citétaal and media

«Opgroeien in de cité betekende dat we ‘onze plan’ moesten trekken. Maar dat

⁷ Words from Genk

⁸ Youtube: “Video Atelier-Blik - Het Algemeen Beschaafd Winterslags door WTS TV” 18th April 2008.
Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ShSFvqjfA7Y>

wil nog niet zeggen dat we niets wilden bereiken. Door creased bee zijn met rappen en tekenen, is me dat gelukt. De Citétaal die ik nu in mijn muziek gebruik, is geboren uit de tweede generatie, kinderen van mijnwerkers die letterlijk vanuit de moedertaal gingen vertalen. Local tegenwoordig maakt het deel uit van onze couleur. Lidwoorden maken niet uit. "Wa make", letterlijk vertaald uit het Italiaanse you do, is onze 'goeiedag'. En de mijnen zijn nog steeds de sterkste link met onze roots. Want als de mijnen hier niet waren, waren wij er ook niet. (Don Luca for Toerisme Limburg)»

«Growing in the cité meant being on our own. This does not mean, however, that we did not want to achieve any goal. Thanks to creativity with rap and drawing, I succeeded. The Citétaal that I use today in my music was born from the second generation, children of miners who literally translated from their mother tongue. Today it is part of the local couleur. The articles do not matter. "Wa make", literally translated from Italian with "Che fai?"⁹ is our "Buongiorno"¹⁰. And the mines are still today the closest contact with our origins. Because if the mines hadn't been there, we wouldn't have been there.»

Don Luca, a third-generation Italian, has been very successful as a rapper singer, mainly because he promotes something that few singers before him had dared to use: language and mines. From all his songs his connection with the mines is evident, which he invites to visit. The most successful song is probably "wa make", in which, in addition to various invitations to learn the language, we find the lexical characteristics of this sociolect.

[...] Kom een tour in de cités maken,
leer een beetje cités praten hier een basis,
zo maakt ge geen shade, vragen ze 'wa make?' Zegt ge 'wa make!'
Vies lekker is goed, maar vies af is beter
Op-materiaal wordt niet eens naar gekeken.

9 What are you doing?

10 Good morning

Meh gans fataal, gewoon per-totaal

pak uzelf bij de kraag en smijt u in de kanaal [...]

(Don Luca – Wa Make)

The videoclip is made entirely in the former Waterschei mine where the academy of fine arts is located nowadays and where in 2012 the European art exhibition *Manifesta 9* entitled "The Deep of Modern" was set up. The landscapes captured in the clip are certainly an invitation to visit these beautiful places, and in its realization there is the hand of the director Remo Perrotti, famous for the various documentary films focused on life in the mine. *Mamma Irma*, is certainly one of his greatest successes. Remo, shaken by the death of his mother Irma, decides to make this docufilm to remember an entire generation, that of the first Italians who arrived in Belgium. Remo Perrotti succeeds in his intention: to remember his mother, and to remember those who are the roots of the history of the mines, and to do this he is helped by Antonio Magistro, also one of the last remaining who did not want to return to Italy, because now his life was in "lu Belgio". Don Luca is also the character of Renzo, the Vespa mechanic in the 2013 film "Marina" by Stijn Coninx inspired by the story of Rocco Granata, singer famous throughout the world for the song Marina, son of Italian emigrants in Belgium.

«This film shows how Genk was created," says Don Luca in an interview. "The Italian migrant arrived in the 1930s. At that time people still lived in the barracks. Everyone in Genk knows this, and now those who don't know about it know this».

Also Pasquale, famous on youtube for talking about the stereotypical characteristics of Italian migrants in cités, has become very famous in Limburg. Pasquale's messages are not accepted among teenagers in the Limburg towns because he imitates and parodies their character, their gestures and their language. He expresses some characteristics in some videos¹¹:

- they think they have a lot of style
- they are arrogant

¹¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5WBXYy7B5M8>

- their main hobbies are seducing girls and hanging out in the shopping centers
- they love Genk
- exaggerated gestures
- some expressions like "meeh" are repeated a lot

2.6 Importance of dialects in films and literature

«Dialect, in this context, is more than a combination of regional and social variations. It is construed as a constructed, aestheticized form of language, a mediated form of art, so much so that the process of transposing dialect into artworks, which is inexact by nature, is called ‘ficto-linguistics’ by L. Ferguson. Dialect is to be understood as an artistic medium that participates in characterising the social and aesthetic world of the works of fiction in which it is used. In other words, though generally considered as a guarantee of authenticity, dialect really is a construct that needs the active collaboration of the writer or the film-maker with their audience or readership to be fully functional» . (Claire Helie, 2014)

Dialectal variation has many rhetorical effects so as to show humor, degree of intimacy, age of a generation, nostalgia, solidarity of group, and belonging to a community.

Authors like Wiel Kusters are the voice of pure and frank language that is opposed to a more artificial and cryptic one, he uses an almost innocent language, which reflects his childhood memories in the cité. This jargon has also proved to be a very effective and direct communication tool. Citétaal is the tool through which the author expresses his feelings for the past.

There is an evolution in the use of this jargon. It's not only used in movies and poetry but also in music. Many rap singers decide to make it a symbol of their music: expressing themselves in Citétaal meant wanting to remember the past of the place they live in, and the present's difficulties, it is in fact a challenge to adapt old mining sites to contemporary standards of comfort and quality of life, and people will also live forever in the shadow of the coal mine.

2.6.1 Gluckauf

Gluckauf is a grim family drama that takes place in the former mining region in South-East Limburg. The film was nominated ten times in total, and won four Golden Calves. Except for best film and best director, that were for scriptwriter Gustaaf Peek and for cameraman Mark van Aller.

Gluckauf is a Dutch drama/crime film from 2015 directed by Remy van Heugten. The script was written by Gustaaf Peek after an idea by Van Heugten. The film is set in South Limburg and Limburgish dialect is spoken. The film was released internationally under the title *Son of Mine*. In this film only Citétaal dialect is being spoken and this situates the characters within a geographical location, ethnic group, educational level and social class. In fact, the movie shows Limburg impoverished and abandoned by the institutions after the end of the mining season, where social and psychological traumas of a post-minerary society are perceived.

2.6.2 Mamma Irma

«In the days following the death of my mother, I realized that an era has been buried forever»: these are the words spoken at the beginning of the film by the voice of the director, who sound almost like a "declaration of poetry" by Mamma Irma: it is precisely the generational shift, according to dynamics already known to the mining context of the Limburg area, which raises in Remo Perrotti, born in Belgium from an Italian immigrant family, the will and the need to dig into a past shared by thousands of people, and in this re-enactment to question one's identity.

The initial scenes are as strong as personal. In fact, the filming of the mother's funeral is shown, and this creates a close link with the theme addressed: just as the memory is selective and non-linear, alternating with moments of oblivion, and often needs cues to ensure that the images of the past re-emerge, in the same way the funeral ceremony accompanies the entire film intersecting with it rhapsodically. The

common thread of this documentary film with a hybrid character - in which documentary-style shots centered on the interview model alternate with photographs, documents and even a radio insert dating from the period of Italian migration - is precisely that of memory. The reminiscence of the past is entrusted to the central figure of the film: Antonio Magistro, singer, ex-miner and real icon of the town of Meulenberg. It is above all with him, the last person still alive who belongs to the first generation of Italian emigrants, that Remo interacts, becoming spokesman and witness of an era that is disintegrating: the questions that the director asks him, bring into light the various nuances of the migratory phenomenon begun in the 1940s, and with this the dreams, the hopes, the sufferings, the pains, the remorse of those days come back to life.

2.6.3 Marina

1948. In a small town in Calabria, a family man with a smile of hope leaves his homeland in search of fortune and happiness.

This is a prologue that united the fate of tens of thousands of emigrated Italian following a bilateral treaty signed in 1946 between Italy and Belgium, based on a fundamental principle: the sending of 2,000 workers per week equal to 2,500 tons of coal. The situation in Belgium at the time of the signing of the Protocol with Italy was characterized by a great shortage of workers, especially in the coal mining sector, and by the urgent need to extract the mineral from the subsoil, a necessary condition for the economic reconstruction of the country and for its development.

The price that Italy payed was that of the lives of many and many men, women and children, forced by hunger and need to leave their country of origin. Among them, there was also the future singer Rocco Granata, whose biographical events became the subject of the film directed by the Belgian director Stijn Conijnx in 2013, entitled *Marina*, in homage to the song that led him to success and social redemption.

The film, requested by the same Granata, retraces the steps of a boy in love, from his childhood spent in the warm melodies of a Southern Italy strongly linked to the land, to then reach his father, a miner in Belgian Limburg.

It is always the music that gives strength to the young boy, bringing it even to contrasts with the father who, sacrificing himself every day in the black tunnels of the Belgian mine, does not want to know about music.

Love and music, inextricably intertwined, give a glimpse of a new light to the young man: thanks to his mother's help, he buys an accordion from a merchant - interpreted by Rocco Granata himself - to take part in a competition. It will be him, leaving it on trust, to allow him to take part in the competition and win it. This creates an interesting short circuit between biographical truth and fiction in putting actor and character face to face, whose existences, in the film as well as in life, are actually linked by a common thread: Matteo Simoni, the Belgian actor who plays the role of the singer, is himself son of emigrated Italians to work in the mine. With this role, he has the possibility of rediscovering roots and bonds, loosened by the generational leap, and a language and a culture of which he remains a trace in his name. In an interview, Rocco Granata explains how the differences with his father, which in reality were not so harsh, were accentuated in the film. Talent for the accordion, adolescent infatuation for the Belgian girl Helena, torment by the xenophobia that the whole family must suffer, values and importance of the family, but also the memory of a destroyed Marcinelle by the terrible fire that broke out on August 8th 1956 in the *Le Bois du Cazier* mine, are just some of the themes of this film that showed a reality in which Italian immigrants died and were discriminated against.

2.6.4 Wiel Kuster's poetry

Schachtsignalen

en óp d'r sjteeberg van de vruiere Willemien
woeëd jeskied
óp ing skibaan va koenssjtof

Davos en jezong lóf

jezong longe
zoeë loos 't ziech doa
e bis-je aazieë

Shaftsignals

on the stone mountain of the disappeared mine Wilhelmina
some skied
on a plastic ski slope

Davos and healthy air
healthy lungs
that it seemed
like

Wiel Kusters works constantly on the use of language. Limburgish received the official title of regional language in 1997. Since then there has been increasing attention for the more than 80 dialects in Limburg that differ from each other, and Citétaal is one of them, but together form the regional language *Limburgish*. In this poem he uses only dialectal forms, so much so that there are translations in *Algemeen Nederlands* (common dutch).

Not all features are present in all Limburg local dialects. Some only occur in the south, others only in the north, some in the west, others in the east.

Limburgish borders cannot be drawn on linguistic grounds. That is why it has been decided to coincide 'Limburgish' with the provincial borders. All dialects within Limburg are considered 'Limburgish'. Even Citétaal can be considered a limburgish dialect.

The dialects within Limburg come from the same 'ancestral' branch as Dutch and German.

2.6.5 Koele en Kuulkes by Carboon

Koele en Kuulkes

In Eegelse ziën ich de Laura nog ligke
de koel die et Wormdaal mit sjaam hat gevuld
en neëve deur loog nog heur zjwester, de Julia
die hool doe et dörpke in koeldamp gehuld
Bej et plaetsjke Gelaen hauwste destieds de Maurits
d'r prins van de koele zoè sjoên neujerwets
et plaetsjke dat gong wie 'n waerelrsljtad grujje
en de koel die verdween inne oerwoud van flats
Ich han ze gekant
al die koele en kuulkes
ich han doa gewirkt en gesjpild nog es jonk
woê zint ze gebliëve mieng koele en kuulkes?
vuurgood noe vertrokke, terük in de gronk
Op de Sjpekkelzerhei woar de Willem-Sophia
d'r sjteeberg van deur loog bis wied op de Grach
deê sjtöbde, deê zjwaamde deê sjtonk en deê walmde
deé leures, dat rookste deë brand daag en nach
Inne broenkaoleveld loog de groêtmodder Emma
me sjprook ronkseröm doe nog zuuver Gebrooks
En auw kolonieje wie Treebeek en Passart
die zint nog gebouwd dao mit winst van d'r cokes
Ich han ze gekant
al die koele en kuulkes
ich han doa gewirkt en gesjpild nog es jonk
woê zint ze gebliëve mieng koele en kuulkes?
vuurgood noe vertrokke, terük in de gronk
D'r Lange Jan en et Lies waore doe de symbole

van de Heêlesje koel die ON woéd geneumd
wat han ich doa deks miene nak sjtoa verrekke
en umhoëg kiekend sjtil van d'r hiëmel gedreumd
De twiêde ON-koel die vongste op Sjaasberg
die nomt me De Twië of 'de Koel van d'r Sjeet'
Heêlehei hauw De Drei, de sjtolz van de Gaoswei
en get wiër loog De Veer, woë d'r Hekseberg sjteet
Ich han ze gekant
al die koele en kuulkes
ich han doa gewirkt en gesjpild nog es jonk
woê zint ze gebliëve mieng koele en kuulkes?
vuurgood noe vertrokke, terük in de gronk
Op Terwinsele loog de auw Wilhelmina
de sitaatskoel van 't dörp, dus dat hit huuj, D'r Sjtaat'
De Hendrik in Brunssum is ruggig gao sjloape
die weëd noe bewaakt durch 'ne Afcënt-soldaat
De eujdste, de kromste mar wiedoet de leefste
waor 't kuulke van Kirkroa, de, , Holländsje koel"
van iëlend versjliëte, verzakt in zieng riëte
mieng gow Domaniale, ich gèf dich ing moel
Ich han ze gekant
al die koele en kuulkes
ich han doa gewirkt en gesjpild nog es jonk
woê zint ze gebliëve mieng koele en kuulkes?
vuurgood noe vertrokke, terük in de gronk.

Mines and Mines

I still see Laura lying in Eyselshoven
the mine that filled the valley of the Worm (river) with coal sludge
In addition, her sister, the Julia,

he then kept the village covered in coal vapor
At the time in Geleen you had the Maurits,
the prince of the mines, so beautiful and modern
The town grew as a world city
and the mine that disappeared into a jungle of flats

I knew them, all those mines and mines
I worked and played there as a child.
where have they gone, my mines and mines?
Now gone forever, back in the ground
Willem-Sophia was at Spekholzerheide
her stone mountain lay far on De Gracht (district)
he stewed, who smoked, who smelled, and who smoked
that lummel, you smoke that, day and night
Grandmother Emma was lying in a brown coal field
people still spoke Hoensbroek's dialect in her area
and old neighborhoods such as Treebeek and Passart
are still built from the profit of coke production
De Lange Jan and the (Lange) Lies (famous chimneys)
were then the symbols of the Heerlen mine,
who was called ON (abbreviation of Oranje Nassau)
How often I stood there straining my neck
and dreaming quietly looking up from the sky
The second ON mine was found in Schaesberg
They were called the ON 2 or "the mine of D'r Sjeet" (Schaesberg)
Heerlerheide had its ON 3, the pride of the Ganzeweide (district)
and a little further was the ON 4, where the Heksenberg (heath hill) lies
Old Wilhelmina lay in Terwinselen
the state of the village, so that
is still called 'the State' today
The Hendrik in Brunssum could go to sleep peacefully
it is now being guarded by an Afcent soldier

The oldest, the crookedest, but by far the sweetest
was the mine of Kerkrade, the 'Dutch mine'
worn out from misery, sinks in her asses,
my good Domaniale, I give you a kiss
I did recognize her
all those mines and mines
i played there as I was young
where have they gone, my mines?
They have gone back, in the underground.

In a recent volume, Martin Stokes has drawn attention to the relationship between ethnicity, identity and music. In his view, music is an important means to shape ethnic identity and to construct a 'place', a 'place' in the sense of a geographical, cultural and social coordinate. Music is therefore not so much a reflection or expression of underlying cultural and social patterns, as previously assumed by ethnomusicologists and anthropologists, but a means by which identities can be actively constructed and manipulated. Stoke's concept is most fruitful when applied to ethnic groups with recognizable folk music traditions such as Scots, Irish, Poles, Catalans and Basques.

The Dutch situation is not automatically comparable. First, the ethnic identity of, for example, Drenten, Brabant, Limburg and even Frisians is considerably less pronounced than that of, for example, Irish, Catalans and Basques, at least in political terms. Dutch dialect singers adapt international styles. It is the regional language that gives regional music its ethnic, or rather regional, identity. Apart from this musical-technical difference with ethnic music from abroad, it has become clear from the above that music, in combination with language, is also extremely suitable for shaping regional identity in the Netherlands.

The dialect song is therefore a consciously developed means to construct the regionally specific musical. It is also seen as a 'proof' of the value of the dialect, music in the regional language raises the status of that language and can be seen as a sign of emancipation. The Limburgish dialect that is utilized by Carboon is entirely

of this time. Often there is even more talk of a so-called regional section, whereby the local differences are disappearing more and more and standard Dutch also exerts its influence.

For many dialect singers the 'big' alternative language turned out not to be Dutch but English. In other words, people transpose international music styles to their own experience, which is apparently regional and not national, at least in terms of music. This means that region and 'nation' are at the same language choice level for these musicians.

Looking back at the motives indicated by the musicians themselves, we see the regional identity at work on an individual level. Nobody, however, appears to motivate dialect singing in so many words as "regional identity," or something that hints at "own people" or the superiority of one's own province over others. The dialect is usually chosen on the basis of personal motives, usually of the type "It is my own language and that is best expressed in it". (Grijp, 1995) A more collective fact is the positive response from the audience, which leads the musicians to continue on the chosen path.

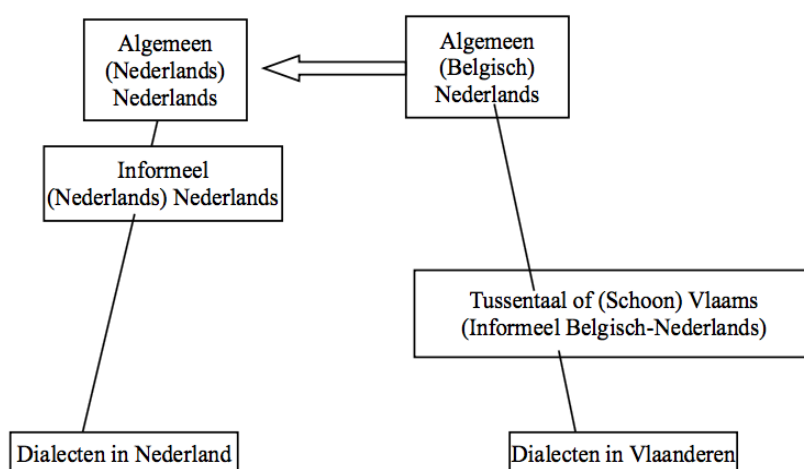
A regional identity is constructed, which is more the identity of 'the' region in the sense of the Limburgish countryside than of individual provinces or regions. Dialect enthusiasts also often mention fear of large-scale developments and European unification - which the agricultural world is confronted with every day - as a breeding ground for the success of regional language music, or more generally of the dialect wave, of which regional language music appears to be the most vital part, which particularly appeals to young people. (Stokes, 1994)

§ 3

CITÉTAAL: CONCEPTUAL ASPECTS

Although the phenomenon of street languages has been studied extensively by several European countries in the last twenty years, information on their existence in the area of Flanders has always been scarce. Some examples are Straattaal, Turbotaal, Tussentaal and Citétaal, but many others are specific languages of the Dutch-speaking area.

Turbotaal may vary from group to group, and this tends to alienate people who cannot communicate in a certain way. This sociolect is more present in the Netherlands than in Belgium, above all because in Belgium there are numerous alternatives, like for example the *tussentaal*, that is "middle language", as they are placed between the dialects and the standard Dutch (Tab. 4). Typical of the *tussentaal* is the use of diminutives (with suffix *-(s)ke*), or the abbreviated pronunciation of some words (*'nen auto* rather than *een auto*).



(Tab. 4: De Caaluwe, Geeraerts, Kroon, 2002, p 208)

Straattaal is a youth sociolect whose purpose is, like most youth dialects, the exclusion of adults, for whom speech is incomprehensible.

Ik heb geen geld → ik ben skeer (i have no money)

10 euros → Donnie (10 euro)

100 euros → *Barkie* (a hundred euro)

It is not a widely used jargon and does not have a good reputation, indeed there have been campaigns against its use in public environments. Especially schools have worked so that this language does not expand too much, due to the numerous inaccuracies that *straattaal* contains compared to the standard. For example some inaccuracies: *butter* instead of *boter*, *Delleft* instead of *Delft*, *goejen dag* in place of *goeden dag*. (Van der Wal, 1992, p. 250)

Citétaal, just like the above mentioned, is a sociolect, a jargon language, spoken mostly by adolescents in the multicultural areas of the province of Limburg, in Belgium. It is influenced by minor languages such as Italian, Greek and Turkish, and is therefore often associated with people of foreign origin, being considered as an indication of poor knowledge of Dutch. Initially it was spoken in a purely mining context, by workers who went underground and needed a common vocabulary to dialogue. Now, having reached the third and fourth generation, the language has undergone an evolution from strictly mining to street language, eliminating from its vocabulary some specific terms of mine work to leave room for terms used by adolescents. My research was first conducted to examine whether the Citétaal is actually spreading in Limburg, but also how often it is spoken by adolescents and more particularly in what contexts.

Initially the scarce desire to learn Flemish was mainly due to two reasons: on the one hand, precarious working conditions increased the desire of Italian miners and their families to return home; on the other, they were already "others" trying to learn Italian. Starting in the 1970s, minimal knowledge of the Flemish was required for security reasons. As soon as a worker arrived in Belgium, his linguistic competence was checked with trivial safety questions. The linguistic situation in the mines is also very interestingly described by the wives of Italian miners, who lived in a state of social isolation and therefore did not have the opportunity to learn the local language: the second and third generation of Italians were instead educated in Flemish schools and declining the use of Italian, and leaving room for Dutch even in the domestic environment (Marzo 2005).

Some second-generation migrants were also encouraged by their parents to attend

Italian courses to maintain their language, but with not very encouraging results: The Italian immigrant therefore finds himself in a foreign country, unknown, with a language often limited to just dialect of the region of origin, and must be compared with a complex and stratified sociolinguistic reality. In the specific case of Italian in Belgium and partly also in the Netherlands, influences of the Dutch on the Italian dialectal variants and on Italian itself were found mainly on the morphosyntactic and lexical level. In particular, it was possible to recognize substantial differences between the first, second and third generation of Italian immigrants, In fact the skills of first generation speakers are limited to regional Italian and/or dialect and contacts with the local language are almost null, but in the second and especially in the third generation there is a slow and progressive abandonment of Italian in favor of Flemish and Dutch.

3.1 Citétaal and new influences

This linguistic variant originates from the hybrid language used by the miners of Italy, Turkey and Greece to communicate with each other in the mines. Today it is the language of the youth in the cités, of the working class and of migrant neighborhoods. The sociolect is full of words of ridicule, with the Limburgish grammar, the Italian melody and vocabulary, and Greek and Turkish influences. This street language was first studied by linguist Ward Ramaekers, who created a vocabulary and developed the concept of *Algemeen Cités*. The language is a linguistic variant of Dutch, but with a harsher and rhythmic pronunciation, but at the same time bold.

The use of "old" jargon languages is not generally replaced by the use of the standard language, but rather by new dialects, often hybrid or "coined", formed by contact between local, regional, interregional and other, including standard varieties. (Kerswill & Williams 2000)

These mixed varieties are also increasingly common in public discourse, as seems to be the case with the *tussentaal* in Flanders (Grondelaers & van Hout 2011) or the current Citétaal influenced by new migrations.

3.2 Methods: qualitative and quantitative

Qualitative research is a type of empathic, empirical, exploratory, direct and physical research. It serves to understand the reasons, the motivations, the opinions, the tendencies that are hidden behind the more numerical data of the quantitative research. The most used methodology for qualitative research is F2F (Face to Face), the so-called focus groups in which a very small respondent sample is interviewed but for a very long time, even hours, in front of a mirror behind which brand and research institute they observe and listen. F2F is videotaped and then transcribed as a storytelling, by images, by stories.

As the word itself says, quantitative research serves to quantify, use numerical data or otherwise data that can then be easily transformed into statistics, and measures the behavior, opinions, attitudes of a very large respondent sample. At least 30 people should have been interviewed, but in general there are many more. Quantitative research can broaden its range of action, if the brand were a multinational, implementing multi-country surveys. The more data you get, the more accurate the statistics will be. The methods for collecting quantitative data are mainly CATI (Computer Assisted Telephone Research), then telephone interviews, and CAWI (Computer Assisted Web Interviewing), online questionnaires, both lasting 7-10 minutes on average. The questions often require a rating from 0 to 10. A product's degree of satisfaction can be measured, frequency of purchase, brand awareness, market segments, etc. The data is then transcribed into numbers, graphs, statistics. Quantitative research: structured questionnaire for CATI, CAWI or PAPI. The CAPI Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing method has the undisputed advantage of being based on real interaction. This eliminates the possibility of inaccuracies in completing the questionnaire, as the respondent can contact the interviewer at any time.

PAPI: Paper And Pencil Interviewing, or interviews (questionnaires) given face to face with paper and pen.

«Unlike computer-assisted interviews, pen-and-paper methods require nearly no

technical expertise to implement, and leave a great deal of flexibility in the implementation of survey design. Pen and paper surveys can be designed in Excel or Word by someone with no advanced programming skills.

This means that the pen-and-paper surveys can be done very quickly at small scales, making them ideal for data collection where to lay down or reorganization of surveys is expected to take place. With CAPI surveys, even a small modification can cause the entire survey to fail to compile, and version is very weak, meaning that a great deal of time may be lost to making small iterative modifications.

Pen and paper surveys are also guaranteed to produce a permanent primary record of data collection. Each form can be individually numbered during collection and stamped / signed by supervisors during field-side quality assurance. Pen and paper surveys can be digitized into various fashions, including by scanning and data entry; directly via Excel or a database program; automatically using a tool such as ODK Scan; or online using an interface like SurveyCTO¹²».

Pen-and-paper surveys are also typically easier for respondents to give open-ended or qualitative responses, since computer-assistance may be unable to handle local languages, or auto-correcting features of tablets may garble inputs in settings where English spellings are highly variant.

3.3 Previous studies

Not so many studies have been dedicated to Citètaal, but Stefania Marzo's investigations are certainly the most important when talking about vernaculars in eastern Belgium. Stefania Marzo is an associate professor of Italian Linguistics at the University of Leuven.

Her doctorate studied second or third generations of Italians in Limburg, more in particular the language they used. They are fully integrated, most of them even speak Dutch at home. Her work consists PAPI and face to face interviews in two cités: Lindeman in Heusden-Zolder and Zwartberg in Genk. In their language, she searched

¹² [https://dimewiki.worldbank.org/wiki/Pen-and-Paper_Personal_Interviews_\(PAPI\)](https://dimewiki.worldbank.org/wiki/Pen-and-Paper_Personal_Interviews_(PAPI))

for variants that are typical of the Italian communities in Limburg with important results. In Lindeman, for example, there are almost exclusively Italians and the community is rather closed. The younger generations have a lot of contact with the older ones, speaking this very strong dialect with characteristics of Roman and central Italian dialects. Differently, Zwartberg in Genk, is a more open Italian community. It is a large neighborhood where, in addition to Italians, many Turks and North Africans live. Italians also live much more scattered there. As a result, the younger generations focus more on other parts of the city for their social lives. Italian in Zwartberg is therefore much less striking, since the language is exposed to all the usual evolution factors, without pronounced dialectisation.

Togheer with Evy Ceuleers she writes “The use of Citétaal among adolescents in Limburg. The role of space appropriation in language variation and change”, an article published in the *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural development*. Her research interests broadly fall into the area of variationist sociolinguistics and contact linguistics. She focuses specifically on the diffusion of urban vernaculars in Flanders, and Limburg, concentrating especially on the use of Citétaal among young people. In 2016 she worked on another research, “Exploring the social meaning of contemporary urban vernaculars: perceptions and attitudes about Citétaal in Flanders” published in the *International Journal of Bilingualism*. Marzo investigates the perception and attitudes towards the sociolect combining, unlike the previous investigations, qualitative and quantitative approaches. On a quantitative point of view surveys have been carried out, to study the perception and representation of the sociolect, but also to compare it with other linguistic varieties such as Standard Dutch, and Flemish. Furthermore the qualitative data will be used to interpret the results of this experiment. In this inquiry Citétaal is perceived as a vernacular spoken by foreign speakers, and this may be the biggest discrepancy with the survey carried out in this dissertation, where students that may have a foreign background but are born in Belgium.

3.4 The importance of subculture studies

Considering the subcultures studied at the University of Birmingham, they present those aspects of cohesion and identity bonds that brings them closer to the idea of community. (Sciolla, 2012) However, a subculture, although very close to a community, stands out because while the latter refers to a network of stable social relations, which includes neighborhood relations, of which the family is a constituent part, the subculture is a group less stable over time and open to new external influences. The analysis of subcultures, which uses the tools of ethnography, in particular participant observation, has a long tradition of studies. We can subdivide subcultures in juvenile and deviant ones.

According to Stanley Cohen (Cohen, 1992) deviance can be explained by the relationship between dominant culture and criminal subcultures. His analysis refers to the American fabric, its promises and its values, which however are strongly affecting our social fabric.

According to Gianluigi Ponti (1990) youth bands, expression of specific subcultures, are born just as answer of young people who "would like, but cannot". Ponti outlines three possible types of bands:

- Criminal gangs: gangs whose members are engaged in illegal activities through which to obtain the status symbols proposed by the dominant culture (cars, jewelry, clothes, etc.)

- Abstentionist bands: gangs characterized by the flight and refusal of everything that the company proposes. Typically these youngsters find refuge in alcohol and drugs.

- Conflict bands: youth deviance is expressed through the violent destruction of all those symbols that cannot be reached (theft, violence, vandalism).

In any case, youth deviance has social inequalities behind it: for example, the American dream of self-realization would in reality be the prerogative of a few and for some classes the means to reach the desired goals are precluded. Deviant subcultures are closer to crime, but a second line studied at Birmingham University shifts from these subcultures to juveniles. They adopt traits of the culture of origin, for example the emphasis on territoriality. In particular, the subculture

builds its specific identity through the use of objects, the predilection of a certain type of music, a language consisting of a slang and a peculiar type of clothing and hairstyle.

Examples are Argot and the Verlan, spoken in the French *banlieus* especially by gangs, but also Citétaal has many typical aspects. These characteristics vary easily over time, fashion and music change, as does the slang used.

Historically, the term Argot or jargon meant the language, or more properly the slang, of the underworld that the outlaws used to avoid being understood by the police. This linguistic phenomenon appeared in the thirteenth century, however the first written sources of the Argot date back to the fifteenth century, when the poet François Villon used it to compose his famous ballads dedicated to the *Coquillards*, or gangs of criminals. In later centuries, Argot was used mainly in prisons to communicate between prisoners and not be understood by guards. (Schwob, 2008) This characteristic of "secret language" remains until the early 1900s but then the language becomes increasingly commonplace. Nowadays it is used in the French banlieus, therefore those peripheral areas considered to be disadvantaged where the less wealthy population is concentrated and often less integrated into society. The so-called *banlieusards*, who live in these *cité-ghettos*, are mostly foreigners. In these areas Argot is used commonly, because of a sense of belonging to a particular social group. The word Argot comes from the ancient-Provençal word *argaut*, which initially meant "garment", but then degraded to "rags". Obviously we can not speak of language used only in ghettos, now that it has become popular in various social fields. In this language, words are voluntarily altered to avoid being easily understood or to create effects of wonder, often with a game component. Words like *mec* (homme, male), *meuf* (femme, woman) are nowadays also found in the Le Robert dictionary.

Argot transforms and replaces words, deforms them and shortens them. Furthermore, it is important to remember that Argot is a mainly oral language. In conclusion, we can mention Pierre Guiraud to consolidate the concept of Argot:

«L'Argot est donc le langage spécial du monde souterrain, c'est-à-dire l'ensemble

des mots propres aux criminels et aux criminels, créés par eux et utilisés par eux, à l'exception des autres groupes sociaux qui les ignorent [...]. Trois éléments font partie de la constitution de cette langue spéciale: 1ère. Un vocabulaire technique qui exprime des notions, des activités, des catégories propres au monde souterrain et qui reflète une forme de culture, une manière d'exprimer une sensibilité particulière, une mentalité, une conception de la vie. 2. Un vocabulaire secret né des besoins d'une activité défaillante et doté d'un moyen de création verbale original. 3. Un vocabulaire "argotique" constitué d'un ensemble de mots techniques et plus précisément de mots secrets subsistant dans leur fonction devant le signe différenciant par lequel le locuteur de l'argot reconnaît et affirme son identité et son originalité» (Guirot 1985, 7).

«Argot is therefore the special language of the underworld, that is the set of words proper to criminals and criminals, created by them and used by them except for other social groups that ignore them [...]. Three elements are part of the constitution of this special language: 1st. A technical vocabulary which expresses notions, activities, categories specific to the underworld and which reflect a form of culture, a way of expressing a particular sensibility, a mentality, a conception of life. 2nd. A secret vocabulary born from the needs of a malfunctioning activity and which has original verbal creation means. 3rd. An "argotic" vocabulary consisting of a set of technical words and more precisely of secret words that survive in their function before the differentiating sign through which the speaker of the argot recognizes and affirms his identity and originality»

We can not talk about just one Argot: this small sociolect is in fact constantly evolving and changing according to who uses it. There is an argotian jargon used by butchers, whose word formation process is very particular: it often involves the replacement of the first consonant of the word with the letter "l", the displacement of the initial consonant at the end of the word and the addition of a suffix: for example "esse", "ik", "uche", "ok", as the following words testify:

Boucher → *louchébem* → *butcher*;

Chef → *lefok* → *chef*;

Garçon → *largonguesse* → *boy*;

Monsieur → *leusieumik* → *man*;

Boeuf → *leufbem* → *beef*;

Filet → *liléfem* → *fillet*;

Morceau → *lorsomik* → *piece*;

Poulet → *oulépem* → *chicken*.

(L'argenton, 1991)

Verlan is a form of slang language typical of France, developed in the second post-war period as a means of secret communication among young people, based on the inversion of the syllables that make up the words. Not randomly the same term Verlan means *à l'envers*, that is "on the contrary".

Unlike Argot, the need for secrecy was not dictated in this case by security reasons, but by the desire to express its membership of a group by its members. Today, Verlan is used as a communication strategy and definition of identity to distort the standard French language and play with it to create new expressive forms. Verlan is therefore a sort of anagram that tends to invert the syllables of a word in a way, sometimes simple, sometimes complex. The transformation seems to take place in a mirror, so not through the sound of words, but through their spelling:

Fou → *Ouf*

Rue → *Ur*

This secret language of the young Frenchmen, originally born in the Parisian suburbs in the late 1980s, has spread to the point of having gained, with some terms, a place in the most modern dictionaries.

Unlike Argot, Verlan is a way to emphasize certain words, using a code. It is a purely Parisian phenomenon, linked to the reality of the *banlieues*, made possible by the strong urban centralization that France knows better than other

countries.

The three main word formation rules are:

1) simple inversion:

musique = sicmu tomber = béton

2) inversion and addition of a new sound:

seour = reusda, reusdé (reus + da)

3) inversion and suppression of a final vowel:

père = reup (reupè without the final one)

The result is a sort of "verlanization", a code language, made to be known only by the initiates: originally it was the language used by the gangs, by drug dealers, by those who did not want to be understood by the authorities; then it became the language of youngsters, who in this way perhaps try to keep their group identity intact.

3.5 The importance of Moroccan Flavored Dutch (MFD)

In the Western part of the Netherlands an ethnic accent is developing. It has the features of Moroccan languages such as Arabic, Berber and Moroccan. This kind of accent is used mostly by youngsters, and not only with Moroccan descent, but also young people with different background, even Dutch natives use this accent.

«On January 1, 2011, the Netherlands totalled 16,655,799 inhabitants, of which 79.4% (13,228,780 people) were of Dutch origin. There were 355,833 people of Moroccan origin, representing 2.1% of the population and 10% of all non-indigenous Dutch. Between the '60s and the '70s, Moroccan immigrants were brought to the Netherlands as temporary "guest workers" but it soon became clear that the situation was not temporary, therefore the Dutch government introduced rules and regulations aimed at allowing the group to integrate into society as a distinct minority with its own culture. In the 1990s, the approach had shifted

towards greater integration with the aim of improving the group's delays in education and labor participation. Until the late 1990s, Dutch society could be characterized as an open-minded multicultural society: the two aspects of ethnocentrism, group support (nationalism) and the negative attitude towards the external group, they were not yet strongly subscribed and the right-wing policy was unpopular». (Grondelaers, vanGent, van Hout, 2015)

After the 9/11 fact a consistent part of the population began to see the muslim population in a negative way,

This is when Wilhelms Simon Petrus (Pim) Fortuyn began to criticized the Islamic religion and argued that Islamization is taking place in Dutch society. In August 2001, the Rotterdams Dagblad quoted him as, among other things, as follows:

"Ik ben ook voor een 'koude oorlog' met de islam. De islam zie ik als een buitengewone bedreiging, als een ons vijandige samenleving."

"I am also in favor of a 'cold war' with Islam. I see Islam as an extraordinary threat, as a society that is hostile to us."

Various organizations filed a complaint against him on the basis of Dutch anti-discrimination laws because of this ruling. Perhaps because Muslims felt put away as a group, there was a feeling of solidarity among boys with a Muslim background during that period. This was expressed, among other things, in language. To show that you are in solidarity with your friends who are 'multicultural', many young people started using a Moroccan accent. Also by young people who did not have a Moroccan background, but did feel Muslim or felt solidarity with the group. In addition, speaking with a Moroccan accent had a tough look. Many native Dutch youths also started using it.

Some of the main features of MFD are also to be found in Citétaal, like for example the absence of neuter nominal gender markers: Dutchmen of and Moroccan descent typically use the common instead of the neuter article, as in *de woord* "the word" (non-standard) instead of *het woord* "the word" (standard). (Grondelaers, vanGent,

van Hout, 2015).

Therefore we can't see MFD as an isolated case, if we take in consideration that the Limburg region is near the Low Lands, where MFD is used.

Another Moroccan flavoured variety of Dutch was popular around the turn of the millennium. It was called "Murks". Murks and standard Dutch differ mainly in pronunciation and intonation, to a lesser extent in grammar and only slightly in vocabulary. Some important characteristics in terms of pronunciation (which are therefore not necessarily used to the same extent by all speakers) are:

- Pronouncing the [s] in *sch* as a voiceless postalveolar fricative ([š], the *sj* in "scarf")
- *Shoe* is therefore pronounced as [šxun].
- Pronouncing the tje sound (for example in "you know") as a voiceless postalveolar affricate ([tʃ], the *tj* in "tja"),
- A harder and sharper g and s than in standard Dutch,
- A rolling r,
- A very vibrating person [z],
- Pronouncing /ei/ as /ij/ as /ai/ or also as /ee/ (blee instead of bij).

striking feature in terms of intonation is the stroke at the beginning of a sentence. Speakers often start with an exclamation such as "Ah" or "Tezz" and raise their voices about an octave. In the rest of the sentence, the voice also goes up in places where this is unusual in standard Dutch. On a grammatical level, Murks speakers deliberately make mistakes that Dutch learners regularly make, such as excessive use of the verb "to go" or the use of incorrect articles or no articles at all, "Geef me hand", "Ik moet naar moskee" (Give me hand, I have to go to mosque). (Nortier 2007)

The vocabulary of Murks is more or less that of standard Dutch. However, some well-known street language words are also used. These can be words from minority languages spoken in the Netherlands, such as *tezz* ("shit") and *wolla* ("I swear it") from Arabic, but it should not.

In conclusion, it can therefore be said that Murks is an imitation of people who do not have a good command of Dutch. In Utrecht, where Murks is the most studied, these people are mostly Moroccans, a group that youngsters who speak Murks often

cannot distinguish from Turkish. In other parts of the Netherlands there are other forms of Murks (not always known by that name) that target other groups, such as the Surinamese. (Nortier, 2003)

§ 4

THE SURVEY

The survey took place in March 2019 in the region Limburg, more specifically in the small cité of Houthalen-Helchteren, in the Don Bosco Technical Institute, where teenagers between thirteen and sixteen years old have been interviewed.

The survey was carried out with a questionnaire containing first of all questions about the place of birth of the students and the birthplace of the parents, discovering that most of the students were born in Limburg but were of Turkish origin. This data can be a key point for the entire research, focused on the perception of Citétaal but also on its evolution, and since it has already undergone a change by eliminating terms and adding new ones, there is the possibility that this event will take place. is still repeated.

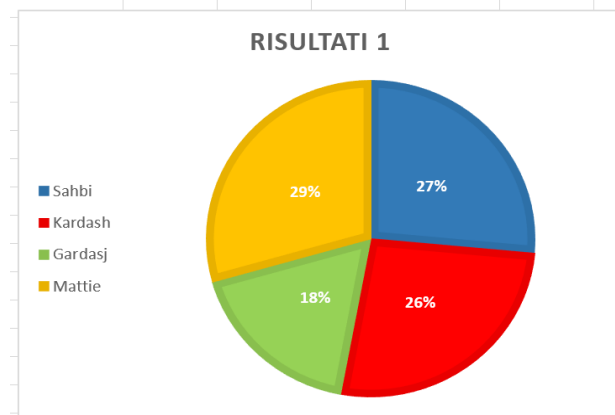
Students' birthplace	
Hasselt	15
Heusden-Zolder	7
Genk	2
Jordanie	1
Vilvoorde	1
Den Haaj	1
Zonhoven	1
Vommel	1
Turkije	1
België	1

Mother's birthplace	
Turkije	12
Hasselt	7
Heusden-Zolder	2
Genk	2
Italië	2
Marokko	2
Leopoldsburg	1
Vilvoorde	1
Jordanie	1
België	1

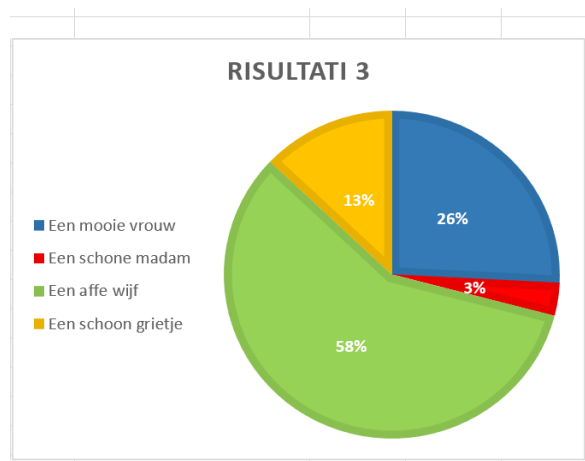
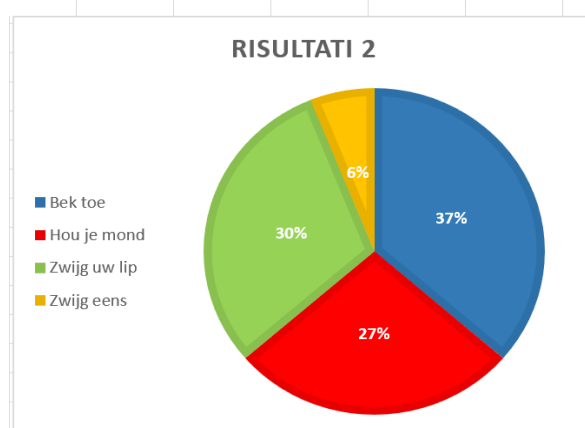
Father's birthplace	
Turkije	12
Hasselt	4
België	3
Marokko	3
Heusden-Zolder	2
Hommel	1
Limburg	1
Italië	1
Syrië	1
Buizingen	1
Zonhoven	1
No contact with father	1

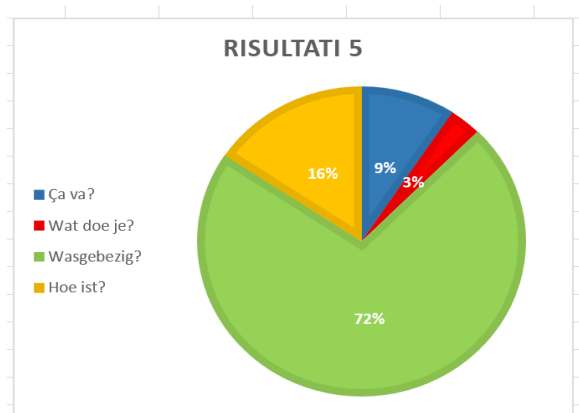
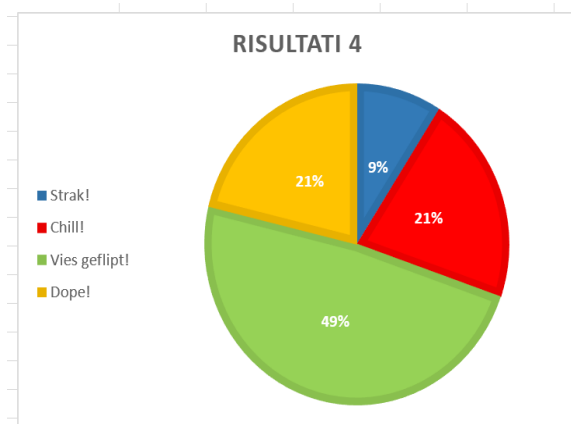
In a first section of the questionnaire there are a number of terms coming from Citétaal, from the Standard Language, dialects or other variations such as Tussentaal, that is "middle language", as it is placed between the dialects and the Standard Dutch. Typical of the tussentaal is the use of diminutives (with suffix - (s) ke), or the abbreviated pronunciation of some words ('nen auto instead of een auto). Respondents must report all the terms belonging to Citétaal. The most interesting item turned out to be in the first block of terms: Shabi, Gardasj, Kardash and Mattie.

There is no uniformity in the answers, in fact despite the correct answer is Gardasj, a term that derives from the Arabic Kardash, most of the young people opted for this last term perhaps because of the cultural background.



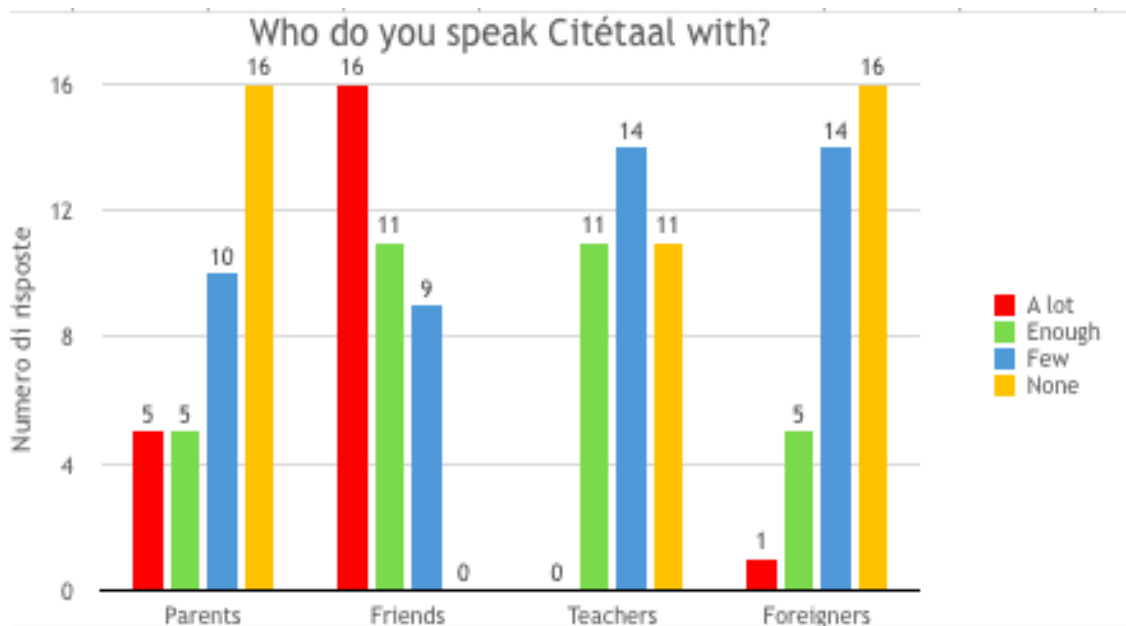
Many of the students interviewed have in fact shown to have Turkish origins and this has greatly influenced the results of the investigations, centered on words derived in fact from Arabic.





The second part of the questionnaire focuses on the use of Citétaal in various contexts. Respondents are asked if they use it with parents, teachers, friends and strangers.

Obviously it is spoken mainly among young people, and this is connected with some typical aspects of subcultures mentioned in the previous chapter, but there are many positive responses also for parents and teachers. It can therefore be said that the citétaal is above a slang, spoken by young people belonging to a group that aims at the exclusion of strangers. Just think of slang languages such as Argot and Verlan, born out of the need not to be understood and initially spoken by criminal gangs. In this case Citétaal does not aim at exclusion, but the teachers, often with poor results, try to curb the use of it to get the youngsters used to the standard spoken language.



For secondary school teachers, it is sometimes a big mystery what their students mean. Schools in former mining cities struggle with the language of the students. Should they forbid Citétaal, allow it, or something in between? Youngsters who do not learn when they need to speak which language run the risk of never getting to work. «Employers generally do not want staff who speak street language», observes Iliass El Hadioui, academic lecturer at Erasmus University Rotterdam, specialized in street and school culture.

The students must learn that they can speak well with their friends in their own language, but that ABN¹³ is really the only option in other situations, such as during job interviews.

Pupils in rural areas constantly hear mixed language. "By going out or by friends who live somewhere else, the youth language spreads fairly easily," El Hadioui affirms. Somehow it is great that students can speak several languages.

Teachers are generally against the use of Citétaal in their classes¹⁴, they are strict with those who use it, even if they often receive answers in this youth language that, given the continuous evolutions it undergoes, even they do not always understand. (Visani Bianchini, in corso di pubblicazione)

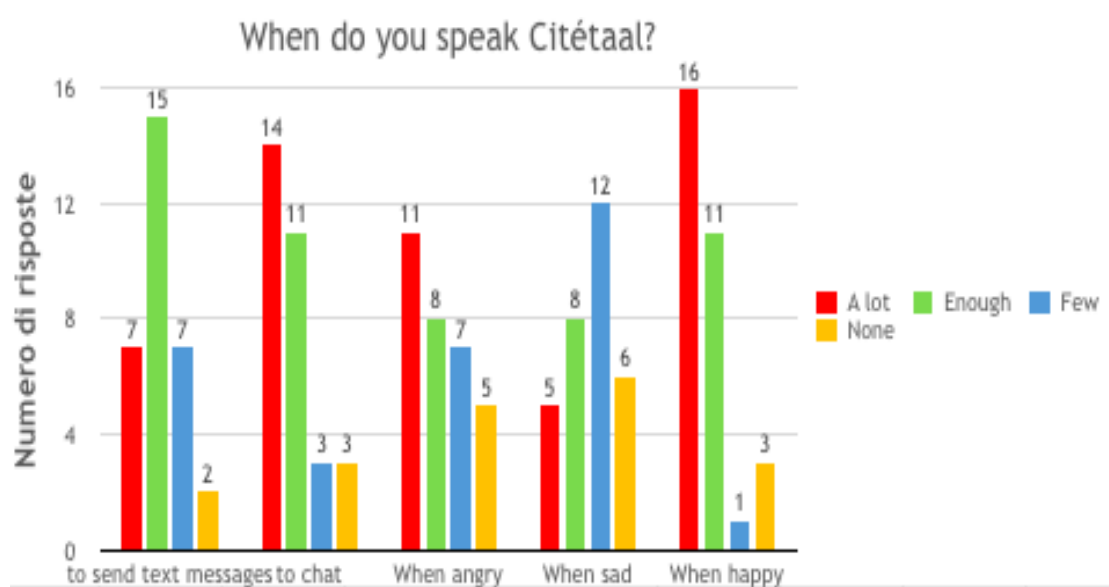
The same can be said about Ward Ramaekers' vocabulary, that is not so used

¹³ Algemeen Beschaaft Nederlands, Standard Dutch.

¹⁴ I had the opportunity to talk with them

anymore, except for words mainly related to the Italian language, but in this survey people have a Turkish origin and have therefore incorporated many words of Turkish origin, and it is exactly for this reason students tend to confuse the terms *kardash* and *gardasj*.

Further study is to be found in its oral and written use. The steenkoolcités of the mines were used only in oral form, communication in written form was not necessary as a rapid language and the only means of transmitting information during work underground. The same cannot be said of the modern Citétaal, which is also widespread in writing, to communicate via SMS or to chat online with other people. This means that the socioletto is far from being in a waning phase, indeed it has spread like wildfire in writing and on social media like Twitter, Facebook and Instagram. Shifting attention to its oral use, it can be seen that there are more appropriate contexts, such as carefree moments where jargon is used for exclamations and exultations, but also in contexts of anger, where there is probably a heated debate between two or more people the citétaal seems to be employed with abundance. On the contrary, the use of the standard language is chosen in moments of sadness, and this fact can be linked to the phenomenon of machismo outlined above. There is a tendency to show one's superiority in contexts in which it is questioned, but in a more delicate and emotional moment there is no need for youthful slang but a standard Dutch slang.



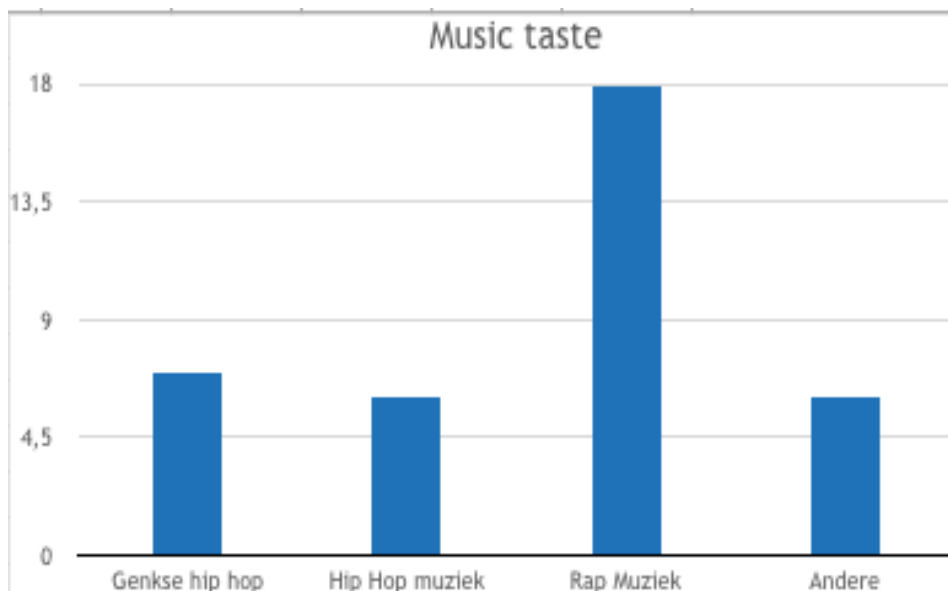
Citétaal is used to send text messages and to chat, and is used above all in a playful

and derisive way or in moments of anger, less so in moments of sadness or to complain about some facts; probably the seriousness of this context prefers a standard language understandable to any audience.

The Houthalen-Helchteren area is in a slightly secluded position compared to Genk, the main cité where this linguistic variation is spoken, in the north of Belgian Limburg. In addition to being the beating heart of this small company, Genk is also the cradle of rappers such as Onze zaak, Tiewai and Don Luca, singers who distinguish themselves from the rest of their genre precisely because of the use they make of Citétaal in their texts.

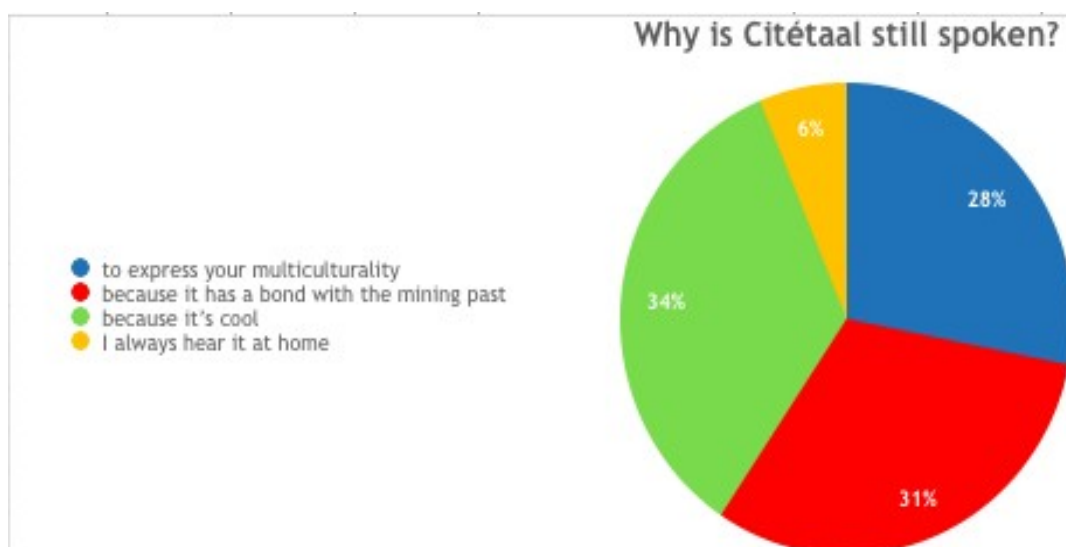
Houthalen-Helchteren may be distant from Genk but from the study of the data even in this area a great interest emerges for these singers. This means that the boys are in contact with the citétaal during most of their school activities, in their free time with friends but also by doing activities like listening to music. In addition to the interest in Genkse Hip Hop, preferences focus on rap, which in neo-Dutch-speaking areas is a rap especially from Amsterdam, a place where many other linguistic variations develop. It is worth mentioning the straattaal and a variation more than anything else phonetic, the Moroccan Flavored Dutch (MFD). In the study Nortier - Dorlijn it is clear that the MFD is appreciated by rappers, gangsters and hiphopper, also in the school environment and in other meeting places for young people (Nortier, Dorlijn 2008).

The possible contact between Houthalen and the MFD may be a hypothesis to explain Turkish influences, in fact this phonetic process involves an "ethnic" accent characteristic of languages such as Berber and Moroccan (Grondelaers, van Gent, van Hout, 2015).



«PTR, Dj Baze en I.K.K.E besluiten de krachten te bundelen en Onze Zaak op te richten. Eerlijke raps, rauwe beats en een dosis zelfvertrouwen vormen de ideale cocktail om tot op de dag van vandaag relevante tracks te droppen. Ondertussen vervoegden Youssef en Roach hun rangen. 2019, nog steeds hier, en we gaan voorlopig nergens naartoe». (Onze Zaak op Spotify)

«PTR, Dj Baze and I.K.K.E decide to join forces and to set up Onze Zaak. Fair raps, raw beats and a dose of confidence are the ideal cocktail to drop relevant tracks to this day. Meanwhile, Youssef and Roach joined their ranks. 2019, still here, and we're not going anywhere for now.»



A final issue of relevance is the reason that pushes young people, and not only them, to talk this sociolect today. Of the four possible answers (that is: I use it because it is fun; I use it to convey my multicultural identity; I use it because it is linked to living in mining towns; I use it because I always hear it at home) undoubtedly it is important to underline the use made between young people, but the data shows that the main reasons that link young people to Citétaal are precisely the multicultural character connected to their background, and this attests to the fact that there are many terms belonging to some of the Semitic languages, and the bond it has with the cité in which they live. This demonstrates the awareness of the mining past, a past that remains alive in the memory of citizens, even the youngest, and it is possible that this is one of the reasons why this jargon has not been lost yet. This does not attest an expansion but rather a maintenance of language for now, indeed it does not seem to be contemplated the expansion in other areas outside of Limburg (March, 2009).

A small parenthesis should be made for the answer concerning family use; 6% claim to have heard about this linguistic variation at home, proving with even more certainty that the terms "youth language" and "slang" are not suitable and do not describe in full Citétaal, on the contrary it attests that the terms have been conveyed from generation to generation. A similar study was conducted by René Appel. (Appel 1999, Appel et al., 2005) In his research on Straattaal the answers to the question "why is Straattaal spoken?" were: 1. it is spoken because it is fun and 2. I speak it because my friends do it too. In the present study the answers are similar, but Citétaal is linked to the mining past and those who use it are aware of it, and it is also used because it expresses multiculturalism. Identity is an important issue in this case, young people don't seem to forget what their past is. Today's sociologists define identities as descriptions constructed socially by individuals, reflected in their clothing, gestures, actions and language (Block 2007). Individuals form an identity in the presence of other people. This specific group has in common, to varying degrees, religion, motives, values, activities, and experiences. Block is convinced that identity is really a negotiation of new positions of the subject at the crossroads of past, present and future. He argues that individuals are formed by their socio-history and that they continue to complement each other during their lifetime.

There are unjust power relations in the field of economics as well as in culture and social life, which on the one hand facilitate and on the other hand restrict interactions with others in the different 'communities of practice' (Harris 2008) with which people engage during their life. Finally, it is possible to link identities to different traditional demographic categories such as ethnicity, race, migration, gender, social class, and language. (Block 2007)

According to Rampton (1990), ethnolinguistic identity consists of three kinds of relations with this type of communication, that is, *linguistic expertise*, *linguistic affiliation*, and *linguistic heritage*. He explains that the notion of *expertise* represents the extent to which a person can speak a language, a dialect or a sociolect, that is to say, if he/she knows how to speak in such a way that it is accepted by other users of the language, dialect or sociolect in question. *Affiliation* describes the attitudes of the individual with respect to and affective connection with a language, dialect or sociolect. In fact, it is the degree to which a person identifies with a particular form of communication. Finally, *linguistic heritage* is about being born into a family or community that is associated with a language or dialect. It is nevertheless important to know that this concept of heritage has no influence on linguistic expertise. As with other types of identity, language identity can change significantly throughout a person's life. One can be born in a linguistic community - a question of heritage and possibly expertise - but later in life one can develop a strong affiliation with and a lot of expertise in the field of another linguistic community. At this point, the question is whether adolescents in our target group are trapped between two cultures. In her book "New Ethnicities and Language Use", Roxy Harris (2006) studied the children and grandchildren of immigrants from South Asia to England and does not accept the binary argument of Stuart Hall (1992). They both argue that these youngsters are "hybridity cultures". They are subcultures that live in a certain culture, but at the same time undergo external influences that remind them of their origins.

Hybrid cultures develop a kind of hybrid identity that adapts as the changing context evolves, but which always remains hybrid. Bhabha (1994) describes the term hybrid identity as follows: «A hybrid identity is an identity that is neither one nor the other, retaining the appearance of each yet ambiguously in-between».

4.1 Frequent expressions

- *Wa make, af, geflipt*: these are three words already known in the Ramaekers vocabulary, probably the most used by young people even in the areas of Genk, they are terms that cannot be left untouched by the influences that the sociolect suffers, moreover all these three terms are used in the songs of the rapper singers .

- Curses related to diseases/cancers (*Zwijg uw kanker bek, vies handicap*): as indeed the majority of Belgian dialects use, therefore there can be an encounter between the dialect of the various Flemish areas with this sociolect that is now open to any influence, not just the Turkish one. Investigating disease related curses and insults has also been taboo for a long time, only recently have all kinds of books appeared about it, so a comparative, systematic investigation into the origin of this habit has never actually taken place. In addition research sources are probably more accessible nowadays, historical dictionaries and old texts are increasingly available digitally, making it much easier to search them. According to Reinhold Aman, the publisher of *Maledicta*, a scholarly journal dedicated entirely to the study of offensive language, the Dutch preference for disease related cursing might come from Yiddish, one of the few languages that also refers to illnesses, and the fact that so many Jews have always lived in the Netherlands may explain why those curses were translated from Yiddish. According to *Het groot Nederlands Vloekboek*¹⁵ at the number of injuries per disease found out that *kanker* (cancer) is undisputed at the top, followed by *koorts, pest, colère, pleuris en pokken* (fever, pest, cholera, pleuris, smallpox). This is followed by the large platoon, led by all kinds of disorders of body parts, followed by smaller groups and -all the way at the end- a long procession of loners.

Some examples are:

Krijg de aids: Get aids.

Krijg alles: this means *get the most terrible diseases*.

Krijg de beris: It's not clear what one wishes for someone with this curse. This wish was first found in 1935, in the work of Rotterdam writer Willem van Iependaal. A

15 "The big Dutch curse book"

Bargoens¹⁶ word book from 1937 gives the form *get* the reprimand. Later sources also write *beres* and *berus*. Various explanations have been given for the origin. For example, it is seen as a corruption of *pleuris*, of the tropical disease *beriberi* and of the Yiddish *berem haemile*, "circumcision." But none of these statements is really convincing.

Krijg de broekhoest: *Broekhoest* (literally *coughing pants*) is a humorously intended name for 'wind, fart'. In the *Grote Van Dale*¹⁷ (1992) it is characterized as regional, but it has long since penetrated the general language.

- Turkish words: linked to the origins of the students, the most repeated words in the survey are *Shabi*, *Gardash*, *Gerzek*.

- *Ga kakken*: Italian calque that persists in the Houthalen area, although Italian immigrants are only a small minority.

4.2 Comparison with Rene Appel's research

Rene Appel did a similar research as the one here described, but concerning *Straattaal*, the street language in Amsterdam.

Straattaal is a kind of register, spoken by young people and probably also in other multi-ethnic, multilingual cities in the Netherlands. It seems to be comparable to other monolingual forms of youth language with respect to its function. 133 students in three different schools for secondary education filled out a written questionnaire on *Straattaal*. This instrument is not really appropriate for a typically spoken, informal variety, but it offered the opportunity to collect data from a large group of respondents. The data were supplemented with information from a few informal interviews and with information from newspaper articles and television programmes on street language. 98 of the 133 students said that they used street language, boys rather more so than girls, a trend also observed in research on this subject in other countries. Especially children with Surinamese as their home language (in most cases

¹⁶ Bargoens is a form of Dutch slang

¹⁷ A Dictionary

next to Dutch) spoke Straattaal. Students with a relatively low proficiency in Dutch (probably recently arrived) often reported that they did speak it. This was also the case with students who claimed to have a good proficiency in one of the following minority languages: Turkish, Moroccan-Arabic and Tamazight. Straattaal is (of course) most frequently used in the streets, and also at school in informal interactions between students. It is used because it is funny, cool and because friends use it too. The respondents were also asked to give (no more than) eight examples of words or expressions in street language (with a translation in Dutch). They provided 468 words or expressions (tokens) in total. The total number of different forms (types) was 151. Most of the words and expressions came from Surinamese.

By the way, Surinamese actually is Sranantongo, the language that almost everyone in Suriname speaks. You can see the great influence of Surinamese in youth language mainly in the use of powerful words that are often used in a modified meaning. De Rooij states:

«Almost every young person knows words like faja, lau or nakken (a Dutchization of naki). This is partly due to the canonical word structure (consonant-vowel-consonant-vowel) in Surinamese. This transparent simple structure makes Surinamese words sound good and can be learned easily¹⁸».

Furthermore, there were words from English, *mi e wroko* (me are working), *yu ben e wroko* (you have been working) (Van Kempen, 1995), and only a few words from other languages like Turkish and Moroccan-Arabic. Also some new Dutch words in the register of youth language were provided. Street language seems to contain quite a lot of more or less standard verbal routines. For outsiders the language sometimes seems to be sexually aggressive. Speakers of youth language claim that this aggressiveness is softened by the use of words and expressions from other languages. (Appel 1999, Appel et al., 2005)

As already mentioned, Renè Appel in his research on Straattaal analyzed the answers to the question "why is Straattaal spoken?"

¹⁸ Vincent de Rooij for Kennislink.
schaadt-imago-suriname/

<https://www.nemokennislink.nl/publicaties/straattaal->

In the present study the answers are similar, but in Citétaal survey, the language is linked to the mining past, so it is linked to life in the cité, and is also used because it expresses multiculturalism.

Straattaal was not used even half of the times at home compared to the use at school and on the streets in the research conducted by René Appel, differently, Citétaal appears to be spoken at home, some have stated they always heard it at home even before hearing it from friends, this is probably also a symptom of a greater openness of the sociolect not only among young people at school and on the streets, but also among adults. Citétaal is spoken by a wider range of people, making this slang lingering from generation to generation.

Although individuals feel the need to form groups that are linguistically connected in order to identify themselves and to become aware of their presence among others, almost all of the youngsters in René Appel's survey claim that when they become adults they will no longer use Straattaal because it is connected to the group they belong to at this particular moment in their lives, and this is also one of the major differences with Citétaal.

To conclude it can be stated that Citétaal is still spoken, it is widespread, known by the majority of the population in Limburg and feared by teachers, but now it is no longer what Ward Ramaekers describes, that is words related to mining activities, but it is a sociolect with many contacts related to migration and also internal contacts to the country itself. The sociological study of subcultures shows how Citétaal is a language destined to frequent changes over time due to contacts with new migrations, but will nevertheless be maintained thanks to youngsters who use it and want to distinguish themselves, with a particular clothing such as that of the Genkse Shtijl brand that sells sweaters with typical Citétaal lettering, or with the music they listen to, like rappers from Genk who are still quite listened to.

However, it must be mentioned that in the main cities of the western part of the Netherlands, MFD is being spoken. This accent is used mainly by youngsters in specific group situations. It is slightly different from the accent used by first-generation adult students with Dutch as a second language with a Moroccan background.

The use of MFD (Moroccan Flavored Dutch) can not be seen as an isolated phenomenon, but in association with other subcultures: it is a language used by people who dress and listen to music of a certain type to stand out. In the Nortier-Dorlijn research it is clear that this language is not particularly popular with those who listen to metal music and instead is widely appreciated by rappers, gansters and hipopper. MFD is frequently used in schools, which is a logical consequence of the fact that schools are places where adolescents meet (Nortier, Dorlijn 2008). Perhaps Houthalen, close to the Dutch border, has experienced changes linked to the MFD, although it is more likely that the cité simply underwent changes from contacts with Turkey and Morocco.

Finally, Citétaal is a jargon language, but it cannot be defined as a simple slang used by young people, because despite the variations it may undergo, it is still spoken from generation to generation.

However, although it may seem in vogue, nowadays the possibility that the language may expand outside Limburg is to be considered rather low. Thinking of it in short term, it will probably not be used by young people from other provinces, even if it is not certain. The problem lies in understandability, which is limited outside Limburg, but still has long-term potential.

§ 5

FURTHER STUDIES

5.1 How will this sociolect evolve?

«Tien jaar geleden was de Citétaal waarschijnlijk veel stabiel. Nu wordt ze door een grotere en meer verscheiden groep gebruikt en zal ze sneller veranderen. Misschien krijg je in de toekomst twee soorten Citétaal. Eentje waarmee je naar buiten komt. Die variant zal minder hermetisch zijn. Een tweede variant zal binnen de kleine kring van vrienden blijven bestaan. Die blijft een beetje meer een geheimtaal. Maar je kunt dat natuurlijk nooit met zekerheid voorspellen, misschien is de invloed of verspreidingskracht van YouTube bijvoorbeeld groter dan ik op dit moment inschat. Taal weerspiegelt altijd wat leeft in de maatschappij. ongeren nemen de Citétaal over zonder dat ze zich echt bewust zijn van de gekleurde origine van de taal. Op die manier is de Citétaal een mooie uiting van de veranderde realiteit van de multiculturele maatschappij» (Marzo for Taalschrift)

«Ten years ago, the Citétaal was probably much more stable. Now it is being used by a larger and more diverse group and will change faster. Maybe you will get two types of Citétaal in the future. One with which you come out. That variant will be less hermetic. A second variant will continue to exist within the small circle of friends. It remains a bit more a secret language. But of course you can never predict that with certainty, perhaps the influence or spread of YouTube, for example, is greater than I currently estimate. Language always reflects what lives in society. Approximately, they take over the Cite language without being really aware of the colored origin of the language. In this way the Citétaal is a beautiful expression of the changed reality of the multicultural society »

Up to now, the vast majority of linguistic research into "youth language" has taken place on the basis of completed questionnaires by school pupils. Future ethnographic and linguistic research will have to show how and whether speakers use Citétaal in daily practice with people who belong to their own group or also beyond, such as adults, parents and teachers, and whether there is room in such contacts for

(re)negotiating negative stereotypes about "street language" and its speakers. Future research should also make clear how and whether speakers use these linguistic forms to distinguish themselves from others, and what meanings they convey. After all, individuals within a group behave, feel, think and appreciate themselves in interaction with others in a certain way. Citétaal is excellent for very diverse social "deliver messages". Its use among young people can express solidarity and belonging to a group, thus shaping a we versus them feeling. In addition, and even at the same time, its use can be employed against outsiders to shock or insult them to maximize the distance between their own group of "street language" speakers and outsiders.

5.2 Linguistic evolution from a poetic point of view

Ramsey Nasr, born in Rotterdam, in 1974 is a Dutch poet, writer, essayist, actor, director, librettist and translator of partly Palestinian descent. He was city poet of Antwerp and from January 2009 to January 2013 was the *Dichter des Vaderlands*¹⁹; in this position, Nasr also acted as ambassador for the Turing National Poetry Competition.

His poem "mi have een droom" is a movable monologue of a pure-bred Rotterdammer who is in love with a city that no longer exists - that never existed. He looks back with nostalgia at that time when happiness was still common. The melancholic talks in a completely changed Dutch, full of neologisms and full of street language derived from Arabic and Surinamese Srananongo. Words such as trobbi ('problems'), azizi ('love'), toestoes ('tits'), stitti ('city'), condoekoe ('conductor'), various expressions for 'making love' (pompi doppe, batsen, kieren), basis ('masterly') and tantoe ('awful'). In short, the Rotterdammer concludes: "deze land is niet meer wat ze was", (*dis* country is no longer what it was). The poem received a lot of media attention, and was even quoted last year at the Onze Taal congress by Princess Laurentien, as an example of the mobility of the language. The poem has somewhat become his credo, says Nasr. In what he writes as *Dichter des*

¹⁹ Poet of the Fatherland. It is an unofficial title for the Poet laureate of the Netherlands. The Poet of the Dutch poetry represents the spirit of the Dutch people and culture.

Vaderlands, he is looking for the meaning of two words: identity and freedom. Nasr wants to break through the myth of "the real Dutchman". And he likes to point to the flip side of our assertiveness and independence.

«Verbastering en onzuiverheid staan aan de basis van elke cultuur. Gaandeweg, door globalisering, door oorlog en door immigratie, gaan we ons afvragen wat onze identiteit ook alweer was. En het antwoord is dan vaak bedrieglijk eenvoudig: vroeger zouden wij een heel zuivere, eenvoudige identiteit hebben gehad. Nederlandse genen. Van vreem-de smetten vrij. Henk en Ingrid, in de woorden van Geert Wilders. Maar die genen zijn juist gevormd door het steeds toelaten van het vreemde. Vader-landers zijn per definitie onzuiver. Daar-om koos ik dat personage voor 'mi have een droom': een Rotterdammer die vol heimwee verlangt naar de tijd dat je nog echte Rotterdammers had die echt Rotterdams spraken. En die een xeno-foob discours afsteekt in een totaal ver-basterde taal. Deze man beseft niet dat zijn eigen taal – en daarmee hijzelf – volledig onzuiver is.» (Ramsey Nasr, *OnzeTaal* 2010)

«Corruption and impurity are at the basis of every culture. Gradually, through globalization, through war and through immigration, we start to wonder what our identity was again. And the answer is often deceptively simple: in the past we would have had a very pure, simple identity. Dutch genes. Free from stains. Henk and Ingrid, in the words of Geert Wilders. But those genes are precisely formed by always allowing the strange. Father landers are by definition impure. That is why I chose that character for "mi have a dream": a Rotterdam resident who longed for nostalgia for the time that you still had real Rotterdam residents who really spoke Rotterdam. And that compares a xeno-foob discourse in a totally bastardized language. This man does not realize that his own language - and therefore himself - is completely impure.»

Mi have een droom

Rotterdam, 2059

wullah, poetry poet, let mi takki you 1 ding: di trobbi hier is dit
ben van me eigen now zo 66 jari & skerieus ben geen racist, aber
alle josti op een stokki, uptodate, wats deze shit? ik zeg maar zo
mi was nog maar een breezer als mi moeder zij zo zei: “azizi
doe gewoon jij, doe je gekke shit genoeg, wees beleefd, maak geen tsjoeri
toon props voor je brada, zeg ‘wazzup meneer’, ‘fawaka’ – en duh
beetje kijken op di smatjes met ze toetoes is no trobbi
beetje masten, beetje klaren & kabonkadonk is toppi
aber geef di goeie voorbeeld, prik di chickies met 2 woorden”
zo deed mi moeder takki toen & boem tranga! kijk, hier staat ik
hand in hand, harde kaas, api trots op di belanda, niet dan?
now dan, want mi lobi roffadam & deze stitti is mi spanga
ja joh, tantoe bigfoot long ago, toen was geluk gewoon da shit
wij rampeneerden & met mate, heel di hoed was 1 famiri
weinig doekoe, aber boieeee: keek me gaan, keek me lopen
met me broekoe, keek me clippen met me ketting, wullah
mi was di grote otochtone condoekoe van vele boezoemies
op leip lauwe pattaas kwam ik vet binnensteppen van pompi doppe
loperdelopi door di stad, dat met ze gebouwen botertje bats
aan di bigtime poenani-master ze voets lag
& keek ze now leggen:
moeilijk lekker roffadam, met ze amperbroeki an, heet & klaar
in spleetlauwe stegies & zij zo: “kom kill, wandel dan, moeni worri

tab je lippi, play mi down op plattegrond, breek mi billen, gimmi bossi”
& bakoekoe jawohl, daar gingen wi dan, mi & di stitti, kierend
van mond tot mond – mi schudde di doesji, zi schudde mi hard
terug & lang & op & down tot binnen in ons (oh blueberry yam yam)
di zon lijk een smeltende bal naar omhoog kwam: knetter & glowy
opende zich di stitti ze eigen, rees op & kwam roze rondom mi te leggen
dát was roffadam: wi wandelden strak & di regen was gone
zo ging dat dan, in di goeie ouwe klok van glim & gouwe tiffies
aber now wullah, now dat ik old & bijna didi, now zit ik hier
game over te kniezen op me stoeroe, in een kapot veranderde stitti
word ik remi da rimpel, weke pampa achter glas & ik zweer je gast
deze land is niet meer wat ze was – sjoef dan habibi, sjoef door di ruiten
al di toelies, al di tuigkoppen uit di tegenwoordige tijd, oyooo
di playen biggi pompoe pompoe, aber komen niet van hiro & di zuigt maar
& di praat maar habbi dabbi & di doet maar takki takki poep & ik zeg you
di bokitoos hebben geen props of respect, di hebben da dockz in da fitti gezet
dus poetry poet, kijk me ogen, luister me oren, want hier is mi torri
hardcore & luid: mi have een droom, vol is vol, belanda boven
sluiten di shit & alles wordt wider basis controller, luchtdicht lijk da weerga
terug naar di wortel – vóór alle stitties zwaar paraloezoe & dikke ruina
ja mi have een droom, dat me matties & ik ooit di zon wider clearly
omlagi zien komen, groter & groter, om dan benoekoe vaarlijk & slow
hier boven di straties, di cribs & di homies van roffadam nider te dalen
lijk een warme babeloeba in me gezicht – mi have een droom vandaag
lang bewaard & opgezwollen, dat heel di stitti wider lijk vroeger

over mi komt & mi wegpakt, in ze wreed tedere vel van di nacht
& vroeger nog, toen di dag nog niet dwars door mi heen kwam gewaaid
lijk gruis in me wijdopen hart – tantoe vroeger, daar have ik een droom
blakka-zwart & wit lijk snow, want daar bleef alles lijk het was
daar zijn da pieps nog keurig & strak – mi have een droom van brekend glas
ik droom achteruit, van een stittie die stilstaat & thuis op mi wacht

Mi have een droom is one of Nasr's poems for the fatherland. It was written at the request of the Architecture Biennale in Rotterdam. The poem is a melting pot of languages, it is rhythmic, musical and it has a message: it shows how the city sounds in 2059, so it's a prediction of Rotterdam's street language, a melting pot of English, Surinamese and Arabic lexicon.

«dus poetry poet, kijk me ogen, luister me oren, want hier is mi torri/hardcore & luid:
mi have een droom»

How open or closed are the shutters of Dutch poetry? With a *Dichter des Vaderlands*, with city poets in almost all major cities, poetry seems more engaged than ever.

Engaged poetry invites the reader to reflect and take sides in the cause advocated by it. It generally supports a political, cultural, moral, social or even religious cause. All poetry needs the author's commitment in the conquest of a language specific to each poet, so it is really considered a socially engaged poetry when the poet gives his opinion through his text on a subject that he assumes to be important.

The committed poetry, which can not be dissociated from a certain endangerment of its author, can assume many functions: it serves to reveal the reality, to convince men to join a cause or to warn against forgetting. In the latter case, the aspect of the testimony is probably essential, and it is also the work on memory (individual and collective) that comes into play. He articulates a typical "old men's" discourse, which stems from the wry realization that the best years are behind him. The protagonist does not focus on the future, from which little good can be expected, but glorifies the past when happiness was still common. The situation is clear to the poet: too many

people from outside Rotterdam (*niet van hiro*) are damaging the appearance of the city. In addition, his thoughts involuntarily go back to the time when he was still a *breezer*. In the vocabulary of the street language, this term refers to teenagers aged fifteen or sixteen. For the readers of "mi have een droom" this is an important signal. Speaking from the future of the year 2059, the poet refers to his own puberty. He goes exactly fifty years back in time, so back to the year 2009 and thus back to the present of the reader.

What is also present is the concept of what language is capable of, what the shape of a language is, what it can become.

For example *leip lauwe pattaas* (very cool shoes) is a loan translation from the english word *cool*, which means *wonderful*, *sensational*, but also *cold*, has been translated with *lauw*, which, in point of fact, means *cold* in Dutch.

Ramsey Nasr uses a language that doesn't exist, but probably will, maybe it will evolve differently but this is more or less how the evolution of a sociolect works. Citétaal acts the same way, going from a minerary vocabulary, to a more Italian-centered one and lastly, concerning the Houthalen area, a more Turkish vocabulary, mixed also with phonitic variations and flemish dialects.

§ CONCLUSION

Citétaal is widely spoken in the Limburgish area, and the main influences it went through are the Flemish dialects, that may have interfered with curses related to cancers, Moroccan Flavoured Dutch and clearly the Turkish vocabulary that students have heard at home and has become part of this *new* Citétaal. The sociological study of subcultures shows how Citétaal is a language destined to frequent changes over time due to contacts with new migrations, but will nevertheless be maintained thanks to youngsters who use it and want to distinguish themselves, with a particular clothing, or with the music they listen to, like rappers from Genk who are still quite famous.

In general it can be stated that Citétaal is still known by the majority of the population in Limburg and is a menace for teachers that try to avoid its use in class, but now, this sociolect, is no longer what it was in the beginning, with words related to mining activities, though it is a sociolect with many contacts related to migration but also internal contacts to the country itself. In fact the list of the most used terms shows a tendency in using Berber and Turkish words, as the survey shows almost 80% of the students have a Turkish background that encourages the addition of words such as *Kardash* and *Gerzek*. Turkish is not the only language affecting Citétaal's vocabulary, some of the most important Italian words, related to the Italian migrations during the post war period, are still trendy, even if Houthalen-Helchteren is distant from Genk, the cité where this jargon is used the most. This has to do with the fact that many rappers and hiphoppers in Genk use Citétaal in their texts, boost people to learn the language, to visit the mining areas and talk about the past those cities have gone through.

In the survey there is also a high presence of words and curses related to diseases, cancers in particular, like *zwijg uw kanker bek, vies handicap*. Disease related cursing might come from Yiddish, one of the few languages that also refers to illnesses, and the fact that so many Jews have always lived in the Netherlands may explain why those curses were translated from Yiddish.

Finally, Citétaal is a jargon language, but it cannot be defined as a simple slang used by young people, because despite the variations it may undergo, it is still spoken from generation to generation.

However, although it may seem in vogue, nowadays the possibility that the language may expand outside Limburg is to be considered rather low. Thinking of it in short term, it will probably not be used by young people from other provinces, even if it is not certain. The problem lies in understandability, which is limited outside Limburg, but still has long-term potential.

§
APPENDIX

Ward Ramaekers – Het algemeen cités woordenboek

Afgang maken: zich blameren, afgaan als een gieter.

Afleggen: laten af- of uitstappen, iemand op zijn of haar bestemming afzetten.

Andere keer: 1 volgende keer, straks, ooit; 2 nooit;

Ballen krijgen:ontstemd raken;

Ik krijg ballen van die jongen.

Begaaide:1 afstotelijk iemand; 2 iemand die geestelijk min of meer gestoord is.

Bordel maken:1 zich op een luidruchtige, lichtelijk aanstellerige manier gedragen; 2 ruziën; Als ik op school ben, ik maak altijd bordel.

Bot in de nek: verbastering van botta in testa, Italiaans voor `een slag voor het hoofd'.

Breek me de ballen niet: letterlijke vertaling van het Italiaanse non mi rompere le scatole of non mi rompere le palle

Cité: Frans voor `stadscentrum', verschoven naar `mijnarbeiderswijk', (bij uitbreiding) `arbeiderswijk in een voormalige mijngemeente of -stad'.

Cités: taal van (de bewoners van) een cité.

De van de:je van het, het beste van het beste.

Die andere: 1 uitdrukking die weergeeft dat iemand op een melige manier geestigs; 2 dat iemand onzin vertelt; 3 dat iets wat is of wordt gezegd, niet oké is, dat het belachelijk of bespottelijk is; A: Michael Jackson is de van de. B: Die andere.

Ei:1 hé; 2 hè.

Eieren maken, eiers maken: ergernis opwekken; Die jongen maakt me eieren.Flamoen: van Flamano,een verbastering van Fiammingo, Italiaans voor `Vlaams'; 1 Vlaming; 2 (geringschattend) boer.

Gaan: gaan naar; Gaan we Antwerpen?

Ga kakken: letterlijke vertaling van het Italiaanse va a cacare;1 uitdrukking die weergeeft dat iemands aanwezigheid niet (langer) gewenst is; 2 uitdrukking vanongeloof; Uw broer heeft een nieuwe BMW? Ga kakken.

Gianni[dzjannie]: 1 Italiaanse 'johnny' of 'johnny' met Italiaans bloed; 2 (bijuitbreiding) 'johnny' uit een cité.

Goeie: oké; A: Ik bel u nog. B: Goeie.

Goeie?: alles goed?

Hou uw lip, zwijg uw lip, zwijg uw mond: hou je mond.

Ik peer u ene: pas op of ik geef je een muilpeer.

Ik zweer u: letterlijke vertaling van ti giuro, Italiaans voor 'ik verzeker je'; uitdrukking van strijdbaarheid; ik meen het; Ik zweer u, die hippie, ik maak die dood.

Itak: naar analogie met polak, al of niet geringschattend; Italiaan, Italiaanse ofpersoon met Italiaans bloed; Polakken zijn flamoenen, itakken niet.

Kippenstijl: iets wat niet cool is, wat van geen stijl getuigt.

Kraken: 1 ontmaagden; 2 seks hebben met.

Laat staan: 1 laat zitten, geen dank; 2 niet ruziën, (bij uitbreiding) hou op.

Maken: passe-partoutwerkwoord; (onder meer) seks hebben met; Ik ga die meisjemaken.

Mi: afkorting van minchia (zie aldaar).

Minchia[mienkja]: Siciliaans voor 'lul'; 1 uitroep van ergernis; 2 van strijdbaarheid; 3 van verbazing; 4 van bewondering; Minchia, hebt ge die meisje gezien? Nigger: jongen, man, makker; Tony, nigger, goeie?

Paraculo: Italiaans voor gladjanus, verschoven naar 'homofiel'; Prince is een paraculo.

Patat: 1 iemand die zeer mooi is, aantrekkelijk, begeerlijk; 2 iets wat zeer mooi is, groot, snel, enz.; Een patat van een auto.

Scasement: 1 zeur, iemand die zich zeer actief toont op het gebied van scasseren (zie aldaar); 2 iets wat aanleiding geeft tot ergernis.

Scasseren: verbastering van scassare, Italiaans voor 'stukmaken'; 1 ergernisopwekken; 2 onzin vertellen; A: Ik ga trouwen. B: Scasseer niet. (Of: Scasseer me deeieren niet.)

Schijt omhoog: 1 loop naar de maan, 'fuck off'; 2 vertel geen onzin;

Scoperen: verbastering van scopare, Italiaans voor 'borstelen' en (bij uitbreiding) 'de liefde bedrijven met'. Sjik: 1 aangenaam; 2 mooi; Een dakspoiler. Sjik.

Stijl: mooi, cool; Diadora is stijler dan Adidas.

Stijl maken: stijl hebben.

Stijlmaker: 1 iemand die 'stijl maakt' (zie aldaar), die opvalt, die niet onopgemerkt voorbijgaat; 2 iemand die lichtelijk aanstellerig gedrag vertoont.

'Sto cazz [sjto kats]: afkorting van questo cazzo, Italiaans voor 'die lul'; 1 uitdrukking van ergernis; 2 uitdrukking die weergeeft dat iemand ergens geen zin in heeft, ergens niet mee instemt; 'vergeet het'; A: Leent ge me uw auto? B: 'Sto cazz.

Vaffanculo: afkorting van va a farlo in culo, Italiaans voor 'heb anale seks'; uitdrukking van ergernis, 'fuck you'.

Varia: 1 onwettige activiteiten; 2 werkloos zijn en al of niet op zoek zijn naar een baan; 3 1 en 2 tegelijk.

Wat een bordel: wat een toestand, wat een ellende.

Weet ge, zo: 1 uitdrukking die weergeeft dat hetgeen is of wordt gezegd, algemeenbekend is; 2 dat het vanzelfsprekend is; natuurlijk; A: Werkt ge? B: Weet ge, zo, varia.

We zien ons: letterlijke vertaling van het Italiaanse *ci vediamo*; tot ziens, dag, de groeten.

Zetten: passe-partoutwerkwoord; (onder meer) geven; Zet me een Big Mac. Zuiver: vertaling van claro, Spaans voor 'zeker, uiteraard'.

The survey

Enquête

Met deze vragenlijst ben ik van plan om enkele aspecten van de zogenaamde citétaal te onderzoeken. In welke context wordt de citétaal gebruikt? Welke emoties nemen de overhand wanneer men uit het “algemeen citès” uitdrukkingen haalt? Met wie spreken jongeren deze taal? Vrienden, leraren, ouders, of zelfs vreemden? De resultaten van het onderzoek zullen worden besproken tijdens een conferentie in Bologna volgend jaar en in mijn masterscriptie.

Geslacht: M , V

Leeftijd:

Geboorteplaats:

Geboorteplaats moeder:

Geboorteplaats vader:

12. Welke van deze uitdrukkingen zijn in citétaal? (meer juiste antwoorden)

Sahbi	Bek toe	Een mooie vrouw	Strak!	Ça va?
Kardash	Hou je mond	Een affe wijf	Chill!	Wasgebezig?
Mattie	Zwijg eens	Een schone madam	Vies geflipt!	Wat doe je?
Gardasj	Zwijg uw lip	Een schoon grietje	Dope!	Hoe ist?

1. Ken je de citétaal?

- Heel goed
- Voldoende
- Weinig
- Helemaal niet

2. Gebruik je de citétaal met je ouders?

- Heel veel
- Voldoende
- Weinig
- Helemaal niet

3. Gebruik je de citétaal met je vrienden?

- Heel veel
- Voldoende
- Weinig
- Helemaal niet

4. Gebruik je de citétaal met je leeraars?

- Heel veel
- Voldoende
- Weinig
- Helemaal niet

5. Gebruik je de citétaal met volwassen mensen die je niet kent?

- Heel veel
- Voldoende
- Weinig
- Helemaal niet

6. Gebruik je de citétaal om sms'jes te sturen?

- Heel veel
- Voldoende
- Weinig
- Helemaal niet

7. Gebruik je de citétaal op je computer? (om te chatten)

- Heel veel
- Voldoende
- Weinig
- Helemaal niet

8. Gebruik je de citétaal als je kwaad bent?

- Heel veel
- Voldoende
- Weinig
- Helemaal niet

9. Gebruik je de citétaal als je droevig bent? (cosa intendo)

- Heel veel
- Voldoende
- Weinig
- Helemaal niet

10. Gebruik je de citétaal als je blij bent?

- Heel veel
- Voldoende
- Weinig
- Helemaal niet

11. Luister je meestal naar:

Genkse hip hop (Don Luca, Onze zaak, Tiewai...)

- Hip hop muziek
- Rap muziek
- Andere. Welke?

12. Gebruik je citétaal het meeste:

- om je multiculturele identiteit uit te drukken
- omdat het verbonden is met je leven in de cité
- gewoon omdat het leuk is
- je hebt het altijd thuis horen praten dus je bent het gewoon

13. Wat denk je van citétaal?

- Niets interessants
- Tof
- Stoer
- Andere.....

14. Schrijf twee uitdrukkingen/woorden die je het meest leuk vind in citétaal

.....

.....

.....

The data

1)

Men	31
Women	0

Age	14	7
	15	18
	16	5
	17	1

2)

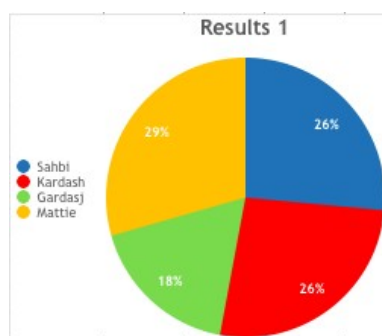
Students' birthplace	
Hasselt	15
Heusden-Zolder	7
Genk	2
Jordanie	1
Vilvoorde	1
Den Haag	1
Zonhoven	1
Vommel	1
Turkije	1
België	1

Mother's birthplace	
Turkije	12
Hasselt	7
Heusden-Zolder	2
Genk	2
Italië	2
Marokko	2
Leopoldsburg	1
Vilvoorde	1
Jordanie	1
België	1

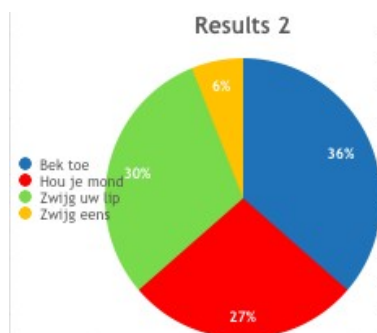
Father's birthplace	
Turkije	12
Hasselt	4
België	3
Marokko	3
Heusden-Zolder	2
Hommel	1
Limburg	1
Italië	1
Syrië	1
Buizingen	1
Zonhoven	1
No contact with father	1

3)

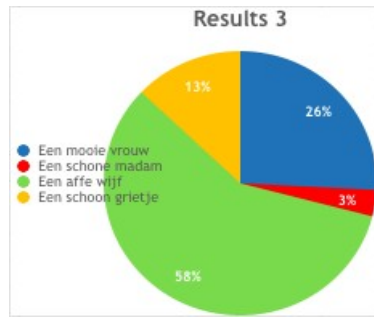
Sahbi	9
Kardash	9
Gardasj	6
Mattie	10



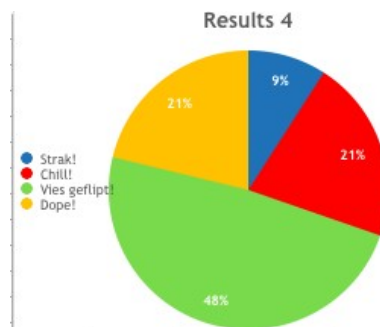
Bek toe	12
Hou je mond	9
Zwijg uw lip	10
Zwijg eens	2



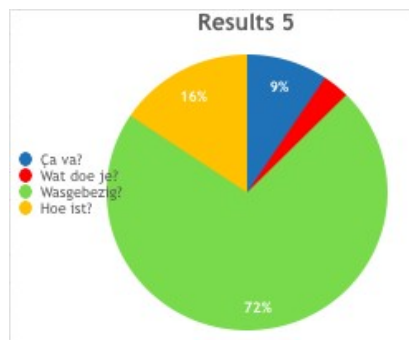
Een mooie vrouw	8
Een schone madam	1
Een affe wijf	18
Een schoon grietje	4



Strak!	3
Chill!	7
Vies geflipt!	16
Dope!	7

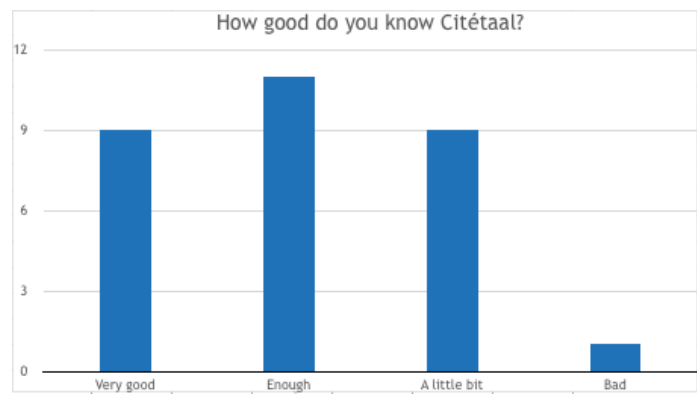


Ça va?	3
Wat doe je?	1
Wasgebezig?	23
Hoe ist?	5

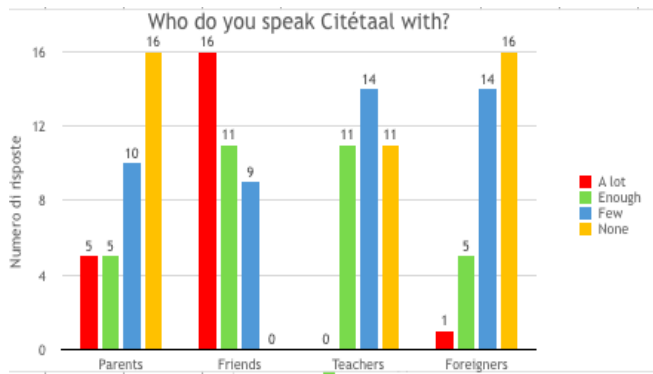


4)

Very good	9
Enough	11
A little bit	9
Bad	1



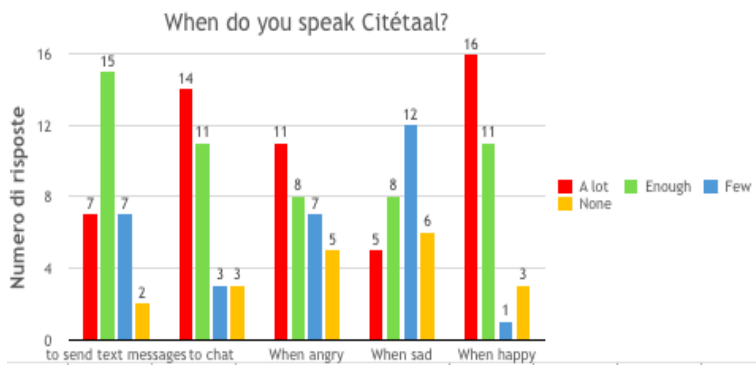
5)



	A lot	Enough	Few	None
Parents	5	5	10	16
Friends	16	11	9	0
Teachers	0	11	14	11
Foreigners	1	5	14	16

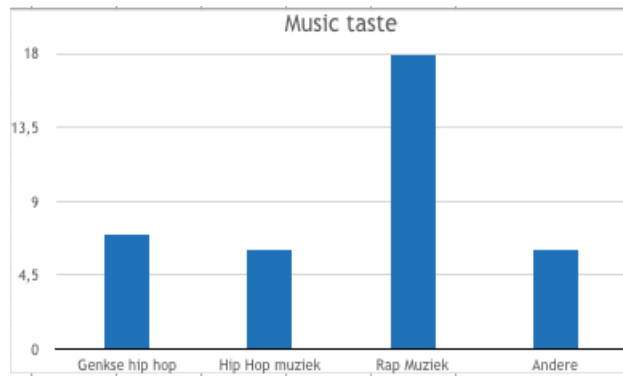
6)

	A lot	Enough	Few	None
to send text messages	7	15	7	2
to chat	14	11	3	3
When angry	11	8	7	5
When sad	5	8	12	6
When happy	16	11	1	3



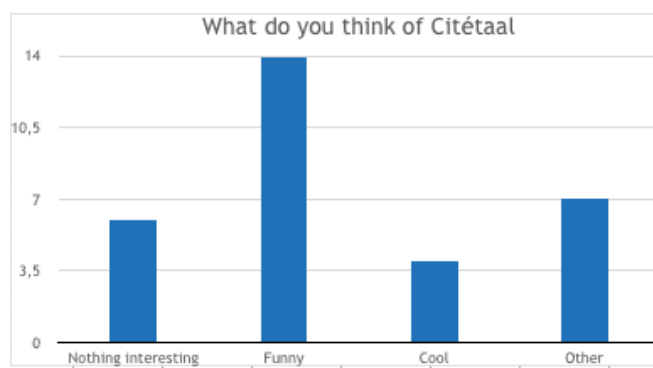
7)

Genkse hip hop				7
Hip Hop muziek				6
Rap Muziek				18
Andere				6



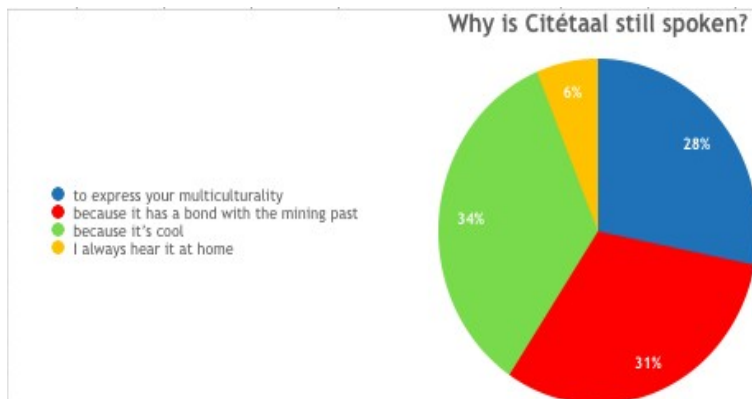
8)

Nothing interesting	6
Funny	14
Cool	4
Other	7



9)

to express your multiculturality			9
because it has a bond with the mining past			10
because it's cool			11
I always hear it at home			2



§

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