YOUNG MOROCCANS IN THE NETHERLANDS: AN INTEGRAL APPROACH TO THEIR LANGUAGE SITUATION AND ACQUISITION OF DUTCH

Jan Jaap de Ruiter

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Young Moroccans in the Netherlands: an integral approach to their language situation and acquisition of Dutch

Jonge Marokkanen in Nederland: een integrale benadering van hun taalsituatie en verwerving van het Nederlands

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

Proefschrift ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht op gezag van Rector Magnificus Prof.dr. J.A. van Ginkel ingevolge het besluit van het College van Dekanen in het openbaar te verdedigen op vrijdag 15 september 1989 des namiddags te 2.30 uur

door

Adrianus Cornelis Jacob de Ruiter

geboren op 3 augustus 1959 te Dordrecht

La dure épreuve va finir :
Mon coeur, souris á l'avenir.

Paul Verlaine, La bonne chanson XI

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Preface

This book contains a detailed description of the language situation and the acquisition of Dutch by young Moroccans living in the Netherlands. A first impression of the language situation of this group shows that it is of a highly complicated nature and more than six languages can play a role in the lives of the young Moroccans. This was an inducement to further study. The first component of this work pays elaborate attention to the use of these languages and the degree of fluency in the mother tongues, Moroccan Arabic, Rif Berber (Tarifit) and in Dutch with the emphasis on communicative skills: in which language can the Moroccans best express themselves? The second component of this work is made up of an analysis of the Moroccans' spoken Dutch. The emphasis is on the degree to which the subjects have succeeded in mastering spoken Dutch. The work is concluded with a theoretical section. The question is posed of whether the subjects' acquisition process of Dutch resembles 'the standard case of an acquisition process', an assumption which various second language acquisition theories in general adopt as their starting point.

It should be clear that for this research knowledge of the languages of the target group is essential. For this reason was I, as an Arabist scholar, requested to undertake this investigation. It was a challenge for me because my M.A. thesis concerned a 13th century Arabic manuscript about human embryology (see Bibliography, de Ruiter, 1985,1986). This present subject however quickly aroused my interest and I carried out the investigation, despite some adversity, with pleasure. The research is of a strongly linguistic nature but it is my training and insight as an Arabist that have determined its character.

The research would not have been possible without the help and assistance of numerous people. The many Moroccan subjects receive my highest gratitude for their co-operation. Further I am indebted to the Utrecht Schools Inspectorate for giving me permission to visit already overburdened schools for the purposes of recruiting test subjects. These schools receive my heartfelt thanks for their ever-ready willingness to co-operate, especially the Jan van Nieuwenhuyzen school, the Anslijnschool and the Katholieke Scholen Gemeenschap Zuid. As far as logistic support was concerned I could always count on the staff of

the Department of Oriental Languages in particular Ann van de Veer, Ellis Spies, Sonja van Schuppen, Netty Will, Marja Bakker and Martin Quaak. The conscientious transcription of the Dutch tape material by Anita Schermerhorn, Pieter van Willenswaard and Anneke de Graaf was indispensible. Mohammed Mea Jnr. and Abdu Najib gave essential support during the transcription of the Berber and Arabic tape material. Aad Verboom was my chaperon during my first unsteady steps in the field of statistics, likewise Monique Krosse in the area of Universal Grammar. Further I must thank my supervisor Wolfgang Herrlitz, Professor of German and Linguistics, who was a source of inspiration and my co-supervisor Peter Groot, Senior Lecturer of Foreign Language Teaching in the English Department, who was always stimulating. The prominence of my supervisor and co-supervisor's names on the frontispiece suggests that they were the only ones who supervised me. At least as big and indispensible a contribution was made by Roel Otten, expert in the field of languages and cultures of North Africa in particular the Moroccan languages and culture. I am grateful for his often very detailed advice. Further I want to thank Jeroen Vermeulen who in my solitude which seems to be the inevitable companion to such an investigation kept me alert and my eyes open to many details which I might otherwise have ignored. Lidy Zijlmans patiently corrected the Dutch grammatical descriptions of the analyzed categories and Liesbeth Verhulst-Schlichting provided valuable additions to chapter 3. Margo Bink and Andrew Richardson must be complemented for their patient correction of the English text and many thanks to Arnoud Vrolijk who takes the credit for the Arabic translation. Frank Megens provided the graphics. Petra van de Ven gave her invaluable assistance and warm support. Finally many thanks to Gijs Nobbe who kept me in touch with the real world, Emmeline Douwes who listened during times of discouragement and above all to my partner Rob who gave me his endless patience and much support.

Utrecht, june 1989

Jan Jaap de Ruiter

Method of transcription

Transcription of Moroccan Arabic and Tarifit Berber

For the convenience of the reader I present here a list of the phoneme symbols used in this study, together with an indication of their phonetic realization by means of phonetic symbols as proposed by the International Phonetic Association in 1972.

Phoneme Symbol:		Phonetic Realization: (main allophone)
/a/	=>	[a]
/b/	=>	[b]
/ƀ/	=>	[ɓ]
/e/	=>	[ʕ]
/č/	=>	[tʃ]
/d/	=>	[d]
/ɗ/	=>	[ɗ]
/ḏ/	=>	[ð]
/e/	=>	schwa
/f/	=>	[f]
/g/	=>	[g]
/ǧ/	=>	[ɣ]
/ǧ/	=>	[ʤ]
/g^w/	=>	[g͡w]
/h/	=>	[h]
/ḥ/	=>	[ħ]
/i/	=>	[i]
/k/	=>	[k]
/ḳ/	=>	[ç]
/k^w/	=>	[k͡w]
/l/	=>	[l]
/ɬ/	=>	[ɬ]
/m/	=>	[m]
/m̀/	=>	[m̀]
/n/	=>	[n]
/n^w/	=>	[ŋ͡w]
/ñ/	=>	[ɲ]
/o/	=>	[o]
/p/	=>	[p]
/q/	=>	[q]
/r/	=>	[r]
/ṛ/	=>	[ɾ]

/s/	=>	[s]
/ʂ/	=>	[ʂ]
/s̈/	=>	[ʃ]
/t/	=>	[t]
/ʈ/	=>	[ʈ]
/t̲/	=>	[θ]
/u/	=>	[u]
/w/	=>	[w]
/x/	=>	[x]
/y/	=>	[j]
/z/	=>	[z]
/ʐ/	=>	[ʐ]
/z̈/	=>	[ʒ]

Chapter 1: introduction

1.1. Background to the study

This research is aimed at gaining a thorough insight into the complex language situation (language profile) of the young Moroccans in the Netherlands and a characterization of their acquisition of the Dutch language. By 'the young Moroccans' is meant those Moroccans that were born in Morocco and came to the Netherlands when they were very young -the so called one-and-a-half generation- and those that were born in the Netherlands. The study consists of two components. The first component entails a detailed description of the language profile of the young Moroccans, in which the following questions will be answered: what languages -including Dutch- make up this profile and to what extent are they used and in what language can they best express themselves? The second component consists of an overall characterization of the spoken Dutch of the young Moroccans, in which the following questions are asked: given the nature of their language profiles to what extent have they succeeded in the acquisition of Dutch and what are the specific problems -errors- containing it and what may be the causes of these errors? The answers to these questions will result in an overall view of the language situation and the acquisition of Dutch of the young Moroccans. Finally, the results will be looked at from a more theoretical point of view, in which the issue is whether this specific probably complex case of language acquisition can be related to the basic assumptions various second language acquisition (SLA) theories generally make with respect to the nature of the language situation, in which a second language is acquired. The reason to investigate the existence of such a link is induced by the question whether SLA theories could be a useful instrument to explain and interpret the data to be collected on the language profile and the acquisition of Dutch by the young Moroccans. The research, however, does not use the data to test these theories as it is of an exploratory, fact finding character and it is not aimed at testing hypotheses on language acquisition.

The subjects concerned, the young Moroccans living in the Netherlands, are the children of the first generation of Moroccan immigrants that came to the Netherlands in the sixties. They have become a large ethnic group in Dutch society, attending its schools and institutions, and learning Dutch. In terms of mother tongue or first language (L1) and second language (L2), Dutch is the L2 of the target group but the determination of the nature of the L1 is not clear-cut and the presupposition of full command of the first language is questionable. Moroccans in Morocco and the Netherlands show a highly complicated linguistic course of life, in which more than six languages can play a role and where **language shift** is not exceptional. Firstly, Moroccans do not all share one uniform 'first language'; in fact one of basically four languages can be a Moroccan's L1 (one of the three Berber languages or one of the Moroccan Arabic dialects, see section 1.2.1.). Furthermore, already at a very early age the young Moroccan in both Morocco and the Netherlands is confronted with more than one language and it is possible that the 'first' language the young Moroccan acquires will never be fully developed. Nor can it be assumed that he or she acquires a 'second' language after having reached a full L1 command or while the L1 develops 'normally'. Other languages may enter his or her world and occupy different domains in his or her life. In this case the 'first' language is pushed aside in favor of another language. For this reason, in this study I will not speak of the 'first' language of the Moroccans in the traditional sense of the word, but as the **original** language (abbreviated 'Lo', plural: 'LLo'). By original language is meant the language used by the parents, the mother in particular, in which the child is socialized and hence the chronologically first language the Moroccan became acquainted with and which it began to acquire in the period of his or her 'primary socialization', prior to any other language which entered his or her language profile, and which does not necessarily become the dominant language in his or her later life. Languages acquired concurrently or later can subsequently take the place of the 'first' language, whose development may stagnate, or usage become extinct. It is in this language situation, which at first sight gives the impression of being complex, that the young Moroccans (have to) acquire Dutch.

The first section of the present chapter contains a general description of the language situation of the Moroccans in both Morocco and the Netherlands (1.2.). This is followed by the description of three SLA theories to which the acquisition case concerned will be related to (1.3.). The chapter will conclude with the presentation of the research model, the actual research questions and a description of the procedures followed for the collection of data relevant to the research questions (1.4.).

1.2. The language situation of the Moroccans

The present description of the language situation of the Moroccans in both Morocco (section 1.2.1.) and the Netherlands (section 1.2.2.) is primarily aimed at giving insight into the language situation of those Moroccans that emigrated to the Netherlands. Therefore to aspects that are of no concern to the target group, no specific attention is paid. The interested reader is referred to the works of Abbassi (1977), Forkel (1980), Grandguillaume (1983) and Sirles (1985).

1.2.1. In Morocco

Introduction: the languages involved

Modern Morocco shows a complicated linguistic pattern in which several languages are involved, each with its own functions and domains. The **three Berber (BB) languages** are the oldest known languages in Morocco. Further, there are the **two Moroccan Arabic (MA) dialects**, which developed in the country after the coming of the muslim Arab invaders in the eight century A.D. and the Bedouin tribes in the 12th century A.D. The **Classical Arabic (CA) language**, is traditionally linked with the religion of Islam and the domains of law and administration. The nineteenth century brought about a revival of Classical Arabic, adapted however to the needs of a modern society with its newspapers, mass media and modern literature: **Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)** came into being. In the beginning of this century **French** and **Spanish** started to play a role in Morocco. Of the languages mentioned only the Berber languages and the Moroccan Arabic dialects can be a Moroccan's mother tongue, or better, **original language**. The Moroccan Arabic dialects and Berber languages are

basically spoken languages and usually not written. The other languages are not original languages. Classical Arabic is primarily a written language but it is also spoken. Modern Standard Arabic is both spoken and written just like French and Spanish.

The Berber languages: Tashelhit, Tamazight and Tarifit

In Morocco the languages with the oldest tradition are the Berber languages. Berbers are the oldest known inhabitants of Morocco. The term 'Berber' is an Arabic word used to mark the supposed 'rumbling and bumbling' character of the Berber languages. Berbers themselves prefer to refer to themselves as 'Imazighen', (singular 'Amazigh'), which means 'noble men'.
Berber languages belong to the Hamitic branch of the Afro-Asiatic language family. Long before the coming of the muslim Arab invaders the Berber languages were widely spread in North Africa and although the different forms of Arabic have become the dominant languages in all North African countries, Berber languages are still spoken. In Egypt Berber is spoken in the oasis of Siwa only. Only a very small part of the population of Tunisia speaks Berber. In Algeria a Berber language, Kabyle, is spoken by around 20 % of the population and in Morocco more than one third of the population speaks one of the Berber languages (Abbassi,1977;13). Tuareg is a Berber language, spoken in southern Libya, Algeria, Mali, Niger, Chad and Mauritania (Ennaji,1985; 7-8).
In Morocco three Berber languages are traditionally distinguished. **Tashelhit** is spoken in the High Atlas, the Anti Atlas mountains and the Sous valley. **Tamazight** is spoken in the Middle Atlas and the eastern half of the High Atlas mountains and **Tarifit** is used in the northern Rif area.
The discussion of the question of whether the Berber languages are actual languages or dialects is not yet finished (Sirles,1985;116ff.). Mutual comprehensiveness is not the rule. Still differences between the Berber languages lay predominantly in the fields of lexicon and phonology and syntactic and morphological variations are relatively seldom encountered (Ennaji,1985;8-9). Ennaji states that there is an important resemblance between all Berber non-Tuareg varieties on all grammatical levels (Ennaji,1985;8) and thus wants to fix them as dialects.

Still, more detailed linguistic research is necessary to shed light on the status of the different varieties of Berber as languages or dialects.
Yet it is a fact that the Berber languages are not completely mutually intelligible. Geographical distance seems to be the yardstick: the greater the physical distance between two Berber languages the smaller the mutual comprehensiveness. This goes for Morocco also: Berbers speaking Tarifit virtually do not understand Berbers speaking Tashelhit. Paradoxical as it may sound Berbers speaking different Berber languages use Moroccan Arabic dialects to communicate with each other (see also Hart,176;339ff.). In this respect the Moroccan Arabic dialects serve as lingua franca.
Of the three Berber languages spoken in Morocco, only Tashelhit has a small written tradition (Otten,1984;15-6), as the Sous Berbers (Sous is one of the areas these Berbers live in), traditionally the most influential and developed Berbers, have had a long tradition of small scale native study of science. The absence of a written tradition in other Berber languages and the relatively modest written tradition of Tashelhit is probably the result of the fact that written language in Berber society is traditionally considered sacred and as Islam has become the religion of the Berbers, Classical Arabic, the language of the Koran, has taken that sacred position in the minds of the Imazighen (see Abbassi, 1977;11). There is, however, a strong musical tradition and an extensive oral literature.

Moroccan Arabic dialects

Besides the Berber languages (Moroccan) Arabic dialects are spoken in Morocco. The Arabic dialects belong together with Classical Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic to the Semitic branch of the Afro-Asiatic language family. The introduction of Arabic to Morocco took place in two stages. The first stage was initiated by muslim Arab conquerors who invaded Morocco in the seventh century A.D. taking with them the religion of Islam and the Arabic language. Due to the sedentary nature of the Arab invaders, assimilation with the original Berber population, which lived a life of nomadism and cattle raising, hardly took place. Hence, arabization of the original population took place on a limited scale. The

Arabs founded cities and settled in them. These are presumably the northern cities of Morocco like Fes, Meknes and Tangier. In these cities the **'Arabe citadine'** (or: **Mdini Arabic**) developed. Later commercial zealots opened trade routes, along which Berbers lived, through mountainous areas to seaports in the North. These Berbers became arabized as well and along these routes the **jbala** (=mountain) **Arabic** dialects developed: mountain Arabic dialects, closely related to the 'Arabe citadine'. Some cities in these areas speak a mixture of Arabe citadine and jbala dialect. The citadine and jbala dialects are known as the **pre-Hilal dialects**. Hilal refers to the tribe of the Beni Hilal, which in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D, together with the Beni Ma'qil and the Beni Suleim, coming from the Arabic peninsula, ended up in the western plains of Morocco, the plateaus of east Morocco and parts of the Moroccan Sahara. These tribes brought about the second wave of Morocco's arabization. The way of life of these tribes resembled the Berbers' way of life. Hence assimilation of the original population with these bedouins took place on a large scale and the Arabic dialects of these bedouins became the language of the original Berber population inhabiting the countryside. These forms of Arabic are called **'bedouin Arabic'**, or **/erubi/ dialects** (/erubi/ means bedouin). These dialects form the second type of Moroccan Arabic dialects. Some cities, like Marrakesh came under the influence of a bedouin dialect and thus today still speak a mixture of Arabe citadine and bedouin dialects. Due to a recent influx of bedouin Arabic speakers to the cities bedouin dialects are spoken in cities like Casablanca also.

The Moroccan Arabic dialects are normally not written either. Still they have an 'abundant vocabulary and great stylistic variations' (Abbassi, 1977;22). The pre-Hilal and bedouin dialects are largely intelligible amongst each other.

Recently a standardized form of Moroccan Arabic has been developing and spreading (Abbassi, 1977;19). People from all Morocco's regions are working in the capital Rabat and in combination with the development of radio and television, also centered in the capital, a mixture of dialects takes place resulting in a Moroccan Arabic koine, with a strong Rabat influence.

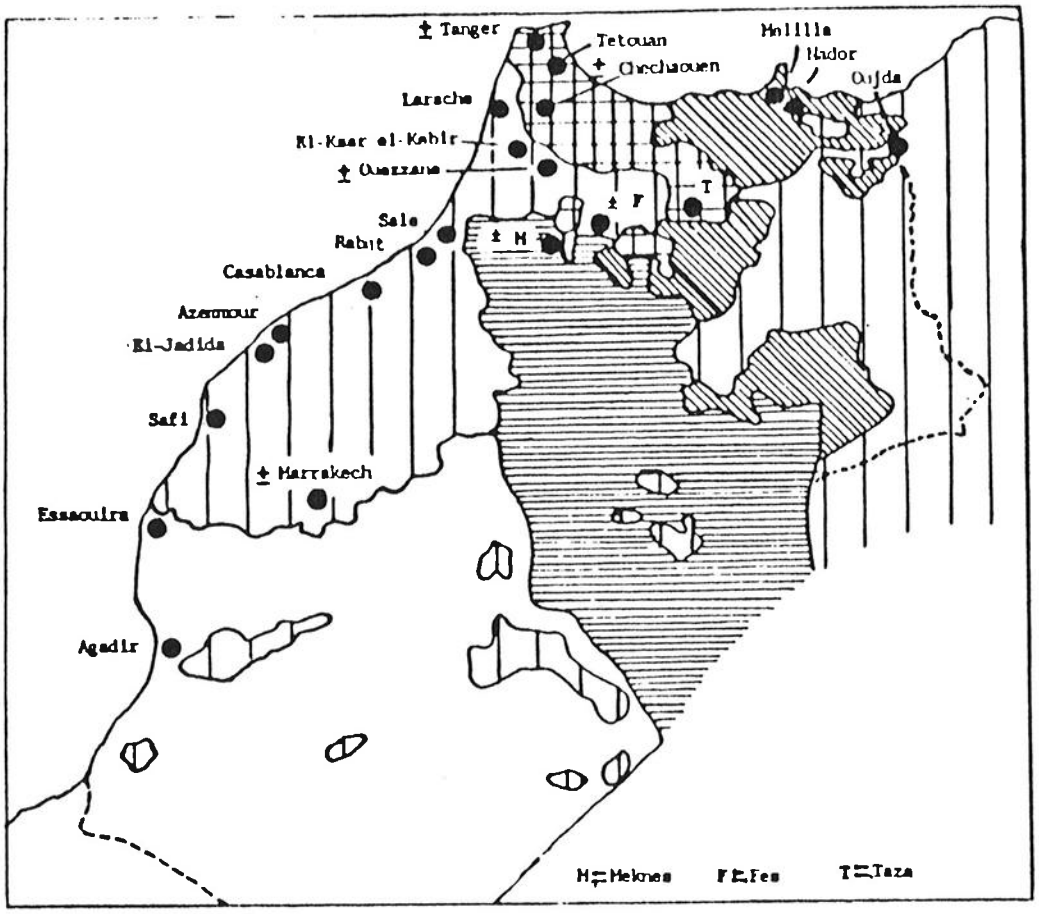
In view of these developments I will speak of the Moroccan Arabic dialect, without making a distinction between its

various forms and I will only specify the variant if there is a need to do so.

The map on page 8 gives information on the distribution of the various Berber languages and Moroccan Arabic dialects in Morocco.

Classical Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic

Speakers of Moroccan Arabic dialects and Berber languages all admit the superiority of Classical Arabic, the official language of the Moroccan kingdom. Bentahila (1983) claims that 'the Berbers admitted the superiority of Arabic over their own language, probably because of this link between Arabic and religion, and maybe also because of the respect they felt for the written forms which their own language did not possess'. (Bentahila,1983;2) and: 'some Moroccans claim that not to know Classical Arabic is not to know Arabic at all' (Bentahila,1983;5). Classical Arabic has this high status because the muslims believe that of all existing languages in the world, God chose Arabic to transmit the holy message of the Koran in (cf. Fleisch,1961;2). Arabic, the perfect language expresses the perfect characteristics of God. Learning the Koran by heart and reciting classical poetry are even today highly valued virtues. The structures of Classical Arabic have remained rather stable throughout the ages. However, it did develop a new variant, Modern Standard Arabic. This differs from Classical Arabic on the level of the lexicon and to a lesser extent in syntax. In fact, it is basically a variant of Classical Arabic, but adapted to the needs of modern literary life and mass media. New words for new concepts were proposed and adopted. Today, Classical Arabic is primarily used in the domain of religion and the formal spoken word: in speeches, at official meetings etc. Modern Standard Arabic is the language of literature, newspapers, other printed matter and broadcasting. Both Classical Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic are written and spoken but are no mother tongues. Modern Standard Arabic must be learned from primary school onwards and it takes years for Moroccan children to achieve a sufficient



	Mountain (Jbala) dialect	}
Rabat	City with Mdini dialect	} Moroccan
± Tangier	City with a mixture of Mdini-	} Arabic
	and bedouin/mountain dialect	} dialects
		}
		}
	Bedouin dialect	}
Safi	City with bedouin dialect}	}
	Tashelhit	} Berber
		} languages
	Tamazight	}
		}
	Group of dialects of which Tarifit	}
	is one of	}
	border	

Figure 1: The languages of Morocco (based on G.S. Colin's map in Provençal, L. et. al. 1938).

command of it, if they reach such a level at all.

Language contact and mutual comprehensiveness

Moroccan Arabic dialects and Berber languages are not mutually comprehensible [1]. However, they have influenced and are still influencing each other as they have been existing side by side in Moroccan society for ages. In this respect the Berber languages function as substrate and adstrate of the Moroccan Arabic dialects and Moroccan Arabic is the adstrate language of Berber. Further, the more isolated the Berber language is, the less borrowing from Arabic takes or has taken place. Lexical borrowing and phonological influences are the most important fields of mutual influence. Berber, however, borrowed relatively many more words from Moroccan Arabic than vice versa. Still Berber borrowings and Berber phonological interference into Moroccan Arabic and other Maghrib Arabic dialects make these dialects differ essentially from the Eastern Arabic dialects, which are spoken East of Tripoli in Libya (cf.Schippers & Versteegh,1985).
Traditionally Berber languages have borrowed words in the religious domain from Arabic (Boukous, 1988). In modern times however Arabic technical and agricultural words have entered Berber languages and even everyday words due to the modern mass media. Both borrowing in Moroccan Arabic and Berber go together with morphological and phonological adaption into the borrowing languages (Ennaji, 1985, 11-12).
Due to the historical and actual (see below the paragraph on 'policy of Arabization') dominance of Classical Arabic and the Moroccan Arabic dialects, Berbers acquire Arabic but Arabs do not tend to acquire Berber.
Moroccan Arabic and Berber both fill the informal domains. They are the languages spoken at home, in the street and the coffee houses. Both languages are generally not

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[1] For those interested in the actual use of the different languages and dialects in Morocco and their reciprocal relations I advise the reading of a story by Paul Bowles on the Rif area, that has appeared in his collection: Their heads are green end their hands are blue (see bibliography). A Dutch translation appeared in 1985.

written. Modern Standard Arabic is the language to write in.
It goes without saying that comprehensiveness between Classical Arabic and the Berber languages is nil, but also 'that the considerable differences between Moroccan Arabic dialects and Modern Standard Arabic should not be underestimated' (Bentahila, 1983;4). On the other hand Ennaji states that 'although the two forms of Arabic (i.e. Classical Arabic and Moroccan Arabic dialects) are different languages in certain respects, it is not true nor clear that they are actually separate languages.' He claims that because of the policy of Arabization (see below) and the influence of mass media a mutual influence between these two Arabic languages can be observed (Ennaji,1985; 6).

French

The language picture in Morocco is further complicated by the entry of French into Moroccan society. The French obtained a mandate over the country in 1912 and they soon colonized the country under the banner of their 'mission civilisatrice': the export of the French culture to the newly obtained colony. A French school system was set up and although it was 'selective, competitive and even aristocratic' (Bentahila,1983;8) the French managed to root the French language firmly into Moroccan society. During the mandate the Moroccan economy became subservient to French interests and the administration became fully controlled by the French. These developments resulted in the use and domination of French in the areas of economics, administration and technical education. Although Morocco obtained its independence in 1956, and attempted to arabizise the complete school system (see below the paragraph on 'the policy of Arabization'), French has remained equally important and even more widely used than during the mandate. This is visible in the actual school system, where, notwithstanding the fact that the first two years in school instruction take place in MSA, French is introduced in the third year, growing in importance in subsequent years. Especially technical and theoretical subjects like arithmetic are taught in French and at the Universities French is indispensible.

Spanish

The last language fitting into the language picture of Morocco is Spanish. The Northern part of Morocco was given to Spain by the treaty of Algeciras in 1906. The Spaniards imposed Spanish as the official language and Spanish, unlike French in the southern zone, was taught and spoken on a wide scale. Due to the proximity of Spain and the Spanish enclaves Ceuta and Melilla, Spanish is still widely used in the northern part of Morocco (see also Hart 1976;341-2).

Domains and language shift

According to Abbassi (Abbassi,1977;45ff.) the distribution of the languages used in Moroccan society is fixed on a traditional and economic basis. The upper class, consisting of the Shorfa (the traditional aristocracy) families, which traditionally hold power, the urban bourgeoisie and industrialists and businessmen speak Arabe citadine dialects and French. The middle class, consisting of members of the old bourgeoisie, some members of the rural peasantry and new social groups like lower administrative employees and school teachers use different Arabic dialects and Berber languages. The higher the middle class member's position the more fluent he or she generally is in French. Both middle and higher classes command Modern Standard Arabic and French fairly well as their entry to education is considerably smoother and much more likely than the lower class's. The lower class, consisting of unskilled workers, agricultural workers and unemployed people are either speakers of the different Berber languages or speakers of bedouin Arabic.
Modern Moroccan society shows a constant shifting linguistic pattern. In isolated mountainous areas where a Berber language is spoken a stable relation between the use of it and the use of a Moroccan Arabic dialect can be observed. In such a case the Berber language is spoken at home, on the street between friends and Moroccan Arabic is used in more formal settings (e.g. at the town hall). If however Berber families move to Arabic speaking cities they tend to shift to Moroccan Arabic, in this case the Arabe citadine (Abbassi, 1977;101). Moroccan Arabic is also used as a lingua franca between speakers of different Berber languages. Peasants from the plains moving to the

cities' 'bidonvilles' continue to use the bedouin dialects and only switch to Arabe citadine on a small scale.
Because of the distribution of languages in several domains the relation of language and identity seems not to be very strong: as already mentioned, Berbers seem to shift quite easily to (Moroccan) Arabic (Bentahila,1988;5). This last feature does not imply, however, that there is no strong 'Berberawareness' among the Berber speaking parts of Morocco's population (cf. Otten, 1988).

Policy of Arabization

Communication between the classes in Morocco could take place in a much easier and more rapid way if all classes had command of one language of communication. The Moroccan government declared this aim after obtaining independence from France. Classical Arabic (in fact MSA) was to become the language of instruction in schools and eventually the language of communication in the whole kingdom. Classical Arabic was laid down as the official language in Morocco's constitution. Nevertheless, this policy of **Arabization** has not been a success up till now (cf. Abbassi, 1977;220ff.; Sirles,1985;209ff.). Different factors account for the failure of this policy. I mention the following: French had and still has grown too much in importance. It just could and can not be replaced by Classical Arabic. Secondly, there were and are not enough Moroccan teachers skilled in the Classical Arabic language. Thirdly, no proper teaching material exists for teaching the pupils Classical Arabic. Fourthly, Classical Arabic does not as yet contain a proper vocabulary to explain theoretical and technical issues, for which in French words already exist and are widely used. And finally, the socio-economic situation of the lower classes makes it impossible for these parents to send their children to school. And in many cases, even if they had been sent to school, these children woukd have been taken away from it after a few years as they have to participate in earning a living for the family.
Contradictory as it may sound, the school system itself is responsible too for the failure of Arabization. State run elementary schools in Morocco start the first two years with education in Classical Arabic, but it is followed by French in the third and subsequent years. French grows in

importance in the last years of elementary school and in secondary school and Universities. Thus, French is still an important language of communication in state run schools and it is even more used in the schools of the foreign cultural missions, of which the most important representative is the 'Mission Universitaire et Culturelle Française', which provides elementary and secondary 'quality' education for 40 % of all Moroccans attending school (Abbassi, 1977;215).
The educational system combined with the socio-economic factors connected to it, contribute to the continuity of the complex linguistic pattern of Moroccan society and explain its failure to reach Arabization. One may question whether, even if Arabization was implemented and actually reached, Classical Arabic is the most appropriate language to use as the medium of communication. Imagine the enormous distance between Classical Arabic and the Berber languages and to a lesser extent the distance between Classical Arabic and Moroccan Arabic dialects. Ironic as it may sound, full Arabization policy is applied in the first two years of elementary education only, pre-eminently the years where the Moroccan child, entering elementary school at the age of around six years, has probably reached a basic command of its original language, possibly also picked up some other languages and is then anew confronted with yet another language, which will be the language of instruction and communication from that moment on in a school environment where the use of home languages is forbidden. For a child of Berber background this transition will be more difficult and harder than for children of a Moroccan Arabic dialect background, as the distance between Modern Standard Arabic and the Berber languages is greater than the distance between the Moroccan Arabic dialects and Modern Standard Arabic. After these first two years the child is confronted with another new language, French.

Conclusion

The language pattern of the Moroccan society may be characterized as complex and unfathomable. Some features, however, are rather stable. As an original language the Moroccans have always one of the Moroccan Arabic dialects or a Berber language. Furthermore, Berber speakers moving to Arabic cities seem to shift to the Moroccan Arabic

dialect quite easily and 'original' speakers of Moroccan Arabic dialects do not shift to Berber languages. Dependent on social class and/or career, Moroccans acquire MSA and/or French. In the North some speak Spanish.
The presence of several languages in Morocco with their specific distributions, status, domains and measure of accessibility, means that every Moroccan has his or her own linguistic history and story. Consider for example a young Moroccan born in Nador in the northern Rif area. His original language is Tarifit. In the street he may pick up a Moroccan Arabic dialect and in watching Spanish television he is confronted with Spanish. Entering school at six or seven years he is alphabetized in Classical Arabic during the first two years followed by the introduction of French. Before he reaches his ninth birthday the young Moroccan may have a knowledge of five languages.

1.2.2. The language situation of the Moroccans in the Netherlands

With the linguistic background as described above, Moroccans emigrated to the Netherlands. Around 70 % of the Moroccans in the Netherlands are from Rifian origin (van Amersfoort,1986;27) and will as a rule speak the Berber language of the Rif area, Tarifit [2]. The other 30 % consists of Berbers from the Middle Atlas and High Atlas mountains, speaking Tamazight and Tashelhit respectively and Moroccans from the cities and plains, speaking the different Moroccan Arabic dialects. These immigrants consisted mainly of lower class workers with little or no education and of a rather traditional background. They emigrated on an individual basis, without their families to the Netherlands in the late sixties. They are generally referred to as the 'first generation'. In the seventies and eighties they were followed by their families (van Amersfoort,1986). On 1 january 1988 130.800 Moroccans lived in the Netherlands (Tas,1988).

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Still, one must be careful to assume Moroccans from the Rif area to be of a Berber speaking background since in the Rif area there are small Arabic speaking enclaves. For example, in the village of Driouch near Nador, a small Arabic speaking community has settled.

The Moroccans came to the Netherlands, a country which compared to Morocco has a relatively monolingual society. In general most people speak their own Dutch dialect but command standard Dutch as well (cf.Donaldson,1983). The local dialects vary more or less from Standard Dutch in mutual intelligibility. In the Northern province of Friesland another language closely related to Dutch, Frisian, is spoken besides standard Dutch.

The language situation of the first generation Moroccan workers in the Netherlands reflects the linguistic picture in Morocco as described above. As they belong to the lower uneducated class, most Berbers may be assumed to speak their Berber language, a relative amount of Moroccan Arabic dialect and possibly some French or Spanish. Workers originating from Moroccan cities speak Mdini Arabic dialect and possibly some French. Some may have a limited knowledge of Modern Standard Arabic or Classical Arabic. With the reunion of the families in the Netherlands, women and children joined the men and children were born in the Netherlands also. The children that came to join their fathers in the seventies are referred to as the **one-an-a-half generation** (van de Berg-Eldering,1988;8), as they generally emigrated to the Netherlands at a crucial point of their lives, having lived a part of their youth in Morocco. Of course children were later born into these same families in the Netherlands. These distinguish themselves from the one-and-a-half generation by this feature, being born in the Netherlands, but they are born into the same families and hence share the linguistic characteristics of the former group. Both one-and-a-half generation and the Moroccan children born in the Netherlands are generally referred to as 'the second generation'. This dissertation does not follow this usage as confusion may arise with the concept of the one-and-a-half generation. The present research refers to the one-and-a-half generation and the group of children born in the Netherlands as 'the young Moroccans' and one of the two groups is mentioned separately only if there is a need to do so.
Concerning the language situation within these families many varieties exist. Berber families may be very traditional and stick to speaking Berber only. Other families may have shifted to Moroccan Arabic as they may have spent a certain period of time in an Arabic speaking

city in Morocco before their emigration to the Netherlands, and families more open to Dutch society and Dutch language, acquire Dutch and possibly shift to it. The latter situation seems especially to be the case in mixed marriages between Moroccan men and Dutch women. The general trend seems to be that most language shift in favor of Dutch takes place in the so called 'one-and-a-half generation' and Moroccan children being born here. These children 'inherited' the linguistic background of their parents, but they are much more exposed to the Dutch language: they may have older brothers and sisters, who go to Dutch schools and may chiefly speak Dutch and they acquire Dutch speaking friends and go to schools where Dutch is spoken and taught. A new language is added to their repertoire. That the entry of Dutch in the language pattern of the Moroccan second generation may have a negative effect on the measure of use of the original languages is demonstrated in Van de Wetering & Lkoundi's observation of Moroccan children that speak a mixture of Dutch and native language and seem hardly to be able to express themselves in Moroccan Arabic dialect or Berber (van de Wetering & Lkoundi,1983;9).

Education in native language and culture (ENLC)

In primary and secondary schools the Dutch government has installed the facility of Education in Native Language and Culture ('ENLC', 'Onderwijs in Eigen Taal en Cultuur') for members of ethnic groups. In primary schools pupils belonging to these groups are entitled to on average 2.5 hours weekly of ENLC lessons within regular school time and to an extra 2.5 hours outside school time (see Teunissen, 1985;van den Berg-Eldering,1986; Van de Wetering & Lkoundi, 1983; Van de Wetering 1986, 1987, 1988). These facilities are offered only when both the schools are willing to apply for them and the parents of the immigrant children are willing to send their children to these lessons. A minimal number of pupils of immigrant origin must be present in the school concerned if it wants to apply for these lessons. The number of hours is small and one can question if it is enough to introduce children to their own language and culture. Moroccan children have access to this facility. The cultural treaty between Morocco and the Netherlands states that the language of instruction and the language to be taught in these lessons

should be the official language of the nation of origin of the pupils concerned. In the case of the Moroccan pupils this is Classical Arabic. In principle, no education is given in the original Berber languages or Moroccan Arabic dialects, although some teachers make use of a Moroccan Arabic dialect or a Berber language in order to facilitate mutual comprehension between the teacher and the pupils (cf. Van de Wetering, 1987;61 ff.; Otten,1988). Generally, however, the ENLC lessons reflect Morocco's school system. I will not go into the matter of whether or not it is necessary or desirable to teach the Moroccan children Classical Arabic in these lessons but I want to stress the extra burden the children receive by having to acquire another language while they are so young: for all of them a new language is added to their repertoire, which for some may be the fourth (besides a Berber language, Moroccan Arabic and Dutch). The ENLC lessons are chiefly given in elementary school. When the children pass to secondary school or high school, they are in general not able to build up their probably scant knowledge of Classical Arabic as these schools do not organize these lessons on a large scale as the primary schools (however,see below, page 18). ENLC education is chiefly given by teachers from Morocco. These teachers often have opinions on education, deviating from those of their Dutch colleagues (Van de Wetering & Lkoundi, 1983;21) which occasionally makes co-operation between Dutch and Moroccan teachers problematic. If one adds the often chaotic organization (Van de Wetering & Lkoundi, 1983;20) of the ENLC lessons, which the Moroccan community is expressly aware of (cf. Otten,1985), one may question whether the children find a stable education context and thus produce satisfying results in acquiring Classical Arabic at school (Van de Wetering,1988;62 ff.). Nevertheless, the children themselves seem to be motivated to follow these lessons as they acknowledge the importance of knowing their own language and culture in order to be able to (continue to) communicate with their parents and family in Morocco and of the preservation of their own identity (Van de Wetering,1986;60ff.).

Moroccan children going to elementary school face another extra-linguistic problem. In Morocco, the school system is very strict. Obedience to the teacher and the group is the rule (cf. Bel Ghazi,1985; Cappon,1982). The Dutch school system is more open. Of course the teacher must be obeyed,

but the child may express itself and say what it wants or feels. It is a cultural split that the Moroccan child faces and this can have a possible negative effect on its learning performance.
Older children passing from primary schools to secondary schools are in general not provided further lessons in their own language and culture, although a start has been made with the introduction of (Classical) Arabic as an optional subject, on which the so-called 'ARTUVO' project works (see Azrout, 1984, 1986; de Jong a.o. 1988). Nevertheless, their situation becomes more complicated as they are faced with new languages, which are compulsory in most secondary schools: German and English. In fact, the whole system of secondary schools, high schools, technical schools and vocational training is as yet not adjusted to immigrants. This does not only apply to 'linguistic facilities' as on the whole these schools have as yet not found a structurally fixed modus for intercultural education, which answers to cultural, pedagogical and linguistic requirements. It is not surprising that children of immigrants remain considerably behind their Dutch peers and have as yet hardly reached higher levels of education (Brassé & de Vries,1986; de Jong, 1987; van Praag & Muus,1987; Kerkhoff,1988).

Conclusion

In conclusion, the young Moroccans in the Netherlands find themselves in a very complicated linguistic situation. At home, their parents generally speak one of the original languages, Moroccan Arabic or Berber and possibly some French, Spanish or even MSA. The original language of the young Moroccans may assumed to be a Moroccan Arabic dialect or one of the Berber languages. However, its development may be stagnated or otherwise influenced quite soon as the role of Dutch gains importance in their lives. It may have become the language of communication with older brothers and sisters and the language used in the street and at school. In the separate ENLC lessons in the elementary school they are taught Classical Arabic. However, secondary school and other higher forms of education in general no further ENLC facilities are offered to them.

In summation, the language situation of the young Moroccans is of a complex nature. One may wonder whether it is wise to assume a full command of the 'L1' without investigation. Dutch may have become the dominant language in place of a Moroccan Arabic dialect or a Berber language and possibly Lo and Dutch intermingle strongly in the acquisition of both especially in those subjects that are born in the Netherlands. The original language, the command of it and the role and proficiency level of Dutch and possible other languages need to be established thoroughly in order to obtain detailed knowledge of the integral language profile of the young Moroccans, which is the first component of this study. It is in this probably complex language situation that the Moroccans acquire Dutch and it is of interest to see to what extent the Moroccans have succeeded in the acquisition of Dutch in this context. A characterization of the degree of success produces information on the problems the Moroccans face in their acquisition of Dutch as well. These problems will chiefly be expressed by errors, that may be of a persistent nature. The analysis of the Dutch of the Moroccans will therefore be concentrated on possible occurring errors in their Dutch. The integral image of the acquisition of Dutch within the specific language profile will produce the overall image of the language situation of the young Moroccans, which is the goal of this research. A final issue is of a theoretical nature, in which the question is: can the present case of language acquisition be related to SLA theories? The reason for investigating the existence of such a link results from the question whether SLA theories could be a useful instrument to explain the data to be collected on the language profile and the acquisition of Dutch by the young Moroccans.

1.3. SLA theories: in general

As mentioned before, the integral image of the present case of language acquisition will be linked up with the basic assumptions SLA theories make with respect to the nature of the language situation in which a second language is acquired. Now, what exactly are these basic assumptions? The theories can be characterized as follows: they generally neglect to prescribe a thorough description of the actual language profile of the subjects

studied. They assume without investigation that the L1 will probably have developed fully or gone through a regular 'normal' course of acquisition without stagnation, and that the L2 is acquired without -negatively- influencing the development of the L1 or its measure of use. Furthermore they pay scant attention to the possibility of more than two languages being involved in the language profile of the second language learner. In general the theories as they are formulated hardly include a component in their framework that prescribes the investigation of the possible different domains both languages are used in or their relative measure of use in these domains. Briefly, the theories do not pay attention to languages other than the L1 and L2 possibly being involved in cases of second language learners. In addition they assume firstly a more or less full command of the L1, or at least that it follows its regular acquisition course, and secondly a -what I would call- compartmentalized development of L1 and L2: the L2 is acquired while the L1 is assumed to continue following its own regular path, without apparently being negatively influenced in rate of acquisition, -when the second language learner is still acquiring the first language-, or in the level of L1 proficiency, -when the second language learner has fully acquired the L1-, or in the measure of use of the L1, by the entry of the second language in the language situation of the L2 learner. By speaking about a compartmentalized development I do not mean to deny the possible influence of the L1 on the L2 to which the various theories make claims (see below). The concept of a compartmentalized development implies the assumption of the distinct development of L1 and L2, in which the L2 does not affect the development or measure of use of the L1.

One may question whether the assumptions of full L1 command, and a compartmentalized L1/L2 development and the neglect to investigate whether more than two languages are concerned, are appropriate in the language situation of the young Moroccans. Below a description of three theories is given followed by the formulation of the expectation of the usefulness the theory concerned may possibly have with the present case of language acquisition.

1.3.1. The second language acquisition theories

There are various second language acquisition theories. Regarding these Ellis (1985;249) distinguishes two basic types. Some theories are aimed at how SLA takes place, whereas other theories are interested in why. A good all encompassing theory, Ellis states, should describe both how and why. Models of second language acquisition such as Schumann's Acculturation Model (1978), Andersen's Nativization model (1973), Giles' Accommodation model (1982) or Hatch' Discourse Theory (1978a) and Ellis' Variable Competence model (1984a) are mainly aimed at the why aspect of SLA. Theories that stress the how aspect of SLA are the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis, the Identity Hypothesis and SLA research within the framework of Universal Grammar. As it demands too much effort and time and space to investigate the basic assumptions of all these theories a choice must be made. The following considerations lead to the choice for the theories that stress the how aspect of SLA. As has been said before, the characterization of the Dutch of the young Moroccans is concentrated on occurring possibly persistent errors. This implies that attention will be paid to occurring errors and the interpretation of the causes of errors. Theories that pay elaborate attention to occurring errors and their interpretation are the 'how' theories, Contrastive Analysis, the Identity Hypothesis and the possible role Universal Grammar plays in SLA. The present research will investigate the existence of a possible link between these 'SLA theories' and the case of language acquisition of the young Moroccans [3].

Contrastive Analysis

The prediction of learning difficulties in the acquisition of a second (foreign) language, is what Contrastive Analysis (CA) concerns itself with. It was Robert Lado in his seminal 'Linguistics across cultures'(1957) who stated

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It must be stressed that UG is not an SLA theory. As research is now being done into whether UG operates in SLA, reference to UG in this dissertation must be conceived of as pertaining to this specific field of research.

that difficulties in the language to be acquired could be predicted by a close comparison of the structures of the mother tongue and the language to be learned: the principle of Contrastive Analysis. Errors could be expected in those areas where the L2, the language to be learned, differs from the L1, the mother tongue of the learner and no difficulties were expected where L1 and L2 were similar. At that time by the second language was meant a **foreign language**: a language that was learned in a formal class room environment and in an L1 setting, e.g. the L1 is the language of instruction. One of the reasons for developing Contrastive Analysis was the facilitation of **foreign language teaching**.
The linguistic idea of Contrastive Analysis was combined with a behaviorist theory of psychology that had its roots in the principles of habit formation through reinforcement. The basic idea of behaviorist theory is that learning (in the cognitive, motoric and affective domain) is the acquisition of an automatized set of behavior patterns. Similar behavior patterns are developed in the acquisition of the mother tongue. In learning a new language, however, the learner is confronted with a new rule system which may differ from that of the first language and which demands a new set of verbal behavior patterns. Accustomed to his or her old linguistic behavior the learner resists a new set of behavior patterns and consequently in cases where the new language differs from the mother tongue the learner will tend to adopt structures and rules of his or her first language: negative L1 interference occurs. 'The basic problems arise not out of any essential difficulty in the features of the new language themselves but primarily out of the special "set" created by the first language habits' (Fries in his foreword to Lado's Linguistics across cultures;v). In this view errors can easily be predicted by a Contrastive Analysis between mother tongue and target language. The behaviorist approach to the learning of a new language implies its nature to be different from the acquisition of a first language. Later, Contrastive Analysis was criticized strongly for different reasons. (cf. Bausch and Kasper, 1979;3-9, Ellis, 1985;23 ff.). Many authors argued that it predicted certain grammatical categories in the L2 to be difficult, which did not turn out to be difficult and L2 categories, obviously similar to the L1 in terms of CA turned out to be difficult for the L2 learner. The most

basic criticism was that a simple comparison of two languages for the prediction of difficulties and possible errors is incomplete; it does not account for numerous other factors that are effective in the learning of a second language and can account for occurring or non-occurring difficulties. Is habit formation that strict that it always transfers once learned habits in case new habits must be acquired? And is it only contrast that determines the occurrence of errors? What about the concept of frequency, which may influence the occurrence or absence of errors as well. And what about the degree of comparability? Given the fact that Moroccan children of both Arabic and Berber background virtually never incorrectly place the attributive adjective after the noun it modifies in Dutch -an error that can be expected on the ground of contrastive analysis between Moroccan Arabic and Dutch and Tarifit and Dutch as the two Moroccan languages place the attributive adjective after the noun it modifies and Dutch before- does it make sense to predict incorrect placement of the attributive adjective in the acquisition of Dutch of learners, whose L1's have a similar structure as both Moroccan languages? Another point of criticism is the assumption that the acquisition of a second language is of a completely different nature than is the acquisition of a first language. What about the order of acquisition of certain grammatical categories and errors that appear to be similar in L1 and L2 acquisition (cf.Dulay & Burt, 1973, 1974a)? Criticism on CA became so strong that L1 interference in the acquisition of a second language became almost completely denied. Dulay et.al. state that 'despite a long history of assumption to the contrary, present research results suggests that the major impact of the first language has on second language acquisition may have to do with accent, not with grammar or syntax' (Dulay et.al.,1982;96). The critics came particularly from the adherents of the Identity Hypothesis that claims to be a full second language acquisition theory accounting for all aspects occurring in it (see below). Nevertheless, the original application of CA is as Bausch and Kasper state nearly extinct (1979,7-9). Difficulties in second language acquisition do not allow themselves to be described by means of a simple comparison only: many more factors operate in it. Still, in spite of the efforts of the adherents of the Identity Hypothesis to belittle the role of L1 transfer, research continued

coming across errors caused by L1 transfer (Ervin-Tripp, 1974,;Wode,1981). L1 transfer could not be denied and the concept of L1 transfer survived in the weak claim of Contrastive Analysis. This variant does not serve a predicting goal any longer, but an explaining goal (Wardhaugh,1974;181, Ellis, 1985;23). It explains observed errors or absence of errors after their determination in L2 data on the ground of a CA between the mother tongue and the target language. This theory accounts for possible negative or positive L1 transfer only and not more than that. This characteristic makes the weak claim a theory with a very limited scope, on which the greater part of the criticism on traditional Contrastive Analysis -namely the fact that it is based on contrast only and that it does not include other features obviously operating in SLA- can be applied. In fact it deprives it of being a 'principle of second language acquisition, since it is not falsifiable' (Eckman;1977,316). Nevertheless, it stands by a concept, L1 transfer, which can explain occurring difficulties and absence of difficulties in SLA, a phenomenon that, notwithstanding its nearly total eradication in IH, can not be denied to occur in SLA. It is the weak claim of Contrastive Analysis this study adopts as a 'theory' which makes basic assumptions with respect to the nature of the language situation in which a second language is acquired [4].

In developing these ideas, questions such as whether the foreign language learning subjects commanded their L1 fully or whether the 'L2' acquisition process was of a compartmentalized nature were irrelevant for Lado as CA was designed for the facilitation of foreign language teaching and the subjects that learned the foreign language were mainly adults, whose L1 could correctly assumed to be fully developed, and the acquisition and the use of the 'L2' could safely be assumed not to have a negative impact on the L1: the foreign language was not considered to take over the place and functions of the L1. Because of these facts Lado did not 'prescribe' an investigation on the L1 command and the possible

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If Contrastive Analysis is mentioned I mean to refer to its weak claim. If reference to the strong claim is intended, this will be stated expressly.

compartmentalized nature of the acquisition of the foreign language: there was simply no reason to do so. He, did, however, fail to mention the possibility of foreign language learning adults that have -more or less- command of more than one language, the structures of which may be transferred in the learning of the foreign language as well, a feature which should be considered possible in the context of CA.

Identity Hypothesis

As mentioned above, in the seventies Contrastive Analysis as introduced by Lado and developed by others came under attack. CA in principle describes all learning difficulties and subsequent occurring errors as caused by differences between the structures of mother tongue and target language. New studies, however, demonstrated that not all errors could be related to negative L1 transfer. Ellis (1985;29) presents in a description of criticism on CA, seven studies which establish the L1 as the cause of errors at at least 3 % and at most 55 %, percentages that cover the cause of only a small amount of the occurring difficulties. Furthermore, doubts were raised with respect to the empirical validation of Contrastive Analysis: 'Not only did learners fail to exhibit the errors predicted by negative transfer, but many cases of positive transfer did not materialize' (Newmeyer & Weinberger,1988;35). Difficulties, predicted by Contrastive Analysis sometimes did not occur and other difficulties, not predicted by Contrastive Analysis did occur. What could be the use of CA if it did not fulfil its expectations?

In the same period attention shifted from foreign language learning in a class room setting and an L1 environment, to second language acquisition, which takes place in a naturalistic setting and an L2 environment. The subjects of study altered as well: from young adolescent and adult learners to mainly children, who are in their primary stages of language acquisition. Within this context and as a reaction to the overt failure of CA, theories were developed and proposed, which claimed to account for the whole process of second language acquisition and whose basic tenet is that second language acquisition is essentially similar to the process of first language acquisition and that consequently L1 transfer, positive or

negative, is considered nil or negligible. It was researchers from cognitive and mentalist backgrounds that raised the level of discussion on SLA from a simple comparison model as CA to more psychologically determined theories. Corder (1967), for example, is not preoccupied with the 'simple' prediction of errors, but with the occurrence of errors as such as they can illuminate possible similarities in the processes of first and second language acquisition. Consequently Corder views errors as 'a strategy employed both by children acquiring their mother tongue and by those learning an L2' (Corder 1967). Selinker (1972) tries to find an explanation to why only a mere 5 % of second language learners are successful in learning the second language, in the sense that the L2 learners match the L1 speakers on all grammatical levels. In his explanation Selinker places the notion of L1 interference in a totally new and much more abstract theoretical setting and calls it transfer. Based on the works of Lenneberg (1967), Selinker assumes a 'latent psychological structure' in the learner that is supposed to process the second language acquisition. This 'structure' leads the learner through the interlanguage to full command of the target language and in the case of failure to perfect L2 acquisition Selinker supposes that the 'latent psychological structure' has not sufficiently been activated or has just remained passive. In this context Selinker assumes five processes to take place in SLA and one of these is the process of L1 transfer, a form of L1 interference in the interlanguage. This transfer disappears when the learner has reached a full command of the L2. Transfer, in this way, is placed in a more cognitive context: it has assumed a new, but more restricted, role.

Researchers became more occupied with the target language. Hypotheses were formulated which claimed that it is the structures of the target language that determine the nature of the acquisition process of the second language and not the differences in structures between mother tongue and second language. In fact, SLA was hypothesized as being basically similar to L1 acquisition. Morpheme studies demonstrated these similarities. Dulay and Burt (1974b) describe a similar pattern in the acquisition of some morphological categories in L1 and L2 acquisition of English by children. Other morpheme studies also showed similarities in L1 (Brown,1973) and L2 acquisition (de

Villiers & de Villiers,1973) and other studies attributed errors in SLA to causes other than negative L1 transfer. Selinker (1972) mentions besides errors caused by L1 transfer, errors caused by the overgeneralisation of an L2 rule, observed also in L1 acquisition. The peak of the hypothesis that L1 and L2 acquisition are similar is found in the development of the Identity Hypothesis (IH), with such influential adherents as Krashen, Dulay and Burt, who claim that second language acquisition follows the same path as first language acquisition. Contrastive Analysis was rendered superfluous in this theory as mother tongue transfer, although not completely denied, was attributed a very minor role. Dulay, Burt & Krashen are very clear in 'Language two'(1982): 'Studies show that only 5 % of the grammatical errors children make and at most 20 % of the ones adults make can be traced to crossover from the first language' (Dulay, Burt & Krashen, 1982; 5). Consequently they advise teachers: 'Avoid contrasting the L1 and L2 when explaining grammatical structure' (Dulay, Burt & Krashen, 1982;269) in ultimate contrast with CA.
The low percentage of 5 % must, however, be looked upon critically as Dulay & Burt and Krashen only explain errors in terms of L1 interference if other causes fail to do so. An example may illustrate this: Turkish and Moroccan learners of Dutch both have problems with the distribution of the Dutch definite articles 'de' and 'het' (Coenen,1978;31,41), because of the obscure word gender distribution rules in Dutch determining the choice between both (see section 3.4.2. for a description of the rules determining the form of the definite article in Dutch). One might conclude a situation of non-L1 interference: both have the same problems. However their L1 structures can account for the errors as well because Turkish and Tarifit, one of the possible original tongues of the Moroccans, do not posses the definite article and Moroccan Arabic, another possible original tongue of Moroccans, has one morpheme for the definite article only. The L1 structures, which do not distinguish a similar obscure word gender determinated choice between definite articles, may have caused the -similar- errors as well. Dulay, Burt & Krashen would attribute this difficulty only to the difficult distribution of the definite article in Dutch. The structures of the respective L1's may however also be considered the causes: it is a coincidence of factors.

The various explanations of the possible causes of errors in the above example show that closing ones eyes to L1 transfer as the cause of occurring errors is rather risky. Subsequently the Identity Hypothesis proved not to be able to resist the occurrence of L1 transfer as well. Numerous studies in the seventies and eighties attempting to find evidence for the claim that L2 acquisition is the same process as L1 acquisition still encountered errors caused by L1 interference. Ervin-Tripp runs up against such errors caused by L1 transfer in syntax with English children learning French: 'Qui elle attent pour?' as a direct translation of 'Who is she waiting for?' (Ervin-Tripp, 1974;199). Hakuta did not manage to establish a strong correlation between the acquisition order of grammatical morphemes in English of a Japanese child using data on L1 acquisition order (Hakuta, 1974, 1976).
There was another reason to reconsider the nearly total rejection of L1 interference. L1 influence on L2 acquisition was mostly investigated on the level of morphology: a level that does not lend itself very much to L1 interference (Wode, 1981:50). Wode supposes that the fields of phonology and word order are much more sensitive to L1 interference than morphology. He admits that:'little is known about what kinds of knowledge may get transferred from L1' (Wode, 1981:52).

The notion of L1 transfer, not being denied any more by adherents of the cognitive/mentalist approach, but neither accepted in its traditional CA form, is further developed within a more cognitive context. As Wode (1981: 52) puts it: 'L1 transfer must be regarded as an integrated part of man's linguo-cognitive processing apparatus that allows him to learn languages'. The use of L1- structures in L2 acquisition must be considered as 'relying on prior knowledge to facilitate new learning' (Ellis,1985;37/8). Schachter (1983) describes transfer in terms of strategies: 'The learner apparently constructs hypotheses about the target language based on the knowledge he already has about his own language. If the constructions are similar in the learner's mind, he will transfer his native language strategy to the target language. If they are radically different he will either reject the new construction or use it with extreme caution'. I will not go deeper into this matter but take the theory of the Identity Hypothesis in its purest form, namely that L2

acquisition = L1 acquisition as basis for the present study.

Given the claim that L1 = L2 acquisition, it is not surprising, that the adherents of the IH consider attention to the L1 of the L2 learning person unnecessary. Furthermore, they are not concerned with the question of whether the acquisition of the L2 is of a compartmentalized nature or not as they assume the L1 to follow its regular course. Consequently, the researcher that wants to find evidence for the claims of the Identity Hypothesis is not concerned with an investigation of the L1 command and the question whether the L1 and L2 acquisition are compartmentalized, nor does he or she pay attention to possible other languages the language profile of the 'second' language learner may contain.

Universal Grammar (UG) and second language acquisition

The behaviorist theory concerning L1 and L2 acquisition posed many problems. Notably for Chomsky it left many crucial questions unanswered, such as: how is it possible for a child to acquire the complex L1 system in such a short time given the insufficiency of the primary data it has access to and the apparent lack of correction? What causes a child to acquire its mother tongue correctly and fluently? How can a child distinguish between grammatical correct and incorrect speech while external correction hardly takes place? Or, as White (1981) puts it, 'how do children acquire the grammar of their mother tongue in a short time when exposed to finite data which include performance errors such as false starts, hesitations and slips of the tongue, and which contain no evidence as to ungrammaticallity, ambiguity or paraphrase relations?' (White,1981;241). In order to try to answer these questions Chomsky (1965, 1980, 1981a, 1981b) developed the theory of Universal Grammar. Chomsky assumes the existence of a language property in the child's mind named Universal Grammar, which consists of a set of universal principles 'that apply to all grammars and that leave some parameters open: Universal Grammar sets the limits within which human languages can vary' (Cook,1985;3). Universal Grammar must be seen as a part of the brain but it is functionless without the role of the input of the specific language (= the linguistic environment) the child is learning because

the child needs a minimum of positive evidence from the linguistic environment to set the parameters of the language it acquires. UG triggered by the linguistic environment sets the parameters of the so-called core grammar. The core grammar distinguishes itself from the peripheral grammar in the sense that it is set by the interaction of UG and a little evidence from the linguistic environment and the latter is not set by the UG and needs a considerable measure of positive evidence from the linguistic input: the latter is the part outside the core and it does 'not reflect the principles of Universal Grammar in the same way as the core' (Cook,1985;4-5). Peripheral aspects of languages are highly idiosyncratic, i.e. highly language specific. They are exceptional in some way (Ellis, 1985;193). UG has an associated theory of markedness and core and peripheral grammar can be described in a continuum of markedness. Markedness is 'the degree to which something is related to UG and consequently the degree to which it is learnable by the child from inbuilt principles' (Cook,1985). The options, which universal principles may contain can be described in terms of markedness: some of the options (parameters) are more marked than others. In the continuum of markedness, the least unmarked option is placed in the one extreme of markedness. More marked parameters are placed in the middle of the continuum and peripheral rules, not falling within UG, are highly marked and are placed at the opposite end of the continuum. In acquiring its first language the child prefers unmarked knowledge above marked knowledge. This last feature does not imply that unmarked aspects are acquired before marked aspects of language. Other factors, e.g. cognitive factors, may influence the course of development as well.

It is hypothesized that Universal Grammar in the child's brain sets the core grammar and that for this the child needs little positive evidence from the linguistic environment. Positive evidence (viz. above) implies that the child hears certain grammatical aspects of the language he or she acquires and on the ground of this information sets the parameters. First language acquisition relies chiefly on positive evidence (Cook,1985;4). However, the child may also encounter negative evidence but, it is claimed, not to be reliably receptive to it. Negative evidence is expressed in two ways: direct negative evidence comes from corrections from

adults and indirect negative evidence is the observation by the child of the non-existence of something in the language he or she hears. The value of indirect negative correction 'depends upon the child already having certain expectations about language that are not fulfilled' (Cook,1985;4). The acquisition of parameters that are more marked, need subsequently more positive evidence from the linguistic environment; the child will need more exposure to data to learn them. Peripheral grammar rules demand considerable positive evidence due to their highly idiosyncratic nature.

Research on second language acquisition within the framework of Universal Grammar has begun only recently. This explains why researchers and theorists in this field have not as yet formulated a stable SLA theory in terms of UG. The central question, however, has remained the same: how can an L2 learner find out which utterances are grammatically correct and which not, given the poverty of stimulus that seems to apply to the L2 learner's situation as well. Is it Universal Grammar that is involved in SLA? These considerations make it 'worth investigating whether UG plays a role in L2 acquisition' (White,1985;48) and subsequent questions yet to be answered are, given the fact that the L2 learner already has a language assumed to be acquired by UG, whether he or she has access to UG directly or indirectly through the first language? (Cook,1985;9) ;and whether or not 'the L1 affects the way that UG operates in L2' (White,1985;48). These questions stir up the debate on the relation of L1 and L2, and the occurrence of L1 transfer is considered plausible again -as opposed to IH which plays it down -and put back in a theoretical context: 'the presence of transfer errors is perfectly compatible with explanations of L2 learning which focus on UG', and 'if transfer errors arise in circumstances predictable on the basis of parametric variation, then we may be closer to achieving a theory that can integrate language transfer and language universals' (White,1985;50). In fact, this statement implies the return of a form of CA, not, however, in its traditional form. In the Chomskyan view CA compares surface structures of the languages involved, whereas UG states that rules of any grammar are highly abstract and so do not reflect the surface properties of the language. Differences are reducible to parametric variation.

Introduction

Contrastive Analysis according to Cook (1985;14) must be reformulated as 'the comparison through the ways in which two languages embody the same linguistic principle while fixing parameters differently'.
Related to the question of whether UG is involved in SLA is the role of the linguistic environment in SLA: is it similar in L2 acquisition as in L1 acquisition? It seems that naturalistic SLA, i.e. in an L2 environment, bears more resemblance to the child's acquisition of the first language than class-room L2 acquisition. **Markedness** is attributed a crucial role in SLA as well. Less marked aspects of language, i.e. more directly related to UG, are considered to be acquired more smoothly by L2 learners than are highly marked aspects. Subsequently it is argued that errors may occur in those aspects of a second language which are highly marked and hence require much positive evidence; L1 transfer may account for errors if a certain feature in the L2 is highly marked and the L1 unmarked. The way of defining parameters in terms of markedness has, however, remained problematic. How should it be determined in relation to the concept of 'resetting the parameters' as formulated by White (1985)? And to what extent is markedness of a given parameter determined by the measure of difficulty (Eckman,1977) or distance between mother tongue and target language structures as perceived by the learner (Jordens and Kellerman, 1979)?

In principle UG considers every stage in language acquisition, be it first or second, to reflect its principles (Cook,1985;13). Theoretically UG, therefore, is not interested in whether the acquisition process is the first or second one and hence, it would not assume a compartmentalized development of a 'first' and 'second' language. Nevertheless, there is a difference between theory and practice as most studies on UG in SLA speak unrestrictedly of 'the L1' and 'the L2' assuming both processes as being compartmentalized, without investigating it. One may wonder whether this is appropriate. This doubt is reinforced by the fact that the investigation of the level of L1 proficiency seems necessary as researchers in UG generally hypothesize SLA as a 'resetting of parameters', which implies the necessity to investigate what parameters have been set- already- in the L1 in order to make a valid investigation to its possible resetting in the L2. Therefore, the need

to examine the level of L1 command, and whether the acquisition process of the L1 and L2 are compartmentalized or not and the presence of possible other languages in the language profile of the subject(s) studied, is by its nature connected to the investigation of the possible working of UG in SLA as well. Still, as UG is basically an explanatory theory and not like CA and IH only a descriptive or a prescriptive theory, the criticism of the assumption of full L1 command and the compartmentalized L1/L2 development with respect to the latter theories does not completely hold for UG: in principle UG claims to be of relevance to all types of language acquisition processes.

The implications of 'deviating' use and development of the L1

The description of the three theories has shown that all take a 'normal' L1 acquisition process leading up to a 'normal' L1 proficiency level, for granted. They are not concerned with the question of whether the L2 is acquired in a possible non-compartmentalized development simultaneously with the L1, where the use and/or the development of the L1 may become worse. Furthermore, no attention is paid to possible other languages making up the language profile of the subject(s) concerned. Proceeding are some examples of cases of the acquisition of a second language in which the L1 has reduced in use or stagnated in development. How will the various theories handle these? Or do they fall outside their scopes?

An example of a questionable compartmentalized L1/L2 development is the blurred mixture of L1 and L2 expressed in the linguistic abilities of a Menomini Indian, White Thunder, as described by Leonard Bloomfield: 'White Thunder, a man of around 40, speaks less English than Menomini, and that is a strong indictment, for his Menomini is atrocious. His vocabulary is small, his inflections are often barbarious, he constructs sentences of a few threadbare models. He may be said to speak no language tolerably' (Bloomfield, 1933:395). Language acquisition theories that are interested in possible L1 influence on L2 acquisition are stuck with cases such as that of White Thunder. Where is the boundary between L1

and L2, what is the level of command of the L1 and L2, and in what grammatical categories does the L1 interfere in the L2? A detailed description of the language profile of White Thunder is needed to shed light on these questions.

More recent research reports on mediocre proficiency in both languages in the case of Swedish and Finnish speaking children (Skutnabb-Kangas,1981). Research in the Netherlands reports a low proficiency level in Turkish among Turkish children: parents were not content with the Turkish proficiency level of their children (Lalleman, 1983a,1987). Vermeer (1986) reports a decreasing use of the mother tongues among Turkish and Moroccan children at home, in the street and at school. Lalleman and Vermeer's results are confirmed by Huls (1988) who did research on language use in Turkish families. Some families had shifted considerably to Dutch. Boeschoten & Verhoeven (1986) did research on the acquisition of Turkish by Turkish children in a Dutch L2 environment. Their results suggest 'that in the age range of 4 to 8 years the acquisition of first language skills by Turkish children in the Netherlands can best be characterized as stagnated' (347).

It is especially in the children of the first generation immigrants that a shift in language use to the language of the recipient society at the expense of their original mother tongue occurs (Appel & Muysken, 1987;42). Among these children the L1, or better the original tongue, seems not to be able to develop into a fully commanded language.
It seems that a bilingual setting in which the L1 is fully commanded and maintained while the L2 is being acquired is not the standard case. Every second language acquisition situation seems to deviate from this pattern: the development of the L1 may stagnate or its use diminish, more languages than the L1 and L2 may play a role, there may exist differences with respect to the status and the domains of languages involved etcetera.

Conclusion

Research has as yet not produced decisive evidence that can settle the claims of the Contrastive Analysis

Hypothesis, the Identity Hypothesis or Universal Grammar. So, the theoretical debate goes on and evidence is still being sought for, to a small extent, CA, to a larger extent, IH, especially its hypothesis that L1 = L2, and for UG operating in SLA. In the preceding pages it was explained that in the respective periods in which the three theories were formulated, assuming a full L1 command, a compartmentalized L1/L2 development and the neglect to investigate the possible presence of other languages than the L1 and L2, was the regular procedure followed by the researchers that formulated and tried to find support for the respective theories. Now, the question is whether the present case of language acquisition to be described in this dissertation, given its probably deviating nature, yields data that are relevant for the various SLA theories. If the command of the Lo of the young Moroccans is low and Dutch is the dominating language, the case deviates considerably from the basic language situation Contrastive Analysis proceeds from. However, as contrasting the languages involved, albeit to a small extent, is still possible CA will prove to be productive correspondingly. Furthermore, if the acquisition process of Dutch of the young Moroccans is marked by a strong dominance of Dutch and a low Lo command the Moroccans will probably acquire Dutch in a non-compartmentalized development and will be advanced speakers of it. If this is the case no link can be established with the claims of the Identity Hypothesis, which proceeds from a distinct development of L1 and L2 and which is primarily focussed on the initial stages of L2 acquisition. Finally, as studies on UG operating in SLA in general also proceed from the basic assumptions mentioned, no firm link between that theory and the present acquisition case can probably be laid. Still, a contradiction between theory and practice was observed and grounded on the theory, therefore, it could be hypothesized that as the theory of UG in principle leaves all options open with respect to the nature of the language situation in which a second language is acquired it might cover the present case. Nevertheless, this expectation must be tempered as the theory of UG is of a highly abstract level and one may doubt whether it is applicable to surface data this exploratory study will produce.

This study focusses extensively on the language profile of its subjects. Prior to the description of the research model and the definite formulation of the research questions it gives an overview of comparable research in the Netherlands in the light of the degree of attention they pay to the respective language profiles of the subjects concerned.

1.3.2. Second language research in the Netherlands

Many foreign workers of Mediterranean origin (chiefly Turks and Moroccans) came to work in the Netherlands in the late sixties and seventies. Their families joined them in the seventies and eighties. These demographic changes made the Netherlands a so called multi-ethnic society and hence a multi-lingual society. The influx into schools of children from diverse ethnic origins presented government and science with new phenomena: one of them the issue of the acquisition of Dutch by the newcomers.

Research jumped into the newly originated field of second language acquisition research. Most attention was focussed on the acquisition of Dutch by both adult and young immigrants. However, in these studies, little attention is paid to the language profile of the immigrants, the possible languages that are used among the ethnic groups and their reciprocal measures of use in different domains and in general a full L1 command and a compartmentalized L1/L2 development of the subjects studied is also assumed. Studies on SLA of Moroccans, for example, speak of 'the Moroccans' without stating whether they are from an Arabic speaking background or from a Berber speaking background. This may be important because, if the study involved is aimed at shedding light on the possible causes of errors, in which L1 transfer is not excluded, a distinction should be made between these groups as both languages can differ significantly. Furthermore, it is not easy to distinguish between Moroccans with an Arabic background and a Berber background as Berber speakers -especially younger ones- may be inclined to present themselves as Arabic speaking for reasons of 'social desirability' (see section 2.2.1.). And finally, Moroccan speakers of Berber background are known for their possible shift to Arabic if they move to Arabic speaking parts of Morocco. Furthermore, in studies

on Turkish children, acquiring Dutch, one is often not informed whether the children are from Turkish or Kurdish backgrounds. Many Turkish immigrants are in fact Kurds and Kurdish is a language totally deviating from Turkish. Due to the denial of the Turkish government of the existence of the Kurdish language and people -it speaks of 'mountain Turks'- the researcher may expect Kurdish speaking subjects to present themselves as 'Turkish speaking' for the same reason of 'social desirability'. This also may have implications on attributing errors to possible L1 transfer. Furthermore one finds hardly any information in these studies on the proficiency level of the L1 and whether the L2 acquisition process is compartmentalized.

Extra was one of the first to publish extensively on the acquisition of Dutch by immigrant children, i.e. Turkish children. In his dissertation (1978) he investigates the claims of the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis and the Identity Hypothesis in a study on morphological skills of Turkish children in Dutch compared to the Dutch children's skills. In his description of the subjects he puts as a condition that the 'family language' (105) is Turkish and he correctly assumes a separate L1 development and a more or less full L1 command as the subjects had an average age of 14,4 years and had been living in the Netherlands on average only 2;10 years. He does not mention the possibility of Kurdish children being in the Turkish group. Extra gives, however, of the relevant grammatical categories an extensive description of corresponding categories in Turkish (118ff.). The results of his research show evidence for L1 interference but also for similarity of both processes of L1 and L2 acquisition.

The 'Werkgroep strategieën tweede taalverwerving' under the editorship of Snow (1977) published results of a research on phonological, morphological and syntactic skills in Dutch of Moroccan, Turkish and Chinese children. The research was aimed at finding out whether possible L1 transfer may also be one of the causes of occurring errors. It neglects however to present a description of the relevant structures studied of the original languages and a language profile of the subjects involved and notwithstanding these facts it concludes that results on the phonological level give evidence for L1 transfer

(how?) and on the other levels for similarity in L1 and L2 acquisition.

Jansen, Lalleman & Muysken (1981) did research on the acquisition of Dutch word order by 16 Turkish and Moroccan adult foreign workers investigating the occurrence of possible L1 transfer. They give an extensive description of the grammatical categories in the L1's of the subjects involved, in which they state that in the case of the Moroccan subjects they picked out speakers of a Moroccan Arabic background. Their conclusions are that L1 transfer plays a more important role in the acquisition of Dutch then was initially supposed. Nothing is said on the method of determining the L1's of the Turkish and Moroccan subjects: and one may wonder how they solved the problems that may be expected to occur in establishing the L1's given the concept of 'social desirability' possibly operating in these subjects (see above). Subsequently, given the unclear determination of the L1's of the subjects one may question whether the subjects concerned were monolingual at all: whether there were speakers of both Moroccan Arabic and a Berber language among the Moroccan subjects or speakers of both Turkish and Kurdish among the Turkish subjects. In the case of the Moroccans, however, this question is not so serious as the syntactic categories studied are similar in Moroccans Arabic and Berber. But were the researchers acquainted with this fact?

Appel (1984) wrote a profound dissertation about sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic aspects of second language acquisition by Turkish and Moroccan immigrant children. To determine the L1 background of his Moroccan subjects, whether Arabic or Berber, he describes an 'L1 determination test', whose results, however, I did not come across (167). This is important as Appel makes statements about the L2 proficiency level of Moroccan children distinguishing between Arabic and Berber origins (55). How did he establish the original tongue and the eventual measure of language shift, which may already have occurred in Morocco? Appel also does not discuss the L1 proficiency level. He probably assumes a normal development of the L1 but he is not to blame for that as his subjects had been living in the Netherlands for only a short while, 8 months at the time of the first recording

(Appel, 1984;7). Still, the language situation in Morocco, in which more than five languages may play a role and where language shift is not unusual, should have been investigated and established with his subjects so as to make possible valid statements of the kind of L1 influence on second language acquisition.
Appel devotes a chapter on first language influence on L2 acquisition (chapter 4, 87-135). He examines first language influence on the rate of development of L2 syntax of Turkish and Moroccan children. He concludes that at some stages in second language acquisition there seem to be different types of 'L1' influence. Incidentally the children rely on their first language skills in learning the structures of the L2 but at the same time the first language affects the rate of development of the L2 in a negative way: it slows it down. The positive relation of L1 structures speeding up the rate of development of L2 is not very strong either. Differences between the two groups were also found at several acquisition stages. Appel's overall conclusions are that L1 transfer plays a minor role in the acquisition of the given grammatical categories (132-35).

Vermeer (1986) examined the tempo and structure of the acquisition of Dutch by Turkish and Moroccan children. His conclusions are that there is a large individual variation in the tempo of SLA and a less universal character in the structure of SLA than was hypothesized in the acquisition of Dutch by his subjects (127). Part of his research concerns language choice (i.e. the use of Dutch or the mother tongue) of the subjects (78) in several domains. In this part of his research he does not distinguish between Moroccan subjects speaking a Moroccan Arabic dialect or a Berber language and he omits the fact that Berber speaking Moroccans often speak a Moroccan Arabic dialect as well or may be in a process of language shift towards a Moroccan Arabic dialect. These gaps make the description of the language profile of his subjects vague.

Lalleman (1987) examined the Dutch language proficiency of Turkish children born in the Netherlands with the primary research question of whether these subjects match native Dutch children's proficiency at the moment they enter primary school (2). One may expect, however, (cf. Boeschoten & Verhoeven,1986, see above) that at that

moment these children may have stagnated in their L1 development and/or "accelerated" in their L2 development and that possibly some children have merely developed Dutch as dominating language and do not understand Turkish any more, of which Lalleman describes an example in her dissertation (173). Possibly the L2 is acquired in a non-compartmentalized development of L1 and L2. She acknowledges (5) that 'exposure to Dutch' having taken place before the children entered primary school is crucial to the proficiency level they have reached, but that it was impossible to assess this variable beforehand. This does not render her results less interesting, but they do not shed light on whether the L1 and the L2 are compartmentalized and the hypothesis that possibly Dutch may have become the L1 of the subjects studied. The results of her research indicate that the Turkish children do not acquire their own variety of Dutch. They acquire Dutch the same way as the Dutch subjects, but they are developmentally behind in the acquisition of Dutch compared to Dutch children of the same age (55).

1.4. The present research

1.4.1. The research model

It is the children of the Moroccan workers that came to the Netherlands with which this research is interested. This implies that attention is paid to the so-called 'one-and-a-half generation' and the Moroccan children that are born in the Netherlands (cf. van den Berg-Eldering,1988). These two groups cover the young Moroccans that have entered Dutch schools and institutions and that have been considerably exposed to the Dutch language: they are the subjects of this study. As mentioned earlier these two groups will be referred to as 'the young Moroccans' and distinctions between the two groups will only be made if necessary. As this research is aimed at an overall picture of the language situation of the whole group of the young Moroccans a longitudinal research model was preferred: the subjects could be followed a certain period of time, their language profiles established at each moment of data collection, their Dutch characterized and their errors investigated -are they persistent or not? A longitudinal model, however was impossible because following the whole target group, the age of which ranges from 0 to around 25

years, in its linguistic developments, would imply a period of study of more than 4 years, for which neither time nor manpower was available. Given the impossibility of a longitudinal model a cross-sectional study would be the alternative. However, the main disadvantage of such a model is that it yields a random indication of one specific group only and as such it does not give insight in the developments of linguistic backgrounds and errors of the whole target group. For these reasons, a cross-sectional model was also rejected. Still, the goal of covering the whole group remained the same. The following solution was wrought: research within a quasi-longitudinal model. Subjects of four representative age groups of the target group were to be selected, in which each older group shares the characteristics of a younger group in order to enlarge their comparability and to establish a degree of development within the language profiles and the acquisition of Dutch as it can be hypothesized that older groups with the same characteristics of the younger ones share a development that is in line with the development of the younger one. Nevertheless, it should be kept in mind that such a model does not imply per definition that subjects of a younger group will show the same-linguistic- features as the older group when the former has actually reached the age of the latter. The fact, however, that the groups are supposed to be selected so as to share important characteristics raises their comparability and the possibility of making statements on developments.

The actual quasi-longitudinal model consists of the formation of four age groups, each of which in their turn are divided into three age/language groups. These four age groups were to consist of subjects of around 7, 11, 14 and 21 years of age, thus representing the total age group of the young Moroccans. Every age group is divided into three language groups: one language group of 10 Moroccan subjects with Moroccan Arabic (mostly Mdini Arabic) as original tongue; one language group of 10 Moroccan subjects with chiefly Tarifit as original tongue and one language group of 4 Dutch subjects.
The division of the Moroccans into Moroccan Arabic and Tarifit speaking subjects is not, of course, by accident. The two Moroccan groups reflect the basic linguistic division of the Moroccans in the Netherlands and this

distinction broadens the insight in the language profiles and the nature of the acquisition process of Dutch by the young Moroccans.
Furthermore, since a criterion for the determination of the success of the acquisition of Dutch is needed Dutch control groups were formed. They can safely be considered monolingual in their language profiles and daily language use and for that reason there is no need to investigate their language profiles. The reason for choosing Dutch control groups containing four subjects only was that their language situation was supposed to be more stable than the Moroccans' and that for that reason a smaller number would suffice.

The **quasi-longitudinal structure** presents a cross-sectional random picture of the whole group of the young Moroccans. In order to guarantee a picture as reliable as possible, it was considered imperative that every older group in the model possesses the same characteristics as a younger group besides its own age-based characteristics. These characteristics are:

1. similar length of stay in Holland
2. similar educational experience,
3. similar level of exposure to Dutch
4. similar social class

In total there are 12 age/language groups which will be referred to in the following way: a Roman number refers to the age group, AR refers to subjects whose original language is one of the Moroccan Arabic dialects, BB refers to subjects whose original language is one of the Berber languages, NL refers to subjects whose L1 is Dutch. Arabic numbers refer to individuals in an age/language group. IIIAR7 for example refers to age group III, language group Moroccan Arabic and subject number 7.

One may wonder whether 80 subjects and 16 'control' subjects are sufficient. As time was limited and the research was carried out by one experimenter with only a little assistance, limitation was inevitable. Still, the quantity of subjects of this research is fairly comparable to similar recent research in this field. Appel (1984) examined 57 Turkish and Moroccan children and Vermeer (1986) uses 32 subjects for his research on tempo and

structure of second language acquisition of Turkish and Moroccan children and Lalleman (1987) did research on 40 children. These studies produce fairly cogent results. Moreover one can always take comfort from Labov's words that 'linguistic behavior is far more general and compelling than many social attitudes or survey responses' and that 'the structure of social and stylistic variation of language can be studied through samples considerably smaller than those required for the study of other forms of social behavior' (Labov, 1966;180,368).

Cross-sectional studies, which operate quasi-longitudinally have been used on a wide scale. De Villiers & de Villiers (1973) operated it successfully in a study on the acquisition of grammatical morphemes in child L1 speech. Vermeer (1980) examined the structure of acquisition of some 60 grammatical categories in a quasi-longitudinal study and obtained satisfying results. Jansen, Lalleman & Muysken (1981) operated a quasi-longitudinal model successfully as well.

1.4.2. Research questions

The goal of this research is to obtain a detailed insight in the complex language situation (language profile) of the young Moroccans in the Netherlands and a characterization of their acquisition of the Dutch language. The general description of the language situation of the subjects involved has shown that it is of a highly complex nature; due to (early) language shift the nature of the Lo can not be determined a priori without investigation. Furthermore more than two languages may be part of the language profile of the young Moroccans and it is questionable to assume a full Lo command and finally, the level of command of possible other languages used is not clear either. Now, in order to gain insight in this complex language situation the following three research questions must be answered:

(1) What is the original tongue of each of the Moroccan subjects?

(2) Besides Dutch, whose use can naturally be assumed, what other languages, including the original languages make up the language profile of the Moroccan subjects,

and what can be said on the chronological order of the entry of the languages involved in the language profile and what is the actual measure of use of the different tongues?

(3) Given the results of the investigation into research question (2) what is the relation between the proficiency levels of Dutch and other languages making up the language profile of the Moroccan subjects?

The second component of this study is aimed at determining the characterization of the Dutch of the young Moroccans. This question is formulated as follows:

(4) To what extent have the Moroccans succeeded in the acquisition of Dutch and what are the specific problems containing it?

The answer to research question (4) will combined with the answers to research questions (1) to (3) produce an overall picture of the present case of language acquisition.
Finally, the results will be looked at from a more theoretical point of view, viz. can they be analyzed from the perspective of the theories of Contrastive Analysis, the Identity Hypothesis and Universal Grammar operating in SLA?

Research questions (1) to (3) are treated in chapter 2, research question (4) in chapter 3. The overall view is presented in chapter 4, followed by the theoretical considerations. Chapter 5 contains a summarizing discussion of the research and the results obtained. The following sections describe the further procedures of the research.

1.4.3. Subjects: characteristics

Table 1 contains information on the average age and average length of stay in the Netherlands plus standard deviations of the 12 age/language groups and the absolute number of subjects being born in the Netherlands per age/language group (b. NL = born in the Netherlands).

	IAR	IBB	INL	IIAR	IIBB	IINL
age	07;09	07;09	07;05	11;00	12;00	11;03
sd	00;06	00;08	00;05	00;09	00;10	00;07
l.o.s.	07;00	06;03		09;10	07;00	
sd	01;06	02;03		01;07	02;10	
b. NL	7	4	4	6	1	4
	IIIAR	IIIBB	IIINL	IVAR	IVBB	IVNL
age	13;05	14;01	13;09	21;02	20;07	21;04
sd	01;03	01;08	00;05	01;11	01;10	01;07
l.o.s.	09;04	07;05		12;11	10;00	
sd	03;04	01;05		03;06	02;04	
b. NL	4	-	4	-	-	4

table 1: average age and length of stay (l.o.s.) in the Netherlands in years and months, and number of subjects per age/language group born in the Netherlands (b. NL) of all 12 age/language groups, with standard deviations (sd) of age and length of stay.

The various age groups comply with the conditions of age as described above. The figures indicate that most subjects in the Moroccan age groups III and IV were born in Morocco and that of the younger groups generally a minority was born in the Netherlands. Only 22 of the 80 Moroccan subjects were born in the Netherlands. Hence, subjects belonging to the one-and-a-half generation are clearly in the majority.
Slightly less fitting is the image with respect to the characteristic of length of stay in the Netherlands. The condition of similar length of stay and subsequent similar exposure to Dutch could not be fulfilled for all age/language groups. Every older group has on average a

length of stay in the Netherlands that does not cover the length of stay of -all- younger groups. It was particularly hard to find older subjects (group IVAR and IVBB) that had a length of stay similar to the younger group's. This could be expected as the 'oldest' young Moroccans, belonging to the one-and-a-half generation have characteristically been born in Morocco. Notwithstanding the deficiency in characteristics, the Moroccan age/language groups have in common that all have spent the larger part of their lives in the Netherlands and most groups were subsequently confronted with Dutch when they were very young (from the average age of 9 months for IAR to 10;07 years for IVBB). Nevertheless, the differences in length of stay will be taken into account in discussing the results of this research.

Appendix 1 gives an overview of the educational careers of the subjects involved. It shows that all older groups have enjoyed a similar education in the Netherlands as the younger groups and in this respect share similar exposure to Dutch. Some subjects in group IV have jobs and some are temporarily unemployed. Although the variable sex is not considered in this research, appendix 1 indicates the sex of the subjects as well.

All Moroccan and Dutch subjects in the three youngest groups were born in Utrecht, a major city in the middle of the Netherlands (the fourth largest in the country), or have lived there the larger part of their lives. This implies that some of these subjects may have acquired a form of the Utrecht dialect, which is particularly noted for its tendency to drop final t's, e.g. /utrecht/ > /uterech/' (Donaldson,1983;13). The dialect of Utrecht is primarily characterized by a phonology deviating from standard Dutch and a specific slang vocabulary. All Dutch subjects were monolingual in language history and daily language use.

No specific information is given concerning the social class of the subjects involved as all came from the lower working classes which implies that all subjects meet the condition of belonging to a similar social class.

1.4.4. Means of data collection

Information on the subjects' language situation (relevant to research questions (1)-(3)) and speech data in Dutch (relevant to research question (4)) were gathered in one session by the experimenter. The session generally started with me introducing myself to the subjects, explaining the aim of 'the test', asking their names and putting them at ease. Next, in order to answer research question one, the determination of the original language, a so-called **Original Language Determination Test** (OLDT, see section 2.2.1.) was administered, together with a questionnaire. Information relevant to the second research question concerning the determination of the chronological order of entry of the different languages in the language profile of the Moroccan subjects and the relationship of use between Dutch, the original tongues and possible other tongues making up the linguistic profile of the subjects was gathered by way of the same **questionnaire**, as used in research question (1). The establishment of the proficiency level of Dutch and possible other languages used -as established in research question (2)-, the third research question, was done by a **Picture Description Test** (PDT), which was administered in the languages concerned. In order to obtain speech data in Dutch relevant to research question (4), a **Structured Interview** (SI) was held with the subjects. This SI consisted of a free speech elicitation procedure, in which a stable set of subjects was introduced, like 'holidays', 'school', 'television programmes and video movies', 'travelling to Morocco and holidays in Morocco' and 'jobs' (especially with the oldest group) and the subjects were invited and encouraged to talk freely.

Summing up, the order of data collection was generally as follows:

1. introduction
2. the original language determination test
3. the questionnaire
4. the picture description test in Dutch
5. the structured interview in Dutch
6. the picture description test in other languages, as determined by research question (2).

The parts (4) to (6) were recordered on tape.

1.4.5. The actual data collection

Data collection took place in 1987 and 1988. In most cases it took place in a school environment, mostly in an empty class room or another separate room. This does not count for the oldest group, as the latter's subjects very often did not go to school any more so that data collection was carried out in a variety of settings, at home with the subjects, in a community center or at the experimenter 's home. All subjects were informed beforehand about the aim of the test: to talk in Dutch so as to provide data for a thorough analysis of it so that insight could be gained in the acquisition of Dutch by Moroccans, specifically the easy and difficult aspects of it. To put the Moroccan subjects at ease I informed them that I had been to Morocco, to their own cities, and that I had knowledge of their languages. These factors had as a rule a relieving and relaxing effect on those subjects that were nervous. It made the situation an 'amongst friends' one.

Most subjects were talkative in the speech eliciting parts of the data collection but some subjects were not. This was especially the case with control group IIINL, adolescents, who judged everything 'stupid' and were unwilling to expose themselves even if it concerned a simple speech elicitation test as described.

The data collection procedure lasted on average 20 to 35 minutes for each subject. The speech elicitation parts were recordered on tape. The tape recorder occasionally had some initial restraining effect on the subjects' talkativeness. In most cases, however, this effect disappeared as a relaxed atmosphere originated when the subjects found out nothing very difficult was expected from them and this atmosphere lasted till the end of the test.

Interlocutory constraints could not be measured. Still I did not get the impression that I had a significant constraining effect on the speech elicitation in Dutch and in eliciting speech data in the original tongues I received the impression that subjects were happy accomplishing a task for me, doing their best and even

testing my knowledge of their original tongues, as shown by the words of Ahmed, IIIAR4, who says, switching to Dutch, while describing the first picture description series in his original tongue, Moroccan Arabic:

> Snap je wat ik zeg?
> 'Do you understand what I am saying?'

Chapter 2. The language profile of the young Moroccans

2.1. Introduction

The language profile of the young Moroccans is the first component that is examined in this study. This language profile will be made up by the answers to the following three research questions:

(1) What is the original tongue of each of the Moroccan subjects?

(2) Besides Dutch, whose use can naturally be assumed, what other languages, including the original languages make up the language profile of the Moroccan subjects, and what can be said on the chronological order of the entry of the languages involved in the language profile and what is the actual measure of use of the different tongues?

(3) Given the results of the investigation into research question (2) what is the relation between the proficiency levels of Dutch and other languages making up the language profile of the Moroccan subjects?

The present chapter presents the operationalization of these three research questions. They will be treated in the same numerical order as they are presented above.

2.2. Research question (1)

The question of the determination of the original tongue is formulated as follows:

(1) What is the original tongue of each of the Moroccan subjects?

The determination of the original tongue was deemed necessary as the description of the language situation of the Moroccans showed that the language that is mostly

used, i.e. the dominant language, is not necessarily the same as the original language (see 1.2.1.). Stagnation of acquisition and use of the original language may occur and another language may have become the dominant language. In such cases the original language may continue to be used to a small extent, but its use may also have become virtually extinct. The absence of its actual use, however, does not imply its absence in the language profile of the subject concerned: it belongs to its linguistic history.

The method initially used to detect and determine the original language existed simply in asking the Moroccan subjects (Groot, Otten & de Ruiter,1986;89) what their original tongue was. This was done with the use of a questionnaire. Questions were asked about the language they first remember hearing and speaking. These questions were followed by others which were aimed at establishing as accurately as possible the language history of the subjects. They were asked about their personal history in Morocco and the Netherlands: what was the place of birth, in which cities have they lived, what schools have they attended, what languages are spoken at home with parents, siblings and Moroccan friends? Simply asking these questions turned out to be productive in the two oldest age/language groups. Several younger subjects of group I and II, however, especially originally Berber speaking ones exerted strong censure on themselves in answering the question concerning the original language. On occasion these subjects answered 'Marokkaans', ('Moroccan') and in that case they were asked to indicate a Berber language or a Moroccan Arabic dialect. Answers to this last question were believed to be true, but in executing the picture description test, where the subjects were ultimately asked to tell a story in their original language, which was determined only a few moments before in the questionnaire, several younger subjects who had claimed to be 'Moroccan Arabic' speakers were 'caught out' by performing the task in a Berber language, chiefly Tarifit. This problem did not occur in the speech of subjects of a Moroccan Arabic dialect origin, as they, notwithstanding occasional vague answers to the question on the original language by replying 'Arabisch' ('Arabic') (probably unconsciously) described the pictures in their original Moroccan Arabic dialect.

The Berber subjects' behavior can be explained in terms of 'social desirability'. As has been described in the introductory chapter (1.2.1.), the Berber languages belong to the informal domain and in more formal settings Berber languages are preferably not used. In such cases a form of Arabic or French is used. The Berber subjects in this research probably initially experienced the data collection procedure involved as an authority setting as they were ordered by their teachers to go with the experimenter for the test. Subsequently, they must have been inclined to present themselves, as can be expected in a formal context, as speakers of 'Marokkaans' ('Moroccan') or 'Arabisch' ('Arabic').

In the final data collection procedure, a new test designed in order to determine the youngest subjects' original languages more accurately and reliably, was developed in order to avoid this confusing situation: the **Original Language Determination Test** (OLDT). Besides the administration of this test, questions concerning the original language(s) continued to be asked by way of a questionnaire (see for the questionnaire appendix 2).

2.2.1. The Original Language Determination Test (OLDT).

Appel (1984) was also confronted with the problem of determining the original language of his Moroccan subjects. He needed to distinguish between speakers of Moroccan Arabic and speakers of Berber in order to establish the influence of bilingual education on both groups (55). At first he was informed by a Moroccan teacher about the nature of the mother tongues and the language situation of the subjects. In order to confirm this information a test was administered (33). This test (167) contained Moroccan Arabic and Berber words, written in Latin letters. The children had to read these words and try to recognize them. The expectation was that subjects with a Berber background would recognize the Berber words as opposed to children with a Moroccan Arabic background, as the latter can be assumed not to command Berber languages (see 1.2.1.). Another part of the test consisted of the writing down of Moroccan Arabic or Berber words in Latin letters. Such tests seem doubtful for the following reasons. Berber languages have no written form at all and Arabic, dialect or Standard, written in Latin letters has

proved to be difficult for Arabs themselves let alone for Moroccan children in the Netherlands. Hence one may wonder whether the subjects involved could understand the written words in both languages, let alone whether they were able to write down words of their mother tongues. Although Appel himself had serious doubts about the test (167), he restricts himself to stating only that it was administered in order to verify the Moroccan teacher's information (33) and he does not mention the occurrence of possible problems in administering it.

The OLDT used in this research was administered **orally**. It consisted of the presentation to the subjects of a series of 20 pictures representing easily recognizable objects like a window, a cow, a man etc. On tape the words for 10 of the 20 objects were spoken in Moroccan Arabic and 10 in Tarifit. The tape was played and the subject was instructed to point to a picture if he or she recognized the word. The Moroccan Arabic dialect on the tape was of a Moroccan native speaker of the city of Oudjda. The words chosen, however, are similar in other Moroccan Arabic dialects. Furthermore, I had chosen Tarifit words to be recorded on the tape, in preference to other Berber languages, as in pretests it became clear to me that hardly any Berber Moroccan subject was from a Berber background other than Tarifit. If a subject was of non-Tarifit Berber origin, this became clear to me because in the questionnaire I also asked about the city of origin, the geography of which often reveals the nature of the Berber language concerned (see 1.2.1.). If the test did not yield any correct answer, it could be argued that the subject did not master its original language and that possibly Dutch or another language could have taken its place. In such a case, specific questions on linguistic history and language use were asked.

The OLDT was administered to the two younger groups only, as it was especially in these groups that problems had occurred in determining the original language. The test turned out to be successful. When hearing words in Tarifit all Tarifit speakers pointed without hesitation to the relevant pictures and so did the speakers of Moroccan Arabic when hearing words in their original language. Not all words were always recognized. Still, on average, always more than two words in one original language were

recognized and no subject had nil scores. Tarifit speakers occasionally recognized words in Moroccan Arabic as well. Speakers of Moroccan Arabic, however, hardly ever recognized Tarifit words. This was expected as speakers of Berber languages acquire Moroccan Arabic but rarely vice versa (Abbassi, 1977;101). In this respect one can better speak of a 'Berber Background Determination Test'. However, according to the performances of the younger subjects on the OLDT and based on the answers of all subjects to the questions of the questionnaire, the subjects were divided into originally Moroccan Arabic and Tarifit background.

Column 1 of table 1 (see page 56) presents the results of research question (1).

insert table 1 here.

The results show that of the Berber speakers all but one (IBB1, Tashelhit) have **Tarifit** as their original language. The Moroccan -Arabic speakers have one of the Moroccan Arabic dialects as original language (mostly Mdini Arabic). No subject turned out to have Dutch as its original language.

2.3. Research question (2)

The questionnaire was to answer the second research question:

> (2) Besides Dutch, whose use can naturally be assumed, what other languages, including the original languages make up the language profile of the Moroccan subjects, and what can be said on the chronological order of the entry of the languages involved in the language profile and what is the actual measure of use of the different tongues?

Research question (2) can be divided into the following two sub-questions:

(1) What language entered at what moment the language profile of each subject involved?

(2) What is the measure of use of the different languages making up the language profile of each subject?

This information was sought in the same questionnaire (see appendix 2) that was used in the determination of the original tongues (see section 2.2.). Below the two features of research question (2) will be treated separately.

2.3.1. The chronological order of entry of the different languages in the language profiles.

Information on which language at what moment entered the subjects' lives was obtained by asking the subjects about the chronological order of the events of their lives and the role of languages starting to play a part in them. Questions were asked as to date of birth, the history of the emigration, schools attended in Morocco, places lived in in Morocco, date of entry into the Netherlands, schools attended in the Netherlands, with the emphasis repeatedly on the languages used in the different stages of life. The chronological order of the entry of the languages in the language profiles could thus be set quite reliably. However, it turned out to be impossible to establish the exact moment of entry of the different languages involved. Only the moment of entry of Dutch could be confirmed as this generally coincided with the subjects' emigration to the Netherlands or the birth in the Netherlands.
The results of the first part of research question (2) can be found in columns 1, 2 and 3 of table 1 (see page 56). Column 1 refers to the chronologically first languages used. These turned out to be the same languages as the original languages as determined by research question (1). Hence column 1 refers to both original language and first used language. Column 2 indicates the chronological second language used and column 3 possible chronologically third and fourth languages used. Column 4 refers to languages that the subjects did not mention in the questionnaire, but that should be part of their language profile on the ground of their answers to the question concerning the schools they attended in Morocco. This applies especially to subjects in group III and IV, who claimed to have attended schools in Morocco, and thus must have had Classical Arabic, in the first two years of primary school, and French from the third year on (see for the

	1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4
IAR1	MA	TR	DU CA(E)	—	IIIAR1	MA	DU	—	—
IAR2	MA	DU	CA(E)	—	IIIAR2	MA	DU	—	CA FR
IAR3	MA	DU	CA(E)	—	IIIAR3	MA	DU	—	—
IAR4	MA	DU	CA(E)	—	IIIAR4	MA	DU	—	—
IAR5	MA	DU	CA(E)	—	IIIAR5	MA	DU	—	CA
IAR6	MA	DU	CA(E)	—	IIIAR6	MA	DU	—	—
IAR7	MA	DU	CA(E)	—	IIIAR7	MA	DU	—	—
IAR8	MA	DU	CA(E)	—	IIIAR8	MA	DU	—	—
IAR9	MA	DU	CA(E)	—	IIIAR9	MA	DU	—	CA
IAR10	MA	DU	CA(E)	—	IIIAR10	MA	DU	—	—
									—
IBB1	TS	DU	CA(E)	—	IIIBB1	TR	DU	—	CA
IBB2	TR	DU	CA(E)	—	IIIBB2	TR	DU	—	—
IBB3	TR	DU	CA(E)	CA	IIIBB3	TR	DU	—	—
IBB4	TR	DU	CA(E)	CA	IIIBB4	TR	DU	MA	CA
IBB5	TR	DU	CA(E)	—	IIIBB5	TR	DU	—	CA
IBB6	TR	DU	CA(E)	—	IIIBB6	TR	DU	MA	—
IBB7	TR	DU	CA(E)	—	IIIBB7	TR	MA	DU	CA
IBB8	TR	DU	--	—	IIIBB8	TR	DU	—	CA
IBB9	TR	DU	CA(E)	—	IIIBB9	TR	DU	CA (E)	CA FR
IBB10	TR	DU	CA(E)	—	IIIBB10	TR	DU	FR SP	—
IIAR1	MA	DU	CA(E)	—	IVAR1	MA	DU	—	CA
IIAR2	MA	DU	CA(E)	—	IVAR2	MA	DU	TR	CA FR
IIAR3	MA	DU	TR CA(E)	—	IVAR3	MA	DU	FR	CA
IIAR4	MA	DU	CA(E)	—	IVAR4	MA	DU	—	CA
IIAR5	MA	DU	CA(E)	—	IVAR5	MA	FR	DU	CA FR
IIAR6	MA	DU	CA(E)	—	IVAR6	MA	DU	--	CA
IIAR7	MA	DU	CA(E)	--	IVAR7	MA	DU	--	CA
IIAR8	MA	DU	CA(E)	—	IVAR8	MA	FR	DU	—
IIAR9	MA	DU	CA(E)	CA	IVAR9	MA	DU	—	—
IIAR10	MA	DU	CA(E)	—	IVAR10	MA	DU	—	—
IIBB1	TR	DU	CA(E)	—	IVBB1	TR	MA	FR DU	CA
IIBB2	TR	DU	CA(E)	—	IVBB2	TR	MA	DU	CA FR
IIBB3	TR	MA	CA(E)	CA FR	IVBB3	TR	MA	FR DU	CA
IIBB4	TR	DU	CA(E)	—	IVBB4	TR	MA	DU	CA FR
IIBB5	TR	DU	CA(E)	—	IVBB5	TR	MA	DU	CA
IIBB6	TR	DU	CA(E)	—	IVBB6	TR	MA	DU	CA FR
IIBB7	TR	DU	CA(E)	CA	IVBB7	TR	MA	—	CA
IIBB8	TR	DU	CA(E)	--	IVBB8	TR	DU	—	—
IIBB9	TR	DU	CA(E)	--	IVBB9	TR	DU	—	—
IIBB10	TR	DU	CA(E)	CA FR	IVBB10	TR	DU	—	—

Table 1: The languages of the Moroccan subjects; column 1: original language as established by OLDT and firstly used language; column 2: chronologically second language; column 3: chronologically later other languages; column 4: languages not mentioned by the subjects but in principle part of the language profile on the ground of schools being frequented in Morocco. MA = Moroccan Arabic, TR = Tarifit, DU = Dutch, CA(E) = Classical Arabic taught in ENCL lessons, CA = Classical Arabic, TS = Tashelhit, FR = French, SP = Spanish.

education of subjects appendix 1, and for the Moroccan school system section 1.2.1.). The languages mentioned in column 4 do not obey the chronological order. The present results will be discussed in combination with the results of the second part of research question (2) (see next section).

2.3.2. The measure of use of the different languages

The determination of the measure of use of the various languages was executed as follows. Four speech domains, assumed to be the most important ones of the Moroccans were distinguished and the subjects were asked what languages they use in these specific domains. The domains are as follows:

1. the language(s) the subject uses in communication with the father.

2. the language(s) the subject uses in communication with the mother.

3. the language(s) the subject uses in communication with siblings.

4. the language(s) the subject uses in communication with Moroccan friends.

The subjects' answers were 'translated' into percentages (for the exact method of this calculation see appendix 3). Table 2 shows the distribution of language use of the Moroccan subjects with father, mother, siblings and Moroccan friends. The figures are average percentages per age/language group indicating the measure of use of a specific language in the domains involved. For example, group IAR claims to use Moroccan Arabic in communication with the fathers on average in 84 % of the occasions; Dutch in 12 % of the occasions and Tarifit in 4 %. The INDEX indicates the average percentage of the overall claimed use of a given language per age/language group in the four domains. The highest INDEX percentage indicates the dominant language of the group.

IAR	MA	DU	TR
father	84	12	04
mother	70	26	04
sibl.	40	60	--
friends	18	82	--
INDEX	53	45	02

IBB	TR	DU	MA
father	90	10	--
mother	90	10	--
sibl.	54	46	--
friends	42	55	03
INDEX	69	30	01

IIAR	MA	DU	TR
father	75	24	01
mother	63	36	01
sibl.	33	66	01
friends	25	74	01
INDEX	49	50	01

IIBB	TR	DU	MA
father	74	26	--
mother	92	08	--
sibl.	38	62	--
friends	22	76	02
INDEX	56	43	01

IIIAR	MA	DU	TR
father	87	13	--
mother	70	30	--
sibl.	28	72	--
friends	24	76	--
INDEX	52	48	--

IIIBB	TR	DU	MA
father	80	20	--
mother	90	04	06
sibl.	38	60	02
friends	23	68	09
INDEX	56	38	06

IVAR	MA	DU	TR
father	94	06	--
mother	92	08	--
sibl.	64	36	--
friends	54	45	01
INDEX	75	25	--

IVBB	TR	DU	MA
father	94	06	--
mother	100	--	--
sibl.	50	50	--
friends	23	58	19
INDEX	67	29	04

Table 2: languages claimed to be used with father, mother, siblings and Moroccan friends, per age/language group in average percentages (sibl. = siblings). The INDEX indicates the average percentage of the overall claimed use of a given language per age/language group.

2.3.3. Discussion of the outcomes of research question (2)

The chronological order of the languages

Table 1 shows that most Moroccan subjects basically claim to use two languages: for most subjects of a Moroccan Arabic background Moroccan Arabic is their first language and Dutch their second. For subjects of a Berber origin these are Tarifit and Dutch. Only in group IVBB the second language used is mainly Moroccan Arabic and the third language Dutch. The fact that Moroccan Arabic is chiefly spoken by subjects of group IVBB and not by subjects of younger BB groups may be related to the former's relatively longer duration of stay in Morocco in the first part of their lives: on average they have lived in Morocco 10;07 years (see 1.4.3.) As a matter of fact, they (still) reflect in some way the actual language situation in Morocco where Berber speakers generally acquire Moroccan Arabic but not vice versa.
In general, however, the fact that most subjects came to live in the Netherlands when they were very young, or were born in the Netherlands (see 1.4.3) will certainly have influenced the early start of the use of Dutch and hence its 'second' position in the language profile of most subjects.
Subjects in both group I and II learn some Classical Arabic at school in the ENLC lessons. One may wonder to what extent Standard Arabic is mastered as these lessons are given in only a short period of time per week (see 1.2.2.). In general the subjects of group III and IV must have had ENLC lessons as well. This, however, could not be confirmed by their answers. Some Tarifit children of group I and II have apparently acquired some Moroccan Arabic. This seems to occur on a very small scale and consists of merely a few words according to comments the subjects gave. Group IVBB contains most multilinguals. They claim to speak Tarifit, Dutch, Moroccan Arabic and French. Most striking is Hafieda, IIIBB10, who claims to use Tarifit, Dutch, French and Spanish.
None of the older subjects of group III and IV claimed to have used or use Classical Arabic and only a few subjects claimed to use some French. However, on the basis of the answers the subjects gave to the question concerning schools they attended in Morocco, they might be expected

to mention these languages as well. The fact that they hardly did, may indicate the little value they attach to them or the little attention they have paid or pay to these languages or that they have forgotten to mention them due to the non-existent role they have played or play in their lives. A general conclusion may be that these languages seem to be of little importance to these subjects. Therefore no attention will be paid to them in the present study.

The measure of use of the different languages

With respect to the languages claimed to be used (table 2) the following observations can be made:

Dichotomy

What is striking, is the dichotomy occurring in all groups in the use of the original tongues with father and mother on the one hand and brothers and sisters and Moroccan peers on the other hand. The original tongues are claimed to be used with the parents in around 80 % of the speech situations, whereas they are used in only around 40 % of the speech situations with brothers and sisters and friends. In fact, a strange situation has arisen because a split has developed. Characteristic in this context may be Mnana, IIBB7, who says later in the Structured Interview [1]:

S. (1) Met moeder spreek ik veel Marokkaans [= Tarifit in dit geval]. Met mijn vader soms Nederlands, soms Marokkaans. Met m'n broer Nederlands, Marokkaans. Heel weinig Marokkaans. Met m'n zus ook heel weinig Marokkaans.

1

Quotations from what the subjects have said can assume two forms: those that are relevant for their contents and those that are relevant for the structure(s) of the utterance itself. In case of the former a free translation in English indicated by quotation marks is given only and in case of the latter a word for word translation is given in order to make the structure clear to the English reader, followed by a free translation indicated by quotation marks. If the free translation reads the same as the word for word translation the latter is omitted.

S. 'With my mother I speak a lot of Moroccan [= Tarifit in this case]. With my father, sometimes Dutch, sometimes Moroccan. With my brother Dutch, Moroccan. Very little Moroccan. With my sister very little Moroccan either.'

The father of Saied, IIIAR7, wants Saied to talk Arabic with him and his mother wants to learn some Dutch, possibly taught to her by her son:

S. (2) M'n vader wil dat ik met hem Arabisch praat. Hij wil dat ik Arabisch wil leren. En m'n moeder: ja, die begrijpt ook een beetje nederlands. Die wil ook een beetje Nederlands leren.

S. 'My father wants me to talk Arabic with him. He wants me to want to learn Arabic. And my mother: yes, she understands Dutch a bit too. She wants to learn Dutch too.'

Except for group IVAR, Dutch is used relatively more by the Moroccan Arabic groups than the Tarifit groups, both at home and with friends. The Tarifit groups show a stronger tie with the original language. In the home situation, Tarifit is used more and more constantly in the Tarifit age groups than is Moroccan Arabic in the Moroccan Arabic age groups. Significant differences between the use of Dutch in both language groups can be found in the more extensive use of Dutch with friends in group IAR than in IBB ($p \leq 0.017$); the use of Dutch with mother in both group IIAR and IIIAR, more than in IIBB and IIIBB ($p \leq 0.014$ and ($p \leq 0.043$).
The fact that on average the BB groups have spent a shorter time of their lives in the Netherlands (see 1.4.3.) may have contributed to their apparently closer tie with the Lo. Apart from this observation, the fact that the original tongues are maintained more in Tarifit families than in Moroccan Arabic families may, I think, also be due to the fact that parents especially in Moroccan Arabic families in the younger age groups, are more inclined to use Dutch and are more open to contact with Dutch society, while Tarifit speaking parents remain more insular. The following argumentation leads to this

observation. In Morocco language shift from Moroccan Arabic to French occurs for reasons of prestige (Bentahila, 1983;164). Tarifit speakers in Morocco shift to Moroccan Arabic if they move to Arabic speaking towns. This shift may be considered socially and religiously determined. Arabic, both dialect and Standard, has a higher status in both domains. If this situation of language shift is transferred to the Dutch context, the shift of the Moroccan Arabic speakers to Dutch is not so strange: they shift to the language with the higher prestige, like in Morocco. The possible shift of the Tarifit speakers to Dutch may be slowed down due to the absence of a religious motivation to shift to Dutch and the generally more conservative attitude of the Tarifit speaking community.

Friends

With friends Dutch is used both by Moroccan Arabic speakers and Tarifit speakers significantly more than it is used in communication with the parents. This does not completely apply to IVAR and to a lesser extent to IVBB- which uses both Tarifit and Moroccan Arabic with friends virtually equally- nor to IBB. In these groups the original tongues are used in contacts with friends relatively more than in other groups. A reason for this feature in the oldest groups can possibly be the fact that on average its subjects have been living in the Netherlands for only 10 to 12 years and thus have spent some ten years in Morocco, which exposed them to a longer period of constant use of the original tongues. The fact that the oldest subjects have been in closer and longer contact with first generation Moroccans may also have contributed to a more intensive use of the original tongues with each other. A possible explanation may also be the fact that the oldest subjects have initially been living in Morocco in the absence of the fathers, with their mothers, who traditionally are more Lo preserving than the fathers, due to the former's more isolated position. This aspect could, however, not be confirmed as no questions were asked in the questionnaire about the aspects of the immigration history of the family.
The fact that the subjects of group IBB claim to use their original language with friends on average more than the subjects of group IAR may be related to the more

conservative, language preserving attitude of the parents of the former group, which may influence the language choice and use of their children. This feature is not as strongly present in the older Berber group II, whose claimed use of the original language with friends is similar to the claim of the counter group IIAR. Has the parents' influence on language choice and use decreased in the older children?

Language mix

In IAR one subject (IAR1, Hafied), scoring negative on the Tarifit items and positive on the Moroccan Arabic items in the Original Language Determination Test, still claims to use Tarifit in communication with his parents. This is due to the fact that the parents are of a Berber origin. They have maintained some Berber in the communication with each other and their children have probably developed a very limited passive comprehension of their parents' original language. Between parents and children however, Moroccan Arabic is used.
The use of Moroccan Arabic on a very small scale by subjects in group IBB is not surprising: just as in Morocco they get acquainted with children speaking Moroccan Arabic in the street and consequently acquire it. The same phenomenon can be observed in the other BB groups. Mnana, IIBB7 is an example of this:

E. (3) Hoe komt dat, dat je Arabisch hebt geleerd?
S. In Marokko speelde ik vaak met Arabische meisjes. Daarvoor.
E. En heb je hier ook Arabische les op school?
S. Ja.

E. 'How come you learned Arabic?
S. In Morocco I played a lot with Arabic girls. That's why.
E. And do you have Arabic lessons in school too?
S. Yes'

Sometimes personal circumstances can lead to the acquisition of Tarifit by speakers of Moroccan Arabic:

S. (4) Hier [in de klas] zijn ook vrienden, die Berbers [= Tarifit] kennen. En soms zeggen ze ook geheimen. En dan

zeg hij zo met Arabisch. Ik leer voor hem Arabisch enne leert een beetje Berbers voor mij.

S. 'Here [in my class] there are also friends, who know Berber [=Tarifit]. And sometimes they say secrets too. En then he says it in Arabic. I teach Arabic to him and he teaches a bit of Berber to me.'

An example of language shift is what happened to the family of Hussein, IVAR2. Hussein is of Berber origin, but has been virtually completely arabized:

S. (5) M'n grootouders in Marokko, van m'n moeder, die praten ook Berbers en af en toe ga ik met m'n moeder mee daar en je luistert wat ze zeggen.
E. Toen jij vroeger in Marokko woonde, werd er toen ook thuis Berber gesproken?
S. Nee, we hebben nooit Berbers gesproken. Ja, m'n opa van m'n vader en zo. De familie, die praat allemaal Arabisch. En m'n moeder, die was ook gedwongen om Arabisch te praten in de familie.

S. 'My grandparents in Morocco, on my mother's side, they talk Berber as well and sometimes I go there with my mother and I listen to what they say.
E. When you lived in Morocco was Berber spoken at home as well?
S. No, we have never talked Berber. Yes, my grandfather from my father's side and so. The family, they all talk Arabic. And my mother, she was forced to talk Arabic in the family.'

The shift from Tarifit to Moroccan Arabic and the fact that Moroccan Arabic speakers relatively seldom shift to a Berber language will undoubtedly be caused by the dominance of Arabic in Morocco and the allegedly low status of the Berber languages. Consider Hussein's (IVAR2) following remark on the nature of Tarifit:

S. (6) Ik vind Berbers niet een echte taal wat je kan leren.
E. Niet een taal, die je kan leren? Hoe bedoel je?
S. Ja, dat kan je gewoon in je hoofd maken en eh meepraten.

E. 'I do not consider Berber a real language you can learn.
S. Not a language you can learn? What do you mean?
E. Well, you can just make it in your head and join in the talking.'

Surprisingly Hussein contradicts himself later in the conversation when he says:

S. (7) Want ik begrijp heel veel Berbers, maar het zelf praten valt niet mee.

S. 'Because I understand a great deal of Tarifit, but to speak it myself is not easy.'

And Nadya, IVBB8, a speaker of Tarifit origin, backs up Hussein's earlier remark:

S. (8) Ik ben eigenlijk een beetje bang om Arabisch te spreken. Arabische mensen, die lachen altijd iedereen uit. En vooral omdat je Berbers bent. Echt waar!

S. 'As a matter of fact I am a bit afraid to speak Arabic. Arabic people always laugh at you because you are Berber. Really!'

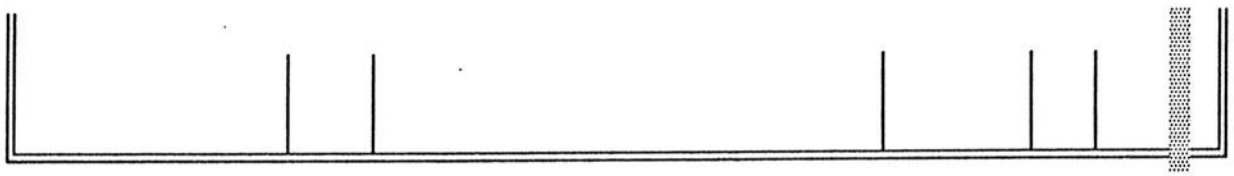
Conclusion

Subjects claimed to actually use Moroccan Arabic, Tarifit and Dutch only and other languages making up of the language profile, e.g. Classical Arabic, French and Spanish were not. For this reason, the execution of the third research question (the establishment of the proficiency levels of Dutch and other languages used by the subjects) will confine itself to the determination of the proficiency levels of these three languages. For the Moroccan Arabic groups these are Moroccan Arabic and Dutch and for the Berber groups, Tarifit and Dutch. No specific attention will be paid either to Moroccan Arabic claimed to be used in the BB groups or Berber languages claimed to be used in the AR groups, because the measures of claimed use are very low (maximum index 6 % use of MA in IIIBB).

One of the implications of the fact that the investigation reported here takes age/language groups as its starting point is that only group observations and group characteristics are relevant. The additional investigation of the proficiency levels of the hardly used languages would cause the research to become highly dissipated.

The collection of data relevant to research questions (1) and (2) has yielded an abundance of information about the languages used by the subjects and the relations of use. Nevertheless, the answers to the questionnaire were subjective interpretations of language use, which could not be confirmed. This observation is another reason to examine the actual proficiency level of the languages claimed to be used by the subjects.

An additional interesting feature with respect to the final results of the investigation of research question (3) is to examine the relationship between the **claims** of use of the original languages and their **actual** proficiency levels. Figure 1 presents a continuum of the **claimed** use of the original tongues of all eight age/language groups. The groups are ordered according to the **INDEX** of use of the original tongues, as presented in table 2. The further to the left in the continuum, the higher the claimed use of the original tongue. The following picture emerges:



75	69	67	56	53	52	49
IVAR	IBB	IVBB	IIBB/IIIBB	IIIAR	IAR	IIAR

Lo high — Lo low

Figure 1: claimed use of the LLo by the Moroccan age/language groups

The boundary (▒) indicates the claim of 50 % use of the original language. Right of it the original language is claimed to be spoken in less than 50 % of the speech situations. Only IIAR remains under this 50 %. It is clear

that the original language is claimed to be mostly used in the Berber groups.

Group IAR, IIAR and IIIAR contain 7, 6 and 4 subjects respectively who were born in the Netherlands. The fact that these groups are placed to the right extreme of the continuum may be interpreted as the confirmation of the existence of a relationship between the variables 'being born in the Netherlands' and 'less use of the Lo'. One should, however, observe that group IBB contains 4 subjects that were born in the Netherlands and group IIBB 1 and that these groups, IBB especially, are placed to the left in the continuum, keeping IIIBB, a group which does not contain any subjects that are born in the Netherlands, between them and IAR, IIAR and IIIAR. These facts do not, in my view, sustain a strong correlation between the two variables mentioned. Being born in the Netherlands therefore does not seem to imply a lesser use of the Lo. The continuum implies a linguistically permeable boundary between the one-and-a-half generation and the Moroccan children born in the Netherlands: linguistically speaking there seem to be no significant differences. Still, as the continuum is based on the claimed use of the LLo, the actual proficiency level of the LLo will probably shed more light on this issue. After the section that deals with the determination of the proficiency level of the LLo and Dutch (2.9.1.) a separate section will go deeper into the relation of 'claimed Lo use' and actual Lo proficiency (2.9.2.).

2.4. Research question (3)

The research question concerning the proficiency levels of the several languages making up the Moroccans' language profile was formulated as follows:

> (3) Given the results of the investigation into research question (2) what is the relation between the proficiency levels of Dutch and other languages that make up the language profile of the Moroccan subjects?

As, for reasons described above, attention will be paid

only to the original languages and Dutch, research question (3) can be reformulated as follows:

> (3) What is the relation between the proficiency level of the original languages and Dutch of the several Moroccan age/language groups?

For the Moroccan Arabic groups a relationship must be established between the proficiency levels in Moroccan Arabic and Dutch and for the Berber groups between the proficiency levels of Tarifit and Dutch.

2.4.1. The concept 'language proficiency'.

The determination of a 'language proficiency level' implies the existence of the concept 'language proficiency' and with this observation a delicate point of debate is touched. A universal definition of language proficiency does not exist, nor have theories on it been unanimously accepted (van der Geest,1988;26, Beheydt,1988). Much research has been devoted to this topic, in which the central question was whether or not language proficiency is based on one unitary factor or if multiple factors underlie it. This discussion has not yet ended, but, as Oller (1983) states, a point in agreement is 'that language users must in some manner come to posses a generative system that is componentially complex but which functions in an integrated system in many communicative contexts....there must therefore be a general factor underlying performance on many language processing tasks....this factor will be componentially complex' (Oller,1983;352-3). In the practice of language testing this implies that various components of language, whose agglutination is considered to be underlying the 'unitary factor', are tested. Many cases of research show this feature. Researchers want to operationalize 'language proficiency' as one variable, but practice boils down to the testing of aspects of language proficiency. Appel (1984), wishing to establish the proficiency level of Dutch of his subjects, touches upon this problem too and admits that he can not answer the questions of 'the criterion' and 'the measurability' of language proficiency (37). Hence he states that he measured 'some aspects' of language proficiency in his research (39) but 'it was done

in a more extensive way than was done in most of the other research on this subject'(61). In presenting the results of his analyses he wonders 'to what extent the real language proficiency of the children was measured' (60) and he tries to answer this question with a 'pre-scientific' description, which consists of the observation that 'most of the children who had the best scores on the formal linguistic categories were also the best talkers, especially the children who had high scores on the syntactic categories' (61) (for a more thorough discussion of Appel's operationalization of the concept of language proficiency, see Groot, 1988).

Lalleman (1987;17), too, states that there is no standard definition as yet of language proficiency and she quotes one of the 'many definitions' (Herbert,1979;1):

> '...the ability to use the various components of language such as vocabulary, structure and morphology to express one's thoughts'

Lalleman herself ventures an attempt to define language proficiency, which, in her view, should 'include the ability to comprehend the various components of language and the ability to use them not only to express one's thoughts' (17). She formulates it in terms of Functional Grammar:

> 'Language proficiency is the ability to code and decode the various components of language, such as the lexicon, (nuclear) predications, specified predications and expression rules'(17)

Consequently she operationalizes this definition in testing the various components mentioned in it, in fact in a manner, similar to Appel's.

This research does not pretend to propose an all-encompassing definition of language proficiency either. Nevertheless an attempt will be made. A first problem in defining language proficiency is determining the essence of language proficiency? Certainly, it has to do with an operational command of certain formal linguistic areas such as phonology, morphology and syntax, but more aspects may also be considered part of language proficiency. For

example, there are speakers of a second language, who are grammatically underdeveloped or speakers of a first language who while having as yet a faulty command of its linguistic aspects, are still able to express themselves clearly and intelligibly. They succeed to communicate in spite of linguistic gaps. In my view, it is these communicative aspects of language that are its most important functions: language is needed to convey messages, to express one's thoughts. Of course there will be a relation with the formal aspects of language as grammatical skills may enlarge communicative skills and as such they must be taken in consideration as well. Hence I would define language proficiency as follows:

> ...the measure in which a speaker can communicate in a language fluently, situation-bound and task-oriented.

This definition will be used for the purpose of this investigation as a basis for the method of the analysis of data collected in order to provide an answer to research question (3). However, the instrument of speech elicitation will be discussed first.

2.4.2. The Picture Description Test

The determination of the subjects' language proficiency levels in both original languages and Dutch needs an instrument. Two points are important in this respect. First of all, speech must be elicited in two languages, which will be compared to each other: i.e. a relationship must be established. This implies that the speech elicited must be easily comparable. Secondly, to test 'language proficiency' the subject, according to the working definition of language proficiency, must be able to use its linguistic abilities as optimally and naturally as possible, situation-bound and task-oriented, i.e. with the accent on communicative tasks, that entail functional use of language, preferably in a non-directed free speech elicitation procedure. For these reasons a picture description test was chosen. Picture description tests clearly reveal differences between both languages tested as the contents of the pictures are limited and clear to the experimenter. The results in both languages are highly comparable. Furthermore the description of a series of

pictures is strictly situation-bound and task-oriented. The subjects have to utter sentences related to and directed towards the series only. And although a simple series of pictures is a limited world about which not much can be said, it provides a relatively large opportunity for the subject to use its linguistic abilities in an optimal way: it occasions a kind of free speech.

Picture description tests have been used extensively because of the advantage of stimulus control that they yield. Lalleman (1983b) administered a picture description test in order to determine the relationship between communicative and grammatical proficiency in Dutch of Turkish and Dutch children. She found that in communication, i.e. in telling a story as regards to content, the Turkish children matched their Dutch peers whereas at the same time the Turkish children lagged behind in their command of Dutch grammatical rules in telling the story. Appel (1984) too uses a picture description test, not however for a specific comparison, but merely in order to obtain free speech. Poulisse, Bongaerts & Kellerman (1984) point out the advantages of picture description tests, giving an overview of research having used this test, and they accentuate the insight picture description tests yield in the subjects' use of compensatory strategies in case of lexical gaps or semantic deficiencies (viz. Varadi,1973;Tarone,1977).

The picture description test used in this study consists of two series of pictures. The first, showing a car accident, will be called 'the accident' and the second, showing a thief breaking into a house, will be called 'the thief' (abbreviated 'acc' and 'thi', see the pictures themselves appendix 4). The pictures show ordinary events, that occur daily and are talked about correspondingly. The expectation was that the events depicted in the series belong to both claimed domains of the original tongues and Dutch of the Moroccans. Furthermore no culturally based problems were expected as the Moroccan subjects attend and have been attending Dutch schools where pictures are used in teaching (cf. Kerkhoff & Vallen, 1985). Below a description of the analysis model of the data elicited in the PDT is presented (2.4.3.) together with the actual results (2.5.ff.).

2.4.3. Analysis model of the PDT data

The working definition of language proficiency in this research was formulated as follows:

> ...the measure in which a speaker can communicate fluently in a language, situation-bound and task-oriented.

This definition is based on the notion that communication is the most important characteristic of language. As mentioned before, there is some relationship between the communicative and grammatical aspects of language. A higher grammatical level, for example knowledge of how to form complex clauses, may reinforce the measure of successful communication. I will not go deeper into this relationship between the communicative aspects and grammatical aspects of language, but I conclude that language proficiency contains a communicative aspect and a grammatical aspect, in which the former is considered to be of more importance for language proficiency. These two aspects of language will be examined in the speech data elicited by the Picture Description Test in order to establish the proficiency levels of the LLo and Dutch of the eight Moroccan age/language groups. The data will be subjected to a number of analyses that reflect the basic division in communicative and grammatical aspects of language. Communicative aspects will be examined more than grammatical aspects. The results of the analyses in the LLo will be compared to the results of the analyses in Dutch and the total of these comparisons will produce the Original Language Proficiency Index for each of the eight age/language groups, the OLPI. This OLPI will shed light on the relation of the proficiency levels of the Moroccans in the LLo and Dutch. The OLPI will ultimately be compared to the measure of claimed use of the LLo: does the claimed measure of use correlate positively with the actual proficiency level of the Lo?

The procedures of analysis of the speech data and the method of comparison between the results of the LLo analyses and the analyses in Dutch in order to establish the OLPI are described in the following section.

2.4.4. Analysis of the PDT data: procedures.

The speech data are subjected to a number of analyses that reflect the basic division of communicative and grammatical aspects of language proficiency. As the communicative aspect of language proficiency is considered to be its more important one, it contains more analyses than the grammatical component. The concept of communication will be conceived in the context of the picture descriptions as the content aspects of the speech data: how much information relevant to the pictures does the subject convey, how many content words does he use, to what extent does he refer to time and place, does he make use of lexical strategies in order to convey what he intends to say, does he make use of code switching which is lexically determined? The grammatical component consists of some basically syntactic analyses measuring syntactic complexity: the use of simple and complex clauses and the determination of the Mean Length of Utterance (MLU). Finally, in order to obtain an overall impression of the language proficiency levels in Dutch and the LLo, some speech samples are given.

In summation, the following aspects of the speech data will be dealt with:

I. The content aspects

1. Number of informational units (NIU)

The analysis of the number of informational units consists of counting the number of **primary predicates** the sentences making up the description of a series contain. This content aspect is classified in the category **Number of Informational Units** (NIU). Clauses containing primary predicates can be either of an elliptical or a non-elliptical nature. It is these clauses that form the basis of the other analyses in the content and grammatical component. For a more detailed description of the method of analysis of the speech data elicited by the picture descriptions see appendix 5.

2. Time and place deixis (TPD)

The number of references to time and place, expressed in non-lexical adverbs per picture description is classified in the category Time and Place Deixis (TPD).

3. The number of different content words (NDC)

The Number of Different Content words used per subject per picture description is expressed in the category NDC

4. Lexical strategies (LS)

Three kinds of lexical strategies (LS) are distinguished: Message ABandonment, the use of High Coverage Words and All Coverage Words (MAB,HCW and ACW).

5. Code Switching (CS)

This analysis counts the absolute number of the occurrence of chiefly lexically determined code switching.

II. The grammatical aspects

Two categories make up the grammatical aspects of the analysis:

1. The measure of use of simple and complex clauses.

2. The Mean Length of Utterance (MLU)

III. The overall impression

Finally, in order to obtain an overall impression of the proficiency level of the subjects' Lo speech and Dutch, some speech samples are presented.

The different categories that are part of the content and grammatical aspects of language proficiency chosen are believed to be fairly representative, although I admit that probably any choice in the aspects making up both components is restrictive. The different categories will be accounted for and the results of the analyses will be

presented in the subsequent sections of their presentation.

The interpretation of the results of the analyses

The interpretation of the results of the various analyses in order to establish the OLPI, is as follows. Of every age/language group, the scores in the original language and Dutch for every category are subjected to the T-test, which yields the degree of statistical significance (expressed as $p \leq 0.01$, 0.05 or 0.10) of the difference between the scores in Dutch and the Lo. This comparison can yield nine different outcomes, which are expressed in the following symbols:

symbol:	meaning:
-c:	the Lo score is lower than the DU score at the level of $p \leq 0.01$
-b:	the Lo score is lower than the DU score at the level of $p \leq 0.05$
-a:	the Lo score is lower than the DU score at the level of $p \leq 0.10$
- :	the Lo score is lower than the DU score at the level of $0.750 \leq p \geq 0.100$
± :	the Lo score matches the DU score at the level of $p \geq 0.750$
+ :	the Lo score is higher than the DU score at the level of $0.750 \leq p \geq 0.100$
+a:	the Lo score is higher than the DU score at the level of $p \leq 0.10$
+b:	the Lo score is higher than the DU score at the level of $p \leq 0.05$
+c:	the Lo score is higher than the DU score at the level of $p \leq 0.01$

An example will clarify the working of the interpretation system. For the category 'NDC' of 'the accident' IIBB scores 11.40 in Dutch and 7.56 in Tarifit. The difference is statistically significant in favor of the score in Dutch: $p = 0.005$. According to the system the Tarifit score of IIBB for the category NDC of 'the accident' gets a '-c' rating as it is lower in the original language and $p \leq 0.01$. The ratings are indicated next to the scores in

the LLo in the tables that contain the results of the analyses concerned.

The outcomes of each category tested will be subjected to this interpretation and the total of the ratings will lead to the Original Language Proficiency Index, whose method of calculation and presentation is treated at the end of this chapter in section 2.9.1.

2.5. Results of the PD test.

2.5.1. General atmosphere during the PD test

The picture description test administered in Dutch was the first task in the data collection procedure the subjects had to perform (see 1.4.4.). The 'accident' had to be described first followed by the 'thief'. I received the impression that the description of the first series of pictures, 'the accident', was performed less attentively and more quickly than the description of 'the thief'. Starting problems and a less clear transition of one picture to the other in 'the accident' (see appendix 4) could be the reasons for its less accurate description. Furthermore one could argue that the administration of a picture description test twice, in Dutch and the original language, may cause weariness with the subjects, which may have a negative effect on their performance in the second administration of the test. This may be the case, but I aimed at presenting the task of describing the pictures in the original tongues as a different task which had my special attention. One cannot be certain, however, whether or not the reiterating aspect had a significantly negative effect on the performance of the subjects.

The description of the series of pictures in the original tongues ended the data collection procedure. As described in 2.2. younger subjects especially exerted self censure in answering questions on their original tongues in the pretests. This was explained by the situation being conceived as an authority setting in which the use of vernaculars is not desired. One may wonder whether the subjects were likely to speak in their original tongues in such an authority setting. But in the final data collection procedure, speaking in the original tongue did not seem to be seriously hindered for the following

reasons. Firstly I told them that I had knowledge of their original tongues and, if needed in order to prove this, I uttered some words in the original tongues. Most subjects were delighted to hear their home languages and relaxed. The setting did not seem to be one of authority any more and in most occasions a friendly atmosphere developed. Furthermore, the younger ones had already been subjected to the Original Language Determination Test: words spoken in their original tongues were heard, which must have sounded strange as this is the last thing they would expect in such a situation. Apparently, the situation was not as formal as they had expected it to be. To sum up, when the moment of the picture description in the original tongues came up, most subjects did their best to perform as well as they could.

2.5.2. Failure to express oneself in the original tongue.

Some, chiefly younger subjects, apparently not hindered by the authority setting, did not succeed in expressing themselves in the original tongues. In spite of encouragements in their native languages, they failed. An example:

Ilham, IAR6 (9):

E. (in MA) šˇkun hada?
S. (in MA) wahed r-raž̌el....t-tumubil....
E. (in MA) šˇnu ka-ydir?
S. (in DU) Dat vind ik zo moeilijk.
E. (in DU) Waarom?
S. (in DU) Ik kan niet meer.
E. (in DU) Nee? Spreek je thuis wel Arabisch?
S. (in DU) Sommige woorden, die ben ik vergeten.

E. (in MA) 'What is this?
S. (in MA) A man....the car...
E. (in MA) What does he do?
S. (in DU) I find this so difficult.
E. (in DU) Why?
S. (in DU) I can not any more.
E. (in DU) No? Do you speak Arabic at home?
S. (in DU) Some words, I forgot them.'

In the above example I eventually switched to Dutch because, if I had persisted in using Moroccan Arabic, I would have embarrassed the subject and this would certainly not have yielded better results.
It turned out that twelve subjects out of all 80 were not able to tell the stories in the original tongue established earlier. Table 3 presents these subjects plus several of their characteristics that may explain their failure.

a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m
IAR3	-	M	MA	DU	CA	-	65	35	-	60	40	shyness
IAR6	+	N	MA	DU	CA	-	50	50	-	80	80	DU environment
IAR7	-	N	DU	MA	CA	-	20	80	-	100	100	DU environment
IAR9	-	N	MA	DU	CA	-	75	25	-	100	100	DU environment
IAR10	-	M	MA	DU	CA	-	70	30	-	100	20	shyness/DU env.
IBB1	-	N	TS	DU	CA	-	90	10	-	40	--	shyness
IIBB5	+	N	TR	DU	CA	-	30	70	-	100	100	DU environment
IIBB6	-	M	TR	DU	CA	-	75	25	-	60	--	not clear
IIIAR1	+	M	MA	DU	-	-	60	40	-	80	80	DU environment
IIIAR8	+	N	MA	DU	-	-	18	82	-	80	100	DU environment
IIIBB7	-	M	TR	AR	DU	-	13	53	33	80	80	shift/DU env.
IIIB10	-	M	TR	DU	FR	-	60	40	-	60	40	receptivecomm.

Table 3: subjects not able to express themselves in the original tongues. a: subjectcode, b: '+' failing attempt, '-' no attempt, c: country of birth, M = Morocco, N = the Netherlands, d: original language, e: chronologically second language, f: chronologically third language, g: chronologically fourth language, h: INDEX of the original language, i: INDEX of Dutch, j: INDEX of Moroccan Arabic, k: percentage of claimed use of Dutch with friends, l: percentage of claimed use of Dutch with brothers and

sisters, m: possible cause(s) of failure (DU = Dutch; comm. = command).

Examples

Before going into the matter of the possible causes of failure to express oneself in Moroccan Arabic or Tarifit, I will give some examples of actual failure situations. Azdin, IAR9, does not really fail in performing the picture description test in Moroccan Arabic, but the language in which he accomplishes his task in can hardly be called Moroccan Arabic any more:

S. (10) Raž̌el [= man in MA] en dat is een ɤaž̌el en dat is een ɤaž̌el en dat is een imma [=moeder in MA] en dat is baba [=vader in MA] en deze baba. Enne dat is een ɤaž̌el. En deze is ɤaž̌el en deze is baba en deze is een ɤaž̌el.

S. 'Raž̌el [= man in MA] and that is a ɤaž̌el and that is a ɤaž̌el and that is an imma [=mother in MA] and that is a baba [=father in MA] and this one baba. And that is a ɤaž̌el. And this one is ɤaž̌el and this one is baba and this is a ɤaž̌el.'

Turia, IIIAR8, also does her best but just can not express in Moroccan Arabic what she wants to say:

S. (11) [in MA:] Had ɤ-ɤaž̌el mš̌a le..[in NL:] Hoe heet die weg ook al weer?...[in MA:] tɤriq. Ma-šaf-š̌ l-i-seɤ u-l...[in NL:] links en rechts. Dat weet ik ook niet. Nee, echt niet!

...later in the description...:

S. [in MA:] Wahed ɤ-ɤaž̌el mš̌a le-t-tɤriq. Ma-šaf-š̌ [in DU:] links en niet rechts [lachend]. [in MA:] Wahed l-oto žat fe-s-s...eh..[in DU:] hard. Nou, nee, echt, 't gaat niet.

S. [in MA:] That man went to..[in DU:] What is 'the road'..[in MA:] road. He did not look to the

left...[in DU:] left and right. That is something I do not know either. No, really.

...later in the description...:

S. [in MA:] A man went in the street. He did not look
[in DU:] to the left and to the right. [laughing]
[in MA:] A car came in a...[in DU:] fast. No, really, I can not make it.

Possible causes

Failing to express oneself in the original tongue correlates strongly with the dominating use of Dutch with friends and brothers and sisters in the cases of IAR6, IAR7, IAR9, IIBB5, IIIAR1, IIIAR8 and IIIBB7. It seems that these subjects are embedded to such an extent in a Dutch speaking environment, that their actual exposure to the LLo is too low to develop a -certain- command of it. As these subjects claim to use the original languages to some extent (column h) they may have and probably will have a passive comprehension of the original language, but certainly no active command.

Shyness is probably the cause of failure of IAR3, IAR10 and IBB1. This can be concluded from the fact that the response of these subjects in the Structured Interview preceding the picture description in the original language was significantly low as well: they said nearly nothing. Hence, for IAR3, IAR10 and IBB1 it may not be concluded that they do not command their original languages at all. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that especially IBB1 and IAR3 and to a lesser extent IAR10 do not have as large a Dutch language contact compared to their peers in group I.

Apart from extensive claimed use of Dutch another cause may also account for the failure of IIIBB7 to perform the picture descriptions in her original tongue. IIIBB7 presents a clear case of language shift. In the questionnaire the girl claimed to have moved at an early age from the Rif area, where she and the family used to speak Tarifit, to the city of Tangier where her whole family shifted to the use of Moroccan Arabic. The

percentages make this clear as well: she claims to use Moroccan Arabic more than Tarifit. Nevertheless, her Lo remains Tarifit and she was classified as such in the BB language group.

IIIBB10 presents an interesting case of multilingualism. The girl claims to have knowledge of at least four languages. Besides her original tongue, Tarifit, and Dutch, she claims to have used French and Spanish, which she learned from her parents. Nevertheless she said not to master the latter two any more. The same can be said of her command of Tarifit. The girl already predicted before executing the test in Tarifit, that she would probably fail, and although she tried, she was not able to say one word in Tarifit. Dutch is in fact the only language she masters as an effective means of communication.

The determination of the cause of the failure of IIBB6 to express herself in her original tongue remains problematic. Her claimed use of Dutch is not as abundant as others in group IIBB but on the other hand she was not really shy.

The characteristic of being born in the Netherlands does not seem to be a decisive cause of failing to express oneself in the Lo. Of the seven subjects (IAR6, IAR7, IAR9, IIBB5, IIIAR1, IIIAR8, IIIBB7), whose failure could be attributed to a strong claimed use of Dutch, five were born in the Netherlands and the other two in Morocco. Again, the distinction between the one-and-a-half generation and Moroccans being born in the Netherlands does not appear to imply large linguistic differences between both groups (cf section 2.3.3. where either a strong relationship between the variables 'being born in the Netherlands' and 'less claimed use of the Lo' was demonstrated).

Discussion and conclusion

Nine subjects failed to express themselves in their original language in the PDT apparently as they do not actively command it. This raises the question to what extent the original languages are actually used by the subjects themselves in the communication with their parents, as generally the percentages of the claimed use

of the Lo with the parents are relatively high. Most subjects must have interpreted the question on language use with the parents as the languages their parents communicate to them and their answers do not make clear whether they reply in the same language. Probably they understand their parents' speech but actual command of the original languages to the level of replying is lacking in the case of these specific subjects. Possibly their answers are limited to some fixed words or stereotype clauses in the LLo but not more than that. The fact that there is some form of communication in the LLo with the parents implies that these subjects may have a receptive command of 'their' original tongues. Furthermore, the fact that all subjects scored positively in the OLDT test sustains this view: they understood the words but no more than that.

The phenomenon of receptive command of the original languages in the case of the Moroccan subjects in this research confirm the findings of Van de Wetering & Lkoundi (1983;9), who state that young children in Moroccan families in the Netherlands often use a mixture of Dutch and Moroccan (Moroccan Arabic or Tarifit) and that communication is possible by adaption of the use of mutual languages: the mother uses Dutch words if she suspects that her child does not have these words available in its original language.

2.6. Analysis on the level of contents

2.6.1. Number of informational units (NIU)

The analysis of the number of informational units consists of counting the primary predicates an utterance contains. Thus the following utterances contain the same primary predicate:

(12) An accident takes place

(13) Yesterday a horrible accident took place here

The primary predicate of both utterances is 'take place'. The analysis counts the number of primary predicates, that can be related to the contents of the series of pictures and presents this number in the category NIU, the number

of informational units. This implies that utterances as the following, in which the subject wonders what a certain picture represents, are not included in the category NIU:

(14) Die zie ik niet zo goed (IIIAR2,Ghieta)
'That one I don't see too well'

Primary predicates do not pay attention to the grammatical form or richness of an utterance and for that reason they are suited to a content analysis. It measures the number of messages conveyed by a subject in describing the series of pictures.

Results

Tables 4 and 5 present the results of the analysis of the number of informational units of 'the accident' (table 4) and 'the thief' (table 5).

	IAR	IBB	IIAR	IIBB
NIU Lo NIU DU	4.20 - 6.50	3.78 - 5.10	7.10 -b 9.30	4.22 -b 6.20
	IIIAR	IIIBB	IVAR	IVBB
NIU Lo NIU DU	8.25 -a 10.00	8.50 - 9.10	9.10 ± 9.20	9.44 - 7.30

Table 4: average number of informational units of 'the accident' per age/language group (DU = Dutch).

	IAR	IBB	IIAR	IIBB
NIU Lo NIU DU	7.80 - 9.60	7.67 -b 9.30	11.00 - 11.70	8.88 ± 8.90
	IIIAR	IIIBB	IVAR	IVBB
NIU Lo NIU DU	12.00 ± 13.20	9.90 -a 12.60	15.30 ± 14.90	14.67 + 12.90

Table 5: average number of informational units of 'the thief' per age/language group.

Discussion

IAR scores in both picture descriptions lower in the original language than in Dutch. The same goes for IBB, which scores significantly lower in 'the thief': $p < 0.05$. IIAR does not do better than IAR. It scores lower in Moroccan Arabic in both series; in 'the accident' $p < 0.05$. IIBB has a bad start in Tarifit: $p < 0.05$ in 'the accident' but the Lo scores match the scores in Dutch in 'the thief'. IIIAR has a bad start as well: $p < 0.10$ in 'the accident' in the original language but Lo and Dutch scores match in 'the thief'. IIIBB scores low in the original language in 'the accident' and even more so in 'the thief'. IVAR scores equally in both picture descriptions and IVBB scores lower in Tarifit in 'the accident' but higher in 'the thief'.
It seems that there is a gradual ascent in the scores of the original languages. The older the groups the better the original languages score. Generally however, the Lo scores remain behind compared to the scores in Dutch: the subjects convey messages relevant to the series of pictures better in Dutch than in their original tongues.

2.6.2. Time and place deixis (TPD)

Deixis (Levinson, 1983;54) 'concerns the ways in which languages encode or grammaticalize features of the context of utterance or speech event'. Deictic elements are place holders for particular entities given by the context. The importance of deixis can be demonstrated with the next example:

(15) Meet me here next week with an umbrella of that color

Here, next week and that color need to be specified. If not the utterance does not make sense.

Pretests showed that some subjects did not make use of any non-lexical deictic elements referring to time and place like 'hier' ('here') and 'dan' ('then') etc. in describing the series of pictures. The absence of these elements did not really influence the intelligibility of the descriptions as confirmation on temporal and local aspects and consequently the order of events could be

easily obtained from the pictures themselves. Still, the presence of deictic elements renders the description of a series more rich. It makes the relation between the utterances of the subjects and the contents of the pictures more specific. In fact it reinforces the task orientedness of the speech of the subjects and as such it is indicative of the level of language proficiency. It is this last argument that induced the decision to analyze the speech elicited by the picture description test on the presence of temporal and local non-lexical adverbs.

Results

Table 6 (see page 86) presents the results of the analysis. The figures in rows (a) indicate the percentage part of the age/language group that has actually used deictic elements and the figures in row (b) indicate the category TPD: the average number of non-lexical adverbs referring to time and place per picture description per age/language group.

Discussion

IAR has significantly low scores in the original tongue compared to Dutch: $p < 0.05$ in 'the accident' and $p < 0.01$ in 'the thief'. IBB has lower scores in the original tongue as well but not as dramatically low as IAR and the differences are statistically insignificant. IIAR has very low Lo scores as well: $p < 0.01$ in 'the thief'. IIBB shows exactly the same picture. IIIAR scores low in the Lo as well, but it is not statistically significant. One must however consider the similarly low scores in Dutch of this group. IIIBB scores low in the Lo as well, even statistically significantly in 'the thief': $p < 0.10$. IVAR has dramatically low scores in the original tongue: in 'the thief' and 'the accident' $p < 0.10$. In IVBB the scores approximate each other. The differences in 'the accident' are not large and in 'the thief' the score is higher in the original tongue.
Notable are the low Lo percentages of the AR groups compared to their Dutch scores and to the Lo scores of the BB groups. It looks as if especially the AR groups have stagnated in the use and maybe even command of referring to time and place in their original tongue. The BB groups, especially IVBB do not show a similarly dramatic picture.

	IAR				IBB			
	acc Lo	acc DU	thi Lo	thi DU	acc Lo	acc DU	thi Lo	thi DU
a	40%	90%	40%	100%	56%	90%	89%	100%
b	0.60 -b	3.20	0.40 -c	3.90	1.56 -	2.10	3.44 -	4.60
	IIAR				IIBB			
a	60%	100%	30%	80%	89%	80%	75%	100%
b	1.50 -	2.70	0.60 -c	4.80	1.67 -	2.50	1.63 -c	3.80
	IIIAR				IIIBB			
a	62%	90%	12%	40%	50%	100%	75%	100%
b	1.00 -	1.50	0.38 -	1.40	1.50 -	2.50	1.50 -a	3.40
	IVAR				IVBB			
a	50%	100%	30%	90%	78%	100%	100%	100%
b	1.00 -a	2.40	0.70 -a	2.40	2.22 -	2.30	4.11 +	3.90

Table 6: the use of non-lexical adverbs of place and time.
a = the percentage part of the age/language group using non-lexical adverbs of place and time per picture description.
b = TPD: average number of non-lexical adverbs of time and place per picture description per age/language group

2.6.3. Number of different content words (NDC)

The analysis of the category NDC counts the number of different content words a subject uses in describing a series of pictures. Only those content words that are found in clauses labelled as informational units (see 2.6.2.) were counted. Content words are nouns, adjectives, lexical verbs and lexical adverbs. In fact the category NDC measures the lexical richness of the speech elicited by the picture descriptions. The NDC of the following clauses are 1 and 5 respectively:

(16) an accident
NDC = 1

(17) a man, walking in the street is hit by a car
NDC = 5

Results

Tables 7 and 8 present the results of the analysis of the number of different content words used by the age/language groups per picture description.

	IAR	IBB	IIAR	IIBB
NDC Lo	7.20 -a	6.22 -	12.10 -b	7.56 -c
NDC DU	10.30	9.30	15.80	11.40
	IIIAR	IIIBB	IVAR	IVBB
NDC Lo	15.13 -a	15.75 -b	14.90 -	15.44 +
NDC DU	23.50	16.90	17.00	12.80

Table 7: average number of different content words in 'the accident' per age/language group.

	IAR	IBB	IIAR	IIBB
NDC Lo	13.00 -	12.78 -b	16.20 -b	15.50 -
NDC DU	15.70	17.00	23.50	17.00
	IIIAR	IIIBB	IVAR	IVBB
NDC Lo	18.75 -a	21.75 -	24.40 -b	24.78 +
NDC DU	25.50	14.60	31.90	24.20

Table 8: average number of different content words in 'the thief' per age/language group.

Discussion

IAR scores higher in Dutch than in the Lo, in 'the accident' it is statistically significant: $p < 0.100$. IBB

shows more or less the same picture: the Lo scores are low, in 'the thief' they are even statistically significant: $p < 0.05$. IIAR scores very low in the original tongue: in both picture descriptions $p < 0.05$. IIBB does not do much better. It scores lower in Tarifit than in Dutch, in 'the accident' $p < 0.01$. IIIAR scores statistically significantly lower in the original tongue in both picture descriptions; $p < 0.10$. The line of low Lo scores is continued by IIIBB, in 'the accident' $p < 0.05$. IVAR has low Lo scores too; $p < 0.05$ in 'the thief'. IVBB is the only one with higher Lo scores. Its scores in both pd's are higher in Lo than in Dutch, but not statistically significantly. So summing up, the scores in the original languages remain considerably behind the scores in Dutch. However, in this analysis, the arrears are considerably larger than in the analysis of the number of informational units and further, the arrears extend themselves to the older groups IIIAR, IIIBB and IVAR as well. In the analysis of number of informational units (2.6.2.) these groups still catch up, but here they do not show a similar picture. In fact, only IVBB has better scores in the original tongue.

2.6.4. Lexical strategies (LS)

The measure of occurrence of lexical strategies is part of the analysis on the level of contents. Lexical strategies indicate lexical, semantic and pragmatic gaps and deficiencies in the speakers' speech. The speakers try to correct these lacunas with lexical strategies: the use of words which serve as a substitute that approximates the meaning of the intended word or words.

Three forms of strategies are distinguished. The first one is what Tarone et. al. (1976;85) describe as **message abandonment**. 'The learner runs into difficulty with a target language form or rule and stops in mid-sentence.' For example:

(18) A thief wants to break a eh....

The subject who utters (18) obviously can not find the word window and falters. Message abandonment often goes along with mime or gestures. The category that counts

these instances within one picture description per subject is referred to as MAB.

Another very common lexical strategy is **paraphrase**: Tarone et. al. describe it as 'the rewording of the message in an alternate, acceptable, target language construction, in order to avoid a more difficult form or construction' (Tarone et. al., 1976;83).

Paraphrasing in the picture description data assumes two forms. The first one is what Tarone et. al. call the use of a **high coverage word**: 'the use of a superordinate in place of a subordinate term which carries more information in a particular context' (Tarone et. al., 1976;83). An example may be:

(19) Then they put him in the **car of the hospital**

where by **car of the hospital** an ambulance is meant.

The speech data lead to the distinction of another variant of the strategy of paraphrase: the use of an **all coverage word**, in which the superordinate has an even broader semantic meaning [2]. An example:

(20) Then they put him in the **thing**

where by **thing** an ambulance is also meant.

The use of high coverage words and all coverage words is represented by the categories **HCW** and **ACW**. The present analysis examines the measure of use of the three forms of lexical strategies. This category is ultimately expressed in the category **LS**: the average number of lexical strategies per informational unit per picture description per age/language group.

Results

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2 See appendix 8 for additional information on arguments in favor of the distinction between High Coverage Words and All Coverage Words.

Table 9 gives an overview of the absolute number of instances of message abandonment (rows b), the absolute number of the use of the strategy of high coverage words (rows c) and all coverage words (rows d) per age/language group per picture description. The figures in row (a) indicate the average occurrence of all lexical strategies per informational unit per picture description per age/language group: the category LS.

	IAR				IBB			
	accident		thief		accident		thief	
	Lo	DU	Lo	DU	Lo	DU	Lo	DU
a	.22+	.35	.16+	.18	.35±	.35	.32-	.24
b	2	3	-	-	1	1	1	1
c	-	9	1	6	6	7	1	5
d	-	9	3	10	4	7	12	11
	IIAR				IIBB			
a	.31-	.18	.09+b	.15	.20+	.26	.15+	.22
b	6	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
c	10	4	2	-	1	1	2	3
d	3	8	3	15	2	8	6	11
	IIIAR				IIIBB			
a	.21-	.15	.20-	.15	.17+	.18	.16-	.16
b	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
c	3	2	4	1	6	-	1	5
d	6	10	8	9	2	12	6	5
	IVAR				IVBB			
a	.12+	.14	.06+	.10	.24-	.13	.08+	.13
b	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
c	1	-	3	-	4	1	-	-
d	5	8	3	8	11	-	2	14

Table 9: the occurrence of lexical strategies, a = LS, average occurrence of lexical strategies per informational unit per picture description per age/language group; b = MAB, c = HCW and d = ACW, in absolute numbers.

Discussion

An example will clarify the meanings of the figures in the (a) rows. The 0.22 score of IAR in the Lo in 'the accident' implies that every informational unit contains on average a 0.22 occurrence of a lexical strategy.

IAR makes more use of lexical strategies in Dutch than in the original tongue. IBB experiences more problems in the original language in 'the thief', but in 'the accident' it makes equal use of lexical strategies. IIAR shows a complicated picture; in 'the accident' it encounters more lexical problems in Moroccan Arabic than in Dutch. In 'the thief' however, statistically significantly more lexical strategies are applied in Dutch: $p < 0.05$. IIBB has more lexical problems in Dutch in both PDTs. IIIAR has more of them in the original tongue. IIIBB on the other hand faces more lexical deficiencies in Dutch. IVAR has less lexical problems in the original tongue than in Dutch. IVBB shows a similar complicated picture as does IIAR.
Rarely are the differences between the original languages scores and the Dutch scores significant. The picture emerges that all groups face lexical problems in both languages, some more in their original languages, some more in Dutch. There is a small decrease of lexical problems in older groups compared to younger groups, especially among the AR groups.

Examples of lexical strategies

Lexical problems expressing themselves in MAB are notably found in group I and II. They decrease in older groups. The strategy of using all coverage words, ACW, is applied especially in group I and II, whereas the use of high coverage words, HCW, occurs in all Moroccan groups.

MAB is the subjects' strategy to be silent or to make use of gestures in order to convey what he or she intends to say. Consider the following utterance in Moroccan Arabic:

(21) .....le-s-sbitar (Badier, IAR8)
'.....to the hospital'

The dots in the utterance indicate the subjects' hesitation. The subject was probably looking for the verb 'mšᵛa ', 'to go' or 'žᵛabu-h', 'they took him'. He only remembers the preposition, uses it, but avoids the verb.

Another example of MAB is the following in Tarifit.

(22) ggin-a-s ... eh ... i wzedᵍᵛif (Mnana, IIIBB4) [3]
'They did to him ... eh ... to head'

Mnana clearly can not produce the word 'bandage' in Tarifit and avoids it by humming and implying that 'to do to the head' makes clear what happened in the picture: the victim of the car accident is bandaged around the head.

All coverage words are used extensively, especially by the youngest groups, in Dutch:

(23) die dief heeft de deur ingebreekt met iets (Amiena, IIAR7)
that thief has the door broken into with something
'That thief has broken into the door with something'

By 'something' probably a crowbar is meant. In this same utterance 'ingebreekt', ('broken into') is used while 'kapot gemaakt' ('broken') or a similar word should be used. This latter phenomenon is an instance of the use of a high coverage word, probably unconsciously applied as 'inbreken', ('break in') and 'breken', ('break') are phonologically and semantically related.

High coverage words are applied by all groups, including the oldest groups. Consider Hussein saying in Dutch:

(24) Hij heb een zwarte doek over z'n gezicht (Hussein, IVBB6)
'He has a black cloth over his face'

---

[3] See for the specific structures of Tarifit and Moroccan Arabic relevant notes in chapter 3.

By 'een zwarte doek', ('a black cloth') Hussein obviously means the mask that is depicted in the pictures (see appendix 4).

2.6.5. Code Switching (CS)

Code switching is a phenomenon frequently occurring in the speech of bilinguals (Appel & Muysken, 1987;117). Three types of code switching can be distinguished:

1. **Emblematic** code switching, which consists of switching to a tag. The tag is an exclamation in a language other than the language of the rest of the sentence. The tag characterizes the bilingual nature of a sentence. An example:

(25) [MA:] ǯat fi-h, [DU:] ja (IVAR4, Nadya)
[MA:] she came in him, [DU:] yes
'She [the car] hit him, yes'

2. **Intra-sentential** code switching occurs in the middle of a sentence. It is also called code mixing.

(26) [TR:]yuwid [DU:] sleutel (IBB8, Maryama)
[TR:] he took [DU:] key
'He took a key'

3. **Inter-sentential** code switching occurs between sentences.

(27) [MA:] u-ši nas daru tilifun ṭumu ... [DU:]ik wee nie, ambulance of zo (IIIAR5, Khadiezja)
[MA:] and some people telephoned car ... [DU:] I do not know, ambulance or something like that.
'and some people telephoned a car, I don't know, an ambulance or something like that'

The three types of code switching as described above occurred in the speech of the Moroccans. A striking feature in the code switching of the Moroccans is that they all switch from Moroccan Arabic or Tarifit to Dutch. They never switch from Dutch to Moroccan Arabic or Tarifit. In a very few instances some subjects of the AR groups occasionally switch to a Classical Arabic word.

Results

Table 10 presents the absolute numbers of the different forms of code switching in the two picture description tests of the Moroccan groups. As the number of instances of code switching is relatively low no statistical picture could be made. Row (a) indicates the number of intra-sentential switching from the original languages to Classical Arabic words. Row (b-e) indicate the various forms of switching from the original languages to Dutch. Row (b) presents the intra-sentential switching to a word and row (c) to a constituent containing more than one word. Row (d) indicates inter-sentential code switching and row (e) emblematic code switching.

	IAR +	IBB -	IIAR -	IIBB +
a	-	-	1	-
b	-	4	4	3
c	-	2	-	-
d	-	1	5	-
e	1	1	1	-
	IIIAR -	IIIBB +	IVAR -	IVBB +
a	2	-	3	-
b	3	2	2	1
c	-	1	-	-
d	6	1	7	2
e	1	-	6	2

Table 10: the occurrence of code switching in Lo speech in both picture descriptions per age/language group in absolute numbers, a = intra-sentential code switching to a final word in Classical Arabic; b-e CS from Lo to Dutch, b = intra-sentential code switching to a word , c = intra-sentential code switching to a constituent containing more than one word , d = inter-sentential code switching, e = emblematic code switching, in absolute numbers.

Discussion

IAR rarely switched to another language, whereas IBB made more use of it. In the older groups the AR groups switched more often than the Berber groups. Some subjects in the AR groups switched to a Classical Arabic word.

Nearly all instances of code switching occurring in the Moroccans' speech, can be related to what Appel and Muysken state, namely that 'switching can serve the **referential** function because it often involves a lack of knowledge of one language on a certain subject' (Appel & Muysken, 1987;118). Nearly all present instances of switching to Dutch can be interpreted as 'not knowing words', they express **lexical gaps** in the original languages. 18 out of the 22 inter-sentential code switches show this feature:

(28) bed weet ik niet (IIAR2, Sadeq)
bed know I not
'Bed I do not know'

(29) hoe heet dat nou ook alweer? (IVBB9, Farieda)
what is the name again?
'What is it called?'

Instances of intra-sentential code switching involving a constituent containing more than one word express this same feature:

(30 [TR:] ...uša gar-s [DU:]dat weet ik niet (IBB4, Nordin)
[TR:]...and then with him [DU:] I don't know

'...and then he has I don't know'

It seems that the instances of code switching to a word in an utterance are of the same nature. The subjects often switch to Dutch in order to say the word they intend, which they have claimed before or will claim later not to know in the original language:

(31) [TR:] gar-s [DU:] alarm (IBB4, Nordin)
[TR:] with him [DU:] alarm
'He has an alarm'

(32) [MA:]...u-xɛɛr hadak r- [DU:] raam (IIIAR5, Khadiezja)
[MA:] ...and he broke that [DU:] window
'...and he broke that window'

(33) [TR:] yeɬf-iṯ [DU:] de portier (IVBB8, Jamiela)
[TR:] he grabs him [DU:] the porter
'The porter grabs him'

In some rare instances a switch can be observed to a Classical Arabic word.

(34) [DU:]..of [CA:] mustaʿfa [DU:] of hoe je 't ook mag noemen (IVAR4, Nadya)
[DU:]..or [CA:] hospital [DU:] or how you it also may call
'...or hospital or whatever it is called'

Mustaʿfa is the Classical Arabic word for hospital.

Especially subjects of Moroccan Arabic background, in particular IVAR, seem to perform the task of describing the pictures in their original tongue from a Dutch background, which is demonstrated in the occurrence of emblematic code switching to words like 'ja', ('yes'), and 'nou' ('well'), like IVAR4:

(35) [MA:] ʿat fi-h...[DU:] ja...hoe zeggie nou...ambulans (IVAR4, Nadya)
[MA:] she [=the car] came in him...[DU:] yes...how say you now ... ambulance
'She came, well, what is the name..ambulance'

And IAR5, Huda finishes her task with:

(36) [DU:] klaar!
'Ready!'

Both inter-sentential code switching and intra-sentential code switching primarily express lexical problems in the original tongues and emblematic code switching may be interpreted as the feeling of the subjects that they perform a task in the original language from a Dutch

background. Switching to Dutch may also have been induced by my presence as a Dutch speaking experimenter, notwithstanding my presentation as sharing the culture and languages of the subjects involved. This type of interlocutory constraint can not be measured and it would be of interest to see what the administration of a similar PDT would yield if it were executed by a Moroccan experimenter, who does not command any Dutch. I doubt, however, whether in such a context the subjects will not encounter similar lexical problems. Will they produce the word for 'bed' (example 28) in their LLo under such circumstances?
The fact that code switching to Dutch takes place among the AR groups considerably more than in the BB groups indicates that Dutch has entered the original language and speech domains of the speakers of Moroccan Arabic considerably more than the Lo and speech of Tarifit speakers. This seems to correspond to the data presented earlier on language use (research question 2), where on average the speakers of Tarifit claimed to use their original language more than their Moroccan Arabic peers.

The fact that code switching took place from the original tongues to chiefly Dutch impedes a comparison between the 'scores in the original tongue' and the 'scores in Dutch' except for the observation that code switching did not occur in Dutch. Nevertheless, a comparison was made possible. This could be done as most instances of code switching indicate lexical gaps in the original tongues (see above) and more code switching therefore indicates larger lexical problems in the LLo in finding the right words, and thus contributes to the establishment of the proficiency levels of the LLo. Therefore a '-' is allotted to the age/language group within the age group that switches more than its counterpart.

2.7. Analysis on the grammatical level

The two analyses constituting the analysis on the grammatical level are aimed at the establishment of the syntactic complexity of the speech of the subjects.

2.7.1. The use of simple and complex clauses

The analysis of the measure of use of simple and complex clauses is executed in order to gain further insight in the syntactic complexity of the subjects' speech in both original languages and Dutch. It goes without saying that the formation of complex clauses demands the application of more syntactic rules than does the formation of simple clauses. The definition of simple and complex clauses is formulated as follows: a simple clause is a main clause or an independent subordinate clause to neither of which another main or subordinate clause is co-ordinated. Complex clauses are those clauses which are either formed by the combination of co-ordinate clauses only or by subordinate clauses only or by both. The number of co-ordinate or subordinate clauses forming a complex clause is not relevant. A complex clause may consist of two and more clauses. The analysis presents the percentage distribution of the use of simple and complex clauses in the speech of the subjects.

Results

The results of the analysis are presented in table 12 at page 99. The percentages in the (a) rows indicate the part of the age/language group that has used complex clauses. The figures in the (b) rows represent the percentage measure of use of complex clauses by the age/language group compared to the measure of use of simple clauses.

Discussion

The percentages indicate the nearly total absence of complex clauses in both original languages and Dutch of the youngest two groups. Only 60 % of IIAR uses complex clauses in its Dutch description of 'the thief'. For this reason, no statistic comparison could be executed for the two youngest groups. The two elder groups demonstrate an ascending use of complex clauses, which is chiefly expressed in its use in the original tongues. IIIAR makes more use of complex clauses in its original tongue and IIIBB shows the same picture. IVAR continues this line and IVBB has higher scores in Tarifit, in 'the thief' even

statistically significantly: $p < 0.05$. It seems that syntactic complexity as expressed in the measure of use of complex clauses is on average larger in the original languages than in the Dutch of the Moroccans.

	IAR				IBB			
	acc. Lo	acc. DU	thief Lo	thief DU	acc. Lo	acc. DU	thief Lo	thief DU
a	--	--	--	--	11%	--	11%	20%
b	--	--	--	--	4.07	--	1.59	3.67
	IIAR				IIBB			
a	--	10%	10%	60%	12.5%	--	12.5%	--
b	--	2.50	1.00	4.82	1.85	--	1.39	--
	IIIAR				IIIBB			
a	62.50%	20%	62.50%	60%	50%	30%	37.5%	40%
b	10.04 +	4.72	9.86 ±	7.78	10.24 ±	9.33	9.68 +	5.35
	IVAR				IVBB			
a	60%	80%	90%	90%	78%	40%	100%	60%
b	11.32 -	21.02	25.41 ±	27.12	22.12 +	8.15	31.48+b	15.0

Table 11: the use of complex clauses. a = the percentage part of the age/language group that has used complex clauses per picture description; b = the use of complex clauses compared to simple clauses per age/language group per picture description in percentages.

2.7.2. The Mean Length of Utterance (MLU)

A second measuring instrument of syntactic complexity, the Mean Length of Utterance (MLU) was applied as well. The MLU measures the length of utterances. Longer utterances are considered more complex than shorter ones. The instrument of MLU has been criticized strongly, the main argument being that it does not yield reliable results if it is higher than 4.0. MLU, after all, was designed to measure syntactic complexity in the very first years of

language acquisition. I leave the discussion on the reliability of MLU aside here, but will come back to this issue in chapter 3, where the instrument of the MLU is employed again (section 3.3.3.).
This research distinguishes between simple clauses and complex clauses (see section 2.7.1.) and hence a distinction is made between the MLU of simple clauses and the MLU of complex clauses. The exact determination of clauses being simple or complex can be read in the introduction to the preceding section (2.7.1.). For a more detailed description of the calculation of the MLU see appendix 6.
Comparing MLU scores of one language with another may be risky and invalid because in considering the application of the MLU analysis in the original tongues of the Moroccans and Dutch, differences in possible outcomes can be presumed beforehand. Consider the following three exactly similar sentences in the three languages:

(37) DU:/hij/ sloeg/ de/ hond/ met/ een/ stok/ MLU = 7
/he/ hit/ the/ dog/ with/ a/ stick/
(38) MA:/ɖɤeb/ l-/kelb /be-/eɛa/ MLU = 5
/hit/ the-/ dog/ with/ stick/
(39) TR:/iwṯa /aydiṯ/ s-/ ukeššuḏ/ MLU = 4
/hit/ dog/ with/ stick/

The differences are clear. Dutch virtually always expresses personal pronouns in subject position and both Moroccan Arabic and Tarifit do not. Dutch expresses an indefinite article 'een' whereas Moroccan Arabic has only a very limited distribution of it as has Tarifit. Dutch uses the definite article in (37) as does Moroccan Arabic in (38). Tarifit however does not have a definite article (39). These and other differences between the three language impede a reliable comparison between the MLU's of Moroccan Arabic, Tarifit and Dutch. To solve the problem of non-comparability the following solution was wrought. Both series of pictures were presented to a Moroccan female teacher, well versed in Moroccan Arabic and to a likewise skilled male speaker of Tarifit. Both were asked to describe the pictures in their original languages on tape and write it down. The written version of their descriptions was translated into Dutch as closely to the original text as possible. From the texts, the Moroccan Arabic, Tarifit and Dutch versions, the MLU's were

determined and compared. It showed that Moroccan Arabic MLU equals Dutch MLU by multiplying it with a factor 1.09 and Tarifit MLU equals Dutch MLU by multiplying it with a factor 1.15. In scheme:

MLU MA x 1.09 = MLU DU (= means is comparable to)
MLU TR x 1.15 = MLU DU ,,

These results are not surprising as Moroccan Arabic was expected to use fewer words than Dutch and Tarifit even fewer (see (38) to (39) above).
The analysis of the MLU in the samples was maintained and executed by multiplying the Moroccan Arabic speakers' scores by 1.09 and the Tarifit scores by 1.15. As mentioned before a distinction was made between the MLU of simple clauses and the MLU of complex clauses. They are referred to as respectively MLUs and MLUc. The results thus obtained are presented in tables 13 and 14 at page 102.

Discussion

In the analysis of the measure of use of simple and complex clauses the two youngest groups hardly made use of complex clauses in their descriptions of the pictures. This is also the reason, why the analysis of MLUc did not yield results in these groups.
As far as the MLUs is concerned, IAR scores low in the original tongue, statistically significant in 'the accident': $p < 0.10$. IBB has dramatically low scores in the original tongue: $p < 0.05$ in 'the accident and < 0.01 in 'the thief'. IIAR does not do much better than its younger peers: it scores low in Moroccan Arabic, in 'the thief' $p < 0.05$. IIBB has absolutely the lowest Lo scores: in both PDTs $p < 0.01$. IIIAR continues the line of IIAR: $p < 0.10$ in 'the accident'. IIIBB, too, continues this same line of IIBB. It scores statistically significantly lower twice: $p < 0.05$ and 0.01 respectively. IVAR scores statistically significantly lower in 'the thief': $p < 0.05$ and IVBB does not do any better: $p < 0.05$ and < 0.10 in both PDTs. The scores in the original languages nowhere approximate the scores in Dutch.

The picture of low Lo scores as obtained in the MLUs analysis, is maintained in the MLUc analysis as well,

although the differences are not so striking. IIIAR scores lower in the Lo, but not statistically significantly and the same goes for IIIBB. IVAR has low L1 scores as well, in 'the thief' even statistically significantly: $p < 0.05$.

Results

	IAR	IBB	IIAR	IIBB
MLUs Lo	4.54 -a	3.84 -b	5.55 -	4.32 -c
MLUs DU	5.30	5.41	6.25	5.41
MLUc Lo	-.-	-.-	-.-	-.-
MLUc DU	-.-	-.-	-.-	-.-
	IIIAR	**IIIBB**	**IVAR**	**IVBB**
MLUs Lo	5.52 -a	5.42 -b	5.17 -	5.29 -b
MLUs DU	6.50	6.44	6.23	6.84
MLUc Lo	9.55 -	8.91 -	11.26 -	10.03 -b
MLUc DU	13.75	12.33	11.81	11.00

Table 12: Mean Length of Utterance, 'the accident'

	IAR	IBB	IIAR	IIBB
MLUs Lo	4.18 -	3.78 -c	5.04 -b	3.44 -c
MLUs DU	5.29	5.23	5.59	5.16
MLUc Lo	-.-	-.-	-.-	-.-
MLUc DU	-.-	-.-	-.-	-.-
	IIIAR	**IIIBB**	**IVAR**	**IVBB**
MLUs Lo	4.84 -	4.33 -c	5.16 -b	5.94 -a
MLUs DU	5.66	5.84	5.94	7.04
MLUc Lo	8.76 -	8.84 -	8.46 -b	9.40 -
MLUc DU	9.83	11.69	11.50	11.86

Table 13: Mean Length of Utterance, 'the thief', MLUs = the MLU of simple clauses, MLUc = the MLU complex clauses.

IVBB shows the same picture as IIIBB. The results of the MLUc analysis must be regarded as a supplementation of the MLUs analysis as the picture of low Lo scores is maintained. Although the Moroccans make relatively more

use of complex clauses in their original tongues than in Dutch (see 2.7.1) the 'internal' complexity is lower in the original tongues than in Dutch.

2.8. Overall impression of proficiency in the original languages and Dutch

The present section aims at presenting an overall impression of the proficiency levels of the original languages. The preceding analyses have created an image, in which the original languages in most cases come out worse. The subjects virtually always seem to score lower in the original languages than in Dutch. This feature does not imply that the proficiency level of the original languages must be considered 'nil' except, of course for the subjects who failed to express themselves in their original language in the PDTs due to the fact that they apparently do not master their LLo (see 2.5.2.). Most categories analyzed are present in Moroccan Arabic and Tarifit: the subjects are able to convey messages in their original tongues, have a certain lexicon and command a basic syntax. In order to present a more specific and clear image of the proficiency of the Moroccans in their original languages and Dutch some speech samples, representative of the different age/language groups, will be given next (2.8.1.).

2.8.1. Some speech samples

Hafied, IAR1, the description of 'the accident':

Dutch: Auto heeft een man geslagen. En toen kwam ziekewagen. Toen had 'ie 'm gebrengt in het ziekenhuis. Gebroken.

'Car has hit a man. And then ambulance came. Then he had taken him to the hospital. Broken.'

Moroccan Arabic: had ɛ-ɛaž̌el derbat-u l-oto. u daret-u l-bulis. l-oto. u-ha ši mherres.

'This man was hit by a car. And she took him to police. The car. And here something broken.'

Mnana, IIBB7, the description of 'the thief':

Dutch: Inbreker. Nou gaat eh..Nou gaat eh..'n inbreker. Gaat bij die huize inbreken. Gaat eh spullen mee.. na..meenemen. Hij is klaar. Hij heb spullen meegenome. Hij gaat de trap op. Ik geloof dat ze twee vrouwen... De man en de vrouw in bed lagen te slape en kwam hij binnen. Toen schrok die man. Toen liep hij gelijk weg van de trap. Toen hebben ze de politie erbij gehaald.

'Thief. Now he goes..Now goes..a thief. Goes breaking into those houses. Goes taking with him things. He is ready. He took things with him. He goes up the stairs. I believe that they two woman..The man and the woman were sleeping and he came in. Then that man got a shock. Then he walked away at once from the stairs. Then they have taken the police into it.'

Tarifit: Iẓẓ-uṣeffar yarẓa tawwurt. Yudef kid-es. Yurey sennez. Yufa dinni iẓẓen yettes di qama. uṣa wenni yekkar. aṣeffar-nni yudad ak ddruẓ. Geṣṣen-d lbulis..usin-d lpulis. ṣsin-t gar re-ḥbes.

'A thief broke a door. He went in through it. He went upstairs. He found there one sleeping in bed. And then he got up. That thief fell from the stairs. The police appeared..the police arrived. They took him to prison.'

Jamaal, IIIAR9, the description of 'the accident':

Dutch: De jongen liep over de straat. Die zag geen auto aankomen. Opeens knalde die tege de auto aan. De ziekenauto kwam aan. En toen werd 'ie meegenomen naar het ziekenhuis. Naar het ziekenhuis binnengebracht en hulp in gekomen. Hij had een gebroken poot en een hersenschudding.

'The boy walked in the street. He did not see a car coming. Suddenly he bumped against the car. The ambulance arrived. And then he was taken to the hospital. Brought into the hospital and help came in. He had a broken leg and concussion.'

Moroccan Arabic: dak ɛ-ɛaẓel gadi be-t-ṭriq u-ẓat waḥed t--tumubil. u-deɛrbat-u u-ẓat l-ambulans. ddat-u l-ṣbiṭaɛ u-melli kemmlu sabe-u megrud u-ɛas-u mherres.

'That man was going in the street and a car came. It hit him and the ambulance came. It took him to the hospital and when they were ready, his finger was ?? and his head was broken.'

Mohammed, IVBB3, the description of 'the accident':

Dutch: Hier op het eerste plaatje zie ik dat er een auto aankomt en die rijdt een man over. En op het tweede plaatje direct daarna is er een ambulance aangekomen. En die heeft de man naar het ziekenhuis vervoerd. En tenslotte ligt de man in het ziekenhuis met zijn been...met een gebroke been. Hij heeft een verband om zijn hoofd.

'Here in the first picture I see a car coming and it runs over a man. And on the second picture directly after it an ambulance has come. And it has taken the man to the hospital. And finally the man lies in the hospital with his leg...with a broken leg. He has a bandage around his head.'

Tarifit: di tteswirt tamezwarut twarig iẓẓ-ne-ttumubil teggur degg^{w} brid. Yekke-d senni iẓẓ-n^{w}-aryaz. hah war yezri ttumubil uša yekka gar-s. di tteswirt wis snayen twarig iẓẓ-n-lambulans tuse-d gar mani tukee lžarima. teššsi aryaz-nni. teggi-t di lambulans. tuy-it gar sspitar. di sspitar ssdarn-d aryaz-a zi lambulans. ssidfent gar daxer. gar daxer ggint degg iẓẓ-n-qama. ufin yarrz-a-s udar. ggin-a-s tažbirt i wdar d uzegif.

'On the first picture I see a car going in the street. A man passed by. Suddenly he did not see the car and he passed besides him. On the second picture I see an ambulance has come where the accident has taken place. It took the man with it. It put him in the ambulance. It took him to the hospital. In the hospital they had him get out of the ambulance. They took him inside. And inside they put him in a bed. They found his leg broken. They put a bandage around the leg and the head.'

2.9. Discussion and conclusions

2.9.1. The Original Language Proficiency Index

The original language proficiency index (OLPI) is the sum total of the results of the various analyses executed. In 2.4.4. a description was given of the marking of the Lo scores by way of statistical calculations that the Lo and Dutch scores of each age/language group were subjected to. On the basis of these calculations the scores in the original tongues were allotted ratings. The sum of these ratings will result in the OLPI. The analyses on the level of contents and grammar contain eight categories, but in order to advance the comparability of the OLPI's of all eight age/language groups the scores of the use of simple and complex clauses and the MLU of complex causes were abandoned in the calculation of the OLPI as the analyses of these categories produced results only in the two older groups. Not including these grammatical categories implies in fact that of the grammatical categories only one is incorporated in the OLPI. This is not considered a drawback to the value of the OLPI as an index of language proficiency, as particularly the content properties were estimated of a higher value than the grammatical categories making it up. Next, the OLPI must be considered as expressing the communicative properties of language proficiency especially and as such it indicates the measure in which the Moroccans can express themselves in their original tongues compared to their communicative abilities in Dutch. The OLPI, thus, is based on five communicative and one grammatical category, which are rated twice because there are two picture descriptions.

Of the six categories some can be considered to carry more weight than others. A significantly lower score in the use of non-lexical adverbs has a greater impact on the communicative efficiency than a significantly lower score in the MLU of simple clauses. The former indicates the possible total absence of an important deictic function whereas the latter indicates only a difference in a category which is present in the Lo speech. The lexically determined occurrence of code switching is an effective- in this case negative- indicator of the communicative properties of Lo proficiency.

For these reasons the six categories are divided into three weight classes, which indicate differences in chiefly communicative weight. The first class contains the categories with a low communicative weight and the second and third classes contain the categories with consecutive higher communicative weights. Thus, the following order is determined:

first weight class:

1. MLUs

second weight class:

2. NIU

3. NDC

4. lexical strategies

third weight class:

5. Time and place deixis

6. Code switching

The fixation of the OLPI is realized by attributing values to the ratings of the original languages. The distribution of these values is presented in table 14. In the first left vertical row the possible ratings -marking the nine patterns that were described as possible scores in section 2.4.4.- in the original languages are ordered from '+c' to '-c'. Categories of the first weight class are attributed values that can be found in the second left vertical row. Values attributed to second and third weight class categories can be found in the third and fourth vertical rows respectively. The values have been determined in such a way that an ultimate positive (+) OLPI indicates a higher proficiency in the Lo than in Dutch and a negative (-) OLPI a lower proficiency level in the Lo than in Dutch.

weight class:	1	2	3
rating:	values:		
+c	+4	+5	+6
+b	+3	+4	+5
+a	+2	+3	+4
+	+1	+2	+3
±	0	+1	+2
-	-1	-2	-3
-a	-2	-3	-4
-b	-3	-4	-5
-c	-4	-5	-6

Table 14: the attribution of values to the ratings in the three weight classes

An example may illustrate the procedures of the attribution of values to the various ratings. Group IIBB has a '-b' rating for the category NIU in 'the accident'. Subsequently this rating is attributed a '-4' value as the category NIU belongs to the second weight class and according to the scheme gets a value of '-4'. In this way all ratings are given a value and the total of the values per age/language group forms the OLPI.

The ratings of the various analyses of the eight age/language groups and the final determination of the OLPI can be found in table 15. The group with the highest score reflects the highest proficiency in the original tongue. The group with the lowest score reflects the lowest Lo proficiency.

	IAR	IBB	IIAR	IIBB	IIIAR	IIIBB	IVAR	IVBB
MLUs acc.	-a	-b	-	-c	-a	-b	-	-b
MLUs thi.	-	-c	-b	-c	-	-c	-b	-a
NIU acc.	_	-	-b	-b	-a	-	±	-
NIU thi.	-	-b	-	±	±	-a	±	+
NDC acc.	-a	-	-b	-c	-a	-b	-	+
NDC thi.	-	-b	-b	-	-a	-	-b	+
LS acc.	+	±	-	+	-	-	+	-
LS thi.	+	-	+b	+	-	-	+	+
TPD acc.	-b	-	-	-	-	-	-a	-
TPD thi.	-c	-	-c	-c	-	-a	-a	+
CS	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+
OLPI	-16	-29	-28	-20	-24	-26	-15	+2

Table 15: the ratings of the scores in the original languages and the determination of the OLPI; MLUs = mean length of utterance of simple clauses, NIU = number of informational units, NDC = number of different content words, LS = lexical strategies, TPD = number of non-lexical temporal and local adverbs, CS = code switching.

The OLPIs are ranged in a continuum, which can be found in figure 2. The further left, the higher the Lo proficiency.

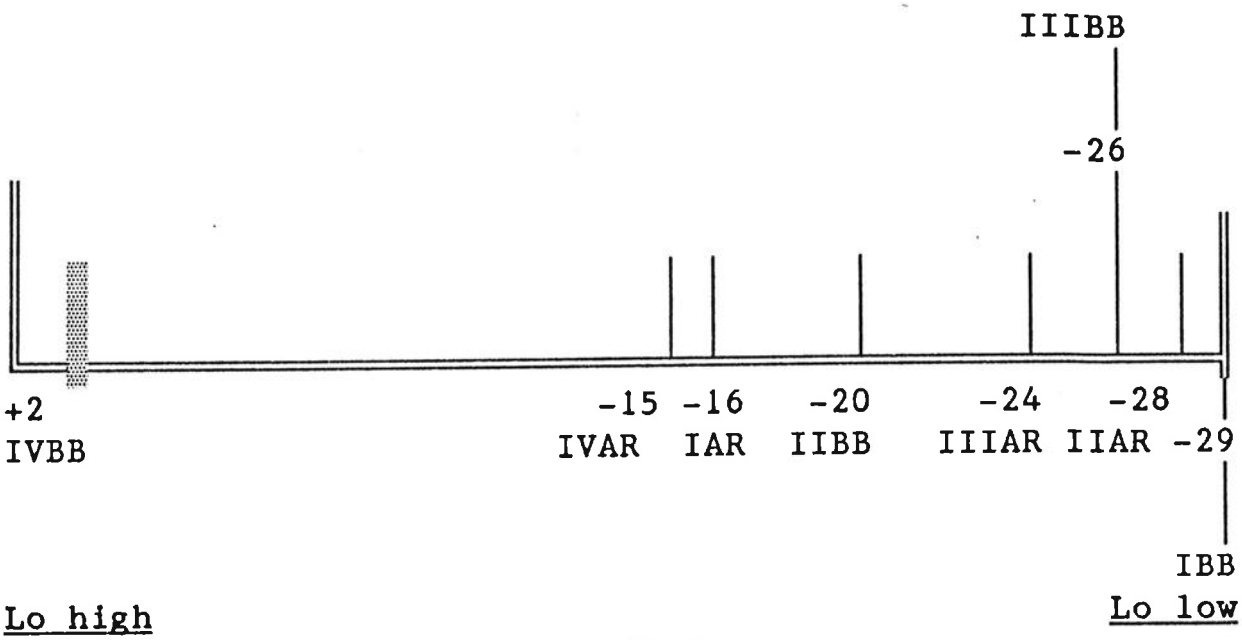

Figure 2: continuum of Lo proficiency.

The (▒) in the continuum of Lo proficiency indicates the boundary of a comparatively higher proficiency level in the Lo than in Dutch. Groups that are placed left of this boundary have proved to be more communicative in their original tongues than in Dutch. The continuum demonstrates that this applies to group IVBB only, which is the only one with a positive score (+2). All other groups find themselves considerably far to the right of the boundary, indicating a higher proficiency level in Dutch than the Lo.
A first provisional answer to research question (3) therefore is that all but one of the groups have a higher proficiency level in Dutch than in the original languages. Seven out of the eight groups are communicatively less skillful in the LLo than in Dutch. Before proceeding to the final answer to research question (3) some other remarks must be made.

The first point concerns the order of the OLPIs as depicted in the continuum in figure 2. The OLPI is the sum total of the values attributed to the ratings of the scores in the original languages. The categories of the third weight class are the non-lexical temporal and local adverbs (TPD) and code switching (CS). Lower scores in the

former and less occurrence of the latter indicate a richer and purer language. The absence of adverbial deixis in the LLo indicates a far-reaching deictic poverty of the original tongues and the frequent code switching to Dutch indicates severe lexical deficiencies in the LLo. If the OLPIs were based on these two categories only, this would yield a continuum, which indicates the LLo measure of purity. If an order based on only these two categories is made, the following picture emerges:

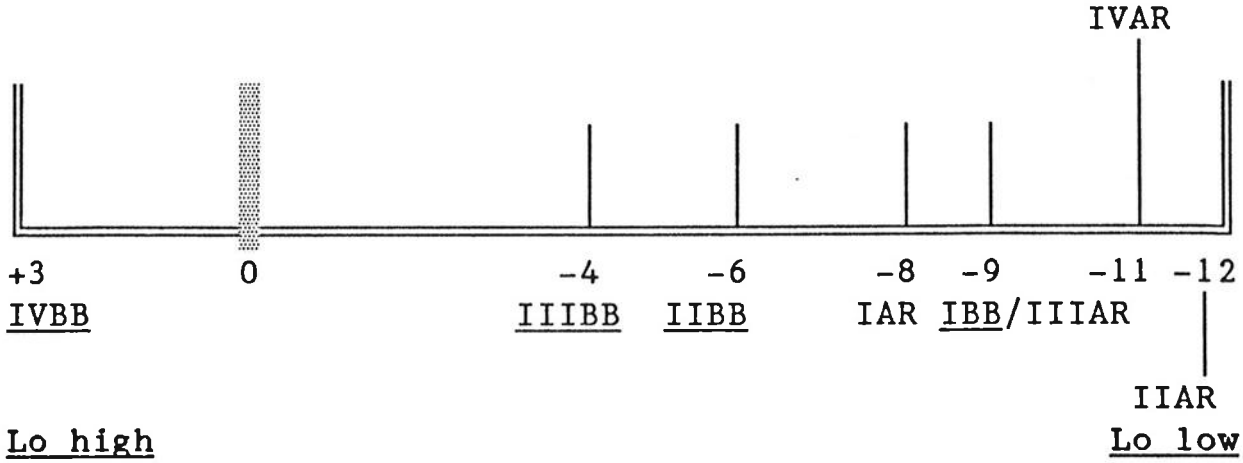

Figure 3: Lo proficiency continuum, based on time and place deixis (TPD) and code switching (CS) only.

In the Berber groups less code switching takes place and they refer to space and time more often than their Moroccan Arabic counterparts. In this respect the continuum shows that the original language in the Berber groups is purer than in the Moroccan Arabic groups.

A second remark concerns the evaluation of the continuum of the OLPI. Most groups proved to be less proficient in their original languages than in Dutch. This observation, however, does not imply that the subjects are without proficiency in their LLo. Apart from the 9 subjects that failed to express themselves in the LLo for reasons of apparently not commanding it (see section 2.5.2.), the other subjects can express themselves in their original languages; they have a lexicon albeit a limited one and they command basic syntax and morphology.

Finally, there does not seem to exist a strong correlation between the factors 'being born in the Netherlands' and

'low Lo proficiency level' as in fact all groups but IVBB score low in the LLo.

Summed up, the final answer to research question (3) can be formulated as follows:

The Moroccan age/language groups are less proficient in their original languages than in Dutch, except for group IVBB, which proved to be slightly more proficient in Tarifit than in Dutch. Further, the BB groups' original language is purer than is the AR groups' original language. Except for the 9 subjects that failed to express themselves in their original languages, all groups have a basic command of all examined aspects in their original languages.

A final remark concerns the proficiency level of Dutch of the Moroccans. It is clear that it is higher than the level of the original tongues, but this does not imply that their communicative abilities in Dutch are not hindered by serious shortcomings. The analysis of the occurrence of lexical strategies demonstrated that in fact most groups face difficulties in finding the proper words in original languages and in Dutch. The analysis of the errors occurring in the Dutch of the Moroccans, which is presented in the following chapter 3 includes a more detailed analysis of lexical strategies (section 3.6.2.) and this specific analysis shows that the Dutch of Moroccans distinguishes itself from the Dutch of native speakers especially in the area of lexical strategies: the Moroccans face word finding problems in all age groups. The low proficiency levels in both LLo and Dutch of the Moroccans are also confirmed by a small scale research on the performances of comparable Tarifit speaking subjects, living in Morocco on the similar picture description tests (see de Ruiter,1989, forthcoming). The analysis of those speech data showed that the level of Dutch of the Tarifit speaking Moroccan subjects in the Netherlands- specifically in content aspects- remains below the level of Tarifit of comparable subjects in Morocco. This implies that the proficiency level of both the Lo and Dutch of these subjects in this research are 'underdeveloped'. No comparable research was done on speakers of Moroccan Arabic in Morocco; nevertheless it would probably have yielded a similar result given the predominantly lexical

problems these groups face in both Lo and Dutch. In spite of these observations one should take into account the fact that the number of subjects studied in Morocco was limited -only six subjects could be found- and that hence the results of the research in Morocco may not be completely reliable.

The following section will discuss the relation between the measure of claimed language use as determined in 2.3.2 and the actual level of Lo proficiency as established in the present section.

2.9.2. The relation between the measure of claimed use of the LLo and the actual proficiency level in the original languages.

A comparison between the continuum of the OLPI (see figure 2 above) with the continuum of claimed use of the LLo (see figure 1 below), yields an interesting picture. Groups that are placed left of the boundary in the continuum of claimed language use claim to use the original tongue in more than 50 % of their actual speech situations. Only one (IIAR) group claims to make use of the Lo in less than 50 % of the speech situations (49%).

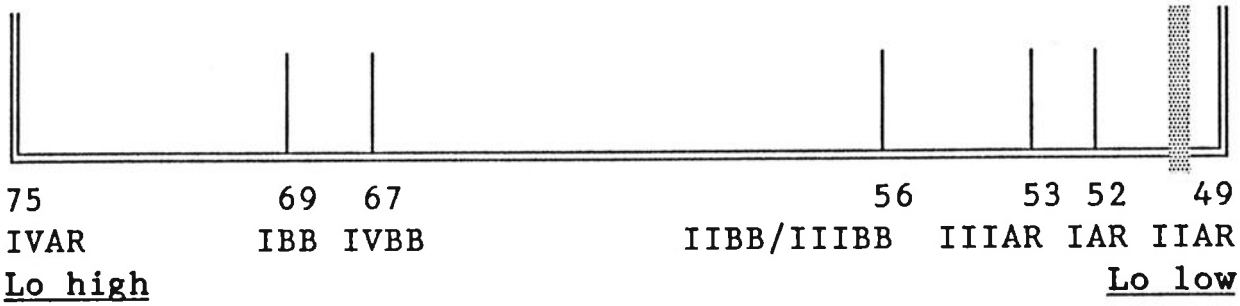

Figure 1: claimed use of the LLo by the Moroccan age/language groups

Comparison of the continuum of claimed use of the LLo with the continuum of actual language proficiency reveals that the six groups that claim to use the Lo in more than 50 % of the speech situations have at the same time an Lo proficiency which is lower than their proficiency in Dutch. In fact, it is only IVBB that claims to use the original tongue in more than 50 % of the speech

situations and is at the same time more proficient in the Lo than in Dutch. Group IBB shows the largest deviating picture. It claims to use Tarifit in 69 % of the speech situations, but produces the lowest OLPI (-29). The differences between claimed use and actual L1 proficiency level of the other groups are less striking, but they prove to be less proficient in the original tongues than in Dutch and at the same time claim to use the LLo in the majority of their speech situations.

How to interpret these apparently contradicting findings? One may put a question mark next to the claims: how can the Moroccans, especially the subjects who failed to express themselves in their Lo in the PDTs, claim to use the languages they apparently do not command, especially with the parents with whom all age/language groups claim to use the original languages in at least 74 % of the speech situations (IIBB with father)? As mentioned before a possibly explanation may be that the subjects were inspired by their own conception and interpretation of the reality with respect to the claimed measure of use of the original language(s) in the domains and as such their answers were true. Probably, and chiefly in the speech domain of the parents, they must have interpreted the questions on language use as a question concerning the medium of communication (the language(s) their parents talk to them and not necessarily the language(s) they reply in). Their parents talk to them in the LLo and they probably reply in 'standard Lo clauses' or in Dutch. It seems that suppositions formulated earlier (section 2.3.3.), namely that Moroccans may have a receptive command -they understand but they can not or only defectively reply in the LLo-of their original tongues, are confirmed here, especially in the case of the subjects who failed to perform the PDT in their Lo.

The results of the comparison between claimed language use and actual language proficiency has a general impact on the use of questionnaires as well. One should always bear in mind that answers to questions in this instrument are subjective interpretations of the linguistic reality and that as such they should be confirmed by reliable information on language use or proficiency level. For this reason the results of a research of language attitudes towards Arabic and Berber of Berber speaking Moroccans in

Morocco carried out by Bentahila and Davies (1988), must be looked upon critically. In Morocco, where a policy of Arabization is the rule (see section 1.2.1.), one can expect the Berber's answers to be set by 'self-censure' as the questionnaire was administered by an institute of authority, the University, traditionally considered a stronghold of Classical Arabic. The aspect of possible self-censure in the answers of the subjects of the Bentahila and Davies study is not mentioned.

2.9.3. Conclusion

The language profile is made up by the answers to the first three research questions. These showed that the Moroccan subjects had either a Moroccan Arabic dialect or Tarifit as their original languages. Dutch had entered the language profile of most subjects when they were very young. The measure of use of both original tongues proved to suffer strong competition from Dutch, which was claimed to be used considerably in most subjects' important speech domains, although the subjects claimed to use the original tongues on average more than Dutch, the speakers of Tarifit slightly more than the Moroccan Arabic subjects. A dichotomy came to light in the major claimed Lo use with father and mother and the minor Lo use with siblings and Moroccan friends. The determination of the actual command of both original tongues and Dutch turned out to be in favor of Dutch. The Lo of the Berber groups seems purer than the Lo of the AR groups. The fact that most subjects are more proficient in Dutch does not, however, imply that they do not command their original tongue: except for the subjects who failed to perform the PDTs in their Lo, they proved to be more or less skillful in a basic form of communication in their original tongues.

The following chapter will deal with the collection of data relevant to the fourth research question, which asks to what extent the Moroccans have succeeded in acquiring Dutch and what specific problems characterize it. The results of the latter research question combined with the results of the research questions of this chapter will then produce the overall view of the language situation of the young Moroccans.

Chapter 3: the Dutch of the young Moroccans

3.1. Introduction

3.1.1. Research question (4)

The second component making up this study is the characterization of the spoken Dutch of the young Moroccans. The results of this characterization will, combined with the description of the complex language situation as presented in chapter 2, produce the overall image of the language situation of the young Moroccans, which will be presented and discussed in chapter 4. The research question concerning the nature of spoken Dutch of the young Moroccans was formulated as follows:

> (4) To what extent have the Moroccans succeeded in the acquisition of Dutch and what are the specific problems containing it?

In order to determine the degree of success of the acquisition of Dutch of the young Moroccans four native Dutch speaking age/language groups, that shared similar characteristics of age, education and social class with the eight Moroccan age/language groups were added (see 1.4.2.). The results of the analysis of their speech serves as a criterion for success (see 3.1.4.). Now, in order to obtain speech data relevant to research question (4) a speech elicitation instrument is needed. This instrument is the so called **Structured Interview** (SI). The structured interview is a means of eliciting free speech. This instrument was chosen as it was argued that it reflects the communicative functional approach of which language proficiency consists (see 2.4.1. for the working definition of language proficiency) and because it was considered to yield speech data that contained different linguistic categories sufficient for a valid analysis (for a more detailed account of the choice of this elicitation instrument see 3.1.2.). Indeed, the speech data produced instances of 16 categories on the level of morphology (10), syntax (4) and lexicon/semantics (2) sufficient for a valid analysis (see 3.1.4. for the determination of the

conditions for executing a valid analysis). The results of these analyses were examined within the quasi-longitudinal model and the accent was on the occurrence of systematic errors, of which the persistent nature is determined: what errors vanish and what errors continue to occur, i.e. fossilize? The degree of success of the acquisition of Dutch of the young Moroccans is determined by a comparison of their results of the error analysis to the results of the Dutch control groups: if the Moroccans match the Dutch groups they are considered successful. If, however, they remain behind in whatever way, they are considered unsuccessful and the error concerned is labelled 'a specific problem' as mentioned in research question (4). The exact operationalization of research question (4) can be read in section 3.1.4. but in the main the following questions will be answered. Are the error patterns in the Moroccan age/language groups similar to the error patterns in the Dutch age/language groups? Are there differences between the error patterns of Moroccan age/language groups of AR background and BB background? Furthermore, the error analysis traces the causes of errors. In general two causes are considered: errors induced by negative Lo interference or developmental errors, i.e. errors that are typical in the acquisition of Dutch as L1. Both causes may account for the occurring errors as well. Apart from the interpretation of the causes of errors the absence of errors will also be related to possible positive L1 transfer and finally to specific characteristics of the complex language profiles.

The chapter is divided into the following sections. Section 3.1.2. describes and accounts for the instrument of speech elicitation, the Structured Interview (SI). Section 3.1.3. presents the analysis model and section 3.1.4. the procedures of the analysis and the scheme of the presentation of each analysis and its results. Sections 3.2. to 3.6.2. contain the description of the various analyses plus results. These are followed by the discussion and conclusion (3.7.).

3.1.2. Free speech elicitation

An instrument is needed that elicits spoken Dutch. What instrument of speech elicitation is the most appropriate for this aim? In my view the speech that is to be elicited

must be a reflection of the natural everyday language the subjects use and hence a situation must be created in which they are offered the opportunity to make use of their linguistic abilities as natural as possible. In fact, a situation which conforms to the functional communicative approach of language proficiency, whose definition was formulated earlier in chapter 2 as follows (based on among others Oller,1979,1983):

...the measure in which a speaker can communicate in a language fluently, situation bound and task oriented.

Furthermore the speech elicitation must use a certain minimum measure of time so that it produces sufficient occurrences of categories which can subsequently be analyzed in a valid way. On the basis of these considerations a free speech elicitation procedure was chosen. As a rule it consists of the presentation to the subjects involved of a set of conversational subjects, on which they are invited to talk about in as natural a setting as possible. Corder (1973) states that free speech data produced in a communicative setting reflect the learner's measure of proficiency in the given language. Van Els mentions the advantage of this elicitation procedure for the generation of hypotheses on second language acquisition as they yield unexpected data (Van Els et.al.,1984;72). Corder argues, however, as well that free speech elicitation may produce data too lacking in quantity to yield a representative image of a learner's linguistic skills. There is a risk of missing values: some categories may not be produced.

In the practice of language testing apart from free speech elicitation, separate discrete point tests are administered in order to obtain additional language data which may shed light on the specific research questions put forward (cf. Appel,1984; Lalleman, 1987). These discrete point tests generally test a specific grammatical, lexical or phonological aspect of language. In this research no such tests were administered for the following reasons. First of all discrete point tests contain the risk of not reflecting natural language proficiency in its present communicative approach and as such not rendering concurrent validity (cf. Spolsky,1973; Beheydt, 1988; Groot, 1988). Secondly there was the simple

argument of time: no time was available to administer extra discrete point tests. Therefore, it was decided to stick to the execution of the free speech elicitation procedure only. This decision carries the danger of being confronted with missing values and indeed this occurred. Of the 34 categories examined 18 proved to be unproductive (see appendix 9). Still, 16 were productive and as such the instrument of speech elicitation was successful.

The **Structured Interview** (SI) consists of the presentation of familiar topics to the subjects in order to get them talking. Topics were school, holidays, sports, games, books, movies, videofilms, jobs etc. In this respect, the SI should not be interpreted as a dialogue or a conversation. A question was asked by the experimenter and the subject was invited to answer it as fully as possible. The subjects' speech was the goal of the elicitation. In the data collection procedure, the Structured Interview takes place after the execution of the picture description test in Dutch (cf. 1.4.4.).

One may wonder whether the speech style of the experimenter is of a different nature in the SI's with Moroccan subjects as opposed to SI's with native Dutch subjects: does a form of so-called 'foreigner talk' occur? Foreigner talk is the adaption and/or simplification of the language of native speakers in communication with non-native speakers (Ferguson,1975, Hatch,1978b). If this occurs does it have a -negative- effect on the speech production of the subjects concerned? A multiple-case study of four Moroccan SI's and two Dutch SI's of group IV (Vermeulen, 1989) made it clear that 'the speech style of the experimenter is not marked by the characteristics of foreigner talk on morpho-phonological, lexical and syntactic levels, i.e. the application of simplifications on these levels.' However, 'the experimenter has to make greater efforts to reach his goal, the elicitation of speech, in the Moroccan Structured Interviews. His role in them is more active, which is expressed in a larger number of utterances and propositions. Furthermore, a larger use of repairs like repetition and restatement could be established in the speech of the experimenter. This last feature, however, had a positive effect on the communication and the elicitation of speech. It does not

affect the speech production, which is the goal of the Structured Interview.'

3.1.3. Analysis Model

The analysis is divided into three sections. The first section discusses the execution and the presentation of the results of the **response analysis**, which examines the degree of **reliability and validity** of the speech samples obtained by the Structured Interview. The second section presents a first overall **impression of the level of Dutch proficiency** of both Moroccan and Dutch subjects. The third section is the **error analysis**. The error analysis is executed on three levels: (1) morphology, (2) syntax and (3) semantics and lexicon and contains 16 categories.

3.1.4. Procedures

The description of the results of the response analysis, the presentation of the overall impression of Dutch proficiency of the subjects and the error analysis are presented according to an outline, which contains the following sections:

1. description, 2. literature, 3. results, 4. discussion, 5. conclusion.

Below, the contents of these sections are described.

1. Description

In this section an elaborate description of the linguistic category (from now on 'category'), whose analysis is involved, is given. The description of the categories in the error analysis is primarily based on the grammar of Standard Dutch as laid down in the **Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst** (ANS) of Geerts et. al. (1984). However, as the error analysis is based on errors occurring in spoken language, the descriptions of the rules governing the categories concerned also include deviations from Standard Dutch and characteristics in the vernacular of the city of Utrecht, where most subjects have lived the greater part of their lives (see 1.4.3.). Occurring vernacular deviations are then subsequently considered permitted in the speech of the subjects. In practice this boiled down

to two analyses only: the inflection of the verb and anaphoric reference, in which the former is specifically characterized by influences of the Utrecht dialect and the latter by more general deviations occurring in spoken Dutch. In the error analysis a description of the category concerned in **Moroccan Arabic** and **Tarifit** is also given in notes because possible Lo transfer may be expected to be a cause of the occurring errors or absence of errors. Due to the absence of a standard of both Moroccan Arabic and Tarifit, these descriptions are based on a number of representative studies on the languages involved. The descriptions in the notes present the common denominator of the studies consulted; however, if there are apparent deviations from the given rules in one or more studies, these will be mentioned. Apart from this, no specific reference will be made to the studies in the notes themselves. Appendix 7 contains a list of relevant literature consulted. The notes contain examples of the use or application of the categories involved. I have strived to take these examples as much as possible from the Lo data of the Moroccan subjects of this study. If no examples could be found, other examples were taken from utterances of comparable Moroccan native speakers, who assist in the research of Roel Otten on the position and characteristics of Moroccan Arabic and Tarifit in the Netherlands (forthcoming). These are marked with a @ symbol.
Finally the 'description' section gives a reasoned argument of the nature of the analysis, whether it is an analysis of occurring errors, an analysis of occurrence in obligatory context, a 'deviation' analysis or a specific combination of analyses. For a more specific description of these types of analyses see the section of **discussion** below.

2.Literature

The section of literature describes comparable research on the category analyzed, in both mother tongue acquisition of Dutch and the acquisition of Dutch as a second language. It presents the error types, the results, the conclusions and the specific interpretation of the causes of the errors of other studies. If no literature is

available on the category no references are made in the section of literature.

3.Results

This section presents the results of the analysis.

4.Discussion

This section discusses the results of the analysis. In the discussion of the error analysis several concepts and aspects are in play that need elucidation. These are the following:

Error types and analyses types

The speech elicited by the Structured Interview ultimately contained 16 productive categories which were analyzed. These contained several types of errors. Below these error types are discussed further in combination with the categories in which they occurred. In this dissertation three basic error types are distinguished. The first type is the error that expresses incorrectness: a given category is incorrectly used or applied. The analysis that examines this kind of error is called **the analysis of occurring errors**. This name has been chosen so that no confusion would rise with the general concept of 'the error analysis'. The following categories are subjected to the analysis of occurring errors:

On the level of morphology: 1. noun pluralization, 2. verb inflection, 3. past participle, 4. temporal auxiliary, 5. attributive and independent demonstratives, 6. attributive adjective, 7. anaphoric reference.

On the level of syntax: 1. inversion, 2. verb final.

An analysis of occurring errors is executed as follows: all correct and incorrect occurrences of the specific category are noted in the speech sample of the subject involved, and on the basis of the respective numbers of correct and incorrect occurrences obtained, percentages are calculated. The correct (abbreviated cr.) scores are presented in the tables in the section 'results'.

The second type of error is the **absence** of a given category **in an obligatory context**. The analysis that examines this kind of error type is called the **analysis of occurrence in obligatory context**. The following category is subjected to this analysis:

On the level of syntax: 1. postposition.

An analysis of occurrence in obligatory context is executed as follows: all occurrences and non-occurrences in obligatory context of the specific category are noted in the speech sample of the subject involved, and on the ground of the respective numbers of occurrences and non-occurrences obtained percentages are calculated. The scores of occurrence in obligatory context (abbreviated pr. = present) are presented in the tables in the section 'results'.

In one category, the analysis of occurrence in obligatory context considers the measure of superfluousness as well: the occurrence is unnecessary, i.e. is not obligatory on the basis of the context. The following category is subjected to a combination analysis of occurrence in obligatory context and superfluousness in non-obligatory context:

On the level of morphology: 1. the indefinite article.

The method of calculating the analysis of superfluousness is combined with the analysis of occurrence in obligatory context, which implies that to the actual scores an extra score expressed in a percentage is added (abbreviated su. = superfluous in non-obligatory context)

On occasion a combination of an analysis of occurring errors, an analysis of occurrence in obligatory context and of superfluousness is executed. The following categories are subjected to this combination analysis:

On the level of morphology: 1. the definite article

On the level of semantics and lexicon: 1. the preposition.

After counting the instances of correctness, incorrectness, occurrence in obligatory context and

superfluousness these numbers are converted into percentages. In these analyses the percentage of incorrect scores and the scores of absence in obligatory contexts is also depicted in the tables (abbreviated incr. = incorrect and np = not present, i.e. absent)

The third error type is that of **deviation**: the given category is used in such a way that it is -strictly speaking- grammatically correct but it deviates in other ways from the rule. The analysis that examines this kind of error is called the **deviation analysis**. The following categories are subjected to this analysis:

On the level of syntax:1. Pl empty clauses.

On the level of semantics and lexicon: 1. lexical strategies

The calculation of the scores of the two deviation analyses differ considerably from the other kinds of analyses. These are discussed in the subsequent sections.

The kind of analysis (error, occurrence in obligatory context, superfluousness, deviation or a combination analysis) of the category involved is mentioned in the description section. All outcomes are subjected to statistical analysis, specifically the degree of significance of differences. The way of presenting differences in terms of statistical significance in the tables is described in note 1 [1].

The measure of significance in scores is calculated for the scores of the AR groups vs. the BB groups, the AR groups vs. the NL groups, the BB groups vs. the NL groups. The outcomes of these calculations are presented as follows in the tables of results: letters indicate significant differences (bet.=between):

	bet.AR/BB:	bet.AR/NL	bet.BB/NL:
$p \leq 0.100$	d	g	j
$p \leq 0.050$	e	h	k
$p \leq 0.010$	f	i	l

Appendix 8 contains a more specific description of the method of the analysis of the SI speech samples.

Number of occurrences

Another aspect in the analysis of the SI speech samples is under what conditions the number of occurrences the category involved is valid for the execution of any analysis. For the analysis of occurring errors and the analysis of occurrence in obligatory context the following procedure is employed. Only if a category is used in the speech of the majority of the subjects per age/language group, that is in at least 60 % of the group (i.e. at least 6 subjects per Moroccan group and 3 subjects per Dutch group) and if it is used on average in at least 3 obligatory contexts (correctly or incorrectly, but present) per subject, a category is considered productive and valid for an analysis. These conditions will be referred to as the 60 % condition and the 3 occurrences in obligatory context condition. This last condition is based on Brown (1973), who considers a category productive if it occurs in at least three obligatory contexts. Of course it may be expected that some age/language groups do not comply with one or both of these conditions. If an age/language group does not produce any instances of the category concerned the place in the table is left blank. If, however, the age/language group concerned produced instances of the categories used without however complying with one of the two conditions, the score is presented but immediately followed by an asterisk '*' to indicate that the age/language group concerned does not meet one or both of the conditions. In such a case as a rule no conclusions will be drawn about the performance of the age/language group concerned on the category involved. The deviation analyses of Pl empty clauses and lexical strategies obey the 60 % condition and to a variant of the condition of three occurrences in obligatory context: as the obligatory character of this condition is not at stake in the deviation analyses involved, the condition is reduced to the occurrences of on average three 'deviating Pl empty

clauses' in the former and three lexical strategies in the latter deviation analysis. Appendix 9 presents the overall results of the analysis of the 60 % condition.

Persistence

The results of the error analyses, the analyses of occurrence in obligatory context and combination analyses are examined within the quasi-longitudinal model as was mentioned earlier (see 1.4.2.and 3.1.1.). The accent is on the occurrence of **systematic errors** (Corder, 1967). Corder distinguishes systematic errors and incidental mistakes, which can not be labelled systematic. Of these systematic errors the possible persistent nature is determined. Hence, several **error patterns** may be expected within the age/language groups. Which errors vanish within four specific age groups within one language group (AR/BB/NL) and which errors continue to occur, i.e. form the 'specific problems' characteristic in the acquisition of Dutch by the young Moroccans as mentioned in research question (4)? The concept of persistence plays an important role in the possible error patterns that the results may produce. This concept needs a more detailed definition. Under what conditions can an error, that becomes apparent from incorrect use or absence in an obligatory context, be interpreted as persistent or non-persistent within the four age groups of AR/BB or NL background?

The following solution is proposed. Brown (1973) studied the L1 development of children acquiring English. He considered a category **acquired** if it was used in 90 % of the obligatory contexts. Grafted onto this method this analysis considers a category as **persistently erroneous** if it is incorrect and/or not present in more than 10 % of the obligatory contexts in all four age groups of AR/BB or NL background.

An error is considered **non-persistent** if in at least one of the four age groups of the language group the correct scores are over 90 %.

The results of both deviation analyses are interpreted differently with respect to the measure of persistence. This is discussed in the respective sections.

Comparison with the Dutch control groups

As mentioned before, the degree of success of the acquisition of Dutch of the young Moroccans is dependent on their scores matching the scores of the Dutch control groups. Now, the question of under what conditions the results of an analysis (error, occurrence in obligatory context or a combination analysis) of a category of the Moroccan language group matches the Dutch control group results is answered as follows: the results of a Moroccan language group match the Dutch results if the difference between the correct scores remains within 5 %. This 5 % criterion is of an arbitrary character. It is partially based on Appel's discussion of the results of his analyses of two groups of immigrant children acquiring Dutch (Appel,1984;49). His scores are expressed in percentages and he uses a 10 % criterion to define the 'better group'. His aim was to look at possible differences between his two groups and it is my aim to look at the possible approximation of two groups. Therefore I raised the criterion to 5 %. Another criterion for the interpretation of errors is added here. If ultimately the oldest age/group in one Moroccan language group meets the 90 % criterion but remains behind the Dutch scores by 5 % or more, I speak of a **flattening** of the scores: the Moroccans, although having reached the 90 % criterion, ultimately fail to reach the Dutch level.

Another aspect of the analysis is that the Dutch control groups can produce errors which are also of a persistent character. Nevertheless, on the grounds of research already done (Schaerlaekens & Gillis,1987;159), namely that young children acquiring Dutch as L1 have developed the fundamentals of their language basically at around 5 years of age, no persistent errors are expected within the four age groups of the NL native speakers. Hence, the Dutch control groups can be expected to score in the youngest group(s) under 90 % but they are also expected to cross this line quite quickly.

Furthermore differences in scores may be expected between Moroccans of Moroccan Arabic background and those of Tarifit background. If these occur, these will be regarded and interpreted in the subsequent sections.

Of course it is clear that not all the results of the analyses will meet the conditions of persistence and flattening as described above. Deviations and variants may occur. In those cases, the results will be regarded within their specific contexts and corresponding conclusions drawn.

Error patterns and the notion 'development'

What picture of errors, persistent or not, with flattening patterns or not, can be expected to emerge? The analysis of the SI speech data can produce the following patterns: the determination of (1) no errors, (2) non-persistent errors, with or without flattening or (3) persistent errors, fossilization. Non-persistent errors imply a development within the quasi-longitudinal model. One must, however, be careful with the term development, as here one is not concerned with the individual development of the same subjects throughout but of different, older subjects and nothing can be said on the future linguistic developments of the younger subjects: will they share a development similar to the older subjects? This reservation, as was mentioned before, must be made.

The actual discussion

In the error analysis the actual discussion determines the error pattern(s) of the results obtained. Furthermore it gives an insight into the exact kind of errors that are made, the possible similarities between errors of the Moroccans and of the Dutch control group subjects. It also sheds light on the possible causes of the errors: are they induced by negative Lo transfer or are they of a developmental nature? In this discussion the similar or deviating structures of the LLo as described in the relevant notes are taken into consideration as well as the results of comparable research as described in the section on literature, and the results of chapter two concerning the proficiency level of the LLo of the Moroccan subjects and their specific language profiles. The response analysis and the section on the overall impression of the proficiency level of both groups discuss the actual results here as well.

5.Conclusion

In this section a summary of the overall results of the analysis concerned is presented, and a preliminary answer to research question (4) is formulated based on the results of the analysis involved.

The response analysis and the presentation of the overall impression of the proficiency in Dutch generally follow this same plan.

3.2. The response analysis: reliability and validity

The structured interview was administered in the 12 age/language groups comprising 96 subjects. One can imagine that some subjects were natural talkers and others more introvert and silent. Nevertheless, the speech data obtained had to meet the requirements of reliability and validity in order to produce meaningful results. Regarding the reliability, one important condition to be fulfilled was that the relationship between the contribution of the experimenter and of the subjects in the Structured Interview would be stable throughout the groups and regarding the validity there was the condition that there was a similarity in the conversational units the speech of the subjects could be divided into and that the speech production was enough to execute a meaningful analysis. Summing up, three questions were posed:

1. What is the relationship between the contribution of the experimenter and of the subject in the Structured Interview? Is it constant enough not to affect the measure of comparability of the 12 groups?

2. Into what conversational units can the speech of the subjects be divided and how are they in ratio to each other? Do these proportions affect the measure of comparability of the 12 groups?

3. How many elliptical and non-elliptical utterances do the subjects' speech samples contain; is their number sufficient for a meaningful analysis and comparison?

These three questions are dealt with in three analyses, which are captured in the response analysis.

3.2.1. The contribution of the subject and the experimenter

Description

The first question was formulated as follows:

1. What is the relationship between the contribution of the experimenter and of the subject in the Structured Interview? Is it constant enough not to affect the measure of comparability of the 12 groups?

Ideally, the relative contribution of experimenter and subject must be similar for all groups and the experimenter's part, for obvious reasons, should be minimal. It is difficult to establish a measure for these contributions. Still, a limit must be determined, even if only for ad hoc purposes. It may be argued that the experimenter should not dominate the interview, but on the other hand he must stimulate the subject to talk and some subjects need more stimulation than others. One may safely state that the subject's share in the interview must be larger than the experimenter's share, perhaps at best expressed in a one to two relation. Based on these guidelines the minimum share of the subjects must therefore be around two thirds of the Structured Interview and the maximum share of the experimenter should not exceed around one third of the Structured Interview. In order to establish this relationship the utterances of the subject and the utterances of the experimenter were counted and expressed in percentages (for an exact account of the method of analysis regarding the utterances of the subjects see the following section). Table 1 (see below) presents the results of this analysis.

Discussion and conclusions

The contribution in the SI of all age/language groups is around two thirds or more, except in group IAR. The difference, however is not significant. One observes also an increasing contribution in the structured interview of the subjects in the older groups. The conclusion must be that the speech samples of the different groups are comparable in terms of the subjects' percentage contribution in the structured interview.

Results

	IAR	IBB	INL	IIAR	IIBB	IINL
E	38.42	31.67	32.03	19.30f	33.59 fk	22.39 k
S	61.58	68.33	67.97	80.70f	66.41 fk	77.61 k
	IIIAR	IIIBB	IIINL	IVAR	IVBB	IVNL
E	27.54	29.51	33.55	19.86	21.57 j	15.25 j
S	72.46	70.48	66.45	80.14	78.43 j	84.75 j

Table 1: distribution of the contribution in the Structured Interview of the experimenter (E) and the subjects (S), in percentages.

3.2.2. The subjects' speech

Description

The second question of the response analysis was formulated as follows:

2. Into what conversational units can the speech of the subjects be divided and how are they in ratio to each other? Do these proportions affect the measure of comparability of the 12 groups?

The importance of the answer to this question may be illustrated by the following example. A group may confine its utterances to yes/no answers only. Naturally, such material provides no basis for a valid error analysis let alone for a comparison with other groups. In free speech all kinds of utterances can be distinguished. Thus, fillers as 'nou' ('well') or 'eigenlijk' ('as a matter of fact') serve a communicative or pragmatic (relativizing one's statement) function. Stereotypes as 'weet ik niet' ('I don't know'), repeated often cannot be considered as newly produced utterances but more as formulaic speech, used for example, to avoid answering questions, for which the subjects do not have the necessary grammatical

knowledge or which the subjects do not wish to answer. They can be considered as 'expressions which are learned as unanalysable wholes and employed on particular occasions..' (Lyons, 1968;177). Furthermore a subject may want to say something, starts an utterance, but stops without finishing it and tries again. These utterances are **false starts**. Subjects may also repeat what the experimenter has said; these utterances cannot be considered original utterances of the subjects. Most utterances however are either **elliptical** or **non-elliptical**. Elliptical utterances are grammatically correct utterances, but do without essential sentence constituents which refer to issues in the conversation mentioned or implied before and whose insertion in the elliptical utterance make it a non-elliptical utterance again.
These two kinds of utterances contain the linguistic categories desired. For this reason these utterances are of the utmost importance in order to execute a valid analysis. They must form the majority of the conversational units and have a comparable share in the subjects' speech productions. The present analysis examines in what conversational units the speech samples of the 12 groups can be divided and what the percentage shares of these units are.

Results

The analysis yields the following kinds of 'conversational units':

1. fillers (fil.)
2. yes/no answers (y/n)
3. formulaic expressions (for.)
4. false starts (fal.)
5. subjects' repetitions of the experimenter (rep.)
6. elliptical utterances (ell.)
7. non-elliptical utterances (nel.)
8. others (oth.)

In the last category all utterances are classed which did not fit within the other categories.

Table 2 presents the percentage distribution of the eight different conversational units.

	IAR	IBB	INL	IIAR	IIBB	IINL
fil.	0.96	1.05	1.62	1.49	1.36 j	5.02 j
y/n.	20.52 d	12.34 d	14.33	12.52 f	21.28 fj	14.25 j
for.	0.77	0.91	-.--	0.72	1.08	1.90
fal.	4.76 g	4.97	8.54 g	8.15 e	4.83e	6.08
rep.	0.80	0.19	0.73	0.32	0.76	-.--
ell.	28.55	25.72	23.68	17.0 f	29.71 fj	19.57 j
nel.	42.74	48.43	49.79	56.42 f	40.11 fj	50.64 j
oth.	0.91	6.37	1.30	3.37	0.86	2.56
	IIIAR	IIIBB	IIINL	IVAR	IVBB	IVNL
fil.	2.25	5.19	3.42	4.90	5.07 j	8.21 j
y/n.	16.43 g	21.24	24.88 g	15.56 g	16.96 k	10.65 gk
for.	2.68	0.95	1.66	1.98	1.91	1.66
fal.	7.48	5.98	3.95	8.97	8.40	8.69
rep.	0.53	1.05	0.99	1.74	2.24	1.06
ell.	26.63	26.42	27.91	16.23 h	16.48 k	9.29 hk
nel.	42.90	38.55	37.22	49.37 i	47.77 l	60.21 il
oth.	1.11	0.63	-.--	1.26	1.18	0.22

Table 2: different kinds and percentage distribution of conversational units in the subjects' share in the structured interview.

Discussion and conclusions

The analysis shows that in all groups the percentages of elliptical and non-elliptical utterances exceed a 60 % share in the subjects' speech. Within the groups some deviations occur, which, however, have no dramatic effect on the comparability of the groups. IIBB's share in elliptical and non-elliptical utterances differs significantly in a negative way from IIAR ($p \leq 0.01$) and IINL ($p \leq 0.10$). IIBB shows a same negative significant difference in the share of yes/no answers. IIINL also has a high share of yes/no answers. This latter feature is caused by the general unwillingness of this group to talk at all (see 1.4.5.). IVAR and IVBB also use more yes/no answers than IVNL. IVNL has a high share in non-elliptical utterances compared to both oldest Moroccan groups. Striking is the increase of the use of 'relativizing fillers' (see above) in older groups. The

youngest groups hardly use them. Both older age groups (III and IV) use them to a large extent. It seems that the older subjects express the need for relativization more than the younger ones. On average the differences in the percentage distribution of the different conversational units between the 12 groups are not large. It does not impede their comparability.

3.2.3. Number of elliptical and non-elliptical utterances

Description

The third question of the response analysis was formulated as follows:

3. How many elliptical and non-elliptical utterances do the subjects' speech samples contain; is their number sufficient for a meaningful analysis and comparison?

Literature

Literature has been concerned with the question of how many utterances are needed in order to produce a valid analysis. Darley and Moll (1960) state that 100 utterances are the minimal number of utterances to obtain a valid analysis. Recent studies of Dutch as a first or second language produce analyses based on 50 T-units in Van Ierland (1982) and 100 T-units in Verhulst-Schlichting (1985). Jansen & Lalleman (1982) have 100 T-units as a standard as well and Vermeer (1986;166) produces numbers varying between 59 and 224 utterances, without mentioning a minimum. In the section on the procedures of the analysis (3.1.3.2.), the standard of productiveness of a category for a valid analysis was set at on average three occurrences in obligatory context per subject, correct or incorrect. Pretests showed that a conversation of 10 to 20 minutes, containing at least 20 elliptical utterances and 40 non-elliptical utterances, yielded on average this number of occurrences in obligatory context of the 16 categories studied. Still, some subjects' introvert natures, apparent from little speech production, could cause the absence of certain categories in their speech. This is one of the disadvantages of free speech, the more so, as in such cases subjects can never be forced to talk.

This risk, however, was taken for granted. On the basis of these considerations the samples had to comply with the condition of containing at least 20 elliptical and 40 non-elliptical utterances.

Results

Table 3 presents the results of the analysis of the number of elliptical (ell) and non-elliptical (nel) utterances and their totals (tot).

	IAR	IBB	INL	IIAR	IIBB	IINL
ell	22.00	23.60	22.25	22.90	29.70	22.25
nel	40.10	45.60	45.00	76.00	41.70	45.00
tot	62.10	69.20	67.25	98.90	71.40	67.25
	IIIAR	IIIBB	IIINL	IVAR	IVBB	IVNL
ell	32.90	31.20	19.00	23.50	23.00	10.50
nel	57.80	47.50	24.75	73.80	68.50	68.00
tot	90.70	78.70	43.75	97.30	91.50	78.50

Table 3: average numbers of elliptical utterances (ell) and non-elliptical utterances (nel) and totals (tot) per age/language group.

Discussion

The figures presented in table 3 show that most age/language groups meet the 20/40 minimum numbers of elliptical and non-elliptical utterances. The reason for the low score of IIINL is the group members' reluctance to talk. This had a negative effect on the occurrence of the different categories to be analyzed. Nevertheless, the results of the analyses of this group will be presented and used as a comparison to IIIAR and IIIBB if possible. IVNL does not meet the condition of minimal 20 elliptical utterances but its score of non-elliptical utterances compensates for this. The other groups meet the requirements fully.

3.2.4. Conclusion

The confirmatory answers to the three questions which make up the response analysis reinforce the reliability and validity of the speech samples and subsequently allow a valid analysis.

3.3. Overall impression of the level of proficiency in Dutch of the subjects

The Moroccan subjects that participated in this research have all been living in the Netherlands for the greater part of their lives (see 1.4.3.). They share the characteristic of a continuous exposure to the Dutch language since their birth or arrival in the Netherlands. For most groups the proficiency level in Dutch proved to be higher than the proficiency level in the original languages (see chapter 2) and it may be assumed that their proficiency in Dutch is not like that of learners who have just started to acquire Dutch and who are subsequently still in the -very- initial acquisition stages of Dutch. In order to obtain a first overall impression of the Moroccans' verbal competence, some relatively representative speech samples of several subjects of the four age groups will be presented. These are followed by the presentation of the results of three analyses of categories in the subjects' speech, each of which reflect an aspect of syntactic complexity giving a more detailed but still overall impression of the Moroccans' linguistic skills in Dutch. The three analyses are the following:

(1) The measure of use of simple and complex clauses

(2) The Mean Length of Utterance

(3) Types of subordinate clauses

The following sections contain the speech samples (3.3.1.) and the results and discussion of the three analyses (3.3.2. to 3.3.4.). As the present analyses are not kinds of error analyses they do not class in one of the three analysis types as presented in section 3.1.4..

3.3.1. Some speech samples of the Moroccans

From all Moroccan age groups a sample, which can be considered representative for the other subjects in the group, has been selected. The samples are presented in standard written Dutch and as such no phonetic representation of the actual pronunciation is given.

Fatima, IBB2, answers the experimenter's question on the contents of a book she is reading [2]:

E. Waar gaat dat boek over?
S. Over Pim en Fried en Ida.
E. Vertel eens. Wat gebeurt er met Pim en Fried en Ida?
S. Ze waren weg. En toen kwam altijd een heks tegen hen aan. En toen kwamen ze thuis. En waren ze heel laat. En zijn vader was daar aan, naast de deur aan het schommelen. En toen ging ze muisjes eten. Met een boterham. En toen gingen ze, gingen ze slapen. Toen zijn ze weer naar het bos gegaan.

E. 'What is that book about?
S. About Pim and Fried and Ida.
E. Tell me. What happens to Pim and Fried and Ida?
S. They had gone. And then a witch always meets them. And then they came home. And they were very late. And his father was swinging on a swing next to the door. And then they went eating chocolate vermicelli [a kind of Dutch sandwich filling, JJdR]. With a sandwich. And then they went, they went to sleep. Then they went back to the wood again.'

Hishaam, IIAR6, is reading a book as well. He too describes its contents on the experimenter's invitation:

E. Waar gaat dat boek over dan?
S. Over de vervuilers, die eh..Een paar mensen, die werkers, moeten naar de gemeente toe. En de gemeente zegt tegen hun: jullie moeten al het vuil uit de water halen. En dan komen een heleboel kinderen. Die eh.. Die hebben zo'n hele grote olie, eh oliepak of zo. En die gooien ze in het water. En worden die mannen heel boos. En dan gaan ze ze achterna. En dan pakken ze

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Concerning quotations from what the subjects have said, see note 1 of chapter 2.

hun niet meer. En de volgende dag gaan ze heleboel bakstenen in het water gooien en zo.
E. Bakstenen in het water?
S. Ja.
E. En dan?
S. En toen op het laatst hebben ze hun nog gepakt. Toen gingen ze naar hun vader en moeder. Toen kregen ze nog op hun donder.

E. 'What is that book about then?
S. About the polluters, who eh..Some people, those workers, have to go to the council. And the council tells them: you have to get all the dirt out of the water. And then a lot of children come. These eh..These have such a very large oil, eh oilskins or something like that. And they throw them into the water. And those men get very angry. And then they go after them. And then they do not catch them any more. And the next day they go and throw many bricks into the water.
E. Bricks into the water?
S. Yes.
E. And then?
S. And then finally they still caught them. Then they went to their father and mother. Then they got hell.'

Turia, IIIAR8, explains the differences and similarities between the Catholic faith and the religion of Islam to the experimenter:

S. Nou. Moslims worden str, zijn strengerder en katholieken, ja, niet zo erg streng, maar..Hoe heet het? Gewoon. Moslims, die mogen geen varken eten, katholieken wel. Maar er staat in de bijbel dat de katholieken ook geen varken mogen. Staat bij ons in de bijbel dat we niet mogen. Nou, En dat is eh..Alle twee hebben ze het zelfde. En wij hebben feesten, verschillende feesten. Hun hebben ook verschillende feesten. Hun hebben kerstmis. Wij hebben, ja, /l-eid/ [het offerfeest, JJdR].

S. 'Well. Muslims become more str, are more strict than catholics, well, not that strict, but..What is it called? I mean. Muslims are not allowed to eat pork, catholics are. But it is written in the bible that the catholics are not allowed to eat pork. It is written in our bible that we are not allowed. Well. And that is eh..Both have the same. And we have festivals, different. festivals. They have different festivals

as well. They have christmas. We have, well, /l-eid/ [the festival of the sacrifice, JJdR]'.

Mohammed, IVBB3, describes his way of finding the correct road on holidays in France:

S. Ik moest steeds de weg aanwijzen. Sommige..Ja. Sommige wegen liepen helemaal door de stad en dan in zo'n berg..eh heuvel. Dan heuvel in de stad. Krijg je dan allemaal huizen zo op de helling en daar moet je dan op. En dan op een gegeven ogenblik zie je alleen de hemel. En dan daalde je weer naar beneden. Het is, ja, als je daar voor het eerst heen gaat dan moet je toch wel wennen. Kijken hoe zit dat weer in elkaar. Altijd een verassing, die je te wachten staat.

S. 'I had to indicate the road all the time. Some..Yes. Some roads pass through the city completely and than in such a mountain..eh hill. Then hill in town. You see many houses like that on the slope and you have to get on it. And then at a certain moment you see the sky only. And then you descended downward again. It is, yes, if you go there for the first time, you have to get used to it. To see how it is made up. Always a surprise, that is waiting for you.'

These four example of speech of Moroccans of all four age groups give the impression of relatively good fluency in Dutch. Yet, the following three analyses and the actual error analysis will shed more light on the linguistic skills of the Moroccan subjects.

3.3.2. Simple and complex clauses.

Description

The data were analyzed on the occurrence of simple and complex clauses. The formation of complex clauses demands generally more linguistic skills than simple clauses. The definition of simple and complex clauses is formulated as follows: a simple clause is a main clause or an independent subordinate clause to neither of which another main or subordinate clause is coordinated. Complex clauses are those clauses which are either formed by the

combination of coordinate clauses only or by subordinate clauses only or by both. The number of coordinate or subordinate clauses forming a complex clause is not relevant. A complex clause may consist of two or more clauses. The analysis presents the percentage distribution of the use of simple and complex clauses in the speech of the subjects.

Results

The analysis of the relation of simple and complex clauses is presented in table 4.

	IAR	IBB	INL	IIAR	IIBB	IINL
s	80.76	88.12	82.68	78.87	80.10	75.98
c	19.24	11.88	17.32	21.13	19.90	24.02
	IIIAR	**IIIBB**	**IIINL**	**IVAR**	**IVBB**	**IVNL**
s	78.73	77.73	75.86	70.67 i	69.67	58.43 i
c	21.27	22.27	24.14	29.33 i	30.33	41.57 i

Table 4: the percentage distribution of simple (s) and complex (c) sentences in the speech of the subjects.

Discussion

A look at the figures shows an actual progress in the use of complex clauses by older age/language groups. The progress in the AR, BB and NL groups is significant, the calculation of the variance produced $p < 0.05$ for the AR groups and $p < 0.01$ for the BB and NL groups. Deviating to a small extent are IBB, which lags behind a little, not significantly, and IVNL, which overtakes the Moroccan groups. Still, the Moroccan groups on the whole do not score significantly lower than the Dutch control groups. Only IVAR remains significantly under the Dutch score, $p < 0,01$. This, however, is caused by the relatively high score of IVNL.

Conclusion

The analysis shows that the Moroccan subjects, from both Lo backgrounds, match their Dutch peers in the measure of use of complex clauses. They keep up very well.

3.3.3. Mean length of utterance (MLU)

Description

The mean length of utterances (MLU) is used in order to measure syntactic complexity. Brown (1973;53) states that the 'MLU is an excellent simple index of grammatical development because almost every new kind of knowledge increases length'. Brown counts the number of morphemes an utterance contains. It is argued that the higher the MLU, the more complex the syntax used by a subject. Of course, this is not surprising. The child acquiring its first language starts with one-word utterances, followed by two-word utterances containing more morphemes, eventually followed by more complex clauses, containing three to eight words (cf. in Dutch, Schaerlaekens & Gillis,1987;95ff., Van Ierland,1981;92). There is actual progress in length and complexity. Brown further showed that there is a close correspondence between MLU and the acquisition of grammatical categories and that age turned out not to be a valid predictor of the acquisition of grammatical categories. De Villiers & de Villiers put it as follows: 'it is apparent that MLU is a far better predictor of the acquisition of the fourteen morphemes in the early stages of language development than is chronological age' (1973:272). Children apparently follow their own individual temporal scheme in acquiring the mother tongue. In second language acquisition the MLU is also used as an instrument measuring syntactic complexity. Its calculation, however, is generally based on the number of words each utterance contains.

Literature

In reviewing literature concerning the use of MLU, a problem emerges in the comparison of the MLU in various studies as there are differences in the definitions of the utterance which have been taken as a basis for the calculation of the MLU. Nevertheless, an overview will be

given of SLA research using the instrument of MLU, and attempts will be made to make comparisons possible.

Recent research in the Netherlands on second language acquisition makes use of the MLU as well. Appel (1984;168-170) uses the instrument of MLU in measuring the grammatical skills of Turkish and Moroccan children acquiring Dutch. In the first year of his recording he applied a set of rules, developed by himself, defining the utterance that serves as a basis for the MLU (168). In the second and third years of his recording he adopted the T-unit as formulated by Hunt (1965) for the calculation of the MLU. Still, on the basis of the argument that repetition does not contribute to a clause's complexity, he does not include the first parts of clauses which begin with 'en' ('and') and 'en toen' ('and then') in the calculation (169). At the moment of the first recording Appel's subjects had been living in the Netherlands for an average of 8 months. Evidently, the children were in their first stages of acquiring Dutch. In the first year of recording the MLU of the Experimental group (E) was 2.8 and so was the Comparison group's (C) (Appel did research on the effects of bilingual education on language proficiency of Turkish and Moroccan children. In this research there is the Experimental group, which is part of the bilingual experiment and the Comparison group, which follows regular, e.g. non-bilingual education; see 1.2.2. for a description of his research)). In the third year of Appel's recording the MLU of E was 4.9 and of C 4.4. The figures express an apparent growth in MLU and hence in syntactic complexity. In this respect the Appel data confirm Brown's description of the MLU as a simple index of syntactic development.

Vermeer (1986) (see section 1.2.2. for a description of Vermeer's research) calculated the MLU of both elliptical (MLUe)and non-elliptical (MLUne) utterances of his Turkish and Moroccan subjects acquiring Dutch. He did not adopt Hunt's T-unit as the basic utterance. He based it on the intonation contour of an utterance. He cites Beheydt (1983;116-7), who states that the only completely distinguishing characteristic of an utterance should be melody. This distinction must be performed intuitively by the linguist. This method seems somewhat vague, but it is elaborated by Vermeer (24-27) who devises clear rules to

establish the basic utterance. It is striking that his results indicate that there is hardly any progress in the MLUe and MLUne. The MLUe is 2.2 in the first year of recording and 2.6 in the third year. The corresponding figures for MLUne are 4.6 and 5.0. Some of Vermeer's subjects had been born in the Netherlands, but all had been living in the Netherlands for more than two years at the moment of the first recording (18). One cannot state that all subjects were still at the very beginning of the acquisition process of Dutch at the moment of the first recording. Apparently the subjects had reached a certain level of syntactic complexity in the first year of recording, in which possible progress taking place later could not be measured by the MLU in the later years of recording. In short, the instrument of MLU turned out to be of little value.

Lalleman (1987, see section 1.3.2. for a description of Lalleman's research), too, calculated the MLU of her Dutch and Turkish children, born in the Netherlands. She held a conversation with her subjects and from the speech elicited in this procedure she calculated the MLU, adopting the T-unit as basic utterance (31). She produces figures that do not express significant differences: The Turkish children scored 5.4, the Dutch children 6.0 (41). As Lalleman's study is not of a longitudinal nature nothing can be said on possible growth in MLU. In her study, the instrument of MLU, however, proves to be of value as it indicates a similarity between the Turkish and Dutch subjects.

In the present study, the MLU is calculated by counting the number of words of which an utterance consists: the total of these outcomes is divided by the total number of utterances. The MLU is subjected to statistical analysis as well.
This study considers three kinds of MLU:

(1) MLUe: the MLU of **elliptical clauses**
(2) MLUs: the MLU of **simple clauses**
(3) MLUc: the MLU of **complex clauses**

The distinction between elliptical and non-elliptical- simple and complex- clauses is made (primarily based on

Vermeer,1986;25) as it may be argued that in some Structured Interviews the subject answers the questions chiefly in elliptical utterances, and as elliptical utterances are generally shorter than non-elliptical utterances, the MLU, if it were based on both elliptical and non-elliptical utterances, could drop. Subsequent deviating figures could then endanger the comparability of the different MLU scores. Furthermore, elliptical clauses are a class of clauses on their own and as such represent a certain degree of syntactic complexity. The MLUs and MLUc are based on the earlier division of the clauses into simple and complex ones (see 3.3.2.). An elaborate description of the method of calculation of the MLU is presented in appendix 6.

Results

Table 5 presents the results of the analysis of the mean length of utterance.

	IAR	IBB	INL	IIAR	IIBB	IINL
MLUe	2.99	3.00	3.32	2.98 h	3.04 j	3.84 hj
MLUs	5.75	5.62	6.00	5.90	5.81	6.40
MLUc	10.61	10.36	11.12	11.26	10.41	11.80
	IIIAR	IIIBB	IIINL	IVAR	IVBB	IVNL
MLUe	2.68 e	3.10 ej	2.61 j	4.02	3.50	3.10
MLUs	5.87	5.78	5.89	6.65	6.16 k	7.18 k
MLUc	10.63	10.16	9.98	11.55 i	12.06	12.79 i

Table 5: Mean Length of Utterance of elliptical (MLUe), simple (MLUs) and complex (MLUc) clauses.

Discussion

In most language groups the MLUe hardly shows any progress in the quasi-longitudinal model. Only the AR groups show a significant progress: the variance produces $p < 0.001$. This, however, is due to the relatively high score of IVAR. The score of IINL is significantly higher than the scores of IIAR and IIBB. In group III the score of the Berber group is significantly higher than the AR and NL scores. In conclusion, however, the MLUe does not yield a

picture of actual progress within the groups nor striking differences between groups.

The MLUs shows a slight progress. The calculation of the variance of the AR and NL groups produces significant growth: $p = 0.022$ and 0.091. The BB groups remain above the 0.100 boundary: $p = 0.137$. The Dutch control groups have relatively higher scores than both BB and AR groups, although the difference is significant in one instance only: between IVBB and IVNL. There is some progress in the older groups' scores, but there are no significant differences between the Moroccan groups on the one hand and the Dutch groups on the other.

The analysis of the MLUc does not yield a striking picture either. The BB groups show some progress, the variance produced a $p = 0.012$, but this is mainly due to the high score of IVBB, and IVAR has a significantly lower score than IVNL, $p < 0.01$. Still, the Moroccans and Dutch subjects remain, on average, on the same level.

Summing up, the Moroccans match the scores of the Dutch control groups, although the latter score somewhat higher, but barely significantly so. Furthermore, there are no essential differences between the Moroccan groups, and finally, there is little progress within the groups.

A comparison between the results of this analysis and other studies is hindered by the fact that other studies generally adopt units other than the T-unit or an altered version of the T-unit, and by the fact that in this study a distinction is made between MLUs and MLUc. Nevertheless, similarities with the study of Vermeer (1986) and Lalleman (1987) can be observed. In the longitudinal model of Vermeer no progress occurs and Lalleman's study produces no significant differences between Turkish and Dutch children's scores. This present study and both Vermeer's and Lalleman's studies have in common that most subjects acquiring Dutch as a second language have been born in the Netherlands or have been living there for the greater part of their lives. Consequently, they are no longer in their first stages of the acquisition of Dutch. Here a vital issue is touched upon: the MLU apparently proves to be a valid instrument only in the first phases of the acquisition of a language. The MLU is a valid criterion

for determining that new grammatical categories are being or have been acquired as it causes the utterances to become longer. At a certain point, however, the child has acquired most grammatical categories and the instrument of MLU serves only in order to establish performance patterns, which can vary individually. Some subjects use longer, some use shorter utterances, but this difference does not imply a difference in syntactic complexity. The instrument of MLU proved to be productive in the study of Appel, as his subjects are new arrivals and still in the first stages of acquiring Dutch, in fact in a similar position as young L1 learners.

Conclusion

The application of the instrument of MLU on the subjects' speech did not yield differences in scores between the Moroccan and Dutch subjects; however, it proved to be of value as it showed a similarity between them. Apparently, all subjects have reached an identical level of syntactic complexity.

3.3.4. Types of subordinate clauses

Description

The third analysis that contributes to the establishment of an overall impression of the speech of the subjects is the use of different subordinate clauses. Subordinate clauses in Dutch are characterized by a word order (SOV) deviating from the two possible main clause word orders (SVO or VSO) and they can be divided into several types. In Dutch L1 acquisition the conditional clause is generally acquired before other types of subordinate clauses (oral communication Verhulst Schlichting), but causal and temporal clauses can still cause problems for 10 year old L1 speakers of Dutch (Schaerlaekens & Gillis,1987;164). Due to these characteristics they are not expected to be used immediately in the first stages of the acquisition of Dutch. Some types may be used earlier, others later. The present analysis examines a form of syntactic complexity: it counts the types and numbers of occurrence of subordinate clauses, used as independent subordinate clauses or as embedded subordinate clauses.

Results

The analysis yielded seven types of subordinate clauses altogether. Successively these are the **conditional** clause (cond.), the **subject** clause (subj.), the **object** clause (objt.), the **causal** clause (caus.), the **relative** clause (relt.), the **temporal** clause (temp.), the **locative** clause (loct.) and the **quality** clause (qual.). Table 6 presents the occurrence of the several subordinate clauses in absolute numbers.

	IAR	IBB	INL	IIAR	IIBB	IINL
cond.	13	10	8	38	22	6
subj.	-- *	3	- *	1 *	-- *	4
objt.	1 *	4	2	13	7	8
caus.	6	5	2	7	3	3
relt.	7	3	5	19	4	7
temp.	14	2 *	1 *	6	-- *	1 *
loct.	1 *	1 *	1 *	-- *	1 *	2
qual.	-- *	-- *	- *	7	6	1 *
	IIIAR	**IIIBB**	**IIINL**	**IVAR**	**IVBB**	**IVNL**
cond.	17	17	2	33	35	17
subj.	5	4	1 *	13	16	14
objt.	16	21	2	33	44	36
caus.	3	5	1 *	7	21	9
relt.	16	10	2	18	24	20
temp.	6	8	- *	7	5	3
loct.	4	-- *	- *	7	5	1 *
qual.	2 *	6	1 *	13	10	6

Table 6: different types of subordinate clauses in absolute numbers.

Discussion

Table 6 shows the occurrence of the different types of subordinate clauses. The number of types and the number of occurrences is indicative for the performance of each age/language group. As a measure is necessary, it is determined that a subordinate clause is productive if an AR or BB group -which consist of 10 subjects- produces at

least three and a Dutch group -which consists of 4 subjects- at least two clauses of a specific type. Numbers with an asterisk (*) represent subordinate types whose number of occurrences do not meet the conditions mentioned.

The youngest group, of all three language backgrounds, produces on average four kinds of subordinate clauses. Group II produces around 6 types, group III 7 types and group IV 8 types of subordinate clauses. IIINL is an exception with three productive types only. This, however, is due to their unwillingness to talk, as mentioned earlier. Therefore their low score can not be considered representative. The scores of IIIAR and IIIBB, however, fit well within the scope of scores of younger and older groups.

As to the number of types of subordinate clauses it is clear that every language group within each age group matches the other two language groups. There are no differences between Moroccans having Moroccan Arabic or Tarifit as Lo and the Dutch control groups. There are differences in the measure of use of certain subordinate clauses, but these can be ascribed to performance patterns. Some subjects made extensive use of conditional clauses due to the 'conditional' character of explanations of certain games. The travel stories that other subjects told needed a large number of temporal clauses. The different nature of the contents of the structured interviews explains the occurrence of a certain subordinate clause type in one SI and its absence in another.

Conclusion

There are no differences between the Dutch and Moroccan Arabic and Berber groups' scores regarding the number of types of subordinate clauses. As to the differences in measure of use, these can be ascribed to performance patterns. The conclusion is that the Moroccans are not behind the Dutch subjects in the use of different types of subordinate clauses.

3.3.5. Conclusion

The analyses of the measure of use of simple and complex clauses, the MLU and the use of different subordinate clauses indicate that the Moroccans, both of a Moroccan Arabic and Tarifit background, seem to be on an equal proficiency level as their Dutch counterparts. Nevertheless, this conclusion can not be more than tentative, as it is based on a small number of analyses. The actual error analysis presented below will shed more light on the linguistic skills of the Moroccans and their Dutch counterparts.

3.4. The error analysis: the level of morphology

3.4.1. The noun plural, the inflection of the verb, the past participle and the temporal auxiliary.

Description

This section discusses the results of the analyses of the correct forms of noun plurals, tensed verbs, past participles, and temporal auxiliaries. These categories have in common that they are of a highly lexicalized nature in Dutch.

Pluralization of nouns in Dutch is generally done by the suffixation to the noun of an '-s' or '-en' morpheme:

(1) jongen, jongens; 'boy',boys'

(2) stoel, stoelen; 'chair', 'chairs'

In nouns whose plurals are formed by adding an '-en' morpheme the final consonant may change and internal vowel change can occur. A small quantity of nouns is pluralized by other end morphemes, of which there are around eleven forms (ANS,1984;55 ff.) A limited number of nouns can be pluralized by both an '-en' and an '-s' ending. To sum up, pluralization in Dutch is of a rather

lexical nature. There are some rules, but they show considerable overlap and are not decisive [3].

Dutch basically distinguishes three types of verbs:

1. weak verbs, 2. strong verbs, 3. irregular verbs.

This distinction becomes especially clear in the 'past tense inflection' of the verbs (see note 4) [4]. In the

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In Moroccan Arabic there are two major plural types: sound plurals and broken plurals. Plurals formed by the addition of an ending without any basic change in the stem of the noun to which it is added are called sound plurals. There are three sound plural endings: /-in/, /-a/, /-(a)t/, e.g. /šeffaʁ/ @/šeffaʁa/, 'thief', 'thieves'. The /-(a)t/ ending is reserved for feminine plurals (Moroccan Arabic distinguishes two genders, masculine and feminine, see note 18). Plurals formed by internal change in the stem, accompanied or not by the addition of an ending, are called broken plurals: e.g./daʁ/ @/dyuʁ/, 'house', 'houses'. Both feminine and masculine singulars can have broken plurals. Sound and broken plurals have to be acquired as lexical items as it is generally not possible to determine from the singular form whether a given word has a sound or broken plural. There are about 40 patterns of broken plurals. Pluralization in Tarifit takes place by basically two modifications: vowel change (initial, internal or final; in all 21 possible changes) and/or suffixation with an '-n'-morpheme (which has 11 morphological forms), e.g. /aššeffaʁ/ @/iššeffaʁn/, 'thief', 'thieves'. Feminine plural nouns (Tarifit distinguishes two genders as well, masculine and feminine) lose their '-t' ending (feminine singulars in Tarifit are generally characterized by their beginning with a 't' and ending with a 't', see note 18) in the plural, but are still recognizable by their /t-/ beginning as being a feminine plural e.g. /taddart/ @/tudrin/, 'house', 'houses'. As in Moroccan Arabic plurals in Tarifit have to be acquired as lexical items.

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Dutch distinguishes six tenses: the present, the simple past, the perfect, the past perfect, the future and the exact future tense (ANS,1983;428). In this section, the use of the different tenses is not the issue, it is the actual inflection of the verb. In this respect the 'inflected' verb distinguishes two inflections, one generally referring to the present and one to the past respectively. For this reason, they are labelled as the 'present tense' and the 'past tense' inflections,

'present tense inflection' of the weak verb, the first person singular is identical to the stem, the inflection of the second and third person singular takes place by the suffixation of a '-t' morpheme to the stem; the plural forms are similar to the infinitive. The 'past tense inflection' of weak verbs is done by the suffixation of a '-de' or '-te' morpheme to the stem in the singular persons and a '-den' or '-ten' morpheme to the stem in the plural persons. The criterion for the past tense suffix to begin with 't' or 'd' is whether the final consonant of the stem is voiceless or voiced respectively [5].
The inflection of **strong** and **irregular verbs** follows the same rules as those of the weak verbs with respect to the 'present tense inflection'. The 'past tense inflection' of strong verbs is characterized by internal vowel change and incidental consonantal change. The singular persons do not take a suffix and the plural persons take an '-en' suffix. The 'past tense inflection' of irregular verbs can hardly be described because of the large number of exceptions in internal changes and changes in consonant endings and possible other changes they may contain. They can take the 'past tense' inflections of both weak and/or strong verbs. Completely deviating verbs are considered irregular as well, e.g. the verb 'zijn' ('to be'), 'ik ben' ('I am'), 'ik was' ('I was'). There are no specific rules determining a verb to be weak, strong or irregular. This

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without reference to their functions in the respective six tenses in Dutch.

5

Dutch grammar indicates the verbs by their infinitive form. The weak verb 'wandelen' (to stroll) has a stem 'wandel', which has an inflection in the present as follows: /ik wandel/, 'I stroll', /jij wandelt/, 'you stroll', /hij wandelt/, 'he strolls', /zij wandelt/, 'she strolls', /wij wandelen/, 'we stroll', /jullie wandelen/, 'you stroll', /zij wandelen/, 'they stroll'. As the stem ends in a voiced consonant the past tense is formed by suffixation to the stem of a /-de/ morpheme in the singular and a /-den/ morpheme in the plural, e.g. /ik wandelde/, 'I walked', /wij wandelden/, 'we walked' etc.

makes the 'past tense inflection' of the verb of a largely lexical character [6].

The dialect of the city of Utrecht is characterized by the dropping of the '-t' ending in the second and third person singular of the 'present tense', e.g.:

(3) Hij loop daar, 'There he walks'

in stead of:

6

The enumeration of persons in Moroccan Arabic is similar to Dutch (see note 5), but it shows the existence of a second person feminine singular which has its own inflection. This second person singular distinction in gender is not present in Tarifit, which however distinguishes in the second person plural and third person plural separate feminine and masculine forms. Moroccan Arabic basically distinguishes two inflections, which will be labelled as 'present tense inflection' and 'past tense inflection' as well. 'Present tense inflection' is done by the prefixation of the stem, (which may be basic or derived; see note 7), in all the persons and the suffixation of the stem in the second person singular feminine and all plural persons. 'Past tense inflection' is characterized by the suffixation only of all persons except the third person masculine singular, which receives no suffix at all. Due to the rule that no clusters of three consonants are permitted, a change in schwa position may occur in tensed forms. Thus, the stem of the verb 'to write' is /kteb/, its 'present tense inflection' is done as follows: /ne-kteb/ 'I write', /te-kteb/ 'you (m.) write', /t-ketb-i/, 'you (f.) write'(change in schwa position), /ye-kteb/ 'he writes', /te-kteb/, 'she writes', /n-ketb-u/, 'we write', /t-ketb-u/,'you write', /y-ketb-u/, 'they write'. The 'past tense inflection' is as follows: /kteb/ -t/, 'I wrote', /kteb/-ti/, 'you (m./f.) wrote', /kteb/, 'he wrote', /ketb/-et/ 'she wrote', /kteb/-na/, 'we wrote', /kteb/-tu/, 'you wrote', /ketb/-u/, 'they wrote'. Tarifit has one uniform inflection, used for all tenses. It consists of suffixes and affixes and a combination of both to the stem. Internal change in schwa position can occur as well due to the same phonological rule which operates in MA, e.g. the perfect stem of the verb 'to work' is /xdem/: /xedm-eg/, 'I worked', /t-xedm-ed/ 'you (m./f.) worked', /i-xdem/ or /ye-xdem/, 'he worked', /te-xdem/, 'she worked', /ne-xdem/ 'we worked', /t-xedm-em/, 'you (m.) worked', /t-xedm-ent/, 'you (f.) worked', /xedm-en/, 'they (m.) worked/, /xedm-ent/, 'they (f.) worked/.

(3a) Hij loopt daar, 'There he walks'

As most subjects live in Utrecht, the dropping of this '-t' can be expected and as the speech elicited in the SI is everyday speech inflected verbs characterized by '-t' dropping are considered correct (see 3.1.3.). Therefore they are included in the analysis.

The formation of the past participle is based on the three part nature of the verbs (weak, strong, irregular). Past participles of the weak verbs are generally formed by the prefixing of the stem of the verb with a prefix 'ge-' and its affixation with a '-t' or '-d'-morpheme, (in pronunciation always [t]). The 'ge'-prefix may not always be present:

(4) wandelen, (stem: wandel), gewandeld, 'to walk', 'walked'
(5) erkennen, (stem: erken), erkend, 'to acknowledge', 'acknowledged'

Past participles of the strong verbs are characterized by a 'ge'-prefix and an '-en'-suffix, a change in vowel and incidentally a consonantal change. The 'ge-' prefix may be absent under certain conditions. Irregular past participles can hardly be described because of the complex combination of various deviations in internal changes and changes in consonant endings and possible other changes they may contain. Given the stem, it is not possible to predict the form of the past participle. This makes the form of the past participle of a highly lexical nature:

(6) strong: rijden, (stem:rijd) gereden, 'to drive', 'driven'
(7) irregular: brengen, (stem: breng) gebracht, 'to bring', 'brought'[7]

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7 Moroccan Arabic distinguishes an active and a passive participle. Their forms depend on the verb stem they are derived from. On principle MA has one basic verb stem and eight derived stems. Basic verb stems have both active and passive participles and derived stems have one participle only which has, however, both active and passive meanings. The morphological pattern of the active participle of the basic verb is CaCeC and its passive counterpart is meCCuC, e.g. /naees/, 'having

The past participle is used in two tenses in Dutch. Combined with a temporal auxiliary it forms the perfect and past perfect tenses [8]:

(8) Ik heb gisteren gewandeld
I have yesterday walked
'I have walked yesterday'

(9) De dokter was op tijd gekomen
The doctor was in time come
'The doctor had come in time'

The application of these tenses demands the use of one of the two temporal auxiliaries 'hebben', ('to have') or 'zijn', ('to be'). Examples (8) and (9) indicate the use of 'hebben' (8) and 'zijn' (9) as temporal auxiliaries. The choice in the correct auxiliary is governed by rather complex rules and it can therefore be described as having

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slept/sleeping', /medrub/, 'having been beaten'. As for the participle of the eight derived forms, active and passive participle merge into one form, basically similar to the form of the passive participle of the basic verb. Participles are variable as to number and gender, not person and are used in a nominal construction: @/huwa / mzewweẑ/, /he /married/, 'he is married'. Tarifit has an active participle only. It is derived from the preterit stem of the verb by prefixing an '-i' or '-y' morpheme and suffixing an '-n' morpheme to it. It is invariable in gender, number and person, e.g. @/mgar/, /grow up /, @/ye-mgar-n/, 'having grown up' (all genders, numbers and persons). It is used in relative clauses or as a modifier of a noun phrase.

8

Past participles in combination with a preceding future auxiliary and temporal auxiliary are also used in Dutch to form the 'futurum exactum' tenses, e.g. ik zal zijn begonnen, /I/shall/be/begun/, 'I shall have begun' and ik zou zijn begonnen, /I/would/be/begun/, 'I would have begun'.

a lexical character (see note 9) [9]. It must be acquired combined with the verb it modifies in a perfect tense [10].

The present analysis is an analysis of occurring errors and examines the measure of the occurrence of correct forms of the categories involved. The correct scores are expressed in percentages.

Literature

Vermeer (1986) examined the pluralization of nouns in Dutch of Turkish and Moroccan children by way of a discrete point test. In the first year of recording, when the immigrant children had been living for on average 4;3 years (17) in the Netherlands, the correct percentage is around 40 %. The last year of recording, two years later, the percentage lies around 60 % (65).
Coenen (1978;22) mentions that L2 learners of Dutch with different L1 backgrounds tend to use infinitive forms instead of inflected verbs in the initial stages of the

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9

The choice of the correct temporal auxiliary in Dutch is connected to the nature of the verb it modifies. Verbs that always take 'hebben' are 1. transitive verbs, 2. reflexive verbs, 3. verbs that express weather conditions, e.g. 'het heeft gesneeuwd', 'it has snowed', 4. verbs with a durative aspect. Verbs that always take 'zijn' are 1. verbs expressing a sudden motion or change, 2 copulative verbs 'zijn' (to be), 'worden' (to become), 'blijven' (to stay). Verbs that can take both 'hebben' and 'zijn' are 'transport verbs', which take 'zijn' in case a goal or direction is expressed and in other cases 'hebben'.

10

Neither Moroccan Arabic nor Tarifit distinguish similar perfect tenses. Perfect tenses in Moroccan Arabic and Tarifit are basically expressed in a simple past (comparable to Dutch simple past) tense without an auxiliary: /had /r- /ražel /derb /-at /-u /l- /oto/,/this /the /man /hit /suffix (3rd.p.f.sg.) /him /the /car/, 'the car hit the man' or 'the car has hit the man'. In Tarifit perfect tenses are expressed in a similar past tense as well:/ahenžir /-nni /nna /-n /ya- /rra /- a /-s /udar /,/boy /that /said /suffix(3rd.p.m.pl.) /prefix (3rd.p.m.sg) /broke /for /him /leg/, 'they said/ have said that the boy's leg was/had been broken'.

acquisition of Dutch. This corresponds to the very first phases of L1 acquisition (Verhulst-Schlichting,1985;289, Schaerlaekens & Gillis, 1987;140ff.).

In a study on the dialectal dropping of the final '-t'- not only in the contexts of second and third person present tensed verbs, but also in other ones, e.g. the '-t' ending of past participles - characteristic in the dialect of Utrecht- Schouten (1982) tests his hypothesis that younger Dutch children, living in Utrecht, delete less '-t' endings than older people because of the efforts of teachers at school to suppress this phenomenon (283). This hypothesis however could not be confirmed (289). The children do not delete the '-t' ending less often than older people. These children's ages range from 9 to 12 years. Boys delete the final '-t' in 43 % of the obligatory contexts and girls in 60 % (285).

The formation of the **past participle** has been examined by various researchers. In a study of the acquisition order of ten morphemes in Dutch by both Dutch and Turkish children Extra (1978) finds the acquisition of the correct form of the past participle of **weak** verbs to be accomplished first. Both groups score around 95 % correctly (114). The correct scores of past participles of strong and irregular verbs are respectively around 60 % and 30 % for both groups. Vermeer (1986;65) examined the command of the correct forms of past participles as well. The correct scores in the first year of recording are around 30 % and in the last year around 60 %. Both Extra (160) and Vermeer (154) make use of discrete point tests.

In the beginning stages of L1 acquisition of Dutch, the actual use of the perfect tenses begins rather early (Verhulst-Schlichting, 1985; 293-294; Schaerlaekens & Gillis, 1987;143). L1 learners of Dutch seem to prefer these tenses to refer to the past to the simple past tense, which does not require the use of a past participle.

The acquisition of the **auxiliaries**, including the temporal auxiliary, begins in L1 acquisition at a very early stage (Verhulst-Schlichting, 1985;293/294). Its various functions may virtually be considered acquired at the end of the differentiation stage which generally coincides

with the age of five (Schaerlaekens & Gillis,1987;159). Coenen (1978;24) ascribes the problems learners from different L1 backgrounds face in acquiring the correct temporal auxiliary to its obscure distribution and the possible absence of it in the mother tongues.

The analysis of all four categories is an analysis of occurring errors. The correct scores are presented in table 7.

Results

The results of the analysis of the correctness of noun plurals, the inflection of the verb, the past participles and the temporal auxiliaries are presented in table 7.

	IAR	IBB	INL	IIAR	IIBB	IINL
pl.cr.	96.67	96.55	95.74	100.00	99.22	100.00
vi.cr.	94.24	96.20	88.83	93.87	94.63	89.27
vi.di.	3.26	2.32	11.17	6.13	5.37	10.29
pp.cr.	88.24	93.55	100.00	97.20	92.50	100.00
aux.cr.	95.12	98.00	100.00	96.81	100.00	100.00
	IIIAR	IIIBB	IIINL	IVAR	IVBB	IVNL
pl.cr.	99.27	97.50	100.00	100.00	98.94	100.00
vi.cr.	92.77	93.31	76.24	96.13	96.94	98.94
vi.di.	6.70	6.69	23.76	3.75	2.80	0.70
pp.cr.	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	98.33	100.00
aux.cr.	98.92	98.61	100.00	97.64	100.00	100.00

Table 7: Results of the analysis of noun plural (pl.), verb inflection (vi., di. = dialectal), past participle (pp.) and temporal auxiliary (aux.), in percentages.

Discussion

The analysis shows that all Moroccan age/language groups have acquired noun pluralization. Correct verb inflection, whether dialectal or not, meets the acquisition conditions as well. The formation of the past participle is acquired although IAR, IBB and IIBB remain behind a little, but not to such an extent that persistent or flattening patterns occur. All groups master the distribution of the temporal auxiliary. To sum up, the analysis does not yield persistent errors and there are no flattening patterns. It is only the results of the BB groups on the past participle that must be labelled as non-persistent. The Moroccans match the Dutch counterparts in virtually all age/language groups: they are on the same level.

The high correct scores of the **pluralization of the noun** seem to contradict the low correct scores of Vermeer's study, whose subjects bear a certain comparability with the subjects of the present research (see above). Here a difference in **testing methods** comes to light. Vermeer's discrete point test items to elicit noun plurals contain relatively more irregular items than in actual everyday speech and this will probably account for the low scores in Vermeer's study as opposed to the high scores in this study. A more detailed analysis of the plurals used by the subjects in the present research demonstrated that most forms of pluralization can be found including highly lexical ones.

The analysis of the **correct inflection of the verbs** was originally combined with an analysis of the occurrence of infinitive substitution for inflected verbs (see appendix 8), as this was demonstrated to occur in both L1 and L2 acquisition (see above). This particular analysis showed that the Moroccans do not use such constructions at all or at least not more than their Dutch peers. The high correct percentages of the verb inflection in both 'present' and 'past tense' show the speed with which the Moroccan subjects have acquired this category.

The dialectal forms of verb inflection are expressed in the dropping of the final '-t' in the second and third person singular. Concerning the dialectal characteristic

of '-t' dropping in the second and third person singular of the 'present tense inflection' the analysis shows a striking picture in the high scores of the Dutch control groups and the considerably lower percentages of the Moroccan groups. The Dutch groups show percentages varying from 11.17 % in INL to 10.29 % in IINL and even 23.76 % in IIINL. The Moroccan groups remain behind with percentages varying from around 2 % in the youngest groups to around 6 % in group II and III and to 4 % in the oldest group. None of the subjects of IVNL were born or had been living a longer period in Utrecht. This explains the low '-t' dropping scores of this group.

The differences in the percentages of the dropping of the final '-t' between Dutch subjects and Moroccan subjects raises the question to what extent Moroccan children mix with their Dutch peers. One would be inclined to believe that children of different ethnic backgrounds in one school or in one class mix with each other, play with each other and thus adopt each other's language. The Moroccan children do not, however, to a large extent adopt the dropping of the final '-t'. Teachers in these schools state that children of different ethnic backgrounds do play with each other but their closest ties always seem to be with children of the same ethnic background: Moroccan children with Moroccan children and Dutch children with Dutch children.

One can, however, suggest that teachers in schools do their best to correct this dialectal feature by stressing the importance of pronouncing the final '-t', which after all is standard Dutch. This could have a positive effect on Moroccan children as they generally are authority abiding (Cappon a.o., 1983, Bel Ghazi, 1985;159). Perhaps Schouten's hypothesis that teachers' attempts to erase this habit is confirmed in the case of the Moroccans. Another reason may be the desire of the Moroccan ethnic group to surpass the lower socio-economic status they are identified with. In this respect they show a tendency to leave behind the linguistic aspects characteristic for the lower class. Although the data, due to their formal linguistic nature, do not shed evidence on the possible causes of the relatively low '-t' dropping percentages of the Moroccan subjects they are nevertheless interesting

and invite, in fact, more detailed sociolinguistic research.

A similar picture is obtained with respect to the scores of the formation of the **past participle**. The Extra and Vermeer data produce much lower scores. As in the case of the scores of correct noun pluralization, the nature of the data elicitation methods may account for these differences. Concerning the question of what forms the subjects have used a more detailed analysis showed that most forms of past participles were used.

As was described above, the formation of the past participle is acquired early in L1 acquisition of Dutch, which is partially due to the early acquisition of the perfect tenses. However, as there is no insight into the **learning history** of the present subjects, not much can be said on the course of the acquisition of the past participle. Yet, the correct scores of the youngest Moroccan subjects imply a quick acquisition apparently similar to the L1 acquisition pattern.

The correct scores of the **temporal auxiliary** confirm the correct scores of the past participle and must be viewed within the context of the acquisition of the perfect tense, which takes place early in L1 acquisition and apparently early, and certainly quickly in the present case of acquisition as well.

Conclusions

The analysis of the present categories hardly produced any error patterns whatsoever. On the contrary, the Moroccans showed nearly exactly the same correctness pattern as their Dutch counterparts. Is it possible that similarity in structures in the LLo and Dutch accounts for this result? This does not seem likely as the structures concerned are in all three languages either of a highly lexicalized nature or absent (see the relevant notes). The LLo will therefore not have facilitated the acquisition of the categories concerned.
Furthermore, as there is no insight in the **learning history** of the subjects no statements can be made on earlier developments similar to or deviating from the Dutch control groups. However, the apparent quick

acquisition in the speech of the Moroccans of the noun plural, the inflection of the verb, the past participle, the temporal auxiliary, characteristic for L1 learners of Dutch, from the youngest groups on, reinforces the assumption that the results point to similar developments.

3.4.2. The definite article, the indefinite article, the demonstratives and the attributive adjective.

Description

The present analysis concerns the categories of the definite article, the indefinite article, the demonstratives and the attributive adjective. These categories have in common, with the exception of the indefinite article, that their forms are dependent on the 'wordgender' (cf. ANS,1984;39ff.) of the noun they modify. The following description of the categories concerned will shed light on this rather complex issue.

Dutch distinguishes two definite articles, 'de' and 'het', which have a rather unpredictable and in fact lexicalized distribution. It is the **wordgender** of the noun that determines the form of the definite article. Singular masculine and feminine nouns take 'de' and singular neutral nouns take 'het'. However, the standards of the determination of the wordgender (masculine and feminine, neuter) which in their turn determine whether a word is a 'de' word or 'het' word, are blurred and vague. There are some fixed categories that take either 'de' or 'het': singular diminutives always take 'het' and plurals always take 'de'. In the singular the choice between 'de' and 'het' can hardly be deducted semantically:

(10) de jongen, de jongens, 'the boy', 'the boys'

(11) het kind, de kinderen, 'the child', 'the children'[11]

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11 Moroccan Arabic has one definite article, /l-/,which precedes both singular and plural masculine and feminine nouns and attributive adjectives -if the noun the adjective modifies is definite, the adjective itself must generally be preceded by a definite article as

Dutch has one indefinite article 'een', which can be placed before count nouns that are singular, indefinite and/or of a representative/categorical nature (ANS,1984;135 ff.), no matter whether the nouns are 'de' or 'het' words [12]. Plurals do not take indefinite articles:

(12) een jongen, jongens, 'a boy', 'boys'.

(13) een kind, kinderen, 'a child', 'children' [13].

In the singular Dutch distinguishes two 'nearby' demonstratives and two 'far' demonstratives, whose forms depend on the 'de' or 'het' nature of the word they refer

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well- e.g.: /ambulans/, 'ambulance'; /l-/ambulans/, 'the ambulance'. In certain phonological contexts the definite article can assimilate with the first consonant of the noun or adjective it modifies, e.g. /s- /se-rʒem/, 'the window' The definite article is non-existent in Tarifit.

12

Singular, non-count words in Dutch do not permit a preceding indefinite article, e.g. 'suiker', 'sugar', *'een suiker', 'a sugar', (where 'suiker' refers to the general concept of 'suiker' and not to its specific meaning in terms of chemistry).

13

Indefinite nouns in both singular and plural in Moroccan Arabic and Tarifit are basically expressed in the so called 'Nul-Stufe' of the noun (phrase) concerned, the absence of a form of indefinite article: (MA) /ʒa /-t /ambulans/,/came /suffix(3rd.p.f.sg.) / ambulance/, 'an ambulance came'; (BB) /yu- /fa /tsaet /, /prefix (3rd.p.m.sg.) /found /watch /, 'he found a watch'. In both languages, however, an indefinite article modifying singular nouns exists. In Moroccan Arabic this is /wa-hed /, 'one', which requires a following definite noun (phrase): /wahed /ɾ- /ɾaʒel /, /one/the/man/, 'a man'. It is comparable to the Dutch indefinite article but its distribution is smaller. Similar in meaning and distribution to the indefinite article in Moroccan Arabic is the Tarifit construction /iʒʒ/ -n/, /one/ of/, e.g. /iʒʒ/-nʷ-aryaz /, /one/of/man/, 'a man'. In addition to that, Moroccan Arabic uses the invariable prefix /ši/ before noun(phrases), singular or plural, to express vagueness, uncertainty or potentiality: /ši /ɾaʒel /, 'some sort of man'. This construction, however, cannot be considered to correspond in function and meaning to the Dutch indefinite article.

to. The nearby demonstratives of 'de' words and 'het' words are 'deze' and 'dit' respectively:

(14) deze jongen, 'this boy'

(15) dit kind, 'this child

The 'far' demonstratives are 'die' and 'dat' respectively:

(16) die jongen, 'that boy'

(17) dat kind, 'that child'

With respect to the plurals of both 'de' and 'het' words the demonstratives of the singular 'de' words with subsequent functions of 'nearby ' and 'far' reference are used:

(18) deze jongens, die jongens, 'these boys', 'those boys'

(19) deze kinderen, die kinderen, 'these children', those children'

Examples (14) to (19) indicate the attributive use of demonstratives. These will be referred to as the 'attributive demonstratives'. The demonstratives can be used independently as well. Their form is determined by the same rules. These will be referred to as 'the independent demonstratives' [14].

14

Attributive demonstratives in Moroccan Arabic consist of free forms, exist in two types, precede the nominal phrase they modify and demand this phrase to be definite. /had/ functions as a nearby reference and is invariable in number and gender: /had / ɾ-/ɾaž^{y}el /, /this /the /man /, 'this man', @/had / ɾ- /ɾž^{y}al /, /these /the /men /, 'these men'. Further away reference is expressed in a demonstrative variable in number and gender in the singular and invariable in the plural: /dik / l- /ambulans /, /that(sg.f.) /the /ambulance /, 'that ambulance', @/duk/ le-/wlad /, /those(pl.c.) /the /boys /,'those boys'. Independent demonstratives in Moroccan Arabic are free forms as well and exist in two types having the same functions as both attributive demonstratives, e.g. nearby and far away reference. Both are variable in number and gender in the singular

Attributive adjectives in Dutch are placed before the noun they modify and are declined as follows. An '-e'ending is suffixed to the adjective in all but two cases: that is if it modifies a singular 'het' word preceded by an indefinite article, or when it is not preceded by any article [15]:

(20) het grote kind, grote kinderen, de grote kinderen, een groot kind, groot kind, 'the big child','big children','the big children', 'a big child', 'big child'.

(21) de grote jongen, grote jongens, de grote jongens, een grote jongen, grote jongen, 'the big boy','big boys','the big boys','a big boy','big boy'[16].

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and invariable in the plural: /hada / ʀaž^{v}el/, /this (m.sg.) /(is a) /man /, 'this is a man', @/haduk /byut /, /those(pl.c.) /are /houses/, 'those are houses'. Attributive demonstratives in Tarifit are suffixed to the noun. They have three forms with subsequent functions,(1. close by; 2. visible but far away; 3. absent or just mentioned) and are invariable in number and gender: /aryaz/-a/, /man /this /, 'this man'(close by); /t̲awwart̲ /-in /, /door /that /, 'that door'(visible but far away); /i-henž^{v}irn/-nni/, 'boys /these,those /,'these, those boys'(just mentioned). Independent demonstratives in Tarifit have three free forms with the same distinction of meanings as the attributive demonstratives, but are variable in gender and number: /wa/ d̲- /aš^{v}effaʀ /, /this(m.sg.) /is /thief /, 'this is a thief', @/t̲a /t- / taš^{v}effart̲ /, /this(f.sg.) /is /thief (f.) /, 'this is a female thief'.

15

Neither Moroccan Arabic nor Tarifit have a schwa at word endings. Nevertheless in a /..C//#CC../ context a schwa may appear in order to facilitate the pronunciation of a cluster of three consonants: /..C//e//CC../.

16

Attributive adjectives in both Moroccan Arabic and Tarifit are placed after the noun they modify. In Moroccan Arabic they are variable in number and gender in the singular:(MA) /lqa /mea /wahed /s-/siyyed /kbir /,/ran(3rd.p.m.sg.) /up /a /the /man /old(m.sg.)/, 'he ran up an old man'. In the plural they tend not to be variable in gender, but in various cases they are. In Tarifit attributive adjectives are variable in number and gender in both singular and plural, e.g. /d̲i /tteswirt̲

To sum up, the rules governing the choice of the definite article, the demonstratives and the attributive adjective are dependent on the 'de' or 'het' nature of the singular noun concerned, which in its turn is lexically determined. The present analysis consists of an analysis of occurring errors in the case of the attributive and independent demonstratives and the attributive adjective; an analysis of occurrence in obligatory context and superfluousness in case of the indefinite article, and a combined analysis of occurring errors, of occurrence in obligatory context and of superfluousness in case of the definite article.

Literature

In L1 acquisition the differentiation between 'de' words and 'het' words takes place in a relatively late stage, but before the end of the so-called differentiation stage, after which the child has reached an adult-like proficiency and which generally ends before the child's sixth year (Schaerlaekens & Gillis,1987;159). Mastering the correct use of the article 'de' precedes that of the article 'het' (124).

Errors in the form of the definite article and the omission of it are common in the acquisition of Dutch of learners of various L1 backgrounds. Coenen mentions this problem with respect to learners of Moroccan, Turkish, Spanish and Portuguese backgrounds (Coenen, 1978;18). Coenen does not mention possible L1 influence as the cause of the errors observed. Nevertheless, the absence of the definite article (in Turkish and Tarifit) or the presence of only one form of the definite article (Spanish, Portuguese and Moroccan Arabic) may be responsible for the errors in and the omission of the definite article in Dutch of these learners.

The use of the indefinite article is acquired by Dutch children in a very early stage, at around two (Schaerlaekens & Gillis, 1987;123ff.).
With respect to the correctness of forms of demonstratives Coenen (1978;18-9) mentions difficulties for learners of

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/tamezwarut/, /on /picture(f.sg) /first(f.sg)/, 'on the first picture'.

Moroccan, Turkish and Portuguese backgrounds. She argues that the obscure distribution of 'de' and 'het' words is responsible for these errors.

With respect to the declension of the attributive adjective in L1 acquisition Dutch native speakers initially start using the '-e' ending in all attributive adjectives, but later they learn to distinguish the contexts which require the absence of the '-e' ending. This generally takes place at the end of their third year (cf. Verhulst-Schlichting,1987). Coenen (1978;21) mentions the difficulties Moroccans, Turkish and Portuguese learners of Dutch face in the acquisition of the correct declension of the attributive adjective and she ascribes these errors to the obscure distribution of 'de' and 'het' words in Dutch too.

Results

For the results page 167.

Discussion

Both AR and BB groups do not reach the 90 % acquisition level in the categories of either definite or indefinite articles. Errors in the definite article are that they materialize in the use of the wrong form or are simply omitted. The nature of the occurring errors is chiefly expressed in the use of 'de' as a substitute for 'het'. Errors in the indefinite article are particularly expressed in its omission and to a lesser extent in an overuse of it. These types of errors are similar in both Moroccan and Dutch groups. IIINL is the only control group that remains below the 90 % level. This is, however, due to their unwillingness to talk and the subsequent use of a telegram-like style. Its score cannot be considered representative. Summing up, both Moroccan groups can be said to show persistent error patterns and hardly any progress in their scores.

Errors in the use of the attributive and independent demonstratives were primarily found in the attribution of a 'de' demonstrative to a 'het' noun (phrase) in both

	IAR	IBB	INL	IIAR	IIBB	IINL
def.ar.cr.	73.81g	67.92k	91.84gk	81.53	73.38	98.04
def.ar.incr.	11.11	12.26	4.08	6.37	6.47	1.96
def.ar.np.	13.49	16.98	4.08	12.10	10.07	-.—
def.ar.su.	1.59	2.83	-.—	-.—	10.07	-.—
indef.ar.cr.	81.48	78.68	94.74	80.57	83.70	92.42
indef.ar.np.	16.67	20.59	5.26	18.86	15.22	7.58
indef.ar.su.	1.85	0.73	-.—	0.57	1.08	-.—
att.dem.cr.	90.00*	97.30	81.25	86.96	81.82*	89.74
indep.dem.cr.	100.0*	93.75*	91.30	96.08	80.77*	97.62
att.adj.cr.	85.71	84.29	85.19	95.69	81.18	97.73
	IIIAR	IIIBB	IIINL	IVAR	IVBB	IVNL
def.ar.cr.	81.82	82.95	88.00	83.68	83.51k	99.00k
def.ar.incr.	5.19	4.55	-.—	6.84	2.06	-.—
def.ar.np.	12.34	10.23	8.00	9.47	13.40	1.00
def.ar.su.	0.65	2.27	4.00	-.—	1.03	-.—
indef.ar.cr.	87.33	84.25	96.00	87.03	89.39	98.46
indef.ar.np.	12.67	15.07	4.00	12.43	10.10	1.54
indef.ar.su.	-.—	0.68	-.—	0.54	0.51	-.—
att.dem.cr.	94.92	77.55	100.00 *	92.98	89.86	100.00
indep.dem.cr.	97.40	88.89	100.00	96.27	98.53	98.28
att.adj.cr.	91.09	94.23	100.00	91.37	91.33	100.00

Table 8: Results of the analyses of the definite article (def.ar.), the indefinite article (indef.ar.), the attributive and independent demonstrative (att.dem., indep.dem.) and the attributive adjective (att.adj.), in percentages.

Moroccan and Dutch groups. Hence, the error types were generally similar. The results of the use of the attributive demonstrative show a strange curve. Unlike

INL, IBB has acquired it (IAR did not reach the 60 % level and IIBB did not reach the minimum of at least on average three occurrences in obligatory context and can therefore not be included in the discussion), but IIIBB shows a deep 'dip' from which the BB groups do not recover as they remain under the 90 % level. The AR groups keep up with the Dutch groups but finally show a **flattening pattern.** Notwithstanding the high scores of IBB and in slight contradiction to the condition for a score to be persistent erroneous, the BB scores are considered **persistent erroneous** as the Berber groups ultimately do not match the level of the Dutch controls.

The use of the **independent demonstrative** does not pose the AR groups with any problem. They show no difficulties whatsoever in its use. IIBB, although it does not comply with the three occurrences in obligatory context condition, again shows an extremely low score -the 'dip'. The older BB groups however match the Dutch control group's level. Their error pattern is non-persistent.

Errors in the declension of the attributive adjective were primarily found in adjectives modifying indefinite 'het' words, where an '-e' ending was placed erroneously at the word ending. This error occurred in both Moroccan and Dutch groups, but the declension of the **attributive adjective** shows a non-persistent **flattening pattern** in both AR and BB groups. IIBB shows the 'dip' structure again.

A possible cause of the error patterns of the categories that are related to the wordgender of the noun they modify is without doubt the **obscure** distribution of 'de' and 'het' words in Dutch, which determines the forms of the relevant categories. The strategy of attributing 'de' word qualities to a 'het' word is identical in Moroccan and Dutch subjects. In this respect there is a correspondence to the process of L1 acquisition, in which 'de' is acquired before 'het' and has a subsequent initial 'substituting' role. The preference for 'de' is demonstrated to occur in the acquisition of Dutch by both native and Turkish children (Extra,1978;125-6) as well. This strategy vanishes in the speech of the Dutch control group subjects, who acquire the correct distribution from IINL on. The Moroccans, however, show a very strong

persistent pattern. The fact that a similar distribution lacks in both LLo may well have reinforced the apparent persistent errors of the Moroccans. Furthermore Tarifit does not have a definite article and Moroccan Arabic has, but in one form only (see note 11 and 13). Finally, in both languages gender distinction is clear but is not related to the categories studied here (see note 18).

The persistent omission of the indefinite article may be reinforced by Lo structures as, although it occurs in both Moroccan languages, it has a distribution that is of a limited and less obligatory nature compared to Dutch.

The correct scores of the use of the independent demonstrative are rather odd in the company of the other erroneous patterns. An explanation is not readily available. Possibly subjects are more careful when referring with independent demonstratives and use them only if they are forced to or if they are certain about the correct form. The speech samples do not give a decisive answer to this question.

The errors of the Moroccans in the declension of the attributive adjective are primarily expressed by incorrectly adding an '-e' ending in contexts where this is not permitted. The obscurity of the wordgender determination rules, which determine the way of declension of the attributive adjective, probably accounts for the errors, which are similar in both Moroccan and Dutch subjects' speech. However, the unfamiliarity of the Moroccan subjects with such a distribution in their LLo undoubtedly reinforces the occurrence of this error in such a way that flattening patterns develop. The fact that both LLo in general do not permit a schwa at word ending (see note 15) apparently has not caused errors in the form of deleting the '-e' ending in the declension of the attributive adjective.

All errors observed in the Dutch of the Moroccans correspond to the findings of Coenen (1978), where similar errors were observed in the L2 acquisition of Dutch by learners of Spanish, Turkish and Portuguese backgrounds, the causes of which were attributed to the complex rules of Dutch governing the categories concerned. Coenen, however, as already stated above, did not consider L1

influence as a cause of the occurring errors, which at least in the case of the Moroccans can be a cause or a reinforcement of the occurrence of the errors she describes.

Conclusions

The error patterns of the Moroccans imply that they have not been successful in the acquisition of the categories concerned, especially in the definite and indefinite article and the attributive demonstrative. It may be argued that the obscurity of the structures in Dutch accounts for the problems the Moroccans face. The Dutch controls outgrow these errors, whereas the Moroccans do not. Apparently, the absence of similar structures in the LLo may be responsible for the persistent erroneous patterns of the categories concerned.

3.4.3. Anaphoric reference.

Description

In Dutch reference to grammatical subjects and objects is made by the following personal pronouns:

(22) mij, ('me'); jou, ('you'); U, ('you' polite form); hem, ['m'] ('him'); haar, ['r', 'd'r','ze'] ('her'); het, ['t'] ('it'); ons, ('us'); jullie, ('you'); 'hen', ['hun', 'ze'] ('them')[17].

Anaphoric reference in Dutch is governed by both **word gender** and the **natural gender** of a noun or noun phrase. The sentence in (22) is an example of this feature: the noun ('meisje') has the 'neutral' 'het' article, and it may be referred to by both 'haar' ('her'), which expresses the natural gender and by 'het' ('it'), which expresses the wordgender:

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17 The enumeration of personal pronouns is that of 'standard Dutch'. The most common dialectal variants are indicated between the rectangular brackets. If used by the subjects these are judged correct in the present analysis.

(23) Ken jij dat meisje? Ja, ik ken haar wel / Ik ken het wel.
Know you that girl? Yes, I know her indeed/I know it indeed
'Do you know that girl? Yes, I know her indeed.'

The rule governing reference to persons is generally based on their natural gender. Reference based on wordgender occurs less often. The natural gender of living beings can be determined easily, but how to determine the natural gender of words like 'de tafel', ('the table')? The determination of the gender of these words is generally rather obscure and indeed even native speakers of Dutch do not have extensive knowledge of this distribution. In practice non-personal 'de' noun or noun phrases are generally referred to by 'hem' ('him') and rarely by 'haar' ('her') and to 'het' nouns or noun-phrases by 'het' or 'hem'. The present analysis follows the everyday practice of reference [18] [19].

18

Moroccan Arabic distinguishes masculine and feminine gender. There is no neuter. Gender distinction in nouns, adjectives, demonstratives and active participles in Moroccan Arabic is strictly expressed in the singular and more loosely in the plural. Feminine words are nouns that end on an '-a' morpheme. Words not ending on '-a' are generally masculine: /faʂma /, /bandage(f.) /, /šeffaʁ /, /thief(m.) /. A handful of exceptions to this distribution exists. Gender in Tarifit, i.e. a masculine/ feminine distinction is strictly observed in both singular and plural. Here I will restrict myself to the singular only (for the plural see note 3). As a rule feminine words are recognized by their beginning and/or ending with a '(-)t(-)' morpheme: /tburžet/, /window/(f.). Words which do not have this characteristic are masculine, /ahenžir/, /boy/(m.). A handful of exceptions exists.

19

Moroccan Arabic has enclitic anaphoric pronouns. They have a similar distribution in gender, number and person as the persons in verb inflection (see note 6), except for the second person singular, which has one form only. In its function as direct object the pronominal element is suffixed to the tensed verb. In its function of indirect object, it is suffixed to a preposition. The forms of the anaphoric pronouns functioning as both direct and indirect object are similar,

The present analysis examines the correct usage of anaphoric pronouns.

Results

	IAR	IBB	INL	IIAR	IIBB	IINL
cr.	73.91*	96.43*	85.71	79.55	74.29	97.30
	IIIAR	IIIBB	IIINL	IVAR	IVBB	IVNL
cr.	86.36	100.00	100.00 *	66.10*	95.52	100.00

Table 9: The results of the analysis of anaphoric reference, in correct percentages.

Discussion

IBB does not reach the 60 % condition and IAR, IIINL and IVAR do not reach the three occurrences in obligatory context condition and can therefore not be included in the discussion, which distorts the picture somewhat. Nevertheless, it is striking that there is no progress in the AR groups whereas there is in the BB groups. The AR

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e.g. /ealayn /qetl /-u /, /nearly /killed(3rd.p.m.sg.) /him /, 'he nearly killed him'; /hezz /l /-u /magana /de /ž- /žib/, /took(3rd.p.m.sg.) /from /him /watch /of /the /pocket/, 'he took from him a pocketwatch'. The characteristics of anaphoric pronouns in Tarifit are largely similar to Moroccan Arabic, being enclitic, having a similar distribution as the persons of the tensed verb and having a distinction in its function of direct and indirect objects. Tarifit, however, differs in two respects. There are differences in the form between enclitic pronouns as direct object and indirect object. Further, in the case of indirect object pronouns there is no gender distinction in the third person singular. One morpheme /-s/ is used in that case, e.g. /iżż /-n^{w}-aryaz /ṯe- /kka /xa /-s / ṯumubil /, /one /of /man / (prefix 3rd.p.f.sg.) /passes /past /him /car /, 'a car passes a man', /išt- /temmart /ṯe- /kka /xa /-s /ṯumubil /, /one /of /woman /(prefix 3rd.p.f.sg.) /passes /past /her /car/, 'a car passes a woman'. Anaphoric reference in both Tarifit and Moroccan Arabic shows concord with the gender determination rules, which are simple and clear (see note 18).

groups never reach the 90 % level, whereas the BB groups do. The AR groups, although IAR and IVAR can not be commented on, show a persistent error pattern while the BB groups completely outgrow their errors, although IIBB shows a 'dip' score. Their error pattern is non-persistent. An explanation for the differences in scores between the AR and BB groups is not readily available. The kinds of errors were identical in both groups.

A more detailed analysis of the speech samples showed that most references are made with the personal pronouns 'hem' ('him'), 'het' ('it') and 'hen' ('them') (no particular attention is paid here to possible vernacular forms). Reference to 'haar' ('her') and U ('you' polite form) is almost completely absent. None of the age/language groups experience problems in referring to 'mij' ('me'), 'jou' (you), 'ons' (us) and 'jullie' ('you' plural).
Most errors are made in the categories that are most used: 'hem', ('him'), 'het', ('it') and 'hen', ('them'). In referring to 'hem' ('him') or 'hen'('them') most Moroccan subjects use as a substitute the neutral 'het' ('it'). This strategy is also found in the errors of the Dutch control groups (INL and IINL), e.g. the types of errors were similar in the speech of the Moroccan and Dutch subjects.

The errors occurring in the Moroccans' speech may be attributed to two causes. Firstly, it may be the uncertainty of the natural gender of the subject or object to be referred to that makes them switch to the ostentatiously 'safe' neutral 'het', just like the Dutch subjects do. Secondly, the fact that the original tongues have a clear system of gender distribution (see note 18) and Dutch has a rather complicated set of gender determination rules, distinguishing wordgender and natural gender may reinforce the occurring error patterns obtained.

Using one pronoun as a substitute for other pronouns is demonstrated to occur in L1 acquisition as well. Schaerlaekens & Gillis describe the inclination of L1 children learning Dutch, who are in the initial stages and uncertain about the gender, to stick to one substituting pronoun consistently (Schaerlaekens & Gillis,

1987;125ff.). She however mentions 'hem' or 'haar' as a substitute and not 'het'.

Conclusion

The BB age groups turned out to be rather successful in the present category unlike the AR groups. Nevertheless no strong valid statements can be made on the latter's scores as in two AR age/groups the analysis conditions were not met. The kinds of errors were in general similar in all three language groups. However, the absence of a similar complex gender distribution system in the LLo can be considered to have had a restraining, delaying effect on the acquisition of anaphoric reference particularly in the AR groups.

3.5. The error analysis: the level of syntax.

3.5.1. Inversion

Description

Dutch declarative clauses basically have two word order patterns. In clauses where the subject holds the first position, the tensed verb holds the second position and consequently follows immediately after the subject:

(24) Ik **wandelde** gisteren op mijn gemak naar huis
I walked yesterday at my leisure home
'Yesterday I walked home at my leisure'

If a clause begins with another constituent than the subject, the subject changes place and is placed immediately after the tensed verb. The tensed verb however remains in second position:

(25) Gisteren **wandelde** ik op mijn gemak naar huis
Yesterday walked I at my leisure home
'Yesterday I walked home at my leisure'

Hence a clause like (25a) is syntactically incorrect:

(25a) * Gisteren ik wandelde op mijn gemak naar huis
'Yesterday I walked home at my leisure'

This change of place is called inversion. Clauses like (24) have an SVO order and clauses like (25) maintain a VSO order. Dutch permits both word order patterns. The application of inversion is largely of a pragmatic nature. The fronting of 'gisteren' 'yesterday' in (25) may be caused by the speaker's wish to stress the time of action. Yet, in the present section inversion is treated from a purely grammatical point of view and the question is whether the subjects put the tensed verb in its correct position in inverted declarative clauses. This makes the analysis an analysis of occurring errors [20].

20

Word order in Moroccan Arabic and Tarifit is generally assumed to be basically VSO, e.g. (MA) /ǯa /-t /ʇ- / ʇumubil/, /came /suffix(3rd p.f.sg.) /car/, 'a car came'; (TR) /t- /us/ -d /labilans /, /prefix (3rd.p.sg.) /came /direction particle / ambulance/, 'an ambulance came'. The fronting (or: prestation) of a constituent is widely applied in both languages. It can be defined as 'a noun or a pronoun which is placed at the beginning of a sentence and which refers to a pronoun, either independent, suffixed or signalled by verb inflection, occurring later in the sentence' (Harrel,1962;161). After the prestated constituent a slight pause should be discernable according to some descriptive grammars (Harrell,1962). Thus: (MA) /u /ɾ- /ɾaǯel /, /naḍ /, /and /the /man /,(pause) /woke up(3rd. p.m.sg.) /, 'and as for the man, he woke up'. There is however considerable disagreement whether clauses as the latter (e.g. clauses with a prestated subject) are not in fact pure SVO clauses and literature is not clear as yet on the actual basic word order pattern of Moroccan Arabic and Tarifit; is it VSO, SVO or both? (for Moroccan Arabic see Boudali,1984;56, Ennaji,1984;14ff.; for Tarifit see de Schryver,1987). This because clauses with prestated subjects seem to have become pure SVO clauses as the slight pause is deleted or not present any more (this was the case in instances in the Lo data of the Moroccan subjects as well). Some authors (Boudali, de Schryver) tend to describe the basic word order pattern of both languages as both VSO and SVO. Ennaji, however puts 'SVO' clauses under specific, marked, discourse constraints (Ennaji,1984;15), i.e. SVO clauses are only to be used if attention must be drawn to a subject that generally has shown up before in discourse. Summed up, recent research has as yet not determined the VSO or SVO nature of both Moroccan languages. It may, however, be clear that both word order patterns occur, in which VSO is most freely used and SVO under specific conditions. I will not go further into this matter and decide on (as a working model) both languages' basic patterns as VSO and under certain-

Literature

Inversion in Dutch has been studied extensively. Hulstijn (1982) made use of the mechanism of inversion to examine Krashen's concept of monitoring (Krashen, 1977, 1978). Adult non-native subjects of several L1 backgrounds scored around 83 % correct inverted clauses (141). Learners with an L1 background of English, which does not have a similar syntactic category, scored 85.2 % correct. Coenen (1978:25) mentions L1 interference as obstructing a smooth acquisition of 'inversion' in Dutch (25) for learners of different L1 backgrounds. She, however, does not specify the nature of this L1 transfer.

Appel (1984) examined inversion in the speech of Moroccan children as well. He finds a 3.1. % incorrect percentage of inversion forms (114) in the third year of recording, when his subjects had been living in the Netherlands for on average 2;8 years. The Turkish children in his research had more trouble in handling the mechanism of inversion. In their third year of recording they remained stuck at 13.4 % of incorrect inversion clauses. As Turkish is a typical SOV language, Appel argues, the mother tongue may have influenced this result, although the differences between the two groups are not significant. Lalleman (1987;122) mentions the relatively frequent occurrence of SOV structures in Dutch of some of her Turkish subjects as well. She however excludes the possibility of L1 influence, stating that verb final constructions occur in L1 acquisition of Dutch, thus suggesting a similarity in L1 and L2 acquisition of Dutch. She refers to Schaerlaekens & Gillis (1987), who describe the development of the word order of L1 learners of Dutch, in which the first syntactic constructions are OV and SV (110). Nevertheless, VX (117) occurs as well, which weakens Lalleman's arguments. Her interpretation is even more weakened by the fact that Appel does not exclude L1 transfer causing the inversion errors in Dutch of Turkish children (114,133). Verhulst- Schlichting (1985) states that in L1 development inversion is acquired at the same

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conversational- constraints SVO.

time, just before or just after, the acquisition of SV orders (295).

Results

Table 10 presents the results of the analysis of the correct use of inversion in declarative clauses.

	IAR	IBB	INL	IIAR	IIBB	IINL
cr.	99.50	99.07	98.97	97.61	100.00	100.00
	IIIAR	IIIBB	IIINL	IVAR	IVBB	IVNL
cr.	99.57	100.00	100.00	100.00	99.48	100.00

Table 10: the correct use of inversion in declarative clauses, in percentages.

Discussion

The scores on the correct use of inversion make clear that the Moroccan learners of Dutch in this study do not experience any problem. They have all acquired it completely.

These findings are in line with earlier comparable results. Appel (1984) demonstrated an apparent skill in the acquisition of inversion in Dutch by Moroccan children. The present results indicate a similarity with L1 acquisition as well, as the correct scores from the youngest Moroccan groups onwards imply its acquisition to have reached the 90 % level in an early stage.

Has knowledge of SVO and VSO structures present in both LLo (see note 20) facilitated the acquisition of inversion? The answer could be affirmative but at the same time negative as these same structures might also have exerted a negative influence due to the different distributions of both structures in the LLo and Dutch. This observation weakens the assumption of possible positive Lo transfer.

Conclusion

No errors are found in the use of inversion by the Moroccans of this study. They turned out to have mastered it. The similarity in results does not throw any light on the learning history of the acquisition of the inversion by the Moroccan and Dutch subjects. The high correct scores, however, indicate a quick and probably early acquisition of inversion and as such a similarity with L1 development (cf. Verhulst-Schlichting, 1985;295; Appel, 1984).

3.5.2. Verb final in the subordinate clause.

Description

In the subordinate clause the position of the tensed verb is generally final: it holds the last position.

(26) ...toen ik naar huis **ging**.
...when I to home went
'..when I went home'
(27) ...toen ik naar huis **wilde gaan**.
...when I to home wanted go
'..when I wanted to go home

As a rule possible infinitives or participles follow the tensed verb in the verb phrase as a rule.

The analysis examines the correct position of the tensed verb in the subordinate clause [21].

Literature

Much research has been devoted to the acquisition of the correct position of the tensed verb in the subordinate

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21 The tensed verb in the Moroccan Arabic subordinate clause generally holds the first position. Under more specific constraints the subject can hold the first position as well, followed by the tensed verb. This latter order is, however, more exception than rule. In Tarifit subordinate clauses the tensed verb always precedes the subject.

clause in Dutch. Hulstijn (1982;141) finds a 58.7 % average correct score of the position of the tensed verb in the subordinate clause in the speech of learners of Dutch of different L1 backgrounds and a 35.6 % correct score of subjects with an English L1 background. Jansen et.al. (1981) present a 50 % correct score of adult Turkish learners of Dutch and a 42 % correct score of adult Moroccan learners of Dutch. Given the facts that Turkish is an SOV language and both Moroccan Arabic and Tarifit always have the tensed verb in the first or second position in the main and subordinate clause, Appel (1984;112) wonders whether Moroccan children use subordinate clauses with main clause word order more often than Turkish children (112). In the last year of recording, the results show that the Moroccans use hardly more subordinate clauses with the tensed verb in the wrong position than the Turkish children (10.8 % and 8.3 %).

L1 learners of Dutch acquire the subordinate clause with the tensed verb in its correct position virtually immediately in the first stage of its acquisition. (Verhulst-Schlichting, 1985;292).

Results

Table 11 presents the correct scores of the position of the tensed verb in the subordinate clause.

	IAR	IBB	INL	IIAR	IIBB	IINL
cr.	88.37	94.74	100.00	94.81	97.67	100.00
	IIIAR	IIIBB	IIINL	IVAR	IVBB	IVNL
cr.	100.00	97.22	88.89*	98.48	94.67	99.07

Table 11: the correct position of the tensed verb in the subordinate clause, in percentages.

Discussion

Due to the lower than 90 % score of IAR the AR groups show a non-persistent error pattern. The BB groups reach the 90

% level from the youngest group on. Both Moroccan groups match the high correct scores of their Dutch counterparts quite soon. The low percentage of IIINL, that does not meet the three occurrences in obligatory context condition, can be blamed on its unwillingness to talk, which is expressed in continuous use of main clause word order in subordinate clauses. Its deviating score can therefore not be considered representative. The results confirm the findings of Appel (1984;112), who reports on low error scores as well. His error scores are somewhat higher than the error scores of the present study, but, given the fact that Appel's subjects have lived in the Netherlands on average for a shorter period than the subjects in this study, this difference may be expected. The obvious differences in Lo structures (see note 21) and Dutch have not played a negatively interfering role given the non-problematic acquisition of the position of the verb in the subordinate clause. Despite the fact that no information is available on the preceding acquisition developments of the subjects, the results clearly indicate the apparent speed with which the correct position of the verb in the subordinate clause is acquired. In this respect, similarity between L1 and L2 acquisition may be assumed. As to the findings of Jansen et. al. (1981;325) where a significantly higher incorrect score (58%) is found it may be inferred that mother tongue influence plays a stronger role in adult L2 acquisition than in the acquisition of Dutch as L2 of younger learners.

Conclusion

The Moroccans of both Lo backgrounds are successful in the acquisition of the present category. No negative Lo transfer has apparently taken place in spite of the obvious contrasts between the structures in the LLo and Dutch (see note 21). Although no insight is present in the actual development of the acquisition of the category concerned, similarity in development of the Moroccan and Dutch groups seems plausible given the speed, characteristic in L1 acquisition, with which the Moroccans acquire the correct position of the verb in subordinate clauses.

3.5.3. P1 empty clauses

Description

In colloquial Dutch, there is an expression rule that permits the first position of declarative clauses to be empty. It is formulated as follows (the 'P1 empty rule'):

> (28) P1 may remain empty if the constituent normally filling this position was mentioned or referred to in the immediate prior conversation (Lalleman, 1987;108 from Jansen, 1981;56).

The deletion of first constituents acts as an **enlivening** of the conversation. It makes possible a quick and lively report of events or the telling of stories.

On the ground of the 'P1 empty rule', to the following question:

(29) Wat deed je toen?
What did you then?
'What did you do then?'

the following answer is permitted:

(30) [toen] Sloeg ik de jongen
[then] 'Hit I the boy'

where the adverb 'toen' ('then'), mentioned before in (29) may be deleted according to the 'P1 empty rule'.

The rule can be applied to both inverted, example (29)-(30), and non-inverted clauses (with SVO order). The following answer (31) to question (29), an example of a non-inverted clause, where the acting subject is deleted:

(31) Sloeg de jongen
'Hit the boy'

may be used instead of:

(32) Ik sloeg de jongen.
'I hit the boy'

The present analysis examines the correct and incorrect application of the 'P1 empty rule' in simple declarative clauses. However, it is confined to first position deletion in inverted simple clauses only as these turned out to occur mostly in the subjects' speech in contrast to the lesser use of non-inverted empty first position clauses. If hereafter the 'P1 empty rule' is referred to, it is meant to be applicable to inverted clauses only. A simple inverted clause with an empty first position, in which a constituent is deleted which was not mentioned or referred to in the prior conversation, is regarded as incorrect [22]. As the 'P1 empty' rule is a typical pragmatic rule, a violation of it can not be considered as a grammatical error. This observation makes the present analysis a deviation analysis. A variant of the three occurrences in obligatory context condition is applied to this analysis. As the rule is of an optional nature its application can not be considered obligatory. Now, this analysis was done as in pre-tests especially the Moroccans' speech was characterized by 'P1 empty' clauses not obeying the rule. The analysis, therefore is not aimed at presenting a correct score only, but an incorrect score as well. The next problem, then, is when to consider the incorrect scores valid? Based on the three occurrences in obligatory context condition the scores are regarded as incorrect when on average three incorrect occurrences per subject are noted. The 60 % condition is applied to those subjects who actually apply the 'P1 empty rule' incorrectly as well. Regarding the execution of the actual analysis the more interested reader is referred to appendix 8.

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Similar deletion of constituents referred to or mentioned earlier in conversation is found in Moroccan Arabic and Tarifit as well. In both languages, however, the deletion is not as strongly connected to syntactic structures as in Dutch. Furthermore, deletion is confined chiefly to adverbial phrases. Objects, mentioned or referred to before must always be repeated but pronominal subjects are preferably not mentioned at all, only in case of the need to stress the person (both Moroccan Arabic and Tarifit are pro-drop). This implies that a similar 'P1 empty rule' in Moroccan Arabic and Tarifit would be of a much more conversational nature with a smaller syntactic reach.

Literature

Lalleman examined the use of empty first position clauses, inverted and non-inverted, in the speech of Dutch children and Turkish children acquiring Dutch irrespective of whether these clauses obeyed the 'P1 empty' rule. She found out that of all clauses used, the Dutch children scored 10.3 % of empty P1 sentences and the Turkish children 8.6. % (113). She mentions specific Dutch and Turkish subjects, whose empty P1 clauses do not always obey the 'P1 empty rule', without specifying this in terms of percentages. Appel (1984) finds in his third year of recording a significant difference in the use of 'verb initial sentences' (where the tensed verb theoretically holds the second position, as the first position is empty) between Moroccan and Turkish learners of Dutch in favor of the Moroccan subjects (119). He does not present these results in terms of obeying or violating the 'P1 empty rule'. He ascribes these results to the verb initial nature of the Moroccan mother tongues (VSO) and the verb final nature of Turkish (SOV). The differences in scores in Appel's study were significant in the third year of recording only. Thus, he argues that not too linear a conclusion may be drawn concerning these differences between Turkish and Moroccan children and consequent L1 influence. Appel's findings are confirmed by the findings of Jansen et. al. (1981), who also describe the occurrence of empty first position clauses in the speech of Moroccan and Turkish adult learners of Dutch. The difference between the two groups was not significant. They point to a possible overgeneralisation of the 'P1 empty rule' by their subjects (146).

The use of empty first position clauses is found in early L1 acquisition as well. However, these do not seem to specifically obey the 'P1 empty rule'. Verhulst-Schlichting (1985) calls the use of this sentence type as belonging to one of the first (the fourth) phases of the acquisition of the correct word order. She calls the omission of the first position as 'having to do with the personal speech style of the child' (Verhulst-Schlichting,1985:291) and fitting into a general acquisition order of word order patterns.

Results

Table 12 presents the results of the analysis. Initially all simple clauses occurring in the speech of the subjects were analyzed for possible word order patterns (see appendix 8). Here, only the percentages which represent the shares of simple clauses with a correct empty first position according to the 'P1 empty rule' or those violating it are presented.

	IAR	IBB	INL	IIAR	IIBB	IINL
cr.	7.64	8.97	8.09	8.29	10.60	8.75
incr.	6.20	4.55	2.21*	6.86	5.66	2.08*
	IIIAR	IIIBB	IIINL	IVAR	IVBB	IVNL
cr.	5.80	12.12	9.09*	4.63	5.73	9.62
incr.	5.36*	7.16	6.06*	1.93*	1.49*	0.64*

Table 12: inverted clauses with empty first position, correct (cr.) or incorrect (incr.) according to the 'P1 empty rule', in percentages.

Discussion

Most groups use empty first position clauses, which obey the 'P1 empty rule'. Regarding the incorrect application of the 'P1 empty rule' none of the Dutch control groups reaches the 60 % condition and the three occurrences condition and neither does IIIAR. The two oldest Moroccan groups do not reach the three occurrences context condition either. The other Moroccan groups violate the 'P1 empty rule' with a difference compared to the Dutch groups of on average more than 5 % considering the latter as nil scores as the analysis conditions are not met. This implies that the two youngest Moroccan groups and IIIBB have as yet not acquired the correct application of the 'P1 empty rule'. The error patterns, although not expressed in a 90 % criterion, show a decrease throughout the groups and ultimately match the Dutch level. Therefore, the error pattern can be labelled as non-persistent in both Moroccan groups. The cause of the incorrect use of the 'P1 empty rule' may be an overgeneralisation as Jansen et.al. (1981) put forward and which corresponds to the initial nature of clauses of this

type in L1 acquisition (Verhulst-Schlichting,1985;291). However, the basically VSO character of the original tongues may have strengthened this inclination. Syntactically speaking, this last aspect corresponds to Appel's findings of a slight partial preference of Moroccan learners of Dutch for verb initial clauses. An additional cause may be the proficiency level in the original tongues of the Moroccan groups. In chapter 2 (section 2.6.2.) it was demonstrated that reference to place and time rarely occurs in the Lo speech of the Moroccan subjects. It is these references to place and time that are often found in the first position of inverted clauses in Dutch, and that are subsequently deleted according to the 'P1 empty rule'. Hence, negative transfer from the LLo could play a reinforcing role on the overgeneralisation of the 'P1 empty rule'. In conclusion, overgeneralisation of an L2 rule, strengthened by two forms (VSO word order pattern and the absence of sentence initial references to place and time) of Lo transfer may be responsible for the error patterns obtained.

Conclusion

Given the Lo proficiency level of the Moroccan subjects concerned, where the sheer absence of references to time and place was demonstrated and the basically VSO character of both original tongues, Lo transfer can account for the difficulty demonstrated, but only on a strict syntactic level and not in terms of conversation rules, as both LLo hardly have a similar rule (see note 22). Furthermore, the occurrence of Lo transfer is not that strong given the obvious similarity in correct 'P1 empty rule' clauses in the speech of the Moroccans and their Dutch counterparts and in that respect it can be explained in terms of overgeneralisation as well.

3.5.4. The postposition

Description

Dutch has both prepositions and postpositions. Postpositions generally indicate movements.

(33) Ik ga de stad in
I go the town in

'I go into town' [23]

The present analysis examines the presence of postpositions in obligatory context.

Literature

Other studies have examined the acquisition of postpositions by L2 learners of Dutch. Appel (1984) was curious about its occurrence in the Dutch of Turkish and Moroccan children, as Turkish has postpositions only and Moroccan Arabic and Berber have prepositions only, but few occurrences of it could be detected. The low occurrences of postpositions in Dutch of the subjects made Appel conclude that apparently 'language transfer (from Turkish to Dutch) does not take place in the case of this category' (113). Nevertheless, Appel establishes a significant absence -as compared to the scores of the Moroccan subjects- of prepositions in Turkish L2 speech. He ascribes this to mother tongue interference (114).

In L1 acquisition the postposition does not occur until the fourth year (cf. Verhulst-schlichting, 1987).

Muysken et. al. (1980) report on postpositions being used both by Turkish and Moroccan adult learners of Dutch (24), but the latter use them more than the former. The number of occurrences, however, was too low for a statistical comparison. Furthermore, Turks delete prepositions in obligatory contexts more than Moroccans. In that respect Turkish seems to play an interfering role.

Results

Table 14 presents the results of the analysis of the presence of postpositions in obligatory contexts in percentages.

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Both Moroccan Arabic and Tarifit do not have postpositions. They only have prepositions.

	IAR	IBB	INL	IIAR	IIBB	IINL
pr.	76.19*	87.88	100.00*	90.24	88.89*	100.00
	IIIAR	IIIBB	IIINL	IVAR	IVBB	IVNL
pr.	89.58	96.00	100.00	91.78	96.39	100.00

Table 14: the presence of the postposition in obligatory context, in percentages.

Discussion

The analysis shows that the younger age/language groups IAR, INL and IIBB do not reach the 60 % level. The subjects of Appel (1984), that are comparable to the youngest subjects of this research, also hardly used postpositions. It may be inferred that the acquisition of the postpositions begins in one of the later stages of both L1 and L2 acquisition of Dutch. The analysis of the use of postpositions shows that older AR groups reach the 90 % acquisition level but remain 5 % behind in scores compared to the Dutch control groups. They show a flattening pattern expressed in the avoidance of the postposition. The BB groups eventually reach the level of their Dutch peers in group III and IV. Their error pattern is non-persistent.

It is obvious that the structures of the LLo do not seem to prevent the Moroccans from acquiring the postposition. Still, these structures may be considered to exert a slight influence in that the use of the postposition is avoided, more in the speech of the Moroccan Arab groups than the Tarifit groups. It is not clear what may have caused the difference in the scores between the two Moroccan groups.

Conclusion

The Moroccans are remarkably successful in the acquisition of the postposition, in spite of the obvious contrasting structures in LLo and Dutch. The flattening patterns of

the AR groups may partly be attributed to negative Lo transfer [24].

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The analysis of the level of syntax contained more categories, which in general, however, did not meet the condition of at least on average three occurrences in obligatory context per subject nor the 60 % condition (see appendix 8). In this note attention is paid to one specific category which is characteristic in the speech of the Moroccan subjects of all age groups. The category concerned is the use of the **preamble** and **extension** in the clause:

(1) /[preamble:] **die jongen**/, hij is gek.
'**that boy**, he is crazy'
(2) hij is gek, /[extension:] **die jongen**/
'he is mad, **that boy**'

The preamble and extension are used considerably more by the Moroccans than by the Dutch subjects, except for group IINL. Studies on the L1 acquisition of Dutch demonstrate the use of preambles as an ordinary and widely applied syntactic strategy in order to acquire rules governing word order in the clause (Schaerlaekens & Gillis,1987;99ff., Verhulst-Schlichting,1985;294). Schaerlaekens & Gillis label it a strategy in order to form more complex sentences and to convey what is intended (99). A phenomenon similar to the **preamble** and frequently occurring in both LLo of the Moroccans is the **prestation** of sentence constituents (see note 20). The overuse of preamble and possibly extension can therefore be explained in terms of overgeneralisation in order to acquire the word order rules reinforced by original tongue structures. The sheer absence of the use of preambles by the Dutch subjects can be explained as a lack of need to this strategy as they command the rules of forming clauses fully. The Moroccan subjects however persist in using the preamble and the extension. It may be labelled a **persistent remnant strategy** or as Meisel (1983) calls it an 'elaborative simplification', which enhances the notion that the learner adjusts what he acquires to what he has acquired before: he plays safe by adapting the new categories to the old 'simpler' rule. This persistent remnant strategy is a simple mechanism and serves its communicative goals. The Moroccans continue using the preamble and extension as it has apparently proven to be a productive strategy and it does not impede communication.

3.6. The error analysis: the levels of semantics and lexicon.

3.6.1. Prepositions

Description

It is virtually impossible and in fact not necessary to present the semantic mapping of the different prepositions in Dutch. In the discussion more detailed attention will be paid to relevant prepositions which turned out to be used correctly, incorrectly or which were avoided in the speech of the subjects. The present analysis is a combined analysis of occurring errors and analysis of occurrence in obligatory context and superfluousness [25] .

Literature

Jansen et. al. (1981) analyzed the use of prepositions by Turkish and Moroccan adult learners of Dutch. It showed that the Moroccans used more prepositions and subsequently made more mistakes in the semantics of prepositions. The measure of absent prepositions remained on a low level as opposed to the Turkish subjects. The Moroccans turned out to make most errors in the earlier stages of L2 acquisition. Appel's Moroccan subjects show the same picture (1984;132). Lalleman examined the correct use of prepositions in the speech of Dutch and Turkish subjects as well. Her subjects were on average 6;5 years old. She presents a 92.6 % correct percentage in the Conversation Sample (similar to the SI) for the Dutch children, whereas her Turkish subjects score much lower: 53.2 % (35). It showed also that the Dutch and Turkish subjects use the same prepositions. Still, the Turkish subjects turned out to avoid prepositions more than the Dutch subjects (37). Coenen (1978;31) predicts errors in the use of the Dutch prepositions 'aan' ('to'), 'voor' ('for'), 'tegen'

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Moroccan Arabic and Tarifit both have prepositions as well. Their semantic mapping generally differs from each other and from Dutch. There are hardly any prepositions that have an identical meaning in both Moroccan arabic and Dutch or Tarifit and Dutch.

('against') and 'naar' ('to/into') for speakers of Moroccan Arabic background as the latter language has one preposition 'l-' for all these prepositions.

Results

Table 16 presents the results of the analysis of prepositions.

	IAR	IBB	INL	IIAR	IIBB	IINL
cr.	88.18	83.71	88.10	85.33	83.20	95.58
incr.	9.36	8.60	2.38	8.56	8.40	1.77
np.	1.97	6.33	8.33	4.40	6.00	1.77
su.	0.49	1.36	1.19	1.71	2.40	0.88
	IIIAR	IIIBB	IIINL	IVAR	IVBB	IVNL
cr.	91.11	89.21	98.08	95.26	93.40	97.33
incr.	2.86	6.83	1.92	1.72	3.43	2.00
np.	4.44	2.88	0.00	1.94	1.58	0.67
su.	1.59	1.08	0.00	1.08	1.58	0.00

Table 16: The results of the analysis of prepositions, in percentages.

Discussion

The data show similar scores for the three youngest language groups in group I. The older Dutch groups (II-IV) reach a score of around 97 %, which is only matched by both Moroccan language/groups in group IV. This implies that the Moroccans show a retarded development, but ultimately reach the Dutch scores. Their error patterns are non-persistent. Errors are especially expressed in semantic incorrectness and less in avoidance. This last observation confirms earlier studies on the use of prepositions by Moroccan learners of Dutch (Appel,1984; Jansen,1981).

The five prepositions that are used mostly by all subjects are 'met', 'in', 'van', 'op' and 'naar' (with, in, of, on, to/into). Lesser used prepositions are 'voor', 'tegen' 'bij', 'om', 'over' and 'aan' (for, against, at, in order

to, to). The lesser used prepositions however occur in the speech of the older groups more frequently than in the youngest groups. One can say that the diversity in prepositional use increases in older groups. The erroneous, absent and superfluous prepositions are a reflection of the prepositions that are mostly used. That means that most errors for example are made in the application of notably 'op', 'van' and 'naar'. Again, this phenomenon occurs in the speech of all subjects regardless of background.

Both Moroccan Arabic and Tarifit have prepositions. Their semantic mapping however differs largely from each other and from Dutch. Coenen's prediction (see above) can not be confirmed by the data.

To what extent can the errors be attributed to LLo structures? It may be argued that the deviating semantic mapping in the LLo may cause a delay in the acquisition of the correct semantics of prepositions in Dutch. This influence, however, seems not large.

Conclusion

The Moroccans are rather successful in the acquisition of prepositions. The influence of the LLo is not strong.

3.6.2. Lexical strategies

Description

The data elicited in the structured interviews contain many instances of the use of semantically not fitting or incorrect words. Examples of such instances are:

> (34a) en die komt daar helemaal lucht uit, soort vuur om snelheid te brengen (IIAR8, Khaled;143)
> and that comes there all air from, kind (of) fire to speed to bring
> (34b) 'en daar komt allemaal lucht uit, een soort vuur om snelheid te maken'
> 'and air leaves it, a kind of fire in order to make speed'

(35a) z'n moeder en de vader was dood in de oorlog (IIBB4, Kariema;144)
his father and mother were dead in the war
(35b) 'z'n moeder en de vader waren omgekomen/gedood/dood gegaan/gestorven in de oorlog'
'his father and mother had died/were killed/died/deceased in the war'

(36a) en toen gingen we helemaal naar de schiphol [26] (IAR9, Azdin;30)
and then went we completely to the schiphol
(36b) 'en toen gingen we helemaal naar het vliegveld'
'and then we went all the way to the airport'

(37a) en toen na Spanje was het...eh.. Frankrijk (IAR9, Azdin;21)
and then after Spain was it...eh..France
(37b) 'en toen na Spanje kwam Frankrijk'
'and then after Spain came France'

(38) enne gaan we zo doen (waarschijnlijk 'gooien') met een bal (IAR9, Azdin;120)
and go we so do (probably 'throw') with a ball
'and then we do like this with a ball'

(39) as tie een emmer wil volmaken gaat 'ie..gaat 'ie..(IAR6, Ilham;171)
if he a bucket wants to fill goes he...goes he..
'if he wants to fill a bucket he starts...he starts...'

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'Schiphol' (without article) is the name of Amsterdam International Airport. The child clearly interprets the name as the word for 'het vliegveld' ('the airport'). He uses this word (correctly with the article, which reinforces the claim that the child actually interprets 'de schiphol' as being the word for 'het vliegveld') while describing his voyage in Morocco, which renders the explanation that the child may refer to 'Schiphol' itself highly unlikely.

(40a) toen kwamen ze **haast** bijna aan de kant
(IIBB5, Hafieda;39)
then came they nearly almost on the side
(40b) 'toen waren ze bijna aan de kant'
'then they nearly reached the side'

All the examples have in common that the boldly printed words semantically do not fit in the context to a smaller or greater degree. The 'b' variants indicate the probably intended meanings. The examples indicate lexical, semantic and pragmatic deficiencies in the speakers' speech. The speakers try to correct these with lexical strategies: the use of words which serve as a substitute that is believed to approximate the meaning of the intended word.

The examples (34)-(40) indicate several applications of kinds of substitutes, in fact several strategies. (34)-(36) are examples of the use of a high coverage word, e.g. 'the use of a superordinate in place of a subordinate term which carries more information in a particular context' (Tarone et. al., 1976;83). (37) and (38) are examples of the use of an all coverage word, in which the superordinate has an even broader semantic meaning. Example (39) is an example of **message abandonment**, e.g. 'the learner runs into difficulty with a target language form or rule and stops in mid-sentence' (Tarone et. al., 1976;85). Message abandonment often goes along with mime or gestures. Finally example (40) shows the use of a superfluous adverb in order to reinforce the meaning of the verb 'komen' ('to come').

It is complex to heap together the strategies as they occur in the speech of the subjects. Ellis (1985;164ff.) describes the use of similar substitutes etc. as learner strategies in order to convey the intended meaning. In a survey of the literature on these strategies he discerns **communication** strategies and **production** strategies. Communication strategies are described as problem oriented and conscious (Ellis,1985;180). Production strategies imply knowledge of a rule which makes possible the conscious simplification of a rule. Communication strategies imply no knowledge of a rule and consequently express themselves in the diversion to communicative strategies like avoidance or circumlocution. The consciousness vs. unconsciousness aspect is problematic.

One may wonder whether the communicative strategies, applied to produce an acceptable substitute, are conscious or not. Faerch & Kasper (1980) stress the importance of consciousness of the strategies, although they recognize the difficulty in establishing this. Stating that strategies are of a conscious character implies in my view possible contemplation before uttering a sentence containing a strategy. Generally, however, there is not always enough time in fluent conversation. Ellis has no conclusive answers to this issue and recommends describing communicative strategies as possibly conscious (181). He considers the mapping of strategies as productive and communicative as at least arbitrary. Some strategies overlap each other. In conclusion, research has not produced a close definition of the various kinds of strategies.

The aspect of problem orientedness is evident in the present data as well. Nearly all occurrences of strategies indicate lexical or semantic problems. Another question, however, is whether one is concerned here with production strategies or communication strategies. Both features are present in the material. Subjects turn out not to know a certain word in one context and to be able to use it in another. Therefore, one may infer from the data that the strategies applied by the subjects of this research, are possibly conscious as well. And within this context I would describe the strategies which occur in the present material as 'possibly conscious strategies, which are aimed at conveying the intended meaning and which are basically induced by lexical gaps or semantic indefiniteness and which are subsequently expressed in the use of high and all coverage words, message abandonment and superfluous adverbs'.

All instances of the various forms of lexical strategies in the speech of the subjects have been counted and the totals have been divided by the totals of elliptical and non-elliptical utterances. The outcome of this calculation is the average occurrence of a strategy in whatever form per elliptical and non-elliptical utterance. The analysis is a deviation analysis and it obeys to the 60 % condition and to the variant of the condition of three occurrences in obligatory context: as the obligatory character of this condition is not at stake in the present analyses, the

condition is reduced to three occurrences of the category concerned only. The results are presented in table 17.

Results

	IAR	IBB	INL	IIAR	IIBB	IINL
LS	0.1253	0.1589	0.0457	0.1372	0.1305	0.0541
	IIIAR	IIIBB	IIINL	IVAR	IVBB	IVNL
LS	0.0811	0.1154	0.0274*	0.0750	0.1008	0.0176*

Table 17: the average occurrence of lexical strategies (LS) per elliptical and non-elliptical utterance per age/language group.

As mentioned before most strategies express themselves in the use of a high coverage substitute, an all coverage substitute, message abandonment and superfluous adverbs. Table 18 presents the percentage distribution of these four forms of strategies:

	IAR	IBB	INL	IIAR	IIBB	IINL
high coverage	44.44	42.85	46.15	50.00	55.44	52.63
all coverage	30.86	44.46	23.08	30.14	17.39	26.31
mess. aband.	16.05	4.46	30.77	16.91	8.69	10.53
sup. adverb	8.65	8.23	-.--	2.94	18.48	10.53
	IIIAR	IIIBB	IIINL	IVAR	IVBB	IVNL
high coverage	52.56	44.73	--.--	28.57	44.31	--.--
all coverage	25.64	28.94	--.--	24.38	25.00	--.--
mess. aband.	6.41	17.11	--.--	25.49	19.32	--.--
sup. adverb	15.38	9.22	--.--	21.56	11.37	--.--

Table 18: percentage distribution of the four forms of lexical strategies (mess. aband. = message abandonment).

Discussion

The figures in table 17 clearly indicate the differences between the two Moroccan groups on the one hand and the Dutch groups on the other. The results are presented as average numbers. Thus the 0.1253 score of IAR implies that every elliptical and non-elliptical utterance contains on average a 0.1253 occurrence of a lexical strategy. The outcomes have been subjected to the calculation of statistical significance. All Tarifit and Moroccan Arabic groups make significantly more use of lexical strategies than the Dutch controls: $p < 0.01$. The Dutch groups hardly show any use of strategies -IIINL and IVNL do not reach the three occurrences condition- whereas the Moroccan groups, the Tarifit speakers more than the Moroccan Arabic speakers, remain facing considerable lexical problems. They both meet the 60 % condition and three occurrences condition in all age/language groups. In conclusion: both Moroccan groups show a persistent use of lexical strategies in their Dutch. The Moroccan Arabic groups, however, show a stronger decrease than the Berber groups.

The percentages in table 18 indicate that the strategy of using high and all coverage words forms the greatest part of the lexical strategies used: in all age/language groups they amount to more than two thirds (except for group IVAR).

It is hardly possible to detect systematic lines within the diverse forms of lexical strategies. A substitute like 'een man over een krant' ('a man over a newspaper', IIBB1, Thurayya) for 'a journalist' will not easily be found twice. Some constant features however could be detected.

Characteristic for the speech of the Moroccans of all age/language groups is the use of the adverbial phrase 'een beetje' ('a little', 'some') as an all coverage substitute for adverbs which function as relativizing a statement:

> (41) In het begin had ik gewoon, had ik een beetje niet moeilijk eigenlijk (IVAR5, Abdel;26)

In the beginning had I normally, had I a bit not difficult with as a matter of fact'
'In the beginning I, well, I did not face that many problems as a matter of fact' [27]

Another characteristic is the persistent confusion in the semantics of adverbs that refer to entities, specifically 'heel', ('very'), 'helemaal', ('altogether'), 'alle', ('all'), 'allemaal', ('all'), 'alles', ('every') and their replacemental function in references where literally the size or metaphorically the importance of what is said is stressed. In this respect they serve as an all coverage word:

(42) Eh, dat weertje lekker natuurlijk, he? Dat speelt heel een rol (IVBB2:Mustafa;149)
Eh, that weather nice of course, he? That plays whole a role
'Eh, the weather, nice of course,he? That plays quite a role'

Characteristic of the two youngest groups of Moroccan subjects is the overgeneralisation of the lexical verb 'doen' ('to do'). It functions as an all coverage substitute for other lexical verbs:

(43) Maar sommige kinderen van onze klas doen (=gooien) hard (IIAR7, Amiena;98)
But some children of our form do (=throw) very hard
'But some children in our class do (it) very hard'

The all coverage word 'doen' ('to do') serves as a substitute for 'gooien' ('to throw'). The use of 'doen' as an all coverage substitute may be reinforced by a similar use of 'doen' in Moroccan Arabic (the verb 'dar') and in Tarifit (the verb gg), both of which can function as a

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Zijlmans (1984) states that when adult learners of Dutch as a second language with different L1 backgrounds, have acquired the basic syntactic structures they turn out to have considerable trouble in finding the correct position of fillers as in (41) as well.

similar lexical strategy as well. An example of this is Khadiezja saying, while describing the picture series of 'the accident' in Moroccan Arabic:

(44) u-ɣi nas daru tilifun ... (IIIAR5, Khadiezja)
and some people did telephone ...
'and some people telephoned ...'

whereas Moroccan Arabic uses the verb phrase 'dreb tilifun' ('to hit the telephone'). In other cases a construction of 'doen plus infinitive' occurred, which can be interpreted as a morphological strategy in order to avoid the inflection of the intended lexical verb. This phenomenon of the overgeneralisation of 'doen plus infinitive' is regularly appearing in L1 acquisition as well (Schaerlaekens & Gillis, 1987;39,141). In this respect L1 and L2 acquisition make use of similar strategies.

Persistently problematic remains the distribution of the temporal adverbs 'dan' and 'toen'. 'Dan' generally refers to an act that takes place in the present or near future. 'Toen' always refers to the past. Notably in the telling of stories, e.g. travel stories, subjects persistently confuse 'dan' and 'toen'. In some cases, especially among the youngest group, an incorrect tense follows, in other cases the error is confined to the temporal adverb only:

(45) Toen wouwe we op een parkeerplaats. Dan gaan we eten (IAR1,Hafied;120)
Then wanted we on a parking place. Then went we eat.
'Then we wanted on a parking place. Then we went to eat.'

The use of a wrong temporal adverb eventually followed by a wrong tense is also found in the speech of Dutch subjects, albeit to a smaller extent. Moroccan Arabic uses one adverb for both Dutch temporal adverbs and so does Tarifit.

Conclusion

Summed up, the Moroccans have trouble finding the correct words in order to express themselves adequately in Dutch. Dutch subjects virtually never experience problems in this

respect. The four forms of lexical strategies that occur most in the speech of the Moroccans, and the actual nature of some strategies, e.g. the overgeneralisation of the verb 'doen', and the confusion between 'dan' and 'toen', are found in the L1 acquisition process of Dutch and the data of the younger Dutch controls as well. Hence, the nature of the lexical strategies observed does not support the existence of a relation between the strategies and LLo structures except to a certain extent in the cases of the use of 'een beetje' ('a bit') and 'doen' ('to do'), which can be considered as 'Lo based' strategies (see above). Apparently, the Moroccan subjects search for suitable substitutes in the language they are speaking, e.g. Dutch. In conclusion, it seems that the strategies are largely L2 based, in which the Lo hardly plays a role. These findings confirm the findings of Ellis (1984b), who found 'quantitive but not qualitative differences between the strategy use of ESL children and native-speaking English children'. Bialystok (1983) found that 'advanced learners use significantly more L2 based strategies and significantly fewer L1 based strategies than less advanced learners' (viz. Ellis, 1985;184ff.).

Searching for correct words and using substitutes is described in other L2 acquisition studies as well. Lalleman (1987) reports this in the Dutch of Turkish children. In a Type Token Ratio analysis the Turkish children turned out to score significantly lower than their Dutch peers (49). The Dutch' children vocabulary turned out to be more divers and contained less strategies. Appel (1984) planned to measure the TTR of the speech of his Moroccan and Turkish subjects as well. However, it was skipped because of the immense differences between the language samples in size and relation of function and content words (45). Speech samples in Appel's dissertation, however, show the occurrence of lexical problems in subjects of both high and low L2 proficiency similar to the instances in the present study (61ff.). Appel does not go into further detail concerning lexical deficiencies and subsequent strategies. His data, however, are revealing enough.

Recently several studies on the size of the lexicon of L2 learners of Dutch and of native speakers have appeared. Verhoeven en Vermeer (1984) demonstrate that the arrears

in the size of the lexicon of Turkish and Moroccan children that are in the first years of primary school increase when they grow older compared to the size of the lexicon of compeers. Appel (1985) shows that non-native children in secondary school have lower scores on vocabulary tests than native Dutch children. De Jong (1987) reports on the results of vocabulary tests administered to immigrant and native children at the end of primary school and in the first classes of secondary school. It showed that the immigrant children have scores that equal the scores of native children aged two years younger. Finally, Kerkhoff (1988;129) reports on Turkish and Moroccan children scoring significantly lower on a vocabulary test than other immigrant children and native dialect and standard speakers of Dutch. The present analysis does not examine the size of the lexicon. Nevertheless the apparent lexical problems occurring in the speech of the Moroccans point to a relatively small vocabulary. In this respect the present results fit in with the results of the studies mentioned on the size of the vocabulary of native and non-native speakers of Dutch.

In contrast with the preceding analyses of categories which generally did not yield persistent error patterns, the present analysis does. The figures in table 17 make clear that on average the Moroccans have serious word finding problems and subsequently experience problems in expressing themselves adequately. These observations show a strong correlation with the outcomes of the analysis of the Lo speech data as described in chapter 2. It showed that the Moroccan subjects had word finding problems in their original languages as well (see section 2.6.4. and 2.6.5.). What does this imply? In fact, it seems that on average the Moroccan subjects can not express themselves fluently and adequately in either of the original tongues and in Dutch. It is self-evident that these handicaps must have a negative impact on the social and educational aspects of the lives of the subjects concerned. The cause of the apparent word finding problems the Moroccans face in both Dutch and LLo may be related to the strong intermingling in use of the different languages they claim to use. The results of the questionnaire (section 2.3. ff.) produced the image of a dichotomy in dominating Lo use with father and mother on the one hand and dominating use of Dutch with brothers and sisters and Moroccan

friends on the other hand for virtually all subjects. In fact it looks as if the subjects find themselves in two linguistic worlds and possibly in two cultures at the same time: the integral language situation as a whole does not give a stable impression. It may therefore be argued that in such a situation it will be difficult to name objects and relations in different languages simultaneously, which ultimately leads to an underdevelopment of the vocabulary in the languages used. On the other hand it may also be argued that the subjects may have built an Lo vocabulary adapted to the needs of the Lo domains and a similar vocabulary for the 'Dutch' domains. However, more research is necessary to establish the veracity of this suggestion, even more so as the subjects turned out to have no knowledge of even elementary words in their Lo vocabulary.

3.7. Discussion and conclusions

The results of the error analysis can be classed into three score patterns, which can be described as follows:

Pattern 1

All 12 age/language groups have the same correct level from the youngest group up, i.e. their correct scores are above 90 % and the differences in correct scores between Moroccan Arabic or Tarifit age/language groups and Dutch age/language groups may in the youngest groups (IAR/BB to IIIAR/BB) differ more than 5 %, but are ultimately (IIAR/BB to IVAR/BB) under 5 %.

Pattern 2

The scores of the Dutch controls either reach the 90 % correct level as early as in group INL or show a non-persistent error pattern expressed in a lower than 90 % score in the younger group(s) (INL to IIINL) which fades away soon, i.e. not later than in group IIINL. Non-persistent error patterns and subsequent matching of the level of the correct scores of the Dutch controls are found in the Moroccans' (AR or BB) scores, i.e. the Moroccans (AR or BB) have lower than 90 % correct scores in the youngest group(s) (IAR/BB to IIIAR/BB) but exceed

this boundary later (IIAR/BB to IVAR/BB). They ultimately match the Dutch scores by less than 5 % (no flattening pattern) or more than 5 % (flattening pattern).

Pattern 3

The correct scores of the Dutch controls either reach the 90 % level as early as in group INL or show a non-persistent error pattern expressed in a lower than 90 % score in the younger group(s) (INL to IIINL) which fades away soon, i.e. not later than in group IIINL. Persistent error patterns are found in the Moroccan scores (AR or BB), i.e. the Moroccan age/language groups (AR or BB) do not match the level of the Dutch groups: they stay under the 90 % level and hardly show any progress even under this boundary.

The scores of the analysis of the attributive demonstrative in the BB language groups do not really fit in with one of the three patterns described as IBB matches the Dutch scores, but IIIBB and IVBB remain below the 90 % level, while the respective Dutch controls (IIINL and IVNL) have a 100 % correct score. On the basis of these facts the results of the BB group are classed in the third error pattern.

The results of the other analyses that are expressed in percentages, can easily be fitted in with the three error patterns. However, this does not altogether hold for the results of the two deviation analyses, on 'pl empty clauses' and 'lexical strategies'. Bearing in mind that the results of the analysis of 'pl empty clauses' were interpreted as non-persistent in both Moroccan language groups and that the Dutch controls did not even meet the 60 % condition and the three occurrences condition, both Moroccan language groups can be classed in the second pattern and the Dutch scores in the first pattern. Lexical strategies were persistently present in the speech of both Moroccan language groups whereas INL and IINL only met with the analysis conditions. This causes the Moroccan scores to be classed in the third pattern and the Dutch scores in the second pattern. Table 19 gives an overview of the division of the results of the 16 analyses in the three error patterns.

	pattern 1	pattern 2	pattern 3
noun plural	a NL AR BB		
verb inflection	a NL AR BB		
past participle	b NL BB	AR	
temporal auxiliary	a NL AR BB		
definite article	c NL		AR BB
indefinite article	c NL		AR BB
att. demonstrative	c	NL AR+	BB
ind. demonstrative	b NL AR	BB	
att. adjective	c	NL AR+ BB+	
anaphoric reference	d	NL BB	AR
inversion	a NL AR BB		
verb final	b NL BB	AR	
pl empty clauses	b NL	AR BB	
postposition	d NL	AR+ BB	
preposition	a	NL AR BB	
lexical strategies	c	NL	AR BB

Table 19: the division of the results of the sixteen analyses in the three error patterns (+ = plus flattening pattern).

In five categories (indicated with (a)) out of the sixteen analyzed the Dutch controls and Moroccan language groups of both Lo backgrounds are classed in similar error patterns (pattern 1 or 2), e.g. there are no differences between the Moroccan and Dutch score patterns. In four categories the correct scores of the Moroccans of either

Moroccan Arabic or Tarifit background ultimately match the Dutch scores (NL in pattern 1 and AR or BB in 1 or 2;indicated with (b)). In only three categories both Moroccan groups show a persistent error pattern, whereas the scores of the Dutch controls are classed in the first or second error pattern (indicated with (c)). In the category of attributive demonstratives the AR groups were labelled non-persistent and the BB groups persistent erroneous, and in the category of the attributive adjective the Moroccan groups of both Lo backgrounds show a flattening pattern (indicated with (c) as well). In these categories the Dutch are classed in pattern 2. In the remaining two categories (anaphoric reference and postposition) the BB groups ultimately match the Dutch scores, whereas the AR groups' scores are classed in the second pattern plus flattening or in the third category respectively (indicated with (d)).

Regarding the kinds of actual errors made, no qualitative differences are found between the Moroccans and the Dutch groups and between the Moroccan groups themselves.

Furthermore, in eleven of the sixteen categories the AR and BB groups are classed in the same error patterns. This reinforces the similarity in development and acquisition of Dutch of both groups. In only two categories one of the two Moroccan groups produces persistent error patterns as opposed to the other. For the AR groups this is anaphoric reference and for the BB groups this is the attributive demonstrative. These differences, however, can not be considered to disconfirm the observation that the Dutch of both AR and BB groups is to a large extent identical.

Summing up, this implies that in nine out of sixteen categories (indicated with (a) and (b)) the Moroccans of both Lo backgrounds -ultimately- reach the level of the Dutch controls. They command morphological categories, which were described as highly lexicalized (see 3.4.1.) and the Dutch word order patterns in declarative clauses (inversion) and subordinate clauses (verb final). These results correspond largely to the overall impression of the proficiency level of the Moroccans in Dutch presented in section 3.3.2., where the Moroccan subjects of both Lo backgrounds proved to have reached a similar level of Dutch proficiency as their Dutch counterparts: the

Moroccans matched the Dutch scores in the of use of simple and complex clauses, the MLU and the use of different subordinate clauses. In the error analysis the categories in which the Moroccans perform less well than the Dutch controls are those in which the former show -persistent- error patterns. Fossilization occurs in both groups in the errors made in both articles and to a lesser extent in the declension of the attributive adjective and the attributive demonstrative; both Moroccan groups face persistent lexical problems. If occurring in all three language groups, the kinds of errors made are identical for the Moroccan and Dutch groups. Hence they can generally be characterized as developmental errors. Nevertheless, the cause of the persistence of errors and the flattening patterns can be attributed to negative Lo transfer, which exerts a delaying and possibly stagnating influence on the acquisition of the categories concerned.

What, finally, is the answer to research question (4), which was formulated as follows:

> (4) To what extent have the Moroccans succeeded in the acquisition of Dutch and what are the specific problems containing it?

The Moroccans of both Lo backgrounds match their Dutch counterparts in syntactic complexity (simple and complex clauses, MLU and subordinate clauses), in highly lexicalized morphological categories (noun plural, verb inflection, past participle, temporal auxiliary), in major syntactic categories (inversion, verb final and to a lesser extent postposition) and in the semantics of the prepositions. Their development, however, is stagnated in especially the acquisition of both articles and they suffer from an inadequate vocabulary. It seems that the Moroccans' exposure to Dutch is sufficient to build up a solid morphological and syntactic structural basis of Dutch. Nevertheless, the instability of the language situation expressed in the use of different languages in different domains resulting in a certain 'linguistic split' seems to cause the inadequate development of the vocabulary, not only in Dutch but also in the LLo.

The following chapter presents the overall picture of both first and second component, which make up the nature of

the present case of language acquisition. This case will be related to the basic assumptions the SLA theories make with respect to the language situation in which a second language is acquired.

Moroccan groups scored considerably below the zero level, e.g. they were more skilful in Dutch than in the original tongues and this goes for IIBB as well. IIBB therefore fits within the interpretation of the acquisition of Dutch as L1/2, but it is in arrears in the acquisition of Dutch compared to the other three age/language groups, possibly due to the unfavorable moment that Dutch entered the language profiles of the subjects of this group.
Another age/language group that does not seem to fit with the concept of the non-compartmentalized acquisition of Dutch is IVBB. In the investigation after its Lo proficiency level it was the only age/language group that scored higher in the Lo than in Dutch (+2) (see 2.9.1.). IVBB was also the only age/language group that claimed to use the Lo in more than 50 % of the speech situations (67%) and at the same time proved to be more skilful in it than in Dutch. Now, the line of reasoning which leads to the concept of the acquisition of Dutch as L1/2 was partially based on the obvious low Lo proficiency level of the age/language groups, the strong intermingling of use of both LLo and Dutch, combined with the results of these groups of the error analysis, which matched in the majority of the analyses the correct scores of the Dutch controls. IVBB shows a similar picture with respect to the patterns of claimed language use and in the results of the error analysis, but it deviates from the other age/language groups with respect to the Lo proficiency level. The subjects of group IVBB express themselves better in the Lo than in Dutch. The subjects of IVBB have been living in the Netherlands since the age of on average 10;07 years. During the period of their lives in Morocco they apparently succeeded in establishing a sufficient and probably full command of their Lo and they were rather successful as well in the acquisition of Dutch. These observations lead to the determination of the acquisition of Dutch of group IVBB to be of a rather compartmentalized nature -Dutch does not affect the Lo, the Lo can not be considered a -small- 'core language'- so that the concept of the L1/2 does not apply to this specific group.

Summed up it seems that the interaction between the patterns of the use of languages and the process of language acquisition is highly relevant to the nature of the acquisition process. The restricted use of the Lo apparently causes a deficient development of the Lo. The

specific analysis of the language profile as described in chapter 2 provides a valid basis for the interpretation of the nature of the acquisition process of Dutch as L1/2 of the target group. The observation that a detailed investigation of the language situation in which a certain language is acquired provides a solid framework for the interpretation of the acquisition process of a language, must, therefore, be the prime virtue of this research.

Before presenting a final conclusion, the following section will pay attention to the relation between the present case of language acquisition and the three SLA theories.

4.3. The link with the SLA theories

Finally, the interpretation of the acquisition of Dutch as the L1/2 is looked at from a more theoretical point of view, in which the issue is whether this specific complex case of language acquisition can be related to the basic assumptions Contrastive Analysis, the Identity Hypothesis and Universal Grammar in an SLA context make with respect to the nature of the language situation in which a second language is acquired. As has been stated before (see 1.3.), the reason to investigate the existence of such a link is induced by the question whether these theories could be a useful instrument to explain the data collected on the language profile and the acquisition of Dutch by the young Moroccans. The research being of an exploratory, fact finding nature does not actually use these data in order to test these theories.

It was argued in chapter 1, that the theories concerned make claims on the nature of the process of the acquisition of a second language and on the causes of errors occurring in this process. They assume the L1 of the L2 learners to be more or less fully developed or at least following its regular course. Subsequently they assume the development of both L1 and L2 to be compartmentalized: the L1 and L2 show distinct developments in which the L2 does not affect the development or measure of use of the L1. Furthermore, they hardly take into account that in cases of 'L2' acquisition more than two languages (the L1 and L2) may be involved.

Now, the overall picture of the present case of language acquisition was described as the acquisition of the L1/2. Seven out of eight Moroccan age/language groups do not command their Lo fully; Dutch is acquired as L1/2 in a non-compartmentalized acquisition process in which the Lo forms the 'core language' and Dutch the encompassing dominating language. There are definitely no two distinct developments of Lo and Dutch. What does this imply for the possible link of the present case with the basic assumptions the SLA theories generally make with respect to the nature of the language situation in which a-second- language is acquired? Is there such a link and if so would the theory subsequently be of use in order to yield a meaningful framework of interpretation? This question will be dealt with for each theory separately.

Contrastive Analysis

Of what does the essential nature of Contrastive Analysis consist? It is based on the contrasting of two languages and based on these contrasts errors or the absence of errors in the language to be acquired can be predicted (the strong claim) or accounted for (the weak claim). Now, the present case of language acquisition is interpreted as the acquisition of an L1/2, in which the 'L1' plays a modest role and the 'L2' is the encompassing dominating language. Can this case be linked to the assumptions CA is based on? I think it can: the relatively limited scope in which CA considers SLA can be applied here in a limited way as even in the present case of the acquisition of an L1/2 two languages are concerned: the Lo on the one hand and Dutch on the other. If CA were applied to the present case it would be productive. It might for example explain the errors made in the articles and some lexical strategies.

Identity Hypothesis

The Identity Hypothesis considers the acquisition process of a first language to be distinct from but structurally identical to the acquisition process of a second language; they are characterized as sharing a similar identity. It claims that the development of the L2 follows a course similar to the L1, and subsequently occurring errors are similar. Furthermore, its claims chiefly concern the

initial stages of the acquisition of a second language. Now, the interpretation of the acquisition of Dutch as L1/2 in a non-compartmentalized development with the Lo conflicts with the concept of the essence of the two distinct processes of L1 and L2 as assumed by the Identity Hypothesis. In fact, this observation impedes the linking up of the present case with the theory of IH. Furthermore, the fact that the Moroccans are obviously advanced speakers of Dutch -no insight could be obtained on the learning history, e.g. before the moment of recording- conflicts with the fact that IH primarily considers the first stages of L2 acquisition and not the speech of more advanced speakers. Of these two arguments the most important one against the link between the present case with the theory of IH remains the interpretation of it as the acquisition of the L1/2 in which 'L1' and 'L2' are strongly intermingled: there are no two distinct processes. Therefore no link with the IH can be established nor can it be considered a fruitful framework of interpretation.

Universal Grammar

Universal Grammar is a theory which in principle considers every case of language acquisition to express its principles. By its very nature it does not consider a specific 'basic case' of language acquisition. Now, if the present case of the acquisition of an L1/2 is related to the principle of UG it is clear that UG can cover this case. This is reinforced by the observation that research on UG in SLA considers two hypotheses: firstly has the second language acquirer direct access to UG or secondly does he or she reset the parameters as they have been set in the L1? Such research implies by its very nature the determination of the level of command of the L1 and L2 (what parameters have been set in the L1?) and as such light is thrown on the possible compartmentalized nature of the acquisition of the L2. Still, there are two important observations to be made. Firstly, as to the applicability of a UG based theoretical approach to SLA one should be very cautious in deriving hypotheses relating to SLA from this theory as it addresses logical concepts such as markedness and the nature of evidence available to the learner, that play an important role. However, how exactly these concepts are to be worked out

in terms of empirical evidence is another matter. In other words, what parts of empirical SLA data can be used to refute or corroborate these claims is still a highly controversial issue. What is certain, however, is that much of the evidence in SLA studies is not suitable for this purpose since it pertains to areas of parametric variation between languages and thus obscures the possible operation of the underlying universals in the learner's L2 performance. This observation is even more relevant to the present study since as yet there is no empirical evidence in this area whatsoever for the three languages discussed in this investigation. A second point to be made in this instance relates to the nature of the research data in the present study. They were not specifically elicited with a view to either confirming or rejecting the theory of UG accessibility in SLA. They are not strictly comparable to the data used in studies that do have this purpose.
On the whole, however, the nature of the theory of UG seems promising with respect to the determination of a link with the present case of language acquisition and if future research sheds more light on the working of UG in SLA it can actually be applied to the present case of the acquisition of an L1/2 and similar cases and prove to possess large explanatory power.

4.4. Conclusion

What must be the merit of this research? The elaborate investigation of the complex linguistic environment of the young Moroccans in which they acquire Dutch proved to be extremely useful in the interpretation of the nature of their acquisition process of Dutch. Apparently there is a strong interaction between the patterns of language use and the nature of the acquisition process of a language More specifically an investigation into:

1. what languages are used?
2. what language is used in what domain?
3. what is the measure of use of these languages in the different domains?
4. what is the proficiency level of the diverse languages involved?

yields a valid framework of interpretation of the nature of the acquisition process of the language being studied.

Without a similar investigation the integral framework of interpretation is apparently smaller and as such less insight is obtained in the nature of the acquisition process of the language concerned, in the present case of Dutch: not as the L1, nor as the L2 but as the L1/2. In conclusion, therefore, future SLA research is strongly recommended not to stick to the investigation of the acquisition process of the L2 only but to pay attention to the encompassing linguistic context in which it is acquired: it yields a much more comprehensive picture and as such a more valid framework of interpretation.

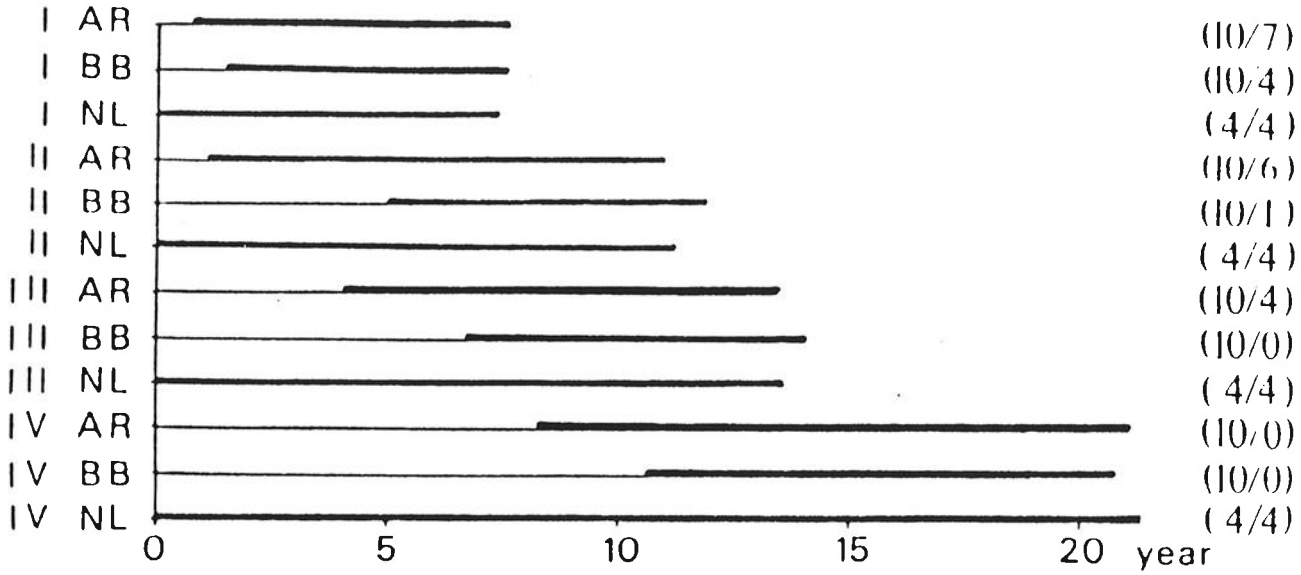
Summaries

Summary in English

This dissertation contains a detailed description of the language situation and the acquisition of Dutch by young Moroccans who have either lived in the Netherlands for the larger part of their lives -the so-called one-and-a-half generation-, or who were born there. The motivating and most important argument to the study was the observation that the language situation of the target group both in Morocco and in the Netherlands is extremely complex. Firstly the Moroccans can have various languages as their mother tongue, that is one of the Moroccan Arabic dialects or one of the three Berber languages (Tarifit, Tamazight and Tashelhit). Secondly, it appears that the language the young Moroccan hears and acquires in the period of his or her primary socialization (until round about his or her ± 5th year), in the Netherlands as well as in Morocco, is not necessarily the dominant language later in life: another language can take over this position. For this reason it is recommended not to speak of the mother tongue or first language (L1) but of the **original language**, the Lo (plural LLo), i.e. the language the Moroccan acquires in his or her primary socialization which will later not necessarily remain the dominant language. The question concerning the Lo is whether the Moroccan will develop a full command and usage of it. In Morocco it is not unusual for a child that has one of the three Berber languages as its original tongue to shift over to a Moroccan Arabic dialect on moving to an Arabic region or town. In the Netherlands a Moroccan child may acquire Moroccan Arabic or a Berber language during the first years of his or her life in the family circle; but when it goes to school the acquisition process of the Lo may become seriously stagnated due to the dominance of a new language in his or her life: Dutch. Further, more languages than the original language and Dutch can play a role in the lives of the target group. Young Moroccans, who are born in Morocco and who have been living there for a longer period, bring with them a linguistic burden. Many have been exposed to French, Spanish and Classical Arabic which is one of the languages of instruction at

primary and secondary schools. In the Netherlands the various original languages are used especially within the family while Dutch becomes the strong dominant language in contact with the outside world. Further, Classical Arabic plays a role in the Netherlands as well. This language is the official language of Morocco and as part of a cultural treaty between Morocco and the Netherlands it is taught mainly as an extra-cirrucilar subject concerned with own language and culture (OETC) in primary schools and, to a lesser extent, in secondary schools. Classical Arabic plays no predominant role as a language of communication in the Moroccan migration in the Netherlands. It is within this complex language situation that the young Moroccans acquire Dutch.
In order to obtain a representative image of the target group a quasi-longitudinal model was chosen. Four age groups were formed: subjects of ± 7 years old (group I), subjects of ± 11 years old (group II), subjects of ± 14 years old (group III) and subjects of ± 21 years old. Each group consisted of 10 Moroccans from an Arabic speaking background (the AR groups), 10 Moroccans from a Berber speaking (mostly Rif Berber or Tarifit) background (the BB groups) and 4 native Dutch speakers (the NL groups) who served as controls. The composition of the groups was such that each group shared common characteristics with a younger group as far as education, exposure to Dutch and social class was concerned. These common features reinforce the comparability of the chosen groups. Figure 1 (see page 218) shows the different groups with particular reference to age, length of stay in the Netherlands and whether they were born there.

On the grounds of the preceding considerations the investigation is concerned with the following research questions that are subsumed in two components. The first component consists of the question what the language situation of the young Moroccans (the language profile) looks like. For this to be clearly established the following questions must be answered: (1) what is each of the Moroccan subjects' Lo? (2) which languages make up the subjects' language profile and what is the measure of use per language? (3) what is the proficiency level of the various languages the subjects claim to speak? The answers to these research questions form the first component of this study. The second component is



——— average age
▬▬▬ average length of stay in Holland
(10/7) size of the age/language group/ absolute number of subjects born in the Netherlands

Figure 1: Average age and length of stay in the Netherlands with absolute number of subjects born in the Netherlands per Moroccan age/language group.

aimed at the subjects' Dutch with the specific question (4): given the probability that their language situation is complex, how successful are the Moroccans in the acquisition of Dutch and what are their characteristic problems? The results of the two components subsequently produce an overall view of the language profile and the acquisition of Dutch. Finally the investigation looks at the complete picture from a more theoretical point of view. To what extent does the present case of language acquisition resemble the 'standard case of second language acquisition' as assumed by three theories of second language acquisition (SLA)? Most second language acquisition theories assume a 'standard language acquisition situation'. More specifically, they assume a separate development of L1 and L2. To the effect of the entry of the L2 on the development and use of the L1 scant attention is paid. It is conveniently taken for granted that the L1 follows its normal course of

development without apparent interruption and becomes fully developed. Furthermore theories of second language acquisition rarely consider the possibility of more than two languages being involved. In short SLA theories assume a normal development of L1 and compartmentalized acquisition of the L2 where the entry of the L2 does not affect the use and development of the L1. Secondly they rarely pay attention to the fact that more than two languages can be involved. Here we are concerned with the theories of Contrastive Analysis, the Identity Hypothesis and Universal Grammar playing a possible role in SLA. Up to the present these theories are still the object of discussion and there is no evidence available to offer definite confirmation. Here the crucial question is: can these theories given their standard points of departure deal with the complex language situation of the young Moroccans? Can a link be made between the present case and these theories and can they subsequently act as a fruitful model of explanation?

After the original language of each of the 80 Moroccans was established as being either Moroccan Arabic or Tarifit (research question 1) they were asked through a questionnaire which language and to what extent they use these languages with father, mother, brothers and sisters (siblings) and Moroccan friends (research question 2). Figure 2 (see page 220) depicts the results of the answers.

Striking is the dichotomy that emerges between the dominant use of the original language with the parents on the one hand and the dominant use of Dutch with brothers and sisters and Moroccans friends on the other. From the answers to the questionnaire it is apparent that Moroccans from an Arabic background claimed above all to use Moroccan Arabic and Dutch and those from a Berber background Tarifit and Dutch. Consequently it was decided to investigate further the proficiency level of these specific languages (research question 3). The subjects were given two series of pictures and were asked to describe what they saw both in Dutch and their original tongue. An analysis which emphasised the communicative aspects of language gave the impression that every Moroccan group except the oldest BB group (IVBB) could noticeably express itself better in Dutch than in

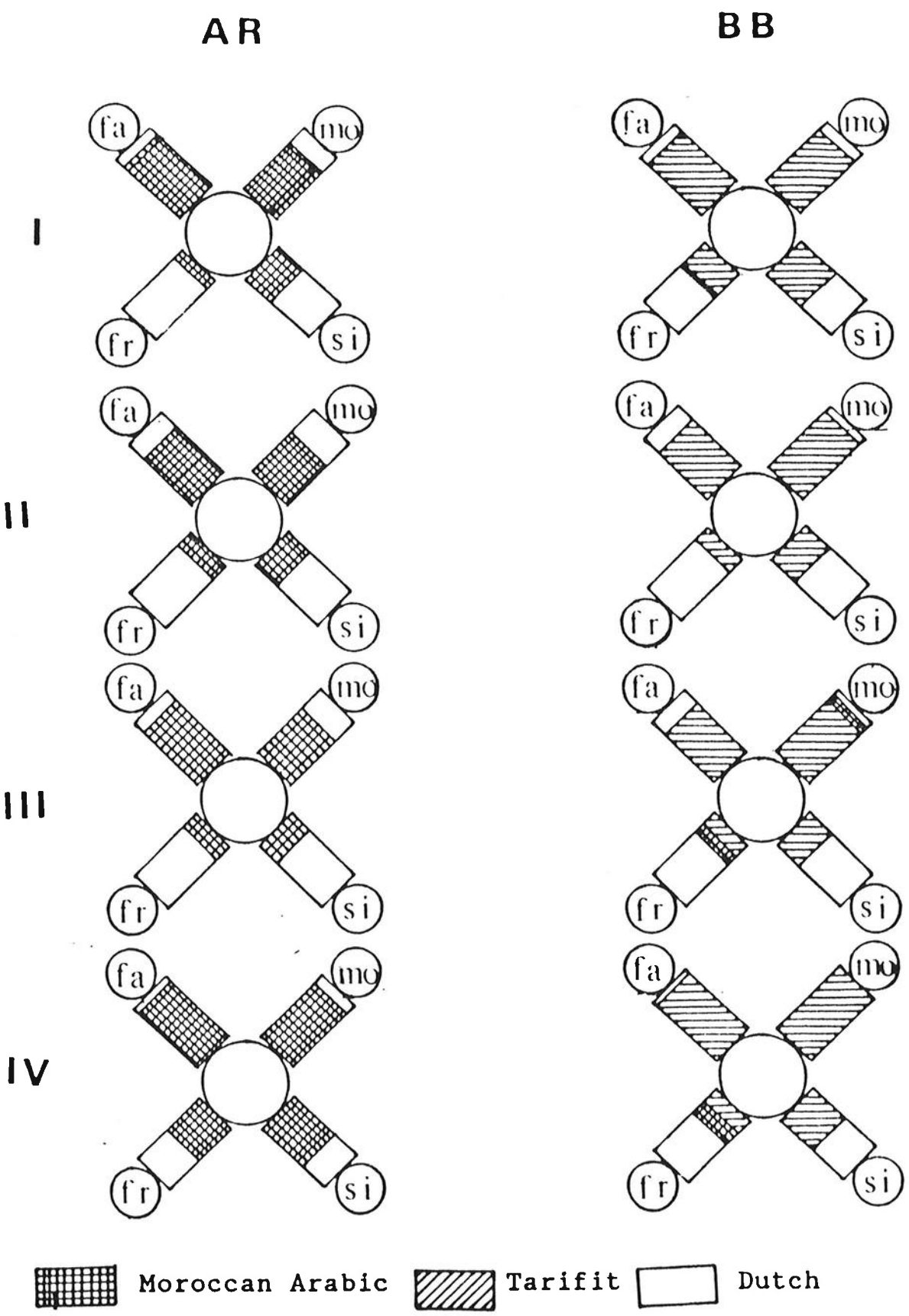


Figure 2: Claimed use of the various languages of the eight Moroccan groups with father (fa), mother (mo), brothers and sisters (si) and Moroccan friends (fr). A cube represents 100 %.