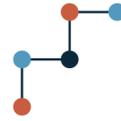




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Workshop
9-10 June 2022

The Sounds of Multiethnolects in (Western) Europe



Book of abstracts

The Sounds of Multiethnolects in (Western) Europe

Since about 2000, the emergence of multiethnolects has been observed among adolescents in various European cities. While most studies have considered morphosyntactic, lexical or pragmatic characteristics of these new speaking styles, this workshop will instead focus on phonetic features, bringing together a number of renowned scholars in this field who work on different multiethnolects.

Two-Day Workshop at the University of Zurich (9-10 June 2022)

The workshop will take place on Thursday 9 and Friday 10 June 2022 at the University of Zurich (Switzerland). Talks will be 45 minutes to allow for enough room for fruitful discussions (30 minutes presentation & 15 minutes discussion).

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Programme

Thursday June 9 2022

09:15	Welcome	Schmid, Auer & Morand
10:00	Segmental features of multiethnolectal Zurich German	Morand, Schwab & Schmid
10:45	Coffee break	
11:15	Phonetic detail and social meaning of the Berlin multi-ethnolect (part 1)	Jannedy & Weirich
12:00	Phonetic detail and social meaning of the Berlin multi-ethnolect (part 2)	Weirich & Jannedy
12:45	Lunch break	
14:45	Acoustic features of multiethnolectal Stuttgart German	Duran & Auer
15:30	A new [ʃ]tyle is spreading: Production and attitude evidence on the vitality of /s/ palatalization in Flanders	Marzo
16:15	Coffee break	
16:45	The internal conditioning of s-palatalisation in Moroccan and Turkish ethnolectal Dutch and its social patterning	Hinskens

Friday June 10 2022

09:00	Allophonic variation and social meaning in ethnic styles in French	Fagyal
09:45	Phonetic change processes in Multicultural London English	Torgersen
10:30	Coffee break	
11:00	“A potato that tries to imitate a foreigner, languagewise” – prosody and indexicality in the Copenhagen multiethnolect	Pharao
11:45	The social and stylistic variation of rhythm in Stockholm Swedish	Young
12:30	Lunch break	
14:30	Suprasegmental features of multiethnolectal Zurich German	Morand, Schwab & Schmid
15:15	Final discussion	Schmid & Auer

Segmental features of multiethnolectal Zurich German

Marie-Anne Morand, Sandra Schwab & Stephan Schmid, University of Zurich, Switzerland

Multiethnolects in German-speaking Switzerland differ significantly from traditional Swiss German dialects such as Zurich German with regard to lexical choices, syntactic structures, and phonetic features (Tissot, Schmid & Galliker 2011). For instance, it has been claimed that speakers of multiethnolectal Zurich German realize word-initial fricatives and labiodental approximants with a longer duration than speakers of traditional Zurich German do (Schmid 2012). Also, there is evidence that voicing of lenis plosives could be another feature of multiethnolectal Zurich German (Morand et al. 2019). For the time being, however, a quantitative sociophonetic investigation of Swiss German (multi-)ethnolects is still lacking.

To examine some segmental features of multiethnolectal Zurich German systematically, 48 adolescents (28 females; mean age = 14.3 years, $SD = 0.7$) were recorded at two different schools in the city of Zurich. In particular, a carefully designed corpus of read speech produced by the same 48 adolescents analyzed acoustically. The design of this corpus is shown in Table 1.

Phonetic Feature	No. of Sentences	Example	English Translation
Voicing of lenis plosives (word-initial/word-internal)			
/b̥/	10 (5/5)	<i>Mir gönd uf de Bèèrg</i>	We're going up the mountain
/d̥/	10 (5/5)	<i>Das isch e chli doof</i>	That's a bit stupid
/g̥/	10 (5/5)	<i>Ich chaufen e Gurke</i>	I buy a cucumber
Word-initial fricatives			
/v̥/	5	<i>Er säit nöd so vill</i>	He doesn't say much
/z̥/	5	<i>S isch nöd so sauber</i>	It's not that clean
/ʃ̥/	5	<i>Si gaat go schaffe</i>	She's going to work
/ç̥/	5	<i>Si sind i de Chile</i>	They are in church
Word-initial approximants			
/ʋ/	10	<i>Ich stelle de Wecker</i>	I set the alarm clock
TOTAL	60		

Table 1: Word material used for the corpus of read speech.

Additionally, short speech samples of spontaneous speech produced by the same speakers were rated by 40 adolescents from another school (25 females; mean age = 14.8 years). The listeners rated their potential peers' speech on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 'not at all' to 'completely' multiethnolectal Zurich German. Mean ratings for the individual speakers (calculated from the 40 raters) ranged from 1.45 up to 6.1 (mean = 3.78, $SD = 1.26$).

Finally, the acoustic measurements of the analyzed speakers (i.e., mean fricative and approximant durations as well as mean percentages of plosive voicing) were correlated with the scores the same subjects had obtained in the rating experiment. The results yielded significant correlations for fricative and approximant duration with the rating scores in the expected direction: speakers rated as sounding more multiethnolectal showed longer fricative/approximant durations. In contrast, the feature of voicing of lenis plosives only turned out to be significant only in combination with the other two segmental features.

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Phonetic detail and social meaning of the Berlin multi-ethnolect

Stefanie Jannedy & Melanie Weirich, Leibniz-ZAS Berlin, Germany

In our work on Berlin German (e.g. Jannedy & Weirich 2014, 2017; Jannedy et al. 2019), we investigate the multiethnic youth variety *Kiezdeutsch* as spoken mostly in the districts Kreuzberg, Wedding and Neukölln. *Kiezdeutsch* is spoken by multi-ethnic youth with Turkish and Arabic decent but also by mono-ethnic mono-lingual German adolescents living in the same neighborhoods. In the description of this multi-ethnolect, we focus on phonetic features covering spectral and temporal aspects. In our work we have started to detect and investigate the phonetic aspects that serve to differentiate this variety from a more standard Berlin variety by analyzing production data and testing for the saliency of fine phonetic detail differentiating this variety in perception. Our production work also speaks to the usage of certain forms as an expression of speakers' social identity; our perception work highlights the impact of listeners' implicit and explicit attitudes towards the variety and speakers of this variety.

In our presentation we will outline the phonetic features of Berlin *Kiezdeutsch* and the implicit and explicit attitudes that are associated with them. First, we will introduce our findings on several of the salient and somewhat less salient acoustic phonetic characteristics of *Kiezdeutsch*, thereby focusing on fricative productions and diphthong characteristics and their saliency in perception. Second, we will discuss what social meanings hearers associate with these alternations, highlighting the interplay between social identity, speech perception and language attitudes in the framework of two relevant theories, i.e. the *Social Connotation Hypothesis* (van Bezooijen 2002) and the *Social Identity Hypothesis* (Tajfel & Turner 1986).

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Plosive voicing in multiethnolectal Stuttgart German

Duran, D., Leibniz-Zentrum Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft (ZAS), Germany & Auer, P., Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, Germany

Multiethnolectal adolescent speech styles have been examined in a number of German cities, for example in Berlin, Mannheim or Stuttgart (cf., among others, Keim & Knöbl 2007; Wiese 2009; Siegel 2018). Most studies on the German multiethnolect have focused on sociolinguistic, morphological, syntactic or lexical aspects (but cf. Jannedy & Weirich 2013, 2014). We present results on an acoustic-phonetic analysis of plosive voicing in multiethnolectal German as spoken by adolescents in the city of Stuttgart (Germany), based on a multiethnolectal core group of 32 speakers and a control group of 12 speakers. They were recorded in sessions of two speakers in three tasks: (1) reading a list of 81 short sentences, (2) cooperating on two custom-made DiaPix tasks (i.e. “spot the difference”, Baker & Hazan 2011) and (3) an interview. All speech data (total: 26 hours) was transcribed orthographically segmented at word and phone-levels with forced alignment and fully manually corrected for segment boundaries and labels. In previous analyses we found evidence for various phonetic differences between multiethnolectal and non-multiethnolectal speakers, such as a tendency towards shortened long vowels (Duran in prep.) and a smaller (more centralized) F1×F2 vowel space (Duran and Auer, submitted) in multiethnolect speakers. The core group speakers merged /ɛ:/ and /e:/ into [e:], which is considered to be typical of more northern accents, while control group speakers show the typical distinction between [ɛ:] and [e:] for Stuttgart Standard German (i.e. Stuttgart standard usage, cf. Deppermann et al. 2013) (Duran and Auer, submitted).

In this study, we compare the two groups of speakers (core vs. control) and the two speaking modes (reading vs. spontaneous speech) for voicing of plosives. (Northern) Standard German *lenis* and *fortis* plosives stand in pairwise opposition distinguished by the feature [±voice], i.e. lenis segments exhibit a short voice onset time in contrast to fortis plosive with a long voice onset time (and aspiration). In the southern German standard – and hence in Stuttgart – the voicing distinction is less clear or absent. We investigate the question of whether the voicing is more pronounced in Stuttgart in the multiethnolectal core group than in the control group. This would support the findings of Morand et al. (2019) on the Zurich multiethnolect.

We analyzed voicing in fortis /p t k/ and lenis /b d g/ plosives in voiced contexts acoustically with Praat using the ‘Voice Report’ function (Boersma & Weenink 2018). Our analysis focuses on the proportion of voicing. This is assessed by measuring the number of voiced and unvoiced frames within a segment. We found a group-gender effect: Female core group speakers produced less voicing than control group speakers. Male core group speakers, on the other hand, produce more voicing than control group males.

With our analyses we offer a first larger scale systematic acoustic phonetic analysis of multiethnolectal German as spoken by adolescents in Stuttgart. Our results contribute to the sound description of multiethnolectal German.

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A new [ʃ]tyle is spreading:**Production and attitude evidence on the vitality of /s/ palatalization in Flanders**

Stefania Marzo & Stefan Grondelaers, KU Leuven, Belgium

In this presentation, we investigate social meaning as a driving force for the diffusion of urban vernaculars by confronting experimental and corpus data of Citétaal, a multi-ethnolect that has spread among native-born Flemings across Flanders.

In a speaker evaluation experiment, we found that Citétaal was upgraded on social meanings related to ‘urban cool’ and ‘streetwise dynamism’, even by respondents unfamiliar with its migrant origin. From this, we conclude that it is this third-order indexicality (‘streetwise’) – pruned of ethnic associations – which is triggering the diffusion of Citétaal. To determine the relative importance of streetwise cool vis-à-vis other possible predictors, we then studied the diffusion across Twitter of the principal Citétaal shibboleth (viz. /s/ palatalization, e.g. *stijl* ‘style’ pronounced as [ʃtɛil]). As a production proxy for urban cool and streetwise prestige, we included expressive compensation strategies such as lengthening (verrry or shhhtijl!), which turned out to be among the main predictors of the Citétaal form.

The results of this two-fold study clearly indicate that social meaning is a major determinant for the diffusion of urban vernaculars, and that Twitter is the optimum source to track both a diffusion and the factors, including social meaning, which drive it.

The internal conditioning of s-palatalisation in Moroccan and Turkish ethnolectal Dutch and its social patterning

Hinskens, F., Meertens Instituut (KNAW), Amsterdam & Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen, Netherlands

Ethnolects are language varieties which originated in specific ethnic groups, initially as L2 systems. After a brief discussion of the concept, this contribution sketches the study of Dutch ethnolects in broad outline and in a historical perspective, succinctly describing a number of ethnolects that have emerged (and sometimes disappeared again) in the past.

The presentation goes on to introduce the main research questions, the methodology, the data and a number of findings from the ‘Roots of Ethnolects’ project, which has been carried out for over fifteen years at the Meertens Instituut (Amsterdam) and Radboud Universiteit (Nijmegen). The project focuses on ethnolectal variation in present-day Dutch. For the research, interactional speech data as well as individual speech data were collected among 10-12 and 18-20 year old male adolescents with bi- or multilingual Turkish-Dutch, Moroccan-Dutch and monolingual non-immigrant Dutch backgrounds, who were all born and raised in the Dutch cities of Amsterdam or Nijmegen. The cities, both of which have a multicultural demographic profile, are located in different dialect areas.

The contribution will focus on the variable palatalisation of onset /s/ before a velar voiceless or voiced fricative (/x/ and /ɣ/, respectively). In the ‘Roots of Ethnolects’ conversational speech data s-palatalisation occurs in e.g.

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (a) <i>schaken</i> | ‘play chess’ |
| (b) <i>onbeschoft</i> | ‘rude’ |
| (c) <i>klagenoot</i> | ‘class mate’ |
| (d) <i>is goed</i> | ‘is good / is fine’ |
| (e) <i>anders geweest</i> | ‘[have/has] been different’ |

hence word-internally (a, b), in compound words (c), and across word boundaries (d, e). The examples also show that it occurs at least after schwa, /ɑ/, /ɪ/ and /ɪ/ and before a velar fricative followed by /a/, /ɔ/, /u/ and schwa. In fact, s-palatalisation before a velar fricative occurs following any vowel (whether high, mid or low, front or back, rounded or unrounded) or consonant and preceding any vowel or consonant (the liquid /r/ is the only consonant which is phonotactically allowed following initial sx/).

Over 1400 instances of /sx/ or /sy/ in the interactional speech of 34 speakers have been transcribed and coded. For each occurrence the amount of s-palatalization was implemented dynamically on the basis of Centre of Gravity measurements (conducted with Praat). The resulting measure served as the dependent variable in Linear Mixed Effects Regression analyses (LMER), which brought to light the effects of four social and three internal independent variables as well as their various interactions.

The findings from the analyses help address questions of three different types: 1/ to which extent is the variability rooted in substrates, in processes of L2 acquisition of the first generations of migrants, and in surrounding endogenous non-standard varieties? 2/ What is the place of ethnolectal variation in the verbal repertoires of the speakers? Has it acquired a stylistic role? 3/ Does the usage of ethnolectal features flag non-nativeness? Do the features cross over to other groups?

Allophonic variation and social meaning in multiethnic urban vernaculars of French

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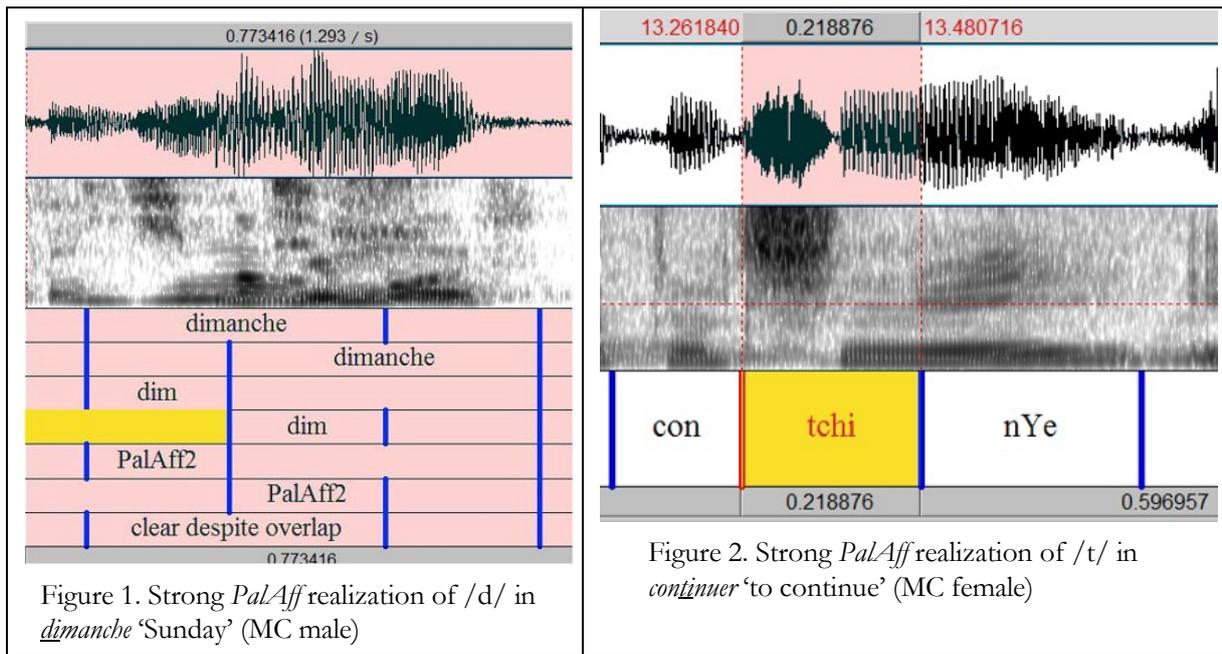
Multiethnolects are thought to emerge in socio-economically marked contact settings from linguistically diverse input varieties, whose features and forms are frequently encountered and freely recombined for the purposes of informal spontaneous talk between peers (Cheshire et al. 2011). The pragmatically relevant aspects of such spontaneous interactions, however, have been difficult to identify. The linguistic and interactional triggers of creative recombination and innovative use of linguistic features, “peer-group markers of a new generation of locally born speakers” (Wiese 2022) can be ephemeral and tied to interactional constraints that require a thorough analysis of speaker roles and intent in interaction (Kern & Selting 2011; Fagyal & Stewart 2011). For these reasons, urban contact vernaculars that emerged in the wake of post-colonial labor migrations in many national languages in Western Europe are probably best characterized as vernacular speech styles rather than bone fide dialects or varieties (Rampton 2015).

In the French context, multiple characteristics of contemporary urban vernaculars have been linked to the expressive use of phonetic features and lexical forms in peer-group interactions (Gadet & Hambye 2014). In this paper, I revisit the hypothesis that speaker stance and pragmatic factors, such as salience and centering of information, can trigger marked allophonic variations, notably more palatalization and affrication (PalAff) of alveolar stops /t/ and /d/ before high vowels (e.g., *petit* ‘little’ [pətʃi], *tu* ‘you’ [tʃy] and *dix* ‘ten’ [dʒis], *dûr* ‘hard/tough’ [dzyʁ]). This type of allophonic variation has been stereotypically associated with multiethnic speech styles in French (Jamin et al. 2006; Candea et al. 2013; Pélissier & Ferragne 2022).

Speech samples were extracted from the open-access Multicultural Paris French (MPF) corpus (Gardner-Chloros et al. 2014), a repository of unconstrained conversations between 34 male and female teens between 13 and 17 years of age, roughly evenly split into two groups according to their reported cultural background: second- and third-generation immigrant origins or ‘multicultural’ (MC) and no immigrant origins or ‘Franco- dominant’ (FD). Over eight thousand voiceless alveolar stops (/t/) and about six thousand voiced alveolar stops (/d/) before high vowels were perceptually coded and ten percent in each category also acoustically analyzed for degree of PalAff: (a) strong, (b) weak, or (c) none, using spectrograms. In addition to type of consonant, following vowel, and prosodic position (word-initial or word-medial), each word containing alveolar stops was also tagged for their (a) turn-initial, (b) turn-medial, and (c) turn-final positions in each speaker’s turn during the conversation.

Results showed that affricated voiceless palato-alveolars (/t/) were the most frequent in both MC male and MC female adolescents’ speech, but males were leading female adolescents in the number of strongest PalAff realizations of this consonant. There was a gender split in all PalAff realizations of the voiced affricated palato-alveolar /d/: regardless of their cultural backgrounds, female adolescents across the board (FD and MC) used fewer PalAff than their male peers. While PalAff of voiceless alveolars in word-initial position was more frequent across the board (Figure 1), when PalAff occurred word- medially, it tended to be particularly strong and salient (Figure 2). PalAff realizations were the most frequent in turn-initial positions, especially in the context of a direct address in *tu* (informal ‘you’).

Although the only statistically significant factors were type of consonant and prosodic position, salience within turns, especially in direct addresses to the hearer, also tended to correlate with the presence of PalAff. Thus, it appears that more direct communicative speaker styles (Vernet & Trimaille 2007) could indeed account for some of the social-interactional meaning conveyed by this allophonic variation in multiethnic urban vernaculars of French.



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Phonetic change processes in Multicultural London English

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We can observe several phonetic change processes in London and south-east England and many of them can be observed in Multicultural London English as well, but not all: inner London is diverging from the rest of the south-east for a number of features. MLE is a variety of English spoken in inner-city areas of London with a high proportion of immigrants. These areas have a high degree of ethnic diversity and high levels of dialect and language contact. The MLE speakers mostly have different minority ethnic backgrounds and are of recent immigrant descent with less than 1-2 generations' history in the city (non-Anglo speakers). Some speakers have an Anglo background with longer settlement history in the area, but most are male teenagers who are members of dense multicultural friendship groups. Children start acquiring MLE features at a young age, and have a full set of features in teenage years either as a process of incrementation or alternatively that teenagers are faster at picking up innovations than the younger children. We have documented effects of ethnicity and type of friendship network on the production of phonological, morpho-syntactic and discourse features. For the phonological features, we find innovation, levelling, second language and dialect contact processes, and have argued for the existence of a feature pool from which speakers select variants. In this presentation we will focus on the innovative features.

There are effects of speakers' ethnicity on vowel qualities leading to vowel change and several vowels are involved in chain shifts. Two shifts can be observed. One is a diphthong shift reversal where onsets are raised (FACE, GOAT), fronted (PRICE) or backed (MOUTH) compared to the traditional shifted diphthong qualities in London English. Some speakers have near-monophthongal qualities for diphthongs. There is also extreme fronting of GOOSE compared to the qualities found in the rest of the south-east. The second shift is an anti-clockwise chain shift involving the short vowels: lowering of the front vowels KIT and DRESS, backing of TRAP and backing/raising of STRUT. This process is found also in the rest of the south-east, but MLE is ahead.

Vowel change processes also have an effect on speech rhythm which is found in other contact varieties of English such as Singapore English and AAVE as well. We find lengthening of schwa and monophthongisation of the FACE and GOAT vowels. The monophthongal diphthongs have shorter normalised duration than the shifted diphthong qualities. The levelling of vowel duration in turn leads to the impression of a more syllable-timed speech rhythm.

Effects of ethnicity are also observed for voice quality. We find a lower fundamental frequency among the inner-city male speakers than the speakers in the outer city and the inner-city speakers were also less creaky than the male speakers in the outer city. Female speakers in the inner city also have less creaky voice than the female speakers in the outer city. MLE can therefore be characterised by having a more breathy voice quality.

We have also analysed consonant features. While traditional London English has a high degree of /h/ dropping, there is reinstatement of /h/ among young speakers with no large differences between speakers in terms of age and ethnicity. This might be an influence of Standard English and L2 learning: the non-Anglo caregivers had much less /h/ dropping than the Anglo caregivers. There is also backing of /k/ in front of non-high vowels which has not been observed outside of inner London. The non-Anglo teenagers have the most backed variant [q]. There was an increase in the use of [q] with increased age.

In conclusion, there is linguistic innovation in inner London and divergence from the rest of south-east English for some vowel qualities, speech rhythm, voice quality and K-backing, but also participation in some of the changes in the greater area. We have argued that the high degree of ethnic diversity and contact in inner London are reasons for the changes there.

“A potato who tries to imitate an immigrant, languagewise” – Prosody and indexicality in the Copenhagen multiethnolect

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Prosody has been the focus in descriptions of the Copenhagen multiethnolect ever since it was first described in Quist (2001). Phrao & Hansen (2005 and 2010) provide a quantitative analysis of the acoustic correlates of what was described as a staccato-like rhythm peculiar to the Copenhagen multiethnolect. Here it was shown that the main difference consisted of a shortening of phonologically long vowels. However, observations on local and global pitch contours were also reported in Phrao & Hansen (2005), specifically a difference in the tonal pattern associated with stressed syllables and a tendency for a comparatively level global pitch contour throughout declarative utterances followed by a steep fall at the end. Local pitch contours already serve as an important cue for regional varieties (Kristiansen, Phrao & Maegaard 2013, Tøndering & Phrao 2020) whereas final juncture such as that exhibited by the final fall in pitch in the Copenhagen multiethnolect is completely missing in most varieties of Danish.

This study seeks to provide quantitatively solid acoustic descriptions of the tonal phenomena described above. Specifically:

1. Is there a tonal stress group pattern that is specific to the multiethnolect?
2. Is the global intonation contour different in the multiethnolect? and
3. Does the intonation contour show signs of final juncture?

The data comes from the same corpus of recordings of specifically designed map tasks used in Phrao & Hansen (2005). 24 adolescent speakers from two different schools in Copenhagen participated in pairs. 6 of the pairs consisted of speakers who self-reported to use the multiethnolect in their everyday life with friends, the other 6 pairs consisted of majority ethnic speakers from the same schools who reported awareness of the multiethnolect register, but claimed not to use it themselves. The members of the pairs knew each other well. They were recorded using individual unidirectional microphones in sound attenuated rooms. The map task required participants to guide each other around two separate maps containing place names that were designed to control for known micro-prosodic effects. Specifically, for 12 of the place names, the vowel in the stressed syllable and the immediately following post tonic syllable are of the same vowel height, thereby controlling for intrinsic differences in fundamental frequency between vowels. Since the place names are used several times by each speaker in a spontaneous conversation, these recordings provide controlled data for measurements from spontaneous speech. This makes it easier to compare the results to data from previous investigations of regional variation in tonal stress group patterns (Grønnum 1992). This study will give the results of measurements of the variation in fundamental frequency associated with the local stress group domain and the global intonation contour associated with declarative utterances in the corpus. Preliminary results indicate that while there are consistent differences between the tonal stress group patterns in the two groups of speakers, the particularly striking feature for the multiethnolect is that the contour seems to be much more variable here than in the register used by majority ethnic age matched peers.

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The social and stylistic variation of rhythm in Stockholm Swedish

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This study's main finding is that rhythm is socially stratified and stylistically sensitive for the speech of men in Stockholm. Male speakers from the racialized working class have 'staccato' rhythm in casual speech and style-shift into less 'staccato' forms in more formal styles. This is more-so the case for younger than older speakers, which I interpret to mean that the 'staccato' feature is gaining social salience.

An epicentre of intense late-modern stratification, Stockholm is home to Europe's 'first' multiethnolect. (*Rinkeby Swedish*, Kotsinas 1988). The variety is often described as 'staccato', but speech rhythm has never been examined in casual-speech production or in the context of style-shifting. Therefore, questions persist. Does rhythm stratify socially in the vernacular? If so, is it also stylistically sensitive, reaching *marker* status (Labov 2001)?

Thirty-six male Stockholmers, ages 24–43, participated in the study. All were either born in Sweden or arrived before six years of age. Seventeen self-identify as *svenske* (white) and 19 as *invandrare* (non-white) in the city's racialized binary system (henceforth *race*, explored in the talk). They hail from a stratified sample of social classes, with class being measured by means of a six-factor index. I elicited three speech styles: CASUAL, READING, and reading like a radio announcer (RADIO) in order to capture a formality cline.

The recordings were transcribed and phonetically time-aligned. Rhythm was operationalized by extracting [*duration* · *mean dB* · *mean F₀*] from each vowel and calculating the *normalized pairwise variability index of vowels* (nPVI_V, Low, Grabe, & Nolan 2000), resulting in a total of 43 012 intervocalic contrastive units (between 295 and 1517 per speaker per style).

For CASUAL speech, the results show an interaction between race and class that renders a three-way stratification: (1) lower-class *invandrare* speakers have low rhythmic alternation (more 'staccato'); (2) lower-class *svenske* speakers have high rhythmic alternation (less 'staccato'); (3) higher-class speakers, regardless of *invandrare* or *svenske* identification, have an intermediate rhythmic alternation.

For READING and RADIO speech, the class and race stratification is no longer significant. Whereas higher-class speakers show little to no style-shifting, working-class speakers are "doing all the work". Lower-class *svenske* speakers reduce their rhythmic alternation, seeming to target the intermediate rhythmic pattern of elites. Lower-class *invandrare* speakers increase their rhythmic alternation, also targeting the intermediate rhythmic pattern of elites.

Interestingly, older lower-class *invandrare* speakers style-shift less than younger *invandrare* speakers, which I interpret as change in apparent time: staccato rhythm – once but no longer an incipient feature – is moving from *indicator* to *marker* (Labov 2001) as it becomes more and more saliently associated with Stockholm's racialized underclass.

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Suprasegmental features of multiethnolectal Zurich German

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Along with typical segmental features, the sounds of European multiethnolects also display some particularities in the prosodic domain. For instance, different multiethnolectal varieties in Europe have been described as having a so-called ‘staccato’ rhythm (e.g., Marzo 2016 for Flemish, Svendsen & Røyndland 2008 for Norwegian, Young 2019 for Swedish, Quist 2008 for Danish). A similar claim has been made for multiethnolectal Zurich German (Tissot, Schmid & Galliker 2011); also, it was hypothesized that multiethnolectal speakers of Zurich German have a rather slow articulation rate (Schmid 2013). A third feature of multiethnolectal Zurich German lies at the crossroads between the segmental and the suprasegmental domain: apparently, these speakers tend to avoid the typical Sandhi processes of the traditional Zurich dialect, whereby consonants at word boundaries are assimilated (Fleischer & Schmid 2006), and it might well be that such lacking assimilations contribute to the impression of the ‘staccato rhythm’ as well (Schmid 2011).

In order to empirically verify these hypotheses, 48 adolescents (28 females; mean age = 14.3 years, $SD = 0.7$) were recorded at two different schools in the city of Zurich; speakers produced both read and spontaneous speech. Additionally, short speech samples from spontaneous speech uttered by the same speakers were rated by 40 adolescents from another school (25 females; mean age = 14.8 years). The listeners rated their potential peers’ speech on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from ‘not at all’ to ‘completely’ multiethnolectal Zurich German. Mean rating scores for the individual speakers (calculated from the 40 raters) ranged from 1.45 up to 6.1 (mean = 3.78, $SD = 1.26$).

For the acoustic analysis of the temporal properties in multiethnolectal Zurich German, we calculated articulation rate (syllables per second) as well as various rhythmic metrics (such as %V, ΔC , ΔV ; varcoC, varcoV; nPVI-C, nPVI-V) in both read and spontaneous speech. Sandhi phenomena were investigated in a carefully designed corpus of read speech, containing potential places of assimilation between word-final <d> and word-initial obstruents. 1040 read sentences were classified auditorily according to the presence or absence of assimilation.

The results show several correlations between suprasegmental features and perceived multiethnolectality. Regarding tempo, speakers who were perceived as more traditional generally spoke faster, whereas speakers rated as more multiethnolectal displayed both fast and slow articulation rates. As for rhythm, various statistical analyses showed that perceived multiethnolectality was related to the durational variability of vocalic intervals, but not of consonantal intervals. Arguably, the auditory impression of a ‘staccato rhythm’ might derive from a reduced durational difference between short and long vowels in stressed syllables (vowel quantity is phonemic in Zurich German) or from a smaller reduction of vowel duration in unstressed syllables. In any case, reduced variability of vowel durations seems to be a rather stable feature in multiethnolectal speakers, as its relationship to the rating scores was observed for both read and spontaneous speech; from a sociophonetic point of view, this rhythmic property might act as an ‘indicator’ rather than as a ‘marker’ (in the sense of Labov 2001). Finally, also for the typical Sandhi phenomena of Zurich German, a clear relationship was found between the rating scores and the percentage of realised assimilations (min = 8.3%, max = 69.6%, mean = 32.9%, $SD = 13.7$): the higher the perceived multiethnolectality of a speaker, the lower the probability that they will apply assimilation processes across word boundaries, as appears from the significant negative correlation between ratings scores and sandhi realisations ($r = -.40$, $p = .005$). All in all, we conclude that suprasegmental features seem to be as important as segmental features in shaping the sound(s) of multiethnolectal Zurich German.

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