

# **Damsko and Agga: Multicultural Toponymic Nicknames in The Netherlands**

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## **1. Introduction**

In The Netherlands, as in Belgium and some other West-European countries,<sup>1</sup> a multicultural youth slang has emerged since the end of C 20.<sup>2</sup> In the Netherlands, this slang is generally known as *Straattaal* ('Street Language'). Its elements are a mixture of Dutch, English, Sranan,<sup>3</sup> Turkish, Moroccan Arabic, Berber, and Papiamento.<sup>4</sup> *Straattaal* is used by young immigrants and immigrants' children, and by autochthonous youths.<sup>5</sup> Rappers are a prominent user group. *Straattaal* may vary depending on the city or region.<sup>6</sup>

Apart from common nouns, *Straattaal* comprises tens of toponymic nicknames – nicknames for towns, streets, buildings, etc. Most of these are macrotoponyms (e.g. for cities and towns): *Damsko*, for example, is Amsterdam, *Agga* is The Hague. Microtoponyms denote, for example, streets and railway stations.

## **2. Method**

A collection of street language toponyms has been drawn up mainly from the *Straattaal lexicon* ('Street language lexicon'), an internet Street Language dictionary, which has been compiled for its part by *Straattaal* speakers. Some lemmas have been supplied with quotations: for example, the rap song text "Geef geen moer om wie je bent, want ik kom uit Damsko" ('I don't care who you are, because I'm from Damsko'). The collection contains, however, a few names which existed in the same form, with the same meaning before *Straattaal* evolved. One example of this is the vernacular nickname *Rotjeknor* (or, less frequently, *Rotjeknar* 'Rotterdam').<sup>7</sup> In this respect it is hard to understand why NORTIER 2001 mentions *Utreġ* (dialectal pronunciation of *Utrecht*, a city) as a Dutch *Straattaal* element. Such pre-existing names have been left aside in this study.

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<sup>1</sup> In Germany: Kiezdeutsch; in Sweden: Rinkeby-svenska; in Norway: Kebab-Norsk; in France: Verlan.

<sup>2</sup> The terminus post quem for the rise of *Straattaal* can be assessed relatively precisely: Hoppenbrouwers 1991, a publication about youth language, does not mention any lexemes which originate from non-Western immigrant languages (cf. APPEL & SCHOONEN 2005: 87).

<sup>3</sup> Sranan is the creole language spoken in the former Dutch colony Surinam; when it became independent in 1985 many of its inhabitants settled in the Netherlands.

<sup>4</sup> Papiamento is the Portuguese and Spanish-based creole spoken in the Dutch Antilles

<sup>5</sup> APPEL & SCHOONEN 2005.

<sup>6</sup> NORTIER 2001. APPEL & SCHOONEN 2005: 112.

<sup>7</sup> First attested in RN 23-03-1927. According to APPEL 1999: 143, young people often do not know what are authentic *Straattaal* words and what belongs to the general vocabulary (non-standard register).

Area codes used as nicknames - for example, *020* (Amsterdam) and *020* (Rotterdam) – are a doubtful case. This category of nicknames appears to date back to as early as 1968<sup>8</sup>, although the names only became popular in the course of the 1990s. Problematical with respect to this category of names is also that it was evidently not young immigrants who started this way of naming. Moreover, this way of naming spread over many other population groups; the names concerned often lost their nickname character, being self-attributed; and they were also deemed acceptable in non-informal speech. In small ads, for example, it is not uncommon to find a phrase like “woont in omg. 038” (‘lives in the vicinity of 038’). Since about the middle of the 1990s, area codes have become especially popular among football fans.<sup>9</sup> For these reasons, area-code names have been left aside, too.

Most Straattaal toponyms permit a satisfying or at least more or less plausible etymology. A small minority does not.<sup>10</sup> A major complication might be here that Straattaal, as a mixed language, is influenced by a phenomenon Smith suggests in his work about pidgins and creoles: “some words [are] constructed or deformed deliberately”.<sup>11</sup>

### 3. Results

#### 3.1 General

133 geographical features (cities, towns, neighborhoods, provinces, stations, streets and an airport) bear one or more Straattaal nicknames. The number of nicknames is 214, if we leave spelling variants aside (see below).

Many locations thus bear more than just one Straattaal nickname. This phenomenon is also known in some traditional nicknames. For example: The Hague is nicknamed *de Hofstad* (‘the Court-city’) as well as *de Residentie* (‘the Residence’), both being allusions to the presence of the Dutch monarch. In Straattaal, however, four (or even more) nicknames for one feature is not exceptional. The record-holder is Rotterdam, with at least 8 different multicultural nicknames: *The Docks*, *Porfot(t)o* (plus variants *Profotto* and *Porifoto*), *Fot*, *P-tje*, *Roffa*, *Roffadam*, *Rot(t)o* and *Rocca*.

Multicultural nicknames like these differ from traditional Dutch toponymic nicknames like *Amstelstad* (‘city on the River Amstel’, i.e. Amsterdam) in, among other things, hardly ever being independent from their official counterparts. Instead, they mostly parasitize on, or maybe one should say, allude to

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<sup>8</sup> Picarta mentions (1) a periodical for librarians, published from 1968 until 1986 in the city of Deventer, which bore (for a reason I do not know) the name *Nul20*; and (2) a Rotterdam-based publishing company, founded in 1983, bearing the name *010 Publishers*. A terminus post quem is probably the 1950s. In 1952, Amsterdam and Rotterdam were attributed the area numbers 020 and 010.

<sup>9</sup> It has been suggested that fans employed area codes as taboo names rather than nicknames; see <http://www.trefpunctcafe.nl/>

<sup>10</sup> Examples: *Ax Coast* (Bijlmermeer), *Hwizzle* (Harderwijk), *Pur2* (Purmerend), *Zuidwi* (Zuidland), *Soetaars* (Zoetermeer).

<sup>11</sup> SMITH 1995: 332. NORTIER (2001: 22ff), who examined Murks, a language spoken by autochthon youths who imitate the poor pronunciation and word choice of Dutch-speaking Moroccan and Turkish youngsters, signals a craving in Murks speakers for making intentional mistakes, in (Dutch) pronunciation as well as in grammar. Van den BRAAK (2002: 4) found that English slang, however, is adopted unchanged.

the official names, or an existing nickname.<sup>12</sup> For example, many of them refer to orthographic features (like *D-Town*, for Dordrecht), or have been translated into English (*Eastwood*, for Oosterhout), or are would-be translations with rhyming elements (*Chillburg*, for the city of Tilburg; the verb *chillen* means ‘to relax’), or employ a pun by ‘interpreting’ the orthography of a Dutch name as though it were English (*Hole-10*, for *Holten*; in Dutch, 10 would be written *tien*).

Only a few nicknames are independent fabrications. One such nickname is *Mocrostad* (‘Moroccans’ city’, a nickname for Kanalenvijk, a Utrecht city quarter). Another is *Utopia City* (Oisterwijk), probably with an ironic undertone. *Roddel City* (‘gossip city’) is Zwolle, the city which is also referred to as *Verre Oosten* (‘Far East’, because of its position in the eastern part of the country). *Triple X* (Amsterdam) refers to the city arms (three crosses). *HillyWood* is Hilversum, the Dutch ‘capital’ of radio and tv (not film, incidentally). The abbreviation *MSGH* refers to the official toponym *MaasSluis* plus the epitheton *GekkenHuis* (‘mad house’).

Several nicknames for one given feature differ only slightly from each other. In some cases it is obvious that the difference is purely orthographical (example: *Damsko* and *Damsco*). In some other cases the question rises as to whether such near-identical written forms reflect only orthographic differences, or reflect pronunciation differences as well. Pronunciation difference seems obvious in a case like *Rijza* /rɛiza/ (= Rijswijk) and *Rissa* /rɪsa/ (= Risdam), the former showing a diphthong in contrast to the latter. Less clear are cases like the Rotterdam nicknames *Porfoto* and *Porfotto* (with /o/ and /ɔ/ respectively). They have been given the benefit of the doubt, and are classified as orthographic variants. The same applies to *Agga/Aggah* (The Hague): in Dutch, *h* as a final letter is not pronounced. It is, however, conceivable that some non-western immigrant youths do pronounce – and write – final *h* because their mother tongue allows for it.<sup>13</sup>

Straattaal is to a high degree an orally used language; writing plays only a minor role.<sup>14</sup> Phonemes are sometimes spelled in different ways; sometimes spelling does not obey Dutch rules. This can be demonstrated by means of *Utkā*, nickname for Utrecht. In Dutch, the initial vowel of *Utrecht* is supposed to be pronounced /y/, whereas it is pronounced in Straattaal as /u/, viewing the fact that the rap lyrics *Bedek je nek* (‘cover your neck’), sung by the Stropstrikkers, contain the spelling *Oetka*. The text says: “Waarom doen mense alsof ze Oetka zijn vergeten” (‘Why do people pretend they have forgotten Oetka’). Another spelling, *Outka*, demonstrates that Dutch orthography has been off-side: immigrant youths (probably from North Africa) familiar with French orthography rendered the /u/ sound they heard from other Straattaal speakers by *ou*.

Even non-immigrants, like the hip-hop artist Kytelman (artist name of Colin Benders, born in Utrecht) sometimes use non-Dutch spellings for Straattaal toponyms. In the nickname *U-town*, the anlaut is pronounced /ju/, as the song *U-Town University* by this artist proves.

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<sup>12</sup> For example, *Keycity* is a translation of *Sleutelstad* (Leiden; an allusion to the city arms, consisting of two keys).

<sup>13</sup> Some doubt is also justified in the following cases: *Breetje-dizzle/Breedjedizza* (Breda); *Eindjuh Gramma/Eindje Gremma* (Eindhoven; the doubt concerns the vowels in Gramma/Gremma).

<sup>14</sup> CORNIPS 2005: 131.

APPEL & SCHOONEN 2005 have observed that Straattaal speakers indulge in language play.<sup>15</sup> This phenomenon is also widespread in Straattaal toponymy. (1) Wordplay can be seen in *Chillburg* (Tilburg; *to chill* = to relax); *Kilburg* (Tilburg; *kil* is Sranan for ‘guy, fellow’); *Sicago* (Schagen) probably alludes to Chicago; *Lunatick* (Lunetten; possibly based on the shorter form *Luna*; see table 3). (2) An anagram can – more or less - be seen in *Mijn neger* (Nijmegen; *mijn neger* = my negro). (3) Name translations into English, or anglizations, are manifold. A few examples: *Hausah* (Huizen, ‘houses’); *Duke Town* (‘s-Hertogenbosch; hertog = duke); *East Sean* (Oostzaan); *City Field* (Stadsveld); *Sweet Lake* (Zoetermeer; *zoet* = sweet, *meer* = lake). (4) Partial translations are also common, like *Domtown* and *Domville* (Utrecht; an allusion to the local *dom* ‘cathedral’), and *D-town* (Dordrecht). A special subcategory comprises names of which the endings *-broek* (‘swamp’) or *-bridge* (‘brug’) have been replaced by *Bronx*, the name of the New York City quarter which is a breeding ground of hip-hop culture; namely *Glanerbronx* (Glanerbrug), *Holtebronx* (Holterbroek), *Ski Bronx* (Schiebroek) and *Velser Bronx* (Velsbroek). (5) English orthographic representation of Dutch names, or part of them, alluding to English words, often occurs, as in *Hanglow* (Hengelo); *Hole-ten* (Holten). (6) Finally, there is an inversion: *Raamkla 072* (Alkmaar; 072 indicates the telephone area).

As observed above, Straattaal varies greatly, depending on the city or region. Does this regional variation manifest itself also in Straattaal toponymy? One indication might be that many official names correspond to a surprisingly large number of Straattaal nicknames (133 official names, 214 Straattaal names). This might point to regional difference. For example, the eight nicknames for Rotterdam alone might correspond to different speaker locations. The *Straattaalwoordenboek* does not enable us, however, to trace which speakers use which variants. Further investigation will therefore be necessary to throw light on this question.

## 1.2 Donor languages

### 1.2.1 Sranan

According to APPEL & SCHOONEN, Sranan has contributed most of the words of the Straattaal lexicon in general.<sup>16</sup> Out of 151 words (types), 80 originate from Sranan.

The question is whether this also applies to Straattaal toponyms – a part of the lexicon not as such examined by the authors. The answer is somewhat problematic because no systematic inquiries have been made into this subject, and Sranan dictionaries provide relatively little information about toponyms. Nevertheless, an attempt will be made to inventarize Straattaal toponyms with a (possible) Sranan background. First, we can state that 20 nicknames have been documented as Sranan names; see table 1.

Table 1. *Nicknames documented from Sranan*

<i>Straattaal nickname</i>	<i>Official name</i>	<i>Comment</i>

<sup>15</sup> APPEL & SCHOONEN 2005: 89.

<sup>16</sup> APPEL & SCHOONEN 2005: 90

<i>Agga(h)</i>	The Hague	DANIËLS 2004: 97 (Agga). SNIJDERS 1997: 21 spells <i>Aga</i> .
<i>Alli</i>	Almere	DANIËLS 2004: 97. See also <a href="http://www.kennislink.nl">www.kennislink.nl</a>
<i>Arni</i>	Arnhem	DANIËLS 2004: 97.
<i>Damsko</i>	Amsterdam	DANIËLS 2004: 97. WILNER et al. 1994: 21 call this name “wakamantaal” (‘language used by [Surinam] street urchins and tramps’).
<i>Fot(o)</i>	Rotterdam	<i>Fot</i> or <i>foto</i> means ‘city. Derived from Dutch <i>fort</i> (referring to the fort near Paramaribo)
<i>Gronchi, Grontjie, Grotjie</i>	Groningen	See <a href="http://www.kennislink.nl">www.kennislink.nl</a> DANIËLS 2004: 97 spells <i>Grotjie</i> .
<i>Haga, die</i>	The Hague	SNIJDERS 1997: 21 mentions <i>Haga</i> (without <i>die</i> )
<i>Killagom</i>	Hillegom	According to NORTIER 2001: 87 from Sranan. Not mentioned, however, in SNIJDERS 1997. <i>Kill</i> means ‘boy, fellow’.
<i>Kil(l)burg</i>	Tilburg	DANIËLS 2004: 97. See <a href="http://www.kennislink.nl">www.kennislink.nl</a>
<i>Limborgu</i> <sup>17</sup>	Limburg	
<i>Masterdam</i>	Amsterdam	DANIËLS 2004: 97.
<i>Masterfoort</i>	Amersfoort	Master = champion <sup>18</sup>
<i>Mocrostad</i>	Kanaleneiland	Mentioned in BLANKER & DUBBELDAM 2005.
<i>Porfot(t)o, Porifoto</i>	Rotterdam	<i>Por</i> (or <i>por-pori</i> ) is a literal translation of Dutch <i>rot</i> ‘rotten’; for <i>fot(to)</i> see above.
<i>Rocca</i>	Rotterdam	DANIËLS 2004: 97. Cf. Van LIER 2005:16
<i>Roffa</i>	Rotterdam	Cf. Van LIER 2005:16
<i>Roffadam</i>	Rotterdam	DANIËLS 2004: 97.
<i>Rot(t)o</i>	Rotterdam	DANIËLS 2004: 97. Cf. Van LIER 2005:16
<i>Spikrie</i>	Spijkenisse	DANIËLS 2004: 97 spells <i>Spiekerie</i> .

<sup>17</sup> I thank William Man A Hing for bringing this name to my attention.

<sup>18</sup> SNIJDERS 1997: 105.

		Cf. CORNIPS 2005: 137.
<i>Utka</i>	Utrecht	Cf. SNIJDERS 1997.
<i>Soetka, Zoetka</i>	Zoetermeer	see <a href="http://www.kennislink.nl">www.kennislink.nl</a>

Secondly, 7 toponyms can probably be ascribed to Sranan origins or influences: namely, toponyms ending in the suffixes *-sko* and *-ka* (and orthographic variants); their formation seems to be based on *Damsko* and *Utka*; see table 2.

Table 2. *Nicknames with Sranan suffixes*

<i>Straattaal nickname</i>	<i>Official name</i>	<i>Comment</i>
Arnomsko	Arnhem	
Eindsko	Eindhoven	DANIËLS 2004: 97.
Ensko	Enschede	
Stakka (?)	Stadskanaal	This name might also be analyzed as a syllable word ( <b>Stadskanaal</b> )
Stokka	Stokhasselt	
Tikoe	Tilburg	DANIËLS 2004: 97. See <a href="http://www.kennislink.nl">www.kennislink.nl</a>
Woudskoe	Hoogwoud	

One toponym is a mixture of Sranan, Dutch and English, namely *Damsko NRD-Side* ('Amsterdam-Noord'; *Noord* = north).

Finally, 45 toponyms can be identified as Sranan on the basis of certain phonological characteristics (see table 3). Firstly, Straattaal /s/ instead of Dutch /z/ may point to Sranan influence.<sup>19</sup> Secondly, the same applies to Straattaal /f/ instead of Dutch /v/.<sup>20</sup> Thirdly, the phonemes /l/ and /r/ are interchangeable, as in Chinese.<sup>21</sup> Fourthly, official Dutch names being abbreviated and supplemented with a final vowel.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> CORNIPS 2005:132. The reverse phenomenon, however, also occurs: Straattaal /s/ is sometimes found in cases in which Dutch has /z/: *Rijza* (Rijswijk), *Rizzy* (Risdam), *Vlizzzville* (Vlissingen).

<sup>20</sup> CORNIPS 2005:132.

<sup>21</sup> CORNIPS 2005: 132.

<sup>22</sup> Van LIER 2005:16.

Table 3: *Straattaal nicknames containing phonological Sranan characteristics*

<i>Straattaal nickname</i>	<i>Official name</i>	<i>Comment</i>
<i>Alkie</i>	Alkmaar	
<i>Alma</i>	Almere	
<i>Ba2</i>	Badhoevedorp	Phonological evolution: /batuvədɔrp/ > /batu/
<i>Beveri</i>	Beverwaard	
<i>Bimre</i>	Bijlmer	DANIËLS 2004: 97. Supposed metathesis: <i>lm</i> or <i>rm</i> > <i>ml</i> or <i>mr</i> . /l/ replaced by /r/
<i>Delli</i>	Den Helder	Supposed phonological evolution: Den Helder > Delder > Delli
<i>Devoe</i>	Delft	
<i>Diffi</i>	Delft	
<i>Doevoes</i>	[Railway station] Duiwendrecht	
<i>Dorra</i>	Dordrecht	
<i>Enky</i>	Enkhuizen	
<i>Geina</i>	Nieuwegein	
<i>Halla</i>	Halsteren	
<i>Hausah</i>	Huizen	
<i>Hesanti</i>	Hoogezand	
<i>Hilly</i>	Hilversum	
<i>Horna</i>	Hoorn	
<i>Kers(e)y</i>	Kersenboogerd	
<i>Krala</i>	Kralingen	
<i>Landsi</i>	Landsmeer	
<i>Lidorro</i>	Leiderdorp	
<i>Luna</i>	Lunetten	

<i>Massa</i>	Maastricht	
<i>Milla</i>	Millingen	
<i>Nimma</i>	Nijmegen	
<i>Ossy</i>	Osdorp	
<i>Purra</i>	Purmerend	
<i>Rijza</i>	Rijswijk	
<i>Rissa</i>	Rijswijk	
<i>Rizzy</i>	Risdam	
<i>Rosso</i>	Rozenburg	
<i>Siffa</i>	Scheveningen	
<i>Skevie</i>	Scheveningen	DANIËLS 2004: 97.
<i>Skiffie</i>	Scheveningen	DANIËLS 2004: 97 spells <i>Skiffy</i> .
<i>Skippa</i>	Schiphol	
<i>Skolla</i>	Schollevaar	
<i>S-land</i>	Zuidland	
<i>Soetaars</i>	Zoetermeer	
<i>Soetka</i>	Zoetermeer	DANIËLS 2004: 97. Curiously, <i>Zoetka</i> also exists.
<i>Steina</i>	IJsselstein	
<i>Swinko</i>	Zwijndrecht	
<i>Tilly</i>	Tilburg	
<i>Waggie</i>	Wageningen	
<i>Westside Rokka</i>	Western part of Rokkeveen	
<i>Zoeta</i>	Zoetermeer	

The conclusion is that at least 73 Straattaal toponyms out of the total of 215 names have (or probably have) (part of) their roots in Sranan. This means that Sranan ranks first. This result is in keeping with the above mentioned observation by APPEL & SCHOONEN 2005 concerning the Straattaal vocabulary as a whole. And it confirms the statement by KOOIJ & Van OOSTENDORP 2003 that Sranan is an excellent source of loanwords, because it has so many words which correspond to the 'ideal' word form: consisting of two syllables, with the accent on the first syllable, and ending in a



vowel.<sup>23</sup> APPEL & SCHOONEN 2005, however, mention another reason why Sranan ranks first. “Young people with a Surinamese background are often trendsetters with respect to clothing, shoes, music and other items of youth culture.”<sup>24</sup>

### 3.2.2. English

63 out of 215 names are either English as a whole (for example: *City-Field*, a translation of *Stadsveld*, the name of a city quarter in Enschede), or contain an English element (like *Oosterwood*, a partial translation of *Oosterhout*). The prominent position of English as a donor language is astonishing, considering that few immigrants have English as their mother tongue. The enormous influence of English is due to its role as the language of American popular culture, especially that of the black part of the American nation (see above, par. 3.1).

### 3.2.3. Surinamese Dutch

Considering that *Porfoto* must have been diminuated into *P-tje*, it seems probable that diminutive nicknames – an almost unknown phenomenon in Dutch standard language<sup>25</sup> - might point to a Surinamese Dutch origin.<sup>26</sup> This would yield 11 names; see table 4.

Table 4. *Straattaal toponyms of Surinamese Dutch origin*

<i>Straattaal nickname</i>	<i>Official name</i>
<i>Breedje-da</i>	Breda
<i>Breedjedizza</i>	Breda
<i>Breedjedizzie</i>	Breda
<i>Centje</i>	Centraal Station [central railway station Rotterdam]
<i>Eindje</i>	Eindhoven
<i>Eindje Gramma, Eindje Gremma</i>	Eindhoven
<i>Grootje</i>	Grote Waal
<i>P-tje</i>	Rotterdam
<i>Zaantje</i>	Zaandam

<sup>23</sup> KOUIJ & Van OOSTENDORP 2003: 80.

<sup>24</sup> APPEL & SCHOONEN 2005: 112.

<sup>25</sup> As far as I know, there is only one exception: *het Haagje* (The Hague).

<sup>26</sup> Sranan has no diminutive suffixes at all (cf. JOHNSON 2006; for this purpose, reduplication is used). Surinamese Dutch is the variant of Dutch spoken by Surinamese people, in Suriname as well as in the Netherlands.

<i>Zandje</i>	Zandvoort
<i>Zoetje</i>	Zoetermeer

3.2.4. A Papiamento root can be observed in two toponyms containing the element *loco* ('mad, crazy'), namely *Z-locos* (Zaandam) and *Emmeloco* (Emmeloord).<sup>27</sup> Names like this were probably originally meant as insulting nicknames, but are nowadays honorary nicknames. A Zaandam hip-hop group is called *Z-locos*. The amount of Antillians in Zaandam and its surroundings is higher than the national average.<sup>28</sup> Antillian roots, however, do not necessarily indicate speakers of Antillian origin. According to CORNIPS 2005, Surinam-speaking youths in Rotterdam use Papiamento words in their Dutch, having learnt them from classmates.<sup>29</sup> This might apply to other localities, too.

3.2.5. No traces can be found of Moroccan Arabic, Berber or Turkish influences on Straattaal toponymy, although the speaker groups concerned are large.

#### 4. Morphology

##### 4.1. Abbreviations

4.1.1. A popular category is polymorphemic names, which consist of the initial letter of the official name, plus the initial letter of one or more following syllables (sometimes also letters in the middle of a syllable), and sometimes the final letter, too. In one case, the word *city* has been added (see table 5).

Table 5. *Polymorphemic names consisting of the initial letter of the official name, plus the initial letter of one or more following syllables*

<i>Nickname</i>	<i>Official name</i>
<i>APD</i>	Apeldoorn
<i>BRL</i>	Brielle
<i>DB</i>	Den Bosch
<i>DTC</i>	Doetinchem
<i>EHV</i>	Eindhoven
<i>EL</i>	Etten-Leur

<sup>27</sup> Elsewhere too, the idea exists that some towns are 'mad' or crowded with 'mad' people. The town Maasluis is nicknamed *MSGH*, an acronym of *Maassluis Gekkenhuis* ('Maassluis madhouse').

<sup>28</sup> <http://www.bureaudiscriminatiezaken.nl/nieuws20121205.html>

<sup>29</sup> CORNIPS 2005: 135.

<i>GSN</i>	Goes-Noord
<i>GW</i>	Grote Waal
<i>HB</i>	Hoensbroek
<i>HGZ</i>	Hoogezand
<i>HHW</i>	Heerhugowaard
<i>HSK</i>	Heemskerk
<i>HZN</i>	Huizen
<i>KO</i>	Klarendal-Oost
<i>LKT</i>	Laakkwartier
<i>LWD</i>	Leeuwarden
<i>MBG</i>	Middelburg
<i>NMGN</i>	Nijmegen
<i>NRD</i>	Amsterdam-Noord
<i>OIA</i>	Oog in Al
<i>OVZ</i>	Overvecht-Zuid
<i>RSD</i>	Roosendaal
<i>SLD</i>	Sliedrecht
<i>SNG</i>	Schiedam-Noord-Groenord
<i>SVG-city</i>	Sas van Gent
<i>WBD</i>	Wijk bij Duurstede
<i>WW</i>	Waalwijk
<i>ZBG</i>	Zwanenburg
<i>ZPN</i>	Zutphen

4.1.2 Nicknames consisting of the full official name, followed by an English word, mostly *city* (see table 6).

Table 6.

<i>Nickname</i>	<i>Official name</i>	<i>Comment</i>
<i>Klundertshizzle</i>	Klundert	shizzle may mean 'sure' or 'shit'
<i>Veghel-city</i>	Veghel	
<i>Wageningen-city</i>	Wageningen	
<i>Zutphen-town</i>	Zutphen	

4.1.3. Initial syllable(s) of the official name, followed by the English words *town*, *city* and the like. Sometimes the English ending is based on wordplay (Puttershoed, Winscool). See table 7.

Table 7. *Initial syllable(s) of the official name, followed by an English word*

<i>Nickname</i>	<i>Official name</i>
<i>Apel-town</i>	Apeldoorn
<i>Puttercity</i>	Puttershoek
<i>Puttershoed</i>	Puttershoek
<i>Winscool</i>	Winschoten

4.1.4. Initial letter of the official name, followed by (mostly) the final syllable of the official name (see table 8).

Table 8.

<i>Nickname</i>	<i>Official name</i>
<i>C-borg</i>	Culemborg
<i>H-ste</i>	Heemstede
<i>J-dorp</i>	Julianadorp
<i>K-eiland</i>	Kaageiland
<i>M-berg</i>	Muiderberg
<i>R-wijk</i>	Rooswijk

4.1.5 Nicknames consisting of the initial letter of the official name, followed by the English words *town* or *city*, occur very frequently; see table 9.

Table 9.

<i>Nickname</i>	<i>Official name</i>
<i>B-town</i>	Boxtel
<i>C-town</i>	Callantsoog
<i>D-town</i>	Dordrecht
<i>E-town</i>	Eindhoven
<i>G-town</i>	Groningen
<i>H-city</i>	Heerenveen
<i>H-town</i>	Hoofddorp, as well as Hoorn
<i>L-town</i>	Lelystad
<i>M-town</i>	Maastricht
<i>P-town</i>	Purmerend
<i>S-town</i>	Sint-Annaparochie
<i>U-town</i>	Utrecht
<i>V-town</i>	Venray
<i>W-town</i>	Willemstad
<i>Z-city</i>	Zwolle, also Zoetermeer
<i>Z-town</i>	Zutphen

The fact that in two cases (*H-town* and *Z-city*) the official name ends in *-stad* ('town, city') should probably be regarded as coincidental, formations of this type obviously being extremely in vogue. The name-formation process has had the consequence that some towns share one and the same nickname. This may result in hostile utterances. One Straattaal-using inhabitant of Zwolle (*Z-city*) wrote on the internet: "Fuck, Zoetermeer [another *Z-city*, RR], *Z-city* is Zwolle." And he continues: "Kom niet met ons praten, want we zullen je [...] opjagen als de hond die je bent. Vermoorden iedereen wie je kent." [Don't come and talk to us, because we'll [...] chase you like the dog you are. Kill everyone you know.]"

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