A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY
OF THE USE OF ARABIC
AND FRENCH IN ALGIERS

Thesis Submitted to the University of EDINBURGH

by

Zahida Chebchoub, B.A.

in fulfilment of the requirements of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Linguistics
Edinburgh University

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DECLARATION

I, hereby, declare that this thesis is my original work and of my own execution and authorship.

Zahida Chebchoub.
ABSTRACT

This present work investigates the use of Arabic and French in the city of Algiers. It examines the bilinguals' usage of the languages and linguistic varieties these bilinguals have at their disposal.

This study takes an interdisciplinary approach to the phenomenon of Arabic/French bilingualism: it looks at the functional and structural aspects of Arabic and French as they are used in Algiers. On one hand, there is an analysis of the bilinguals' language selection in various situations as well as the language attitudes held by these bilinguals. On the other hand, the bilinguals' use of Arabic/French code mixing is studied by means of tape recordings of conversations. As far as Arabic is concerned, an account on the phonological and morphological structures of Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic is given.

In the first chapter, there is a general introduction to the language situation in Algiers: the status of both French and Arabic is presented, namely their use in the major domains of education and administration. In chapter two, an account on the methodology undertaken in the study is given. In chapter three, we look at the sociolinguistic patterns of language selection and language attitudes of the Arabic/French bilingual speakers of Algiers.
Linguistic questionnaires were used for the data collection. In chapter four, we investigate aspects of the impact of French on Algerian Arabic, including the use of words borrowed from French in Algerian Arabic. We also analyse some of the phonetic/phonological and syntactic constraints of French and Algerian Arabic code mixing. It is shown that there are specific rules governing the mixing of elements from both linguistic varieties.

The last chapter was reserved for the problem of diglossia in Arabic: we compare aspects of the phonological, morphological and syntactic structures of Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic.
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DECLARATION</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENTS</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANSCRIPTIONAL SYMBOLS USED IN THE THESIS</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER ONE: THE SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF ALGIERS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF ALGERIA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1.1 Algeria from the prehistoric period to the beginning of the first century A.D.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1.2 Algeria from the Roman conquest to the Byzantine one</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1.3 Algeria from the 7th century to the beginning of the 19th century</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1.4 Algeria from 1830 to 1962</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 LANGUAGES USED IN ALGIERS</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.1 Arabic in Algiers</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.2 French in Algiers</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 LANGUAGE SITUATION IN ALGIERS FROM 1830 TO 1962</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 LANGUAGE SITUATION AFTER 1962</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5 LANGUAGE POLICY IN EDUCATION</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5.1 The primary school</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5.2 The middle school</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5.3 The secondary school (lycée)</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5.4 Higher education</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5.5 Conclusions</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6 LANGUAGE POLICY IN THE ADMINISTRATION</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6.1 Language Policy in the administration of the educational institutions</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6.2</td>
<td>Language policy in the ministries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6.3</td>
<td>Language policy in the post-office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6.4</td>
<td>Language policy in the registrars' offices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>LANGUAGE POLICY IN THE HEALTH SERVICE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>LANGUAGE SITUATION IN HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>LANGUAGE POLICY CONCERNING ROAD SIGNS AND STREET NAMES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>LANGUAGE SITUATION IN THE MASS MEDIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS ON THE APPROACHES RELEVANT TO THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE BILINGUAL SPEAKERS OF ALGIERS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>LANGUAGE SELECTION STUDY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.1</td>
<td>Methodology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.1.1</td>
<td>Personal experience and intuition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.1.2</td>
<td>Personal observation and participation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.1.3</td>
<td>Use of questionnaires</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>LANGUAGE ATTITUDES STUDY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.1</td>
<td>The commitment measure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.2</td>
<td>The matched guise technique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.2.1</td>
<td>The matched guise technique used in the analysis of the Algerians' language attitudes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.3</td>
<td>The adjective test</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>METHODOLOGY USED IN THE DESCRIPTIVE LINGUISTICS SECTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.1</td>
<td>Diglossia in Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.2</td>
<td>Borrowing and code-mixing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER THREE: LANGUAGE SELECTION AND ATTITUDES

3.0 INTRODUCTION

3.1 LANGUAGE SELECTION

3.1.1 Factors relevant to language selection

3.1.2 Experiment

3.1.3 The informants

3.1.4 Languages used as the media of instruction during the informants education

3.1.5 Results and discussion

3.1.5.1 Language use in speech

3.1.5.1.1 Types of addresses

3.1.5.1.2 Types of topics

3.1.5.1.3 Types of settings

3.1.5.1.4 Types of moods and communicative purposes

3.1.5.1.5 Internalised use of Language

3.1.5.2 Language use in writing

3.1.5.2.1 Writing notes and personal diary

3.1.5.2.2 Writing family letters

3.1.5.2.3 Writing love letters

3.1.5.2.4 Writing official letters

3.1.5.3 Language use in reading

3.1.5.3.1 Reading books and newspapers

3.1.5.4 Language preference in the media

3.1.5.5 The interaction of interlocutors, settings and topics in the choice of language

3.2 LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

3.2.2 The adjective test used in the investigation of the Algerians' language attitudes

3.2.2.1 Method

3.2.2.2 The informants

3.2.2.3 Results

3.2.3 Reactions to Algerians' use of French and Arabic

3.2.3.1 The informants
3.2.3.2 Analysis of the results
3.2.3.4 Results and discussion
3.2.3.4.1 Reactions to the use of French and Algerian Arabic
3.2.3.4.2 Reactions to the use of French and Standard Arabic
3.2.3.4.3 Reactions to the use of French and mixed Arabic-French
3.2.3.4.4 Reactions to the use of Algerian Arabic and Standard Arabic
3.2.3.4.5 Reactions to the use of Algerian Arabic and mixed Arabic-French
3.2.3.4.6 Reactions to the use of Standard Arabic and mixed Arabic-French

CHAPTER FOUR: THE IMPACT OF FRENCH ON ALGERIAN ARABIC

4.0 INTRODUCTION

4.1 BORROWING
4.1.1 Definitions of borrowing
4.1.2 The conditions of borrowing
4.1.2.1 Linguistic Factors
4.1.2.2 Extra linguistic factors
4.1.3 The identification of borrowing
4.1.4 Types of borrowing
4.1.5 Previous works on borrowing from French to Algerian Arabic
4.1.6 Methodology
4.1.7 Analysis of the corpus
4.1.7.1 The process of importation
4.1.7.1.1 Phonemic integration
4.1.7.1.2 Phonetic integration
4.1.7.1.3 Morphological integration
4.1.7.1.4 Semantic integration
4.1.7.1.5 List of French loan words
4.2 CODE MIXING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subsection</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.2.1 Definitions of code mixing</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2 Previous studies in code mixing</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.3 Previous studies on Arabic-French code mixing</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.4 The present study</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.4.1 Methodology and data collection</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.4.2 Results</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.4.2.1 Phonetic and phonological changes</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.4.2.2 Syntactic constraints in Algerian Arabic and French code mixing</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHAPTER FIVE: DIGLOSSIA IN ARABIC

5.0 INTRODUCTION

5.1 PHONEMIC COMPARISON BETWEEN ALGERIAN ARABIC AND STANDARD ARABIC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subsection</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.1.1 The consonants</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.1.1 Consonants shared by AA and SA</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.1.1.1 Stops</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.1.1.2 Fricatives</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.1.1.3 Affricates</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.1.1.4 Laterals</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.1.1.5 Trills</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.1.1.6 Approximants</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.1.2 Consonants which are exclusive to SA</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.1.2.1 Stops</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.1.2.2 Fricatives</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.1.3 Consonants which are exclusive to AA</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.1.3.1 Stops</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.1.3.2 Fricatives</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.1.3.3 Trills</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.1.2 The vocalic phonemes  233
5.1.2.1 The vowels shared by AA and SA  233
5.1.2.2 The exclusive vowel in AA  239

5.2 SYLLABLE STRUCTURES  240
5.2.1 Syllable structures in AA  240
5.2.2 Syllable structures in SA  241
5.2.3 Comparison between the syllable structures of AA and SA  241

5.3 STRESS PLACEMENTS  243

5.4 ALGERIANISATION RULES  244
5.4.1 Gemination  244
5.4.2 Triplicated consonants  251
5.4.3 Clusters and consonant sequences  252
5.4.4 Diphthongs and vowels  262
5.4.4.1 Diphthongs  262
5.4.4.2 Changes in the types of vowels  264
5.4.5 Morphological differences  267

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION  301

REFERENCES  304

APPENDICES  308
### TRANSCRIPTIONAL SYMBOLS USED IN THE THESIS: CONSONANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>labiodental</th>
<th>dental</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palato-alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>uvular</th>
<th>pharyngeal</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plosive</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>f v θ ð s z</td>
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<td>χ</td>
<td>ñ</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>affricate</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>tʃ dʒ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approximant</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All symbols are based on the alphabet of the IPA

[θ, ð etc.] represent pharyngealised consonants
TRANSCRIPTIONAL SYMBOLS USED IN THE THESIS: VOWELS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FRONT</th>
<th>CENTRAL</th>
<th>BACK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rounded</td>
<td>Unrounded</td>
<td>Unrounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>half-close</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>half-open</td>
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<td>ɛ</td>
<td>ɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All symbols are based on the alphabet of the IPA.

[\tilde{V}] represent a nasalised vowel

[\tilde{V}:] represent a long vowel
CHAPTER ONE

THE SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF ALGIERS

1.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF ALGERIA:

1.1.1 Algeria from the prehistoric period to the beginning of the first century A.D.

During the prehistoric period, the Algerian territory was already populated and the prehistorical civilizations of that time are reckoned to have had African characteristics and affinities (see Julien, 1931).

The first known inhabitants of Algeria were the Berbers. In fact, North Africa was called "Berberia". Little is known about the origin of the Berbers. But, anthropologically, the Berbers are Caucasian people, their physical type is the one of the Mediterranean subgroup of Southern Europe. They are Hamitic people (the Hamites are a non-negroid ethnic group in North and East Africa) because they speak the Berber language which belongs to the Hamitic group of languages.

As far as the social and political life of the Berbers is concerned, it is claimed that there had scarcely been a unity among the Berbers at the time they were alone in Algeria. The geographical aspect of Algeria: isolated mountains, highlands favoured the dispersion of the Berbers and their isolation one group from another. They used to gather into various tribes, one fighting the other.
At the end of the second millennium B.C., the Phoenicians established harbours in Algeria and other countries of North Africa. The Phoenicians were a Semitic group of people of ancient times. They occupied the coast of Syria. Their representatives founded towns and trading posts from Cyprus to Morocco. The Phoenicians were good at trading because of their constant need for getting raw materials (such as silver and other metals) from other places and regions rich in natural resources.

It is worth mentioning that the Phoenicians were more advanced than the Berbers in several domains. It was therefore easy for the Phoenicians to colonize Algeria, as at that time the people of Algeria were in a less advanced state of civilisation and were weaker militarily than the Phoenicians. However, there seems to have been no linguistic influence from the Phoenicians on the Berbers because, Algeria being in a very strategic geographical position, the main aim of the Phoenicians was to use Algeria as the most direct route for the other places.

Linguistically speaking, the Phoenicians had their own writing system, but although the Berbers came across it, their civilisation or rather language remained oral. The Berber language was the main language spoken at that time in Algeria.
1.1.2 **Algeria from the Roman conquest to the Byzantine one**

Soon after the Roman conquest in 100 B.C. the Latin language was being adopted; it was open to all men of education who acquired Roman citizenship. The Berber language was spoken by the nomads and peasants. Very quickly, Numidia (the present day Algeria) became a Christian country; on the eve of the second century A.D. it had become the symbol of occidental Christianity. However, there was no religious or racial unity in Algeria; therefore in 429 A.D. the Vandals of Genseric, coming from Spain, conquered Algeria and established themselves there. They persecuted the Roman Church and the romanised aristocracy. However, in 533, the Vandals were defeated by the Byzantine rulers. At that time, the Byzantine empire, formed in 395, was at its apogee. Justinian, a Byzantine ruler, reorganised Algeria and put it under the rule of Constantinople, which was the centre of the Empire. Justinian tried to establish civil rule in Algeria but was not successful: the Berbers' love for independence was too strong and a stricter rule was needed to dominate them; therefore military rule was applied. (For more details, see Julien, 1931 and Bernard, 1929).
1.1.3 Algeria from the 7th Century to the beginning of the 19th Century.

1.1.3.1 The Arabisation of Algeria.

In 700 A.D. the first Arabs came into Algeria. They drove out most of the Byzantines. The settlement of the Arabs in Algeria was a very important event in the history of the region. The reason is that this settlement separated Algeria from Europe to which it had been attached for many centuries. Algeria was being completely easternized by the Arabs. The Berbers who were converted to Islam learnt the Arabic language and most of those who left the mountains for the city learnt Arabic as well. They had to learn Arabic because it was the official language used for administration and law. Arabic was the language of the ruling power as well as the language of religion which unified the Berbers and the Arabs to a certain extent. The Arabs had a dominant and flourishing culture, they were very advanced in science and technology, they also had a very rich literature. However, one should mention that the process of arabisation was very slow because of the several Berber revolts against the Arabs.

1.1.3.2 The Ottoman rule in Algeria.

At the beginning of the 16th century, some Moors of Spain (mixed Arabs/Spaniards) settled in some
regions of Algeria and wanted to spread over the whole country. Therefore in 1516 the Algerian ruling power called for the help of two Turkish pirates: Arudj and Khayr-al-din. After succeeding in this task, Khayr-al-din declared himself the governor of Algiers and Tlemcen. Consequently, Algeria was put under the Ottoman protectorate. However, despite the Ottoman rule in Algeria, there was a certain autonomy left to the Algerians (see Julien, 1931). In fact, the Ottomans were not concerned with the political, social or economic conditions of Algeria; but from the linguistic aspect, one notices that several Turkish words and expressions had been adopted in the Algerian Arabic of Algiers. However, very few grammatical morphemes of Turkish have made their way into Arabic because of the preponderance of the latter in the matter of religion.

1.1.4 Algeria from 1830 to 1962.

The Gallicisation of Algeria.

In June 1830, a military force of 36,000 Frenchmen entered Algeria and on 5th July of the same year, the Dey of Algiers surrendered, as there was no unity in the country, but great disorder. The Muslims of Algeria were put under the law of "Indigénat" in 1881; Algerian and French people had different rights.

At the beginning of the 20th century, France started to build roads and railways. Most of the
cultivable land was being used for vines and cereals. Iron and phosphates were being extracted. The number of French people was increasing as well as the number of Italian and Spanish immigrants to Algeria.

In the 1930s, the Sheikh Ben Badis organised the "conseil d'El Ulémas" which would, under the name of Islam, found an Algerian nation; a democratic nation that would remain under the French protectorate. Following Ben Badis' death, some important political Algerian parties were created: P.C.A. (Parti Communiste Algérien) in 1935, and P.P.A. (Parti Populaire Algérien) in 1937.

The party which led to the Algerian insurrection in 1954 was the F.L.N. (Front de Libération Nationale) founded in the early fifties. On 19th March, 1961, the cease-fire was proclaimed within the "Accord d'Evian" treaty and on 5th July 1962, the independence of Algeria was declared. (See Berque 1962).

1.2 LANGUAGES USED IN ALGIERS.

1.2.1 Arabic in Algiers.

There exist two main linguistic varieties of Arabic in Algiers; Standard Arabic (S.A.) and Algerian Arabic (A.A.).
1.2.1.1 Standard Arabic

Al Ani (1971 p. 18) defines Standard Arabic as "a modernized version of Classical Arabic". In Algiers, Standard Arabic which is also known as modern literary Arabic and formal Arabic, is used for public speeches, formal meetings, mass media. It is also the medium of instruction, literature and science. It is never used in an ordinary everyday conversation among Algerians.

1.2.1.2 Algerian Arabic

This is the variety of Arabic used for everyday communication; it is used in informal speech. It is seen to be deriving from the Standard variety (though not in an entirely straightforward way). This variety is the native linguistic variety of most people of Algiers. It is the main linguistic variety spoken in Algiers. It is also exclusively spoken except for the writing of a few Algerian plays, poems or songs which would lose their power if translated into the standard variety of Arabic. As there exists no proper writing system for Algerian Arabic, the writing system of Standard Arabic is used for that purpose. Some additional symbols representing sounds which do not exist in Standard Arabic are used in writing Algerian Arabic. However, one should mention that writing Algerian Arabic has no official recognition.
It is even forbidden for pupils and students to use it as an alternative to Standard Arabic in their Arabic essays. Therefore, one can say that Algerian Arabic is written only in order to preserve the traditionality, the authenticity and the folkloric aspect of those Algerian Arabic plays, songs and poems.

1.2.1.3 Relation between Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic.

The two varieties are in complementary distribution, as one is used in situations where the other is not used.

These two varieties are said to stand in a diglossic relation on the structural and functional planes. Functionally, one can say that while the one is spoken at home, the other is studied at school; Algerian Arabic is the native variety whereas Standard Arabic does not have this status.

Structurally, the two varieties have many dissimilarities. Although Algerian Arabic is said to have derived from Standard Arabic, one finds several differences on the phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic components between the two varieties, and not all of these differences can readily be explained in terms of a simple historical derivation.
1.2.2 French in Algiers.

Over one hundred years of French rule in Algeria have left the country with a deep influence of French civilization, culture and language. This influence is still very great in spite of the efforts made to lessen and reduce it. On the eve of the independence of Algeria, twenty-two years ago, it was decided that Arabic - the standard variety - was to be the official, social and national language of the country. However, French was and is still used in Algeria as a second language officially, with the aim of giving it the status of a foreign language in the near future.

In the next section, the four different linguistic varieties of French used in Algiers will be discussed:

1.2.2.1 Standard French French (S.F.F.)

This variety is identical to any Standard French spoken in France by French people, native speakers of French. In France, this Standard French has its own accent depending on the region it is spoken in. In Algiers, the people who adopt S.F.F. generally choose the one spoken with a Parisian accent. However, S.F.F. is seldom used in Algiers and those who speak it have previously lived in France and acquired it, but there are a few people who, for
prestige, imitate one of the accents of S.F.F.

1.2.2.2 Standard Algerian French (S.A.F.).

This is the variety of French used by educated people of Algiers in most circumstances, but mainly on formal occasions. It is the medium of instruction in schools, universities and educational institutions along with Standard Arabic. It is also used in parallel with Standard Arabic in the administration and the law.

The grammatical structures and lexical items are similar to the ones of S.F.F. but the suprasegmental features such as rhythm and intonation are different from the ones of S.F.F. and very similar to Algerian Arabic suprasegmental features. The segmental features, the phonetic realizations of phonemes, have some dissimilarities with S.F.F. segmental features.

1.2.2.3 Colloquial Algerian French (C.A.F.).

This variety is used by the Algerians who did not receive their education with Standard French as a medium of instruction and also by those who never studied the French language in a formal way. It is spoken as well by those who are either illiterate or who had an Arabic or Koranic education only. However, there exist various degrees of performance in C.A.F. according to the amount of French the speaker has
been exposed to. C.A.F. is mostly used by those who cannot speak S.F.F. when interacting with French people or Algerians whose native language is unknown to these C.A.F. speakers.

This variety of French can be heard among the Algerian emigrant workers in France: people whose circumstances, conditions, age and background have not allowed them to master, or at least to acquire an acceptable knowledge of French grammar and pronunciation. The following example illustrates their performance in French:

The sentence: "Tu bouffes ou tu bouffes pas, tu crèves, j'achète la peugeot" is pronounced by these emigrants as:

\[ \text{Tu bouffes ou bouffes pas, tu creves, j'achete la peugeot} \]

which in Standard French French is pronounced as:

\[ \text{Tu bouffes ou bouffes pas, tu creves, j'achete la peugeot} \]

and in Standard Algerian French as:

\[ \text{Tu bouffes ou bouffes pas, tu creves, j'achete la peugeot} \]

The suprasegmental features of C.A.F. are very different from the ones of S.F.F. and to a lesser extent from the ones of S.A.F. Its intonational patterns are very similar to those of Algerian Arabic. The stress placements of C.A.F. coincide with those of Algerian Arabic as well. As far as the segmental differences between standard Algerian French and colloquial Algerian French are concerned,
one notices the following vocalic realizations in the two varieties:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SAF</th>
<th>CAF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>[ɛ] or [e]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[e]</td>
<td>[e]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[a]</td>
<td>[a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[a]</td>
<td>[a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[o]</td>
<td>[o]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɔ]</td>
<td>[ɔ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[u]</td>
<td>[a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[y]</td>
<td>[ɛ] or [e]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ø]</td>
<td>[ɛ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[œ]</td>
<td>[œ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2.2.4 Mixed Algerian Arabic and French (MAF)

MAF is the most popular and widespread variety used by young people in informal situations. It is a very strong case of code-mixing. It involves the use of French and Arabic lexical, syntactic and morphological items in one or more sentences in a conversation by the same speaker.

The following piece of speech illustrates this variety: [kazata] ɛtɔnɔbiːl ɔ ramaso:h mɔsɔwwe:t ɔmɔrɔmɔwawʁatɛn! [kazata] is an Algerianization (Algerian Arabic) of the French verb écraser (to run over).
\[ t \] = is an Algerian Arabic grammatical morpheme ("him")
\[ tomobi:\] = from the French word ("automobile")
\[ f \] = is an Algerian Arabic morpheme marking the presence of a non-pronounced definite article meaning ("the")
\[ o \] = Algerian Arabic ("and")
\[ ramaso:h\] = from the French verb ("ramasser")
\[ o:h\] = grammatical morpheme in Algerian Arabic ("it")
\[ morso:we:t\] = from the French word ("morceau")
\[ wwe:t\] = Algerian Arabic grammatical morpheme marking the plural.

The literal translation in Standard French would be: "la voiture l'a écrasé et ils l'ont ramassé morceau par morceau".

1.3 LANGUAGE SITUATION IN ALGIERS FROM 1830 TO 1962

When the French settlers arrived in Algeria in 1830, the linguistic situation in Algiers was as follows: the majority of the people spoke Algerian Arabic. Some of them had Kabyle (a Berber language) as their main linguistic variety. Turkish was spoken by the ruling power who at that time happened to be constituted by representatives of the Ottoman Empire.

At the same time there was a lingua franca, a sort of "sabir" or pidgin used by the merchants and
businessmen of Algiers for their communication with Europeans. This "sabir" is described by L. Brunot (1960) p.115 in Kwofie (1979) as:

"Une langue mixte dans laquelle du français, de l'espagnol, de l'italien, de l'arabe\textsuperscript{3} (directement ou par le maltais) ont apporté des éléments variés de vocabulaire et de morphologie".

This sabir was a kind of mixed language used during medieval times along the southern shore of the Mediterranean for communication between the Arabs and the Latins. It was called "petit mauresque" by the French settlers in Algiers. (The origin of the word "sabir" is from the Spanish verb saber (to know).) The verbs were not conjugated but used in their infinitive form (Cohen, 1971, Tome II, p.98.) However, this sabir disappeared after the settlement of the French in Algiers; there was no need for this lingua franca as everything was taken over by the ruling power, but some of its lexical items are still used in the Algerian Arabic spoken in Algiers such as the verb \textipa{\textipa{Sbanioul chapar bourrico, andar labrisou, (L'espagnol a volé un âne, il ira en prison).}}

During this period, there were some bilingual Algerians who had a good proficiency in French writing and reading, but most of the Algerians were able to use only some rudimentary words such as in
obeying commands, asking for work and so on.

Bilingualism in French and Arabic was not widespread but rather there were two types of speakers:

1. Those who could speak Algerian Arabic or Berber and had never been to school.

2. Those who could speak Algerian Arabic or Berber but were able as well to use French, as their entire education and culture was carried out in French (Standard French French) exclusively. These people went to French schools: "Ecoles françaises publiques" or to missionaries' schools "Ecoles privées". These Algerians were entirely acculturated and "francisés". However, they were considered to be the Algerian elite; they were accepted in French schools especially conceived for the French "colons'" children.

1.4 LANGUAGE SITUATION AFTER 1962

The independence of Algeria came on 5th July, 1962. From that day, the official language of the country was changed from French to Arabic, Standard Arabic. However, it was considered indispensable that Algeria remain bilingual in French and Arabic, at least until it would be able to function with Arabic alone. Several measures have so far been taken to implement the policy of Arabisation without, however, stopping the use of French. This last
statement can be emphasized by one of the reflections on Algerian culture that appeared in El-Moudjahed, an Algerian daily newspaper:

"L'arabisation est une nécessité mais le bilinguisme n'est pas un mal".

But, despite this positive attitude towards bilingualism, the last point made in these reflections was quite unfavourable to the existence of French in Algeria:

"La langue et la culture françaises ont aliéné certains d'entre nous et les ont rendus étrangers à eux-mêmes, ce qui est tout à fait explicable. Mais nul ne saurait contester que l'ensemble des Algériens et des Algériennes sont restés profondément attachés à la langue et à la culture arabo-islamique et cela malgré tous les efforts de depersonnalisation entrepris par l'occupant."

From these two quotations, one can deduce that the Algerians were supposed to use French as they would use a foreign language; they were expected to separate the French language from the culture it embodies. This is a very difficult task for those Algerians who had been bilingual in French and Arabic since early childhood. These people's attitude towards French had to be changed from a positive attitude to a neutral or even negative one in order to lessen the use of French. The main objective of the Algerian government was to reduce the use of French to a scientific tool deprived of any cultural or literary value, with the aim of eradicating entirely the use of French in the future.
It was necessary to keep the use of French at least as a scientific language for a certain period of time extending to the present, because the majority of the educated Algerians such as teachers, physicians, scientists had received their education with French as the medium of instruction. All the scientific books which were available were written in French. Therefore, it was for practical reasons that French was officially preserved.

One of the main problems concerning language planning was related to the situation of the illiterate people. The government was trying to decrease the level of illiteracy but these people knew either Algerian Arabic or Berber. What linguistic variety then were they supposed to learn: Standard French or Standard Arabic? Obviously, they had to learn both varieties in order to cope with the present and the future. Therefore, special classes for adults were arranged in all companies, organisations, ministries and so on.

However, the most urgent task was to start the process of arabisation in all sectors of education as well as the social, political, economic and cultural domains. One of the first problems encountered in the application of arabisation was the lack of Algerian teachers who would be able to teach Arabic; therefore, it was considered imperative to employ
teachers from other Arabic lands, namely the Middle Eastern countries such as Egypt, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon. It has been impossible to arabise immediately the educational system entirely, but a progressive arabisation has been applied.

1.5 LANGUAGE POLICY IN EDUCATION

1.5.1 The Primary School

Pupils spend six years in the primary school, also called elementary school. There are two types of primary school in Algiers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary School</th>
<th>Fundamental School (from 1980)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;L'école primaire&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;L'école fondamentale&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This consists of 6 levels (school years) plus an extra year called the 7th year for pupils who do not manage to proceed to the middle school after their 6th primary school year.</td>
<td>This consists of 5 levels (school years), the pupils automatically proceed to the middle school whatever their results are or whatever their parents wish to do about their schooling.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of the conditions of the F.L.N. party - on the eve of independence - was that Standard Arabic was to be the official language of the country. Therefore this variety of Arabic was introduced in the curriculum of all primary school levels. The pupils had to learn both SA and French simultaneously from their first primary school year. However, during the first two years following independence
the number of hours of Arabic taught was much lower than the number of hours of French in level 1 of the Primary school, whereas during those same academic years (1962/63 and 1963/64), the number of SA hours in the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th levels was greater than the ones of the 1st level. During the first four years following independence (1962/63 to 1965/66) the following subjects were taught in the primary schools:

- French language (oral and written)
- Standard Arabic (oral and written)
- Geography
- History
- Natural sciences
- Arithmetic
- Cultural activities (drawing, singing etc.)

During the academic years 1966/67 to 1972/73, there were two types of sections in the primary school:
Then, starting from the academic year 1973/74, the primary school system as regards the teaching of Standard French and Standard Arabic looked like the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabised section</th>
<th>Bilingual section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Standard Arabic = medium of instruction for arithmetic, natural sciences, history and geography.</td>
<td>Standard Arabic = medium of instruction for arithmetic, natural sciences, geography and history*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard French = taught as a second language.</td>
<td>Standard Arabic = taught as a literary language embodying the culture of the Algerians personality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*From 1967/68, History was being taught in Arabic.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabised section</th>
<th>Bilingual section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Standard Arabic = medium of instruction.</td>
<td>Standard Arabic = medium of instruction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard French introduced as a 2nd language.</td>
<td>Standard French introduced as a 2nd language and as a medium of instruction for arithmetic and natural sciences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Arabic = medium of instruction for arithmetic, natural sciences, history, geography and as a literary language.</td>
<td>Standard Arabic = medium of instruction of history and geography and as a literary subject.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.F. = Foreign language.</td>
<td>S.F. = Foreign language.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If one compares the language policy of the primary school during the sixties and the one during the seventies up to now, one may deduce the following:

1. In the sixties, pupils were introduced to the French language from their first year at school and Standard Arabic was rather like a second or foreign language - during the first four years following independence, as most subjects if not all were taught in Standard French. This situation has created a case of strong bilingualism: Standard French was the main language used at school while Algerian Arabic was used at home and outside the class.

2. In the seventies and up to the present, the pupils are taught mainly in Standard Arabic, and Standard French is not introduced in the programme until the 4th level of the primary school. Standard French is thus a second or foreign language in the arabised sections and a tool for learning sciences in the bilingual sections. Therefore, Standard Arabic for both types of sections is the most important linguistic variety used at school and Algerian Arabic the variety used at home and outside; this is more a case of diglossia than bilingualism. However, it is clearly noticeable that the proficiency of the people who went to the primary school in the sixties
is better than the proficiency of the ones who went to the primary school in the seventies. The reason for this is that the latter (the people of the 10/20 years old generation) get no practice in Standard Arabic with their parents or their friends, but only through the media (radio, T.V., magazines, books etc.), whereas the older group of the population (21-30 years old) have always had the opportunity to practise French outside the classroom; with their parents but mainly with their friends.

1.5.2 The Middle School

The middle schools are called "Colleges d'enseignement moyen". They consist of four years starting after the completion of the primary school.

There have been two different sections since the academic year 1962/63:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabised</th>
<th>Bilingual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Standard Arabic</strong> = medium of instruction for maths, sciences, history and geography. It is as well taught as a literary language.</td>
<td><strong>Standard Arabic</strong> = taught as a literary language and medium of instruction for history and geography.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Standard French</strong> = 2nd language</td>
<td><strong>Standard French</strong> = medium of instruction for maths and sciences</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*geography was taught in French until 1973/74.
The Arabised and Bilingual sections in the Middle Schools have the same amount of school hours in every subject.

1.5.3 The Secondary School: (Lycée).

The student spends the three final years before sitting for the general exam called the "Baccalauréat" which will enable him to enter University. The subjects taught in the secondary schools are:

Standard Arabic (Literature) - French (Literature) - Mathematics - Physics - Chemistry - History - Geography - Philosophy. However, it is worth mentioning that there are three types of section in these Secondary schools:

- Literary section (série littéraire)
- Scientific section (série scientifique)
- Mathematical section (série mathématique)

The Literary section has been completely arabised since 1974.

The best measure - in the arabisation process - which has been taken so far is a very good step in the restoration of the Arabo-Islamic culture of the Algerians: Literature, history, geography, theology, philosophy are all taught in Standard Arabic to all students in all grades whether the students are in a bilingual section or arabised section. This measure was first adopted in 1974.
1.5.4 **Higher Education**

There are arabised and bilingual sections for all scientific subjects except medicine, which is taught in French exclusively. As far as history, geography, philosophy, law, sociology, psychology, economics and politics are concerned, arabised sections only are provided. (This started in 1976).

1.5.5 **Conclusions**

From this very brief description of the educational system of Algeria, showing the roles of Arabic and French as media of instruction, certain significant facts emerge. The general conclusion that one can draw from this educational system is that the scientific and technical subjects are taught in French and Arabic; French for the bilingual sections and Arabic for the arabised sections, except during the first four primary school years where arithmetic and natural sciences are taught in Arabic for all the pupils. Then, the pupil is directed to either an arabised section or bilingual one from the fifth primary school year. The parents of the pupil usually make the choice for their child. Otherwise it is done according to the teachers' and headmaster's decision. The decision by teachers or headmaster is, in most cases, reached on an arbitrary basis; the pupil's proficiency in Arabic
or French is not taken into account except for specific cases where the pupil's proficiency in one language is very low compared to the other language. As far as the parents' choice is concerned, there seems to be a tendency to choose the bilingual section more than the arabised one.

French seems to be in a dominant position as a preferred language for studying. Coming myself from Algiers, I may give some possible reasons for this:

(a) There is a general tendency in Algiers to favour the "classes bilingues" and avoid the "classes arabisées"; more than any other region in Algérie; Algiers is the place which has been deeply impregnated with the French culture.

(b) The Algerian Arabic dialect of Algiers is influenced by various foreign languages, French especially, owing to the foreign invasions that have taken place in Algiers over the centuries; this dialect has more divergences from Standard Arabic than the other Algerian Arabic dialects have from the official language of Algeria.

(c) It has been commonly assumed that Standard Arabic is connected with the dialects of the Middle East countries: there has been a huge number of Arabic teachers coming from Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Lebanon to Algiers, all of them
were not aware of the linguistic background of the Algerian pupils and students. The latter felt there was nothing - linguistic - they had in common with these teachers. Having been myself a teacher of French, I may emphasize this last point by giving an example from my own experience: I used to teach French and sometimes I would translate a word or say something in Algerian Arabic; the pupils were pleased: they felt both they and I had something - everything - in common. I spoke or was able to speak the linguistic variety they used with their parents, sisters, brothers at home and with their friends anywhere.

(d) Some Algerian extremists associate arabisaion with religious fanaticism; they would be very disappointed if their child was to be oriented to an arabised section ("classe arabisée") and would try desperately to change their child from an arabised section to a bilingual one.

(e) There has been a belief by naive people that the arabised sections grouped together the low intelligence pupils or the pupils who do not study enough. I remember one of my mother's cousins who said to my youngest brother who had been directed to an arabised section, "Tu es paresseux" (you are lazy),
although my brother had the highest marks among all his classmates and the pupils of the bilingual sections.

(f) For a long time, there have not been adequate text-books. The ones which have been available for arabized pupils had been brought from the Middle East countries, and these books are generally of poorer quality than the French books. So the minister for education decided that the French text books in mathematics, physics and chemistry should be translated into Standard Arabic. In order not to be oriented to an arabised section, some students would, just before the critical period of orientation, neglect Standard Arabic courses, thus giving themselves some chance of not being sent to an arabised section.

The problems met by the arabised students

1. Some of these students were put in "classes arabisées" because there was not enough space for them in "classes bilingues".

2. Lack of adequate text-books.

3. Some of the students have an inferiority feeling when they compare themselves to the bilingual students. This feeling is accentuated by the fact that the children of those who decide where
to orientate the students and who "praise" arabisation, are always sent to bilingual sections by their parents. The high officials of the Education Ministry as well as the schools' headmasters always make sure that their children are put in bilingual sections.

4. The administration is in a period of transition in respect of the use of language: French and Standard Arabic are both used. Some official legislations have not been arabised yet; so a few years ago, the Law students marched and demonstrated in the streets of Algiers: they wanted the administration to be fully and quickly arabised so that they would get proper jobs and fulfil their duty in the language they had studied or were studying with.

5. An arabised student has to go to a Middle East country if he wishes to study medicine; otherwise he has to learn the basic scientific terminology in French before entering the school of medicine. The universities which provide the study of medicine in Arabic are found in Baghdad (Iraq) and Damascus (Syria).
1.6 LANGUAGE POLICY IN THE ADMINISTRATION

1.6.1 Language Policy in the administration of the educational institutions.

Staff Meetings

These are generally carried out in Standard Algerian French. However if the headmaster has had an arabised education, talking is done in Standard Arabic mixed with Algerian Arabic. As far as the teachers are concerned, those who do not master Standard Arabic express themselves in Standard Algerian French, sometimes mixed with Algerian Arabic in order not to offend the headmaster, who would be using Standard Arabic. Therefore, by using a colloquial variety of Arabic, these Francophone teachers do not feel so guilty at not being able to use the Standard variety of Arabic which is the official language of the country. All that has been stated above is the case in the primary, middle and secondary schools' staff meetings. At the University level, the procedures are somewhat different; all the staff meetings are carried out in Standard Algerian French in all departments and faculties except the arabised sections and the department of Arabic literature.
Notices and Official Letters

These are written in Standard French and Standard Arabic, but it has been noticed that sometimes the Standard Arabic version of a notice may not be available, for it is assumed and taken for granted that French is known by all.

The Students' Cards and Certificates of Schooling

Each card or certificate is written in both French and Standard Arabic, yet will be filled out, by the authorities, in French only.

Official correspondence with the parents of the students

This is carried out in Standard French regardless of the parents' knowledge of Standard French.

As far as the University is concerned, all the notices, programmes, timetables are written in Standard French except for the Arabic literature department and the arabised sections of the University. However, one needs to mention that this linguistic situation is in a period of transition: when all the subjects taught at the University and educational institutions are completely arabised, the administration will undergo a complete arabisation process. As to when this is going to take place, it is difficult to tell. According to the 1972
plans of arabisation, the year 1985 will see all the sectors of administration and education arabised, but when one looks at the present situation in Algeria, one finds that a complete arabisation is unlikely to come into existence so soon; In fact a lack of arabising teachers, and a lack of textbooks in Arabic are two of the main reasons which would prevent the process of arabisation from being completed by 1985. Then, there is the other side of the coin: what would happen to those Algerian teachers and officials who had their education with Standard French as a medium of instruction? If the arabisation process is to speed up, these francophone Algerians need to be able to speak, write and read Standard Arabic.

1.6.2 LANGUAGE POLICY IN THE MINISTRIES

Ministry of the Interior

The official meetings are carried out in Standard Arabic. The reports are written in Standard Arabic as well. As this ministry is directly connected to the only party recognized in Algeria; the F.L.N. party (parti du Front de Libération Nationale), all efforts are made to have Standard Arabic as the main working linguistic variety. However, although the use of Standard Arabic is widespread, Standard Algerian French is still widely used. For instance, the New Algerian
Constitution which appeared in 1976 has been provided in both Standard Arabic and Standard French.

Ministry of Agriculture

The official meetings are carried out in Standard Algerian French; the reports are written in Standard French, then translated into Standard Arabic. The clerical work is entirely performed by using Standard Algerian French. Therefore French is the dominant language except for the correspondence with the UNPA (National Union of the Algerian Farmers) which is done exclusively in Standard Arabic.

Ministry of Industry

The meetings are carried out in Standard Algerian French and even if a variety of Arabic happens to be used, the technical terms are always said in Standard Algerian French. All the engineers and technical consultants have had their training and education in Standard French. Therefore the process of Arabisation is rather slow in this ministry.

Ministry of Health

The medium of work and communication is Standard Algerian French. Sometimes, it is replaced by the Mixed Algerian Arabic and French variety. As far as the clerical work is concerned (written
documents), one notices that once again Standard Algerian French is the main linguistic variety which is used even by those who have had their education with Standard Arabic as the medium of instruction.

Ministry of Social Welfare

This is one of the few ministries where Standard Arabic is the linguistic variety used during the official meetings within the ministry. However, the clerical work is performed in Standard French.

Ministry of Primary, Middle and Secondary Education

This is the ministry where the policy of Arabisation is mostly applied, as it deals with education. But there is a clear-cut distinction between matters dealing with Arabic and those dealing with French; Standard Arabic is used for matters concerning teachers of Arabic and teachers teaching in Arabic, whereas French is used when dealing with the other teachers and all members of staff such as the clerks, secretaries, servitors and so on.

Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research

Standard French is the main medium of work. All official documents such as contracts, students' allowances documents are written in Standard French regardless of the addressees' medium of teaching or work.
Ministry of Culture

Standard Arabic is the dominant linguistic variety used in this ministry because this latter has a direct link with the revival of the Arabo-Islamic culture of the Algerians and its main aim is to restore the Algerian culture which was neglected during the occupation.

Ministry of Religion

Standard Arabic is the only medium of work and communication as far as official matters are concerned.

1.6.3 LANGUAGE POLICY IN THE POST-OFFICE

As in most public domains in Algiers, there is no single language used in the post offices. First of all, one should mention that the training of the post office employees is performed in Standard Algerian French. However the knowledge of the post-office terms such as stamp, postal cheque etc. in Standard Arabic is indispensable to every post-office employee.

The following forms and post office documents are provided in Standard Arabic and Standard French; the customer may choose to complete a form in either linguistic variety:
Postal cheques - CNEP books (savings account)
Pensioners' books - CNEP forms.
Registered letter forms - Telephone bills - Stamps.

As far as the telephone directories are concerned, one notices that they are provided in Standard French only. However, as regards telegrams, they are presented to the customer with Standard Arabic and Standard French written directions, but the customer must fill it in using roman characters only, even if he is using Arabic.

1.6.4 LANGUAGE POLICY IN THE REGISTRARS' OFFICES (MAIRIES)

From the beginning of 1983, all the documents of the "Etat-civil" have been arabised. They are: birth, marriage and death extracts, certificates of residence, nationality certificates, police record certificates, identity cards.

Passports are still provided in both Standard French and Standard Arabic but according to the arabisation plans of the F.L.N. party fifth congress, they will be entirely arabised in a year's time.
1.7. LANGUAGE POLICY IN THE HEALTH SERVICE:
The Hospitals and Health Centres

The medium of work is undoubtedly Standard Algerian French, whereas for communication, Standard Algerian French and Mixed Algerian Arabic and French are used for topics dealing with medicine. When the topics are non-scientific or non-technical, Algerian Arabic is included in the linguistic repertoire.

All the prescriptions are written in Standard French. Sometimes, the doctor explains in Algerian Arabic to the patient how to take the medicines. Medical records are written in Standard French. In general, one can say that there is no use of Standard Arabic except on the notices in the hospital wards, along with their Standard French versions.

1.8 LANGUAGE SITUATION IN THE HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS

In all hotels and restaurants, the written medium is Standard French; menus, bills and all information signs are written in Standard French. In first class hotels and restaurants, Standard Algerian French is the main medium of communication, whereas it is Algerian Arabic in the less prestigious hotels.
1.9 LANGUAGE POLICY CONCERNING:

1. **Road signs:** These are displayed in Standard Arabic and Standard French.

2. **Street Names:** These are displayed in Standard Arabic only.

1.10 LANGUAGE SITUATION IN THE MASS MEDIA:

(1) **Cinema:**

All foreign films except Algerian and Arabic films are dubbed in French. The foreign films, mostly American, are purchased from France. This explains why the dubbing is done in the French language. The foreign films which are dubbed or subtitled in Standard Arabic are purchased from Egypt or Lebanon, which take in charge the dubbing of these films.

As far as commercial advertisements are concerned, they are all presented in Standard Arabic. Film posters are written in Standard Arabic.

(2) **The Theatre:**

This domain is not very developed; in fact, in Algiers, there is only one main theatre hall called the T.N.A. (Théâtre National Algérien: The Algerian National Theatre). All the national plays are performed either in Algerian Arabic or Standard Arabic.
(3) **Radio and Television:**

Arabisation by means of radio and television transmissions has been considered by the government as an effective way of reaching Algerians not in school and helping those in school to improve their knowledge of Standard Arabic. It is hoped that through an increasing number of broadcast hours in Standard Arabic, most people would acquire a better familiarity with Standard Arabic.

There are three radio channels:

Channel 1: in Standard Arabic
Channel 2: in Berber
Channel 3: in Standard Algerian French.

Concerning the channel in Arabic, one should mention that all programmes are broadcast in Standard Arabic except some Algerian plays and songs which are presented in Algerian Arabic. All the news bulletins are broadcast in Standard Arabic. There is one television channel starting at four o'clock in the afternoon and ending around eleven at night. Most programmes are broadcast in Standard Arabic:

- Main daily news
- Presentation of the programme
- Advertisements
- Algerian documentaries
- Arab countries documentaries
- Children's programmes
Official speeches
Open University.

The programmes broadcast in Algerian Arabic are:

Algerian plays and films
Algerian songs.

The programmes broadcast in Standard French:

French films and shows
French documentaries
Dubbed foreign films
French cartoons
Dubbed foreign cartoons
Late news followed by advertisements.
CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

2.1 Theoretical considerations on the approaches relevant to the sociolinguistic analysis of the bilingual speakers of Algiers: The main heading under which the approaches used in the study are grouped is **Sociolinguistics**.

Sociolinguistics is a fairly new term that is used in relation to the study of language in society; it is a discipline that relates the structural aspects of language to the social factors that underlie these aspects. It explains a speech community's use of linguistic varieties, ranging from language, dialect and accent to the choice of a particular phonetic, phonological, syntactic and semantic item. Sociolinguistics reveals the rules that govern the people's use of their linguistic repertoire within their community. It is a mixture of linguistics and the social aspects of language, and as speech is a means for communication between human beings living in society, it is indispensable to relate it to social factors. As Malinowski put it: "The real linguistic fact is the full utterance within its context of situation." (in Pride, 1971, p.99)

Various expressions have been used by linguists instead of sociolinguistics: "The ethnography of
"communication" (Gumperz and Hymes, Saville-Troike), "the ecology of language" (Haugen, 1972): the study of interactions between any given language and its environment. Most of the definitions attributed to sociolinguistics centre on the terms: language use and social value. Hudson (1980, p.1) puts it in one sentence: "We can define sociolinguistics as the study of language in relation to society".

Sociolinguistics explains a speech community's choice of a particular linguistic marker ranging from a linguistic variety to a segmental or polysegmental feature and to a suprasegmental or polysuprasegmental feature of speech. In their communication, people of a particular speech community use different linguistic varieties or linguistic structures according to the situation, the participants, their respective moods, their attitudes and so on. These variations and diversities are not arbitrary but their occurrence is governed by extralinguistic factors. Sociolinguistic studies, therefore, aim at showing that verbal behaviour can be predicted from "situational factors" and as Bright (1966: p. 10 ) says, "It is certainly correct to say that sociolinguistic studies deal with the relationships between language and society". He goes on to say: "It (sociolinguistics) considers language as well as society to be a structure, rather than merely a
collection of items".

Sociolinguistics is a science that includes various linguistic and sociolinguistic factors; by "linguistic", one implies the social factors that are linked with speech; the sociological meaning of language which is the more abstract aspect of language, the concrete one being the structural embodiment of language. Therefore, the sociolinguistic values are concepts that appear within the concrete side of language.

Each community has its own sociolinguistic patterns of behaviour. This behaviour is seen through a set of "markers" or "indices" that inform the observer about the country, region, social class, etc. of the speaker. Abercrombie (1967:7) describes the group of indices in speech that reveal social characteristics of the speaker as: "... those that indicate membership of a group". Further, he says: "Almost all speakers of all languages have regional indices in their pronunciation. These indices are shared by members of a community living in a particular locality".

As well as regional indices in speech, indices can reveal a speaker's social characteristics, such as status. Thus, Abercrombie (1967:8) says: "There are some communities in which pronunciation carries indices of social standing as well as of geographical origins.

Laver and Trudgill (1979) refer to this class of indices as "group markers". They define them as: "markers that mark social characteristics, such as regional affiliation, social status, educational
status, occupation and social role" (p. 3).

Apart from phonetic markers in speech, other aspects can be included, such as syntactic, lexical and semantic markers in speech. All these can be gathered under the heading: "sociolinguistic behaviour". This sociolinguistic behaviour can be looked at from various aspects; for instance, every community has its proper way of expressing feelings such as joy, anger etc. Joy can be seen for instance through a specific linguistic variety choice or viewed through particular lexical terms or syntactic structures and so on. The task of the sociolinguist is to relate these structural aspects of language to their social meaning; a social meaning taken in its context formed by participants, setting, topic etc.

2.2 LANGUAGE SELECTION

This deals with code selection; the choice of a particular linguistic variety according to situational factors. It is the functional analysis of linguistic varieties.

In their communication, people use different linguistic varieties according to the situation they find themselves in and the people they talk to. These variations and diversities are not arbitrary and far from being "free variants" but their occurrence is rather governed by specific rules. To
illustrate this last statement, it is worth quoting Fishman (1972):

"On some occasions, interlocutors who can speak a particular specialized variety to one another—nevertheless do not do so, but instead switch to a different variety of language which is in wider use or which is indicative of quite a different set of interests and relationships than is associated with their specialized variety. This type of switching represents the discipline that seeks to determine who speaks what variety of what language to whom, when and concerning what."

(p. 3)

As far as the social communication analysis of Algiers is concerned, it should be mentioned that it consists of the study of code selection concerning the use of the different language varieties belonging to French and Arabic.

There exist distinct rules governing code selection and code switching in a bilingual and diglossic community such as the speech community of Algiers where most speakers have a "linguistic repertoire"—a term put forward by Gumperz—containing at least two languages, Arabic and French, with their respective linguistic varieties. Each linguistic variety is appropriate to be used in a specific situation determined by particular factors such as the setting, the topic, the participants, the mood of the speaker and so on. Fishman (1971 p. 20 in Pride and Holmes 1972) introduced the concept of domain which he defines as:

"... Domain is a sociocultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationship between communicators and
locales of communications, in accord with the institutions of the society and the spheres of activity of a speech community, in such a way that individual behaviour and societal patterns can be distinguished from each other and yet related to each other."

Under the main heading "domain", come the different factors relevant to language choice. For instance, language selection can be determined by the characteristics of the participants; the systematic variation between speakers within the same context provides information about the speaker's social identity and thus gives clues for code selection and informs the speakers about how much linguistic freedom they can allow themselves in their speech or how much constraint they have to restrict themselves to.

Another important factor intervening in the choice of a particular linguistic variety is the topic: a change of topic is often accompanied by a change of code in bilingual and diglossic communities. Other factors include the type of setting where the interaction takes place.

2.2.1 Methodology

As far as the collection of information about language selection patterns is concerned, the following methods were used:
2.2.1.1 Personal experience and intuition

This method is useful only when the investigator is from the speech community under study and shares the same culture and speaks the same linguistic varieties of the speech community he intends to analyse. In this respect, Saville-Troike (1982 : 111) states the advantage of describing one's own speech community by saying:

"... No outsider can really understand the meaning of interaction of various types within the community without eliciting the intuitions of its members".

He also describes "introspection" as a method for data collection only about one's own speech community. Concerning the analysis of the speech community code selection in Algiers, personal experience and intuition were useful mainly in the design of the linguistic questionnaire about language selection in different situations.

2.2.1.2 Personal observation and participation

This is a common method of collecting data on language selection but it is not without its possible difficulties as it is commonly assumed that observation as a means of collecting data may be problematic, as the presence of an observer, even merely as one extra person in the interacting situation, leads to distortion and sometimes to the
absence of natural and spontaneous speech on the part of the participants. Therefore, the observer should remain unnoticed by the observed people and above all his aim should not be known by the latter. There is another difficulty which lies in the observer's biased attitude and beliefs: the researcher very often pays attention only to what he expects. Saville-Troike (1982) says in this connection:

"The key to successful participant-observation is freeing oneself as much as humanly possible from the filter of one's own cultural experience. This requires cultural relativism, knowledge about possible cultural differences, and sensitivity and objectivity in perceiving others." (p.121)

He goes on to say:

"The investigator, to be able to enter into various speech events relatively unobtrusively as a participant-observer, and one with whom other participants can feel comfortable, should share as closely as possible the same linguistic background and competence as the members of the community under observation." (p.122)

2.2.1.3 Use of questionnaires

The main method used in collecting data on language selection was the use of linguistic questionnaires. Questionnaires are important tools the investigator has at his disposal, as they enable him to gather the maximum information in a short time. This way of collecting data is also uniform for all the informants; they all get the same type of
questionnaire. The informants' responses to the questions are analysed in a uniform manner.

The two types of questionnaire administered during the field-work contained two kinds of questions: open-ended questions and closed questions.

Open-ended questions

The questions are put in a precise form but no answers are provided - answers from which the informant selects; rather the informant provides his own answer to the question. An example of such questions would be like:

"What do you feel towards Standard Arabic?"

(Taken from questionnaire No. 1/Pilot Study in Algiers, July, 1982).

However, when including open-ended questions in a questionnaire, one has to be careful in avoiding ambiguous questions that may confuse the informant. The investigator should use straightforward questions containing words and expressions that are commonly used by the people. For instance, when asking questions about Arabic-French code mixing, it is better to use the expression, "arabe/Français" or "arabe mélangé avec du français" as the word code can be ambiguous for the informants.
In constructing open ended questions, one has to take into account the following points:

1. Unfamiliar and technical words should be avoided as much as possible in order not to confuse the informant.

2. Questions where the possible answers that may be used by the informant are too many should also be avoided.

3. The investigation should make sure that the questions presented to the informant are concerned with the affairs of the portion of population he would like to get information from.

4. One has to present questions which are not obscure in meaning.

**Closed Questions**

In this kind of question, the subject is presented with a choice of answers for a particular question: the answers can be *yes* or *no*, *true* or *false*, *good* or *bad*.

These kinds of questions may present some problems; some informants, when bored or tired, would
Open-ended and closed-ended questions have advantages and disadvantages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Open-ended questions</th>
<th>Closed-ended questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ They may reveal other attitudes the researcher may not have anticipated.</td>
<td>+ They are easier to score.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Successful in interviews.</td>
<td>+ Successful in mass interview questionnaires (written ones)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The informants may fail to give the expected answers.</td>
<td>- The informants may be easily bored; they tend to answer without thinking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- The informant may not find his or her appropriate answer among the answers proposed by the investigator.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The questionnaires: presentation and content

The questionnaires used in the language selection study were presented to the informants in written form. The informants also gave their answers to the questions in written form.

The questionnaires involved the description of situations involving specific settings, participants, topics and so on. The respondents were asked to state which linguistic variety they would use. There was a part dealing with the preference for one linguistic variety in the media such as the theatre, television, radio, newspapers and magazines.

The first few items of the questionnaire were used to obtain some information about the language backgrounds of the informants.
The linguistic questionnaires that were used are most reliable for obtaining figures concerning mainly language selection in specific situations. Code-switching, and interference are likely to be discovered through personal observation mainly; Rubin (1968) p.101 says about the validity of questionnaires:

"... Thus, while code-switching does occur in Paraguay, I did not isolate the social variables determining its occurrence through the questionnaire. I also doubt that a questionnaire would yield information on this type of usage."

However, there is an important point that should be mentioned about the usefulness of questionnaires: the informant is away from the investigator when answering the questions and he does not state his name on the questionnaire. This anonymity frees him from being ashamed about for instance not having been to the secondary school or not being able to speak the official language of his country.

I used a pilot questionnaire (see questionnaire No. 1 in the appendix). The questionnaire was presented in French to the informants. It contained questions about the language background of the informants: they were requested to rate their proficiency in Standard Arabic. I used the expression "arabe classique" because it is the most
familiar expression used by the Algerians when they speak about Standard Arabic. They were also asked to rate their proficiency in French. The majority of questions dealt with the language chosen in a particular situation and the informants' preferred languages.

The second questionnaire was used as the main questionnaire for collecting data on language selection (see questionnaire No. 2 in the appendix). This questionnaire was different from the pilot one in the way that it contained more specific questions about the language use.

The third questionnaire consisted of defined language situations: the informants were asked to imagine themselves taking part in a series of conversations and then state which language they would use in each conversation. Each language situation was made clear to the informant: the interlocutor, the topic, the setting were determined for each conversation (see questionnaire No. 3 in the appendix).

2.3 **Language attitudes study**

The study of language attitudes deals with the analysis of people's feelings towards the linguistic varieties they have at their disposal within their linguistic repertoire. However, the most problematic measurements in a sociolinguistic study are the attitude
measurements:

"The interpretation of results is naturally one of the most important stages in any research. The major question at this stage concerns validity, or the justification or proof for the claim or assertion which the study makes about the material world. Validation of attitude studies is particularly problematic because of the very nature of attitudes as properties of the psychological or mental process". (Fishman & Agheyisi, 1970, p.138).

Attitude measurements are the most delicate investigations in a mass interview because it is difficult for the respondents to differentiate "consciously" between the "ideal" and the "real" behaviour.

In most sociolinguistic studies, the language attitudes measurement techniques are based on two different theoretical positions:

1 - The mentalist position (Allport, 1935). For the holders of such a view, attitudes are "a mental and neural state of readiness". The attitudes cannot be observed directly, but must be inferred from the subject's introspection.

2 - The behaviourist position (Bain, 1928). Attitudes are determined by observing actual behaviour in social situations.

The main techniques used for the measurements of language attitudes:

2.3.1 The commitment measure:

This measures the informants' tendency to behave in a
certain way. Fishman et al. (1968) have used this technique in measuring bilingual attitudes and behaviours of Puerto Rican people who are bilingual in Spanish and English. The informants' behaviour was not displayed openly but was implied through indirect test items.

2.3.2 The matched-quise technique:

This technique was devised by Lambert et al (1960). The experiment consisted of selecting judging groups to assess the characteristics of speakers' personalities whose taped voices were played back to these judging groups. The informants were chosen from McGill University and a classical French college in Montreal. All of them were born in Canada. There were taped voices in the experiment. The tape recordings were made of the voices of four male bilinguals who could speak French and English perfectly. These speakers read a passage in French and then its translated version in English. Recordings were also made of the voices of two other men, who both read the passage in French. The subjects were asked to judge the physical and psychological aspects of the speakers. They were also asked to give their opinion on the degree of bilingualism. There were fourteen traits they had to rate on 6 point scales ranging from "very little" to "very much". The traits used were:

- height
- good looks
- leadership
- sense of humour
- intelligence
- religiousness
- self confidence
- dependability
- entertainingness
- kindness
- character
- general like-ability.
The respondents were asked to complete 14 incomplete sentences designed to show their attitudes toward both their own and the other language group. There was also a preference scale where the subjects had to indicate their preference for English or French Canadians as: friends, neighbours etc... The subjects evaluated their own proficiency in English and French by indicating how well they could speak, read and write. The English subjects evaluated the English guises more favourably than the French subjects who not only evaluated the English guises better than the French ones but were less favourable to the French guises than the English subjects were.

There is another method called "Mirror image" based on the matched guise technique; this was devised by Kimple in 1968 (Fishman & Agheyisi, 1970). The experiment consisted of using two conversations, each one having a set of role-relations, location and topic, and from these two conversations, four conversations were made preserving the original role-relations, setting and topic but making the following changes in language:

1st conversation — all characters spoke in language A
2nd " — all characters spoke in language B
3rd " — some spoke in A in particular role-relations others spoke in B
4th " — "Mirror image of the 3rd conversation": the role relations used in A are used now in B and vice-versa.

The language attitude tests used in the investigation of the language attitudes of the Algerian bilinguals:
The matched guise technique experiment (See appendix pp336-9)

The matched guise technique experiment that was used in the process of data collection is as follows (it is based on Lambert's technique, 1960).

1.1 The material:

A passage of prose in French was translated into Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic and the mixed French and Algerian Arabic variety.

1.2 The speakers:

Two male speakers each read the passages in Standard French, Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic and mixed Algerian French and Algerian Arabic. The speakers had a good proficiency in all these linguistic varieties. There were two filler voices as well.

The informants were asked to fill in a form indicating their age, sex, occupation, language acquisition and proficiency. Then, they listened to the taped voices and judged the speakers' personalities by scoring: pas du tout - un peu - beaucoup - énormément (not at all - a little - very much - enormously), to the following traits: instruit - religieux - intelligent - gentil - fier - prétentieux - sociable - sympathique - attirant - apte à diriger - ambitieux - arrière - patriotique (educated - religious - intelligent - kind - proud - pretentious - sociable - friendly - attractive - leader - ambitious - old fashioned - patriotic).

1.3 Language background questionnaire:

The informants were required to self-rate their proficiency in the three linguistic varieties; Standard Algerian French,
Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic. They were asked to judge their own ability in speaking, writing and reading SAF and SA and speaking AA by scoring one of the following degrees: very well - well - fair - poor.

2.3.3 The Adjective Test (see appendix p.340)

An adjective test was used to test the bilinguals' views of their languages. In that test, the informants were asked to describe each of the linguistic varieties contained in their French and Arabic repertoire by using the adjectives provided on the questionnaire form. The test consisted of a list of 10 adjectives.

The adjectives were as follows:

Rich in vocabulary
Beautiful
Practical
Lively
Scientific
Poetic
Difficult
Can keep up with technological development
Can express any idea
Can express any feeling

2.4 METHODOLOGY USED IN THE DESCRIPTIVE LINGUISTICS SECTION

2.4.1 Diglossia in Arabic:

Using myself as the main informant, I looked at the phonological differences that exist between Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic. I also analysed the Algerianisation process of the Standard Arabic words.
A Standard Arabic dictionary (Al Mawrid, 1974) was used for checking the original form of the Algerianised Standard Arabic words and phrases. No Algerian Arabic dictionary was used as none is available.

2.4.2 Borrowing and Code Mixing:

In this section, I analysed the French borrowed words in Algerian Arabic. I used myself as the main informant and sought the help of other bilingual Algerians when in doubt about a borrowed word. I also used a French dictionary (Le Petit Larousse Illustre, 1973) in order to have a systematic and complete list of borrowed French words in Algerian Arabic.

For the analysis of Algerian Arabic and French code mixing, I relied on recorded informal conversation with friends, but I also used my own intuition about the structures of such a variety of language.
CHAPTER THREE

LANGUAGE SELECTION AND ATTITUDES

3.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I will examine the various socio-linguistic patterns of code selection and language attitudes of the bilingual speakers living in Algiers. There exist various rules governing the use of language within each speech community. These rules are determined by a set of specific factors represented by the type of situation the bilingual speaker finds himself in, the type of interlocutor, topic and setting.

3.1 LANGUAGE SELECTION

3.1.1 FACTORS RELEVANT TO LANGUAGE SELECTION

The main factor which is taken into consideration when dealing with patterns of code selection is the one of domain which was put forward by Fishman (1972): "Domains are the major clusters of interaction situations that occur in particular multilingual settings" (p. 19).

Crystal (1980) defines the term domain thus:

"The term refers to a group of institutionalized social situations typically constrained by a common set of behavioural rules, e.g. the domain of the family is the house, of religion is the church." (p. 121).

For each domain, there are situations which are constituted by particular settings, topics and participants.
It has been found that language choice can be determined by the characteristics of the participants; Gal (1979) studied the social determinants of language choice in bilingual Austria. She developed a model in order to predict the choice of code of the bilingual speakers. The results showed that the informants who could speak both German and Hungarian used one or the other according to the person they were addressing themselves to.

Topic is also an important clue in language choice; in a bilingual community certain topics are discussed in one particular language whereas others are dealt with in the other language. Therefore, a change of topic is often accompanied by a change of code. For instance, scientific topics are usually better discussed in the code representing the medium of instruction in which sciences have been taught.

The choice of language may be influenced by the setting. In fact, in Algiers, when bilingual speakers meet for the first time in a setting where luxury and wealth are shown through the furniture of the place, the geographical position of the house (such as a residential area), French is chosen as the code.

Formality and informality also play a vital part in determining the choice of language. Weinreich (1952) analysed the functional differentiation in
Switzerland between Standard German and Schwyzertutsch, He found that Standard German was used for literature, church, administration, school and public addresses whereas Schwyzertutsch was used for family and everyday business.

In the same respect, Sankoff (1971) described a case of multilingualism in New Guinea. The community she based her work on had three linguistic varieties in their linguistic repertoire: 1. A dialect of the Buang language 2. Neo-Melanesian (New Guinea Pidgin English) 3. Yabem (a language introduced by the Evangelists).

Her aim was to determine the constraints on code selection among the members of this multilingual speech community. Some of her findings showed that Buang was used in informal situations; Sankoff calls Buang "the channel", a sort of oral channel used by the Buang speakers in their everyday conversation. Neo-Melanesian and Yabem were used for the written medium.

All the factors that have been defined so far - participants, setting and topic - form a situation. According to the variables that form it, a situation is either congruent or incongruent. A congruent situation is a situation where the factors are in harmony and constitute a situation that is
acceptable for the community where it takes place; all the required elements for the situation are present and the expected code is used. For example: participant: minister, setting: church, topic: religion. An incongruent situation is one where one or more of the elements which constitute it do not contribute to making it acceptable by the community. For example: participant: minister, setting: bar, topic: pop music.

Apart from the above factors, there are other variables that may intervene with the choice of language; a speaker's proficiency in a given linguistic variety can prevent him from using this variety in a situation where the common rule is to use this particular variety and not another. The speaker's attitude towards the languages contained in his linguistic repertoire as well as his preferences for such or such language play a vital part sometimes in the choice of a particular linguistic variety.

3.1.2 EXPERIMENT

Data on language selection was gathered through the use of linguistic questionnaires (see Chapter 2 for details).

3.1.3 THE INFORMANTS

There were 97 informants (50 males and 47 females) aged between 16 and 60, of various occupations.

They included students, teachers, housewives, clerks, secretaries, manual workers and others. They were all from the capital, or at least had lived there for ten years.
3.1.4 Languages used as the media of instruction during the informants education.

It was found that some informants had performed all their schooling with French as the medium of instruction whereas for others it was Standard Arabic. However, the majority of informants had started one stage of their education with French, and then were oriented to an Arabised section where Standard Arabic is the medium of instruction. However, one has to take into consideration whether the literary topics are taught with the same medium used for the scientific topics, as it was noticed that for some informants the literary topics were taught in Standard Arabic whereas the scientific ones were taught in French.

3.1.5 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1.5.1 Language Use in Speech

In this section, we will look at the roles played by participants, topics and settings in language choice in speech.

In the following discussion, interpretation of the results of the language selection study is based both on the numerical figures obtained from the questionnaires and on discussion with the informants.

3.1.5.1.1 Types of Addressees (See Appendix 3, p.325)

It was found that the selection of a particular linguistic variety is largely determined by the type of person one addresses oneself to.
a. Language Use with Relatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Algerian Arabic</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Arabic &amp; French</th>
<th>SA Blank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Grandparents</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>- 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Parents</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>- 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Brothers &amp;</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>- 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Spouse</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>- 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Children</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>- 40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Algerian Arabic is the dominant variety used with relatives in particular when addressing grandparents, parents and children. The reason may be that the elderly people are unlikely to use French or even to know it. Therefore Algerian Arabic (Berber sometimes) is used with them. Besides, the topics which are debated with relatives are generally related to the domain of home, family and everyday business; it is likely that there is no need to use French apart from French borrowed words which usually do not have any equivalents in Algerian Arabic.

As far as the children are concerned, parents claimed to use Algerian Arabic more often with their youngest children than with their older ones. One informant said that she used Algerian Arabic with her one and a half year old daughter whereas with her 10 year old one she used Algerian Arabic as well as French or a mixture of both. In fact, parents seem to avoid using Algerian Arabic and French at the same time, whether mixing both or
using them separately when talking with their young children, fearing that this would create confusion in the mind of their child.

The mixed Algerian Arabic and French variety seems to be favoured by some informants of the age group ranging between 20 and 30 years old when talking with their siblings or their spouse. This can be explained by the fact that some topics which require the use of French or the mixed Arabic and French variety are debated with siblings rather than with parents or grandparents.

b. Language Use with Neighbours:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2</th>
<th>AA</th>
<th>SAF</th>
<th>MAF</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>Blank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elderly lady</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elderly man</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non educated lady</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educated lady</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non educated man</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educated man</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Algerian Arabic is used exclusively when addressing elderly neighbours and this can be related to the fact that people of the older generation are generally assumed to know only a little French: very few of them have been to school during the French rule in Algeria and besides the rural exodus has brought into the capital people who had no direct exposure to the French language. Apart from that, Algerian Arabic and Arabic in general is a language
that reflects traditional and religious values. When someone, and in particular an educated person, uses Algerian Arabic with elders, it is seen as a sign of respect. In a way, the speaker shows that he has not forgotten or neglected his native language, his roots and origin, in spite of his knowledge of French and the culture it embodies.

In Algiers, when people reach their late sixties, they adopt a certain way of clothing and behaviour: most women generally will wear long dresses or a veil and will put a scarf on the head all the time. This usually takes place after these people come back from their pilgrimage to the holy place in Mecca (Saudi Arabia). Apart from being used with elderly people, Algerian Arabic is also used to address both men and women whether educated or not.

Education and sex seem to play an important role in language choice: a majority of respondents (53) said they used French or MAF when addressing an educated lady but most (70) would rather use Algerian Arabic if the lady was not educated.

c. Language use with non-relatives/low level of education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AA</th>
<th>SAF</th>
<th>MAF</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>Blank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bus Conductor</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shop keepers</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Algerian Arabic is used almost exclusively when addressing people who are supposed to be uneducated and who have only
an elementary knowledge of French - the spoken register only; whether these people such as the bus conductor are educated and proficient in Standard Arabic or not is not taken into consideration, because this variety of Arabic is not used in informal situations. In fact, Algerians never use Standard Arabic unless they have to.

A few informants said they used the mixed form of Arabic and French. When further information was sought, the informants claimed that they did not know the names of certain products in Algerian Arabic.

A general conclusion one can draw is that regardless of the informant's level of education and degree of proficiency in French or Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic is the variety chosen when addressing people who are supposed to be uneducated by the type of profession they hold.

d. Language use with non-relatives/no education/inferior status:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4</th>
<th>AA</th>
<th>SAF</th>
<th>MAF</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>Blank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beggars</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maids</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Algerian Arabic is also the only variety selected when addressing uneducated people who are also of an inferior social status than the informants. This status is determined by the type of profession these
addressees hold; such as being a maid or by their financial state: being deprived of financial resources and having to beg.

As far as the maids are concerned, they are not expected to be able to converse in French apart from knowing some basic words and expressions. During the French occupation in Algiers, most French families used to have Algerian maids. These maids learnt French through their living in their masters homes. However, after independence, the majority of these maids acquired a better social and professional situation: some of them took the advantage of being able to speak French and learnt how to write and read it in order to get a job in an office. Therefore, the maids who actually work for Algerian families living in Algiers generally come from the rural areas; they have not been directly exposed to the French language and even if they have, no one would expect them to be able to converse in French because of their profession.

It is also assumed that beggars do not speak French; it would be a shocking contrast: French is connected with education, prestige, high class concepts. Even if a beggar knows some French, he will avoid using it because it is with Algerian Arabic only that he can incite the passers-by to sympathise with him. Arabic is the language of
Islam, the religion of Algerians – a religion where it is a duty for its followers to help the poor. In fact, in begging, the beggars use stereotype sentences related to religious concepts, such as /lalla:h fi sabi:l alla:h/ in Algerian Arabic (For God, For God's sake).

If a beggar was to say this sentence in French: "Pour Dieu, pour l'amour de Dieu!" people may think he is abnormal and has a mental disorder such as a dual personality or that he is not serious about begging but is only joking. The people's replies are always in Algerian Arabic.

e. Language use with educated people (higher education) non-relatives.

Table 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AA</th>
<th>SAF</th>
<th>MAF</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>Blank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Education is a clue that the high prestige language, French, is the medium of communication. There are various explanations for choosing French at the doctor's: it seems that the patients may be embarrassed to talk about certain parts of their body and to mention them with their Algerian Arabic terms. By using the French words, they feel they are using scientific and technical words devoid from any
embarrassing connotation. Besides this, by using French, the patient has the impression that he or she has a basic knowledge in medicine and can therefore discuss his or her problems with the doctor in a scientific manner. Most medical terms are known by people in their French terms. For example, the word for pill in Algerian Arabic is the assimilated form of the French word "cachet"

/kaiʃe/ (French) /kaʃijja/ (in Algerian Arabic)

Stevens (1974) in his study of Arabic-French bilingualism in Tunisia and Bentahila (1981) in his analysis of the Moroccan bilinguals' attitudes for French and Arabic claim that French is used with the doctor in both countries.

3.1.5.1.2 Types of Topics (See Appendix 3, p. 326)

In this section, some light will be shed on the way a topic can influence the choice of language of the Algerian bilingual. Previous works about the role of the topic in the language choice of Tunisian and Moroccan bilinguals revealed that some particular topics are discussed in French whereas others are discussed in Arabic.

a. Scientific and Literary Topics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6</th>
<th>AA</th>
<th>SAF</th>
<th>MAF</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>Blank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scientific</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literary</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Scientific topics are discussed in French or the mixed Arabic and French variety rather than in Arabic even the Standard variety. This can be linked to the fact that French is known by all educated people even by those who study the scientific topics with Standard Arabic as the medium of instruction. Bentahila (1981) notices the same phenomenon among his Moroccan bilingual informants where 68% of the respondents said they used French when discussing a scientific topic. Stevens (1974) reckons that all his informants chose French for such topics.

Literary topics, on the other hand, show a different pattern than scientific ones; in fact, Algerian Arabic seems to be favoured when dealing with literary topics, except for the older informants, the majority of whom said that they used French to discuss literary topics. This is probably related to their education, as for most of them, studying literature at school was devoted exclusively to French literature.

b. Religious topics:

Table 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AA</th>
<th>SAF</th>
<th>MAP</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>Blank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Religious topics are dealt with in Algerian Arabic because of the link between Arabic and the
religion of Islam. It was observed that some people tend to include a few Standard Arabic words and expressions when discussing a religious concept with the aim of showing their attachment to their religion and its blessed language.

c. Personal and everyday business topics:

Table 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AA</th>
<th>SAF</th>
<th>MAF</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>Blank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These kinds of topics are more frequently dealt with in Algerian Arabic as they deal with casual matters taking place in an informal situation. These topics consist of matters to do with home, family and friends. However, a more sizeable number of informants would also use MAF.

3.1.5.1.3 Types of Settings (See Appendix 3, p. 326)

Settings also contribute to the necessary clues for language selection. The following results show the informants' choice of language in the different settings presented to them in the questionnaires.

a. Hospital

Table 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AA</th>
<th>SAF</th>
<th>MAF</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>Blank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The mixed Arabic and French variety is used more than any other variety because all the terminology related to medicines, medical treatment and so on is known in French. For instance, a word such as "radiography" (X-ray) has no equivalent in Algerian Arabic, and hardly anyone knows its equivalent in Standard Arabic. As far as the choice for Algerian Arabic is concerned, informants probably recalled their conversations with other patients or nurses and porters to whom they talked in Algerian Arabic.

b. Restaurant

Table 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AA</th>
<th>SAF</th>
<th>MAF</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>Blank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the informants' comments, it seems that an important factor which seems to influence the choice of language in restaurants is the type of restaurant one is in; French is generally used in first class restaurants whereas Algerian Arabic or the mixed Arabic and French variety are used in ordinary restaurants.

c. Mosque

Table 11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AA</th>
<th>SAF</th>
<th>MAF</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>Blank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Algerian Arabic is used exclusively. Some informants said it was a sort of blasphemy or contradiction if they were to use French in a holy place. Apart from that, the people who go to the mosque avoid talking about topics other than religious ones.

d. Stadium

Table 12 AA SAF SA MAF Blank

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AA</th>
<th>SAF</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>MAF</th>
<th>Blank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The great majority of the informants chose Algerian Arabic in their replies. All the female informants left this question blank.

Algerian Arabic is usually used to express strong feelings of joy or sadness or anger. In a stadium, supporters are more likely to use strong insults or encouraging words which they prefer to say in Algerian Arabic.

3.1.5.1.4 Types of moods and communicative purposes. (See Appendix 3, p. 326)

a. Anger

Table 13 AA SAF MAF SA Blank

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AA</th>
<th>SAF</th>
<th>MAF</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>Blank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>With siblings</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With spouse</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With best friend</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With stranger</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Anger seems frequently to be expressed in Algerian Arabic, probably because it is the native variety in which the bilingual speakers feel at ease to use when they are angry. Some respondents claimed the words came more easily and quickly in Algerian Arabic or mixed Arabic and French than in French. In this context, Rubin (1968:107) in her survey of Paraguay Bilingual community: "angry discourse is usually conducted in the first language acquired".

On the other hand, French is used when someone wants to put up a barrier, to create a distance between himself and the addressee. If a bilingual uses French when he is angry with his best friend, it is usually a sign of contempt, a sign that their friendship bond is in danger because the use of French is not spontaneous in informal situations except in some specific situations.

b. Paying court to a girl (to 50 male informants only)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 14</th>
<th>AA</th>
<th>SAF</th>
<th>MAF</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>Blank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are various explanations for the overwhelming choice of French when paying court to a girl. First of all, French is the language of a culture which seems more liberating in this particular aspect of life to the Algerians. French words used
in courting appear to the Algerian bilingual devoid of any embarrassing or vulgar connotation, whereas similar words in Algerian Arabic might be connected to the fact that their user is interested in sexual intercourse only. Besides, when a man is courting a girl for the first time, his use of French is quite crucial, as if he did not use French but Algerian Arabic instead, the girl who is being courted may think of him as someone who is not educated, who is not sophisticated and who is old fashioned.

c. Answering a man who is paying court to a girl
(to 47 female informants only)

Table 15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AA</th>
<th>SAF</th>
<th>MAF</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>Blank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this particular situation, the girl is replying to someone who approached her in the street or in a coffee room. She is supposed to reject his approach. Algerian Arabic is the variety chosen by most respondents as they see it as a variety which should remind the man of the traditional values connected to the Arabo-Islamic culture; a man should never court a girl unless she is his fiancée or wife. Besides, Algerian Arabic has swear words and insults which are considered to be stronger than the French ones. On the other
hand, using French is seen as a form of encouragement for the man to persist in his approach.

d. Forms of politeness with strangers. (See Appendix 3, p. 321)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 16</th>
<th>AA</th>
<th>SAF</th>
<th>MAF</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>Blank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Woman with veil</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman with no veil</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elderly man</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young man</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young lady</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Traditionality seems to be related with the use of Algerian Arabic: all respondents but one said they would say "excuse me" in Algerian Arabic to a woman wearing a veil. But when the addressee is a young lady, more informants said they used French because it is the language of emancipated women in Algiers.

3.1.5.1.5 Internalised Use of Language (see Appendix 3, p. 322)

The informants were required to state which language they used when performing certain tasks such as counting, praying and so on. A sort of situation where there is no addressee who would reply to the informant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 17</th>
<th>AA</th>
<th>SAF</th>
<th>MAF</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>Blank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singing to oneself</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thinking</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counting</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calculating</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Address God (when in trouble)</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dreaming</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the table, we notice that French is the medium used in counting and calculating. The reason for this is that the majority of informants had started to learn about numbers in French.

As far as thinking is concerned, the majority of informants believed it to be processed in Algerian Arabic; this can be possibly related to the type of subjects being thought of.

3.1.5.2 Language Use in Writing (see Appendix 3, p.320-3)

3.1.5.2.1 Writing Notes and Personal Diary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AA</th>
<th>SAF</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>MAF</th>
<th>Blank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Writing notes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing personal diary</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Writing down notes, such as a memorandum or shopping list, is usually performed in French: the informants are used to writing French. This sort of writing is concerned with everyday matters; a shopping list for instance, where the informants know the terms of the objects they want to buy in Algerian Arabic or French but they very rarely know them in Standard Arabic. Besides, writing in Algerian Arabic is not an easy task since there are no writing system conventions for this variety and one has to adopt the Standard Arabic writing system.
conventions which are not all suitable for Algerian Arabic.

The results concerning the language in which the informants write or would like to write their diary in seems to confirm the above about the respondents' preference for writing in French. The reasons given by the informants for such choice all centered around the practicality of French as being a language easy to write and a language which can express one's feelings.

Only 4 informants out of 97 claimed they preferred writing their diary in Standard Arabic (4% of the total of informants).

French is described as a language which is easy to write: (the following comments were extracted from the answered questionnaires).

Informant 11: "C'est plus facile d'écrire en français mon journal"
Informant 2: "C'est plus facile"
Informant 16: "Je préfère écrire en français pour la facilité d'expression"
Informant 29: "J'écris en français pour la facilité"
Informant 30: "Le français, c'est plus pratique et plus facile"
Informant 6: "En français, c'est plus facile"
Informant 8: "En français, c'est plus facile, d'ailleurs je suis faible ailleurs"
French is also seen as a language in which one can express oneself better than in other languages.

Informant 1: "Je trouve facilement mes mots en français"

Informant 2: "J'exprime mes sentiments mieux en français qu'en arabe"

Informant 16: "Je préfère écrire en français car je m'exprime mieux en cette langue"

Informant 6: "Je m'exprime mieux en français"

Informant 7: "Je trouve mieux les mots en français."

But when it comes to Standard Arabic, the reasons given by the informants seem to be based on emotional feelings such as the informant who said he preferred to write his diary in Standard Arabic because he liked this language:

Informant 35: "Je préfère écrire mon journal en arabe classique parce que j'aime l'arabe"

One respondent in the first group gave the following reason for preferring to write her diary in Standard Arabic.

Informant 4: "Je m'exprime mieux en arabe classique et quand je le fais, je pleure toujours après".
3.1.5.2.2 Writing family letters:

Table 19

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AA</th>
<th>SAF</th>
<th>MAF</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>Blank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Letters to parents</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letters to siblings</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once again, French represents the dominant variety chosen when writing family letters. In most cases, the reason for choosing French is the proficiency of informants in this language.

3.1.5.2.3 Writing Love Letters:

Table 20

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AA</th>
<th>SAF</th>
<th>MAF</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>Blank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Love letter</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of respondents said they preferred to write a love letter in French because they feel that the French culture allows such situations as a love affair. Some respondents described French as being "une langue romantique et fine" as opposed to Arabic which some see as "une langue demodee".

3.1.5.2.4 Writing Official Letters:

French is the language chosen when writing an official letter such as applying for a job. Even if a person is able to write the letter in Standard Arabic, he nevertheless prefers to write official letters in French, as in most governmental and private offices, the medium of work is French (see
chapter one for details on the use of language in ministries and other governmental and public institutions). Apart from that, it is essential to know French if one wants to work in an office because the administration arabization is still in its infancy. A knowledge of Standard Arabic is desirable but French is compulsory in most cases. However, it is taken for granted that all educated Algerians applying for a job such as clerk know French, and consequently if an applicant sends his letter in Standard Arabic, there might be suspicions about his ability to use French at work.

3.1.5.3 Language Use in Reading (See Appendix 3, pp.320)

3.1.5.3.1 Reading Books and Newspapers

Table 21.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>SAF</th>
<th>SA &amp; SAF</th>
<th>Blank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Books read</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books preferred</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers read</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers preferred</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above table, one notices that some informants claim to have read or read books written in Standard Arabic. This is mainly due to the fact that most Standard Arabic books that have been read by the informants are those provided by the school library and which must be studied in the Arabic literature session at school.
Once again, French is favoured by most respondents in reading any material. The reasons for such a preference, given by the informants, are connected to the availability of French books, their wide choice. Another important factor mentioned by the respondents is their mastery of French and ease of comprehension.

French books are described as interesting by some informants:

**Informant 16**: "Je préfère les livres écrites en français car je les trouve intéressants, de plus je n'ai jamais essayé de lire en arabe classique".

**Informant 32**: "Je préfère lire en français car c'est beaucoup plus intéressant et je comprends mieux".

The majority of respondents attribute their choice of French materials to the wide range of French books and magazines.

**Informant 6**: "Je préfère les livres en français. Ils sont plus intéressants, en plus ils sont nombreux et variés, donc on peut choisir les livres qu'on aime lire".

**Informant 7**: "Je préfère les livres en français puisqu'ils sont en grande quantité donc on a la possibilité de choisir le meilleur et le plus intéressant".
Informant 21: "Je préfère les livres en français car on a plus de choix: science fiction, roman, revue scientifique".

Some informants prefer to read French materials because they find it easier to read in French:
Informant 37: "Je comprends mieux le français, le lis plus vite, d'ailleurs je n'ai lu que deux livres en arabe classique de toute ma vie".
Informant 4: "Je préfère les livres en français car je comprends mieux".

Very few respondents stated they preferred to read Arabic materials (3% of the total number of informants). The most peculiar explanation given by one of them describes Standard Arabic as a language which develops one's imagination:
Informant 7: "Je préfère les livres écrits en arabe classique car je les comprend mieux et cela enrichit mon imagination en quelque sorte".

Among the informants who preferred French materials to the Arabic ones, there were few informants who instead of showing the positive side of reading French books stressed instead their dislike for Arabic materials:
Informant 33: "Je préfère lire en français car je l'ai toujours fait en français et cela ne m'intéresse
pas de lire en arabe, d'ailleurs je n'ai pas de bouquins en arabe".

3.1.5.4 Language Preference in the Media (See Appendix 3, pp. 320)

Table 22

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>A &amp; F</th>
<th>Blank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Radio channel preferred</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.V. films preferred</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 23

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety of Arabic in Algerian films and plays</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
<th>AA &amp; SA</th>
<th>Blank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| People prefer French films or foreign films dubbed in French such as American films and series. The main reason is that the majority of the films which are broadcast on the television are French films or films dubbed in French; the viewers have more choice in these films rather than the Arabic ones, which seem to be all produced by Egypt. The national film production is still low, and on the whole Algerian viewers prefer to have an Algerian film on television rather than an Egyptian one. This explains the fact that the majority of informants stated they preferred French films.

When asked about which variety of Arabic, the informants wanted the Algerian films and plays to be made in, all respondents but ten said they preferred the variety to be Algerian Arabic.
One informant said: "Je préfère que les films et pièces théâtrales algériennes soient en arabe algérien, sinon ils perdraient la moitié de leur valeur".

Another informant saw the broadcasting of more Algerian films in Algerian Arabic as a means of satisfying the majority of the public: "La T.V. Algérienne doit encourager la réalisation de films algériens parlés en arabe algérien afin de transmettre le message à toutes les couches de la population".

3.1.5.5 The Interaction of Interlocutors, Settings and Topics in the Choice of Language

In this section, we will look at the effect of participants, settings and topics in the language selection by the Algerian bilingual speakers.

In the questionnaire dealing with this part, the respondents were presented with 64 situations where in each situation, there was a specified addressee, topic and setting. The informants were asked to state which language or linguistic variety they would more likely use in each type of situation. (See Appendix 3, pp. 327-335).

There were 4 types of addressees, topics and settings:
In constructing the questionnaire, I followed Fishman's method in presenting the situations to his informants. The components mentioned above were used to form the 64 situations where each addressee, topic and setting were combined with each other (see Chapter Two for details on this questionnaire and the appendix for the final form of the questionnaire).

The aim of this questionnaire was to reveal the influence of formal and informal domains in the choice of language in the different situations.

The formal domain was the one related to work and education represented by the basic situations:

1. Teacher/Medicine/School
2. Employer/Work/Office

The informal domain was represented by the remaining situations belonging to home and friendship:

3. Brother/Party/home
4. Friend/Film/restaurant

The respondents were 50 informants (26 female and 24 males) of various ages and occupations.
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION:

The results are presented in graphs (see graphs pp. 90-8).

From the results obtained, we notice that French is more used with the teacher and employer than with the brother and friend regardless of the topics and settings. The mixed Algerian Arabic and French variety is more often used with the friend and brother. It is less used with formal addressees, namely the teacher and employer, except in informal settings such as the restaurant and the home. Algerian Arabic is used with the friend and the brother especially at the restaurant and at home.

French is more used in formal situations than Algerian Arabic and the mixed Algerian Arabic/French variety. It was found that the participant seems to be the main factor in determining the language or linguistic variety to be chosen. In fact, when addressing a participant which is usually classified as "formal" namely the teacher and the employer, the main language which is used is French regardless of the type of topic and setting. Even, when the topic and setting become informal, French is still dominantly selected as the spoken medium. This can be explained by the fact that a participant such as a teacher or an employer is initially introduced to the informant in a formal situation.
Algerian Arabic, on the other hand, is rather used in less formal situations. However, although Algerian Arabic is much less used in formal situations than is French, it is even not the dominant language chosen in informal situations, this is mainly due to the fact that Algerian Arabic is not often used on its own but is usually mixed with French.

As far as the use of the mixed Arabic/French variety is concerned, we noticed that there is no clear distinction between the numbers of respondents for each different situation; often this variety of language is devoid from any connotation of formality or informality but is the most favoured variety used in speaking.

CONCLUSIONS:

The conclusions one can draw from the results is that the participants, settings and topics play an important role in language choice. Formality of a situation involved the use of French, whereas informality invoked the use of the mixed Algerian Arabic and French variety for academic topics, the use of Algerian Arabic being confined to every day business topics.

3.2 LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

In this section, we will look at the informants' attitudes to the languages contained in their linguistic repertoire.
GRAPH 1: Use of French: effect of participant

- Teacher
- Employer
- Brother
- Friend

No. of respondents

school medicine office work restaurant film home party

50
40
30
20
10
0
GRAPH 2: Use of French: effect of topic

- Medicine
- Work
- Film
- Party

No. of respondents

school teacher  office employer  restaurant friend  home brother
GRAPH 3: Use of French: effect of setting

School
Office
Restaurant
Home
Graph 4: Use of Algerian Arabic: effect of participant

No. of respondents

Teacher
Employer
Friend
Brother

School
Work
Restaurant
Home
Party

Medicine

40
30
20
10
0
GRAPH 5: Use of Algerian Arabic: Effect of topic

- Medicine
- Work
- Film
- Party
GRAPH 6: Use of Algerian Arabic: effect of setting

No. of respondents

School
Office
Restaurant
Home

teacher
employer
friend
brother

medicine
work
film
party
GRAPH 7: Use of mixed Arabic/French: effect of participant

Teacher
Employer
Friend
Brother

No. of respondents

school  office  restaurant  home
medicineworkfilmparty
GRAPH 8: Use of mixed Arabic/French: effect of topic

- Medicine
- Work
- Film
- Party

No. of respondents

School teacher  office employer  restaurant  friend  home brother
GRAPH 9: Use of mixed Arabic/French: effect of setting

- School
- Office
- Restaurant
- Home

No. of respondents

- teacher
- employer
- friend
- brother

- medicine
- work
- film
- party

50
40
30
20
10
0
3.2.1 In the final part of the questionnaire, there was a part dealing with the respondents' preferences for any particular language or linguistic variety as well as their reasons for liking or disliking any of their languages. (see Appendix 3, p. 324 for questions).

I. Arabic:

a. Algerian Arabic:

The respondents who preferred this variety of Arabic focused on the fact that this variety is the easiest to speak and understand as compared to Standard Arabic. They also stated that it is a "language" they can use with any member of the Algerian society without the fear of not being understood.

It is also important to mention that using this variety of Arabic shows one's solidarity with one's countrymen as well as one's simplicity and modesty as opposed to using French which - in most cases - is felt by the addressee as a sign of sophistication.

b. Standard Arabic:

This variety of Arabic does not seem to be favoured by the respondents as it often appeared as their last choice of languages. The main reason for this hostility to Standard Arabic is the respondents' low proficiency in it; in fact, most
of those who ranked this variety in the last position say that they have not mastered Standard Arabic.

However, for those informants who favour the use of Standard Arabic, their attitudes towards this variety seem to centre around patriotism, Arabic unity and religion. Their judgements of this variety are rather emotionally-based:

Informant 44: "J'aime l'arabe classique car je suis un Arabe."
Informant 47: "J'aime l'arabe classique car c'est le symbole de mon originalité et de mon identité.
Informant 48: "J'eprouve du respect, de l'admiration et de l'affection pour l'arabe classique."
Informant 35: "J'aime l'arabe classique car c'est la langue du Coran."

From the above comments one notices that Algerians are attached to Arabic not for practical reasons but rather for a question of pride.

However, some informants see the use of Standard Arabic as a practical tool one uses with people who do not understand French or Algerian Arabic namely Arab foreigners such as Iraquis, Egyptians and so on.

One informant described Standard Arabic as: "Une langue très romantique, très forte et riche en vocabulaire mais difficile à apprendre".
II. French

French is favoured by the informants because it is a language in which they can more easily read and write. There does not seem to be any attachment to French as or symbol of identity on the part of the respondents but it is for practicality that the informants prefer to use French.

The informants are aware of the fact that although they have started using French from an early age and are bilinguals in French and Arabic, French is nonetheless a foreign language to them and as one informant put it: "Le français est une forme de colonisation léguée par la France".

While Standard Arabic is a symbol of identity, personality, Arab principles, religion and patriotism, French is conceived as a practical language used in work, education, sciences.

Informant 21: "Je préfère le français car c'est la langue du travail".

Informant 45: "Le français est la langue la plus apte pour la science de nos jours".

Other informants see French as an appropriate language because they are proficient in it:

Informant 43: "Le français est la langue que je maitrise le mieux."
3.2.2 The adjective test used in the investigation of the Algerians' language attitudes:

3.2.2.1 Method: the test consisted of a list of ten adjectives. The respondents were asked to describe each of Algerian Arabic, French, Standard Arabic and the mixed Algerian Arabic and French variety by choosing the adjectives they felt were appropriate to describe them.

3.2.2.2 The informants:

There were fifty informants (25 females and 25 males) who were balanced Arabic-French bilinguals.

3.2.2.3 Results:

The results are presented in tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Standard Arabic</th>
<th>Algerian Arabic</th>
<th>Mixed A/F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rich in vocabulary</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beautiful</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poetic</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rating for French and SA as rich in vocabulary, beautiful and poetic are almost identical: both are considered rich in vocabulary by most informants (45 & 47 respectively); and both are described as beautiful and poetic by all, or almost all, informants.

For SA these high ratings can best be explained by the fact that SA is the language of the holy book of Islam; and further because it is always emphasised that SA has a long and rich literary tradition. A large amount of Arabic poetry & prose is taught in the school curriculum and all non-scientific subjects are taught in SA.

In the discussion of the questionnaire with informants there was an interesting difference in the reasons given for the adjectives chosen for French and for SA: the Algerian bilingual informants did not mention the usefulness of SA but
saw it as an intrinsically beautiful language. For French, on the other hand, the informants always referred to its usefulness and practicality. So French is described as rich in vocabulary and beautiful because it is a useful tool that can be used for all kinds of topics from literature to Science and technology.

While French and SA are described as rich in vocabulary, only a small number of informants (10) described AA as rich in vocabulary whilst half (25) described MAF as rich in vocabulary. By contrast AA is described as beautiful and poetic by a majority of 40 informants, whilst MAF receives much lower ratings on these characteristics. The higher ratings of AA may reflect positive values being attached to what it is the informants native variety.

Table 2: French Standard Arabic Algerian Arabic Mixed A/F
Practical 44 15 27 39

French is seen by the informants as the most practical language. This is due to the fact that French is used in all domains. However, Standard Arabic gets the lowest score as it is a linguistic variety which is rarely used except in some particular cases. However, the MAF variety is judged to be almost as practical since it can be used for any topic in informal situations.
Table 3:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Standard Arabic</th>
<th>Algerian Arabic</th>
<th>Mixed A/F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scientific</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Able to keep up with the modern world</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

French is the dominant language as far as science is concerned. This is mainly due to the fact that the main medium of instruction for scientific topics is French. Apart from that, most scientific magazines and books are in French.

Table 4:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Standard Arabic</th>
<th>Algerian Arabic</th>
<th>Mixed A/F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Difficult</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The informants may have rated both French and SA as difficult as neither is their native linguistic variety.

3.2.2.4 Conclusions:

The general conclusions one can draw from the above results are as follows:

1. French is considered to be modern, useful, practical and able to keep up with the modern world by the majority of the respondents.

2. Standard Arabic is also felt to be beautiful, rich in vocabulary and poetic. This can be related to the fact that Standard Arabic is the language of a long literary heritage and religion.

3. Algerian Arabic is judged to be practical and the least difficult. But, on the other hand, this variety of Arabic is judged by the informants as less modern than the other linguistic varieties.

4. The mixed Algerian Arabic and French variety is also seen as a fairly practical and an easy variety to use.
3.2.3 Reactions to Algerians' use of French and Arabic:

In this section, we will look at the Algerian bilinguals' attitudes towards French and Arabic, by using an indirect method of investigation known as the matched guise technique experiment designed by Lambert, 1960 (c.f. Chapter 2 for details on this experiment).

3.2.3.1 The Informants:

There were 50 informants of various occupations and various ages ranging from 18 to 55. There were 25 females and 25 males.

3.2.3.2 Analysis of the results:

The ratings were analysed by means of the t-test (following Lambert's, 1960).

3.2.3.4 Results and discussion:

The full results are summarised in tables. In analysing the results, we applied the t-test to determine the degree of significance of the differences between the sets of judgements (see Siegel, 1956, for details on this test).
3.2.3.4.1 Reactions to the use of French and Algerian Arabic.

### TABLE 1

t values for significance of differences in evaluations of French and Algerian Arabic guises:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trait:</th>
<th>Speaker A</th>
<th>Speaker B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educated</td>
<td>3.00 ****</td>
<td>7.70 ****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td>-3.13 ****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intelligent</td>
<td>1.42</td>
<td>3.95 ****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proud</td>
<td>-0.83</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kind</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>-1.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attractive</td>
<td>-0.13</td>
<td>3.76 ****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretentious</td>
<td>2.76 ****</td>
<td>-1.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendly</td>
<td>2.45 ****</td>
<td>1.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desired as leader</td>
<td>-1.73</td>
<td>1.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old fashioned</td>
<td>-1.63</td>
<td>-3.67 ****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambitious</td>
<td>-0.87</td>
<td>4.02 ****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriotic</td>
<td>-3.63 ****</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociable</td>
<td>-1.50</td>
<td>1.26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

df = 49

**Key to asterisks:**

- **** $P < .001$
- *** $P < .01$
- ** $P < .02$
- * $P < .05$

Positive entries indicate that French guises are rated higher on the scale than Algerian Arabic ones, while minus entries indicate that Algerian Arabic guises are rated more highly than French ones.
Speaker A:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traits rated higher in French</th>
<th>Traits rated higher in AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pretentious ***</td>
<td>patriotic ****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friendly ***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>educated ****</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Algerian Arabic guise of speaker A is perceived as a very patriotic person. When speaking French, this speaker is seen as a pretentious person, though friendly and educated.

Speaker B:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traits rated higher in French</th>
<th>Traits rated higher in AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educated ****</td>
<td>Religious ****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intelligent ****</td>
<td>Old-fashioned ****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attractive ****</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambitious ****</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This speaker's French guise is rated favourably on the traits that are usually connected with French: education, intelligence and ambition.

On the other hand, the Algerian Arabic guise is perceived as religious but again, Arabic is perceived as an old fashioned language connected with traditional values and customs.
3.2.3.4.2 Reactions to the use of French and Standard Arabic.

**TABLE 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trait</th>
<th>Speaker A</th>
<th>Speaker B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educated</td>
<td>-1.21</td>
<td>3.52 ****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>-2.10 *</td>
<td>-6.68 ****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intelligent</td>
<td>-1.53</td>
<td>1.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proud</td>
<td>-0.67</td>
<td>-0.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kind</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attractive</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>2.01 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretentious</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>-0.085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendly</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>1.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desired as Leader</td>
<td>-4.10 ****</td>
<td>0.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old fashioned</td>
<td>-1.04</td>
<td>-2.37 **</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambitious</td>
<td>-2.23 *</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriotic</td>
<td>-3.83 ****</td>
<td>0.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociable</td>
<td>-1.16</td>
<td>-0.16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

df = 49

**Key to asterisks:**
- Positive entries indicate that French guises are rated higher on the scale than Standard Arabic guises while minus entries indicate that Standard Arabic guises are more highly rated than French ones.
Speaker A

Traits rated higher

in French

none

Traits rated higher

in SA

religious *

desired as leader ****

ambitious *

patriotic ****

The Standard Arabic guise of speaker A gets high ratings for religion; this variety of Arabic is the language of the religion. Patriotism is also seen as an important trait of this speaker's personality when speaking in Standard Arabic. Standard Arabic is the official language of the country therefore choosing to use this variety of Arabic is the main asset of patriotism. This guise is also seen to be desired as a leader because of the importance of SA in politics and administration.

Speaker B

Traits rated higher

in French

Educated ****

Attractive *

Traits rated higher

in SA

Religious ****

Old fashioned **

Using Standard Arabic is once again connected with religion as the Standard Arabic guise gets the highest rating for the religion trait. However, this guise is perceived as old-fashioned.

This can be explained by the fact that Arabic is usually felt to be the language of traditionality as
opposed to French which is seen as the language of modernisation, which is rated higher on education.

3.2.3.4.3 Reactions to the use of French and mixed Arabic-French:

**TABLE 3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trait</th>
<th>Speaker A</th>
<th>Speaker B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educated</td>
<td>3.07 ****</td>
<td>5.08 ****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>1.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intelligent</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>2.69 ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proud</td>
<td>-0.16</td>
<td>-1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kind</td>
<td>2.61 ***</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attractive</td>
<td>2.10 *</td>
<td>1.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretentious</td>
<td>-0.68</td>
<td>-4.10 ****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendly</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>4.23 ****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desired as Leader</td>
<td>2.62 ***</td>
<td>3.14 ****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old fashioned</td>
<td>-2.04 *</td>
<td>1.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriotic</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>1.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociable</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>2.40 ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambitious</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>2.05 **</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

df = 49

Key to asterisks:

- **** P < .001 Positive entries indicate that French guises are rated higher on the scale than mixed Arabic-French guises, while minus entries indicate that mixed Arabic-French guises are more highly rated than French ones.
Speaker A:

Traits rated higher in French

Educated ****
Kind ***
Attractive *
Desired as Leader ***
Ambitious *

When compared to Mixed Arabic-French, French gets high ratings with values connected with social status such as the trait "desired as leader". It also gets a high rating for education.

The informants seem to trust the French speaking person as a leader but also as a person as they perceive him as kind and attractive,

Speaker B:

Traits rated higher in French

Educated ****
Intelligent ***
Friendly ***
Desired as Leader ***
Ambitious **
Sociable ***

Traits rated higher in M.A.F.

Old-fashioned *

Pretentious ****
Speaker B French guise gets the highest ratings with traits associated with social position: "desired as leader". This speaker is perceived as educated and intelligent when speaking French but pretentious when using the mixed Arabic-French variety.

This finding once again suggests that the informants associate French with status, prestige and education. But, they also feel that using French means to be sociable and friendly.
3.2.3.4.4 Reactions to the use of Algerian Arabic and Standard Arabic.

**TABLE 4**

**t values for significance of differences in evaluations of Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic guises:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trait</th>
<th>Speaker A</th>
<th>Speaker B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educated</td>
<td>2.52 ***</td>
<td>3.12 ****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>-0.16</td>
<td>1.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intelligent</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>3.50 ****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proud</td>
<td>-0.15</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kind</td>
<td>-0.85</td>
<td>1.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attractive</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>2.12 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretentious</td>
<td>1.48</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendly</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>0.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desired as Leader</td>
<td>2.64 ***</td>
<td>2.70 ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old fashioned</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>0.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambitious</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td>1.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriotic</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociable</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>1.44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*df* = 49

Key to asterisks:

- **** *P* < .001
- *** *P* < .01
- ** *P* < .02
- * *P* < .05

Positive entries indicate that Standard Arabic guises are rated higher on the scale than Algerian Arabic guises, while minus entries indicate that Algerian Arabic guises are more highly rated than Standard Arabic ones.
Speaker A:

Traits rated higher in AA
None

Traits rated higher in SA
Educated ***
Desired as leader ***

From the ratings, one notices that Standard Arabic is more favourably rated than Algerian Arabic on education and social status. The reason lies in the fact that Standard Arabic is not only the medium of instruction but is also the variety of Arabic which is used in official speeches by members of the government in particular.

Speaker B:

Traits rated higher in AA
None

Traits rated higher in SA
Intelligent ****
Educated ****
Attractive *
Desired as Leader ***

Speaker B Standard Arabic guise gets high ratings for values associated with power and prestige as compared to Algerian Arabic which gets no high rating for any trait.
3.2.3.4.5 Reactions to the use of Algerian Arabic and mixed Arabic-French:

**TABLE 5**

t values for significance of differences between evaluations of Algerian Arabic and mixed Arabic-French:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trait</th>
<th>Speaker A</th>
<th>Speaker B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educated</td>
<td>1.71</td>
<td>2.22 **</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>4.66 ****</td>
<td>2.02 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intelligent</td>
<td>2.00 *</td>
<td>1.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proud</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>0.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kind</td>
<td>2.68 ***</td>
<td>0.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attractive</td>
<td>2.31 **</td>
<td>1.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretentious</td>
<td>-3.17 ****</td>
<td>-2.04 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendly</td>
<td>-1.66</td>
<td>3.54 ****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desired as Leader</td>
<td>4.05 ****</td>
<td>1.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old fashioned</td>
<td>-0.85</td>
<td>-1.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambitious</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>2.25 **</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriotic</td>
<td>4.04 ****</td>
<td>3.72 ****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociable</td>
<td>2.58 ***</td>
<td>2.44 ***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

df = 49

Key to asterisks:

- **** P < .001
- *** P < .01
- ** P < .02
- * P < .01

Positive entries indicate that Algerian Arabic guises are rated higher on the scale than Algerian guises, while minus entries indicate that Mixed Arabic-French are more highly rated than Algerian Arabic ones.
The use of Algerian Arabic is connected with several positive values as opposed to the use of the mixed Arabic-French variety. The Algerian Arabic guise gets high ratings with the religion trait. This guise is also rated for patriotism connected with the use of Arabic.

Here, the user of Algerian Arabic is perceived as an attractive, kind and sociable person; traits associated with solidarity.

However, there is a striking fact about the Algerian Arabic guise when compared with the mixed Arabic-French variety; the Algerian Arabic guise gets a high rating for the trait: "Desired as leader". It is the only instance where such a result is obtained. This shows the reluctance of the informants and their rejection of the use of the mixed Arabic-French variety.
However, one notices that, although, the use of Algerian Arabic is connected with positive values such as intelligence and leadership, the education trait does not appear among these values; Algerian Arabic is not the medium of instruction but is the variety of language that reflects one's identity and belonging to a group.

**Speaker B**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traits rated higher in AA</th>
<th>Traits rated higher in MAF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friendly ****</td>
<td>Educated **</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambitious **</td>
<td>Pretentious *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriotic ****</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociable ***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ratings obtained for this speaker's guises confirm the findings that Algerian Arabic guises are more favourably rated than the mixed Arabic-French ones.
3.2.3.4.6 Reactions to the use of Standard Arabic and Mixed Arabic-French.

TABLE 6

t values of significance of differences between evaluations between Standard Arabic and Mixed Arabic-French guises:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trait</th>
<th>Speaker A</th>
<th>Speaker B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educated</td>
<td>3.71 ****</td>
<td>7.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>4.10 ****</td>
<td>1.46 ****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intelligent</td>
<td>3.13 ****</td>
<td>0.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proud</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>-1.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kind</td>
<td>1.63</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attractive</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretentious</td>
<td>-1.42</td>
<td>-1.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendly</td>
<td>-0.88</td>
<td>1.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leader</td>
<td>6.11 ****</td>
<td>3.19 ****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old fashioned</td>
<td>-0.88</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambitious</td>
<td>2.20 **</td>
<td>1.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriotic</td>
<td>4.80 ****</td>
<td>3.69 ****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociable</td>
<td>2.10 *</td>
<td>1.91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

df = 49

Key to asterisks:

**** $P < .001$
*** $P < .01$
** $P < .02$
* $P < .05$

Positive entries indicate that Standard Arabic guises are rated higher on the scale than mixed Arabic-French guises, while minus entries indicate that mixed Arabic-French guises are rated more highly than Standard Arabic ones.
Speaker A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traits rated higher in SA</th>
<th>Traits rated higher in MAF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educated ****</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious ****</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intelligent ****</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desired as Leader ****</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambitious **</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriotic ****</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociable *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The standard Arabic guise gets significant ratings on a number of traits associated with social status and education. However, the mixed Arabic-French guise gets no significant rating from any of the traits.

Speaker B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traits rated higher in SA</th>
<th>Traits rated higher in MAF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educated ****</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desired as Leader ***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriotic ***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This speaker gets significant ratings for the Standard Arabic guise which is perceived to be educated, patriotic and is desired as a leader as well.
CONCLUSIONS

From the results obtained one can conclude the following:

1. The use of French or Standard Arabic is connected with the values of education, intelligence, leadership, prestige and status. However, the trait "patriotic" gets the highest ratings only for the Standard Arabic guises; French is not the official language of the country, therefore it does not constitute an element of the patriotism value.

2. The religion trait is most often associated with the use of Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic.

3. The Algerian Arabic guises get high ratings with the following traits: patriotic and old fashioned when compared with French or Standard Arabic. But, when the Algerian Arabic guises are compared with the mixed Arabic-French variety, these guises get high ratings with the traits of leadership, intelligence and ambition.
CHAPTER FOUR

THE IMPACT OF FRENCH ON ALGERIAN ARABIC

4.0 INTRODUCTION:

In this chapter, I will investigate aspects of the impact of French on Algerian Arabic, namely borrowing of French words in Algerian Arabic and the phenomenon of Arabic-French code-mixing as observed in the speech of Algerian bilinguals.

4.1 BORROWING:

4.1.1 DEFINITIONS OF BORROWING:

Borrowing is a phenomenon that results from languages coming into contact. Haugen (1950) determines borrowing as:

"The heart of our definition of borrowing is the ATTEMPTED REPRODUCTION IN ONE LANGUAGE OF PATTERNS PREVIOUSLY FOUND IN ANOTHER". p. 81.

Sapir (1964) states:

"Of the linguistic changes due to the more obvious types of contact the one which seems to have played the most important part in the history of language is the 'borrowing' of words across linguistic frontiers." (p.30)

This notion of borrowing of words is also shared by Cohen (1972, Volume 2, p. 62), who considers the borrowing of words to be the main influence a language can exert on another one. He states that:
La principale marque linguistique des communications entre les peuples et leurs langues est dans les emprunts de vocabulaire plus ou moins nombreux.

Bloomfield (1935:p.444) distinguishes between dialect, intimate and cultural types of borrowing. Dialect borrowing is concerned with the borrowed features that come within the same speech-area. Intimate borrowing occurs when features are borrowed from one linguistic variety to another in the case where these two varieties are contained within the same political domain or in other terms the same country. Cultural borrowing takes place when the borrowed features come from a different language whose boundaries correspond to distinct geographical and political boundaries. However, Bloomfield states:

"This distinction cannot always be carried out, since there is no absolute distinction to be made between dialect boundaries and language boundaries." (p.444)

It is usually assumed that borrowing is the outcome of the instance of bilingualism, Haugen (1950) holds the view that "... borrowing is unthinkable without the existence of bilingualism". In this respect, Weinreich (1953) makes the distinction between interference in speech and interference in language. He defines borrowing as an aspect of interference in language and says with regard to borrowing:
"In language, we find interference phenomena which having frequently occurred in the speech of bilinguals, have become habitualized and established. Their use is no longer dependent on bilingualism." (p. 11.)

However linguists seem to agree on the point that borrowing does not necessarily occur in the speech of bilinguals.

Pfaff (1978) p. 295 states:

"Borrowing may occur in the speech of those with only monolingual competence, while code switching implies some degree of competence in two languages."

There are other linguists who conceive the concept of borrowing as a continuum starting from the borrowing of single lexical items to larger pieces of speech; Beltrano (1972) p. 52 in Penalosa (1980) suggests that "The more highly acculturated speaker not only borrows more, but also engages in much intimate borrowing."

4.1.2 The Conditions of Borrowing:

The factors that lead to borrowing can be linguistic and extralinguistic. By linguistic, is meant the structural aspects of words as well as their status in the language, meaning, frequency and so on. Extra linguistic refers to the socio-cultural position of a given language within the community.
4.1.2.1 Linguistic Factors:

a. Similarity:

Linguists such as Weinreich (1953) and Haugen (1950) share the concept that similarity in structure is one of the factors that encourage borrowing.

b. Low frequency of words:

In some languages, some words do not occur frequently. Therefore, these particular words are easily replaced by borrowed words from other languages.

Weinreich (1953) p. 57 states:

"One such internal factor is the low frequency of words. It has been shown that, other things being equal, the frequent words come easily to mind and are therefore more stable; relatively infrequent words of the vocabulary are, accordingly, less stable, more subject to oblivion and replacement."

c. Types of words:

Content words are more easily borrowed than function words as the latter are words which have a high frequency in speech.

d. Homonyms and synonyms:

Borrowing may also occur in the case of homonymy. In order to solve the clash of homonyms, words are borrowed from another language. As far as
synonyms are concerned, Weinreich (1953) says that borrowing can occur to add synonyms to affective words which have lost their "expressive force".

4.1.2.2 Extralinguistic Factors:

a. Prestige of languages:

The social position of a language is an important factor as far as borrowing is concerned. Most linguists hold the view that the borrowing language is less prestigious than the language which provides the borrowing.

Bloomfield (1933) p. 464 says in this respect:

"In all cases, .... it is the lower language which borrows predominantly from the upper."

Hoenigswald (1962) speaks about "upward", (need-filling) and "downward" (prestigious) borrowings.

In Algerian Arabic, the French loan words are numerous but Lanly (1961) gives several examples of Algerian Arabic used in the French spoken in North Africa by French and indigenous people.

French is the "prestigious" language if one takes into account the expansion of French in the world, the number of its speakers and the literary and scientific works written in French. Within
this definition of "prestigious language" Algerian Arabic is much less prestigious than French; it is not a written language and it is spoken in Algeria only. The number of Algerians living out of Algeria is insignificant compared to the number of French and non-French people who speak French around the world.

b. Geographical and historical factors:

Borrowing may also be caused by war, conquest, colonisation, spread of religion as well as geographical and economical interests.

c. Cultural factors:

Borrowed words are usually "significants" of concepts and objects found in the culture of the language providing the loan words.

4.1.3 The identification of borrowing:

Two main approaches have been used for the identification of borrowing: the synchronic and diachronic methods. In the diachronic method, the investigator looks at the earlier and later states of the language and therefore uses historical evidence. Haugen (1950) p. 100 says:

"..... borrowing is a historical process and therefore to be identified only by historical methods."
In the synchronic approach, the linguist makes a descriptive analysis of the borrowed words without referring to the previous states of the borrowing language. Haugen claims that such a technique would seem to be most useful in dealing with previously unwritten languages.

4.1.4 Types of Borrowing:

In an analysis of borrowing, a comparison of the original form of the word must be compared with its imitation. Haugen (1950) calls the original pattern the model.

The borrowed words may be entirely assimilated to the linguistic system of the borrowing language or they may be kept as they are. However, there are different sub-degrees within each category.

Haugen (1950) and Weinreich (1953) say that borrowing falls within two main categories:

Importation and Substitution.

a. Importation:

In this type of borrowing, the word is actually transferred from the borrowing language into the recipient one. The integration of the word may be none, partial or complete.
b. Substitution:

In this type of borrowing, there is a reproduction of a concept or meaning from one language into another. The types of borrowed words that fall within the above categories have been defined by Haugen as:

1. Loan Words:

There is a complete morphemic importation and this importation can be classified according to the degree of its phonemic integration: none, partial and complete.

2. Loan Blends:

There is only a partial morphemic importation, the other parts of the word are substituted with morphemes from the recipient language. E.g.: /plombija/ plumbers /plombi/ → from plombier, /plobj/ and /ja/ is an Algerian Arabic plural morpheme.

3. Loan Shifts:

These words show morphemic substitution without importation. This involves loan translations and semantic loans where in the loan translations, the arrangement of morphemes in the model is imported. For instance, the French word "gratte ciel" is said to have been translated from the English word "sky-scraper". A semantic loan means that the meaning of the model is transferred to a native word.
4.1.5 Previous works on borrowing from French to Algerian Arabic:

There has not been any systematic analysis of borrowed words from French in Algerian Arabic. However, as far as the effect of Algerian Arabic on Algerian French is concerned, Dekkak (1979) made a brief study on the semantic borrowings from Algerian Arabic on Algerian French as it is spoken in the western part of Algeria (Oran and Sidi-Bel-Abbes).

4.1.6 Methodology:

Algerian Arabic is not a written language. Therefore, no written documents such as magazines, newspapers were available for data collection. I relied solely on oral sources.

Using my native speaker intuition, I made a list of the borrowed words by direct observation and interviews with native speaker informants of various ages.

As no Algerian Arabic dictionary is available, the task of data collection was very time-consuming as I was constantly checking the existence or non-existence of Algerian Arabic equivalent words for French loan words. The people I consulted very often were those of the older generation.
4.1.7 Analysis of the corpus:

In this section, I will describe the various types of French borrowed words found in Algerian Arabic.

4.1.7.1 The process of importation:

4.1.7.1.1 Phonemic integration

This aspect of borrowing deals with the amount of phonemic importation and integration in the French borrowed words. Following Haugen's terminology, these words are to be defined as loan words.

a. Unassimilated loan words:

These words are kept in their own structure and are not adapted to the phonological system of Algerian Arabic. They are used by a small proportion of the population, namely people educated in French and those who had a direct contact with the French culture and language at the time the French were living in Algiers. These words generally represent scientific concepts and relate to academic topics.

However, there may be a phonetic substitution namely replacing the sound $\tilde{\kappa}$ with $\tilde{\rho}$ and $\tilde{\chi}$ with $\tilde{\omega}$. I have decided to include only this feature as it may appear in the speech of educated people in French when speaking French.
These words keep their own gender. They are used with French determiners as well.

Therefore we would have a sentence such as:

/nagrə la psikologi/  
AA French French  
I study the psychology

and not

/*nagrə 1psikologi/  
AA AA French  
I study the psychology

Apart from these words which deal with scientific and academic topics, there are other loan words which, although are used by all people, educated and non-educated, are kept in their French structure. This is so because their structure does not present difficulties to native speakers of Algerian Arabic as far as their phonetic/phonological structure is concerned. However they are very few in number. E.g. /lavabo/ wash-hand basin. This word is not altered when used in Algerian Arabic.

b. Partially assimilated words:

These loan words show a partial phonemic integration in the way that while one syllable is unaltered, the other is adapted to the phonological system of Algerian Arabic. This is so because the syllable which is unchanged is acceptable in the phonological system of Algerian Arabic. E.g. /savo/ soap is Algerianised to /sabâ:n/ because there are no nasalised vowels in Algerian Arabic.
c. Wholly assimilated words:

These words are so carefully assimilated that they are very different from the model. They are usually concerned with French objects and concepts that have been introduced at the very beginning of the Algerian contact with the French language and culture over a century ago. These words are used by all Algerians living in Algiers, educated or non-educated, old and young as there are no known equivalents to them in Algerian Arabic. Usually, these words acquired a new meaning when introduced in Algerian Arabic. Therefore, if an educated person who knows the borrowed word in its French form would not use it in the same context as he would with the assimilated one. E.g. /kaʁs/ stage coach is Algerianised to /karrosa/

d. Words which have assimilated and unassimilated forms:

These words are realized as assimilated, by people who did not study French at school and who did not have a direct contact with the French speaking people.

Educated people in French or people who have lived with French people are able to produce both forms: assimilated and non-assimilated.

E.g. /kaʁtɛs/ card box → educated people
/kartoːn/ card box → educated and non-educated people
e. Truncated words:

In Algerian Arabic, there is a tendency to reduce the number of syllables in a word with three or more syllables by creating clusters and consonant sequences.

E.g.: cheminee [ʃmɪnɪ] (chimney) (working surface)
French Algerian Arabic.

4.1.7.1.2 Structural integration:

In this section, I will display the main phonetic changes that occur in the French borrowed words when they are adopted to the system of Algerian Arabic.

1. Pharyngealisation:

This feature is added to some French sounds namely: /t, d, s, m, b/

E.g., [tæ:'b] [tæbə] "table" (table)

2. Replacement of /p/ by:

/f/ or /b/

E.g., [pɔmə:d] [fomədə] "pommade" (medical cream)
3. Replacement of / Ş / by:

/ r /

/Ş:ʃ/    /e:ʃ/  
"cher" (expensive)

4. If a word starts with a vowel, this vowel is elided or /l/ is added in front of it

E.g. /adjә:s/    /Iaʒәns/  
"agence" (agency)

5. A nasalized vowel in an open syllable is replaced by: V + n

E.g. /balọ/    /ba:n/  
"balon "  (ball)

6. The following French vowels are changed in order to fit in the Algerian Arabic vowel system:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>French</th>
<th>Algerian Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/œ/</td>
<td>/o/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/i/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>/a/ or /e/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>/a/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. Changes in consonants:

/ v / is replaced by / b / except in initial and final positions:
servir → [jsarbɔ̃]
(to serve) (to serve - he serves)

In initial position, /v/ may be replaced by /f/ by some speakers.

E.g. F A.A.
vacances → [fakaːs]
(holidays) (holidays)

4.1.7.1.3 Morphological integration:

1. Gender morpheme:

The French borrowed words generally keep their gender when adapted in Algerian Arabic.

In Algerian Arabic, the feminine gender morpheme is affixed at the end of a noun or adjective → /a/.

The same is applied to French borrowed words which have a feminine gender.

E.g. F AA
machine → [maʃna]
démontée → [mdumɔtja]

2. Plural morpheme:

It is very common to find French borrowed words used with Algerian Arabic plural morphemes for nouns and adjectives (see Chapter 5 for details on the different types of plural morpheme suffixes and forms):
E.g. French A.A

bureaux —— [byrowwa:t] plural morpheme

plurals morpheme

cachets —— [ka:ljja:t] plural morpheme

However, there is only one form of plural for French borrowed words: the suffix /a:t/ added at the end of a noun or adjective.

3. Use of Algerian Arabic prefixes with loan words:

a. The use of /m/ with adjectives:

In Algerian Arabic, /m/ is a prefix used in the formation of adjectives from verbs:

E.g. [kassar] to break —— [mka:sar] broken

This is applied to form adjectives borrowed from French verbs or nouns or it is simply added at the beginning of a French loan adjective.

E.g.: French AA

douche —— [mdawwa] (a shower) (someone who is clean, who had a shower)

garanti —— [mgarati] (guaranteed)

numéroté —— [mnumar] (numbered) (numbered)
service — [msərbæs]  
(a service) (someone who has had a good training).

4.1.7.1.4 Semantic integration:

When a word is borrowed from another language, it does not always keep its own meaning but in some cases, there is a change in the meaning of a borrowed word.

Concerning the semantic changes in the French borrowed words in Algerian Arabic, these changes can be classified as follows:

1. Generalisation of meaning:

This concerns mainly the brand names of products which then become the terms used to refer to any product similar to the products bearing those brand names. For instance, the word "Omo" which was the brand name of one of the washing powders used in Algeria and imported from France in the early sixties, is still used to mean any kind of washing powder.

Other examples are:

"Javel" —— bleach
"Frigidaire" —— refrigerator
"Vim" —— scouring powder
2. Semantic restriction:

Some French borrowed words have more than one meaning but when they were adopted to Algerian Arabic, they kept only one meaning.

E.g.: The word "académie" has the following meanings in French:

1. academy of arts or letters
2. administration council for teachers.

In Algerian Arabic, the second meaning only has been retained.

3. Semantic specialisation:

In this type of semantic change, a French borrowed word is used to refer to a modern, western type of object or concept whereas its equivalent in Algerian Arabic is used for a traditional, Arabic object or concept.

Example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>French</th>
<th>Algerian Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;lavabo&quot; (sink in a western type of bathroom)</td>
<td>/məbzaːl/ (sink found in a Turkish bath)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.7.1.5 List of French Loan Words

In the following section, a list of some of the French borrowed words in Algerian Arabic will be displayed. These words have no equivalents in Algerian Arabic.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>French Word</th>
<th>Standard French Pronunciation</th>
<th>Algerian Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning in Algerian Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>/abɔ̃nmaŋ/</td>
<td>season ticket</td>
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<td>/abriŋ/</td>
<td>shelter used during the war</td>
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4.2 CODE MIXING:

4.2.1 Definitions of code mixing:

There are various definitions and terms used to refer to the different phenomena resulting from languages being in contact. However, linguists do not all agree on the same terminology when describing such phenomena as code switching, code mixing and so on. The expressions code switching and code mixing are often used by different linguists to mean the same type of linguistic phenomena. Linguists such as Gumperz (1976) use the term code switching to mean: using words and morphemes from one language and others from the other language.

However, other linguists such as Kachru (1977) call the above phenomenon "code mixing".

Kachru (1977) says: "Code mixing refers to the use of one or more languages for consistent transfer of linguistic units from one language into another".

In my study, I will use the expression code mixing to mean the linguistic behaviour of balanced Algerian bilinguals. By balanced bilinguals, I mean bilinguals who have an equal knowledge of Algerian Arabic and French and master both linguistic varieties. These bilinguals use a sort of mixed Algerian Arabic and French variety where they use words and morphemes from both French and Algerian Arabic in their speech. I would like to point out that code mixing is different from borrowing in the sense that borrowing
is a phenomenon that appears in the speech of monolinguals and bilinguals, and is concerned with words from language B not available in language A. But code mixing appears in the speech of bilinguals only, as it requires the knowledge of both languages which are to be *mixed*. Apart from that, function and content words are used from both languages whereas in borrowing the number of borrowed content words is greater than the number of function words since the latters are available in the language which borrowed those content words from another language. Pfaff (1976) states: "Code switching involves some degree of competence in two languages". p.295

4.2.2 Previous Studies in Code Mixing:

There have been some studies where linguists analysed the various explanations for the occurrence of code mixing or in other terms which may provoke a switch from one language to another. Gumperz (1972) distinguishes two types of switching:

1. Switching provoked by a change of participants
2. Switching provoked by a change of topic.

Kachru (1977) states that the motivations for code mixing are of two types: attitudinal and linguistic. In his analysis of code mixing in an Indian community, he observed that code mixing is a mark of modernisation, high-socio economic position and identity with a type of elite when mixing English with a South Asian language.
It was also found that competent bilinguals may switch back and forth easily for purposes of ethnic identity.

Timm (1975) analysed code switching among Mexican-Americans in California and found that:

"Code switching to Spanish is a device for indicating such personal feelings as affection, loyalty, commitment, respect, pride, challenge, sympathy, or religious devotion; and understandably, a switch to Spanish is likely when the topic of conversation turns to aspects of Mexican culture or life in the barrio. Conversely, a switch to English often signals a speaker's feelings of detachment, objectivity, alienation, displeasure, dislike, conflict of interest, aggression, fear or pain; or it may reflect a shift of topic to matters typically Anglo-American." (p. 475)

Apart from the motivations that may provoke a change of code in speech, linguists have also looked at the syntax of code mixing. Timm (1975) found that there are syntactic constraints imposed on code mixing. Other linguists such as Pfaff (1976), Kachru (1977), Gumperz (1976) also found that code mixing is rule governed and not unpredictable.

4.2.3 Previous Studies on Arabic-French Code Mixing:

Very little work has been done on Arabic French code mixing in North Africa. This is mainly due to the attitudes held with regard to this type of linguistic phenomenon. The North African writers who have mentioned code mixing in their works, whether articles or books, always refer to code mixing as a situation one should be ashamed of. They do not analyse it but
merely content themselves with naming code mixing expressions such as: "une forme d'expression appauvrie", "petit negre" pour les uns, "francarabe" pour les autres. (Moatassime, 1973, p. 654).

Stevens (1974) in his study of bilingualism in Tunisia mentions some examples of code mixing. But his approach was not methodical. Abassi (1977) and Bentahila (1981) used a more systematic method of investigating code mixing by Moroccan bilinguals. They taped conversations between Moroccan bilinguals and listed some of the syntactic constraints imposed by code mixing.

4.2.4.1 The Present Study:
4.2.4.1.1 Methodology and data collection:
a. Data collection:

The data for code mixing was obtained by tape recording conversations between Algerian bilinguals. The informants were not told that they were being recorded as they would have been aware of their speech and so would have used an unnatural way of speaking. All the recordings took place in my home. There were five hours of recordings.

b. The informants:

The informants were all balanced bilinguals aged between 20 and 35 years. They were all fluent in Algerian Arabic and French. Apart from that, they were fairly well educated at least up to secondary level. They included students, teachers, architects, doctors, social workers and secretaries.
c. The topics:

The conversations covered various topics ranging from everyday life topics to education, politics, work and so on.

d. Presentation of the data:

The Algerian Arabic parts of the examples are presented in phonemic transcription and the French parts of the utterances are underlined and presented in orthographic form.

4.2.4.2 Results

4.2.4.2.1 Phonetic and phonological changes.

a. Algerianised French words:

1. The main feature which is applied to some particular French consonants is pharyngealisation. Example:

(1) dzewzili dikalmarmita

   AA   AÂ F  AA

   pass me that the saucepan gender morpheme

   The consonants /m/ and /t/ of the French words "marmite" (saucepan) /maʁmit/ have been pharyngealized in order to Algerianise this word to a certain extent. In this example, the French word "marmite" has its equivalent in Algerian Arabic: /tandʒra/. However, the speaker used the French
term as it was the one which was available immediately in his mind.

2. Replacement of $\l_L$ by $\l_r$ and $\l_L$ by $\l_o$ in French words:

   It is very common to replace the French sound

   $\l_L$ by $\l_r$

   $\l_L$ by $\l_o$

   in Algerianised French words.

(2) wahdəl morso mʊṭtaq

   AA F AA

   one the piece torn out

   The French word "morceau" (piece) $\l_m\l_5\l_7$ has been Algerianised to $\l_m\l_o\l_s\l_o$.

(3) hadəl kəlb mədrasi

   AA AA AA F "dressé"

   this the dog (morpheme) trained

   The French word "dressé" has also been Algerianised to /mədrasi/ instead of its French form /dəse/.

   In both examples (2) and (3) French words are used for which a corresponding usual item is available in Algerian Arabic: morceau — /tərf/

   dressé — /mrəbbi/

b. Gallicized Algerian Arabic words:

   It was noticed that in some examples, all the sentence was in French apart from just one word in
Algerian Arabic; a content word. In those examples, the speakers used an Algerian Arabic word as in most cases, no equivalent word was available in French. As far as the pronunciation of those Algerian Arabic words is concerned, it was noticed that some speakers applied the following changes in those words:

1. Depharyngealisation of Algerian Arabic pharyngealised consonants:

(4) pas mwa lØ ta:ʊ

\[\text{pass me the tambourine}\]

\[t\text{a:ʊ}\] is the Gallicised form of the AA word /ta:r/ (name of a musical instrument).

2. The second feature of gallicising an Algerian word is to replace the pharyngeals /ɡ/ and /h/ by a glottal stop or by no other segment:

(5) sa se tyn bg:ɻ safa

\[\text{that it is a beautiful (name of a kitchen utensil)}\]

/safa/ is the Gallicised form of the AA word /səhfa/ which is the name of a circular wooden or metallic tray used to roll the couscous in. (Couscous is the name of a North African dish with millet.)

(6) il e pa vØny lābu:s

\[\text{he has not come the bridegroom.}\]
/laGruːs/ is pronounced as /laGruːs/ in Algerian Arabic. One notices other changes as well in the gallicised version of /laGruːs/: the AA /r/ is replaced by /ʁ/ as there is no /r/ sound in Standard French.

3. Replacement of the Algerian Arabic sound /ʁ/ by /ʁ/.

(7) il a ʁak̚a la baʁaka

he has still the god's mercy

/ba ʁaka/ is pronounced as /baʁaka/ in AA.

4. Replacement of the Algerian Arabic sound /ʁ/ by /ʁ/.

(8) se tœm ʁəmʃtaːk

it is a big miser

/mʃtaːk/ is pronounced as /mʃtaːq/ in Algerian Arabic.

5. Change in the Algerian Arabic vowels:

The vowels which exist in the Algerian Arabic vocalic system but not in French are changed in order to fit the vowel system of French.

(9) a set Kuza

ah! this moth

/Kuza/ is pronounced as /Kuza/ in Algerian Arabic.
4.1.4.2.2 Syntactic constraints in Algerian Arabic and French code mixing:

1. Use of determiners:

a. Indefinite articles:

In Algerian Arabic, the use of indefinite articles is not compulsory but indefiniteness can be indicated by using the structure /wahd ḥa/, as in (2)

one the

In French, on the other hand, the use of indefinite articles is compulsory as in (3)

(1) J'ai acheté une robe "I bought a dress"

In the Arabic/French code mixing, the following examples were found:

(4) waḥd la fille "one the girl" (a girl)
(5) waḥd les gens mhabēl "one the people crazy" (some crazy people)
(6) J'ai vu un dzundi ce matin "I saw a soldier this morning"

N.B. tablija is the Algerianised form of the French word "tablier"/tablije/ which means "apron".

In the above examples, we notice that a switch can occur between a noun and its indefinite article. The rules for such a switch are as follows:
1. A French indefinite article can be followed by a noun in Algerian Arabic.

2. The Algerian Arabic \( \text{\textbar}{\text{wahd}} + \, \text{al} \) "one + the" can be split up in two parts; one being said in Algerian Arabic: \( /\text{wahd}/ \) and the other being said in French; \( /\text{al}/ \) can be replaced by "le", "la" or "les". However, \( /\text{wahd}/ \) cannot be replaced by its equivalent in French.

\*une \ alba:b \ "one the door"

b. Definite articles:

In Algerian Arabic, the definite article is realized as \( /\text{al}/ \) or \( /l/ \) when followed by a noun starting with a lunar consonant but when the noun starts with a solar consonant, the definite article is obtained by doubling that consonant as in (8). (See chapter 5 for details on solar/lunar consonants).

(8) \( {\text{\textbar}{\text{f}}\text{\textbar}{\text{fl}}} \) "the girl"
(9) al ba:b "the door"

In French, the definite articles are represented by "le", "la" and "les".

(10) le gar\(\text{\textbar}{\text{son}} \) "the boy"
(11) la fille "the girl"
(12) les gens "the people"

In Arabic/French code mixing, it is possible to have the Algerian Arabic definite article preceding a French noun:
(13) had al bol mkassar "this the bowl broken"
(14) dik ssalle de bain kbira "that the bathroom is big"

2. Use of Demonstratives:

In Algerian Arabic, the demonstrative is always followed by the definite article: had + َّال
this the

(15) had َّال ba:b "this the door".

In French, the demonstrative is used by itself, immediately followed by a noun:

(16) cette fille "this girl"

In my data, it was very common to have the Algerian Arabic structure: [demonstrative + definite article] where the demonstrative was in Algerian Arabic and the definite article in French.

(17) mni:n d3âbtu had la vague de culture
"where did you bring this the wave of culture from?"

(18) hadak le truc "that the thing"

(19) nanna:w haduk les statues "they removed those the statues"

(20) dik la statue c'est le premier monument
"that the statue, it is the first monument"

It was concluded that the following rules operate concerning the use of demonstratives in
code mixing:

1. In the Algerian Arabic structure /demonstrative + article/, it is possible to have the demonstrative in Algerian Arabic and the article in French but the reverse is not possible:

*(21) **cette al pomme** "this the apple"
*(22) **cette al warda** "this the rose"

2. When the demonstrative is in Algerian Arabic, it must always be followed by the definite article /al/ in Algerian Arabic or by one of the definite articles in French.

*(23) **had pomme** "this apple"

3. Use of possessives:

In Algerian Arabic, the possessive is formed by /dja:l/ "of", followed by a bound pronoun referring to the possessor.

(24) **ssaça djali** "the watch of mine".

In French, there is a set of possessives which precede the noun and act like determiners:

(25) **ma montre** "my watch".

In the data, there were examples showing a French noun followed by an Algerian Arabic possessive:

(26) **la chambre djali** "the room of mine"
(27) **les étudiants djalak** "the students of yours"
Apart from that, there was one example where the possessive was in French and the noun in Algerian Arabic

(28) c'est mon zhar "it is my luck".

In the example (28), we notice that the possessive agrees in gender with the Algerian Arabic noun /zhar/ "luck" although, in French, the word standing for "luck": chance has feminine gender.

As far as the Algerian Arabic possessive /djaːl/ is concerned, it is possible to have a noun followed by the possessive:

(29) djali ssaqa "it is mine the watch".

The data showed an example where the Algerian Arabic possessive was in Algerian Arabic followed by a noun in French:

(30) djali le livre "it is mine the book".

4. Use of adjectives:

In Algerian Arabic, an adjective must always follow the noun it modifies. In French, an adjective more usually follows the noun but in some specific cases, the adjective precedes the noun. In both languages, the adjective agrees in gender and number with the noun it modifies.

The data contained examples where a noun in one language was used with an adjective in the other language.
(31) haduk les immeubles rajbi:n
"those the buildings demolished".

(32) waḥḍaṭṭ̣ afla cinglēe
"one the girl crazy"

(33) c'est une fille mɔxluqə
"it is a girl snobbish"

(34) had al ma froid bəzzaːf.
"this the water cold too much" (this water is too cold)

(35) c'est une grosse ḥadɡra "it is a big stone".

Rules concerning the use of adjectives in code mixing:

1. An adjective in French can be preceded or followed by a noun in Algerian Arabic.
2. An adjective in Algerian Arabic can only be preceded by a noun but not followed.
3. The adjective agrees in number and gender with the noun it modifies. E.g., if a French adjective is used with an Algerian Arabic noun, it takes the gender and number of this noun regardless of the gender and number of the French equivalent noun of this Algerian Arabic noun.

5. Use of pronouns:

In Algerian Arabic, the use of subject pronouns is optional. The inflection of the verb indicates the person of its subject.
In French, on the other hand, subject pronouns must precede the verb except in the imperative where they are absent.

However, in all tenses, the subject is largely clear from the inflection of the verb. In spite of this, the use of a subject pronoun preceding the verb is obligatory.

It is possible to have the following forms in Algerian Arabic:

(36) ana nāktēb

or

(37) nāktēb

(I) write

But in French, the form:

(38) J'écris "I write"

cannot become

(39) *écris.

The Algerian Arabic /ana nāktēb/ can be translated in French as: "moi, j'écris" (I, I write) where the use of /ana/ is for emphasis.

In the data, there are examples where these emphatic pronouns in Algerian Arabic are used before a French subject pronoun and verb:

(40) ana j'aime pas ça "I, I don't like that"

(41) ranta mou partirez les premiers

"You, you will go the first".

(42) ana j'pourrai venir demain "I, I can come tomorrow"
In this last example, there is no French subject pronoun "je" (I) preceding the Algerianised French verb "visiter" (to visit) but instead an Algerian Arabic inflection is used: /n/.

To test the syntactic constraint where the subject pronouns must be used according to the rule of the language they are in, I constructed some hypothetical examples:

(44) *ṭ̣na mangeons "we, eat"
(45) *je nakəl "I, I eat".

All the informants I asked found both sentences (44), (45), unacceptable.

The rules are:
1. If a pronoun is in French, the verb which follows it must have the French inflection.
2. If a pronoun is in Algerian Arabic, the verb which follows it must have the Algerian Arabic inflection.

6. Use of prepositions:

In both Algerian Arabic and French, the prepositions precede the noun phrases they govern.

It is very common among Algerian bilinguals to use an Algerian Arabic preposition in a French sentence and vice versa. In the data, there were the following examples:
It is interesting to note that it is possible to have an entire French sentence with an Algerian Arabic preposition as well as an Algerian Arabic sentence with a French preposition. Pfaff (1979) claims that it is impossible to use a Spanish preposition in an English sentence and vice versa in Spanish-English code mixing.

Apart from the above examples involving the use of a preposition in one language in a sentence in the other language, there were examples in the data where the preposition was followed by a noun phrase in the same language as the preposition:

(50) Tu peux venir m'a.ləbna:t
"You can come with the girls"

7. Use of adverbs:

It is also very common for Algerian bilinguals to use Algerian Arabic adverbs in a French sentence and vice versa.
8. Use of co-ordination:

Conjunctions of co-ordination whether in French or Algerian Arabic may be used to join two French sentences or two Algerian Arabic ones or one sentence in French and the other in Algerian Arabic in Arabic/French code mixing.

(57) il y a des lumières walla des fils, c'est des étoiles
there are lights or threads, they are stars.

(58) bësâh c'est cher
but it is expensive

(59) Xdawah mais majastḥa quh they took it but they do not need it.
In the above examples, we notice that the sentence is in one language and the conjunction in the other language. However, in other types of code mixing such as Indian/English code mixing, this type of mixing is not possible; Kachru (1977) claims that it is not possible to have a conjunction in a language different from both of the sentences it conjoins.

9. **Use of interrogative words:**

In Algerian Arabic and French, interrogative elements are put at the beginning of the interrogative sentences.

In Arabic/French code mixing, it is possible to have the interrogative word in one language and the sentence in the other language.

(60) **pourquoi** kajen nda?
    why is there dampness.

(61) **sha:l** tu l'as acheté?
    how much did you buy it for.

10. **Noun phrases:**

In French, the word order in declarative sentences is *[Subject + Verb + Object]* but in Algerian Arabic, we can have either *[Subject + Verb + Object]* or *[Verb + Subject + Object]*.
Examples:

French:
La fille mange une pomme  "the girl eats an apple"
S  V  O

Algerian Arabic:

تتاءلا takul تافاها  ) the girl eats an apple
or S  V  O )
takul تتاءلا تافاها  ) eats the girl an apple
V  S  O

In the data, there were examples where the noun phrase or subject was in French and the verb in Arabic

(62) Les tasses de thé jduru  "the cups of tea turn"
(63) Les élèves Xardzu à huit heures  "the pupils went out at eight o'clock."

In these examples, the word order Subject + Verb + object is possible in both French and Algerian Arabic. However, there were examples in the data where the subject was in Algerian Arabic and the verb in French with either SVO or VSO word orders:

(64) لاسمواي:ت djalhum ils sont ridicules
"the names of theirs they are ridiculous."
(65) ɔl Xaddami:n ils ont dessiné
"the workers they have drawn".

From the examples (64) and (65) we notice that the subject is repeated in the pronoun "ils". The reason is that the sentences are begun in Algerian
Arabic and therefore verb inflections must be present as in AA: In Algerian Arabic, the first segment in a tensed verb represents the subject pronoun. To apply this rule to a French verb, one has either to add a subject pronoun or to treat the French verb like an Algerian Arabic one such as:

(66) les élèves jbavardi:w bazza:f
    "the pupils talk too much
    /jbavardi:w/ = Algerianised form of ils bavardent

In the following examples, the word order is VSO, a word order structure which is valid for Algerian Arabic only. However, in these sentences, the verb was in Algerian Arabic and the subject in French but not vice versa as this kind of VSO structure is not possible in French:

(67)  difíc le professeur bākri
       "came the teacher early"

(68)  mazalat l'ascenseur mkassra
       remained the lift broken

While the structure: Verb in Algerian Arabic + Subject in French is possible, the structure Verb in French + subject in either language is not possible:

(69)  *mange la fille la pomme
       eats the girl the apple

(70)  *est venu ləwələd hier
       has come the boy yesterday.
As far as the **object** is concerned, there were examples in the data where the verb phrase was in French and the object in Algerian Arabic:

(71) disco' jayj<ulha
   disco they call it

(72) ?anta la zam nafrwak tricot
   you we must buy you a pullover

(73) Gandi survetement
    I have a training suit

(74) tarakbi fi la fusée : you get on the rocket

(75) elle a fait w?hd amlakla
    She made a dish.

11. **Verb phrases**

   In both Algerian Arabic and French a verb may have another verb as its complement. In French, this second verb is in the infinitive form without subject apart from the one preceding the first verb.

   **Example:**

   French:
   
   Je vais chanter
   I am going to sing.

   But in Algerian Arabic, there is no such infinitive corresponding to the above French case. Thus, the verb which follows another verb has to be inflected for tense.
Example:
raja nberi  
I am going to sing  

n.b. the first /n/ in /nberi/ stands for the 1st person.

In the data, there were examples where the first verb was in Algerian Arabic and the second in French. But in all cases, the French verb was treated like an Algerian Arabic verb, with the tense and subject inflections.

(76) lazam trivizi  
You must revise  
/trivizi/ = is the Algerianised form of tu révisez (you revise)

(77) ma jaqdary jrédubli  
he cannot repeat the course  
/jrédubli/ = is the Algerianised form of il redouble (he repeats the course)

(78) lazam jdiskyti:w mα:h  
they must discuss with him  
/jdiskyti:w/ = is the Algerianised form of ils discutent (they discuss)

In these examples, the French verbs are Algerianised. However, I found no example in the data where the first verb was in Algerian Arabic and the second verb in French in the infinitive form. To test this syntactic constraint, I constructed the following hypothetical sentence and asked bilingual
informants to judge whether it is acceptable or not:

*rajhi:n partir
we are going

All informants found the sentence unacceptable.

However, when it comes to verbs used with auxiliaries such as some of the past tenses in French, there was no example in the data showing the auxiliary in one language and the main verb in another language.

To test this syntactic constraint, I constructed the following examples:

*tu es dzi:t
you have come

*?anta rak venu
You have come

Both sentences were judged unacceptable by the informants.

12. Use of conditionals:

In Algerian Arabic, the clauses of a conditional construction are introduced by /walla/ or /luka:n/ which stand for "if" and "otherwise".

In French, the particle used in a conditional construction is si standing for "if".

In the data, I had the following examples showing that it is possible to have one clause in Algerian Arabic and the other in French:
tu dois bien t'attraper walla ttihi
You must hold yourself otherwise you fall

walla dzê on ira prendre un café
If you come we will go to have a coffee.

lukan Graft je serais venu plutôt
If I had known I would have come earlier.

Si tu veux naqdarnqulâlha
If you want I can tell her.

Si c'est comme ça makalla: nddzi
if it's like that, I should not come.

It was noticed that it is possible to have the particle "if" in Algerian Arabic followed by a clause in French but not possible to have the particle in French followed by a clause in Algerian Arabic.

The following sentence was found unacceptable by the informants:

*si dzê on ira ensemble la-bas
If you come we will go together there.

Conclusions

The preceding examination of the data on Arabic-French code mixing shows that there are specific rules governing the grammatical structures:
1. **Structure-preserving Constraint:**

A grammatical structure must be equivalent to one which would have been correct in the pre-switch language had no switch occurred.

The following cases illustrate this rule in code mixing:

a. **Grammatical Structure Equivalent in both Languages (Algerian Arabic and French)**

E.g.

\[ \text{Subject + who + verb} \] in AA and F

E.g.

((1) F. \textit{la fille qui est venue}  
the girl who has come

((2) AA. \textit{ṭṭəfla əlli dʒə:t}  
the girl who has come

Can be either:

((3) \textit{la fille əlli dʒə:t}  
F AA AA  
the girl who has come

or

((4) \textit{ṭṭəfla qui est venue}  
the girl who has come

b. **Grammatical structure is possible in one language only but would be ungrammatical in the other:**

E.g.: the rule

\[ \text{demonstrative + noun} \] in French
E.g. (1) F. Cette fille
   this girl
which can become (2) cette fille
   this girl
but not:
(2) *had fille
    this girl
because in AA, we must have

   demonstrative + definite article + noun

(3) had fille
    this the girl
which can become,
(4) had la fille
    this the girl
but not
(5) *cette la fille
     this the girl
or
(6) *cette la fille
     this the girl

Therefore, one can conclude that in code mixing, a bilingual speaker applies a grammatical structure which is either acceptable in both languages or if the grammatical structure is acceptable in one language only, this speaker would use the structure of the language in which he started the sentence or the clause.
5.0 Introduction:

In this chapter, aspects of the main phonological and morphological discrepancies between Algerian Arabic and Standard Arabic will be displayed.

Diglossia has been looked at by linguists such as Ferguson (1959) who described the phenomenon of diglossia from its functional aspect by stating the existence of a HIGH variety and a LOW one within some particular languages such as Arabic and Greek and so on.

Other linguists have analysed the problem of diglossia from the structural aspect; Altoma (1969) made a comparative study between Classical Arabic and Iraqi Arabic by comparing phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical aspects of both varieties.

However, as far as the North African countries are concerned, no such analysis has been carried out so far. The Arabic varieties spoken in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco are quite different from those spoken in the Middle East countries. The dissimilarities between Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic are greater than those between Standard Arabic and other colloquial varieties of Arabic.

5.1 Phonemic comparison between Algerian Arabic and Standard Arabic:
In this section, an account of the distribution of the consonants and vowels of both varieties will be given. All the possible occurrences of the phonemes within the word and the syllable will be presented.

5.1.1 - The consonants:

In order to have a systematic analysis of the consonants distribution, I have decided to include all types of syllable and word structures where a particular given consonant may occur. The following positions were used in the analysis of the consonants:

- word initial position
- word medial position
- word final position
- intervocally
- syllable medial position

There are 28 consonants in SA and 31 consonants in AA:

1 - The set of consonants which are shared by AA and SA are:
   /b, t, d, ç, ç, K, q, m, n, f, s, z, s, dz, x, v, h, f, h, t, r, w, j/

2 - The consonants which are exclusive to SA are:
   /θ, ð, š, ?/

3 - The consonants which are exclusive to AA are:
   /β, p, z, tʃ, g, ʁ/
Fig. 5.1 The consonant chart of AA

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>labio-dental</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palato-alveolar</th>
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<th>Velar</th>
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*/q* is actually realized as an approximant
**Fig. 5.2**  
The consonant chart of SA

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</table>

*/ɣ/ is actually realized as an approximant
5.1.1.1 Consonants shared by AA and SA:

5.1.1.1.1 Stops

5.1.1.1.1.1 /b/ represents a voiced unaspirated bilabial plosive.

1. Distribution:

(a) Distribution in AA:

I Word-initial position:

# b V (:) C  Eg: /bən/ son of
# b C V  Eg: /bda/ he started

II In word and syllable-medial positions and intervocalically:

V (:) b V (:)  Eg: /nabi:l/ a boy's name
V b b V (:)  Eg: /kəbbiː:/ pour it (imp. 2nd pers. sing. fem.)
V b b C  Eg: /kabbri/ make a thing grow. (imp. 2nd pers. sing. fem.)
V b C V  Eg: /labsiːn/ dressed (plural)
V C b V  Eg: /raḥba/ a group of people
V C b C V  Eg: /jenbdaːw/ they are to be started
V b C  Eg: /ʃabd/ a human being
V b b b V  Eg: /kəbbiː/ make wool balls (imp. 2nd pers. sing. masc.).

III In word-final position:

V b b  #  Eg: /kəbb/ pour (imp. 2nd pers. sing. masc.)
C V (:) b  #  Eg: /taːb/ he repented
V C b  #  Eg: /ʃaːb/ people
Distribution in SA:

I In word-initial position:

♯ b V (:) C  Eg: /ba:b/ a door

II In word-medial position:

V (:) b V (:)  Eg: /nabi:l/ noble (masc. sing.)
V b b V (:)  Eg: /habba/ a grain
V b C V  Eg: /jabbi/ he wants
V C b V  Eg: /manba'/ a well
V b C  Eg: /?abd/ a human being

III In word-final position:

V b b  ♯  Eg: /hubb/ a love
C V (:) b  ♯  Eg: /tu:b/ repent (imp. 2nd pers. masc. sing.)
V C b  ♯  Eg: /ja?b/ people

2. The allophones of /b/

In AA:

1. In most positions /b/ is realized as a voiced bilabial.

2. When /b/ is preceded or followed by a voiceless consonant, it is usually partially devoiced:


3. When /b/ is followed by a rounded vowel or a bilabial approximant, it is labialised:

/b/ → [b] / (rounded vowel) Eg: /bu:s/ → [bo:s]

kiss (imp. 2nd pers. masc. sing.)
4. When /b/ is followed by an emphatic consonant, it is pharyngealised:

/b/ → [b] /_ (emphatic consonant) Eg: /bta/ → [bta] he was late

5. /b/ is also pharyngealised in French loan words which are phonologically adapted to the phonological system of Algerian Arabic:

/b/ → [b] in French loan words Eg: /balɔ/ → [ba:lɔ:n] a balloon

In SA:

1. In most positions, /b/ is realized as a voiced bilabial.

2. When followed by a rounded vowel, or a bilabial approximant, /b/ is labialised

/b/ → [b] /_ (rounded vowel). Eg: /bu:s/ → [bo:s] kiss (imp. 2nd pers. sing. masc.)

5.1.1.1.2 /t/ represents a voiceless alveolar stop.

1. Distribution

(a) **Distribution in AA:**

1 In word-initial position:

- # t V (:) C Eg: /t:a:b/ he repented
- # t C V (:) Eg: /tra:b/ soil
- # t t V (:) Eg: /tti:n/ the figs
- # t t C V (:) Eg: /tra:b/ the soil
II In word and syllable medial positions and intervocally:

- C t V (:)  
  Eg: /kta:b/  a book
- C t C V (:)  
  Eg: /stra:ɔ/  he rested
- V t V  
  Eg: /fa:tu/  they passed by
- V t t V  
  Eg: /sɛtta/  six
- V t t C  
  Eg: /mɛtli/  represent
- V t t t V  
  Eg: /fɔtti/  reduce to crumbs
- V C t C V  
  Eg: /jæstra:ɔ/  he is resting
- V C C t V  
  Eg: /jænstər/  it is being protected
- V t C V  
  Eg: /matna/  we died
- V C t V  
  Eg: /refta/  fresh pasta

III In word-final position:

- C V t  
  Eg: /tu:t/  blackberries
- V t t  
  Eg: /fɔtt/  I passed by
- V C t  
  Eg: /qəlt/  I said

(b) Distribution in SA:

I In word-initial position:

- # t V (:)  
  Eg: /ta:b/  he repented

II In word-medial position:

- V t V  
  Eg: /ra?ajtu/  I saw
- V t t V  
  Eg: /hɔtta/  until
- V t C V  
  Eg: /mitrajn/  two meters
- V C t V  
  Eg: /Xibta/  humility
- V t C  
  Eg: /mitr/  one meter
III In word-final position:

C V t #  Eg: /maːt/ he died
V C t #  Eg: /əamt/ silence

2. The allophones of /t/:

in AA:

1. When /t/ is preceded by a rounded vowel or a bilabial approximant, it is labialised:

/t/ → [tʰ] (/rounded vowel) Eg: /tuːt/ → [tʰoːt]
warz
blackberries

2. /t/ is aspirated when it is followed by a glottal pharyngeal:

/t/ → [tʰ] (/glottal fricative') Eg: /θiːb/ → [tʰθiːb] she fears

3. /t/ is unreleased when followed by a homorganic consonant:

/t/ → [tʰoː] (/homorganic consonant)

Eg: /tsiːr/ → [tʰoːsɪːr]. she passes by

4. When /t/ occurs in the environment of emphatic consonants, it is pharyngealised:

/t/ → [tʰ] (/emphatic consonant)

Eg: /sæt/ → [sætʰ] I found

5. /t/ is also pharyngealised in French loan words:

/t/ → [tʰ] in French loan words

Eg: /tablə/ → [tablə] a table

in SA:

1. When /t/ is followed by a rounded vowel or a bilabial approximant, it is labialised:

5.1.1.1.1.3 /ᵰ/ represents a pharyngealised voiceless alveolar stop.

1. Distribution

(a) Distribution in AA:

I. In word initial position:

# ʈ V ()  Eg: /ʈiːr/ fly (imp. 2nd pers.masc.sing).

# ʈ ɾ V  Eg: /ʈriː/ tender (masc. sing.)

# ʈ ɾ V ()  Eg: /ʈtəːr/ the revenge

# ʈ ɾ ɾ V ()  Eg: /ʈʈriːɡ/ the road

II. In word and syllable medial positions:

V ʈ V  Eg: /fatima/ a girl's name

V ʈ ɾ V  Eg: /hatta/ a good situation

V ʈ ɾ C  Eg: /qettriːh/ purify it (imp. 2nd pers.fem.sing).

V ʈ ɾ ɾ V  Eg: /xeːttriː/ make a plan (imp. 2nd pers.fem.sing).

V C C ʈ V  Eg: /jenbtak/ he lies on the bed

V ɾ C V  Eg: /mətli/ covered (masc. sing.)

V C ɾ V  Eg: /sertek/ she swallowed

V C ɾ C V  Eg: /gantra/ a bridge

III. In word final position:

C V ʈ  Eg: /baːt/ he inspired sympathy

V ɾ ɾ  Eg: /hətː/ put (imp. 2nd pers.masc.sing).

V C ɾ  Eg: /mətː/ an illness
(b) **Distribution in SA:**

I  In word initial position:

\[ \text{\small \texttt{\textbackslash t V (:) }} \]

Eg: \(/\text{\texttt{tajr}}/\) a bird

II  In word medial position:

\[ \text{\small \texttt{V t V}} \]

Eg: \(/\text{\texttt{xata}}/\) a mistake

\[ \text{\small \texttt{V t C V}} \]

Eg: \(/\text{\texttt{matat}}/\) rubber

\[ \text{\small \texttt{V t C V}} \]

Eg: \(/\text{\texttt{qatra}}/\) a drop

III  In word final position:

\[ \text{\small \texttt{C V(\textbackslash t)}} \]

Eg: \(/\text{\texttt{qat}}/\) a suit

\[ \text{\small \texttt{V t C \#}} \]

Eg: \(/\text{\texttt{xat}}/\) a line

---

2. The allophones of /t/:

**in AA:**

1. When /\texttt{t}/ is followed by a rounded vowel or a bilabial approximant, it is labialised:

\[ /\texttt{t}/ \rightarrow [\text{\texttt{t}}]_w /\text{\texttt{(rounded vowel)}} \]

Eg: \(/\text{\texttt{torta}}/ \rightarrow [\text{\texttt{torta}}]_w \) a pie

**In SA:**

1. When /t/ is followed by a rounded vowel or a bilabial approximant, it is labialised:

\[ /\texttt{t}/ \rightarrow [\text{\texttt{t}}]_w /\text{\texttt{(rounded vowel)}} \]

Eg: \(/\text{\texttt{matwi}}/ \rightarrow [\text{\texttt{matwi}}]_w \) folded (sing. masc.)

---

5.1.1.1.4  /d/ : represents a voiced alveolar stop.

1. Distribution

(a) **Distribution in AA:**

1. In word initial position:

\[ \text{\small \texttt{d V (:) }} \]

Eg: \(/\text{\texttt{da:r}}/\) a house
II In word and syllable medial positions and intervocalically:

- C C d V
  - Eg: /nbda/ it was started
- C d C V
  - Eg: /ndba:\/ it was slaughtered
- V d V
  - Eg: /radija/ a girl's name
- V d d V
  - Eg: /s\ddu/ they closed
- V d d C
  - Eg: /r\ddmi/ destroy
  - (imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing)
- V d d d V
  - Eg: /m\dddi/ extend
  - (imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing)
- V C d C V
  - Eg: /j\ndl\ek/ he is being massaged
- V C C d V
  - Eg: /j\nbda/ it is being started
- V d C V
  - Eg: /j\db\a/ it is fading

III In word final position:

- V C d
  - Eg: /ber\d/ a cold
- C V (:) d
  - Eg: /jfi\:d/ it is useful
- V d d
  - Eg: /m\dd\/ give
  - (imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing)

(b) Distribution in SA:

I In word initial position:

- d V ()
  - Eg: /da:\r/ a house
II In word-medial position:

\[ V d \ d V \] Eg: /bada?a/ he started
\[ V d d V \] Eg: /haddada/ he put a limit
\[ V d C V \] Eg: /mudmin/ addicted (masc.sing.)
\[ V C d V \] Eg: /masdar/ a source
\[ V d C \] Eg: /badr/ moon

III In word-final position:
\[ V C d \] Eg: /\textit{ra}d/ thunder

2. The allophones of /d/

In AA:

1. When /d/ is followed by a rounded vowel or a bilabial approximant, it is labialised:
\[ /d/ \rightarrow [\text{d}] \quad \text{(rounded vowel)} \]
Eg: /duda/ \rightarrow [\text{dode}] a worm

2. /d/ is devoiced if it is preceded or followed by a voiceless consonant:
\[ /d/ \rightarrow [\text{d}] \quad \text{(voiceless consonant)} \]
Eg: /dfar/ \rightarrow [\text{d}f\text{a}r] a nail

3. When /d/ is in the environment of emphatic consonant, it is pharyngealized:
\[ /d/ \rightarrow [\text{d}] \quad \text{(emphatic consonant)} \]
Eg: /m\text{a}dded/ \rightarrow [\text{m\text{a}dd\text{d}}] rusty
4. /d/ is also pharyngealized in French loan words:
   E.g.; /domino/ → $\tilde{\text{d}}\text{omino}$ dominoes

In SA:
1. When /d/ is followed by a rounded vowel, it is
   labialised:
   $/d/ \rightarrow [\tilde{d}] \quad (/\text{rounded vowel})$
   E.g. /jadu:m/ → $[\tilde{j}\text{d}\tilde{a}:m]$ it lasts

5.1.1.1.5 /d/ represents a pharyngealised voiced
   alveolar stop.

1. Distribution
   (a) Distribution in AA

I. In word initial position:

   # $\ddash\ddash$ C
      E.g.: /$\ddash$arsa/ a tooth
   # $\ddash\ddash$ C V
      E.g.: /$\ddash$ri:f/ polite (masc. sing.)
   # $\ddash\ddash\ddash$ V
      E.g.: /$\ddash$el/ the shade
   # $\ddash\ddash$ C V
      E.g.: /$\ddash$la:m/ the obscurity

II. In word and syllable medial positions and
    intervocelically:

   V $\ddash$ V
      E.g.: /ma$\ddash$li/ past
   V $\ddash\ddash$ V
      E.g.: /fa$\ddash$di/ silver
   V $\ddash$ C
      E.g.: /$\ddash$dra/ a virgin
   C $\ddash$ V
   V $\ddash\ddash$ C
      E.g. /$\ddash$di$\ddash$li/ prefer (imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing.)
   C $\ddash\ddash$ C V
      E.g. /n$\ddash$gar/ he was put off
   C C $\ddash$ V
      E.g. /nq$\ddash$ar/ it was performed.
III. In word final position:

\[ CV: \text{E.g.} /s\text{\textipa{\textdagger}}/ \text{he rushed} \]

(b) Distribution in SA:

I. In word initial position

\[ \text{\textipa{\textdagger}} CV \quad \text{E.g.} /\text{\textipa{\textdagger}arab}/ \text{he hit} \]

II. In word and syllable medial positions and intervocalically

\[ V \text{\textipa{\textdagger}} V \quad \text{E.g.} /\text{\textipa{\textdagger}a}d\text{\textipa{\textdagger}}/ \text{past} \]
\[ V \text{\textipa{\textdagger}} C V \quad \text{E.g.} /\text{\textipa{\textdagger}a}tr\text{\textipa{\textdagger}}/ \text{silver} \]
\[ V C \text{\textipa{\textdagger}} \quad \text{E.g.} /\text{\textipa{\textdagger}a}d\text{\textipa{\textdagger}}/ \text{he hits} \]

III. In word final position

\[ VC \quad \text{E.g.} /\text{\textipa{\textdagger}a}d\text{\textipa{\textdagger}}/ \text{a duty} \]
\[ V\text{\textipa{\textdagger}} \quad \text{E.g.} /\text{\textipa{\textdagger}a}d\text{\textipa{\textdagger}}/ \text{luck} \]

2. The allophones of /\text{\textipa{\textdagger}}/

In AA:

1. When /\text{\textipa{\textdagger}}/ is followed by a rounded vowel or a bibelial approximant, it is labialised

\[ /\text{\textipa{\textdagger}}/ \rightarrow /\text{\textipa{\textdagger}\text{\textipa{\textdagger}}}/ \text{(rounded vowel)} \]

E.g. /\text{\textipa{\textdagger}ura}/ \rightarrow /\text{\textipa{\textdagger}\text{\textipa{\textdagger}}}/ \text{a turn} \]

In SA:

2. When /\text{\textipa{\textdagger}}/ is followed by a rounded vowel, it is labialised
/ d / \( \rightarrow \frac{\text{[d]}}{w} \) (rounded vowel)

E.g.: /d\text{uriba}/ \( \rightarrow \frac{\text{\ddot{d}orib\text{e}h}}{w} \) it was hit.

5.1.1.1.1.6 /k/: represents a voiceless velar stop

I. Distribution

(a) Distribution in AA:

I. In word initial position

\# k V (:) C E.g. /ka:r/ a coach

\# k C V E.g. /kla/ he ate

II. In word and syllable medial positions and intervocalically:

C k V E.g. /sk\text{"or}/ he has drunk

V k V E.g. /raki/ you are

V k k V E.g. /\text{"m}kk\text{"a}/ Mecca

V k k C E.g. /\text{"m}kkri/ put icing sugar on a cake (imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing.)

V k k k V E.g. /\text{"h}ak\text{"k}i/ make a friction (imp. 2nd pers. fem. ding.)

V C k V E.g. /\text{"j}erk\text{"a}b/ he rides

V k C V E.g. /\text{"j}ek\text{"rah}/ he hates
III In word final position:

\[ V k k \]  Eg: /hekk/ scratch
   (imp. 2nd pers. masc. sing)

\[ V C k \]  Eg: /melk/ property

\[ C V k \]  Eg: /li:k/ to you (sing.)

(b) Distribution in SA:

I. In word initial position:

\[ # k V (:) C \]  Eg: /kita:b/ a book

II. In word medial position:

\[ V k V \]  Eg: /?innaka/ you are
\[ V k k V \]  Eg: /makka/ Mecca
\[ V C k V \]  Eg: /jaskun/ he lives at
\[ V k C V \]  Eg: /makru:h/ hated
\[ V k C \]  Eg: /nakr/ a denial

III. In word final position:

\[ V C k \]  Eg: /silk/ a metallic thread
\[ V k k \]  Eg: /fakk/ a jaw

2. The allophones of /k/:

1. In AA:

1. When /k/ is followed by a rounded vowel or a bilabial approximant, it is labialised:

\[ /k/ \rightarrow [_{w}^{[k]} ] \ /_{w}^{_(rounded \ vowel)} \]

Eg: /kuja/ \rightarrow[ko\~{[v]}] \ an oven
2. /k/ is retracted when preceded by an emphatic consonant or a back vowel:
\[
/k/ \rightarrow [\text{k}] / - \quad \text{(back vowel)}
\]
Eg: /şkşk/ → [şkşk] cheques

3. /k/ is advanced when preceded or followed by a palatal approximant or a front vowel
\[
/k/ \rightarrow [\k] / - \quad \text{(palatal approximant)}
\]
Eg: /kjasā/ → [kjasē] kindness

2. In SA:
1. When /k/ is followed by a rounded vowel it is labialised:
\[
/k/ \rightarrow [\text{k}] / - \quad \text{(rounded vowel)}
\]
Eg: /ku:b/ → [ko:b] a glass

5.1.1.1.7 /q/: represents a voiceless uvular plosive.

1. Distribution:
(a) Distribution in AA:
I In word initial position:
    # q V (:) C     Eg: /qa:l/ he said
    # q C V (:)     Eg: /qtal/ he killed

II In word and syllable medial positions and intervocally:

    V q V     Eg: /tqa:/ a window
    V q q V     Eg: /haqqi/ my right
    V q q C     Eg: /næqqli/ carry from one place to the other
                 (imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing)
V q q q V  Eg: /haqqqi/ find out the truth  
    (imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing)
V C q C V  Eg: /jenqtel/ it is being killed
V C q V    Eg: /jerqed/ he sleeps
V q C V    Eg: /meqla/ a frying pan
C q C V    Eg: /nqtel/ he was killed

III In word final position:
V C q #    Eg: /ferq/ a difference
C V q #    Eg: /fa:q/ he woke up
V q q #    Eg: /haqq/ a right

(b) Distribution in SA
I In word initial position:
# q V (:) C Eg: /qa:l/ he said

II In word medial position:
V q V    Eg: /sa:quha/ her thigh
V q q V    Eg: /haqquhu/ his right
V C q V    Eg: /jasqi:/ he waters
V q C    Eg: /maqsu:d/ meant (masc. sing.)

III In word final position:
V C q #    Eg: /mazq/

2. The allophones of /q/:  
   1. When /q/ is followed by a rounded vowel or a bilabial approximant, it is labialised:
      /q/ → /[q] [w] (rounded vowel)
      Eg: /qu:l/ → /[qo:l] say (imp. 2nd pers. masc. sing.)
2. /q/ is aspirated when it is followed by a glottal fricative.

/q/ → [qh] /_ (glottal fricative)

Eg: /qhiwa/ → [qh\text{hiwə}] a small coffee

(diminutive for /qahwa/ → coffee)

In SA:

1. /q/ is labialized when it is followed by a rounded vowel.

/q/ → [q] /w_ (rounded vowel)

Eg: /qu:m/ → [qo:m] get up

(imp. 2nd pers. masc. sing.)

5.1.1.1.8 /m/: represents a bilabial nasal plosive.

1. Distribution.

(a) Distribution in AA:

I. In word initial position:

# m V (:) C Eg: /ma:t/ he died
# m C V Eg: /mriːt/ ill (masc. sing.)
# m C C V Eg: /mbtaːt/ he lied down on a bed

II. In word and syllable medial positions and intervocalically:

C C m V Eg: /nsmaf/ it was heard
C m C V Eg: /nmsaːt/ it was swept
V m V Eg: '/samitha/ I sat next to her
V m C Eg: /ʃems/ sun
V m m V Eg: /sammi:/ say "In the name of God"

(imp. 2nd pers. sing.)

V m m m V Eg: /sammmiːt/ poison him

(imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing.)
V m m C  Eg: /sammri/  nail something
            (imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing.)
V C m C  Eg: /jemsa:n/  it is being swept
V C C m V  Eg: /jensmæ:/  it can be heard
V C m V  Eg: /jarmi/  he throws
V m C  Eg: /nëmla/  an ant

III. In word final position:
    V m m  #  Eg: /sëmm/  poison
    C V (:) m  #  Eg: /la:m/  he blamed

(b) Distribution in SA:
I  In word initial position:
    #  m V (:) C  Eg: /mata:/  when

II  In word medial position and intervocally:
    V m V  Eg: /rama:/  he threw
    V m m V  Eg: /fæmmi:/  my uncle
    V C m V  Eg: /ja:jmul/  it consists of
    V m C  Eg: /nymsa:/  Austria
    V m C  Eg: /ramz/  a symbol

III  In word final position:
    C V (:) m  #  Eg: /la:m/  he blamed
    C V m m  #  Eg: /simm/  poison
2. The allophones of /m/:

In AA:

1. When /m/ is followed by a rounded vowel or a bilabial approximant, it is labialised:

   \[ /m/ \rightarrow [\text{m}] \quad \text{(rounded vowel)} \]

   Eg: \(/\text{muta}/ \rightarrow [\text{mot}]\) dead people

2. /m/ is pharyngealised when it occurs in the environment of emphatic consonants:

   \[ /m/ \rightarrow [\text{m}] \quad \text{(emphatic consonant)} \]

   Eg: \(/\text{mr]} \rightarrow [\text{mr}]\) ill (masc. sing.)

3. /m/ is unreleased when it is followed by a homorganic stop:

   \[ /m/ \rightarrow [\text{m}^\circ] \quad \text{(homorganic stop)} \]

   Eg: \(/\text{mbtah}/ \rightarrow [\text{mbtah}]\) he lay down on a bed

In SA:

1. When /m/ is followed by a rounded vowel or a bilabial approximant, it is labialised:

   \[ /m/ \rightarrow [\text{m}] \quad \text{(rounded vowel)} \]

   Eg: \(/\text{mu}\text{?min}/ \rightarrow [\text{mu}\text{?min}]\) a believer

5.1.1.1.9 /n/: represents an alveolar nasal plosive.

1. Distribution:

   (a) Distribution in AA:

   I In word initial position:

   \# n V (:) C        Eg: \(/\text{na}:r/\) a fire
   \# n C V            Eg: \(/\text{nsa}/\) he forgot
   \# n n V (:) C      Eg: \(/\text{nni}:f/\) the nose
II. In word and syllable positions in a word and intervocally:

\[ \# n n C V \]
Eg: /nnsa/ the women

\[ \# n C C V \]
Eg: /nbna/ it was built

- V n V
  Eg: /rani/ I am

- V n C C
  Eg: /jənsrəq/ it can be stolen

- V C n V
  Eg: /qərnə:n/ artichokes

- V n C V
  Eg: /mənfi/ exiled

- V n n V
  Eg: /bənən/ a taste

- V n n n V
  Eg: /hənnni/ put henna
  (imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing.)

- V n n C
  Eg: /rənxəi/ marinate
  (imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing.)

- C n V
  Eg: /bənə/ he built

III. In word final position:

- V n n
  \[ \# \]
  Eg: /fənn/ an art

- C V (:) n
  \[ \# \]
  Eg: /bə:n/ he appeared

(b) Distribution in SA:

I. In word initial position:

\[ \# n V (:) C \]
Eg: /na:m/ he slept

II. In word medial position and intervocally:

- V n V
  Eg: /?ana:/ I, me

- V n C
  Eg: /janmu:/ it grows

- V C n V
  Eg: /jazni:/ he commits adultery

- V n n V
  Eg: /?inna:/ it is
III. In word final position:

C V n  #  Eg: /min/ who
V C n  #  Eg: /lāhn/ a melody
V n n  #  Eg: /fənn/ an art

2. The allophones of /n/:

In AA:

1. When /n/ is followed by a rounded vowel or a bilabial approximant, it is labialized:

\[/n/ \rightarrow [\text{n}] \quad \text{(rounded vowel)}\]

Eg: /nuːm/ \(\rightarrow\) [nuːm] dream
(imp. 2nd pers. masc. sing.)

2. When /n/ is followed by a bilabial oral plosive, it is realized as [m]

\[/n/ \rightarrow [m] \quad \text{(bilabial oral plosive)}\]

Eg: /nbat\text{h}/ \(\rightarrow\) [mbat\text{h}] he lay down on a bed

3. /n/ is realized as [ŋ] when it is followed by a velar or uvular consonant.

\[/n/ \rightarrow [ŋ] \quad \text{(velar consonant)}\]

Eg: /ŋgər/ \(\rightarrow\) [ŋgər] it was not available

4. /n/ is realized as [ŋ] when it is followed by a labio-dental consonant.

\[/n/ \rightarrow [ŋ] \quad \text{(labio-dental consonant)}\]

Eg: /ŋfəwə:h/ \(\rightarrow\) [ŋfɛwə:h] they expelled him from a country

5. When /n/ is in the environment of emphatic consonants, it is pharyngealized:

\[/n/ \rightarrow [ŋ] \quad \text{(emphatic consonant)}\]

Eg: /ŋnəf/ \(\rightarrow\) [ŋnəf] he made
In SA:

1. When /n/ is followed by a rounded vowel, it is labialised:

\[ /n/ \rightarrow [\overset{n}{\sim}w_/ \text{ (rounded vowel)}] \]

E.g. /nu:r/\(\rightarrow[\overset{n}{\sim}no:r]_{w_/} \) a light

5.1.1.1.2 Fricatives

5.1.1.1.2.1 /f/ represents a voiceless labiodental fricative

1. Distribution:

(a) Distribution in AA:

I. In word initial position

# f V (:) C E.g. /fa:r/ a rat
# f C V E.g. /fna:r/ a street light

II. In word and syllable medial positions and intervocally:

V f V E.g. /safí/ clear (masc. sing.)
V f f V E.g. /səffí/ clear it (imp. fem. sing. 2nd pers.)
V f f C E.g. /səffri/ whistle (imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing.)
C f V E.g. /maƙfu:n/ dirty (masc. sing.)
V f C E.g. /hafra/ a hole
C f C C E.g. /nfra:t/ it was solved

III. In word final position:

C V (:) f # E.g. /ʃaːf/ he saw
(b) Distribution in SA:

I. In word initial position:

\[ f \ V (:) \ C \]

E.g. /faːt/ he passed by

II. In word and syllable medial positions and intervocalically:

\[ V \ f \ V \]

E.g. /saːfar/ a trip

\[ V \ f \ f \ V \]

E.g. /ʃaːfəf/ transparent

(masc. sing.)

\[ V \ f \ C \]

E.g. /səfra/ yellow (fem. sing.)

\[ C \ f \ V \]

E.g. /madfuːn/ buried (masc. sing.)

III. In word final position:

\[ C \ V (:) \ f \]

E.g. /xaːf/ he was scared

\[ V \ C \ f \]

E.g. /saːf/ a ceiling.

2. The allophones of /f/

In AA:

1. When /f/ is followed by a rounded vowel or a
   bilabial approximant, it is labialised:

\[ /f/ \rightarrow [ f ] \]

(rounded vowel)

E.g. /fuːl/ \[ [ f ] \] beans

In SA:

1. When /f/ is followed by a rounded vowel, it is
   labialised:

\[ /f/ \rightarrow [ f ] \]

(rounded vowel)

E.g. /fuːti/ \[ [ f ] \] pass (imp. 2nd pers.
   fem. sing.)
5.1.1.2.2 /s/ : represents a voiceless alveolar fricative.

1. **Distribution**

   (a) **Distribution in AA**:

   I. In word initial position:

   - \# s V (:) C  
     E.g. /sɛtta/ six
   - \# s C V (:)  
     E.g. /stər/ a divine protection
   - \# s s V (:) C  
     E.g. /ssiːf/ the sword
   - \# s s C V  
     E.g. /sstər/ the divine protection
   - \# s C C V  
     E.g. /straːh/ he rested

   II. In word and syllable medial positions and intervocalically:

   - C s C V  
     E.g. /nsrəq/ it was stolen
   - V s C C V (:)  
     E.g. /jəstraːh/ he rests
   - V C s V  
     E.g. /jənsa/ he forgets
   - V s C V  
     E.g. /jəsmaɡ/ he hears
   - V C s C V  
     E.g. /jənsrəq/ it can be stolen
   - V s s V  
     E.g. /mɔssi/ touch
     (imp. 2nd. pers. fem. sing.)
   - V s s C  
     E.g. /ħassni/ make something perfect.
     (imp. 2nd. pers. fem. sing.)
   - V s s s V  
     E.g. /hasssi/ use witchcraft powder
     (imp. 2nd. pers. fem. sing.)
   - V s V  
     E.g. /nasima/ a girl's name
III. In word final position:

C V s #  
Eg: /mu:s/ a knife

V s s #  
Eg: /mæs/ touch

V C s #  
Eg: /mars/ March

(b) Distribution in SA:

I In word initial position:

# C V (:) C  
Eg: /sullam/ a staircase

II In word medial position and intervocalically:

V s V  
Eg: /nasi:m/ a brise

V C s V  
Eg: /maksi/ dressed (masc. sing.)

V s C V  
Eg: /masmu:m/ poisonous

V s s V  
Eg: /kassara/ he broke

III In word final position:

C V (:) s #  
Eg: /na:s/ people

V C s #  
Eg: /maws/ a blade

V s s #  
Eg: /Xass/ lettuce

2. The allophones of /s/:

1. When /s/ is followed by a rounded vowel or a bilabial approximant, it is labialised:

/s/ $\rightarrow$ $[s]$ (rounded vowel)

Eg: /swa:m/ $\rightarrow$ $[swæ:m]$ prices
In SA:

1. When /s/ is followed by a rounded vowel, it is labialised:

/s/ → [s] \( \overset{r}{\text{w}} \) \( \overset{w}{\text{w}} \) (rounded vowel)

Eg: /ra?suhu/ → [ra?soho]

5.1.1.1.2.3 \(/s/\) : represents a pharyngealised voiceless alveolar fricative. It is also a primary emphatic consonant.

1. Distribution

(a) Distribution in AA:

I In word initial position:

\# \( \overset{r}{\text{a}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{V}} \) (:) C Eg: /\overset{a}{\text{ai}}:\overset{f}{\text{f}}/ summer

\# \( \overset{a}{\text{a}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{C}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{V}} \) (:) C Eg: /\overset{a}{\text{di}}:\overset{d}{\text{d}}/ rust

\# \( \overset{a}{\text{a}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{a}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{V}} \) (:) C Eg: /\overset{a}{\text{si}}:\overset{f}{\text{f}}/ the summer

\# \( \overset{a}{\text{a}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{a}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{C}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{V}} \) Eg: /\overset{a}{\text{eqata}}/ the greediness

II In word and syllable medial positions and intervocalically:

V \( \overset{a}{\text{a}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{a}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{V}} \) Eg: /\overset{a}{\text{qa}}:\overset{a}{\text{si}}/ hard (masc. sing.)

V \( \overset{a}{\text{a}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{a}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{V}} \) Eg: /\overset{a}{\text{ra}}:\overset{a}{\text{a}}\overset{a}{\text{a}}/ it approached the coast

V \( \overset{a}{\text{a}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{a}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{a}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{a}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{V}} \) Eg: /\overset{a}{\text{fesssi}}\overset{a}{\text{shell}}/ imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing.

V \( \overset{a}{\text{a}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{a}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{C}} \) Eg: /\overset{a}{\text{fessli}}/ cut out the material (imp. 2nd pers. fem sing.)

C \( \overset{a}{\text{a}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{a}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{C}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{V}} \) Eg: /\overset{a}{\text{nsd}}\overset{a}{\text{a}}\overset{a}{\text{t}}/ I had a headache

C \( \overset{a}{\text{a}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{a}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{C}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{V}} \) Eg: /\overset{a}{\text{nsear}}/ he triumphed

V C \( \overset{a}{\text{a}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{a}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{C}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{V}} \) Eg: /\overset{a}{\text{jensda}}\overset{a}{\text{f}}/ he will have a headache

V C \( \overset{a}{\text{a}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{a}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{V}} \) Eg: /\overset{a}{\text{j}a\text{gqa}}:\overset{a}{\text{r}}/ it becomes shorter

V \( \overset{a}{\text{a}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{a}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{C}} \) \( \overset{a}{\text{V}} \) Eg: /\overset{a}{\text{j}a\text{aqsi}}/ he waters
III. In word final position:

C V œ #

Eg: /hræʃ/ he guarded

V s œ #

Eg: /meʃə/ he sucked

(b) **Distribution in SA:**

I. In word initial position:

œ V (:) C

Eg: /sajf/ summer

II. In word initial position and intervocalically:

V œ V

Eg: /ræʃəf/ a pavement

V œ œ V

Eg: /maʃə/ he sucked

V œ C V

Eg: /jasbur/ he is patient

III. In word final position:

V C œ #

Eg: /raqs/ a dance

V œ œ #

Eg: /liʃə/ a thief

2. The allophones of /s/.

**In AA:**

1. When /s/ is followed by a rounded vowel or a bilabial approximant, it is labialised:

/s/ → [ʃ] /_ (rounded vowel)

Eg: /suːr/ → [ʃʊə] a fence

**In SA:**

1. When /s/ is followed by a rounded vowel, it is labialised:

/s/ → [ʃ] /_ (rounded vowel)

Eg: /suːbʃ/ → [ʃʊbʃ] morning
5.1.1.2.4 /z/: represents a voiced alveolar fricative.

1. **Distribution:**

(a) **Distribution in AA:**

I. **In word initial position:**

1. z V (:) C  
   Eg: /zi:n/ beauty
2. z C V  
   Eg: /zma:m/ a book
3. z z V C  
   Eg: /zzerbija/ the carpet
4. z z C V  
   Eg: /zrabi/ the carpets

II. **In word and syllable medial positions and intervocalically:**

1. C z V  
   Eg: /mzija/ a favour
2. C z C V  
   Eg: /nzra it was planted
3. V z C  
   Eg: /naziha/ a girl's name
4. V z z V  
   Eg: /Iazzitha/ I gave her my sympathy
5. V z z C  
   Eg: /nazzli:h/ take it down
   (imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing.)

III. **In word final position:**

1. V C z  
   Eg: /kænz/ a treasure
2. V z z  
   Eg: /læz/ a respect

(b) **Distribution in SA:**

I. **In word initial position:**

1. z V (:) C  
   Eg: /zawdʒ/ a husband
II. In word medial position and intervocalically:

V z V  \( \text{Eg: } /maziːd/ \) a mixture
V z C  \( \text{Eg: } /mazruːl/ \) planted (masc. sing.)
C z V  \( \text{Eg: } /jamzên/ \) he jokes
V z z V  \( \text{Eg: } /bazzaːqa/ \) a snail

III In word final position:

V C z  \( \# \)  \( \text{Eg: } /ramz/ \) a symbol
V z z  \( \# \)  \( \text{Eg: } /wazz/ \) goose

2. The allophones of /z/:

a. In AA:

1. When /z/ is followed by a rounded vowel or a bilabial approximant, it is labialised:

\( /z/ \rightarrow [z] \) \( \text{(rounded vowel)} \)

\( \text{Eg: } /zwabi/ \rightarrow [zwəbi] \) rubbish

2. When /z/ is followed by a voiceless consonant, it is devoiced.

\( /z/ \rightarrow [ʂ] \) \( \text{(voiceless consonant)} \)

\( \text{Eg: } /zfeɾ/ \rightarrow [ʂfeɾ] \) mouldy (masc. sing.)

b. In SA:

1. When /z/ \( \rightarrow [z] \) \( \text{(rounded vowel), it is labialised} \)

\( \text{Eg: } /nuzuːl/ \rightarrow [nəzoːl] \) a descent

5.1.1.2.5 /ʃ/ : represents a voiceless palato-alveolar fricative.

1. Distribution:

(a) Distribution in AA:
1. In word initial position:
   # /V (/) C  Eg: /ơbba/ beautiful (fem. sing.)
   # /CV  Eg: /ra/ he bought
   # /MV  Eg: /ơms/ the sun
   # /MCV  Eg: /ơra/ the activity
   # /CCV  Eg: /strædʒ/ chess
   # /CCVC  Eg: /strædʒ/ the chess

II. In word and syllable medial positions and intervocically:
   V /V  Eg: /raʃi/ worn out
   V /J V  Eg: /maʃitu/ I make him walk
   V /JC V  Eg: /nʃʃi:h/ dry it
             (imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing.)
   V /JJV  Eg: /nʃʃi:h/ put starch in it.
             (imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing.)
   V /J C  Eg: /jeʃreb/ he drinks
   C /V  Eg: /ʃəmʃes/ he is sun-bathing

III. In word final position:
   CV /#  Eg: /nʃaʃ/ a coffin
   V /J #  Eg: /nʃʃʃ/ it had deflated

(b) Distribution in SA:
   I In word initial position:
      # /V (/) C  Eg: /ʃaʔib/ an old man

II In word and syllable medial positions and intervocically:
   V /V  Eg: /maʃja/ cattle
   V /C  Eg: /jaʃrub/ he drinks
V § § V  Eg: /kaʃ/: a boy-scout
C § V  Eg: /jam/: it combs

III. In word final position:

V C §  Eg: /ʃa/: a throne
V § §  Eg: /?inf/: it has deflated

2. The allophones of /ʃ/:  
   a. In AA:
   1. When /ʃ/ is followed by a rounded vowel or a bilabial approximant, it is labialized:
      /ʃ/ → [ʃ] (rounded vowel)
      Eg: /ʃurba/ → [ʃorbe] a soup
   b. In SA:
   1. When /ʃ/ is followed by a rounded vowel, it is labialized:
      /ʃ/ → [ʃ] (rounded vowel)
      Eg: /ʃuha/ → [ʃohe] celebrity

5.1.1.1.2.6 /X/: represents a voiceless uvular fricative.
   1. Distribution:
      (a) Distribution in AA:
      I. In word initial position:
         # X V (:) C  Eg: /Xa/: he was scared
         # X C V  Eg: /Xber/ a piece of news
      II. In word and syllable medial positions and intervocalically:
         V X V  Eg: /raksi/ loose
         C X C  Eg: /nXredʒ/ it was taken out
2.

\[ V \times X \times V \quad \text{Eg: } /\text{muXXi}/ \quad \text{my brain} \]

\[ V \times X \times C \quad \text{Eg: } /\text{roXXsi}/ \quad \text{make it cheaper} \]

\[ \text{(imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing.)} \]

\[ V \times C \quad \text{Eg: } /\text{jaXfa:f}/ \quad \text{it becomes lighter} \]

\[ C \times V \quad \text{Eg: } /\text{jəmΧat}/ \quad \text{he wipes his nose} \]

III. In word final position:

\[ V \times X \quad \# \quad \text{Eg: } /\text{feXX}/ \quad \text{a trick} \]

\[ C \times V \quad (: \) \times \# \quad \text{Eg: } /\text{səbna:X}/ \quad \text{spinach} \]

(b) Distribution in SA:

I. In word initial position:

\[ \# \quad X \times V \quad (: \) \times C \quad \text{Eg: } /\text{Xali}/ \quad \text{empty} \]

II. In word medial position and intervocalically:

\[ V \times X \quad \text{Eg: } /\text{aXi}/ \quad \text{my brother} \]

\[ V \times X \times V \quad \text{Eg: } /\text{aXXar}/ \quad \text{he postponed} \]

\[ C \times V \quad \text{Eg: } /\text{masXara}/ \quad \text{trivial} \]

\[ V \times C \quad \text{Eg: } /\text{jaXrudʒ}/ \quad \text{he goes out} \]

III. In word final position:

\[ V \times C \quad \# \quad \text{Eg: } /\text{badX}/ \quad \text{lavishness} \]

\[ V \times X \quad \# \quad \text{Eg: } /\text{faXX}/ \quad \text{a trick} \]

\[ C \times V \quad \# \quad \text{Eg: } /\text{aX}/ \quad \text{a brother} \]

2. The allophones of /X/: 

(a) In AA:

1. When /X/ is followed by a rounded vowel or a bilabial approximant, it is labialised:
/X/ $\rightarrow [X]$ \text{ (rounded vowel)}

Eg: /Xu:h/ $\rightarrow [Xo:h]$ his brother

(b) In SA:

1. When /X/ is followed by a rounded vowel, it is labialised:

/X/ $\rightarrow [X]$ \text{ (rounded vowel)}

Eg: /jaXu:nu/ $\rightarrow [jaXo:no]$ he betrays

5.1.1.1.2.7 /v/ : represents a voiced uvular fricative.

1. Distribution:

(a) Distribution in AA:

I. In word initial position:

\# $\text{a} \ V (:) \ C$ Eg: /$\text{a}:r$/ he was jealous

\# $\text{a} \ C \ V$ Eg: /$\text{r}:s$/ he planted

II. In word and syllable medial positions and intervocally:

C $\text{a} \ .V$ Eg: /$\text{s}:i:r$/ young (masc.sing.)

C $\text{a} \ C \ V$ Eg: /$\text{n}:r:s$/ it was planted

V $\text{a} \ V$ Eg: /$\text{s}j:a:w$/ jewellery

V $\text{a} \ .V$ Eg: /$\text{s}\text{a}w\text{e}r$/ make something smaller

V $\text{a} \ C \ V$ Eg: /$\text{s}\text{a}w\text{e}ri$/ make something smaller

V $\text{a} \ C$ Eg: /$\text{j}:\text{a}w:sl$/ he washes
III. In word final position:

C V (;) # Eg: /sa:§/ he shouted

(b) Distribution in SA:

I. In word initial position:

# ³ V (;) C Eg: /§a:ra/ he was jealous

II. In word medial position and intervocally:

V ³ V Eg: /ba:§ija/ a prostitute
V ³ a V Eg: /§a:§a:1/ a servant
C ³ V Eg: /mar§u:b/ wanted (masc.sing.)
V ³ C Eg: /su§r/ youth

III. In word final position:

C V § Eg: /sub§/ paint

2. The allophones of /§/:

(a) In AA:

1. When /§/ is followed by a rounded vowel or a bilabial approximant, it is labialised:

/§/ \[ \[ \rightarrow [\[ \[ \text{(rounded vowel)}

Eg: /su:1/ \[ \[ \rightarrow [\[ \[ a wolf

2. /§/ is devoiced when it occurs before a voiceless consonant:

/§/ \[ \[ \rightarrow [\[ \[ \text{(voiceless consonant)}

Eg: /§fər/ \[ \[ \rightarrow [\[ \[ he forgave
(b) In **SA:**

1. When /ʊ/ is followed by a rounded vowel, it is labialised:

   /ʊ/ → [ʊ] /__(rounded vowel)  

   Eg: /jaʊruːsu/ → [jaʊɾos] he dives

5.1.1.1.2.8 / Ɪ/ : represents a voiceless pharyngeal fricative.

1. **Distribution:**

(a) **Distribution in AA:**

I. In word initial position:

   # Ɪ V (:) C    Eg: /hɔɗa/ a thing

   # Ɪ C V    Eg: /hɔs/ he guarded

II. In word and syllable medial positions and intervocically:

   C Ɪ C V    Eg: /nhrɛdʒ/ he was ashamed

   V Ɪ V    Eg: /fɑɾhɛt/ it had a bad smell

   V Ɪ Ɪ V    Eg: /nəhhi/ remove

   (imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing.)

   V Ɪ Ɪ C V    Eg: /səhhi/ have your last meal before fasting

   (imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing.)

   V Ɪ Ɪ Ɪ V    Eg: /səhhi/ correct

   (imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing.)

   C Ɪ V    Eg: /səmḥat/ she forgave

   V Ɪ C    Eg: /fəhɔma/ a piece of coal

III. In word final position:

   V Ɪ Ɪ    #    Eg: /səhɔ/ true

   C V Ɪ    #    Eg: /frah/ he was happy
(b) **Distribution in SA:**

**I. In word initial position:**

\[ * \text{h} \text{V} (:) \text{C} \]

Eg: /ha:mi1/ pregnant

**II. In word medial position and intervocalically:**

\[ \text{v} \text{h} \text{v} \]

Eg: /ea:hi1/ awake

\[ \text{v} \text{h} \text{c} \]

Eg: /fa:hi1/ coal

\[ \text{v} \text{h} \text{h} \text{v} \]

Eg: /e:a:ha/ health

\[ \text{c} \text{h} \text{v} \]

Eg: /ja1:hi1/ he grinds

**III. In word final position:**

\[ \text{v} \text{c} \text{h} \]

Eg: /rum\text{h}/ a spear

\[ \text{v} \text{h} \text{h} \]

Eg: /ja1i1:hi1/ he insists

2. **The allophones of /h/:**

(a) **In AA:**

1. When /\text{h}/ is followed by a rounded vowel or a bilabial approximant, it is labialised:

\[ /\text{h}/ \rightarrow [\text{h}] /\text{i} (\text{rounded vowel}) \]

Eg: /hubb/ \rightarrow [\text{h}o1bb] a love

(b) **In SA:**

1. When /\text{h}/ is followed by a rounded vowel, it is labialised:

\[ /\text{h}/ \rightarrow [\text{h}] /\text{i} (\text{rounded vowel}) \]

Eg: /hubb/ \rightarrow [\text{h}o1bb] love
5.1.1.2.9 /ʕ/ : represents a voiced pharyngeal fricative.

1. Distribution:

(a) Distribution in AA:

I In word initial position:

\[\# ~ V (: ) C \quad \text{Eg: } /\gamma a:m/ \quad \text{a year}\]
\[\# ~ C ~ V \quad \text{Eg: } /\gamma t\alpha/ \quad \text{he gave}\]

II In word and syllable medial positions and intervocally:

\[ C ~ C ~ V \quad \text{Eg: } /m\gamma t\alpha t/ \quad \text{it was given}\]
\[ V ~ V \quad \text{Eg: } /m\gamma u:n/ \quad \text{a dish}\]
\[ V ~ V ~ V \quad \text{Eg: } /tza\gamma \gamma \epsilon f/ \quad \text{he got angry}\]
\[ V ~ C \quad \text{Eg: } /s\gamma f\iota:h/ \quad \text{console him}\]
\[ C ~ V \quad \text{Eg: } /m\gamma r\u: b/ \quad \text{blackened}\]

III In word final position:

\[ C ~ V (: ) \# \quad \text{Eg: } /b\alpha:\gamma/ \quad \text{he sold}\]

(b) Distribution in SA:

I In word initial position:

\[\# ~ V (: ) C \quad \text{Eg: } /\gamma a:m/ \quad \text{a year}\]

II In word medial position and intervocally:

\[ V ~ V \quad \text{Eg: } /m\gamma a:h/ \quad \text{with him}\]
\[ V ~ V ~ V \quad \text{Eg: } /s\gamma \gamma \gamma \alpha\eta/ \quad \text{he lifted}\]
\[ V ~ C \quad \text{Eg: } /m\gamma \eta a:/ \quad \text{a meaning}\]
\[ C ~ V \quad \text{Eg: } /m\gamma s\alpha d/ \quad \text{a lift}\]
III. In word final position:

V C ?> #  Eg: /manf/ prevention
C V ?> #  Eg: /sa:?if/ lost

2. The allophones of /?/:

(a) In AA:

1. When /?/ is followed by a rounded vowel or a bilabial approximant, it is labialised:

/?/ → [?] /_ (rounded vowel)

Eg: /?wər/ → [?war] one-eyed (masc. sing.)

(b) In SA:

1. When /?/ is followed by a rounded vowel, it is labialised:

/?/ → [?] /_ (rounded vowel)

Eg: /ja?fudu/ → [ja?o:du] he comes back

5.1.1.1.2.10 /h/: represents a glottal fricative.

1. Distribution:

(a) Distribution in AA:

I. In word initial position:

# h V () C  Eg: /hɛmm/ a problem
# h C V  Eg: /hrɛb/ he escaped

II. In word and syllable medial positions and intervocalically:

C h V  Eg: /bhi:m/ a donkey
V h C  Eg: /mahbu:l/ crazy (masc. sing.)
V h h V  Eg: /nɛhhi:h/ advise him (imp. 2nd pers. sing.)
V h h C  Eg: /ʃəhdi/ say your last prayer
V h V  Eg: /rahik/ she is

III. In word final position:

C V (:) h  #  Eg: /ʃəaːh/ God

(b) Distribution in SA:

I. In word initial position:

# h V (:) C  Eg: /haːrab/ fugitive (masc.sing.)

II. In word medial position and intervocally:

V h V  Eg: /bahaː/ beauty
V h C  Eg: /sahl/ easy
V h h V  Eg: /ʃahhar/ to divulge one's deeds
C h V  Eg: /jahdi/ to guide

III. In word final position:

V C h  #  Eg: /fiqh/ Islamic law
C V (:) h  #  Eg: /ʔilaːh/ God

2. The allophones of /h/:

a. In AA:

1. When /h/ is followed by a rounded vowel, or a
bibilabial approximant, it is labialised:

/h/ → [h]  /ʃ (rounded vowel)

Eg: /hwa/ → [hwə] a wind
b. In SA:

1. When /h/ is followed by a rounded vowel, it is
   labialised:

   \[ /h/ \rightarrow [h] \quad /w/ \quad (rounded \ vowel) \]

   Eg: /huwa/ \rightarrow [howw\w] \quad him, he

5.1.1.3 Affricates.

5.1.1.3.1 /dʒ/ : represents a voiced palato-alveolar
   affricate.

1. Distribution

(a) Distribution in AA:

I. In word initial position:

# dʒ V ( : ) C  Eg: /dʒa/  he came

# dʒ C V C  Eg: /dʒbel/  a mountain

II. In word and syllable medial positions and
   intervocally:

   C dʒ C  Eg: /ndʒrah/  he was injured

   C dʒ V  Eg: /mərdʒə:n/  coral

   V dʒ V  Eg: /mudʒə/  a wave

   V d dʒ V  Eg: /haddʒu/  they performed the
   pilgrimage in Mecca.

   V d dʒ C V  Eg: /naddʒri/  polish it (imp. 2nd.
   pers. fem. sing.)

   V d dʒ dʒ V  Eg: /faddʒdʒi/  fill the place with incense
   (imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing.)

III. In word final position:

   V d dʒ  #  Eg: /haddʒ/  pilgrimage

(b) Distribution in SA:

I. In word initial position:

# dʒ V ( : ) C  Eg: /dʒaːʔa/  he came
II. In word medial position and intervocalically:

V dʒ V  \( \text{Eg: } /\text{na:dʒi:/ } \text{safe} \)
V dʒ C  \( \text{Eg: } /\text{ḥadʒz/ } \text{an obstacle} \)
V d dʒ V  \( \text{Eg: } /\text{faddʒara/ } \text{he made something explode} \)
C dʒ V  \( \text{Eg: } /\text{jardʒu/ } \text{he wishes} \)

III. In word final position:

V C dʒ \( \# \)  \( \text{Eg: } /\text{badʒ/ } \text{chloroform} \)
V d dʒ \( \# \)  \( \text{Eg: } /\text{zuddʒ/ } \text{point of the elbow} \)
C V (:) dʒ \( \# \)  \( \text{Eg: } /\text{ʃa:dʒ/ } \text{ivory} \)

2. The allophones of /dʒ/: 

a. In AA:

1. When /dʒ/ is followed by a rounded vowel or a bilabial approximant, it is labialised:
   \( /d/ \rightarrow [dʒ]. /\_\_ (\text{rounded vowel}) \)
   \( \text{Eg: } /\text{dʒuhrə/ } \rightarrow [dʒ₀hrə] \text{ a cultured pearl} \)

2. When /d/ is followed by a voiceless consonant, it is devoiced:
   \( /d/ \rightarrow [dʒ] /\_\_ (\text{voiceless consonant}) \)
   \( \text{Eg: } /\text{dʒiːm/ } \rightarrow [dʒʰiːm] \text{ hell} \)

b. In SA:

1. When /dʒ/ is followed by a rounded vowel, it is labialised:
   \( /dʒ/ \rightarrow [dʒ] /\_\_ (\text{rounded vowel}) \)
   \( \text{Eg: } /\text{jadʒurrə/ } \rightarrow [jadʒɔrrə] \text{ he drags} \)

5.1.1.4 Laterals

5.1.1.4.1 /l/: represents a voiced alveolar lateral.

1. Distribution:

(a) Distribution in AA:

I. In word initial position:

\# l V (:) C
Eg: /lu:z/ almonds

\# l C V
Eg: /lw:a:s/ brothers-in-law

\# l l V
Eg: /lu:z/ the almonds

\# l l C V
Eg: /llqima:t/ the small bites

II. In word and syllable medial positions and intervocalically:

C l V
Eg: /mli:/: good (masc. sing.)

V l V
Eg: /mali/ my wealth

V l l V
Eg: /səlla/ a basket

V l C
Eg: /məlbu:s/ worn

V l l C
Eg: /səllmi/ say your greetings
   (imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing.)

V l l l V
Eg: /ʃəlli/ rinse
   (imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing.)

III. In word final position:

C V l
Eg: /ma:/: a wealth

V l l
Eg: /ʃəll/ name of a flower

(b) Distribution in SA:

I. In word initial position:

\# l V (:) C
Eg: /lam/ not
II. In word and syllable medial positions and intervocally:

\[ V_{1}V \quad \text{Eg: } /ma:luhu/ \text{ his wealth} \]
\[ V_{1}l_{1}V \quad \text{Eg: } /?allafa/ \text{ he published} \]
\[ V_{1}C_{1}V \quad \text{Eg: } /ja\check{a}lif/ \text{ he swears} \]
\[ V_{1}C \quad \text{Eg: } /ja\check{a}šab/ \text{ he plays} \]

III. In word final position:

\[ V_{1}C_{1} \quad \# \quad \text{Eg: } /haq/ \text{ a field} \]
\[ V_{1}l_{1} \quad \# \quad \text{Eg: } /sill/ \text{ tuberculosis} \]

2. The allophones of /l/:

a. In AA:

1. When /l/ is followed by a rounded vowel or a bilabial approximant, it is labialised:

\[ /l/ \rightarrow [\text{w}] /l_{w} \quad \text{(rounded vowel)} \]

\[ \text{Eg: } /lu:z/ \rightarrow [\text{w}lu:z] \text{ almonds} \]

2. /l/ is devoiced when it is followed by a voiceless consonant:

\[ /l/ \rightarrow [\text{?]}/l_{?] \quad \text{(voiceless consonant)} \]

\[ \text{Eg: } /\text{lsa:n}/ \rightarrow [\text{?]s\check{e}:n] \text{ a tongue} \]

3. /l/ is palatalised when it is followed by a palatal approximant:

\[ /l/ \rightarrow [\text{y}] /l_{y} \quad \text{(palatal approximant)} \]

\[ \text{Eg: } /\text{lja:s}/ \rightarrow [\text{yj\varepsilon:s}] \text{ a boy's name} \]
4. When /l/ is in the environment of emphatic consonants, it is pharyngealised:

\[
/l/ \rightarrow [\text{ emphatic consonant }]
\]

Eg: /sla:t/ \rightarrow [\text{ emphatic consonant }] \quad \text{prayer}

b. In SA:

1. When /l/ is followed by a rounded vowel, it is labialised:

\[
/l/ \rightarrow [\text{ rounded vowel }]
\]

Eg: /jalu:m/ \rightarrow [\text{ rounded vowel }] \quad \text{he blames}

5.1.1.5 \textbf{Trills}

5.1.1.5.1 /r/: represents a voiced alveolar roll.

1. \textbf{Distribution}

a. In AA:

I In word initial position:

\# r V (:) C \quad \text{Eg: /ra:s/ a head}
\# r C V \quad \text{Eg: /rba:]/ he won}
\# r r V (:) C \quad \text{Eg: /rra:]/ the opinion}
\# r r C V \quad \text{Eg: /rrba:]/ the benefit}

II In word and syllable medial positions and intervocally:

C C r V (:) C \quad \text{Eg: /stra:]h/ he rested}
V r C V \quad \text{Eg: /jɛrmi/ he throws}
V C r V \quad \text{Eg: /ma]ri/ bought (masc. sing.)}
V r V \quad \text{Eg: /nari/ my fire}
V r r V \quad \text{Eg: /sɛrri/ my secret}
V r r C V \quad \text{Eg: /fərri:]h/ sort it out (imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing.)}
V r r r V  Eg: /fərrri/  turn it around  
(imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing.)

III. In word final position:

C V r  #  Eg: /na:r/  a fire
V r r  #  Eg: /sər:r/  a secret

b. In SA:

I. In word initial position:

#  r V (:) C  Eg: /ra?s/  a head

II. In word medial position and intervocally:

V r V  Eg: /muri:h/  comfortable
V r C  Eg: /tərə/  a vein
V r r V  Eg: /harrə/  hot (fem. sing.)
C r V  Eg: /jaqra?/  he reads

III. In word final position:

V C r  #  Eg: /nakr/  a denial
V r r  #  Eg: /harr/  hot (masc. sing.)
C V (:) r  #  Eg: /da:r/  a house

2. The allophones of /r/:

a. In AA:

1. When /r/ is followed by a rounded vowel or a bilabial approximant, it is labialised:

/r/ \rightarrow [r]  /w (rounded vowel)
Eg: /ru:h/ \rightarrow [roːh]  go  (imp. 2nd pers. masc. sing.)
2. /r/ is devoiced when followed by a voiceless consonant:
\[ /r/ \rightarrow [\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}}] \quad /\text{\textregistered} \quad (\text{voiceless consonant}) \]
Eg: /\text{kəb} \rightarrow [\text{kəb}] \quad \text{he rode}

3. When /r/ is in the environment of emphatic consonants, it is pharyngealised:
\[ /r/ \rightarrow [\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}}] \quad /\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}} \quad (\text{emphatic consonant}) \]
Eg: /\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}t\textsuperscript{\textregistered}l} \rightarrow [\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}t\textsuperscript{\textregistered}l}] \quad \text{a pound}

4. In other positions, /r/ is realized as [r].

b. In SA:
1. When /r/ is followed by a rounded vowel, it is labialised:
\[ /r/ \rightarrow [\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}}] \quad /\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}} \quad (\text{rounded vowel}) \]
Eg: /\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}u:h} \rightarrow [\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}o:h}] \quad \text{go (imp. 2nd pers. masc. sing.)}

2. Elsewhere, /r/ is realized as [r].

5.1.1.1.6 Approximants.

5.1.1.1.6.1 /w/: represents a voiced bilabial approximant.

1. Distribution
a. In AA:
1 In word initial position:

\[ \# \; w \; V \; (:) \; C \quad \text{Eg:} \; /w:\text{\textregistered}d/ \; \text{a river} \]

\[ \# \; w \; C \; V \quad \text{Eg:} \; /w\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}n}/ \; \text{he weighed} \]
II. In word and syllable medial positions and intervocally:

- C w V  Eg: /rwəd/  wheels
- V w V  Eg: /ˈtawa/  a frying pan
- V w w V  Eg: /ləwwi/  fold
  (imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing.)
- V w w C  Eg: /səwɔdət/  she spoilt
- V C w V  Eg: /qahwa/  coffee

III. In word final position:

- C V w  #  Eg: /bka:w/  they cried

b. In SA:

I. In word initial position:

- # w V (:) C  Eg: /wa:d/  a valley

II. In word medial position and intervocally:

- V w V  Eg: /nawa/  he wished
- V w C  Eg: /mawt/  death
- V w w V  Eg: /səwɔwa/  he did
- V C w V  Eg: /qahwa/  coffee

III. In word final position:

- C V w  #  Eg: /lɔw/  if

2. The allophones of /w/:

a. In AA:

1. /w/ is realized as [w] in any position in a word or a syllable.

b. In SA:

1. /w/ is realized as [w] in any position in a word or a syllable.
5.1.1.6.2 /j/ : represents a voiced palatal approximant.

1. Distribution

a. In AA:

I. In word initial position:
   
   # j V (:) C  Eg: /ja:k/  isn't it
   # j C V (:)  Eg: /jbi:q/ he sells

II. In word and syllable medial positions and intervocally:
   
   C j V  Eg: /mja/  one hundred
   V j V  Eg: /mraja/  a mirror
   V j C V  Eg: /majla/  bent (fem. sing.)
   V C j V  Eg: /ma[jja]/ walking (fem. sing.)
   V j j C  Eg: /fejjqi:h/  wake him up
             (imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing.)

III. In word final position:
   
   V j j  #  Eg: /hajj/  alive (masc. sing.)

b. In SA:

I. In word initial position:
   
   # j V C  Eg: /jawm/  a day

II. In word medial position and intervocally:
   
   V j C  Eg: /?ajn/  where
   V j j V  Eg: /hajja/  alive (fem. sing.)

III. In word final position:
   
   C V j  #  Eg: /na:j/  a musical pipe
   V C j  #  Eg: /ra?j/  an opinion
2. The allophones of /j/: 

a. In AA: 

1. When /j/ is followed by a rounded vowel, it is labialised:

   /j/ → [j] /__ (rounded vowel)  
   Eq: /ju:m/ → [jo:m] a day

b. In SA: 

1. When /j/ is followed by a rounded vowel, it is labialised:

   /j/ → [j] /__ (rounded vowel)  
   Eq: /jubaːf/ → [jobaːf] it is sold

5.1.1.2 Consonants which are exclusive to SA: 

5.1.1.2.1 Stops 

5.1.1.2.1.1 /ʔ/: represents a glottal stop

1. Distribution: 

   I. In word initial position: 
      # ? V (:) C  
      Eg: /ʔanaː/ I, me

   II. In word medial position and intervocally:
      V ? C  
      Eg: /biʔr/ a well
      C ? V  
      Eg: /jasʔal/ he asks
      V ? V  
      Eg: /miʔaːt/ hundreds
      V ? ? V  
      Eg: /taraʔʔas/ to become a chief

   III. In word final position:
      C V (:) ? #  
      Eg: /baʔː/ letter "b"
2. The allophones of /?/: 
   1. When /?/ is followed by a rounded vowel, it is labialised: 
      
      /?/ \rightarrow \left[ ? \right] /w (rounded vowel) 
      
      Eg: /sa:?u:/ \rightarrow [sa:?<o:] they harmed

5.1.1.2.2 Fricatives

5.1.1.2.2.1 /θ/ : represents a voiceless dental fricative:

   1. Distribution: 
      
      I. In word initial position: 
         
         # \theta V (: ) C  
         Eg: /θami:n/ expensive

      II. In word medial position and intervocalically: 
         
         V \theta C  
         Eg: /?iθm/ a sin
         V \theta \theta C  
         Eg: /?aθəθaθ/ he furnished
         C \theta V  
         Eg: /?irθuθu/ his heritage
         V \theta V  
         Eg: /miθə:l/ an example

      III. In word final position: 
         
         C V \theta  
         #  
         Eg: /mu?annaθ/ feminine gender

2. The allophones: 
   1. When /θ/ is followed by a rounded vowel, it is labialised: 
      
      /θ/ \rightarrow \left[ θ \right] /w (rounded vowel) 
      
      Eg: /θumma/ \rightarrow [θamme] then
5.1.1.2.2.2 /ð/ : represents a voiced dental fricative:

1. **Distribution**:

   **I. In word initial position:**
   
   \# $\delta$ V (:) C  
   Eg: /ðira:/  fore-arm

   **II. In word medial position and intervocically:**
   
   V $\delta$ V  
   Eg: /mu\  Abbib/  hurrying
   V $\delta$ C  
   Eg: /?a\  ra/ to be profuse in speech
   C $\delta$ V  
   Eg: /jad\  \bib/  to attract

   **III. In word final position:**
   
   V C $\delta$ \#  
   Eg: /ja\ha:ð/  importunate beggar

2. The allophones of /ð/:

   When /ð/ is followed by a rounded vowel, it is labialised:

   /ð/ $\rightarrow$ [ð] \_ \_ \_ (rounded vowel)

   Eg: /ðurra/ $\rightarrow$ [ðorra]  an atom

5.1.1.2.2.3 /\$/ : represents a pharyngealised voiced fricative:

1. **Distribution**:

   **I. In word initial position:**

   \# $\varsigma$ V (:) C  
   Eg: /\ahr/  back
II. In word medial position and intervocically:

V ṽ V      Eg: /muṽaffar/ triumphant
V ṽ C      Eg: /maṽhar/ appearance
C ṽ V      Eg: /faṽu̯hu/ his thigh
V ṽ ṽ V      Eg: /faṽa̯a/ a bite

III. In word final position:

V C ṽ      #      Eg: /faṽa̯/ a thigh

2. The allophones of /ṽ/:

1. /ṽ/ is labialised when it occurs before a rounded vowel:

ṽ/ → [ⁿ] (rounded vowel)

E.g.: /faṽu̯hu/ → [faⁿu̯ho̯] his thigh

5.1.1.3 Consonants which are exclusive to AA:

5.1.1.3.1 Stops

5.1.1.3.1.1 /p/: represents a voiceless bilabial plosive

1. Distribution:

I. In word initial position:

#  p V (:) C      Eg: /pippa/ a pipe
#  p C V      Eg: /plasa/ a place
II. In word medial position and intervocalically:

V p p V  Eg: /suppa/ a soup
V p p C V  Eg: /tʃppri/ steal

(imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing.)

2. The allophones of /p/:

1. /p/ is labialised when followed by a rounded vowel:

   /p/ → [p] (rounded vowel)

   Eg: /poliːs/ → [polɪːs] police

2. /p/ is pharyngealised when it occurs before:

   back vowels
   open vowels
   consonant

   Eg: /plasa/ → [pl̥ːsa] a place
   /lpala/ → [lp̥ːla] the shovel

5.1.1.3.1.2 /b/ : represents a pharyngealised voiced bilabial stop.

1. Distribution:

   I. In word initial position:

   # b V (:) C  Eg: /balala/ a frog

   II. In word medial position:

   C b V  Eg: /ʃeɪlʃel/ he blethers
5.1.1.3.1.3 /g/: represents a voiced velar stop.

1. **Distribution:**

   I. In word initial position:

   \# g V C   Eg: /ga:z/ gas
   \# g C V   Eg: /grawedʒ/ toys

   II. In word and syllable medial positions and intervocalically:

   C g   Eg: /bger/ cows
   V g g V   Eg: /næggez/ jump
   (imp. 2nd pers. masc. sing.)
   V g g C   Eg: /næggi/ jump
   (imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing.)

2. The allophones of /g/:

   1. When /g/ is followed by a rounded vowel, it is labialised:

   /g/ \rightarrow [g] \( \underline{w} \) (rounded vowel)
   Eg: /gumri/ \rightarrow [gumri] a pigeon

5.1.1.3.2 **Fricatives**

1. /v/: represents a voiced labio-dental fricative.

   1. **Distribution:**

   I. In word initial position:

   \# v v (:)   Eg: /valiza/ a suitcase
   \# v C v (:)  /vək/ \rightarrow [vra:k] or [vra:g] in bulk
2. /æ/ : represents a pharyngealised alveolar fricative.

1. Distribution:

I. In word initial position:

   #  æ V  Eg: /æbla/ a mistake
   #  æ C  Eg: /æbajel/ mistakes

II. In word and syllable medial positions and intervocalically:

   C æ  Eg: /æaːq/ saliva
   V æ æ V  Eg: /æəəæ/ he had a lot of children
   V æ æ C  Eg: /æəəi/ have a lot of children
   (imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing.)
   V æ æ  Eg: /æəə/ lots of children

5.1.1.3.3 Trills

5.1.1.3.3.1 /ɛ/ : represents pharyngealised alveolar roll

1. Distribution:

I. In word initial position:

   #  ɛ V  Eg: /ɛaːb/ it curded

II. In word and syllable medial positions and intervocalically:

   C ɛ  Eg: /ɛaː/ he recovered
   V ɛ ɛ V  Eg: /ɛərɛə/ once
   V ɛ ɛ ɛ V  Eg: /ɛərɛri/ pass it
   (imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing.)
5.1.2 The vocalic phonemes:

5.1.2.1 The vowel systems of AA and SA:

In both AA and SA there are three pairs of vocalic phonemes where each pair consists of a short and a long member.

AA has, in addition, one further short vocalic phoneme, /ə/, increasing the system to 7 vowels. The systems of AA and SA are therefore as follows:

\[ \begin{align*}
i & \quad i : \\
\text{(e)} & \\
a & \quad a \end{align*} \]

5.1.2.1.1 Vowel phonemes shared by AA and SA

5.1.2.1.1.1 The vowels /i/ and /i:/

1. Distribution in the word:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>/i/</th>
<th>/i:/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Allophones of /i/ and /i:/ in both varieties

\[(i) /i(:)/ \rightarrow [i (:)] (\text{any consonant except pharyngealised consonants})\]

When short, thisallophone occurs in open and closed syllables, stressed and unstressed. When long, it occurs in closed stressed syllables in AA, whereas, in SA it occurs in open and closed syllables, stressed and unstressed.
Examples:

AA [bʌti] my house, [bʌ:t] a house
SA [mʌnθ] from it, [mʌ:zɛ:n] a scale

(ii) /i(:)/ → [e(:)] / (pharyngealised consonants)

When short, this allophone occurs in open and closed syllables, stressed and unstressed. When long, it occurs in closed stressed syllables in AA but in SA, it occurs in open and closed syllables, stressed and unstressed.

Examples:

AA [ʨere] fly [te:r] fly (imp. 2nd pers masc. sing)
SA [ɕere] a chinese man [ɕe:rε] become (imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing)

The allophones of /i/ and /iː/ are shown on the cardinal vowel diagram below:

5.1.2.1.1.2 The vowels /u/ and /uː/

1. Distribution in the word:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>/u/</th>
<th>/uː/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>SA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initial position</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preceded by a consonant</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final position</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Allophones of /u/ and /u:/ in both varieties:

(i) /u(:)/ → [ɔ(:)]/ (any consonant except pharyngealised consonants)

When short, this allophone occurs in open and closed syllables, stressed and unstressed. When long, it occurs in closed stressed syllables in AA, but in SA, it occurs in open and closed syllables, stressed and unstressed.

Examples:
AA [fo:ld] a beam, [sabo h] they found him
SA [χaradʒtɔ] I went out, [ko:nɪ] be (imp. 2nd pers. fem. sing)

(ii) /u(:)/ → [ɔ(ː)]/ (pharyngealised consonants)

When short, this allophone occurs in open and stressed syllables, stressed and unstressed. When long, it occurs in closed stressed syllables in AA, but in SA, it occurs in open and closed syllables, stressed and unstressed.

Examples:
AA [tɔlɛ] height, [qaso:h] they measured it
SA [qosos] stories, [tɔːl] height

(iii) /u/ → [ɔ]/ (pharyngeals and rolls)

This allophone is found in closed syllables, stressed and unstressed. This allophone occurs only as a realisation of the short /u/

Examples:
AA [ʃɔrd] width
SA [hɔrme] protection
The allophones of /u/ and /u:/ are shown on the cardinal vowel diagram below:

5.1.2.1.1.3 The vowels /a/ and /a:/:

1. Distribution in the word

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>/a/</th>
<th>/a:/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Initial position  
Preceded by a consonant  
Final position

2. Allophones of /a/ and /a:/ in both varieties

(i) /a(:)/ → [ɛ(:)] / (any consonant except uvular, ) (pharyngeal and pharyngealised) (consonants)

When short, this allophone occurs in open and closed syllables, stressed and unstressed. When long, it occurs in closed stressed syllables in AA, whereas in SA, it occurs in open and closed syllables, stressed and unstressed.
Examples:

AA [tɛbɛ] she repented, [jbɛ:t] he stays overnight
SA [nɛzɛlə] he went downstairs, [me:tə] he died

(ii) /a(:)/ → [a(:)] /

(rolls)

When short, this allophone occurs in open and closed syllables, stressed and unstressed. When long, it occurs in closed stressed syllables in AA, whereas in SA, it occurs in open and closed syllables, stressed and unstressed.

Examples:

AA [fərdə] an invitation [qa:!] he said
 [fər:d] wide [fə:m] a year

(iii) /a(:)/ → [a(:)] /

(consonants)

When short, this allophone occurs in open and closed syllables, stressed and unstressed. When long, it occurs in closed stressed syllables in AA, whereas in SA, it occurs in open and closed syllables stressed and unstressed.

Examples:

SA [ʃərb] a hit, [ʃə:mə] he fasted
(iv) /a/ → [ ]) (any consonant except ) (pharyngealised consonants)

This allophone only occurs as a realisation of the short /a/. It occurs only in word final position.

Examples:

AA [ zab-e] beautiful
SA [ s: kk-e] a street

The allophones of /a/ and /a:/ are shown on the cardinal vowel diagram below.

5.1.2.1.2 The vowel /ə/ in AA:

1. Distribution in the word:

   Initial position +
   Preceded by a consonant +
   Final position +

2. Allophones of /ə/:

   (i) /ə/ → [ə] / — (any consonant except uvular, )
   (pharyngeal and pharyngealised) (consonants)

   This allophone occurs in closed syllables, stressed and unstressed.
Examples:

[fət'le] embroidery

(ii) /e/ → [ə] / _ (uvular consonants)

This allophone occurs in closed syllables, stressed and unstressed.

Example:

[qəlɪ] it diminished

(iii) /ə/ → [œ] / _ (pharyngeal consonants)

This allophone occurs in closed syllables, stressed and unstressed.

Example:

[fəlɪk] chewing gum

(iv) /ə/ → [ʌ] / _ (pharyngealised consonants)

This allophone occurs in closed syllables, stressed and unstressed.

Example:

[ʃətf] a rank

The allophones of /ə/ are shown on the cardinal vowel diagram below:
5.2 Syllable Structures

5.2.1 In AA:

There are 11 types of syllable structures in AA:

1. C V  Eg. /dari/ my house
2. C V C  /qulti/ you said
3. C V : C  /qa:thum/ their suit
4. C V C C  /qalk/ chewing gum
5. C C V  /kla/ he ate
6. C C V C  /sbaar/ he was patient
7. C C V C C  /sba:t/ I was patient
8. C C C V  /nra/ it was bought
9. C C C V C  /nbat/ it was sent
10. C C C V : C  /nra:w/ they were bought
11. C C C V C C  /strɔndʒ/ chess

The following structures can occur in word-initial, medial and final positions in a word:

C V, C V C, C V : C, and C C V

The remaining structures - but the last one - can occur only in word-initial position and in isolation. These structures are:

C V C C, C C V C, C C V C C, C C C V, C C C V C

and C C C V : C. E.g. /qəltha/ I said it,
/qəlti/ you killed  /sbaθtha/ I painted it,
/nra/ it was bought  /nʃrat/ you were emptied,
/strənə/ we rested.

The last structure C C C V C C can only occur in isolation E.g. /nsrəqt/ I was stolen.
5.2.2 In SA:

There are five types of syllable structures:

1. C V Eg. /li/ in order to
2. C V : /la/ not
3. C V C /kul/ eat (imp. 2nd pers. masc. sing.)
4. C V : C /ma:t/ he died
5. C V C C /bahr/ sea

The first four structures can occur in word-initial, medial and final positions in a word. The fifth structure occurs only in word-final position or in isolation.

5.2.3 Comparison between the syllable structures of AA and SA:

5.2.3.1 Syllable structures shared by AA and SA:

There are four syllable structures similar between both varieties.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C V</td>
<td>/bi/ with</td>
<td>/be/ with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C V C</td>
<td>/hawla/ around</td>
<td>/halwa/ sweets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C V : C</td>
<td>/na:r/ fire</td>
<td>/fa:r/ a rat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C V C C</td>
<td>/a:&lt;r/ hair</td>
<td>/b&lt;dz/ hernia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.2.3.2. The origin of the differences between the syllable structures which are exclusive to each variety:

1. **In SA:**

   The syllable structure C V : is reduced to C V in AA; the vowel length is not kept in open syllables in AA.

2. **In AA:**

   1. C C V
      2 3 2
      /kla/ he ate
      V₁ in SA has been elided in AA.

   2. C C V C
      1 2 2 3
      /kataba/ he wrote

   3. C C V C C
      1 2 2 3 4
      /jarabti/ you drank

   4. C C C V
      2 3 4 2
      /ntma/ it belonged

   5. C C C V C
      2 3 4 2 5
      /inbata/ it was sent

   6. C C C V C C
      2 3 4 2 5 6
      /istarantu/ I rested

   7. C C C V : C
      2 3 4 2 5
      /jastari:hu/ he rested
5.3 Stress placements:

1. Disyllabic words:

**SA**
Stress falls on the **first** syllable

Eg: /daːriː/ my house

**AA**
Stress falls on the syllable containing a long vowel. If none of the vowels is long, stress falls on 1st syllable.

Eg: /maqla/ a frying pan

2. Trisyllabic words:

**SA**
Stress falls on the syllable containing a long vowel. If none is long, stress falls on **first** syllable.

Eg: /darabaːt/ hits

**AA**
Stress falls on syllable having a long vowel. If none is long, stress falls on **second** syllable.

Eg: /matʕallmiːn/ educated

3. Words with over 3 syllables:

**SA**
Stress falls on the syllable containing long vowel. If none is long, stress falls on the antepenult syllable.

Eg: /mutahafidːiːn/ Conservative

**AA**
Stress falls on the syllable containing a long vowel. If none is long, stress falls on the **third** syllable.

Eg: /qalləqtihə/ You annoyed her
5.4 Algerianisation rules:

This section examines the various changes operated on Standard Arabic phonological structures. This includes an analysis and comparison of geminated consonants, clusters and consonant sequences found in both varieties.

Apart from that, there is also a comparison between the main morphological differences in both varieties of Arabic.

5.4.1 Gemination:

Geminated consonants occur in both SA and AA. In the Standard Arabic grammatical treatises, the geminated consonants are defined as "Solar letters" and "Lunar letters". The "solar letters" geminated consonants are those consonants which when preceded by the definite article /ʔal/ can be geminated in a word. These consonants can also be geminated intervocally in a word as well as in final position in a word but they cannot be geminated in initial position.

The "Lunar letters" are those consonants which cannot be geminated when preceded by the definite article /ʔal/ or in initial position. But they can be geminated intervocally and/or in final position.
I decided to add a new type of geminated consonant under the heading of "the one-position geminated consonants"; consonants which can be geminated only intervocally. As far as the "Lunar letters" geminated consonants are concerned, I decided to include in this type only the consonants which can be geminated intervocally and in final position in a word.

This definition of geminated consonants cannot be applied to AA, because in this variety of Arabic, geminated consonants can occur initially in a word by having the definite article /ʔal/ entirely assimilated. Let us take the consonant /ʃ/ which is a solar letter in Arabic. The word /ʃams/ in SA and /ʃaːms/ in AA (Sun) becomes /ʔaʃʃaːms/ in SA (the Sun) but in AA, it becomes /ʃʃaːms/ (the sun); the definite article /ʔal/ is reduced to the doubling of the first consonant of the noun.

Apart from this difference between geminated consonants in AA and SA, there are two extra types of geminated consonant positions in AA:

1. Geminated consonants in initial position in a word and followed by a consonant, e.g.:

/ttraːb/the soil/?atturaːb/the soil.

AA   SA
2. Geminated consonants in medial position in a word between a vowel and consonant. /kassri/

break /kassiri:/break
(imp.) SA (imp.)

Therefore I decided to have 3 types of geminated consonants in AA according to their positions in the word:

1 - Multi position geminated consonants
2 - Three-position geminated consonants
3 - Two-position geminated consonants
The possible types of geminated consonants:

In AA:

1. Multi-position geminated consonants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants that can be geminated:</th>
<th>STRUCTURE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a - in initial position in a word and followed by a vowel</td>
<td># _ _ V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b - intervocally in a word</td>
<td>V _ _ V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c - in final position in a word</td>
<td>V _ _ #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d - in initial position in a word and followed by a consonant</td>
<td># _ _ C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e - medially in a word: between a vowel and a consonant</td>
<td>V _ _ C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Three-position geminated consonants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants that can be geminated:</th>
<th>STRUCTURE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a - intervocally in a word</td>
<td>V _ _ V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b - in final position in a word</td>
<td>V _ _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c - medially in a word between a vowel and a consonant</td>
<td>V _ _ C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Two-position geminated consonants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants that can be geminated:</th>
<th>STRUCTURE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a - intervocally in a word</td>
<td>V _ _ V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b - medially in a word between a vowel and a consonant</td>
<td>V _ _ C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In SA:

1. **Solar letter geminated consonants:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants that can be geminated:</th>
<th>STRUCTURE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a - when preceded by the definite article (?al)</td>
<td>(?a)__ __ V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(always followed by a vowel)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b - intervocalically</td>
<td>V __ __ V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c - in final position in a word</td>
<td>V __ __</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. **Lunar letter geminated consonants:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants that can be geminated:</th>
<th>STRUCTURE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a - intervocalically</td>
<td>V __ __ V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b - in final position in a word</td>
<td>V __ __ #</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. **One-position geminated consonants:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants that can be geminated:</th>
<th>STRUCTURE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a - intervocalically in a word</td>
<td>V __ __ V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.4.1.1 Lists of types of geminated consonants:

a - In AA, the multi-position geminated consonants are:
   \(/t, d, \breve{t}, \breve{d}, s, \varnothing, z, \varnothing, r, \varnothing, l, \tilde{t}/\)
   The three-position geminated consonants are:
   \(/b, K, q, m, n, X, \breve{d}, \breve{h}, f, p/\)
   The two-position geminated consonants are:
   \(/\breve{k}, \breve{q}, h, g/\)

b - In SA, the solar letter consonants are:
   \(/t, d, \breve{t}, \breve{d}, s, \varnothing, z, \tilde{r}, r, \tilde{l}, \theta, g, \tilde{g}/\)
   The lunar letter consonants are:
   \(/b, K, q, ?, m, n, \breve{h}, f/\)
   The one-position geminated consonants are:
   \(/\breve{g}, X, \breve{q}, h/\)

Types of segments preceding a geminated consonant:

In both SA and AA, there cannot be a sequence of vowel + approximant preceding a geminated consonant. The vowel preceding a geminated consonant must be short.
5.4.1.2 Types of segments following a geminated consonant:

In AA and SA, the vowel following a geminated consonant can be short or long, in a stressed or unstressed syllable.

The rules of the vowels preceding and following a geminated consonant are as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{AA} & \rightarrow (C)(V) \ C \ C \ (V) \ (:) \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{the parenthesis means that the content is optional (it may or may not occur)} \\
\text{SA} & \rightarrow C \ V \ C \ C \ (V) \ (:) 
\end{align*}
\]

In AA, a consonant can follow a geminated consonant, but not in SA. All consonant combinations are possible in AA except:

*bbf, bbm, bbv, bbp

*ffb, mbm, vvb, ppp

*bbs, bbs, bbs, bbs, bbs, bbs

*qbb, qbb, qbb, qbb, qbb, qbb

5.4.1.3 Number of geminated consonants in a word:

In AA, there cannot be more than one geminated consonant in a word except when there is - apart from one geminated consonant, intervocalic or final - an initial consonant marking that the word is in the definite form.

Example: /ssälla/ the basket

as opposed to /sälla/ a basket
or in assimilation:  /mutadajjin/ → /məddijjən/  
    religious

But in SA, there can be two geminated consonants in one word. The following examples were found in A1.
Mundrid Dictionary,
page 41: /batta:rijja/battery
page 243: /rubba:nijju/divine

5.4.2 Triplicated consonants:

In AA, we can have triplicated consonants which occur intervocalically in a word. These triplicate consonants occur only in verbs in the imperative form with the pronouns standing for:

(1) you (fem. sing.)
(2) you (plural).

Examples: 1 - /hadddi/ iron (imp. fem. sing.)
          2 - /hadddu/ iron (imp. plural)

The SA versions of these two examples would be

1 - /haddidi:/ put a limit (imp. fem. sing.)
2 - /haddidu:/ put a limit (imp. plural)

In AA, all the consonants can be triplicated except for /X, b, q, h /

Remark: The meaning of /hadddi/ iron (imperative) has derived from the SA words /hadi:d /iron-metal and the word /hadda:d / blacksmith.
The phonetic feature that marks triplicated consonants is the occurrence of a short epenthetic vowel after the 2nd consonant making it syllabic:

\[ /\text{hadddi} / \rightarrow /\text{hadddi}/ \]

N.B. Triplicated consonants can be realised as:

\[ [C C C] \text{ or } [C C C] \]

5.4.3 Clusters and consonant sequences

5.4.3.1 Initial clusters:

These occur in AA only and are generally formed with two consonants but there are some sets of three-consonant initial clusters.

The majority of AA words which start with a cluster are Algerianised SA words.

The stages of the formation of initial clusters:

Initial clusters formed with two consonants

a - Changes occurring in SA monosyllabic words:

In order to undergo the clustering process, a SA monosyllabic word must have a C V C C structure.

I - There is a change in the consonant order:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{S A} & \rightarrow & \text{A A} \\
C V C C & & C C V C \\
1 & 2 & 3 \\
1 & 2 & 3 \\
\end{array}
\]

All the SA words with this structure C V C C are changed into C C V C in AA except for few words which may lead to confusion with another word having the
same root.

E.g. | SA | AA
---|---|---
/abd / a human being → /  ꦢabd / a human being

* /  ꦢbad /

because the SA word: /  ꦢabad / to adore is Algerianised to /  ꦢbad /

II - Change of the vowel type:

When the SA word contains one of the short vowels /a/, /u/ or /i/, this vowel is replaced by /ə/ in AA. The reason for that is: in AA, /ə/ is generally used in closed syllables requiring an initial cluster in their pre-nucleus part and a short vowel as their nucleus.

E.g. /Kubr / old age → /kbər /
/sihr / witchcraft → /shər /
/tamr / dates → /tmər /

But if the vowel in the SA word is /a/ and is followed by a pharyngeal consonant, it is not replaced by / / but is retained:

E.g. /baħr / sea → /bħar /
/saħr / hair → /sħar /
/ fah ĕl / male → /fħal /

b - Changes occurring in disyllabic SA words:

In order to undergo the clustering process, these words must have their first syllable open. The vowel of this syllable must be short:
I. The vowel of the first syllable is dropped.

II. There is a reduction in the number of syllables

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text{SA} & \text{AA} \\
\text{disyllabic} & \rightarrow \text{monosyllabic}
\end{array}
\]

III. There is a change in the vowel found in the second syllable of the SA word:

i - when this syllable is open and has a long vowel, the length of this vowel is not retained in AA as in this variety no long vowel can occur in word final position.

ii - if this syllable is closed and has a long vowel, the length of this vowel is retained in AA except when it is followed by a glottal stop in SA where by deleting the glottal stop, we have an open syllable in AA.

iii - if this syllable is closed and has a short vowel: /a/, /u/ or /i/, this vowel is replaced by /\v/ in AA except for the following cases: it is retained as it is when this syllable ends with a glottal stop (occurring after the vowel). But when: (1) /a/ occurs before a pharyngeal consonant, it is retained as it is in AA.

(2) /i/ occurs before a pharyngeal consonant it is replaced by /a/. (This is applicable only when the vowel occurs before the pharyngeal consonant in the AA version of the SA word).
IV. The number of consonants in the SA word is not altered when this word is Algerianised except for the case where there is a glottal stop; this particular consonant is deleted in certain positions.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C V C V (:)</td>
<td>C C V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>1 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/maʃa:/</td>
<td>/mʃa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C V C V : C</td>
<td>C C V : C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mana:r/</td>
<td>/mna:r /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/buΧu:r /</td>
<td>/bΧu:r /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/qariːd/</td>
<td>/qriːd/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C V C V (:)</td>
<td>C C V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>1 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/samaː? /</td>
<td>/sma/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/qaraʔ /</td>
<td>/qra/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? V C V C</td>
<td>C C V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>1 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔakala /</td>
<td>/kla /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C V C V C</td>
<td>C C V C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/falak /</td>
<td>/flah /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃarab /</td>
<td>/ʃərab /</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
c - Changes occurring in trisyllabic words in SA:

In order to undergo the clustering process, a SA trisyllabic must have an open first syllable with a short vowel:

I - The vowel of the first syllable is dropped

II - There is a reduction in the number of syllables:

\[
\text{SA} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{AA}
\]

\[
\text{trisyllabic} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{disyllabic}
\]

III - The second syllable must have a long vowel, it must also occur in an open syllable but in the clustering process, the length of this vowel is not retained.

IV - The vowel of the third syllable may be long or short:

i - if it is a long vowel occurring in a closed syllable, it is changed as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{SA} & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{AA} \\
/a:/ & \quad \rightarrow \quad /a:/ \\
/u:/ & \quad \rightarrow \quad /u:/ \\
/i:/ & \quad \rightarrow \quad /\varepsilon/
\end{align*}
\]

ii - if it is a short vowel occurring in a closed syllable:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{SA} & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{AA} \\
/a/ & \quad \rightarrow \quad /\varepsilon/
\end{align*}
\]
iii - if it is a long vowel occurring in an open syllable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/a:/</td>
<td>/a /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u:/</td>
<td>/u /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i:/</td>
<td>/i /</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C V C V : C V (:(C)</td>
<td>C C V C V (C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4</td>
<td>1 2 3 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'ara:dʒi:n</td>
<td>/'adʒan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/boughs of a palm tree</td>
<td>/swimming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/siba:ha</td>
<td>/sba:ha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.4.3.2 Initial clusters formed with three consonants:

These occur in AA only. There are very few initial clusters with three consonants in AA because the rule about these clusters is that: the 1st consonant must be \( \text{[+] continuant} \).

All initial clusters formed with 3 consonants start with /s/ or /n/. I found only one example where the cluster starts with /ʃ/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ʃtrændʒ/</td>
<td>/ʃtrændʒ/ chess</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All other clusters occur in verbs. These verbs are Algerianised versions of SA verbs having
Examples:

\[
\begin{array}{c|ccccc}
? & V & C & C & V & C \ (:) \ C \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 5 \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text{he rested} & \rightarrow & /\text{straːh}/ \\
\end{array}
\]

The process is to delete ? \( V \rightarrow C \quad C \quad V \quad C \quad V \quad (:) \quad C \)

\[
\begin{array}{c|cc}
1 & 2 & 4 \\
\end{array}
\]

\( V = \) short vowel occurring in an open syllable is also deleted

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{deleted} & \rightarrow & C \quad C \quad C \quad V \quad : \quad C \\
\end{array}
\]

5.4.3.3 **Intervocalic consonant sequences**

These occur in AA and SA. They consist of two consonants but in AA, there are some three-consonant intervocalic sequences.

Two-consonant intervocalic sequences:

I. - Sequences shared by AA and SA:

These consonant sequences are the ones which occur in a SA word having less than 3 syllables and having a closed first syllable:

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{SA words} \\
1 - \ C \ V \ C \ C \ V \\
2 - \ C \ V \ C \ C \ V \ (:) \ C \\
3 - \ C \ V \ C \ C \ V \ C \ V \\
\end{array}
\]

In AA, these words are kept as they are in SA, as far as the consonants are concerned:
II. - Sequences exclusive to AA:

Some sequences are formed in the Algerianisation process of some SA words.

These SA words must be:

1 - Trisyllabic or having more than 3 syllables
2 - The first and second syllable must be open.

In trisyllabic SA words, the changes are as follows:

(1) SA words with the structure: $C V C V C V (: ) C$

These words are Algerianised to: $C V C C V (: ) C$

E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$/jad\text{rub} /$</td>
<td>$/j\text{\breve{d}r}\text{\breve{e}b} /$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$/m\text{alzu:m} /$</td>
<td>$/m\text{\breve{a}lzu:m} /$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$/m\text{^{a}twija} /$</td>
<td>$/m\text{^{a}twija} /$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$/\text{da\text{\breve{r}a}b\text{\`a}:t} /$ hits $\rightarrow$ $/\text{\text{\`a}rba:t} /$ hits

So, a sequence of $C_2$ and $C_3$ is formed.

$C V C V C V (C)$ $\rightarrow$ $C V C C V (C)$

$/\text{\text{\`a}r\text{\`a}b\text{\`a}:t} /$ she hit $\rightarrow$ $/\text{\text{\`a}r\text{\`e}b\text{\`a}:t} /$ she hit

$/\text{\text{\`a}r\text{\`a}qa} /$ a leaf $\rightarrow$ $/\text{\text{\`a}r\text{\`e}qa} /$ a leaf
Apart from the formation of a consonant sequence, the number of syllables has been reduced from 3 syllables to 2 syllables and vowel changes have taken place.

In words having more than 3 syllables, the process is somewhat similar:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{SA} & \quad \text{AA} \\
C V C V C V (:) C V C & \rightarrow C V C C V C V C \\
1 & \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad \rightarrow \quad 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \\
/mutaha:fi\acute{\text{g}}/ \text{conservative} & \quad /\text{mathaf\text{d}}/ \\
{\text{(sing. masc.)}} & \\
C V C V C V (:) C V C V : C & \rightarrow C V C C V C C V : C \\
1 & \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \quad \rightarrow \quad 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \\
/mutahaf\acute{i}:\text{n}/\text{conservative} & \quad /\text{mathaf\text{d}\text{i}:n}/ \\
{\text{(plural, masc.)}} & \\
C V C V C V (:) C V C V & \rightarrow C V C C V C C V \\
1 & \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad \rightarrow \quad 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \\
/jatana:zalu:/ \text{they} & \quad /j\text{atnazlu}/ \\
& \text{abdicate}
\end{align*}
\]

5.4.3.4 Three-consonant intervocalic sequences:

These sequences occur in Algerianised SA words whose structures in SA are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{j V C C V C V (:) C} \\
\text{t V C C V C V (:) C} \\
\text{n V C C V C V (:) C}
\end{align*}
\]

They occur in verbs only. In AA they have the following structures:
5.4.3.5 Final Clusters:

These occur in both AA and SA. But, in AA, there are very few final clusters:

1 - Most SA nouns having a final cluster have been changed in AA to words having an initial cluster

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CVCC</td>
<td>CVC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All final clusters consist of 2 consonants in both varieties. There is only one case in AA where there is a final cluster formed with three consonants:

/ma
\( \text{ktəb}t \)
\( / \)
\( \text{i have not written} \)
\( \text{negation} \rightarrow \text{preposition} \)
\( \text{I have written} \)
\( \text{negation morpheme} \)
5.4.4 **Diphthongs and vowels**

5.4.4.1 **Diphthongs.**

5.4.4.1.1 **Treatment of /aw/:**

When /aw/ occurs in a word final position or is followed by a consonant in a SA word, it is replaced by /u/ or /u:/ in AA:

(1) /u/ is used in word final position and in open syllables in AA:

**E.g.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/law / if</td>
<td>/lu /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mawta / dead people</td>
<td>/muta /</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) /u:/ is used in closed syllables in AA:

**E.g.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/mawt / death</td>
<td>/mu:t /</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.4.4.1.2 **Treatment of /aj/:**

When /aj/ occurs in a word final position or is followed by a consonant in a SA word it is replaced by /i/ or /i:/ in AA:

(1) /i/ is used in word final position and in open syllables in AA

**E.g.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ajta:n /Satan</td>
<td>/ita:n /</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(2) /i:/ is used in closed syllables in AA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/bajt/ house</td>
<td>/bi:t/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.4.4.2 Changes in the types of vowels:

Short vowels:

I - The vowel /i/:

When this vowel occurs in a closed syllable or is followed by a geminated consonant in a SA word, it is replaced by /a/ in the AA version of this word.

E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/minha/ from her</td>
<td>/mənha/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/na:zil/ going down</td>
<td>/nəzəl/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sirr/ a secret</td>
<td>/sər/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But when /i/ is followed by a pharyngeal, it is replaced by /a/: 

E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ta:li:/ rising</td>
<td>/ta:la:/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ma:li:/ salty</td>
<td>/ma:la:/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II - The vowel /a/:

When this vowel occurs in a closed syllable in SA, it is replaced by /a/:

E.g.
SA /kalab/ to bark (rabid dogs) → AA /kləb/ he became foolish

/maʃrab/ drinking place → /maʃreb/ water-jug

But when /a/ occurs before a pharyngeal consonant in
SA, it is retained as it is in AA.
E.g.

SA /jar/ hair → AA /ʃar/

III - The vowel /u/ :

When /u/ occurs in a closed syllable in a SA
word, this vowel is replaced by /ə/ in AA:
E.g.

SA /burdʒ/ castle → AA /bərdʒ/

/bufd/ remoteness → /bʊ̞d/

This also applies when /u/ occurs before a geminated
consonant in SA:
E.g.

SA /mutt/ I died → AA /matt/

Long vowels:
I. The vowel /iː/

The length of /iː/ is not retained in AA when
this vowel occurs in open syllables in SA words and
in word final position:
E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/tabiːfa/ nature</td>
<td>/tbifiːa/ a habit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/siːra/ behaviour</td>
<td>/sira/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/fakaːwi:/ complaints</td>
<td>/ʃkawi/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The length of /iː/ is retained in AA only when this vowel occurs in monosyllabic words consisting of a closed syllable and in a closed syllable being the 2nd syllable in a disyllabic word in SA:

E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/daːr/ a house</td>
<td>/daːr/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mindiːl/ a napkin</td>
<td>/mendiːl/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But, when /iː/ occurs in a final closed syllable in a trisyllabic word, in SA, /iː/ is replaced by /ə/ except when /iː/ occurs before a pharyngeal, it is replaced by /aː/:

E.G.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/bawaːsiːr/ haemorrhoids</td>
<td>/bwaser/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/?astariːh/ I rest</td>
<td>/nəstraːh/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. The vowel /aː/:

The length of this vowel is not retained when it occurs in an open syllable or in word final position in SA:

E.g.
The length of /a:/ is retained only when it occurs in closed syllables in SA:

E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/sa:ru:/</td>
<td>/saru/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/basa:la/</td>
<td>/bsala/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

III. The vowel /u:/

The length of /u:/ is not retained when it occurs in an open syllable and in word final position in SA:

E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/su:ra/ a passage of the Koran</td>
<td>/sura/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/siru:/ be (imp. plural)</td>
<td>/siru/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But, when /u:/ occurs in a closed syllable in SA, its length is retained in AA:

E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/mahbu:1/</td>
<td>/mahbu:1/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.4.5 **Morphological differences:**

In this section, the major morphological differences between SA and AA will be examined.

5.4.5.1 **Nouns:**

5.4.5.1.1 **Gender:**

In SA and AA, a noun may have a masculine or feminine gender. For the most part, SA nouns have retained their own gender when introduced in AA but there are some exceptions, in fact, in SA, there are some nouns which have both feminine and masculine genders. In AA, a noun has only one gender except in the case where there is a change in the structure of the noun accompanying a change in the gender. This case can be illustrated with the following example:

\[
/\text{qma}r/ \text{moon} \rightarrow \text{masculine gender}
\]

\[
/\text{qamra} / \text{moon} \rightarrow \text{feminine gender}
\]

The changes which occurred in \( /\text{qma}r / \) are:

1 - The morpheme /a/ usually marking the feminine gender in Arabic has been added.

2 - The cluster /qm/ has been split up by the vowel /ə/ to avoid a non-possible three consonant cluster formed with /q + m + r/.

It is very common in AA to change the structure of a SA word in order to change its gender from
masculine to feminine. Other examples are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{SA} & \quad \text{AA} \\
/\text{hasak} /\text{star thistle} & \rightarrow /\text{haska} / \\
/\text{fahm} / \text{understanding} & \rightarrow /\text{fahma} / \text{understanding} \\
& \quad \text{(masculine)} \quad \text{(feminine)}
\end{align*}
\]

N.B. The cluster /fh/ is used to avoid confusion with the qualifier /fahma/ "clever" in AA.

Apart from this, there is also a tendency in AA to change the structure of a SA noun, which although it has a feminine gender, does not have the final /a/ morpheme generally found in nouns with a feminine gender:

Example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{SA} & \quad \text{AA} \\
/\text{džahānnām} /\text{hell} & \rightarrow /\text{džahānnama}/ \\
& \quad \text{(masculine)} \quad \text{(feminine)}
\end{align*}
\]

As far as the SA nouns which have both genders are concerned, they are treated in AA in the following manner:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{SA} & \quad \text{AA} \\
/\text{haːl} /\text{state} & \rightarrow /\text{haːl} / \text{weather, mind (masculine)} \\
& \quad /\text{hala} / \text{situation (feminine)} \\
/\text{ḥaḥab} / \text{gold} & \rightarrow /\text{ḥab} / \text{gold (masculine)} \\
/\text{sarawiːl} /\text{trousers} & \rightarrow /\text{srawal} / \text{trousers (masculine)} \\
/\text{sultaːn} / \text{power} & \rightarrow /\text{sultaːn} / \text{King (masculine)}
\end{align*}
\]
From the above list, we notice that some changes have been operated on the SA nouns in AA:

the vowel /a/ has been added to some nouns in order to have feminine gender in these.

However, nouns such as /qafa/ and /sma/ in AA cannot be considered as nouns containing the final vowel morpheme /a/ because /a/ in these nouns is the result of the clustering process.
There is another particular category of nouns in SA, which although they resemble nouns with a masculine gender, nevertheless have a feminine gender; when introduced in AA, these nouns have acquired a masculine gender:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA (feminine)</th>
<th>AA (masculine)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ʔisba/ finger</td>
<td>/ʕibaʔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/biʔr/ well</td>
<td>/biːr/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔiraː/ an arm</td>
<td>/draʔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/riːh/ wind</td>
<td>/riːh/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔasaː/ a stick</td>
<td>/ʕasʔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/faʔs/ a pick-axe</td>
<td>/faːs/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/faXʔ/ a thigh</td>
<td>/fəXʔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/qawʔ/ a bow</td>
<td>/quːʕ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/qadam/ a foot</td>
<td>/qadm/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kaʔs/ a cup</td>
<td>/kaːs/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/katif/ a shoulder</td>
<td>/ktəf/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃimaːl/ left</td>
<td>/ʃmaːl/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jamiːn/ right</td>
<td>/limiːn/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apart from these cases, all SA nouns have kept their own gender when used in AA.

5.4.5.1.2 Number:

In SA, there are three numbers: the singular, dual and plural but in AA, there are only two: the singular and plural.
a - The dual:

In SA, the dual is formed by adding a suffix to the singular form of a noun. There are two types of suffixes:

1 - /a:ni/ (nominative) e.g. /kita:b/ → /kita:ba:ni/ (one book) (two books)

2 - /ajni/ (accusative and genitive) e.g. /kita:b/ → /kita:bajni/ (one book) (two books)

Remark:

In AA, we can obtain the dual form by using the word meaning "two" - /zu:dʒ/ + the noun in the plural form:

E.g. /təffaha/ → /zu:dʒ təffaha:t/ (one apple) (two) (apples)

b - The plural:

In both SA and AA, there are three types of plural:

(1 - The regular masculine plural
(2 - The regular feminine plural
(3 - The broken plural

1. The regular masculine plural:

In SA, this is formed by adding a suffix to the singular form of the noun. There are two types of suffixes:

1 - /u:n / (nominative) e.g. /muʃallim/ → /muʃallimu:n/ (a teacher) (teachers)

2 - /i:n / (genitive-accusative) e.g. /muʃallim/ → /muʃallimi:n/
But, AA has retained only the /i:n/ suffix, that is to say that the case distinction of SA is lost.

E.g. in AA: \[/mʕallm/ \rightarrow /mʕallmi:n/\]

(a teacher) (teachers)

Remark:

The word /mʕallmi:n/ has resulted from the Algerianisation of the SA word /muʕallimi:n/ where the clustering process has been applied (see section 5.4.3 for details on this process).

2. The regular feminine plural:

In SA, this is formed by adding a suffix to the singular form of the noun. There are two types of suffixes:

1 - /a:tun/ (nominative)
2 - /a:tin/ (accusative and genitive)

E.g. /Xiza:na/ \[\rightarrow /Xiza:na:tun/\]
(a cupboard) (cupboards)

/Xiza:na/ \[\rightarrow /Xiza:na:tin/\]

But, in AA, this plural is obtained by adding /a:t/:
there is no more case distinction.

E.g. /Xzana/ \[\rightarrow /Xzana:t/\]
(a cupboard) (cupboards)

3. The broken plural:

In this type of plural, the plural is formed by making internal changes in the noun itself.
In AA, the broken plural is based on the SA broken plural.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SA</strong></td>
<td><strong>AA</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C V C V C /dʒamal/</td>
<td>C I C A : C /dʒima:l /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 camel</td>
<td>1 2 3 camels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C C V C /dʒməl/</td>
<td>C C A : C /dʒma:l /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 camel</td>
<td>1 2 3 camels</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>SA</strong></th>
<th><strong>AA</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C V C V : C /kita:b/</td>
<td>C U C U C /kutub/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 book</td>
<td>1 2 3 books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C C V : C /kta:b/</td>
<td>C C U : C /ktu:b/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 books</td>
<td>1 2 3 books</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>SA</strong></th>
<th><strong>AA</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C V C V V /šurfa/</td>
<td>C U C A C /šuraf/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 room</td>
<td>1 2 3 rooms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C V C V V /šərfa/</td>
<td>C C C /šəraf / rooms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 room</td>
<td>1 2 3 rooms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>SA</strong></th>
<th><strong>AA</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C V C C V /sikka/</td>
<td>C I C A C /sikak/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 2 street</td>
<td>1 2 2 streets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C V C C V /səkka/</td>
<td>C C C /səkka/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 2 street</td>
<td>1 2 2 streets</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>SA</strong></th>
<th><strong>AA</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W V C V C /walad/</td>
<td>? A W C V : C /?awla:d/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 boy</td>
<td>1 2 3 boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W C V C /wlad/</td>
<td>W C V : C /wla:d/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 boy</td>
<td>2 3 4 boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SA</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAJC /bajt/</td>
<td>C UJU: C /bju:t/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a house</td>
<td>houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AA</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CI:C /bi:t/</td>
<td>C C U: C /bju:t/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 3</td>
<td>1 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a room</td>
<td>rooms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>SA</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CVCCV:C /mifta:h/</td>
<td>CACA:C /mafa:ti:h/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4</td>
<td>1 2 3 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a key</td>
<td>keys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AA</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCCV:C /mifta:h/</td>
<td>CACAC /mfa:təh/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4</td>
<td>1 2 3 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a key</td>
<td>keys</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>SA</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CV:CV:C /Xa:dim/</td>
<td>CUCAC:A /Xudda:m/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a servant</td>
<td>servants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AA</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV:CV:C /Xa:dam/</td>
<td>CCAC /Xəm/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a servant</td>
<td>servants</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>SA</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CVCCV:C /səndu:q/</td>
<td>CACA:C /sana:di:q/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4</td>
<td>1 2 3 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a box</td>
<td>boxes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AA</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCCV:C /səndu:q/</td>
<td>CCACVC /sənadəq/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4</td>
<td>1 2 3 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a box</td>
<td>boxes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5.4.7.2 Diminutives:

In **SA** and **AA**, the diminutive is formed by making internal changes in the noun.

The diminutive in **AA** is based on the diminutive form of **SA** nouns.

1. **SA** nouns with the structure: CVCCV 1 2 3

In such nouns, the following changes are operated
in the formation of the diminutive:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a - } V_1 & \text{ is changed to } /u/ \\
\text{b - } V_2 & \text{ is changed to } /a/ \\
\text{c - } /j/ & \text{ is added after } V_2
\end{align*}
\]

E.g. \( /\text{dzamal} / \to /\text{dzumajl} / \)

\( \text{a camel} \quad \text{a small camel} \)

In AA, the SA C V C V C structure becomes C C V C

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
1 & 2 \\
3 & 1 & 2 & 3
\end{array}
\]

E.g. \( \text{SA/dzamal/} \to \text{AA/dzm\#l/} \)

\( \text{a camel} \quad \text{a camel} \)

The diminutive form of an AA noun with a C C V C

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
1 & 2 \\
3 & 1 & 2 & 3
\end{array}
\]

is obtained by: inserting \( /i + j/ \) between \( C \) and \( V_2 \)

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
C & C & V & C \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 1 & 2 & 3
\end{array}
\]

\( /\text{dzm\#l/} \to /\text{dzmij\#l/} \)

2. \( \text{SA nouns with the structure: } \text{C V C V C} : \)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
1 & 1 & 2 & 3 & 2 & 4
\end{array}
\]

a - \( V_1 \) is changed to \( /u/ \)

b - \( /a + j/ \) is inserted between \( C_2 \) and \( C_3 \)

c - \( V_2 \) is changed to \( /i/ \)

E.g. \( /\text{mabzal/} \to /\text{mubajzil/} \)

\( \text{a sink} \quad \text{a small sink} \)

In AA, the above structure \( \text{C V C V C} \) is not

\[
\begin{array}{c}
1 & 1 & 2 & 3 & 2 & 4
\end{array}
\]

altered when introduced in Algerian Arabic but the
diminutive form of such a structure is based on the SA diminutive form, the changes are as follows:

a - the vowel /u/ is dropped as a feature of Algerianisation; the clustering rule.

b - /a + j/ is replaced by /i/

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{SA} & & & \text{AA} \\
/\text{mubajzi}l/ & \rightarrow & /\text{mbizal}/ \\
\end{array}
\]

3. SA nouns with the structure C V : C V C :

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
1 & 2 & 3 \\
\end{array}
\]

a - V: is changed to /u/)

b - /waj/ is inserted between /u/ and C\textsubscript{2}

E.g.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{CV : CV C} & \rightarrow & \text{CUWAJCVC} \\
1 & 2 & 3 \\
/\text{ka:tib}/ & \text{a writer} & /\text{kuwajtib}/ & \text{a small writer.} \\
\end{array}
\]

In AA, the Algerianisation of a SA noun of the above structure: C V : C V C is to drop the length of the vowel. The diminutive is based on the SA diminutive:

a - /u/ is dropped to form an initial cluster

b - /aj/ is replaced by /i/

c - /i/ is replaced by /ə/

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{SA} & & & \text{AA} \\
/\text{kuwajt}a\text{b}/ & \rightarrow & /\text{kwi}təb/ \\
\end{array}
\]
4. SA nouns with a C V C V : C structure:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{a - } V_1 \text{ is replaced by } /u/ \\
\text{b - } V_2 \text{ is changed to } /a/ \\
\text{c - } /jji/ \text{ is inserted between } V_2 \text{ and } C_3)
\end{array}
\]

E.g.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{C V C V : C} \\
/kita:b/ \text{ a book}
\end{array} \rightarrow 
\begin{array}{c}
\text{C U C A J J I C} \\
/kutajjib/ \text{ a small book}
\end{array}
\]

In AA, the Algerianisation of a SA noun with C V C V : C structure is to form an initial cluster by dropping

\[
\begin{array}{c}
V_1 \\
1 2 2 3
\end{array}
\]

E.g.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{SA} \\
/kita:b/
\end{array} \rightarrow 
\begin{array}{c}
\text{AA} \\
/kta:b/
\end{array}
\]

The diminutive form in AA is based on the diminutive form of SA:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
a - \text{ clustering by dropping } /u/ \\
b - \text{ replacing } /aj/ \text{ by } /i/ \\
c - \text{ changing the vowel } /i/ \text{ to } /
\end{array}
\]

E.g.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{SA} \\
/C U C A J J I C 1 2 3
\end{array} \rightarrow 
\begin{array}{c}
\text{AA} \\
/C I J V C 1 2 3
\end{array}
\]

E.g.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{SA} \\
/kutajjib/ \text{ a small book}
\end{array} \rightarrow 
\begin{array}{c}
\text{AA} \\
/ktijəb/ \text{ a small book.}
\end{array}
\]
5. SA nouns with the structure: \( CVJCVC(\) : \)

The diminutive of such nouns is obtained by:

- changing the first vowel into /u/
- inserting /wa/ between \( V_1 \) and \( J \)

\[
\begin{align*}
CVJCVC(\) : \) & \quad \rightarrow \quad CUCWAJCVC(\) : \) \\
1 \quad 2 & \quad \rightarrow \quad 1 \quad 2 \\
/lajla/ \text{ a night} & \quad \rightarrow \quad /luwajla/ \text{ a small night}
\end{align*}
\]

In AA, SA nouns of the \( CVJCVC(\) : \) structure are Algerianised to \( CICVC \)

E.g. \( \text{/lajla/} \rightarrow \text{/lila/} \)

The diminutive form in AA is based on the one found in SA:

- clustering by dropping /u/
- replacing /aj/ with /i/

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{SA} \quad CUCWAJCVC & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{AA} \quad CWCICVC \\
/luwajla/ & \quad \rightarrow \quad /lwila/ \\
a \text{ small night} & \quad \rightarrow \quad a \text{ small night}
\end{align*}
\]

Remark:

In AA, there is a form which is the diminutive of the diminutive. This is used for emphasis. It is obtained by repeating the \( CV \) following the first consonant in the diminutive noun.
E.g. /sniːdəq / small box \(\rightarrow\) /sniːniːdəq / a very small box

But there is no diminutive of the diminutive in SA.

5.4.5.3 **Adjectives (qualifiers):**

**Gender:**

The formation of the feminine gender in an adjective in the masculine gender is similar in both varieties; it is generally formed by adding /a/ at the end of the adjective:

E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kabiːr/ big (masc. sing.)</td>
<td>/kbiːr/ big (masc. sing.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kabiːra/ big (fem. sing.)</td>
<td>/kbira/ big (fem. sing.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, there is a difference between the feminine gender in SA and the one in AA; in SA there are two cases: the nominative and accusative cases used according to the position of the adjective in the sentence. Their respective suffixes are as follows:

a - **Nominative:** the nominative is obtained by adding /tun/ after /a/.

E.g. /kabiːrataːnuːn/ big (fem. sing.)
b - Accusative: The accusative is formed by adding /tin/ after /a/

E.g. /kabi:ratin/ big (fem. sing.)

But, in AA, there is no case distinction; the particles /tun/ and /tin/ are never used.

Number:

a - Dual:

In SA, the dual is formed by adding one of the following suffixes to the singular form of the adjective (at the end of the adjective)

1. Masculine / dual:
    - /ajn/ accusative
    - /a:n/ nominative

E.g.

/walad kabi:r/ → /waladajn kabi:rajn/

a boy big  two boys big (accusative)

/walada:n kabi:ra:n/  two boys big (nominative)

2. Feminine dual:
    - /ta:n/ accusative
    - /ta:n/ nominative

E.g.

/bint kabi:ra/ → /bintajn kabi:ratajn/

a girl big  two girls big (accusative)

/binta:n kabi:rata:n/  two girls big (nominative)
In AA, the dual is obtained by using the word /zu:dz/ "two" before the noun phrase consisting of the noun and adjective which are in the plural (cf. section on nouns).

E.g.

/zu:dz bna:t/ two girls.

b - The plural:

1. Masculine plural:

   In SA, this plural is formed by adding one of the following suffixes to the singular form of the adjective:

   - /u:n/ nominative
   - /i:n/ accusative

   E.g. /?awla:d muta?allimi:n/ accusative
       boys educated

       /?awla:d muta?allimu;n/ nominative

   However, in AA, the case distinction is lost and the plural is formed by adding /i:n/ at the end of adjectives

   E.g. /wla:d mat?allmi:n/
       boys educated

2. The feminine plural:

   In SA, this plural is obtained by adding one of the following suffixes to the adjective in the singular form:

   - /a:tin/ accusative
E.g. /banat mutallima:tun/ nominative
  girls educated
/banat mutallima:tin/ accusative

Once again, in AA, the case distinction is not kept and the plural is formed by adding the suffix /a:t/ to the adjective in the singular form:
E.g. /bna:t mutallima:t/ girls educated

Remark:

In SA, when a noun denoting a non-human significé is in the plural, the adjective which qualifies it takes the feminine/plural gender, regardless of the noun gender. But, in AA, the adjective agrees in gender and number with the noun it qualifies regardless of the type of significé represented by the noun.

5.4.5.4 The comparative:

In SA, the comparative is formed by adding the prefix /?a/ at the beginning of the adjective in the singular/masculine form and making internal changes as well:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective singular/masculine:</th>
<th>Comparative:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C V (:) C V (:) C</td>
<td>? A C C A C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The comparative structure in SA, is used with nouns having any gender or number
E.g.

/dʒamiːl/ masc. sing. — )
/dʒamiːla/ fem. sing. — ) ?adʒməl/
/dʒamiːlaːt/ plur. fem. — ) (more beautiful)

In AA, the comparative is obtained by using the adjective followed by the particle /'jual/ "on".

There are no changes made in the adjective. But, the comparative adjective agrees in gender and number with the noun it qualifies:

E.g.

/ʃabaː/ beautiful
(sing. masc.) — > /ʃabaː 'jual more beautiful

/ʃabbaː/ beautiful
(sing. fem.) — > /ʃabbaː 'jual more beautiful

5.4.5.5 The superlative:

In SA, this is formed by adding the definite article /?al/ "the" before the comparative adjective.

E.g.

/ʃadʒməl/ — > /ʃal?adʒməl/ more beautiful the most beautiful

In AA, the superlative is obtained by using the adjective without making any changes in its structure but by adding the definite article /əl/ before the adjective and the particle /fi/ "in" after it.
E.g.

/kbi:r ɠla/  —  /lkbi:r fi/
bigger than  the biggest
/ʃba:b ɠla/  —  /ʃba:b fi/
more beautiful than  the most beautiful

5.4.5.6 Pronouns:

Personal pronouns:

In SA and AA, there are two types of personal pronouns: independent and dependent pronouns.

Independent pronouns are used on their own and are not affixed to any verb whereas dependent pronouns are used in bound form, affixed to verbs.

Independent and dependent pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent pronouns</th>
<th>Dependent pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SA</strong></td>
<td><strong>AA</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔana/ I</td>
<td>→ /ana/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔanta/ you (masc.)</td>
<td>→ /nta/ (sing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔanti/ you (fem.)</td>
<td>→ /nti/ (sing.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔantuma:/ you (dual)</td>
<td>→ /ʔantuma/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔantunna/ you (plural fem.)</td>
<td>→ /ʔantunna/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔantum/ you (plural masc.)</td>
<td>→ /ʔantum/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/huwwa/ he</td>
<td>→ /huwwa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hijja/ she</td>
<td>→ /hijja/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/huma:/ they (dual)</td>
<td>→ /huma:/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hum/ they (plural masc.)</td>
<td>→ /hum/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hunna/ they (plural fem.)</td>
<td>→ /hunna/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.4.5.7 **Demonstrative pronouns:**

In SA, there are thirty pronominal forms near, central and far pronouns referring to the relative distances they denote. However, in AA, their number is reduced to six only divided between near and far only as far as the distances they denote are concerned.

1. **Near pronouns:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/haʔa:/</td>
<td>this (masc. sing.) nominative and</td>
<td>→ /hada/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔa:/</td>
<td>this (masc. sing.) accusative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔi:/</td>
<td>this (fem. sing.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/haʔi:/</td>
<td>nominative and</td>
<td>→ /hadi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/haʔihi/</td>
<td>accusative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔa:ni/</td>
<td>these (dual - masc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/haʔa:ni</td>
<td>nominative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔajni/</td>
<td>these (dual - masc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/haʔajni/</td>
<td>accusative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ta:ni/</td>
<td>these (dual - fem.)</td>
<td>→ /hadu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hata:ni/</td>
<td>nominative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tajni/</td>
<td>these (dual - fem.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hatajni/</td>
<td>accusative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔu:laʔi/</td>
<td>these (plural)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/haʔulaʔi/</td>
<td>accusative and nominative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. **Far pronouns:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| /ŋaːlika/  that (mas.c. sing.)  
Nom. and A. | /hadak/|
| /tilka/  that (fem. sing.)  
Nom. and A. | /hadik/|
| /ŋaːnnika/  those (mas.c. dual)  
Nom. |        |
| /jajjinnika/  those (mas.c. dual)  
A. |        |
| /taːnnika/  those (fem. dual)  
Nom. |        |
| /tajjinnika/  those (fem. dual)  
A. |        |
| /ʔuːlaʔika/  those (plur.)     |        |
3. Central pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ɔ:a:ka/ that (masc. sing.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nominative and accusative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ti:ka/ that (fem. sing.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nominative and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hati:ka/ accusative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔ:a:nika/ those (dual - masc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nominative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tajnika/ those (dual - masc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accusative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ta:nika/ those (dual - fem.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nominative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tajnika/ those (dual - fem.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accusative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/?u:la?ika/ those (plural)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.4.5.8 Relative pronouns:

In SA, there are eight relative pronouns with different gender, number and case inflections. However, in AA, the number of these pronouns has been reduced to one only. This pronoun, in AA, is used to refer to subjects having any type of gender and number.
### Interrogative pronouns and adverbs:

Most interrogative pronouns in AA are based on their counterparts found in SA. But there are some of these pronouns which are different in both varieties.

The following table shows the similarities and discrepancies that exist between the interrogative pronouns in SA and those in AA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/?allati:/ who-which (masc. sing.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/?allati:/ who-which (fem. sing.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/?alla:a:ni/ who-which (masc. dual)</td>
<td>nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/?alla:jajni/ who-which (masc. dual)</td>
<td>accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/?allata:ni/ who-which (fem. dual)</td>
<td>nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/?allata:jajni/ who-which (fem. dual)</td>
<td>accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/?alla:?i/ who-which (masc. plur.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/?allawa:ti/ who-which (fem. plur.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>AA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mata:/ when</td>
<td>/winta/: this is formed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>with /wi:na/ - /win/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(where) and the second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>syllable of /mata:/ -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ta/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kajfa/ how</td>
<td>/kifas/: this is the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>assimilated form of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/kajf/ how in SA and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/aj/ a thing in SA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/kajf/ is Algerianised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to /ki:f/ and /aj/ is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Algerianised to /ji/ -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ki:f + /ji/ = /kifas/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kam/ how many)</td>
<td>/qadda/: this is the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how much)</td>
<td>assimilated form of /qadd/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>size in SA and /aj/ a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>thing in SA. /qadd +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ji/ = /qadda/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/?aju/ which one</td>
<td>/ama/: this is the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>assimilated form of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/?aj/ which in SA and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ma:/ what in SA. /?aj +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ma:/ = /ama/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lima:xa/ why</td>
<td>/xla/: this is the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>assimilated form of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/xla/ on in AA and /xi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a thing in AA. /xla +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/xi/ = /xla/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/man/ who</td>
<td>/xku:n/: the assimilated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>form of /xi + jku:n/ (what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>thing is it?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ma:/ what</td>
<td>/welun/: assimilated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>form of /?aj aj/ in SA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(which thing)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Conjunctions and Adverbs:

1. There are some prepositions which are shared by both varieties without a change in their structure:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/haːsə:/ except</td>
<td>/həsə/ this preposition is used only in polite forms in AA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/maːzaːl/ still</td>
<td>/mazaːl/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/maːdəːm/ as long as</td>
<td>/madaːm/ this phrase is used only with the verb to live. E.g. /madaːml mə hajja/ as long as I am alive.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. There are other prepositions, which although shared by both varieties, show a change in structure when used in AA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/mumkin/ may be</td>
<td>/jɔmkan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/wa/and</td>
<td>/wa/, /u/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. The last type of prepositions is represented by the prepositions which are different in SA from AA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/lakin/ but</td>
<td>/bəssəːh/: this is the assimilated form of /bə/ + /saːh/ with truth (AA) (AA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kaʔanna/ as if</td>
<td>/tquːi/: this is the assimilated form of /tquːːl/ + /i/ you say a thing (AA) (AA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kaj/ in order</td>
<td>/baːʃ/: this is the assimilated form of /bəː/ + /i/ with a thing (AA) (AA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/θumma/ then</td>
<td>/məmbəːd/: this is the assimilated form of /mən/ + /baːd/ after from (AA) (AA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔajdan/ as well</td>
<td>/gana/: Turkish loan word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/qad/ maybe</td>
<td>/waqila/: this is the assimilated form of /waː/ and /qiːla/ and it was said (SA) (SA)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.4.5.11 Verbs:

In SA and AA, there are two tenses:
1 - preterite (perfect)
2 - present (imperfect)

These two tenses can be in the active or passive voice:

- Active preterite
- Passive preterite
- Active present
- Passive present

There are also moods:
1 - imperative
2 - subjunctive
3 - jussive
4 - indicative

Concerning the verb conjugation in AA, one can say that it is based on SA verb conjugation, in the following cases:
1 - preterite/active voice/indicative
2 - present/active voice/indicative
3 - imperative

Verbs having the infinitive forms \{C V C V C \} and \{C V C C V C \}
5.4.5.11.1.1 *Preterite/active voice:* Eg: */katab/ to write

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/C A C A C T U/ (I)</td>
<td>/C C /katab/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/katabtu/</td>
<td>/katabtu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/C A C A C T A/ (you - sing. masc.)</td>
<td>/C C /katabta/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/katabta/</td>
<td>/katabta/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/C A C A C T I/ (you - fem. sing.)</td>
<td>/C C /katabti/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/katabti/</td>
<td>/katabti/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/C A C A C A :/ (they - dual)</td>
<td>/C C /katabai/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/katabai/</td>
<td>/katabai/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/C A C A C U :/ (they - masc.)</td>
<td>/C C /katabu:/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/katabu:/</td>
<td>/katabu:/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/C A C A C N A/ (they - fem.)</td>
<td>/C C /katabna:/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/katabna/</td>
<td>/katabna:/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/C A C A C A T/ (she)</td>
<td>/C C /katabat/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/katabat/</td>
<td>/katabat/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/C A C A C A/ (he)</td>
<td>/C C /kataba/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kataba/</td>
<td>/kataba:/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/C A C A C N A :/ (we)</td>
<td>/C C /katabna:/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/katabna:/</td>
<td>/katabna:/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/C A C A C T U :/ (you - plural masc.)</td>
<td>/C C /katabtu:/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/katabtu:/</td>
<td>/katabtu:/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/C A C A C T U M A :/ (you - dual)</td>
<td>/C C /katabtuma:/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/katabtuma:/</td>
<td>/katabtuma:/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/C A C A C T U N N A/ (you - plural fem)</td>
<td>/C C /katabtunna:/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/katabtunna/</td>
<td>/katabtunna:/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.4.5.11.1.2 Present/active voice  Eg: /katab/ to write

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/? A C C U C/ (I)</td>
<td>/N ṭ C C ṭ C/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/?aktub/</td>
<td>ṭaktōb/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/T A C C U C/ (you - sing) —</td>
<td>/T ṭ C C ṭ C/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 masc.)</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/taktub/</td>
<td>ṭaktōb/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/T A C C U C I : N A/(you—) —</td>
<td>/T ṭ C ṭ C C I/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 sing. fem.)</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/taktubi:na/</td>
<td>ṭaktōbi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/T A C C U C A : N I/(you-) —</td>
<td>/T ṭ C ṭ C C I/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 dual)</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/taktuba:ni/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/T A C C U C U : N A/(you—) —</td>
<td>/T ṭ C ṭ C C U/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 plural)</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/taktubu:na/</td>
<td>ṭaktōbu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/T A C C U C N A/ (you - ) plural fem.))</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/taktubn/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/T A C C U C U/ (she) —</td>
<td>/T ṭ C C ṭ C/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/taktubu/</td>
<td>ṭaktōb/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/J A C C U C/ (he)   —</td>
<td>/J ṭ C C ṭ C/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jaktub/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/N A C C U C/ (we)   —</td>
<td>/N ṭ C ṭ C C U/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/naktub/</td>
<td>ṭaktōbu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/J A C C U C A : N I/ (they) —</td>
<td>/J ṭ C ṭ C C I/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 dual)</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jaktuba:ni/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/J A C C U C N A/ (they - ) plural fem.)—</td>
<td>/J ṭ C ṭ C C U/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jaktubna/</td>
<td>ṭaktōbu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/J A C C U C U : N A/ (they-) plural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jaktubu:na/</td>
<td>ṭaktōbi/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.4.5.11.2 Imperative:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/? U C C U C/ (you - sing. —</td>
<td>/ḍ C ṭ C C I/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 masc.)</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/?uktub/</td>
<td>ṭuktōb/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/? U C C U C I/ (you — —</td>
<td>/ḍ C ṭ C C I/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 sing. fem.)</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/?uktubi/</td>
<td>ṭuktōbi/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.4.5.11.3 Present and Preterite/Passive Voice

Present/passive voice and Preterite/passive voice have different structures in SA and AA:

5.4.5.11.3.1 Preterite/Passive:

In SA, this form is obtained by changing the first vowel occurring in a verb conjugated in the preterite/active, into /u/ and the second vowel into /i/:

/C a C a C a/ (he) → /C u C i C a/ (he)

E.g. /Kataba/ he wrote → /Kutiba/ it was written

In AA, the passive voice of the preterite is formed by adding /n/ before the first consonant in a very conjugated in the preterite/active form:

/C C ə C/ (he) → /N C C ə C/

E.g. /Ntəb/ he wrote → /Nktəb/ it was written
5.4.5.11.3.2 **Present/passive:**

In SA, this form is obtained by changing the first vowel occurring in a verb in the present/active form, into /u/ and the second into /a/:

/\text{J A C C U C U/} (he) \rightarrow /\text{J U C C A C U/} (he) \\
1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 1 \ 2 \ 3 \\

E.g.: /jaktubu/ he writes $\rightarrow$ /ju$k$tabu/ it is being written

In AA, the present/passive is obtained by inserting /n/ after the first /C + V/:

/\text{J $\varnothing$ C C $\varnothing$ C/} (he) \rightarrow /\text{J $\varnothing$ N C C $\varnothing$ C/} (he) \\
1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 1 \ 2 \ 3 \\

E.g. /jaktab/ he writes $\rightarrow$ /janktab/ it is being written

5.4.5.11.4 **The subjunctive and the jussive:**

5.4.5.11.4.1 **Subjunctive:**

1. **Subjunctive in SA:**

The subjunctive is used when the verb is preceded by specific particles. It relates actions or states in the present and future. It is obtained by making changes in the form of the present tense/indicative. Whether the preposition that precedes the verb is a preposition marking negation, consequence and so on, the verb retains the same structure in either case.

E.g. /katab/ to write.
The following two particles can precede the verb in the subjunctive:

/lan/ = negation particle (not) used to refer to the present and future.

/kaj/ = preposition marking a consequence or an aim (so that).

Present/indicative/active          Present/subjunctive/active

E.g.: /katab/ to write

/J A C C U C U/ he — /J A C C U C A/
  1 2 3 1 2 3
/jaktubu/

/? A C C U C U/ I — /? A C C U C A/
  1 2 3 1 2 3
/?aktubu/

/T A C C U C I : N A/ you (fem. — /T A C C U C I :/
  1 2 3 sing.) 1 2 3
/taktubi:na/

/T A C C U C A : N I/ you (dual) — /T A C C U C A :/
  1 2 3 1 2 3
/taktuba:ni/

/T A C C U C U : N A/ you — /T A C C U C U :/
  1 2 3 (plural 1 2 3)
/taktubi:na/

/T A C C U C U/ she — /T A C C U C /
  1 2 3 1 2 3
/taktubu/

  1 2 3 (dual) 1 2 3
/jaktuba:ni/

  1 2 3 (plural fem.) 1 2 3
/jaktubna/

  1 2 3 (plural masc.) 1 2 3
/jaktubu:na/

/N A C C U C/ we — N A C C U C /
  1 2 3 1 2 3
/naktub/

2. **Subjunctive in AA:**

The subjunctive is used when the verb is preceded by specific prepositions such as the one marking
negation. It relates actions or states in the present and future. It is similar to the form of the present/indicative except in the case where it is used with the preposition marking the negation: /ma/. In this case, an additional morpheme /∫/ is affixed at the end of the verb conjugated in the present/indicative form. This /∫/ is the assimilated form of /∫i/ (a thing) in AA, which in SA is /∫aj?/. When the conjugated verb has a final short vowel, this vowel is lengthened when followed by the morpheme /∫/.

E.g. /katab/ to write

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{N} \quad \text{C} \quad \text{C} \quad \text{C} \quad \text{U} \\
1 \quad 2 \quad 3
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{M} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{A} \\
1 \quad 2 \quad 3
\end{array} \quad \text{C} \quad \text{C} \quad \text{U} \\

\text{not}
\end{array}
\]

If this vowel /u/ had not been lengthened, a central vowel /a/ would have been used instead of it.

E.g. /nakatbu/ we write /manakatbu:∫/ we do not write

5.4.5.11.4.2 The jussive

The jussive in SA:

It is used when the verb is preceded by specific prepositions. It relates actions or states that they belong to the past. It is formed by making some changes in the present/indicative form.

E.g. /katab/

\[
\begin{array}{c}
1 \quad 2 \quad 3
\end{array}
\]

The particle: /lam/ marking negation (in the past) can precede the verb in the subjunctive.
Eg. /katab/ to write

/? A C C U C/ (I)  
1 2 3

/?aktub/  
/T A C C U C/ (she)  
1 2 3

/\taktub/  
/J A C C U C/ (he)  
1 2 3

/jaktub/  
/T A C C U C I :/ (you - sing. fem.)
/taktubi:/

/J A C C U C A :/ (you - dual)
/taktuba:/

/T A C C U C U :/ (you plural)  
1 2 3

/taktubu:/  
/J A C C U C A :/ (they - dual)  
1 2 3

/jaktuba:/  
/J A C C U C N A/ (they - plural fem.)
1 2 3

/jaktubna/  
/J A C C U C U :/ (they - plural masc.)
1 2 3

/jaktubu:/

/N A C C U C/ (we)  
1 2 3

/naktub/

The jussive in AA:

This is used when the verb is preceded by specific prepositions such as a negation preposition /ma/ (not). It is used to refer to actions and states of the past, therefore, it is based on the preterite/indicative form to which it is similar except in the case where it is used with the negation preposition /ma/ (not); /\j/ is added at the end of the conjugated verb:

Eg. /katab/ to write
1 2 3
/C C A C N A/
1 2 3 → /M A C C A C N A : ∫ /
(not)

/ktabna/ we wrote → /ma ktabna:∫/ we did not write.
CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

This work has shed some light on the phenomenon of Arabic-French bilingualism and Arabic diglossia in Algiers - the capital of Algeria - from a variety of aspects.

We have looked at the status of Arabic and French within the bilingual community of Algiers: the use of the two languages in education and administration as well as other domains such as the cultural activities.

We have also analysed the relationship between the bilingual and his two languages on a number of levels.

First, we looked at the bilinguals' language selection in various situations; this was described in chapter 3.

The results showed that the choice of a language or linguistic variety is not arbitrary but is governed by a number of factors represented by the type of topic, setting and interlocutor. Therefore, one could say that Arabic and French with their respective linguistic varieties are used in different types of context and situation and serve different types of function.

Then, we looked at the language attitudes held by these bilingual speakers towards French and Arabic. This was obtained by using an adjective test and the matched guise technique test as well.
The results obtained in both tests suggested that the differences between the bilinguals' views and attitudes for Arabic and French are paralleled by differences in the way they use these languages.

One notices that the attitudes of the bilinguals towards French and Arabic are different from one variety of language to another one:

French is associated with education, modernity, and social advancement. French is also often described as a modern and lively language which opens the door to science and technology.

Standard Arabic is associated with education and social advancement but is perceived as a variety of language which represents religion and a long literary heritage.

Both French and Standard Arabic are used in formal situations.

Algerian Arabic is felt to be a linguistic variety which is associated with intimacy, solidarity and informality. It is often described as a practical and easy language which can be used with any Algerian to express oneself in topics related with the home domain and everyday business communication.

The mixed Algerian Arabic-French variety seems to be favoured for scientific and specialised topics discussed in informal settings. It is also felt to
be a linguistic variety which facilitates and speeds up communication since the speaker of such a variety of language uses the first term of structure which comes to his mind in whichever language.

In the descriptive linguistics section, we have looked at the impact of French on Algerian Arabic by analyzing the aspect of borrowing and Algerian Arabic-French code-mixing.

We found that there are specific rules to code mixing concerning the use of grammatical structures.

Finally, we studied the process of the Algerianisation of Standard Arabic main phonological and morphological structures by means of comparison between both Algerian Arabic and Standard Arabic phonological and morphological systems. We found that the main differences lie in the consonantal system, in particular in the distribution and combination of consonants.
REFERENCES


KACHRU, B.B. (1977) "Code switching as a communicative strategy in India" in M. Saville-Troike (eds.) (1977) Linguistics and anthropology, Georgetown University, Round Table on Languages and Linguistics.


DICTIONARIES:


APPENDIX 1

QUESTIONNAIRE OF THE PILOT STUDY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sexe</th>
<th>Lieu de naissance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Profession/occupation -

Si vous êtes étudiant précisez le niveau -
le sujet -
le diplôme préparé -

1. Parlez-vous français?
   - bien [ ]
   - assez bien [ ]
   - mal [ ]
   - pas du tout [ ]

2. A quel âge avez-vous commencé à apprendre le français?

3. Où avez-vous commencé à apprendre le français?
   - En Algérie [ ]
   - En France [ ]
   - Ailleurs [ ]

4. À quelle étape de votre scolarité avez-vous commencé à étudier le français? -

5. Vos parents parlent-ils français?
   - Le père [ ]
   - La mère [ ]

Le père: profession

Votre père parle français: -
   - bien [ ]
   - assez bien [ ]
   - mal [ ]
   - pas du tout [ ]

La mère: profession

Votre mère parle français: -
   - bien [ ]
   - assez bien [ ]
   - mal [ ]
   - pas du tout [ ]
6. Où parlez-vous français le plus souvent?
- à la maison □
- à l'école, l'université □
- avec vos amis □
- avec vos supérieurs (au travail, à l'université etc...) □

7. Avez-vous été dans un pays francophone?
Si oui, quel est ce pays? - votre accent, était-il français? -

8. Ecrivez-vous en français?
biem □ assez bien □ mal □ pas du tout □

9. Lisez-vous français?
biem □ assez bien □ mal □ pas du tout □

10. Vous arrive t-il de "mélanger" l'arabe et le français dans votre langage:
Dans quelle(s) situation(s) le faites-vous?
- avec vos parents
- avec vos frères et soeurs
- avec vos amis
- avec vos professeurs
- avec vos collègues
- rencontres officielles

11. Parlez-vous l'arabe classique?
biem □ assez bien □ mal □ pas du tout □

12. Vos parents parlent-ils l'arabe classique?
Le père —
La mère —
13. Ou avez-vous commencé à apprendre l'arabe classique?

14. Quel âge avez-vous lorsque vous avez commencé à apprendre l'arabe classique?

15. Avez-vous été à une école Coranique?

16. Ecrivez-vous l'arabe classique?
   - bien [ ] assez bien [ ] mal [ ] pas du tout [ ]

17. Lisez-vous l'arabe classique?
   - bien [ ] assez bien [ ] mal [ ] pas du tout [ ]

18. Pouvez-vous suivre et comprendre les informations à la télé?
   - bien [ ] assez bien [ ] mal [ ] pas du tout [ ]

19. Utilisez-vous l'arabe classique?
   - souvent [ ] rarement [ ] pas du tout [ ]

20. Avec qui utilisez-vous l'arabe classique?

21. Quel est votre sentiment à l'égard de l'arabe classique?

22. Vous arrive-t-il de mélanger l'arabe classique et l'arabe algérien dans votre langage?
   - Pourquoi le faites-vous?
Aux étudiants

a. En quelle langue étudiez-vous les matières scientifiques?

b. Était-ce votre propre choix ou vous l'a-t-on imposé?

c. Préférez-vous faire vos études en arabe classique - français - arabe algérien ou berbère?

Pourquoi?

d. Avez-vous ou avez-vous eu un enseignant de l'arabe classique venu d'un pays arabe autre que les pays du Maghreb? (de quel pays?) -
Pouvez-vous comprendre son accent -

e. Pendant le cours d'arabe classique, en quelle langue posez-vous vos questions?

- arabe classique
- arabe algérien
- français

f. En quelle langue parlez-vous avec vos camarades de classe?

1. pendant le cours -
2. pendant la récréation -
3. En dehors de l'institution scolaire ou universitaire -
g. En quelle langue parlez-vous avec vos professeurs?
   1. pendant le cours
   2. En dehors du cours (précisez la matière enseignée + la langue avec laquelle elle est enseignée) -

23. Parlez-vous un dialecte arabe algérien?
24. De quelle région, en Algérie, est ce dialecte?
25. Etes-vous né(e) dans cette région?
26. Vos parents sont-ils nés dans cette région?
   le père  [ ]  la mère  [ ]
27. Vivez-vous dans cette région?
28. Vos parents vivent-ils dans cette région?
29. Ce dialecte est-il votre langue maternelle?
30. Si ce n'est pas votre langue maternelle, comment l'avez-vous acquis?
31. Ces questions concernent ceux qui sont venus vivre à Alger après l'âge de 20 ans:
   1. Pourquoi êtes-vous venu à Alger?
   2. Depuis combien de temps?
   3. Vos parents sont-ils avec vous?
   4. Avez-vous acquis le dialecte arabe algérois?
   5. Est-il très différent de votre propre accent ou langue?

Quelles sortes de différences:
   a - prononciation
   b - grammaire
   c - vocabulaire
32. Ces questions concernent ceux qui sont nés à Alger et dont les parents aussi:
   a - Parlez-vous le vieil accent algérien?
   b - Qu'en est-il de vos parents?
   c - Quel est votre sentiment à l'égard de cet accent?

33. Est-ce le berbère votre langue maternelle?

34. Quel dialecte berbère parlez-vous?

35. Avec qui utilisez-vous ce dialecte?

36. "Mélangez-vous" (le berbère et l'arabe dans votre conversation

a. Combien de langues/dialectes pouvez-vous parler?

b. Lequel(s) préférez-vous le plus?

c. Pourquoi?
APPENDIX 2

QUESTIONNAIRE USED FOR LANGUAGE SELECTION
(No. 2)

AGE: Lieu de naissance:

SEXE: Occupation:

Si vous êtes étudiant( ), précisez le niveau, l'année,
le diplôme préparé:

1. Parlez-vous français?
   très bien ☐ bien ☐ assez bien ☐ mal ☐ pas du tout ☐

2. À quel âge avez-vous commencé à apprendre le français?

3. Ou avez-vous commencé à étudier ou apprendre le français?
   à la maison ☐
   à l'école ☐
   ailleurs ☐
   dans quel pays?

4. À quelle étape de votre scolarité avez-vous commencé à apprendre le français?

5. Vos parents parlent-ils français?
   - le père: Niveau de scolarité du père:
     très bien ☐ bien ☐ assez bien ☐ mal ☐ pas du tout ☐
   - la mère: Niveau de scolarité de la mère:
     très bien ☐ bien ☐ assez bien ☐ mal ☐ pas du tout ☐
6. Ecrivez-vous français?
   | très bien | bien | assez bien | mal | pas du tout |

7. Lisez-vous français?
   | très bien | bien | assez bien | mal | pas du tout |

8. Parlez-vous l'arabe classique?
   | très bien | bien | assez bien | mal | pas du tout |

9. Vos parents parlent-ils l'arabe classique?
   le père
   la mère

10. Ou avez-vous commencé à apprendre l'arabe classique?
    Ecole/Université, quelle classe?

11. Quel âge aviez-vous lorsque vous avez commencé à apprendre l'arabe classique?

12. Avez-vous été à une école coranique?
    Quel âge aviez-vous?

13. Ecrivez-vous l'arabe classique?
    | très bien | bien | assez bien | mal | pas du tout |

14. Lisez-vous l'arabe classique?
    | très bien | bien | assez bien | mal | pas du tout |

15. Pouvez-vous suivre et comprendre les informations en arabe à la télé?
    | très bien | bien | assez bien | mal | pas du tout |
16. Utilisez-vous l'arabe classique?
   souvent □  rarement □  pas du tout □

17. Avec qui utilisez-vous l'arabe classique?

18. Parlez-vous un dialecte arabe Algérien?

19. De quelle région est ce dialecte, en Algérie?

20. Ce dialecte est-il votre langue maternelle?

21. Parlez-vous le dialecte arabe d'Alger?

Aux students:

a. En quelle langue étudiez-vous les matières scientifiques?

b. Est-ce votre propre choix ou vous l'a-t-on imposé?

c. En quelle langue préférez-vous faire vos études?
   Pourquoi?

d. Pendant le cours d'arabe classique/matières enseignées en arabe classique, en quelle langue posez-vous vos questions?
   arabe classique
   arabe algérien
   français
   arabe/français

e. En quelle langue parlez-vous à votre professeur de Français pendant le cours:
   arabe classique
   arabe algérien
   français
   arabe/français
f. En quelle langue parlez-vous à un professeur Algérien en dehors du cours pour:

1. discuter le cours: arabe classique
   arabe algérien
   français
   arabe/français

2. discuter les actualités: arabe classique
   arabe algérien
   français
   arabe/français

g. En quelle langue parlez-vous à vos camarades de classe pour:

1. discuter du cours (matières scientifiques)
   arabe classique
   arabe algérien
   français
   arabe/français

   discuter du cours (matières littéraires)
   arabe classique
   arabe algérien
   français
   arabe/français

2. discuter des actualités:
   arabe classique
   arabe algérien
   français
   arabe/français
h. En quelle langue parlez-vous au Proviseur/Directeur/Superviseur
   arabe classique
   arabe algérien
   français
   arabe/français

i. En quelle langue parlez-vous au serveur du réfectoire
   arabe classique
   arabe algérien
   français
   arabe/français
### TELEVISION

1) **En quelle langue sont vos émissions préférées?**

2) **Aimez-vous les séries et films Egyptiens?**

3) **Les films Algériens, les préférez-vous en arabe classique ou en arabe algérien?**

4) **Vos impressions générales:**

### RADIO

1) **En quelle chaîne de radio écoutez-vous le plus?**

2) **Quelles chansons préférez-vous?**
   - Françaises
   - Algériennes Arabes
   - Algériennes Berbères
   - Autres (Arabes)

### CINEMA

1) **Allez-vous souvent au cinéma?**

2) **En quelle langue sont les Films que vous voyez?**

3) **Pour les films étrangers, en quelle langue préférez-vous qu’ils soient sous-titrés?**

4) **Les films arabes, autres qu'Algériens, en quelle langue voudriez-vous qu’ils soient sous-titrés?**

### THEATRE

1) **En quelle langue sont les pièces de Théâtre que vous aimez?**

2) **Pour les pièces théâtrales Algériennes, préférez-vous qu’elles soient en arabe classique ou en arabe algérien?**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LECTURE - ROMANS</th>
<th>JOURNAUX - MAGASINES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Lisez-vous des livres écrits en arabe classique?</td>
<td>1) Quels sont vos journaux préférés?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Lisez-vous des livres écrits en français?</td>
<td>2) Quels sont vos magazines préférés?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Que préférez-vous le plus et pourquoi?</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>REDACTION DE LETTRES</th>
<th>INTERVIEWS - CONVERSATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) En quelle langue écrivez-vous à vos parents?</td>
<td>1) Un journaliste vous pose une question en arabe classique, en quelle langue répondez-vous?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) En quelle langue écrivez-vous à vos frères et soeurs?</td>
<td>2) En français? Je répondrai en:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) En quelle langue écrivez-vous à vos amis?</td>
<td>3) En arabe algérien? Je répondrai en:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) En quelle langue écrivez-vous des lettres officielles?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) En quelle langue écrivez-vous une lettre d'amour?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Aux professeurs:

1. En quelle langue parlez-vous à vos élèves pendant le cours?

2. En quelle langue parlez-vous à vos collègues
   a. pour discuter des cours:
   b. pour discuter des actualités:

3. En quelle langue parlez-vous au planton de l'école/lycée/université

Aux employés:

1. En quelle langue parlez-vous à votre patron?

2. En quelle langue parlez-vous à vos collègues?

3. En quelle langue parlez-vous à ceux qui ont un poste inférieur que le vôtre?

Questions d'ordre général:

1. Vous êtes dans le bus, vous bousculez une personne, en quelle langue direz-vous "pardon":
   1. à une dame voilée
   2. à une dame non-voilée
   3. un homme âgé
   4. un jeune homme
   5. une jeune fille

2. En quelle langue dizez-vous bonjour à vos voisins?
   1. une dame âgée
   2a. une jeune fille instruite  2b. non-instruite
   3. une homme âgé
   4a. un jeune homme instruit  4b. non-instruit
3. En quelle langue vous addresserez-vous au receveur de la R.S.T.A.?

4. En quelle langue parlez-vous à votre épicier
   boucher
   boulanger
   cordonnier

5. En quelle langue parlez-vous lorsque vous êtes en colère avec vos frères et soeurs?

6. En quelle langue parlez-vous lorsque vous êtes en colère avec votre meilleur(e) ami(e)?

7. En quelle langue parlez-vous lorsque vous êtes en colère avec votre mari/femme?

8. En quelle langue parlez-vous lorsque vous êtes en colère avec une personne que vous ne connaissez-pas?

9. En quelle langue parlez-vous à votre docteur?

10. En quelle langue parlez-vous avec vos grands-parents?

11. En quelle langue parlez-vous avec vos enfants? ( précisez leur âge)

12. En quelle langue vous addresserez-vous à Dieu-tout-puissant lorsque vous êtes en danger/difficulté?

13. En quelle langue chantez-vous le plus souvent ( fredonner une chanson)?

14. En quelle langue écrivez-vous vos notes ( par exemple ce que vous devez acheter, faire etc..)?
15. En quelle langue aimeriez-vous écrire votre journal?
Pourquoi?

16. Quelle langue aimez-vous parler le plus souvent
" " " " écrire " " "
" " " " lire " " "
" " " " écouter " " "

17. En quelle langue pensez-vous
" " " rêvez-vous
1. Quelles sont les langues et dialectes que vous pouvez parler?

1. Arabe Classique
2. Français
3. Arabe Algérien (précisez la région)
4. Berbère (précisez la langue parlée)
5. Autres langues:

2. Classez-les par ordre de préférence en précisant la raison:

Pouvez-vous me donner vos impressions sur la situation linguistique à Alger? Merci
APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 3:

Questionnaire Used for Language Selection (no. 2)

Quelle langue utilisez-vous avec:

vos parents
vos grand-parents
vos frères et soeurs
votre époux/épouse
vos enfants
un mendiant
une bonne
un doctor
un avocat
une dame âgée
un homme âgé
une dame instruite
une dame non-instruite
une homme instruct
un homme non-instruit
un receveur d'autobus
un marchand
Quelle langue utilisez-vous pour discuter d'un sujet:

1. scientifique
2. littéraire
3. religieux
4. personnel

Quelle langue utilisez-vous:

1. à l'hôpital
2. au restaurant
3. à la mosquée
4. au stade.

Quelle langue utilisez-vous quand vous êtes en colère avec:

1. vos frères et soeurs
2. votre époux/épouse
3. votre meilleur ami
4. un inconnu.

Quelle langue utilisez-vous pour

1. accoster une fille ("draguer" une fille)
2. répondre à un homme qui vous a accostée (qui vous a "draguée")
APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 3: Questionnaire used for language selection (No. 3)

Age:

Sexe:

Occupation:

Une série de conversations vous sera présentée, dites en quelle langue vous parlerez en de telles situations, choisissez vos réponses parmi:

1. Français
2. Arabe Algérien
3. Arabe/Français
4. Arabe Classique.

Endroit : école
Sujet : médecine
Personne : professeur

Endroit : restaurant
Sujet : fête
Personne : patron

Endroit : bureau
Sujet : film
Personne : frère

Endroit : maison
Sujet : travail
Personne : ami
Endroit : maison
Sujet : médecine
Personne : professeur

Endroit : bureau
Sujet : film
Personne : ami

Endroit : école
Sujet : fête
Personne : frère

Endroit : restaurant
Sujet : film
Personne : patron

Endroit : école
Sujet : médecine
Personne : patron

Endroit : bureau
Sujet : travail
Personne : ami

Endroit : maison
Sujet : médecine
Personne : frère

Endroit : restaurant
Sujet : fête
Personne : professeur
Endroit : restaurant
Sujet : médecine
Personne : patron

Endroit : école
Sujet : fête
Personne : ami

Endroit : école
Sujet : film
Personne : frère

Endroit : bureau
Sujet : médecine
Personne : professeur

Endroit : maison
Sujet : travail
Personne : frère

Endroit : maison
Sujet : médecine
Personne : ami

Endroit : bureau
Sujet : travail
Personne : patron

Endroit : maison
Sujet : travail
Personne : professeur
Endroit : maison
Sujet : film
Personne : ami

Endroit : restaurant
Sujet : travail
Personne : frère

Endroit : école
Sujet : travail
Personne : patron

Endroit : école
Sujet : médecine
Personne : frère

Endroit : maison
Sujet : fête
Personne : ami

Endroit : école
Sujet : travail
Personne : professeur

Endroit : école
Sujet : fête
Personne : professeur

Endroit : école
Sujet : médecine
Personne : ami
Endroit : école
Sujet : travail
Personne : frère

Endroit : école
Sujet : travail
Personne : patron

Endroit : maison
Sujet : médecine
Personne : patron

Endroit : restaurant
Sujet : travail
Personne : ami

Endroit : bureau
Sujet : travail
Personne : professeur

Endroit : bureau
Sujet : fête
Personne : professeur

Endroit : bureau
Sujet : médecine
Personne : patron

Endroit : école
Sujet : travail
Personne : ami
Endroit : restaurant
Sujet : film
Personne : frère

Endroit : restaurant
Sujet : médecine
Personne : frère

Endroit : maison
Sujet : fête
Personne : professeur

Endroit : maison
Sujet : fête
Personne : patron

Endroit : restaurant
Sujet : travail
Personne : patron

Endroit : bureau
Sujet : fête
Personne : ami

Endroit : restaurant
Sujet : travail
Personne : professeur

Endroit : maison
Sujet : travail
Personne : patron
Endroit : restaurant
Sujet : film
Personne : ami

Endroit : bureau
Sujet : film
Personne : professeur

Endroit : école
Sujet : film
Personne : patron

Endroit : restaurant
Sujet : médecine
Personne : ami

Endroit : bureau
Sujet : médecine
Personne : frère

Endroit : école
Sujet : film
Personne : professeur

Endroit : restaurant
Sujet : fête
Personne : ami

Endroit : bureau
Sujet : fête
Personne : patron
Endroit : maison
Sujet : film
Personne : professeur

Endroit : restaurant
Sujet : film
Personne : professeur

Endroit : maison
Sujet : film
Personne : patron

Endroit : école
Sujet : film
Personne : ami

Endroit : restaurant
Sujet : fête
Personne : frère

Endroit : maison
Sujet : film
Personne : frère

Endroit : restaurant
Sujet : médecine
Personne : professeur

Endroit : bureau
Sujet : fête
Personne : frère
Endroit : bureau
Sujet : médecine
Personne : ami

Endroit : bureau
Sujet : travail
Personne : frère

Endroit : maison
Sujet : fête
Personne : frère

Endroit : école
Sujet : fête
Personne : patron
APPENDIX to CHAPTER 3 The matched-guise technique experiment.

Age:

Sexe:

Occupation:

1. A quel âge avez-vous commencé à apprendre le français? 

2. Parlez-vous français:
   très bien [ ] bien [ ] assez bien [ ] mal [ ]

3. Ecrivez-vous français:
   très bien [ ] bien [ ] assez bien [ ] mal [ ]

4. Lisez-vous français:
   très bien [ ] bien [ ] assez bien [ ] mal [ ]

5. A quel âge avez-vous commencé à apprendre l'arabe littéraire?

6. Parlez-vous l'arabe littéraire:
   très bien [ ] bien [ ] assez bien [ ] mal [ ]

7. Ecrivez-vous l'arabe littéraire:
   très bien [ ] bien [ ] assez bien [ ] mal [ ]

8. Lisez-vous l'arabe littéraire:
   très bien [ ] bien [ ] assez bien [ ] mal [ ]

9. Parlez-vous l'arabe dialectal:
   très bien [ ] bien [ ] assez bien [ ] mal [ ]
Remplissez les cases en choisissant une des réponses suivantes: 1 = pas du tout, 2 = un peu, 3 = beaucoup, 4 = énormément. N.B. Utilisez les chiffres dans vos réponses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Instruit</th>
<th>religieux</th>
<th>intelligent</th>
<th>fier</th>
<th>gentil</th>
<th>attirant</th>
<th>prétentieux</th>
<th>sympathique</th>
<th>apte à diriger</th>
<th>arrière</th>
<th>ambitieux</th>
<th>patriotique</th>
<th>social</th>
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<td>7 ème voix</td>
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<td>8 ème voix</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 3:

Stimulus passage used in the matched guise experiment

1. French version:

L'instruction est une des choses les plus importantes dans la vie. Elle est l'un des piliers indispensables à l'édification de la société.

L'instruction épanouit notre esprit et nous ouvre toutes les portes de l'avenir. Nous devons combattre l'analphabétisme pour assurer le bonheur de tout individu.

2. Algerian Arabic version:

laqraja hija hadža muhimma bazza:f fi ḥjatna. hija ġarsa li bnajät bladna. laqra ja tɛfṭəh qəlna u tɛftəh kul bwa:b ɛlmustaqbəl. lazəm qлина mnənə:w əldəzəhl baːj kul waḥəd jku:n mhənni.

3. Standard Arabic version:

4. Mixed Arabic-French Version:

ləqraja est une des choses les plus importantes fi ḥjatna. Elle est l'un des piliers indispensables ləbnajət bladna. hija təftah ǧqəlna u təftah toutes les portes de l'avenir. lazəm ǧlina nkoštəti:w l'ignorance ba:ʃ nasyri:w le bonheur əl kəl wa ḥəd.
APPENDIX to CHAPTER 3: The adjective Test.

Age: Sexe:

Occupation:

Niveau de scolarité:

Je vous prie de bien vouloir décrire les langues suivantes en mettant une croix dans la colonne correspondante si vous pensez que l'adjectif utilisé décrit la langue en question:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjectifs qualifiant les langues</th>
<th>Français</th>
<th>Arabe Classique</th>
<th>Arabe dialectal Algérien</th>
<th>Arabe/Français</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Riche en vocabulaire</td>
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<td>S'adapte à la technologie</td>
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<td>Exprime toutes idées</td>
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<tr>
<td>Exprime tout sentiment</td>
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