An Analysis of the Arabic Pidgin Spoken by Indian Workers in Saudi Arabia

by

Anwar Hobrom
B.A., King Saud University, 1992

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ABSTRACT
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University of Kansas

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This thesis aims at describing and analyzing the Arabic Pidgin spoken by Indian workers in Saudi Arabia. It consists of four chapters and three appendices. Chapter One is an introduction to the study that includes various topics such as a description of the subjects, data, and Arabic. Chapter Two is a phonological account of the speech of the subjects with rules, error classification, examples, and conclusions. Three particular processes are discussed: substitution, insertion, and deletion. Chapter Three contains a discussion about some syntactic structures found in the subjects' speech as well as a morphological analysis. Three patterns are analyzed in the syntactic part: copula insertion, preposing, and agreement problems. Furthermore, an extensive morphological description is provided. Chapter Four is a conclusion which includes the results of the study and some generalizations. The first appendix contains a transcript of tape recordings of spontaneous conversations between the subjects and their Arabic-speaking interviewers. The second appendix contains the data organized in lists and tables. The third appendix is a collection of the phonetic charts of the subjects' speech.
To my parents who taught me how to learn,

To my wife who stood by my side at all times,

And, last but not least, to the wonderful Arabic language.
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CONTENTS

Abstract ...................................................................................... i
Dedication ................................................................................... ii
Acknowledgements ..................................................................... iii
Table of Contents ...................................................................... iv

Chapter One: Introduction .......................................................... 1

1.1. Purpose of study ................................................................. 1
1.2. Organization ................................................................. 1
1.3. Data ................................................................................. 2
1.4. Subjects ............................................................................. 3
1.5. SLA under scrutiny ......................................................... 5
1.6. Cultural background & understanding ......................... 8
1.7. Feedback process ............................................................. 9
1.8. A brief description of Arabic ........................................... 10

1.8.1. Definition of Modern Standard Arabic ......................... 10
1.8.2. Tense and aspect in MSA ............................................. 11
1.8.3. The morphology of the Arabic verb .......................... 12
1.8.4. Word order in Arabic .................................................. 13
1.8.5. The Arabic sound system ............................................. 14
1.8.6. Difficulties inherent in Arabic .................................. 17

1.9. Foreigner Talk in Arabic ................................................... 17
1.10. Pidginization in Saudi Arabic ......................................... 20

Chapter Two: Phonological Analysis ........................................... 22

2.1. Substitution ........................................................................ 23

2.1.1. Vowels .................................................................... 23
2.1.2. Consonants ............................................................... 34
2.2. Insertion ........................................ 52
2.3. Deletion ........................................ 54

2.4. Classification of phonological changes ....... 55

2.4.1. Classification according to native language ........................................ 56
2.4.2. Classification according to length of stay ........................................ 56
2.4.3. Classification according to religion ........................................ 57

2.5. Generalizations .................................. 57

Chapter Three: Syntactic and morphological analysis . 59

3.1. Introduction ........................................ 59
3.2. Syntactic analysis .................................. 61

3.2.1. The copula insertion structure ............. 62
3.2.2. Fronting the VP-internal argument .......... 66
3.2.3. Agreement problems ............................. 73
3.2.4. Generalizations .................................. 77

3.3. Morphological analysis .......................... 78

3.3.1. Bound forms: Noun affixes ..................... 78

3.3.1.1. Definite article ................................. 78
3.3.1.2. Feminine ending ................................. 79
3.3.1.3. Feminine pluralizing suffix ..................... 79
3.3.1.4. Masculine pluralizing suffix ..................... 79
3.3.1.5. Dual suffix ....................................... 79
3.3.1.6. Broken plural ................................. 79
3.3.2. Other bound forms .................. 80

3.3.2.1. Suffix pronouns ................. 80
3.3.2.2. Verb suffixes .................. 80

3.3.3. Free forms ......................... 80

3.3.3.1. Simple nouns ................... 80
3.3.3.2. Compound nouns ............... 81
3.3.3.3. Adjectives .................... 81
3.3.3.4. Independent personal pronouns .................. 82
3.3.3.5. Demonstratives ............... 82
3.3.3.6. Numerals ..................... 82
3.3.3.7. Ordinals ..................... 83
3.3.3.8. Interrogatives ............... 83
3.3.3.9. Negators ..................... 83
3.3.3.10. Prepositions ................. 83
3.3.3.11. Adverbials ................. 83
3.3.3.12. Conjunctions ............... 84

3.3.4. Verbs .................................. 84

3.3.4.1. The copula ................... 84
3.3.4.2. Tense and aspect markers .. 84
3.3.4.3. Passives ....................... 85

Chapter Four: Conclusion ..................... 86

4.1. Introduction ................................ 86
4.2. Phonology ................................ 86

4.2.1. Voicing vs. devoicing ............. 87
4.2.2. Continuancy vs. non-continuancy .. 87
4.2.3. Distribution vs. non-distribution .. 87
4.2.4. Non-pharyngealization ............ 88
4.2.5. Raising vs. lowering .................. 88
4.2.6. Delayed release vs. non-delayed release .................. 88
4.2.7. Vowel insertion .................................. 89
4.2.8. Deletion ........................................ 89
4.2.9. Stress .......................................... 89
4.2.10. Notes ........................................... 89

4.3. Syntax ............................................. 90

4.3.1. Summary of syntactic processes .... 91

4.4. Notes on vocabulary ....................... 92

Bibliography ............................................. 94

Appendix I

Appendix II

Appendix III
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Purpose of study

This cross-linguistic research aims at describing and analyzing the Arabic pidgin spoken by Indian workers in Saudi Arabia. The subjects have acquired Arabic as a second language spontaneously via communication with native speakers of Saudi Arabic. None of these workers has gone to special classes to learn the language. They all had to be self-dependent and develop their own language skills.

This investigation of Second Language Acquisition (henceforth SLA) by adults focuses particularly on the spoken target language. The range and type of linguistic information, therefore, are limited and can be useful in particular if analyzed phonologically and syntactically, and morphologically.

1.2. Organization

Chapter One contains this introduction to the study including various topics such as a brief description of the subjects, data, and Arabic. Chapter Two is a phonological account of the speech of the subjects with rules, error classification, and conclusions. Chapter Three contains a discussion about some syntactic structures found in the subjects' speech as well as a morphological analysis.
Chapter Four is a conclusion that includes the results of the study and some generalizations. Finally, I have included a number of appendices at the end of the thesis. The first appendix contains a transcript of tape recordings of spontaneous conversations between native speakers of Arabic using "foreigner talk" and the subjects of the study. All the conversations are translated into English and transcribed phonetically. The second appendix contains the data gathered from the subjects in the shape of lists and tables, and the third is a collection of the phonetic charts of the informants' speech.

1.3. Data

The data analyzed in this research are taken from free conversations between the seven subjects on one hand and two speakers of Saudi Arabic on the other hand.1 The taping of the conversations took place in a town in Northwestern Saudi Arabia at the subjects' workplace and in a house that belongs to one of the native speakers. The target language (TL) in this study is spoken Saudi Arabic. A translation, literal and free, is provided for the Arabic material. In the process of data collection, the approach was mainly based on neutral observation, which involves the audio-recording of interactions between native and non-native speakers of the TL, where the researcher is not present.

It should be noted that the inferences and results of

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1 Using initials, I am referring to the seven subjects of this study as: A, B, Bas, H, O, Q, and W. The initials for the two native speakers of Arabic are: Ah and I.
this study are based on the examination of a text, i.e., the recorded (transcribed) data. However, the data elicitation procedure is not considered to be representative of an informant's normal use of the TL because his attention is drawn more to the form than the function. This may result in an informant's becoming more aware of aspects of linguistic communication, which will activate his conscious control devices.

The short-encounter type of data in this study consists basically of conversations, i.e., a type of verbal interaction which is as close as possible, given the circumstances, to everyday conversations the informant would have within his social environment, and is loosely and cautiously guided by the interviewers. The informant should not feel too disturbed by the fact that he is being recorded and is talking to people from a different social environment. He should feel free to display his full competence, both with respect to verbal skills and to the subject matter.

1.4. Subjects

As a rule, foreign workers do not speak or understand the language of their new social environment when they arrive (Perdue 1984: 1); there are some exceptions, though, as in the situation of the Muslim Indian workers who mostly have at least sufficient knowledge of Arabic that allows them to read and recite the Holy Quran to fulfill their religious duties.
Another crucial factor to be considered in setting up criteria to judge the subjects' linguistic level is the period spent by every one of them in the host environment. In general, none of the subjects went to school to learn Arabic after their arrival in the target language country. Perdue (1984: 1-2) states that "in their daily lives, foreign workers acquire what is most urgently needed, and some even attain a certain level of fluency. But normally, their acquisition slows down and even stops at a level that is far removed from the language of the world they have to live in." This has social and educational consequences.

Socially, foreign workers are strongly disadvantaged by their language problems. This affects their social life including interacting with people around them, court situations, and dealing with the authorities.

From an educational point of view, changing the status quo of foreign workers would require intensive language teaching programs which are, in most cases, difficult to establish due to economic and resource reasons. Furthermore, there are attitudinal problems among SL learners that could obstruct the process of language learning.

The most important motivation that led to the selection of this type of topic for my thesis is the mere fact that almost everything a foreign worker learns is acquired through communication. The worker has a strange situation in this case: in order to communicate, he has to learn the language, and in order to learn the language, he
has to communicate. Therefore the worker in initial stages may resort to non-linguistic communicative strategies such as iconic gestures, pointing, etc. He may also use his first language skills even if he has to use expressions or structures from that language. Another gateway for him in this phase is to use a third language known to him as well as the other party of the communication line. Not surprisingly, English is usually that neutral medium of communication.

One common characteristic among the subjects of this study is the fact that no matter how long each one of them has been living in the host country of the TL, all of them have a certain type of difficulty in making themselves clear and understood despite acquiring certain linguistic skills. The effect of interference will be noted in some cases and will be mentioned in the conclusion.

1.5. SLA under scrutiny

An important feature of spontaneous SLA is that different people master the language in different ways and at different levels. Some learners reach a native-like variety; others will stick to a very limited number of vocabulary items and a few elementary syntactic constructions. Besides, between these two extremes there are various degrees of language mastery that could be ascribed to different speakers.

2 The native languages of my subjects are: Kannada, spoken by B and Bas; Tamil, spoken by H and O; and Malayalam, spoken by A, Q, and W.
Mastering a language requires skills of various sorts—including the ability to produce and recognize certain sounds and prosodic patterns, the ability to recall lexical items, and to put them into well-organized sequences, and the ability to keep the communication lines open by making sure the speaker and listener understand each other using confirmation checks and other strategies.

In the phonological area, there are certain determining factors in acquisition that help in building cognitive and perceptual skills of the learner. These factors include the ability to break up sequences of sounds into smaller units, the ability to discriminate among sounds, and the ability to produce combinations of various sounds.

Another major difference between formal SLA teaching and spontaneous (natural) SLA is in the input to which the learner is exposed. In the former case, the input would approximately correspond to the syllabus and the teacher's own use of the TL. For the latter case, however, we need to know what varieties of the TL are spoken in the learner's environment and whether TL native speakers address the learner in the same way they address other TL native speakers—in other words, to what extent "foreigner talk" is used by native speakers.

The TL learner in such a situation is usually faced with an analytic problem of decomposing stretches of TL speech into smaller units resulting sometimes in developing formulaic utterances. In order to solve the analytic
problem, the learner cannot rely on the structure of the TL since this is exactly what he has to analyze. His decomposition may be guided by various phonological clues, such as pauses, intonation breaks, etc. which mark boundaries in the speech stream. In addition, he may apply some of his SL strategies such as looking for the verb or information that stands out in order to analyze the input addressed to him.

The native speaker's reactions strongly affect the learner's progress in acquiring the TL. Misunderstanding results from having a linguistically hostile environment in which the native speaker views the learner as incompetent or inferior. This may have a positive or negative effect on the learner, either making him linguistically more aware and consciously more prepared to learn the TL, or leading him to avoid all but inevitable linguistic contact with native speakers thus provoking early fossilization. Most of the subjects of this study have fossilized repertoires.

Having finished the analytic task, the learner, then, turns to the synthetic problem, that is, the task of arranging the items he has acquired to form meaningful utterances. In doing so, he follows grammatical, functional and more abstract principles.

Second language learners have access to Universal Grammar's principles either indirectly, through the facts of their native language, or directly in much the same way as do child first language learners (Gass 1989: 5). Since we want to characterize the competence acquired by a second
language learner, we will need formalisms. No one would think of talking about interlanguage phonology without using phonetic symbols and formal phonological rules or about interlanguage syntax without using syntactic rules.

A second language learner might gain nothing from language universals in the acquisition process. What the learner has to work with is input plus innate competence. A learner might gain some knowledge of these universals, but that knowledge certainly is not innate and is not provided in the input (Gregg 1989: 30).

1.6. Cultural background & understanding

The learner of a new language uses assumptions and interpretative strategies acquired in his primary socialization in order to make sense of the input that he encounters. This applies to his understanding of both verbal and non-verbal events. In the early stages of acquisition the universal aspects of gesture and body language will serve as important aids for him.

One strategy used by the learner to enhance understanding is to look for important words. The learner may use some clues to help him do that. One clue is the extra-linguistic context in which the message is uttered. A spoken form can be associated with an entity by gesture: in the workplace, for example, objects which serve in the accomplishment of the work may be named with an accompanying gesture, and these name-gesture combinations will occur frequently in the early stages. If this
hypothesis turns out to be true, then we may expect some reflections of it in the informant's production, which would then consist of essentially noun-based utterances.

Another clue leading to mutual understanding is the use of formulaic expressions. Formulaic expressions such as "excuse me", "how are you," etc. may be acquired as memorized sequences of sounds with specific intonation contours. In addition, prosody, in particular emphatic stress and tone of voice, may well serve generally as clues to the importance of words in utterances and specifically to signal new information.

1.7. Feedback process

Feedback mechanisms used to check mutual comprehension between the speaker and the listener are an important device that enhances acquisition especially in the early stages. Two aspects of feedback are:

a. Eliciting feedback: This can be done by feedback elicitors such as tag questions and particles like "right?" and "eh?". Feedback can also be elicited non-verbally, e.g. by a head nod.

b. Giving feedback: Feedback can be given using particles specific to different languages. English examples are "yeah, yes, mm". Feedback is also given non-verbally.

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3 Formulaic expressions are unanalyzed wholes whose form is invariant and which are used to fulfill certain important functions in TL communication.
Moreover, feedback processes also include corrections, repeats and repairs from both speaker and hearer.

1.8. A brief description of Arabic

Arabic is spoken by nearly 200 million people spread over an enormous geographical area from Morocco to the borders of Iran, from the Russian steppes to South of the Sahara. It is also the language of the Quran, the Holy Book of the world-wide Islamic religion. It is known, too, that the Arabic script or adaptation of it provides the written shape of a number of languages such as Kurdish, Sindhi, and Persian.

Arabic is not an easy language for an adult to learn. Learners of Arabic are usually faced with grammatical and phonological difficulties.

1.8.1. Definition of Modern Standard Arabic

Modern Standard Arabic is the contemporary form of Classical Arabic, a language that was codified by the Arab grammarians and philologists during the early period of Islam. Classical Arabic was basically the language of pre-Islamic literature, the Quran, and the Arabic literature written subsequent to the advent of Islam. Several factors, including the rapidly increasing sophistication of the life of the Arab nation and the changing nature of language, have led to the emergence of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), which is used as a formal language across the Arab world.
It is noteworthy that MSA is acquired by children not at home but at school. At home the child learns a regional variety of Arabic, e.g. Saudi Arabic, Egyptian Arabic, etc. Regional and social dialects exist all over the Arab world, but all of these dialects are superseded by MSA, which is used as a lingua franca among all Arabs.

1.8.2. Tense and aspect in MSA

The concepts of tense and aspect in MSA had not been clearly defined and adequately analyzed. Old and new studies of the Arabic verb and its temporal and aspectual values were conducted within the framework of the traditional methods of linguistic analysis which emphasized form rather than meaning. In fact, the tense-aspect system of MSA is a matter of semantics and morphosyntax rather than morphology, as shown in the following description.

The Arabic verb is divided into two aspects. The first, called the perfect, expresses an act that is finished and completed in relation to other acts. The second, called the imperfect, expresses an act that is unfinished and that is just commencing or in progress. Another approach of looking at the Arabic verb is to consider meaning as well as time. Thus, tense in MSA could be defined in light of the generative semanticists’ concept of tense as an essential semantic category that pertains to the semantic structure of the sentence, and basically expresses time in its three universal spheres: present, past, and future. Therefore, the Arabic verb could be categorized as: past, present, and imperative.
Tense in MSA can be manifested using several means. Among these are the form of the verb alone, the form of the verb plus an auxiliary verb, the form of the verb plus a temporal adverbial, and the form of the verb plus a particle or other lexical and contextual means.

Arabic is considered to have a limited tense system, where an inflected verb has primarily aspect-marking. Inflection seems to be acquired very late in general when learning Arabic as a second language. Tense usage depends on specific discourse types or different functions. In early learner varieties, tense usually plays a minor role; its functions are partially taken over by adverbials.

1.8.3. The morphology of the Arabic verb

The verbal system of MSA is very rich and flexible. Traditionally, the Arabic verb is divided into two types: basic and derived. The basic verb may consist of 3 or 4 consonants, such as [kətəbə] كتب “to write”, and [tərəջəma] ترجمه “to translate.” The three-letter root is referred to as the traditional form, and the four-letter root is called the quadri-radical form. All of the other verbal forms are derived from the basic verb through the addition of one, two, or three letters.

In classical Arabic, fifteen forms could be derived from the traditional root and four forms from the quadri-radical one. In MSA, however, only ten forms are derivable from the former and three forms from the latter. The other
forms have become unproductive or archaic due to the changing nature of the language. All types of verbs are inflected according to person (first, second, third), number (singular, dual, plural), gender (masculine, feminine), and mood (indicative, jussive, subjunctive, imperative).

Usually, affixes are added to a root to indicate any of the above features. These affixes are used as markers of person, number, gender, and, mood. They are not pronouns that stand for subjects. It is true that the verb [kasara] could be translated literally into English as "he broke" but this does not mean that the suffix [-ә] is a pronoun-subject. The suffix [-ә] expresses a cluster of concepts, viz., person, number, and gender. The actual subject of [kasara] is a covert pronoun understood from the markers of person, number, and gender as well as from the context if the verb occurs alone without any overt subject. Otherwise the subject of [kasara] is an overt noun or pronoun.

1.8.4. Word order in Arabic

Arabic is flexible with regard to the linear order of words in a sentence. The VSO word order is the main (canonical) order in MSA. However, other word orders are also common in the language. The SVO order is used in equational sentences, newspaper headlines, or when the subject needs to be emphasized. In addition, the VOS order occurs mainly if the object is a pronominal suffix that
cannot stand by itself and has to be attached (cliticized) to the end of the verb.

1.8.5. The Arabic sound system

The sound system of Arabic consists of the following consonants and vowels:

Consonants: The twenty-eight Arabic consonants are grouped here for convenience into two groups, i.e., those similar to English and those for which there are no English equivalents. Most Arabic sounds, however, are similar to English sounds.

a. Arabic consonants Similar to English consonants:
/lb, m, d, n, f, s, h, t, q, z, w, y, j, 7, 5, 8, m, 1/ 

b. Arabic consonants with no English equivalent:
/lr, 8, 7, q, d', t, h, s', y, 5, 8, x/ 

Ferguson (1956: 16-24) discusses the existence of an "emphatic" or velarized /H/ in Classical Arabic and the modern dialects. This sound is generally regarded as an allophone of the usual /H/, not an independent phoneme. However, Ferguson argues that emphatic /H/ is a phoneme and he provides some examples in favor of his arguments.

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4 The consonants with the diacritic "'" are termed pharyngealized or velarized.
Vowels: There are two sets of vowels in Arabic: short vowels and long vowels.

a. Short vowels: Short Vowels are roughly similar to English. This similarity is intended only as a general guide to pronunciation. They may differ in quality and they may behave differently under certain conditions. Unlike English which tends to obscure vowels in unstressed syllables, Arabic attaches equal significance to all similar vowels. The Arabic vowels, in general, are pronounced with more advanced tongue root (ATR) than the English vowels.

The short vowels for Modern standard Arabic are:

/æ/ as in /kætæbə/ كتب "he wrote"
/i/ as in /bîntî/ بنتي "my daughter"
/u/ as in /kuntə/ كنت "I was"

b. Long vowels: The Modern Standard Arabic long vowels are:

/æː/ as in /næzîm/ نسم "soft"
/iː/ as in /sârid/ عريض "wide"
/uː/ as in /sârus/ عروس "bride"

Lengthening a vowel can change the meaning of a word. For example, /kætæbə/ كتب means "he wrote", and /kætæbə/ كتب means "he corresponded."
c. Diphthongs: /æI/ and /awl/ are encountered in the literary and spoken language, although in the latter the pronunciation is apt to range from /æI/ (as in the English word bite) to /awl/ (as in the English word house) or /el/ (as in the English word bait) or /lo/ (as in the English word boat).

Stress: In Saudi Arabic there are three phonetic degrees of stress: primary [´], secondary [´], and weak [˘]. These lexical stresses are always determined by the structure of the word. The rules for the placement of lexical stress are as follows:

1. The first occurrence of VCC or VV from the end of the word receives primary stress:
   a. In words including only one occurrence of VCC or VV, other vowels before or after the occurrence receiving primary stress take weak stress.
      Example: [ma'dra'sa] مدرسة “school”.
   b. In words including more than one occurrence of VCC or VV, the first occurrence from the end of the word receives primary stress, and the second receives secondary stress. Other vowels in the word receive weak stress.
      Example: [m'fia'mha] نتعلمها “we learn it”.

2. Words that do not include the occurrence of VCC or VV
take primary stress on the first vowel from the beginning of the word, and weak stress on the rest. Example: [kə'taβ] ـَـ "he wrote".

1.8.6. Difficulties inherent in Arabic:

There are some problem areas inherent in the Arabic language that have been proven to cause difficulties for learners of Arabic. These problems can be summarized in the following points:

• long versus short vowels
• consonants that have no equivalent in the learner's native language.
• velarized (pharyngealized) consonants (ل، ظ، ح، ...)
• placement of the adjective after the noun
• concepts of the root system

1.9. Foreigner Talk in Arabic

Among the "simplifying processes" identified by almost all of the researchers on Foreigner Talk (FT) are the following:

1. At the phonological level, use of:

a. slower rate of speech,

b. louder amplitude of voice, and

c. clear articulation with more and longer pauses at constituent boundaries, and higher frequency of
unreduced vowels and consonant clusters.

2. At the lexical level, use of:
   a. common general vocabulary,
   b. paraphrasing,
   c. minimal amount of idiomatic phrases,
   d. minimal amount of compound words,
   e. stylistically neutral vocabulary, which is preferred to socially, regionally, or emotionally marked vocabulary, and
   f. situational ties to concrete factors, such as refraining from using indefinite pronouns and adverbs.

3. At the syntactic level, use of:
   a. shorter sentences in terms of words per sentence,
   b. well-formed sentences,
   c. very few unfinished sentences,
   d. few subordinate clauses, and
   e. more present tense, indicative mood, and active form.

4. At the discourse level, use of:
   a. more expansion of the non-native speaker's previous utterance,
   b. more confirmation checks,
   c. more comprehension checks,
   d. more clarification requests,
   e. more self-repetitions,
   f. more other-repetitions, and
g. more topic-initiation moves.

The simplifying processes associated with the FT of native speakers of Arabic when talking to non-native speakers include:

1. At the phonological level:
   a. slower rate of speech delivery,
   b. more use of primary stress in a single T-unit,\(^5\)
   c. fewer phonological processes, and
   d. more use of unfilled and filled pauses.

2. At the morphological/lexical level:
   a. a lower type-token ratio,\(^6\)
   b. more lexical elaboration,
   c. more use of pro-forms, and
   d. more use of foreign words.

3. At the syntactic level:
   a. a shorter mean length in words of multi-clause T-units,
   b. a longer mean length in words of single-clause T-units,

\(^5\) A T-unit (short for terminable unit) is a minimal unit constituting a complete sentence, consisting of one independent clause and any dependent clauses connected to it; used as a measure of the structural complexity of sentences.

\(^6\) The lower type-token ratio and more use of foreign words in Arabic FT are in conformity with the results of previous research on FT in other languages.
c. a smaller number of S-nodes\textsuperscript{7} per T-unit, and
d. less use of variant word orders.

4. At the discourse level:

a. more decomposition (clarification),
b. more comprehension checks,
c. more self-repetitions, and
d. more other repetitions.

1.10. Pidginization in Saudi Arabic

Saudi Arabia is host to millions of foreign workers who have jobs in a wide range of fields. A large part of this community of guest workers comes from the Indian subcontinent and is the focus of this thesis.

Everyday interaction between Indian workers and their employers or members of the environment created a situation in which these guest workers have to communicate with the native speakers of Saudi Arabic. In addition to the indigenous vernacular Saudi Arabic, many other languages and language varieties and registers play a role in this complex community. They include English, various other Arabic vernaculars, and the plethora of Indian languages used among the immigrant communities themselves including Hindi/Urdu, which has the status of a lingua franca among them (Smart 1990: 84). This situation has led to the

\textsuperscript{7} The number of S-nodes is figured out by counting the number of verbs in a T-unit.
development of a reduced variety of Saudi Arabic known as Saudi Pidgin.
CHAPTER TWO
PHONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

As I mentioned in the introduction, interference from the subjects' native languages occurs on all levels of the target language: phonological, syntactic, morphological, lexical, and semantic. However, our concern in this thesis is limited only to the first two. In this chapter we look at the phonological level.

Differences in linguistic structures play a major role in the quantitative and qualitative aspects of borrowing and interference. Languages are systems which have structures, and things incompatible with those structures cannot be borrowed. Interference increases as the differences between two language systems increase; this is due to the existence in each language of a greater number of exclusive forms in phonology, syntax, and lexicon.

It is the social context, not the structure of the languages involved, that determines the direction and the degree of interference. Both the linguistic systems of the languages involved and the social context determine the amount and types of borrowing and interference which occur.

Indeed, the degree of interference varies from speaker to speaker and from level to level. Phonetic interference, however, is, expectedly, quite prominent in all speakers. Most second language speakers are readily identifiable as
to origin by their accent. In addition, interference occurs at both the segmental and suprasegmental levels.

At the segmental level, phonological errors can be classified into three categories: substitution, insertion, and deletion.

2.1. Substitution. Many SA vowels and consonants are replaced with vowels from the subject's native language that share most of their features. First, we start by taking a look at the vowels.

2.1.1. Vowels

The vowel system in Modern Standard Arabic is very simple. There are only three short vowels and three long vowels. However, in Saudi Arabic, a local dialect and a variety of MSA, there are more vowels than MSA, and the distribution of the vowels is more diversified. This may be one of the reasons why the speakers in this study use different vowels from the original ones in some instances. It should be noted, however, that the alterations below of the vowels do not follow a consistent pattern. In other words, there are no certain environments in which these vowel changes occur; the distribution of the vowels is in free variation. Based on that, I did not consider the existence of particular phonological conditions for vowel changes. I think it would be sufficient just to mention the nature of the vowel change and list an example of it. However, I try to account for consonant changes as fully as
possible taking into account such factors as the native language of the speaker, etc. The data below is organized such that the change equation is mentioned first followed by an example. In these examples, we see the word as produced by a native speaker of Arabic and then how this same word is produced by one of the subjects after applying the phonological change. Now let us see what SA vowels are produced differently by our subjects.

(1a) Centralizing: [i] → [ə]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+ \text{ high} \\
- \text{ low} \\
- \text{ back} \\
- \text{ ATR} \\
- \text{ round}
\end{array}
\]

\[\rightarrow\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
- \text{ high} \\
+ \text{ back}
\end{array}
\]

An example of this vowel change comes from B in:

\[
\text{musædžI} \quad \text{"recorder"}
\]

[ι] → [ə]

\[
\text{musædžæl}
\]

(1b) Lowering: [i] → [æ]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+ \text{ hi} \\
- \text{ low} \\
- \text{ back} \\
- \text{ ATR} \\
- \text{ round}
\end{array}
\]

\[\rightarrow\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
- \text{ hi} \\
+ \text{ low}
\end{array}
\]

This vowel change is exemplified by H in:

\[
\text{mælæh} \quad \text{"salty"}
\]

[ι] → [æ]

\[
\text{mælæh}
\]
(1c) **Centralizing:** [i] → [ʌ]

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
  + \text{hi} \\
  - \text{low} \\
  - \text{back} \\
  - \text{ATR} \\
  - \text{round}
\end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
  - \text{hi} \\
  + \text{ATR} \\
  + \text{back}
\end{bmatrix}
\]

The example here is from Bas in:

\[\text{il} \text{ebra} \text{ία} \quad "\text{Wednesday}"\]

[I] → [ʌ]

\[\text{il} \text{ebra} \text{ία}\]

(1d) **Lowering:** [i] → [e]

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
  + \text{hi} \\
  - \text{low} \\
  - \text{back} \\
  - \text{ATR} \\
  - \text{round}
\end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
  - \text{hi}
\end{bmatrix}
\]

From W we get this example:

\[\text{mikæniki} \quad "\text{mechanic}"\]

[I] → [e]

\[\text{mikæniki}\]

(1e) **Tensing:** [i] → [i]

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
  + \text{hi} \\
  - \text{low} \\
  - \text{back} \\
  - \text{ATR} \\
  - \text{round}
\end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
  + \text{ATR}
\end{bmatrix}
\]
Bas produces one example here:

\[ \text{mître} \quad "\text{meter}" \]

[\text{i}] \rightarrow [i]

\[ \text{mître} \]

(2a) \textit{Tensing:} [\text{e}] \rightarrow [\text{A}]

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
- \text{hi} \\
- \text{low} \\
- \text{ATR} \\
- \text{round}
\end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
+ \text{ATR}
\end{bmatrix}
\]

The example here comes from Bas:

\[ \text{gåbl} \quad "\text{before}" \]

[\text{e}] \rightarrow [\text{A}]

\[ \text{gåbl} \]

(2b) \textit{Raising, Backing, and Rounding:} [\text{e}] \rightarrow [\text{u}]

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
- \text{hi} \\
- \text{low} \\
- \text{ATR} \\
- \text{round}
\end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
+ \text{hi} \\
+ \text{back} \\
+ \text{ATR} \\
+ \text{round}
\end{bmatrix}
\]

B has this example:

\[ \text{møfj} \quad "\text{walking}" \]

[\text{e}] \rightarrow [\text{u}]

\[ \text{møfj} \]
(2c) **Lowering and Fronting:** \([\text{ə}] \rightarrow [\text{æ}]\)

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
  \text{hi} \\
  \text{low} \\
  \text{ATR} \\
  \text{round}
\end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
  + \text{low} \\
  - \text{back}
\end{bmatrix}
\]

Here is an example by W:

míkaniki  "mechanic"

\([\text{ə}] \rightarrow [\text{æ}]\)

mekänik

English influence is probably the reason for this vowel change.

(2d) **Lowering, Backing, and Rounding:** \([\text{ə}] \rightarrow [\text{o}]\)

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
  \text{hi} \\
  \text{low} \\
  \text{ATR} \\
  \text{round}
\end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
  + \text{low} \\
  + \text{back} \\
  + \text{round}
\end{bmatrix}
\]

H produces the next example of this phonological change:

iðnuðjær  "twelve"

\([\text{ə}] \rightarrow [\text{o}]\)

iðnuðjær

(2e) **Lowering, Fronting, and Tensing:** \([\text{ə}] \rightarrow [\text{a}]\)

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
  \text{hi} \\
  \text{low} \\
  \text{ATR} \\
  \text{round}
\end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
  + \text{low} \\
  - \text{back} \\
  + \text{ATR}
\end{bmatrix}
\]
H again provides this example:

\[ \text{məkinət} \quad "machine" \]

\[ [ə] \rightarrow [a] \]

\[ \text{makinət} \]

(2f) \textit{Raising and Fronting:} \[ [ə] \rightarrow [i] \]

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
- \text{hi} \\
- \text{low} \\
- \text{ATR} \\
- \text{round}
\end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
+ \text{hi} \\
- \text{back}
\end{bmatrix}
\]

And H gives us the last example in this vowel change:

\[ \text{t'awwəl} \quad "it lasted" \]

\[ [ə] \rightarrow [i] \]

\[ \text{t'awwəl} \]

(3a) \textit{Raising and Rounding:} \[ [ʌ] \rightarrow [u] \]

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
- \text{hi} \\
- \text{low} \\
+ \text{ATR} \\
- \text{round}
\end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
+ \text{hi} \\
+ \text{back} \\
+ \text{round}
\end{bmatrix}
\]

Our example here is produced by two of our speakers, W and Bas:

\[ \text{s'əbaəh} \quad "morning" \]

\[ [ʌ] \rightarrow [u] \]

\[ \text{səbaəh} \]
(3b) **Laxing: [ʌ] → [ə]**

\[
\begin{array}{c}
- \text{hi} \\
- \text{low} \\
+ \text{ATR} \\
- \text{round}
\end{array}
\quad \rightarrow \quad [ - \text{ATR} ]
\]

Bas gives us this example:

\text{s'\textsuperscript{\&}endug} "box"

\[\text{[ʌ] → [ə]}\]

\text{s'\textsuperscript{\&}endug}

(3c) **Raising and Fronting: [ʌ] → [ɪ]**

\[
\begin{array}{c}
- \text{hi} \\
- \text{low} \\
+ \text{ATR} \\
- \text{round}
\end{array}
\quad \rightarrow \quad [ + \text{hi} ]
\]

The example here is provided by B:

\text{t'\textsuperscript{\&}ele\textsuperscript{\&}} "it came up"

\[\text{[ʌ] → [ɪ]}\]

\text{t'\textsuperscript{\&}ele\textsuperscript{\&}}

(4a) **Centralizing: [æ] → [ə]**

\[
\begin{array}{c}
- \text{hi} \\
+ \text{low} \\
- \text{back} \\
- \text{ATR} \\
- \text{round}
\end{array}
\quad \rightarrow \quad [ - \text{low} ]
\]
O presents our instance of this vowel change:

\[ \text{hæða} \quad \text{"this"} \]

\[ [\text{æ}] \rightarrow [\varepsilon] \]

\[ \text{hæda} \]

(4b) **Backing and Rounding:** \[\text{[æ]} \rightarrow [\varepsilon]\]

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
- \text{hi} \\
+ \text{low} \\
- \text{back} \\
- \text{ATR} \\
- \text{round}
\end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
+ \text{back} \\
+ \text{round}
\end{bmatrix}
\]

Here H presents an example:

\[ \text{zjæde} \quad \text{"extra"} \]

\[ [\text{æ}] \rightarrow [\text{o}] \]

\[ \text{zjøre} \]

(5a) **Centralizing:** \[\text{[ʊ]} \rightarrow [\varepsilon]\]

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
+ \text{hi} \\
- \text{low} \\
+ \text{back} \\
+ \text{ATR} \\
+ \text{round}
\end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
- \text{hi} \\
- \text{ATR} \\
- \text{round}
\end{bmatrix}
\]

W presents this example:

\[ \text{tərməs} \quad \text{"thermos"} \]

\[ [\text{ʊ}] \rightarrow [\text{ə}] \]

\[ \text{tərməs} \]
(5b) **Lowering:** [ʊ] → [o]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+ \text{hi} \\
- \text{low} \\
+ \text{back} \\
+ \text{ATR} \\
+ \text{round}
\end{array}
\rightarrow \begin{array}{c}
- \text{hi}
\end{array}
\]

Q provides an example here:

\text{loγε} "language"

[ʊ] → [o]

\text{loγε}

(5c) **Fronting:** [ʊ] → [i]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+ \text{hi} \\
- \text{low} \\
+ \text{back} \\
+ \text{ATR} \\
+ \text{round}
\end{array}
\rightarrow \begin{array}{c}
- \text{back} \\
- \text{round}
\end{array}
\]

O has the only example in the data here:

\text{kωλλο} "all of it"

[ʊ] → [i]

\text{kωλλι}

(5d) **Shortening:** [ʊ] → [u]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+ \text{hi} \\
- \text{low} \\
+ \text{back} \\
+ \text{ATR} \\
+ \text{round} \\
+ \text{long}
\end{array}
\rightarrow \begin{array}{c}
- \text{long}
\end{array}
\]
This item is exemplified by W:

\[\text{\textcopyright} \text{"see"}\]
\[\text{[u]} \to [\text{u}]\]

\[\text{\textcopyright}\]

(6a) Centralizing: \([\text{o}] \to [\text{e}]\)

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
- \text{hi} \\
- \text{low} \\
+ \text{back} \\
+ \text{ATR} \\
+ \text{round}
\end{bmatrix} 
\to 
\begin{bmatrix}
- \text{ATR} \\
- \text{round}
\end{bmatrix}
\]

An example by Bas is:

\[\text{\textcopyright} \text{"kind"}\]
\[\text{[o]} \to [\text{e}]\]

\[\text{\textcopyright}\]

(6b) Raising: \([\text{o}] \to [\text{u}]\)

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
- \text{hi} \\
- \text{low} \\
+ \text{back} \\
+ \text{ATR} \\
+ \text{round}
\end{bmatrix} 
\to 
[ + \text{hi} ]
\]

We get our only example here from Q in:

\[\text{\textcopyright} \text{"fear"}\]
\[\text{[o]} \to [\text{u}]\]

\[\text{\textcopyright}\]
(7) **Backing and Rounding:** [a] → [o]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{hi} \\
\text{low} \\
\text{back} \\
\text{ATR} \\
\text{round}
\end{array}
\quad --\quad
\begin{array}{c}
\text{+ back} \\
\text{+ ATR} \\
\text{+ round}
\end{array}
\]

Only one example by O occurs here:

\[\text{\textit{ḥemmād}}\quad \text{"Hammād"}^8\]

[a] → [o]

\[\text{ḥemmād}\]

(8) **Diphthongizing: [e] → [ar]**

This vowel is changed to a diphthong only in one example by O:

\[\text{\textit{ẓetūn}}\quad \text{"olive"}\]

[e] → [ar]

\[\text{ẓaṭūn}\]

The change here could be related to the fact that this particular word is pronounced either way in some Arabic dialects.

(9) [aw] → [u]

The last case of vowel change occurs here in an instance provided by B:

\[\text{\textit{ḥaṭū}}\quad \text{"light"}\]

[aw] → [u]

\[\text{ḥaṭū}\]

---

^8 A male proper name in Arabic.
2.1.2. Consonants

Many SA consonants were also replaced by other consonants that share some of their features. For example, a voiced bilabial stop may be produced as a voiceless bilabial stop; or an affricate can be produced as a fricative, etc. In the following section, all the consonantal changes are listed showing the affected features of the phoneme.

(1a) Devoicing: [b] → [p]

[ - sonorant
 - continuant
 + voiced
 + anterior
 - coronal ]

--> [ - voiced]

An example of this devoicing process is produced by 0:

kuzbura "cilantro"

[b] → [p]

kuspura

The voiced bilabial stop, [b], does not exist in Tamil, O’s native language; it is, therefore, replaced by its voiceless counterpart, [p], which is a phoneme in Tamil.

(1b) Nasalization: [b] → [m]

[ - son
 - nasal --> [ + son
 - cont
 + ant ] [ - nasal ]

34
O also gives us this example of nasalization:

\[ \text{ba\text{\textgreek{g}dun\text{\texti{s}}}s} \quad \text{"parsley"} \]

\[ [b] \rightarrow [m] \]

\[ \text{maqdu\text{\texti{n}\text{\texti{s}}ja} } \]

Again, since \([b]\) is not a phoneme in Tamil, another bilabial, \([m]\), substitutes it.

\[(2a) \quad [f] \rightarrow [b] \]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{- son} \\
\text{+ cont} \\
\text{+ ant} \\
\text{- cor} \\
\text{- distributed} \\
\text{- voiced}
\end{array}
\rightarrow
\begin{array}{c}
\text{- cont} \\
\text{+ distributed} \\
\text{+ voiced}
\end{array}
\]

O also produces this example:

\[ \text{fi} \quad \text{"there is"} \]

\[ [f] \rightarrow [b] \]

\[ \text{bi} \]

\[(2b) \quad \text{Voicing: } [f] \rightarrow [v] \]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{- son} \\
\text{+ cont} \\
\text{+ ant} \\
\text{- cor} \\
\text{- dist} \\
\text{- voiced}
\end{array}
\rightarrow
\begin{array}{c}
\text{+ voiced}
\end{array}
\]

This example is also presented by O:

\[ \text{fi} \quad \text{"there is"} \]

\[ [f] \rightarrow [v] \]

\[ \text{vi} \]
The voiceless labiodental fricative [f] does not exist in Tamil. However, its voiced counterpart [v] does.

(3a) [d] → [b]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{- son} \\
\text{- cont} \\
\text{+ cor} \\
\text{- dist}
\end{array}
\rightarrow
\begin{array}{c}
\text{- cor} \\
\text{+ dist}
\end{array}
\]

H gives us this and the next two examples:

iss\textsuperscript{ud}i\textj\text{"Saudi Arabia"

[d] → [b]

su\textsuperscript{ud}i\textj

(3b) [d] → [r]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{- son} \\
\text{- cont} \\
\text{+ cor} \\
\text{- dist}
\end{array}
\rightarrow
\begin{array}{c}
\text{+ son} \\
\text{+ cont}
\end{array}
\]

zj\textj\text{"extra"

[d] → [r]

zj\textj\textj

(3c) [d] → [r]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{- son} \\
\text{- cont} \\
\text{+ cor} \\
\text{- dist}
\end{array}
\rightarrow
\begin{array}{c}
\text{+ son}
\end{array}
\]

36
In the last three consonant changes, H's native language, Tamil, does not contain [d]. Therefore, it is replaced, in some cases, by a Tamil phoneme such as [r] or [ɾ].

\[(4a) \quad [t'] \rightarrow [t]\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
- \text{son} \\
- \text{cont} \\
+ \text{ant} \\
+ \text{cor} \\
+ \text{pharyngealized} \\
+ \text{low} \\
+ \text{back} \\
\end{array} \quad \rightarrow \quad \begin{array}{l}
- \text{pharyngealized} \\
- \text{low} \\
- \text{back} \\
\end{array}
\]

The example here comes from W:

\[
\text{xæmpt}' \quad "\text{turner}" \\
\]

\[(t') \rightarrow [t]\]

\[
\text{kæmpt} \\
\]

Often, pharyngealized sounds of Arabic are simplified to non-pharyngealized ones.

\[(5a) \quad [θ] \rightarrow [t]\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
- \text{son} \\
+ \text{cont} \\
- \text{voiced} \\
+ \text{ant} \\
- \text{hi} \\
+ \text{dist} \\
\end{array} \quad \rightarrow \quad \begin{array}{l}
- \text{cont} \\
- \text{dist} \\
\end{array}
\]
The first example is provided by A and B:

\[
\text{kāθīr}
\]

"a lot"

[θ] → [t]

\[
\text{kāθīr}
\]

\[
\text{k Attribution}
\]

(5b) [θ] → [s]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{- son} \\
\text{+ cont} \\
\text{- voiced} \\
\text{+ ant} \\
\text{- hi} \\
\text{+ dist}
\end{array}
\]

--> [ - dist ]

Only H has an example here:

\[
\text{ḥādīθा}
\]

"Haditha"

[θ] → [s]

\[
\text{adīθа}
\]

(5c) [θ] → [j]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{- son} \\
\text{+ cont} \\
\text{- voiced} \\
\text{+ ant} \\
\text{- hi} \\
\text{+ dist}
\end{array}
\]

--> \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{- ant} \\
\text{+ hi}
\end{array}
\]

One example only from Bas occurs here:

\[
\text{ḥādīθа}
\]

"Haditha"

[θ] → [j]

\[
\text{ḥādīθа}
\]

\[
\text{A town in Northwestern Saudi Arabia near the Jordanian borders.}
\]

38
(5d) \( [\theta] \rightarrow [d] \)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
- \text{son} \\
+ \text{cont} \\
- \text{voiced} \\
+ \text{ant} \\
- \text{hi} \\
+ \text{dist}
\end{array}
\]

\[\rightarrow \begin{array}{c}
+ \text{voiced} \\
- \text{dist}
\end{array}\]

One example from \( O \) is presented here:

\( \theta\text{el\d}} \) "ice"

\( [\theta] \rightarrow [d] \)

\( \text{d\text{el\d}} \)

In the last four cases of consonant change, \( [\theta] \), a phoneme that does not exist in either of the native languages of the informants, is changed to another phoneme that shares some phonetic features with it.

\[ (5e) \ [\theta] \rightarrow [t'] \]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
- \text{son} \\
+ \text{cont} \\
- \text{voiced} \\
+ \text{ant} \\
- \text{hi} \\
- \text{pharyngealized} \\
+ \text{dist}
\end{array}
\]

\[\rightarrow \begin{array}{c}
- \text{cont} \\
- \text{dist} \\
+ \text{pharyngealized}
\end{array}\]

Again, \( O \) contributes this example:

\( \text{i\theta\text{nu\d}} \) "twelve"

\( [\theta] \rightarrow [t'] \)

\( \text{i\text{nu\d}} \)

This change could be due to the influence of some Arabic dialects that produce both pronunciations of the above word.
(6a) $[\delta] \rightarrow [d]$

\[
\begin{array}{c}
- \text{son} \\
+ \text{cont} \\
+ \text{voiced} \\
+ \text{ant} \\
+ \text{dist}
\end{array} 
\rightarrow \begin{array}{c}
- \text{cont} \\
- \text{dist}
\end{array}
\]

This example is provided by B:

\[\text{hæði} \quad "\text{this}"\]

$[\delta] \rightarrow [d]$

\[\text{hæði}\]

$[\delta]$, which does not exist in Kannada is changed to $[d]$--a Kannada phoneme.

(6b) $[\delta'] \rightarrow [d']$

\[
\begin{array}{c}
- \text{son} \\
+ \text{cont} \\
+ \text{voiced} \\
+ \text{ant} \\
+ \text{dist}
\end{array} 
\rightarrow \begin{array}{c}
- \text{cont} \\
- \text{dist}
\end{array}
\]

B produces this example here:

\[\delta'\text{arb} \quad "\text{hitting}"\]

$[\delta'] \rightarrow [d']$

\[d'\text{arb}\]

The second pronunciation is used in Standard Arabic and some Arabic dialects.
(6c) $[\delta'] \rightarrow [d]$

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[- son} \\
+ \text{cont} \\
+ \text{voiced} \\
+ \text{ant} \\
+ \text{pharyngealized} \\
+ \text{dist} \\
\end{array} --\rightarrow \begin{array}{c}
\text{[- cont} \\
\text{- dist} \\
\text{- pharyngealized} \\
\end{array}
\]

O presents this lone example:

Riyadh

[\delta'] \rightarrow [d]

Rijad

Pharyngealized phonemes are changed to non-pharyngealized ones that are phonetically similar to them.

(7a) $[s] \rightarrow [\text{"}]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[- son} \\
+ \text{cont} \\
\text{- voiced} \\
+ \text{ant} \\
\text{- hi} \\
\text{- dist} \\
\end{array} --\rightarrow \begin{array}{c}
\text{- ant} \\
\text{+ dist} \\
\text{+ hi} \\
\end{array}
\]

One example is presented by Bas:

msiktu "I caught it"

[s] \rightarrow [\text{"}]

mjiktu

---

10 The Capital City of Saudi Arabia.
(7b) $[s] \rightarrow [z]$

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{son} \\
\text{cont} \\
\text{voiced} \\
\text{ant} \\
\text{hi} \\
\text{dist}
\end{array}
\quad \rightarrow \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{voiced} \\
\text{ant} \\
\text{hi} \\
\text{dist}
\end{array}
\]

Q produces this example:

\text{síkkjín} \quad "\text{kknife}\"

$[s] \rightarrow [z]$

\text{zikkin}

(7c) $[s'] \rightarrow [s]$

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{son} \\
\text{cont} \\
\text{voiced} \\
\text{ant} \\
\text{hi} \\
\text{pharyngealized} \\
\text{dist}
\end{array}
\quad \rightarrow \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{ant} \\
\text{pharyngealized} \\
\text{dist}
\end{array}
\]

The example here is presented by Bas:

\text{s'væňh} \quad "\text{morning}\"

$[s'] \rightarrow [s]$

\text{svæňh}

The pharyngealized sound is simplified to its non-pharyngealized counterpart.
(8a) \([z] \rightarrow [s]\)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
- \text{son} \\
+ \text{cont} \\
+ \text{voiced} \\
+ \text{ant} \\
- \text{hi} \\
- \text{dist}
\end{array}
\rightarrow \begin{array}{c}
- \text{voiced}
\end{array}
\]

Our instance here is by Bas:

\text{\(xubz\)} "bread"

\([z] \rightarrow [s]\)

\text{\(kubus\)}

(8b) \([z] \rightarrow [ʒ]\)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
- \text{son} \\
+ \text{cont} \\
- \text{voiced} \\
+ \text{ant} \\
- \text{hi} \\
- \text{dist}
\end{array}
\rightarrow \begin{array}{c}
- \text{ant} \\
+ \text{hi} \\
+ \text{dist}
\end{array}
\]

Here is another example produced by Bas:

\text{\(wæzn\)} "weight"

\([z] \rightarrow [ʒ]\)

\text{\(wæzn\)}

\([z]\) is rarely used in Kannada because it exists only in loanwords. Therefore, it is changed here to its voiceless counterpart \([s]\) or to \([ʒ]\).
(8c) $[z] \rightarrow [ðʒ]$

$$\begin{align*}
&\begin{array}{c}
- \text{son} \\
+ \text{cont} \\
- \text{voiced} \\
+ \text{ant} \\
- \text{hi} \\
- \text{delayed release} \\
- \text{dist}
\end{array} \\
\rightarrow &\begin{array}{c}
- \text{ant} \\
+ \text{delayed release} \\
+ \text{dist} \\
+ \text{hi}
\end{array}
\end{align*}$$

Bas also gives us this example:

$$\begin{align*}
\text{tra}n\text{zit} & \quad \text{"transit"} \\
\text{tr}a\text{n}z\text{it}
\end{align*}$$

$[z] \rightarrow [ðʒ]$

$$\text{tərəndʒit}$$

This is an English word for which some English native speakers have the second reading.

(9) $[ʃ] \rightarrow [s]$

$$\begin{align*}
&\begin{array}{c}
- \text{son} \\
+ \text{cont} \\
- \text{voiced} \\
- \text{ant} \\
+ \text{hi} \\
+ \text{dist}
\end{array} \\
\rightarrow &\begin{array}{c}
+ \text{ant} \\
- \text{dist} \\
- \text{hi}
\end{array}
\end{align*}$$

A presents here one of his few examples:

$$\begin{align*}
\text{ʃɛdʒər} & \quad \text{"trees"} \\
\text{sɛdʒər}
\end{align*}$$

$[ʃ] \rightarrow [s]$

Dravidian speakers do this often, having only $[s]$. 

44
(10) \([k] \rightarrow [g]\)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
- \text{son} \\
- \text{cont} \\
- \text{voiced} \\
- \text{ant} \\
+ \text{hi} \\
+ \text{dist}
\end{array}
\rightarrow \begin{array}{c}
+ \text{voiced}
\end{array}
\]

An example is presented here by Q:

\(\text{m}\text{n}k\text{i} \quad \text{"monkey"}\)

[k] \rightarrow [g]

\(\text{m}\text{n}g\text{i}\)

(11) \([g] \rightarrow [k]\)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
- \text{son} \\
- \text{cont} \\
+ \text{voiced} \\
- \text{ant} \\
+ \text{hi} \\
+ \text{dist}
\end{array}
\rightarrow \begin{array}{c}
- \text{voiced}
\end{array}
\]

This is from H:

\(\text{g}\text{=}\text{bl} \quad \text{"before"}\)

[g] \rightarrow [k]

\(\text{k}\text{=}\text{bl}\)
(12) \([\gamma] \rightarrow [g]\)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
- \text{son} \\
+ \text{cont} \\
+ \text{voiced} \\
- \text{ant} \\
+ \text{hi} \\
+ \text{dist}
\end{array}
\]

\[\rightarrow \begin{array}{c}
- \text{cont}
\end{array}\]

Here is an example by O:

\[s'\gamma\text{\textbar}r\] "small"

\[\gamma \rightarrow [g]\]

\[\text{se\textbar}g\text{\textbar}r\]

(13a) \([x] \rightarrow [k]\)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
- \text{son} \\
+ \text{cont} \\
- \text{voiced} \\
- \text{ant} \\
+ \text{hi} \\
+ \text{dist}
\end{array}
\]

\[\rightarrow \begin{array}{c}
- \text{cont}
\end{array}\]

B & H share this example:

\[\text{x\textbar\textbar}m\text{\textbar}s\text{\textbar}s\text{\textbar}e\] "five"

\[\text{x} \rightarrow [k]\]

\[\text{k\textbar\textbar}m\text{\textbar}s\text{\textbar}s\text{\textbar}e\]
(13b) \([x] \rightarrow [g]\)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
- \text{son} \\
+ \text{cont} \\
- \text{voiced} \\
- \text{ant} \\
+ \text{hi} \\
+ \text{dist}
\end{array} \quad \rightarrow \quad \begin{array}{c}
- \text{cont} \\
+ \text{voiced}
\end{array}
\]

One example by \(W\) occurs here:

\(\text{xubz} \quad \text{"bread"}\)

\([x] \rightarrow [g]\)

\(\text{gubus}\)

(13c) \([x] \rightarrow [\gamma]\)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
- \text{son} \\
+ \text{cont} \\
- \text{voiced} \\
- \text{ant} \\
+ \text{hi} \\
+ \text{dist}
\end{array} \quad \rightarrow \quad [ + \text{voiced} ]
\]

Q gives us the example here:

\(\text{xof} \quad \text{"fear"}\)

\([x] \rightarrow [\gamma]\)

\(\gamma\text{of}\)
(13d) \([x] \rightarrow [h]\)

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
- & \text{son} \\
+ & \text{cont} \\
- & \text{voiced} \\
- & \text{ant} \\
+ & \text{hi} \\
- & \text{spread} \\
+ & \text{dist}
\end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
- & \text{cons} \\
+ & \text{spread} \\
- & \text{hi}
\end{bmatrix}
\]

O provides this example:

\[\text{xems}\text{e} \quad \text{"five"}\]

\([x] \rightarrow [h]\)

\[\text{hems}\text{e}\]

(13e) \([x] \rightarrow [u]\)

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
- & \text{son} \\
+ & \text{cont} \\
- & \text{voiced} \\
- & \text{ant} \\
+ & \text{hi} \\
+ & \text{dist}
\end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
+ & \text{voiced} \\
- & \text{dist} \\
- & \text{hi}
\end{bmatrix}
\]

And here is another example by O:

\[\text{xems}\text{e} \quad \text{"five"}\]

\([x] \rightarrow [u]\)

\[\text{hems}\text{e}\]

In the previous five changes, \([x]\), a non-Dra[vidian phoneme is changed to a sound that shares some phonetic features with it.
(14a) \([h] \rightarrow [h]\)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{- son} \\
\text{+ cont} \\
\text{- voiced} \\
\text{- ant} \\
\text{- hi} \\
\text{+ low} \\
\text{- spread} \\
\text{- dist}
\end{array}
\rightarrow
\begin{array}{c}
\text{- cons} \\
\text{+ spread} \\
\text{- low} \\
\text{- back}
\end{array}
\]

A has this example:

\textbf{bēhr} \quad "sea"

\[h] \rightarrow [h]

\textbf{bēher}

(14b) \([h] \rightarrow [?]\)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{- son} \\
\text{+ cont} \\
\text{- voiced} \\
\text{- ant} \\
\text{- hi} \\
\text{- spread} \\
\text{- dist}
\end{array}
\rightarrow [\text{- cont}]
\]

The example comes from H:

\textit{Haditha} \quad "Haditha"

\[h] \rightarrow [?]

\textbf{?ēdīsē}"
(14c) $[\text{ḥ}] \rightarrow [x]$

\[
\begin{array}{c}
- \text{son} \\
+ \text{cont} \\
- \text{voiced} \\
- \text{ant} \\
- \text{hi} \\
- \text{spread} \\
- \text{dist}
\end{array}
\quad \rightarrow \quad
\begin{array}{c}
+ \text{dist} \\
\quad \quad + \text{hi}
\end{array}
\]

There is one instance by H here:

\text{məṅbēς} \quad "clasp"

$[\text{ḥ}] \rightarrow [x]$

\text{məṅbēς}

In the last three examples, the phoneme $[\text{ḥ}]$, which does not exist in the sound system of the Dravidian languages, is changed to some other sound.

(15) $[\text{ʕ}] \rightarrow [ʔ]$

\[
\begin{array}{c}
- \text{son} \\
+ \text{cont} \\
+ \text{voiced} \\
- \text{ant} \\
- \text{hi} \\
- \text{spread} \\
- \text{dist}
\end{array}
\quad \rightarrow \quad
\begin{array}{c}
- \text{cont} \\
\quad \quad - \text{voiced}
\end{array}
\]

B presents this example:

\text{ḥjāel} \quad "children"

$[\text{ʕ}] \rightarrow [ʔ]$

\text{ʔəjāel}

Dravidian languages do not contain the phoneme $[\text{ʕ}]$. Therefore, it is replaced by the glottal stop $[ʔ]$. 
(16) [t] → [l]

```
+ son  
+ cont  
+ voiced  
+ ant  
- hi  
+ lateral  
+ velarized  
- back  

--> [ - velarized ]
```

Only one occurrence of this item is provided by W:

\[ wəṭṭah \]

"I swear by God"

[\[t\] → [\[l\]]

\[ wəlla \]

(17a) [\[dʒ\]] → [\[ʒ\]]

```
- son  
- cont  
+ voiced  
- ant  
+ hi  
+ delayed release  
- dist  

--> [ - delayed release  
+ cont]
```

This is an example by Q:

\[ jədʒər \]

"trees"

[\[dʒ\] → [\[ʒ\]]

\[ jəʒər \]

This kind of change is predictable because [\[ʒ\]] is an allophone of the phoneme [\[dʒ\]] in some Arabic dialect.
(17b) \([\text{d3}] \rightarrow [z]\)

\[
\begin{array}{l}
- \text{son} \\
- \text{cont} \\
+ \text{voiced} \\
- \text{ant} \\
+ \text{hi} \\
+ \text{delayed release} \\
- \text{dist}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
+ \text{ant} \\
- \text{delayed release} \\
+ \text{cont} \\
- \text{hi}
\end{array}
\]

And this example is by Bas:

\[\theta\text{ll}\text{d}_{\text{z}}\] "ice"

\([\text{d3}] \rightarrow [z]\)

\[\text{t} \text{elz}\]

\([z]\) occurs only in loan words in Kannada. Since the above example is an Arabic word, the speaker might have dealt with it as a loanword that contained the \([z]\) phoneme.

(17c) \([\text{d3}] \rightarrow [j]\)

\[
\begin{array}{l}
- \text{son} \\
- \text{cont} \\
+ \text{voiced} \\
- \text{ant} \\
+ \text{hi} \\
+ \text{delayed release} \\
- \text{dist}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
- \text{delayed release} \\
+ \text{dist}
\end{array}
\]

The final example is also by Bas:

\[\theta\text{ll}\text{lej}_\text{ae}\] "refrigerator"

\([\text{d3}] \rightarrow [j]\)

\[\text{t} \text{el} \text{lej}_\text{ae}\]

2.2. Insertion. In many instances, the informants inserted a vowel between two consonants to break up a consonant
cluster that was hard to produce. The examples are as follows:

(1) Insertion of [ʊ]
The first example we have for this vowel insertion comes from B in:

\[ \text{hrub} \quad \text{"running away"} \]

**INSERTION RULE**

\[ \text{h} + \text{r} + \text{ub} \]

Another example is produced by Bas:

\[ \text{xubz} \quad \text{"bread"} \]

**INSERTION RULE**

\[ \text{k} + \text{ubus} \]

(2) Insertion of [ə]
There are five examples of this process. The first one comes from A:

\[ \text{bəhr} \quad \text{"sea"} \]

**INSERTION RULE**

\[ \text{b} + \text{ə} + \text{hr} \]

The second instance is by Bas:

\[ \text{nsit} \quad \text{"I forgot"} \]

**INSERTION RULE**

\[ \text{n} + \text{s} + \text{it} \]

A third example is also presented by Bas:

\[ \text{trænzit} \quad \text{"transit"} \]

**INSERTION RULE**

\[ \text{t} + \text{ræ} + \text{nzit} \]
The fourth example is again produced by Bas:

\[ \text{wəzəh} \quad \text{"face"} \]

**INSERTION RULE**

\[ \text{wəzəh} \]

A final example is from W:

\[ \text{juyl} \quad \text{"work"} \]

**INSERTION RULE**

\[ \text{juəl} \]

(3) Insertion of [I]

Bas produces the first example:

\[ \text{algraitæt} \quad \text{"Gurayat"}^{11} \]

**INSERTION RULE**

\[ \text{algraitæt} \]

Another example is presented by W:

\[ \text{ljæm} \quad \text{"welding"} \]

**INSERTION RULE**

\[ \text{ljæm} \]

A final example comes from H:

\[ \text{milh} \quad \text{"salt"} \]

**INSERTION RULE**

\[ \text{milh} \]

2.3. **Deletion.** There were some examples of deletion produced by the informants as follows:

(1) Deletion of the definite article [al] or [Il] or [l]:

---

11 A City in Northwestern Saudi Arabia in which the subjects work and live.
We have two instances here. The first one is by Bas:

\[ \text{Ilnadi9a} \quad \text{"Haditha"} \]

DELETION RULE

\[ \text{Ilnadi} \]

The second example is by O:

\[ \text{Il\textsc{\char27}a} \quad \text{"night"} \]

DELETION RULE

\[ \text{isa} \]

(2) Deletion of \([\wedge]\)

Here we have one example by W:

\[ \text{\textsc{\char30}}\text{\textsc{\char30}}\text{\textsc{\char30}}\text{\textsc{\char30}} \quad \text{"Arabic"} \]

DELETION RULE

\[ \text{arbi} \]

(3) Deletion of word-final sounds

The first example is from Bas:

\[ \text{moxaele} \quad \text{"violation"} \]

DELETION RULE

\[ \text{moxa} \]

And the last example is by W:

\[ \text{ma} \text{\textsc{\char27}lum} \quad \text{"known"} \]

DELETION RULE

\[ \text{ma} \]

2.4. Classification of phonological changes

Having seen this number of individual errors in the informants’ speech, we can now try to classify these errors
according to three criteria: native language of the informant, length of stay in the SL environment, and religion (Muslim vs. Non-Muslim).

2.4.1. Classification according to native language

Kannada speakers: Bas and B
Total of errors in vowel production: 11
Total of errors in consonant production: 18

Tamil speakers: O and H
Total of errors in vowel production: 14
Total of errors in consonant production: 27

Malayalam speakers: A, Q, and W
Total of errors in vowel production: 11
Total of errors in consonant production: 16

Conclusion: Malayalam speakers produced the least number of phonological errors, followed by Kannada speakers. Tamil speakers, on the other hand made the most errors.

2.4.2. Classification according to length of stay

Informants who spent between three and six years in the SL environment: O, Bas, and W
Total of errors in vowel production: 15
Total of errors in consonant production: 32

Informants who spent between thirteen and fourteen years in
the SL environment: H, A, Q, and B
Total of errors in vowel production: 14
Total of errors in consonant production: 20

Conclusion: The informants who spent more time in the second language environment made less errors.

2.4.3. Classification according to religion

Muslims: H, O, A, and Q
Total of errors in vowel production: 17
Total of errors in consonant production: 29

Non-Muslims: Bas, B, and W
Total of errors in vowel production: 15
Total of errors in consonant production: 22

Conclusion: The non-Muslim informants made less phonological errors than the Muslim informants. Since Muslim speakers are presumed to be more familiar with Arabic using it to fulfill their religious duties, this result entails that religion is not a crucial factor in acquiring a second language.

2.5. Generalizations Based on our previous observations, several generalizations can be made regarding the causes of the phonological changes made by the informants.

1. The voiceless dental fricative [θ] is one of the difficult sounds to produce for the informants; it is
often substituted by other neighboring sounds such as [t, s, d, t', j].

2. Likewise, the voiced dental fricative [ð] is usually replaced by [d].

3. Pharyngealization is often lost; e.g., [t'] → [t].

4. The voiced alveolar fricative [z] is not an original phoneme in Hindi and some Dravidian languages. Therefore, it is sometimes replaced by [s, ʂ, ʒ].

5. The voiceless uvular fricative [x] is often replaced by other phonemes that are usually adjacent to its place of articulation such as [k, ɣ, ŋ, ɡ].

6. The voiceless pharyngeal fricative [h] is often replaced by [h, ?, x].

7. The voiced pharyngeal fricative [ʕ] is often replaced by a glottal stop [ʔ].

8. A vowel is often inserted between two consonants to break up a consonant cluster such as [hr], [bz], [hr], [ns], [tr], [ɕh], [ɣl], [gr], and [lh].

9. The definite article in all its variations ([al], [ɪl], and [ɪ]) is often deleted due to its absence in the informants' native languages.

10. Word-final sounds are sometimes deleted especially if the word is too long.

11. The syllable structure is sometimes affected by insertion and deletion processes.

12. No significant variations have been noted in stress patterns produced by the informants. Therefore, it is assumed that stress operates as in Saudi Arabic.
3.1. Introduction

If a speaker wishes to express an amount of complex information, he is faced with the "linearization problem", that of arranging the information in temporal order. Within the utterance, options have to be taken as to which item to place in utterance-initial position, utterance-second position, utterance-final position, etc. Utterances also have to be placed in temporal order with respect to each other. There is a distinction between the processes involved in the genesis of the ideas underlying speech (conceptualizing) and the processes involved in the choice of linguistic forms for their expression (formulating). The development of communicative intentions, selection of information from the speaker's knowledge, and linearization of this information, belong to the former.

In a given language, the linguistic devices available to indicate the thematic structure of an utterance, and the relative freedom of use of these devices, are by definition specific to that language. These phenomena constitute a large part of the analytic problem the learner is faced with in acquiring a specific language, and have to be inferred from the input.
There are three devices for signaling the thematic structure of utterances: word order, anaphoric linkage, and stress/intonation.

**Word order:** Not all rules are created equal. Even if two languages share similar topicalization rules or have comparable pronoun systems, this does not mean that their speakers attach the same weight to these phenomena in production and comprehension. Semantic factors can lead speakers of each language to use a rule.

**Anaphoric linkage:** Once a referent has been introduced into a discourse by a speaker,\(^{12}\) it may be taken up again in subsequent utterances by a more economical marker, for example a noun preceded by a definite article, a pronoun, or no form at all.

**Stress/intonation:** This device can, in some languages, serve to indicate which elements in an utterance are more prominent, or noteworthy.\(^ {13}\)

If we consider the learner's early utterances, we notice that they are, in some intuitive sense, syntactically elementary, for example, a two-word utterance will be produced using either general principles such as going from given to new information, or grammatical devices

---

\(^{12}\) A typical example is an indefinite NP.

\(^{13}\) Typically, those elements represent new information.
used for structuring information in SL utterances.\textsuperscript{14} Whatever the semantic field, the learner's limited vocabulary will often not allow him to get his message across by precise lexical means. Consequently, he has to resort to what is termed "lexical gap fillers".

The size of the vocabulary and the degree of differentiation is clearly related to the area in which language contact takes place, and its relevance to the speaker. The content of language contact situations and their relevance to the learner shape the content of the lexicon. The areas "work", "home", and "social relations" seem to be the most prominent fields where everyday language contact takes place in a continuous manner.

3.2. Syntactic analysis

In this chapter, I will examine three syntactic problems which occur in structures produced by the subjects very frequently comparing them to the corresponding native speaker's structures.

The first structure involves the insertion of a copula between the external argument of the VP and the VP itself. This copula, the word \textit{fi},\textsuperscript{15} is inserted unnecessarily even in very simple sentences. The use of \textit{fi} as a copula is so developed that one must be tempted to consider two

\textsuperscript{14} These two possibilities are not mutually exclusive.

\textsuperscript{15} The word \textit{fi} literally means existential there is/are.
implications that are evident from the examples given below:

- Linguistic tension exists between the target language, Saudi Arabic which has no existential/attributive copula in the present tense, and the assumed substrate languages (Urdu, etc.) which do.
- Given that the copula is frequently used with verbal forms, are those forms really perceived as actually having true verbal force? (Smart 1990: 101).

The second structure involves the process of fronting the internal argument of the VP to the [Spec, IP] position. This is very common among most of the subjects and other speakers of this variety of Arabic.

The third syntactic problem involves agreement. It is usually difficult for the speakers to produce the right set of agreement features that connects the verb to the subject.

3.2.1. The copula insertion structure

This type of insertion is present in a variety of structures. We examine a few of them here. The first structure is the negated sentence. Consider (1a) produced by B:
(1a) ana ma fi t'Affi
    I not there is turn off-imperative
    "I did not turn off..."

The TL version of (1a) is (1b):

(1b) ana ma t'Affet

The copula fi shows up in (1a) although it does not exist at all in (1b). Another thing that is noteworthy is the empty position of the internal argument of the VP. Despite the fact that the verb "turn off" takes two arguments, only the external argument, i.e. the subject of the sentence "I", is there. The direct object of the verb is missing. My interpretation is that the person supplying this example implied turning off the recorder because that is what the context was about.

Our next example (2a) shows a simple sentence composed of a subject, a verb, and an adverbial adjunct. This example is taken from the input by the speaker Bas:

(2a) ana fi fɔgl hnaːk
    I there is work there
    "I work there"

The TL version of (2a) is (2b):

(2b) ana aʃtɛyɪ hnaːk

The insertion of the copula in (2a) provokes the introduction of a NP instead of a VP.
The third type of sentences which the insertion of the copula affects is the sentences that contain genitive phrases. The following example (3a), which is produced by H illustrates this point:

(3a) беълд ана фи мадрас
    town I there is Madras
   "My (home) town is Madras"

The TL version of (3a) is (3b):

(3b) беълди мадрас

First of all, the genitive phrase my town in (3a) is expressed as town I. As a result, the genitive phrase is divided structurally into two separated DP's instead of being one DP.

Secondly, although Arabic allows verbless (equational) sentences, the input of the speakers contained such sentences as (3a) with a copula. However, the I' node is kept even in verbless sentences because it contains inflectional information such as tense, person, gender, and number.

Our next speaker, W, also produces sentences of this type. (4a) illustrates:

(4a) ана фи мекаэник
    I there is mechanic
   "I am a mechanic"

The TL version of (4a) is (4b):
(4b) *ana mikeniki*

The lack of the copula in Arabic may account for the use of *fi* in the place of the copula in the English equivalent. As in previous examples, the copula intervenes between the external argument of the sentence and its predicate (complement).

(5a) is another example from W about *fi* in simple subject-verb sentences:

(5a) *ana fi nesit*

I there is forgot-I

"I forgot"

The native speaker's version of (5a) is (5b):

(5b) *nesit*

The overuse of the *fi*-insertion structure extends to the simplest, most basic types of sentences. In this example, *fi* is inserted between the emphatic first external argument of the VP and the VP itself. As is clear from (5b), the copula is excessive and does not exist in the TL structure.

Our last example, (6a), comes from the speaker Q:

(6a) *ana fi xof*

I there is fear

"I am afraid"

---

16 Compare (4a) and (4b).
The TL version of (6a) is (6b):

(6b) ana xæjif

As we saw in (2a), the insertion of the copula immediately after the external argument of the sentence (the subject) causes the emergence of the wrong complement. The TL version, (6b), contains that appropriate DP complement.

To sum up, in all the above cases the copula is inserted between the external argument and the VP. In some cases, as in (2) and (6), this process has the extra effect of switching the complement of the IP from a VP to a DP.

**Conclusion:** Since the informants' native languages (Tamil, Kannada, and Malayalam) generally require a copula between the subject and object, we can justify the overuse of fi as a copula in the speakers' pidgin. Furthermore, Hindi/Urdu, the lingua franca for our informants, also requires a copula. The speakers use fi in this position because they feel that there is a gap between the subject and object which needs to be filled.

3.2.2. Fronting the VP-internal argument (Preposing)

A lot of the speakers produce sentences in which the VP-internal argument is topicalized or moved up to the beginning of the sentence. Examples of this phenomenon are taken from several speakers as will be seen below.

Our first example (7a) comes from O:
(7a) sәmәk әna ғi jimsәk
   fish  I there is catch-3rd person masculine singular
   "I catch fish"

The TL versions of (7a) is (7b):

(7b) әna аmsәk sәmәк

As is clear from this example, the VP-internal argument (the direct object) is fronted and placed prior to the external argument (the subject). In addition, notice that the copula that we talked about earlier shows up here again in the same position it usually occupies, i.e. between the external argument and the VP.

(8a) is our next example from H:

(8a) tәйәроә jәrkәb    min bombe
     plane ride-3rd person masculine singular from Bombay
     "I took the plane from Bombay"

The tree diagram for (8a) is (8b):
The equivalent TL version of (8a) is (8c):

(8c) *rkibt ītt'arjorēh min bombe*

And the D-structure for this TL version is (8d):
As in the previous example, the VP-internal argument is moved ahead of the external argument. The potential reason behind this NP-movement is the freedom Arabic allows in word order. However, this flexibility seems to be used in an exaggerated manner by some learners of Arabic. Another cause comes from first language interference since the native languages of the informants are verb-final.
More examples of this type of movement are illustrated in (9a) and (10a) below. (9a) comes from W and (10a) from Q.

(9a) zet awwal fi Juf

oil first there is see-imperative, masculine singular
"I see (check) the oil first"

The TL versions of (9a) is (9b):

(9b) awwal ajuf rzzet

Now consider (10):

(10a) boba ana 3'arb

dad I hit-3rd person masculine singular
"Dad hit me"
Now look at the equivalent native sentences:

(10c) ḥāḥā ḍ'vrēbī
In this last example, the VP-internal argument should be, as in (10c), a cliticized form attached to the verb itself. What the speaker did instead was use the non-clitic pronominal form of the direct object and isolate it from and put it ahead of the verb.

**Conclusion:** The canonical word order of the informants' native languages (Tamil, Kannada, and Malayalam) is generally SOV. All these languages require verb-final sentences. This fact explains the informants' tendency to front the object before the verb in their version of Arabic. In addition, the flexibility of word order in Arabic could cause difficulties for some learners.
3.2.3. Agreement problems

Some of the examples we are considering here contain agreement problems. These problems usually involve a mismatch between the subject and the verb. Only rarely do the speakers manage to use the appropriate complex agreement features of Arabic.

Arabic has one of the most sophisticated agreement systems among the world's languages. The verb in Arabic should agree with the subject in number, gender, and person. In addition, the verb form bears the tense, and a cliticized subject may be attached to it. The problems facing our speakers vary from having the suitable set of agreement features for the verb to getting the correct tense, etc. Our first example, (11a), comes from Bas:

(11a) ana jādī
     "I came"

The sentence (11a) violates person agreement. The verb is inflected for third person despite the subject's being first person. In addition, the speaker uses present tense although the context requires past tense. To fully recognize these remarks, take a look at the same sentence produced by a native speaker of SA using the appropriate tense and agreement features. Here is (11b):

(11b) ana qāit
The reason for having two DP's as external arguments is that the first one, [ana], is emphatic; the actual subject of the sentence is the clitic [-t] that is attached at the end of the verb.

Our next example is from B. It was presented earlier as (1). It is repeated here as (12) for convenience.

(12) ana ma fi t'Affi
    I not there is turn off-imperative
    "I did not turn off..."

The agreement features which are supplied incorrectly here are tense and person. Also, the clitic subject is not attached to the verb.

The next example is also repeated. It was presented initially as (7). It is reproduced here as (13).

(13) səmək ana fi jimsik
    fish I there is catch-3rd person masculine singular
    "I catch fish"

It is clear that the verb does not agree with the subject in person. The verb is inflected for third person whereas the subject is first person.

The next example is taken from the data solicited from Bas. He produced the following sentence (14a):
The tree structure of (14a) is (14b):

Again, if we look carefully at the agreement features in (14b), we can see that there is a gender agreement problem. The verb is inflected for third person masculine whereas the subject is third person feminine. Furthermore, the tense used by the speaker is present rather than past as the context requires. Now consider the equivalent sentence produced by a native speaker of SA:
(14c) ʤeṯ ɪljom ırṣəle

And notice also the tree structure of (14c):

(14d)

```
IP
  /
 /  \
I'   DP
  /
 /  \
I    VP ںṣəle
     /
[3p] [+sg] V'  AdvP
     /
 [+fem] V  ḳəj
     /
      ḡeṯ
```

Our last example about agreement problems comes from H. It was introduced initially as (8a) and is repeated here as (15).

(15) ʧəمجəh jɪrkəb  min ḳəmbe

plane  ride-3rd person masculine singular from Bombay

"I took the plane from Bombay"
As before, the tense used is present but the one that fits the context is past. Moreover, the verb is inflected for third person instead of first person.

**Conclusion:** It is difficult for the informants to learn the sophisticated inflection system of Arabic which is a morphologically rich language. One of the strategies used by the informants is the simplification of the agreement requirements between the subject and verb. Arabic requires agreement in person, number, and gender. However, the informants use only one verb form: the third person masculine singular in the present tense with almost any kind of subject because it is the least marked form.

### 3.2.4. Generalizations

Having seen the discussion above, the following observations can be made:

1. The insertion of the copula, *fi*, in the subjects' pidgin is found throughout their inventory of syntactic structures. The structures of which we have examples include:

   a. sentences with negation structures,
   b. sentences with a subject, verb, and adverbial adjunct,
   c. sentences with genitive phrases,
   d. equational sentences, and
   e. sentences with simple structures (subject and verb).
2. The placement of the object ahead of the verb is due to interference from the informants' first languages (Tamil, Kannada, and Malayalam) whose canonical word order is generally SOV. Furthermore, the diversified word orders in Arabic could cause confusion for learners.

3. Arabic has a rich morphological system which requires agreement between the subject and the verb in person, number, and gender. In order to simplify things, the informants use one verb form with a fixed set of agreement features, namely, the third person masculine singular form.

3.3. Morphological analysis

In this section I present an extensive morphological account of the Saudi Arabic Pidgin of the informants. The description will include bound forms as well as free forms, verb types, inflectional affixes, etc. Before we start this morphological survey, I would like to point out that the method of analysis I am using is, to a great extent, based on the model of organization presented in Smart (1990).

3.3.1. Bound forms: Noun affixes

3.3.1.1. Definite article. The definite article is generally found only in formulaic utterances such as [allhamdulillah] "thank God" and in adverbial expressions that

78
incorporate it such as [allhin] "now." Otherwise, the definite article is deleted in most cases. This can be due to the lack of the definite article in the informants' native tongues.

3.3.1.2. Feminine ending. This suffix takes several forms in Arabic which are [-ə, -əh, -ʌ]. Nevertheless, it is preserved in all its forms in the subjects' speech, e.g. [mərə] "one time."

3.3.1.3. Feminine pluralizing suffix [-əət]. A number of examples in the data, e.g. [issəəət] "the gauges", prove that this suffix is correctly used by the speakers.

3.3.1.4. Masculine pluralizing suffix [-ɪn]. No examples of this ending are available in the data. However, I would assume one of two possibilities. The first and more predictable one is the correct usage by the subjects, based on their performance in the previous item; the second one is using a numeral plus the singular form of the noun.

3.3.1.5. Dual suffix [-en]. The informants supplied the correct form productively in all the occurrences of this ending. For example, they produced [jomen] "two days" and [jəhren] "two months" instead of the numeral plus the singular form of the noun.

3.3.1.6. Broken plural. This method of noun pluralization, achieved by modification of the internal structure of the
word with prefixes and suffixes in some cases, can be applied by convention to Arabic nouns of any signification (Smart 1990: 93). All forms in the data are correctly provided by the speakers. Examples are: [awlæed] "children" and [mawæsir] "pipes."

3.3.2. Other bound forms

3.3.2.1. Suffix pronouns. These Arabic pronouns can be attached to nouns (indicating possession), verbs (functioning as subjects or objects), prepositions (as objects), and other particles. All the suffix pronouns supplied by the informants are correct. Examples include [kullu] "all of it," [məṣək] "with you," and [was'əlna] "we arrived."

3.3.2.2. Verb affixes. These are the forms added on the verb to indicate the subject. No examples are available from the data in this category. However, we have seen before that the third person singular masculine form in the present tense is dominantly used with any kind of subject in the informants' pidgin. In addition, there are two occurrences of the first person plural form in the present tense in the data. They are [nbi'1] "we sell" and [ndʒibû] "we bring it."

3.3.3. Free forms

3.3.3.1. Simple nouns. The nouns produced by our informants take the form they have in the target language.

80
3.3.3.2. **Compound nouns.** This term refers to NP's that consist of more than one noun as in the English NP "car repair." Compound nouns are common in Arabic; nouns that comprise a compound noun are put together by means of a process called "Idhafa إضافة." Many examples are found in the data that represent idhafa structures, e.g. [moja surb] "drinking water" and [jom ılsabt] "Saturday." On the other hand, some examples show English influence on switching the order of the two nouns in the idhafa structure. An example of that is [adise  optargok] "Haditha Customs." The correct structure in Arabic for that is [ optargok ılmecdthé] جمرك الحديثة.

3.3.3.3. **Adjectives.** Adjectives in all forms of vernacular Arabic agree with their nouns in definiteness as well as in number and gender.\(^{17}\) When used descriptively, they follow the noun (Smart 1990: 95). In the data the definite article is not used on the noun nor on the adjective that modifies it. Moreover, adjectives retain the masculine singular form in most cases, e.g. [baled taeni] "another town" and [t'arjoreh ságir] "small plane."\(^{18}\) One example exists in the data where an adjective is replaced by a noun incorrectly. And another example shows an adjective preceding its noun. Only one form of comparative adjectives occurs in the data, namely [aktør] "more." This is no proof, however, that this formation is productive.

\(^{17}\) Agreement in definition is indicated by the prefixing of the definite article.

\(^{18}\) The nouns town and plane are feminine in Arabic.
3.3.3.4. Independent personal pronouns. Of the ten such pronouns in Saudi Arabic, only two occur in the data: [ana] انّهّ "I" and [huwwa] هوّه "he." The use of these pronouns is restricted to stating the subject of verbless equational sentences as in [ana 莹abdulqader] "I am Abdulqader," and optionally stating the subject of verbs, usually when some degree of emphasis is needed as in [huwwa ma jidzi] "he does not come." A common incorrect use of the independent personal pronouns is using them as possessive pronouns as in [bأ]دأد ana] "my town."

3.3.3.5. Demonstratives. In the Saudi Pidgin demonstratives are overused due to the influence of the speakers' first languages which use demonstratives to convey the force of a definite article. Overuse of demonstratives is also a well-known feature in pidgin development. The informants' input in the data shows a tendency to use the singular masculine form [hأدأ] هّنّ "this" as the usual form for all genders and numbers, with some occurrences of the singular feminine form, [hأدأ] هنيّ "this" in some cases as well.

3.3.3.6. Numerals. The number "one" is expressed by the Arabic word [wأدأد] واحد, which is used as a general numeral for both genders. Positionally, it is more frequently preposed than postposed, e.g. [wأدأد sأ] "one year." For other numerals, the subjects used the number with the singular form of the noun for all numbers, although in Arabic the plural noun is used with numbers from three to ten. For example, the data included such examples as [tenen
wəlæd] "two boy" and [təlætə səfə] "three hour."

3.3.3.7. **Ordinals.** Only two forms of ordinals are used: [awwəl] "first" which is also used as an adverbial, and [tæn] "second."


3.3.3.9. **Negators.** [ma] "not" is the typical negation marker in the informants' speech. It mainly negates verbs as in [hʊwə ma jirə] "he does not come." It is also used prior to the copula to negate the whole sentence. The negator for nouns and adjectives is [məf] and its variations [məf], and [mo].

3.3.3.10. **Prepositions.** Prepositions are rarely used in this pidgin and are usually deleted. Few examples in the data include [fənd] "at," [mun] "from," and [məf] "with."

3.3.3.12. **Conjunctions.** Only two conjunctions are available from the data. The first one is [wə] "and" which is sometimes deleted where it should be used, especially when conjoining sentences. The other one is [lækn] "but" which is used to connect sentences and is borrowed from Arabic into some Dravidian languages.

3.3.4. **Verbs**

As Smart (1990: 98) notes, it is tempting to derive pidgin verbs from target language imperatives. The data contain some examples about this feature. For example, the imperative verb [ruh] "go" is used invariably in all kinds of contexts with different aspects. Moreover, the third person singular masculine imperfect form, e.g. [jimfi] "he walks", is another invariable form used with most subjects and aspects.

3.3.4.1. **The copula [fi].** The word [fi] is clearly derived from the Saudi Arabic existential exponent meaning "there is/are" in which sense it is also used in the subjects' speech. However, there are additional uses for [fi] in this pidgin; it is used as a copula in a number of structures as we saw earlier in this chapter.

3.3.4.2. **Tense and aspect markers.** Words such as [xələs'] "finished" and [bədən] "later" are frequently used to indicate tense and/or aspect especially because the verbs produced by the speakers usually lack the appropriate
aspect and tense inflectional affixes.

3.3.4.3. Passives. Passives are often composed of the word [fi] plus a noun or an adjective such as [fi ma]mum] "it is known."
CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION

4.1. Introduction

This has been a cross-sectional study. Its characteristics are (1) having a number of speakers, (2) the data are collected in one session, (3) descriptive detail, and (4) analysis of data.

In this chapter, I conclude this study by providing my insights about the processes found in the data as well as other remarks about the subjects' performance in general. Let us start with phonology.

4.2. Phonology

As is surely the case with all pidgins used in contact with native speakers of the target language, there are really two phonological systems in play: that of the native speaker, who may possibly modify his normal pronunciation in order to ease intelligibility; and that of the pidgin speaker, whose success in accurately imitating the sounds of the target language may only be partial. This is perhaps particularly marked in Arabic-based pidgins and creoles as quite a few of the Arabic phonemes are notoriously difficult to produce and consequently much reduction takes place (Smart 1990: 86).

The most common phonological processes that were found
in the subjects' performance are mentioned in this section. It is worth mentioning that there are no certain environments in which these processes take place.

4.2.1. Voicing vs. Devoicing

In many instances, a voiceless sound gets voiced. This is clear where [s] is changed to [z], for instance. Other examples are: [k] → [g], [x] → [y], etc.

On the other hand, a voiced sound may get devoiced. Examples are: [z] → [s], [g] → [k], etc.

4.2.2. Continuancy vs. Non-continuancy

In most cases, continuants are changed to non-continuants. These are some examples: [θ] → [t], [ð] → [d], [γ] → [g], [x] → [k], etc.

In fewer cases, non-continuants are observed to have been changed to continuants. Examples are: [dʒ] → [ʒ] and [dʒ] → [z].

4.2.3. Distribution vs. Non-distribution

Many items in the data included the change from a distributed sound to a non-distributed one. Here is an example: [θ] → [s].
The reverse of the above case, i.e. distribution, has considerably fewer examples such as \([s] \rightarrow [j], [z] \rightarrow [3],\) and \([\mathbf{h}] \rightarrow [x].\)

### 4.2.4. Non-pharyngealization

Arabic contains a lot of pharyngealized phonemes which characterize it. One pharyngealized phoneme, \([d']\) ض, is among the unique sounds in the world languages. Pharyngealized sounds are often changed to non-pharyngealized ones by our speakers. Examples include: \([t'] \rightarrow [t]\) and \([s'] \rightarrow [s].\)

### 4.2.5. Raising vs. Lowering

Raising in consonants is not as significant as in vowels. Nevertheless, some instances of consonant raising are reported here:

\([\emptyset] \rightarrow [\mathbf{j}], [s] \rightarrow [\mathbf{j}], [z] \rightarrow [3],\) and \([\mathbf{h}] \rightarrow [x].\)

Examples of the less frequent consonant lowering are:

\([\mathbf{j}] \rightarrow [s], [x] \rightarrow [u],\) and \([\mathbf{f}3] \rightarrow [z].\)

### 4.2.6. Delayed Release vs. Non-delayed Release

There is only one affricate in Arabic, that is \([\mathbf{f}3].\) It alternates with the phoneme \([3]\) in free variation in a lot of Arabic dialects. However, in SA, \([\mathbf{f}3]\) is the unmarked phone, while \([3]\) is the marked one. Our speakers deal with
this lone affricate in different ways. Sometimes, they produce it correctly. In other cases, they change it into a non-affricate. In other words, its release is not delayed. Three affricate changes have been found in our data as follows: [d3] → [3], [d3] → [l], and [d3] → [z].

4.2.7. Vowel Insertion

A vowel is often inserted between two consonants to break up a consonant cluster such as [hr], [bz], [hr], [ns], [tr], [d3h], [yl], [gr], and [lh].

4.2.8. Deletion

The definite article in all its variations ([al], [Il], and [l]) is often deleted due to its absence in the informants' native languages. In addition, word-final sounds are sometimes deleted especially if the word is too long.

4.2.9. Stress

No significant variations have been noted in stress patterns produced by the informants. Therefore, it is assumed that stress operates as in Saudi Arabic.

4.2.10. Notes

1. From our findings about the consonantal substitutions
in the speakers' data, we can conclude that there are marked processes and unmarked ones. The markedness judgment I am using is drawn from the frequency of the process among the individuals who produced the data. The unmarked processes are devoicing, non-continuancy, non-distribution, non-pharyngealization, raising, and non-delayed release.

2. The sounds [p] and [v] are not Arabic phonemes, but they are used by the speakers in the pronunciation of English words.

4.3. Syntax

Interference is strong on the syntactic level, as it is on the phonological level. All the subjects in this study learned SA in real-life situations. They have not had any formal training or attended any language class. Their model of SA grammar is based on their native language and on generalizations made here and there to account for some constructions that do not occur in their native tongue.

The canonical word order of Saudi Arabic is generally considered to be SVO, with apparent vestiges of a VSO pattern showing up in subordination (Rutherford 1989: 169). These two canonical word orders in Arabic, SVO and VSO, are often violated in the speech of the subjects. Other word orders, e.g. OVS and OSV, are also reported in their sentences. Moreover, there is a lot of paraphrasing and circumlocution, and continuous attempts to restrict surface
structures to the smallest number possible (Daher 1988: 33).

Arabic is considered to be a VSO language. Although it exhibits a rather free word order, the basic (unmarked) word order is believed to be VSO. The unmarkedness or neutrality of the VSO word order is also supported by the fact that this order is the only one that appears in discourse-initial sentences. The unmarkedness of the VSO order is further evidenced in its being the one with the greater syntactic distribution (Bakir 1980: 6-8).

4.3.1. Summary of Syntactic Processes

To sum up what we have noticed so far regarding syntactic structures found in the subjects' data, we will recap the three structures mentioned and state their motivations and effects.

(i) Copula insertion
Motivation: Imaginary gap between the external argument and the VP to be filled by a copula due to L1 interference.
Effects: Producing the wrong DP instead of the correct DP or VP as complement to IP.

(ii) VP-internal argument movement
Motivation: Misuse of the flexibility Arabic allows in word order and L1 interference.
Effects: Inappropriate, non-canonical word order.
(iii) Agreement problems

Motivation: Confusion about agreement rules between the verb and its subject.

Effects: Inappropriate agreement features.

4.4. Notes on vocabulary

1. In addition to Arabic words, the informants used some expressions from English: acid, baby, boat, brake buffalo, butter, cancel, cassette, clutch, dynamo, feet, filter, gear, handle, license, membrane, monkey net, north, plate, power, put, radio, same, stool, supermarket, temperature, to, and valve.

2. The subjects who had spent less time in the second language environment used English words more frequently.

3. The data included some formulaic utterances such as the typical Islamic greeting [ассаламу `алаєкүм] السلام عليكم "Peace be upon you" as well as the expressions [إن شاء الله] "God willing" and [الحمدلله] "thank God."

4. The data included some examples of reduplication as a means for emphasis, e.g. [سَم سَم] "identical," [ساوا ساوا] "together" and [لا لا] "no no."

5. Informants did not use vocabulary items from their
first languages because of the fact that these languages are unknown to the TL speakers.
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APPENDIX I

THE TRANSCRIPT OF CONVERSATIONS
I & H

H: .house høøm ret marja this (is) machine water "This is a water machine."

I:  Yeah.

H:  makinøt marja tehlje machine water desalination "A water desalination machine."

I:  Yeah. You want to turn on one or two?

H:  jøggli wæøhø bød jwarjo itøn turn on one after a while two "I'll turn on one, and after a while two."

I:  Oh, after a while. How many years have you been working here?

H:  ana fi jøyl alhømdøllæh itønøfør søøn I there is work thank God twelve year "I have been working for 12 years, thank God."

I:  God bless. You have children?

H:  alhømdøllæh fi mawøgud thank God there is available "I have, thank God."

I:  What children do you have?

H:  awlæd tenen wæød tenen bïnt children two boy two girl "Children, two boys; two girls."

I:  What's the boy's name?

H:  wæøhø ësmøøh Abdirrahman one his name (is) Abdurrahman "One is called Abdurrahman."

I:  Good.
H: \(\text{wi tæni xəlil}\)  
and another Khalil\(^{19}\)  
"And the other is Khalil."

I: Huh, huh. Good. This doesn't work. Finish. Turn off,  
turn off so that we an speak. These... what are these  
mahines? Number what and what there?

H: nəfəm  

yes  
"Yes."

I: You have a number here. Every one has a number.

H: fi  

there is  
"There is."

I: Yeah.

H: \(\text{hæda tənən hæda wəfəd rənən hæda}\)  
This (is) two this (is) one two this (is)  
"This is Number Two. This is Number One; this is  
Number Two."

I: Yeah.

H: \(\text{awwəl wəfəd bəfəndən jəyə'l θələqqə fi wəhir rənən wəgəqəf}\)  
first one then turn on three there is one two stop  
"First, Number One. Then, I'll turn on Number Three,  
then Number One, Number Two, and Stop."

I: Good. OK. Turn off the machines so that we can talk.  
Yeah.

H: \(\text{hæda mojǝ fi jənər jəfi məkəsə mətr}\)  
this water there is extra that is five meter  
"There is five meters of extra water, that is to say."

I: Five meters extra.

---

\(^{19}\) A person's name.
H: kəmsə mifr
five meter
"Five meters."

I: Yeah.

H: bes marten tənə məra
only twice second time
"Only twice for the second time."

I: Fresh? Five meters fresh?

H: hila nəən
fresh yes
"Fresh, yes."

I: and salty?

H: məlaə həlaə mitrən
salty salty two meters
"Salty, two meters salty."

I: Two meters salty. OK.

H: as'len leʃ fi lehəla fi sarə məxəla jənə ma jəlnis tənə lehələ
originally why there is by itself there is drinking
problem that is it does not separate by itself
"Originally, why is it there by itself? You can't
drink it by itself. That is, it does not separate by
itself."

I: It doesn't separate by itself.

H: la'hæda leʃ fi seʃən fi alhin məra tənə məra məkərər jənə
no this (is) why there is because there is now one
time second time purified that is
"No, why is that? Because it has been purified for the
second time, that is."

I: Yeah.

H: fəfi awwəl məra məkərər ma jəlnis tənə
there is first time purified not good he drinks
"The first time it is purified, it is not drinkable."

I: Uh.
H: kamse mitr moje zjaebo moje milh
five meter water extra water salt
"The extra five meters of water are salty."

I: Yeah, brings up salt water with it.

H: milh
salt
"Salt."

I: But isn't there a valve to separate?

H: fi valv bes hæbo fi put membræn zjaero asæen fi kææem zjaero
there is (a) valve but this there is put membrane
extra beause there is talking extra
"There is a valve. But we put this extra membrane."

I: Right. But now this technician is out of town. Ray
left two and a half months ago.

H: mus muskæl bæ'den fi kem wææid fi fæmæl dædid
not problem then there is how many one there is
worker new
"No problem. So, how many new workers are there?"

I: Yeah.

H: sækkir fi ma ma fi dædid
close there is not not there is new
"It's closed. There isn't a new one."

I: Yeah.

H: mumkin juf marjo kwarjig
possible see water good
"Could you see if the water is good?"

I: God willing. OK. Can you do this, or is it necessary
that he comes?

H: mumkin ma fi muskæle ma fi muskæle
possible not there is problem not there is problem
"Possible. No problem, no problem."
I: OK. Good. What do you want from Abu Usama, Abdurrahman?\textsuperscript{20}

H: \textit{ana kollo tæni bæs fi tælætæ ræfæ \textit{maxbæs}}
I all of it again but there is three quarters clasp
"I have everything. I just need a three-quarter-inch clasp."

I: Clasp three quarters.

H: \textit{tælætæ ræfæ}
three quarters
"Three quarters."

I: Quantity three?

H: \textit{aiwæ}
yeah
"Yeah."

I: And two half-inch?

H: \textit{rønen nus inj}
two half-inch
"Two half-inch."

I: Yeah.

H: \textit{bæfæd ma jìzi injætævæ fi wen fi mojæ fi tæni sekro jæwiz mæræ zjaæe ækær}
after it comes God willing there is where there is water there is again close it you need water extra more
"After it comes, God willing. Close water now. There is more water if you need."

I: That is, there is no treatment to it?

H: \textit{aiwæ}
yeah
"Yeah."

I: Good, good.

\textsuperscript{20} A person's name.
H: **ma fi sä'āle jismu hāda zjāde sēkru yēlāri**
not there is hour what's its name this extra close it on me
"There isn’t an hour. What’s its name this extra water, close it up."

I: It gets over the limit.

H: **jāh**
yeah
"Yeah."

I: Uh. Good. That is, you know what the problem is and you can solve it, that is?

H: **injāttuh ma fi moskīle injāttuh**
God willing not there is problem God willing
"God willing, there’s no problem, God willing."

I: Because Ray is not available. You are available.

H: **mis miskīle**
not problem
"No problem."

I: Hmm. OK. What is this? Explain to us about these gauges!

H: **issāe'āt waḥid fi jas'a timbreser jas'a waḥid fi filtr mā**
the gauges one there is that is temperature that is one there is filter water
"The gauges, one for the temperature; one for the water filter."

I: One compressor, one filter.

H: **le? timbreser jas'a fessān fi mā? filtr jas'a kaμ jīt'lej moja**
no temperature that is beause there is water filter that is how much comes up water
"No, that’s temperature, to measure the water level in the filter."

I: Temperature.
H: **ah timprsefør**
   Uh temperature
   "Uh. Temperature."

I: Temperature. Uh.

H: **fi kem jil'el moje fi melum jejni**
   there is how much comes up water there is known that is
   "To know how much water there is."

I: Yeah.

H: **fi termo kef juyl**
   there is thermo how work
   "There is a thermo to know how it works."

I: Yeah.

H: **kef jil'el filtr moje zjore nægis' moje fi melum seleh**
   how comes up filter water extra less water there is known on it
   "We can know from the filter if there is more or less water."

I: Excellent. Ok. This, what is the name of this?

H: **memoran memoran hēdē**
   membrane membrane this
   "This is a membrane."

I: Hmm. Now how many of you are here at the station?

H: **mēthē'ē sindi arbē**
   station I have four
   "I have four at the station."

I: Four?

H: **mēēm**
   yes
   "Yes."

I: Good. Yeah. what is this?
H: ʰaːda  ma  daːnəm  dawa  jeʃi
this (is) not dynamo liquid that is
"This is a liquid for the dynamo."

I:  For what and what?

H:  daːnəm  jeʃi
dynamo that is
"The dynamo, that is."

I:  Dynamo?

H:  aɾ  noʃəm
yes
"Yes."

I:  One for the acid and one for the chlorine?

H:  wæhɪd  asɪd  wæhɪd  klor  wæhɪd  sodjəm  kəɾbonet
one acid one chlorine one sodium carbonate
"One for the acid; one for the chlorine; one for the sodium carbonate."

I:  Sodium carbonate. Yeah.

H:  wæhɪd  sorʃəm  kəɾbonet
one sodium carbonate
"One for the sodium carbonate."

I:  Yeah.

H:  sorʃəm  kəɾbonet
sodium carbonate
"Sodium carbonate."

I:  Yeah.

H:  wæhɪd  pi  ɾiʃ
one P.H.
"One P.H."

I:  Ok. Who are your workers now there?
H: fi mærjæbbæ fi ana mawðud
there is Maryabba\textsuperscript{21} there is I available
"There is Maryabba and me."

I: Maryabba Singodan?

H: aiwe mærjæbbæ singjæbaræn singoræn
yeah Maryabba Sinjobaran Singoran\textsuperscript{22}
"Yeah, Maryabba Sinjobaran Singoran."

I: And what else is there?

H: wfi ðabdallæh bej sægl jwaræa
and there is Abdullah\textsuperscript{23} but work a little bit
"And there is Abdullah but he is working right now."

I: Abdullah. And there is Brishah\textsuperscript{24}

H: briææ fi sawwaææ
Brishah there is driver
"And there is Brishah, the driver."

I: Brishah is Thai?

H: taxaææ ðæææ
Thai yes
"Thai, yes."

I: Hmm. Good. Tell us the first time you left India!

H: awwal mæræ ææææ æææ æææ al
first time left from the
"The first time I left the..."

I: Yeah.

\textsuperscript{21} A person's name.

\textsuperscript{22} A person's name.

\textsuperscript{23} A person's name.

\textsuperscript{24} A person's name.
I: Yeah.

H: first time comes here before that is fourteen year
"I came here for the first time fourteen years ago."

I: Huh. That is, you came by car?

H: customs customs that is customs there is work office
"Customs, customs, that is, customs. I worked at an
office."

I: Customs clearance office?

H: clearance after not there is clearance there is then
(one) year there is supermarket work after supermarket finish God willing thank God now there
is Hajji with Hajji there is no problem thank God
"Clearance. After clearance, I worked at a
supermarket. Then with Hajji. No problem, thank God."

I: Water desalination station.

H: station water desalination
"Treatment station."

I: Hmm. OK. You came from India by plane?

H: yes yes plane
"Yes, yes, plane."

I: Tell us how the plane left India, where it landed!
H: t'arjorah alhamdoillah kwarid t'arjorah jirkeb min bombe
plane thank God good plane get on from Bombay
"Good plane, thank God. I took a plane from Bombay."

I: Bombay, yeah.

H: wis'il d'ahraen
arrive Dhahran
"I arrived in Dhahran."

I: How many hours?

H: telate safe
three hour
"Three hours."

I: Three hour.

H: baiden we'se'el d'ahraen warja'ad nas' safe
then arrived Dhahran and Riyadh half hour
"Then I arrived in Riyadh from Dhahran in half an hour."

H: warja'du gerarjaet telate safe be'is t'arjorah segir jefini 'esas' en
 t'awwil jirwarje
and Riyadh to Gurayat three hour but plane small that
is that's why lasted a while
"And from Riyadh to Gurayat in three hours, but it was
a small plane. That’s why the flight lasted for a
while."

I: Eh. Three hour. Who was with you?

H: kaen fi kulla sedig fi kirtir jirzi me'omma alnara kafrajir
katir
there was all of it friend there are many come with
our workers ten one comes many
"I came with many of our workers, about ten."

I: Many friends.

25 A city in Eastern Saudi Arabia.
I: Yeah, and then? You came the... from Riyadh to Gurayat by plane?

H: 
Yeah
"Yeah."

I: Was it hot or cold?

H: 
by God I it was cold
"I swear it was cold."

I: Cold?

H: 
cold a lot now not there is cold now there is heat good
"It’s not very cold now. It’s warm and good."

I: OK. Back home is it cold or hot?

H: 
cold at our place there is not there is heat cold not there is heat there is rain
"Back home, it’s not cold; it’s hot and rainy."

I: What is the name of your home town there?

H: 
town I there is Madras
"My home town is Madras."

I: Madras. Are there mountains or plains there?

H: 
no there is not there are mountains that is there is regular that is
"No, there aren’t mountains. It’s regular."
I: What did you ask Abu Usama?

H:-absæm t'labt ana fi kimæwirjæt
Abu Usama I asked I there are chemicals
"I asked Abu Usama about chemicals."

I: Yeah.

H: fi klorin
there is chlorine
"There is chlorine."

I: Chlorine.

H: w?esid
and acid
"And acid."

I: Yeah.

H: pi ?rj
P. H.
"P.H."

I: Yeah.

H: bard' fi jwar plæstik mojæ
also there is a little bit plastic water
"There are also some plastic water containers."

I: Uh-huh. The pipes arrived?

H: ne?am wæsir mawæsir ne?am
yes they arrived pipes yes
"Yes, yes, the pipes arrived."

I: Pipes arrived. The pipe, it arrived. OK. How much acid do you want?

H: asid kæmsin hæbbæ kæmsin tanæk
acid fifty piece fifty tank
"Fifty tanks of acid."

I: Is this good for the battery, the acid?
H: la bə'tonja ma jinfe bə'tonja fi kətir hædə hædə fi pawər kətir pawər hædə
no battery not good battery there is a lot this this
there is power a lot power this
"No, this isn’t good for the battery. The battery has
too much power."

I: Uh. Power strong. This is powerful.

H: jədid
strong
"Strong."
A & I

I: Yeah, and how many times did you marry?

A: ܡܸܪܹܝܲܐ ܘܼܗܹܝܲܕ
time one
"One time."

I: You are married twice? You can't? Huh. Speak!

A: ܘܼܗܹܝܲܕ
one
"One."

I: OK. Is there agriculture at your home town there? Is there agriculture?

A: ܐܹܒܹܪܹܝܲܐ ܫܲܪܲܐܲܐ ܥܠܢܐ there is agriculture there is
"There is agriculture."

I: What do they grow?

A: ܕܘܩܵܫܹܝܲܐܝܐ ܥܠܢܐ ܕܘܩܵܫܹܝܲܐܝܐ ܥܠܢܐ coconut there is coconut there is
"There is coconut."

I: Yeah.

A: ܥܠܢܐ ܟܹܒܹܝܽܘ there is cashew
"There is cashew."

I: Cashew. cajo. Yeah, yeah.

A: ܟܹܒܹܝܽܘ cashew
"Cashew."

I: Good. Cashew.

A: ܥܠܢܐ ܫܹܒܹܓܹܗ there are trees
"There are trees."

I: Tea, is there tea?
A: la ma fi ana balad ma fi balad taeni
no not there is I town not there is town another
"No, there isn’t in my home town. There is in another town."

I: Coffee, isn’t there?

A: ma fi
not there is
"There isn’t."

I: Is there flowing water, a river?

A: fi marja fi behr fi
there is water there is sea there is
"There is water. There is a sea."

I: OK. Good. Now...

A: bees fi komaen ana fi balad
but there is also I there is town
"But there is also in my home town."

I: Yeah.

A: fi medine kibir
there is city big
"There is a big city."

I: Yeah.

A: fi dzanbo medine fi bahr kibir
there is next to it city there is sea big
"There is a sea near the city next to it."

I: Eh. Eh. OK. Do you sail in the sea? Sail in the sea?

A: bahr le?
sea no
"Sea, no."

I: Yeah, good. You, what do you work? Drive a car?

A: i sug sarjare
yeah drive car
"Yeah, I drive a car."
I: What do you know to drive? What kind of car do you drive?

A: **awwel fi mərsidis fi**
first there is Mercedes there is
"First, a Mercedes."

I: The Mercedes.

A: **gəllæb**
dump truck
"The dump truck."

I: Yeah, the Ford, the Chevy.

A: **ɪlford ɪlford**
the Ford the Ford
"The Ford, the Ford."

I: You drive all of them?

A: **kullo sug**
all of it drive
"I drive all of them."

I: God. And your children drive like you?

A: **ma fi jidji hɪna hɪna sawwæg**
not there is he comes here here here driver
"I came here as a driver."

I: Is it hot here?

A: **hɪna fi ŋər**
here there is heat?
"It’s hot here."

I: There is heat. These days there is heat?

A: **ŋər kətir ŋər kətir**
heat a lot heat a lot
"Very hot, very hot."

I: Yeah, heat.
I & O

I: Hello, Omar. Salamu Alaikum.

O: Salamu Alaikum
Salamu Alaikum
"Salamu Alaikum."

I: How are you?

O: Thank God I (am) there is speech Omar this "Thank God. This is me, Omar, speaking."

I: Uh. What is your name?

O: Omar Khan
"Omar Khan."

I: Omar what?

O: Omar Khan Abdulmajeed Omar Khan I (am) "Omar Khan Abdulmajeed. I am Omar Khan."

I: In India, what is the name of your home town?

O: India Madras this (is) Madras "In India, Madras."

I: What else is there? What work is there? Ice factory?

O: I (am) work this ice this "I work with ice."

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26 A person's name.

27 An Islamic greeting.

28 A person's name.

29 A person's name.
I: Ice.

O: fi nəɾəɾ fi jɪɾɡi tələɾə ana fi bəɾ nəɾəɾ fi jɪɾɡi alhin fi bəɾ tələɾə hæda wəɾhɪd wɪɾɪɾɪn
there is person there is come ice I (am) there is sale person there is come now there is sale ice this twenty-one
"I sell ice to any person who comes. I just sold to twenty-one people."

I: Yeah.

O: kwarɪs hæda sʊɡl
good this work
"The work is good."

I: Twenty-one what?

O: wəɾhɪd wɪɾɪɾɪn hæda
twenty-one this
"This is twenty-one."

I: Today you sold 21?

O: aɪwə wəɾhɪd wɪɾɪɾɪn hæda
yeah twenty-one this
"Yeah, this is twenty-one."

I: Each one, how many riyals? ³⁰

O: wəɾhɪd ʃəɾə rjæl
one ten riyal
"Ten riyals each."

I: Ten riyals. OK. How many hours do you operate?

O: ma fi kətɪɾ hæda fi nəɾəɾ arəɾɪɾɪɾɪn sæəɾə fi sʊɡl hæda
not there is a lot this there is person twenty-four hour there is work this
"There is someone on duty twenty-four hours a day."

I: Yeah.

³⁰ The currency in Saudi Arabia.
O: fi nafar fi jidzī fi kələm ana fi ana ruh fi nom nafar fi jidzī kələm
there is person there is come there is speech I there is I go there is sleep person there is come speech "When a person tells me, I go ahead and sell him and then sleep."

I: Don’t hurry. Don’t hurry. Slowly, slowly, yeah.

O: ana nom wərəłbet fi nafar fi jidzī billəl səbəh fi məyirə isə fi jidzī alə t'ul fi bej təlbə ana ma bi dəlpə vi mawdʒud kəl jom həda dəlpə
I (am) sleep behind the house there is person there is come at night morning there is evening night there is come on right away there is sale ice I (am) not there is ice there is available every day this ice "I sleep behind the house. If a person comes at night, in the morning, or evening, I come right away and sell him ice. There is always ice available everyday."

I: Good. That is, any time, any hour a person comes there is ice available.

O: mawdʒud həda wəms həda xəms həda wəxind wərisin wəxums available this five this five this twenty-one and five "There are twenty-one available and also five."

I: What agriculture is there? What do you have there in your country?

O: fen
where "Where?"

I: What agriculture in India, that is?

O: indja
India "India."

I: What is there? Coconut?
India good this India good thank God I am work there is boat boat "Work is good in India, thank God. I used to work on a boat."

I: Boat.


I: Sea.

I: Uh, fisherman.

O: fish this fishing I am brother "My brother and I were fishermen."

I: Good.

I: Good.

I: Are these big fish?
I: Are there big fish?

O: semak kəbir səgir kollo kollo fi mawđud
fish big small all of it all of it there is available
"Big fish; small fish; all kinds are available."

I: Is there a problem with big fish? Is there?

O: ma fi moskile ana jimsik hæda fi ana imsim kollo fi imsim hæda net
not there is problem I catches this there is I catches all of it there is catch this net
"There is no problem. I catch all that fish with a net."

I: Net.

O: net ana net hæda fi ruh ana billel it'ınāf fi ruh suəəh asra asra wnpos' fi jidżi džome fi ruh asra tæni džome fi jidżi kollī fi nom hæda bot
net I net this there is go I at night twelve there is go morning 10:00 10:30 there is come week there is go next week there is come all there is sleep this boat
"Net. I go at midnight. I go at 10:00 or 10:30 in the morning and come back the next week and sleep on the boat."

I: Boat all sleep?

O: nom hæda bot wæhîd džome fi nom ana bot tæni wæhîd džome kəlos' bə'den fi jidżi
sleep this boat one week there is sleep I boat next one week finish then there is come
"I sleep on the boat for one week and come back the next week."

I: Good.

O: kollo nəfər ma fi ruh ana wæhîd nəfər fi ruh
all of it person not there is go I am one person there is go
"Not everyone goes. I am one of the people who go."
I: Good. How old are you?

O: \textit{ma fi ruh fi nsa{	extae}tah hemse sene b{e}p{e}den fi ruh}

not there is go there is God willing five year then there is go
"I'm not leaving. I'll stay for five years and then go."

I: How old are you?

O: \textit{fen}
where
"Where?"

I: How many years? Age age? Your age? You how old?

O: \textit{indja}
India
"India."

I: You, how many years?

O: \textit{hina ana}
here I
"Here? Me?"

I: Thirty years?

O: \textit{it{e}n{e}n \textit{tal}^{+}ea{t}^{+}in}
thirty-two
"Thirty-two."

I: Thirty-two.

O: \textit{it{e}n{e}n \textit{tal}^{+}ea{t}^{+}in \textit{tal}^{+}ea{t}^{+}a bebi fi}
thirty-two three baby there is
"Thirty-two. I have three babies."

I: Three baby. Is there a wife?

O: \textit{madam fi}
wife there is
"There is a wife."

I: Good. What's baby's name?
O: fi hæda dubunisa ali bobo ana sini hammad
there is this Dubunisa\textsuperscript{31} Ali Baba\textsuperscript{32} I Sini Hammad\textsuperscript{33}
"I have Dubunisa, Ali Baba, and Sini Hammad."

I: Ali Baba.

O: ali bobo ana
Ali Baba I
"I have Ali Baba."

I: So, how did you come from India? By plane? Speak! What is this when you came here first?

O: awwel fi jidgi ana se?udija awwel fi jidgi dæmmæm ana d'æhræn jøgj hæda
first there is comes I Saudi Arabia first there is comes Dammam\textsuperscript{34} I Dhahran work this
"The first time I came to Saudi Arabia, I arrived in Dammam and worked in Dhahran."

I: From where? From Madras Bombay comes?

O: la tironødoyro kerla
no Tironadogro\textsuperscript{35} Kerala.\textsuperscript{36}
"No, Tironadogro, Kerala."

I: Kerala.

O: kerla ana jidgi ala t’ul fi gurajæt
Kerala I he comes right away there is Gurayat
"I came from Kerala right away to Gurayat."

I: Plane where? Riyadh?

\textsuperscript{31} A person’s name.
\textsuperscript{32} A person’s name.
\textsuperscript{33} A person’s name.
\textsuperscript{34} A city in Eastern Saudi Arabia.
\textsuperscript{35} A region in India.
\textsuperscript{36} A region in India.
"أهلا وسهلا بكم في دهرا، دهرا، دهرا، دهرا، شكراً جداً لله أنتم بكلمتكم. خصوصاً هذا العمل، شكراً لله الآن دهرا، دهرا، دهرا، شكراً لله. أنا في روح وسوا في روح مأمون في روح حمد الله.

مازراة كل من الله.

أهلاً وسهلاً في دهرا، دهرا، أتى إلى مدينتي الرياض، ثم إلى مدينتي زعترة. عملني جيد، شكراً لله. والدنيا والجميع جيد، شكراً لله. أذهب مع والدي إلى المزرعة. المزرعة جيدة، شكراً لله.

أ:I: ما هي ما في الزراعة؟

O: كمامة فستورا فستورا بندورة، مهبستا، في خطابة ولايى، كمامة شراءة ولايى، كمامة تيار ولايى، كمامة في بلالا في معاوض، في أحجار.

هذا كل شيء يوجد فيه: كمامة، فستورا، بندورة، نبات، محصول، في الكلب، في الخفافيش.

I: التمر؟

O: تمر تمر في باشا ما في كمامة، كمامة، كمامة.

التمرا، وذلك لا يوجد، ولا يوجد أيضاً الكثير.

I: الآن الكثير؟

O: كمامة باشا في زيتون كمامة في ماجد، في أرنب في التيما في أرنب في الخفافيش، في أرنب في الخفافيش.

هذا الكثير. ثم لا يوجد أوراق، كل شيء يوجد فيه، يوجد فيه، يوجد فيه خفافيش.

"أهلاً وسهلاً في دهرا، دهرا، أتى إلى مدينتي الرياض، ثم إلى مدينتي مزارة. عملني جيد، شكراً لله. والدنيا والجميع جيد، شكراً لله. أذهب مع والدي إلى المزرعة. المزرعة جيدة، شكراً لله. ما في الزراعة: كمامة، فستورا، بندورة، نبات، محصول. اليوم هناك الكثير من الفستورا والمحصول.
I & Bas

I: Who are you?

Bas: *ana bæsuraj* ana
"I am Basuraj." I (am) Basuraj
How many years have you been here?

Bas: *ana talæto sene hina foyl*
"I have been working here for three years."

I: Yeah. What is your full name?

Bas: *ana ismek bæsawæræd budyappa gollor*
"My name is Basuraj Budyappa Gullar."

I: Uh, Basuraj.

Bas: *budyappa gollor*
"Budyappa Gullar."

I: Gullar.

Bas: *aiwə*
"Yeah."

I: Yeah. What's Batta's relationship to you?

Bas: *bêtə ana aku*
"I'm Batta's brother."

I: His brother.

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37 A person's name.

38 A person's name.

39 A person's name.
I: Good. Do you have a wife and children?

Bas: انا نذئم
yes
"Yes."

I: Speak here. I ask you questions, you speak Arabic.

Bas: السلام علىكما أنا اسمك باسراره وأنا يوالي هناك موسيسة ана هينا يوالي تلاته سنهو بابا يوالي كواريس كولو يوالي كواريس هناك نفخاتا أنا كولو يوالي كوارليس
Salamu Alaikum I am your name is Basuraj I am there is work there establishment I am here work three year dad there is good all of it there is good there God willing I am all of it there is good "Salamu Alaikum. My name is Basuraj. I have been working here at the establishment for three years. Dad is good. Everybody is good there. I am good."

I: Where did you go?

Bas: لا أنا روه تهليجو
no I go desalination
"I go to the water desalination station."

I: To the water desalination station?

Bas: ايه
yes
"Yes."

I: What's the matter?

Bas: موالي سف موالي ما في أنا
water see water not there is I
"I saw if there was water."

I: See water. Yeah, yeah. You brought water for the house.
Bas: **minjæn sorb** bet
for drinking house
"Drinking water for the house."

I: Yeah, drinking water for the house.

Bas: **næwem**
yes
"Yes."

I: What's with you and the police?

Bas: **hæda lohø ma fi mæzbut' wara**
this plate not there is right rear
"The rear license plate was not right."

I: Plate?

Bas: **aɪ nəwem trelə sawweto dədid jə'ni s'endup**
yes trailer did it new that is box
"Yes, the box we did on the new trailer."

I: Yeah.

Bas: **ma af't'et ana nəsit lohø wara mfiktu morur bes af't'ik mukæle**
not I did I forgot plate rear caught it police but I
give you a ticket
"I forgot to put the rear license plate. The police
captured me and gave me a ticket."

I: Yeah. The matter is finished?

Bas: **xælos' mukælef**
finish tiket
"The ticket is done."

I: Huh? Cancel?

Bas: **kænsil**
cancel
"Cancel."

I: OK. How is the work?
Bas: *amdolla kwarjis kollu*
    thank God good all of it
    "Good, thank God."

I: Good.

Bas: *kwarjis sugl*
    good work
    "The work is good."

I: Do you take this car to the farm? How?

Bas: *we'ddi fi d3ib fi zibl bes we'ddi j3ini hnaek waggaf trelle sil ros ana j3i waggaf trelle ma3ak sil ros ana j3i*
    take there is bring there is manure but take that is there park trailer remove head I comes park trailer with you remove head I comes
    "I took manure, parked the trailer, removed the head, and came back."

I: Return head, that is?

Bas: *rAcf3I~ ros*
    return head
    "I returned the head."

I: Leave the trailer there?

Bas: *kelli trelle hnaek*
    leave trailer there
    "I left the trailer there."

I: How many days?

Bas: *mumkin jom jomen*
    maybe day two days
    "Maybe one or two days."

I: Yeah.

Bas: *ne3am*
    yes
    "Yes."

I: Then you go?
Bas:  bánh truh  nīqābū
then you go we bring it
"Then we go and bring it back."

I:  Doesn't it come?

Bas:  la hūwā ma jidji
no it not comes
"No, it doesn't come."

I:  You go?

Bas:  ana truh bēs
I you go only
"I go only."

I:  Yeah. OK. You sell ice where? In Haditha or where?

Bas:  ruh fi hēdīfē ana jom ḥīsābt ruh  ṣelātūl bēs
go there is Haditha I Saturday go always only
"I always go to Haditha on Saturday."

I:  Only saturday?

Bas:  jom ḥīsābt
Saturday
"Saturday."

I:  Sunday?

Bas:  jom ḥīsābt jom ḥāʾēd fi ruh  ṣelātūl jom  ḥīsābt
Saturday Sunday there is go four day always
"Saturday, Sunday; four days a week always."

I:  Speak! What Saturday?

Bas:  jom ḥīsābt fi ruh jom  ḥāʾēd jom  ḥītūn jēʾni jom  ḥītūn jēʾni
Saturday there is go Sunday Monday that is Tuesday
Wednesday only
"I go Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday only."

I:  And then?
Bas: *be'den jomen fi be'hina jom ilkemis jom ilgamis* then two days there is sale here Thursday Friday "Then there is sale here on Thursday and Friday."

I: Yeah. Sale here.

Bas: *be'hina bos* sale here only "Sale here only."

I: No sale in Haditha?

Bas: *ma fi be'h* not there is sale "There is no sale."

I: Why?

Bas: *ja'ni jom ilkemis ma fi je'mi sarjeere* that is Thursday not there is he works car "Trucks don't run on Thursday, that is."

I: No cars?

Bas: *te'rundgit ma jirgi bos ana ma fi ruth jom ilgome ma fi be'h mezbut'* transit not comes but I not there is go Friday not there is sale good "Transit does not come. I don't go on Friday. Sales are not good."
Bas & Ah

Ah: Basuraj, Basuraj.

Bas: ndefom
    yes
    "Yes."

Ah: You go to Haditha?

Bas: ndefom ruh hadiJa
    yes go Haditha
    "Yes, I go to Haditha."

Ah: Where do you go?

Bas: ruh ana jom xlsobt
    go I Saturday
    "I go on Saturday."

Ah: Where?

Bas: adiJa
    Haditha
    "Haditha."

Ah: Haditha?

Bas: ndefom
    yes
    "Yes."

Ah: Or Haditha?

Bas: la hadiJa
    no Haditha
    "No, Haditha."

Ah: What do you do?

Bas: la nbiT telz bas
    no we sell ice only
    "I sell ice only."

Ah: Huh?
Bas: **bi` tɔlz**
    sell ice
    "Sell ice."

Ah: Sell ice?

Bas: **i nɔsɔm**
    yes
    "Yes."

Ah: How much do you sell? What is this bag? What's its name?

Bas: **hæda  gælæb**
    this (is) mould
    "This is a mould."

Ah: Mould?

Bas: **nɔsɔm**
    yes
    "Yes."

Ah: How long is it?

Bas: **t'ul  fi  wæhæd mıtær**
    length there is one meter
    "There is one meter in length."

Ah: Weight?

Bas: **wæzn  hæda  arba`太后 kilo**
    weight this fourteen kilo
    "The weight is fourteen kilos."

Ah: What?

Bas: **arba`太后 kilo**
    fourteen kilo
    "Fourteen kilos."

Ah: What fourteen?

Bas: **kilo kilo bɔs**
    kilo kilo only
    "Kilos, kilos, only."
Ah: Weight?

Bas: \textit{wa'zn na'am}  
weight yes  
"Weight, yes."

Ah: Weight?

Bas: \textit{na'am}  
yes  
"Yes."

Ah: Fourteen kilos?

Bas: \textit{na'am}  
yes  
"Yes."

Ah: OK. You sell all of it completely or half of it?

Bas: \textit{la kullu kāmi bi' bas}  
no all of it complete sell only  
"No, sell all of it complete only."

Ah: You don't sell half?

Bas: \textit{marrā fi bi' nos'}  
time there is sell half  
"One time I sold a half."

Ah: Half? How much do you sell the half for?

Bas: \textit{nos' fi bi' kemsə rja'el}  
half there is sell five riyal  
"I sell the half for five riyals."

Ah: Five riyals. And the mould? All of it?

Bas: \textit{bi' jəsəryə rja'el}  
sell ten riyal  
"I sell for ten riyals."

Ah: Ten riyals.
Bas: **naḥem**
   yes
   "Yes."

Ah: Good. OK. How much do you carry in the car? How many moulds?

Bas: **kul jom sil mara ḫisin waḥidu ḫisin**
   every day carry time twenty twenty-one
   "Every day I carry twenty, twenty-one at a time."

Ah: Twenty what?

Bas: **naḥem**
   yes
   "Yes."

Ah: Twenty-one?

Bas: **waḥidu ḫisin**
   twenty-one
   "Twenty-one."

Ah: Does anything return with you?

Bas: **gabl ma jirda‘ alhin fi jirda‘ bes alhin mawsem fi bərd**
   before not returns now there is returns but now season there is cold
   "Nothing returned before. Now some returns, but now is the cold season."

Ah: Season finished?

Bas: **naḥem kəlas‘ alhin kulla**
   yes finish now all of it
   "Yes, finished- all of it."

Ah: Yeah. What kind of car do you have?

Bas: **naḥ merjatis**
   kind Mercedes
   "A Mercedes."

Ah: No, what car, tha is?
Bas: sarjæræ tøllæjæ
car     refrigerator
"Refrigerator truck."

Ah: Refrigerator?

Bas: nœjem
yes
"Yes."

Ah: You put bread in it?

Bas: la mo huttø købus bæs huttø tælʒ
no not put it bread only put it ice
"No, I don't put bread in it; I only put ice."

Ah: Huh? Bread?

Bas: huttø tælʒ bæs ma huttø købus
put it ice only not put it bread
"I put ice only, not bread."

Ah: You eat bread and ice together?

Bas: la ma
no not
"No, not."

Ah: Huh?

Bas: akl ma abbi moje surb sawa sawa tælʒ bæs
eating not fill water drinking together together ice
only
"No eating. I fill drinking water for ice only."

Ah: OK. You are where now?

Bas: ana gıraıjaat al gıraıjaat
I     Gurayat Gurayat
"I am in Gurayat."

Ah: Where is Gurayat located in the Kingdom?

Bas: ana jıdı jın indi
I     he comes from Indian
"I come from India."
Ah: In the north?

Bas: t'ajrere
   plane
   "Plane."

Ah: Area, area? Fly north?

Bas: nor9 i
   north yeah
   "North, yeah."

Ah: North?

Bas: jemael
   north
   "North."

Ah: Speak! What do you do when you get up?

Bas: sobah sobah
   morning morning
   "Morning, morning."

Ah: You sleep at night, get up in the morning? What time?

Bas: mumkin sa3e sa3e sa3e sitte nas' sa3e tamaini kidi
   maybe 7:00  6:30  8:00  like this
   "Maybe 7:00, 6:30, 8:00-- something like that."

Ah: Yeah.

Bas: na3am
   yes
   "Yes."

Ah: Get up and do what?

Bas: awwel fi gasil kullu
   first there is washing all of it
   "First, I wash everything."

Ah: wash what?
Bas: **gassīl bās ṭas jēwī**  
Wash only head that is  
"Wash my head only, that is."

Ah: Face?

Bas: **wəzəḥ**  
Face  
"Face."

Ah: Your face.

Bas: **wəzəḥək**  
Your face  
"Your face."

Ah: Yes.

Bas: **ma sismə hædə**  
Not what's its name this  
"Not what's its name-- this."

Ah: Tooth brush?

Bas: **fərʃə nəwəm**  
Brush yes  
"Brush, yes."

Ah: Did you receive a letter?

Bas: **jīdəjə aljom rəsələ**  
Comes today letter  
"A letter came today."

Ah: You see many letters?

Bas: **aljom jīdəjə bēs ma fi jəhren ma fi rəsələ**  
Today comes only not there is two months not there is letter  
"Today's letter is the first one in two months."

Ah: Two months, there is no letter?

Bas: **ma fi rəsələ**  
Not there is letter  
"No letter."
Ah: You are happy or upset today?

Bas: *mabsut'* *hæda*
   happy    this
   "Happy."

Ah: Huh?

Bas: *mabsut'* *ana*    *mabsut'*
   happy  I (am) happy
   "Happy. I am happy."

Ah: Because there is a letter?

Bas: *fæjaen*    *fi*    *risæle*    *aljom*
   because there is letter today
   "Because there is a letter today."

Ah: From whom?

Bas: *min*    *mædæm*
   from wife
   "From my wife."
W & Ah

W: **unni krishnan**
   Unni Krishnan\(^{40}\)
   "Unni Krishnan."

Ah: How many years have you been here in Gurayat?

W: **alhin sîtte sêne jañi**
   now six year that is
   "Six years now."

Ah: Where?

W: **kurarjæt**
   Gurayat
   "Gurayat."

Ah: Gurayat?

W: **nëjäm**
   yes
   "Yes."

Ah: Wanni.

W: **aïwe**
   yeah
   "Yeah."

Ah: What is this?

W: **hæda tærmos**
   this (is) thermos
   "This is a thermos."

Ah: And this?

W: **hæda stul**
   this (is) stool
   "This is a stool."

Ah: In Arabic?

\(^{40}\) A person's name.
W: **arbi ma fi ma₂lum hæda**
   Arabic not there is known this
   "I don't know in Arabic."

Ah: Huh?

W: **tawi⁹**
   table
   "Table."

Ah: Table. And this you're sitting on?

W: **korsi**
   chair
   "Chair."

Ah: This is a chair.

W: **aiwe**
   yeah
   "Yeah."

Ah: And this? A cord?

W: **silk hæda**
   cord this (is)
   "This is a cord."

Ah: What cord?

W: **silk kəhr⁴ba hæda**
   cord electricity this (is)
   "This is an electrical cord."

Ah: Or a welding cord?

W: **lo? silk kəhr⁴ba hæda**
   no cord electricity this (is)
   "No, this is an electrical cord."

Ah: Say "welding bar"

W: **silk ḫæm tæni hæda ma**
   bar welding another this (is) not
   "A welding bar is something else."
Ah: Bar. A welding bar.

W: sik līhām fi tānī hāda
   bar welding there is another this (is)  "A welding bar is something else."
Ah: A welding bar. What does a welding bar mean?

W: sik jēnī hēdīd hāda sawa sawa
   bar that is iron this (is) together together  "An iron bar."
Ah: Iron?

W: hēdīd
   iron
   "Iron."
Ah: Or wood?

W: kējēb lēr ma fi
   wood no not there is
   "No, not wood."
Ah: Not wood?

W: mif kējēb
   not wood
   "Not wood."
Ah: Eh. You work as a ...?

W: lēr ana fi mēkānīk
   no I (am) there is mechanic
   "I am a mechanic."
Ah: You speak well. You are not a turner?

W: hāda kābōt battā fi kābōt
   this turner Batta there is turner
   "This is a turner. Batta is a turner."
Ah: Batta is a turner. Is it cold or hot now?
Ah: Will you speak about the weather? How is the weather now? How is the weather? Cold?

W: *ja♯ni  alhin kwari♯s mawsim mawsim* that is now good season season "It's good now. Seasonable."

Ah: Is there wind?

W: *hawa məʃbut alhin sawa sawa* wind good now together together "The wind is good now."

Ah: Wind. There isn't a lot of wind.

W: *laʔ* no "No."

Ah: Trees, trees.

W: *sədʒər sədʒər* trees trees "Trees, trees."

Ah: A tree?

W: *sədʒər* tree "A tree."

Ah: How did you come? Walking?

W: *laʔ sarja♯ɾ jidji sarja♯ɾ* no car he comes car "No, I came by car."

Ah: With whom?

W: *məʃ bət♯a sawa sawa* with Batta together together "With Batta together."
Ah: With Batta together together?

W: naəem
   yes
   "Yes."

Ah: Or by yourself?

W: le?
   no
   "No."

Ah: All of you came in one car?

W: la itnen saı̈jære
   no two car
   "No, two cars."

Ah: Huh?

W: tnen saı̈jære
   two car
   "Two cars."

Ah: Is Batta's car big?

W: le?
   no
   "No."

Ah: What color is Batta's car?

W: bett'ɬ saı̈jære abjəd'
   Batta car white
   "Batta's car is white."

Ah: Batta's car color?

W: lon saı̈jære bett'ɬ abjəd' həda
   color car Batta white this
   "Batta's car color is white."

Ah: White?
W: arwē
yeah
"Yeah."

Ah: Wanni, how long have you been in the Kingdom? six years?

W: sītte sēne kēlos ħāḍī
six year finished this
"Six years are gone."

Ah: Finished now?

W: kēlos
finished
"Finished."

Ah: What is this?

W: musēgbāl
recorder
"A recorder."

Ah: What else is there with it?

W: rdjō
radio
"A radio."

Ah: A radio?

W: rdjō
radio
"A radio."

Ah: And this? What is this?

W: ħāḍa ħāndī
this (is) handle
"This is a handle."

Ah: In Arabic?

W: bənəbəbī id ħāda
in Arabic hand this
"In Arabic, hand."
Ah: Eh, hand.

W: id
   hand
   "Hand."

Ah: And this?

W: hæda silk
   this (is) cord
   "This is a cord."

Ah: And inside, what is there?

W: kassit
   cassette
   "A cassette."

Ah: Say "here there is"!

W: jērit' ḏəwwe jērit' hæda
   cassette inside cassette this
   "There is a cassette inside."

Ah: On or...?

W: jogol jogol hædi
   on on this
   "On, this is on."

Ah: Off?

W: ətəfi
   off
   "Off."

Ah: Off or...?

W: la la jēgel jēgel
   no no on on
   "No, no. On, on."

Ah: Off? Not off?
W: la mif matfi
    no not off
    "No, not off."

Ah: OK. What do you eat for dinner?

W: liswe ma fi ase
    not yet not there is dinner
    "I haven't had dinner yet."

Ah: No, that is...

W: d6daz gubus billei
    chicken bread at night
    "I eat chicken and bread at night."

Ah: At night? Bread?

W: gubus d6daz
    bread chicken
    "Bread and chicken."

Ah: And rice?

W: rus d'ohr b6s
    rice noon only
    "Rice at noon only."

Ah: And the morning?

W: sobeh fut'ur kubus
    morning breakfast bread
    "In the morning, the breakfast is bread."

Ah: Cheese?

W: chibna
    cheese
    "Cheese."

Ah: Yeah.

W: d6daz
    chicken
    "Chicken."
Ah: Oil?

W: *bard'ə*
   egg
   "An egg."

Ah: Oil?

W: *bed'*
   eggs
   "Eggs."

Ah: Oil?

W: *ah zet zetə*
   uh oil oli...
   "Uh. Oil and olive."

Ah: Olive?

W: *zetun*
   olive
   "Olive."

Ah: Sour cream?

W: *ləbna* fi
   sour cream there is
   "There is sour cream."

Ah: There is sour cream?

W: *aiwe*
   yeah
   "Yeah."

Ah: Cream?

W: *gït'ə*
   cream
   "Cream."

Ah: What?
W: ak\[\text{a}\] \text{a}\[\text{a}\] h\[\text{a}\]d\[\text{a}\] fi
yeah yeah yeah this there is eating
"Yeah, yeah, yeah, this is for eating."

Ah: Say "cream"!

W: \text{g\[\text{i}\]s\[\text{t}\]e}
cream
"Cream."

Ah: OK. In India, do they milk and yogurt a lot?

W: fi k\[\text{\text{e}}\]t\[\text{\text{i}}\]r
there is a lot
"A lot."

Ah: Is there a lot?

W: l\[\text{\text{e}}\]b\[\text{\text{e}}\]n\[\text{\text{h}}\] fi h\[\text{\text{e}}\]l\[\text{\text{i}}\]b k\[\text{\text{e}}\]t\[\text{\text{i}}\]r
yogurt there is milk a lot
"There is a lot of milk."

Ah: Cow milk or goat milk?

W: b\[\text{\text{e}}\]k\[\text{\text{e}}\]r fi
cow there is
"Cow."

Ah: Butter?

W: d\[\text{\text{i}}\]b\[\text{\text{n}}\]e fi
cheese there is
"There is cheese."

Ah: Butter?

W: z\[\text{\text{b}}\]d\[\text{\text{e}}
butter
"Butter."

Ah: You know what "zibda" is?

W: z\[\text{\text{b}}\]d\[\text{\text{e}} la ma fi
"zibda" no not there is
"No, I don't know zibda."
Ah: Butter, that is.

W: бе̲tə̲r əi̲wə̲ ə zibdə̲
    butter yeah "zibda"
    "Butter, yeah. Zibda."

Ah: This is "zibda".

W: əi̲wə̲ бе̲tə̲r
    yeah butter
    "Yeah, butter."

Ah: This is what's its name? This "jamous"?

W: ɔgæ̲məς
    "jamous"
    "Jamous."

Ah: What is "jamous"?

W: ɓʌflo
    buffalo
    "Buffalo."

Ah: Huh? like cows?

W: zə̲i̲ bə̲kə̲r
    like cows
    "Like cows."

Ah: Is buffalo the same kind or another kind?

W: ɳə̲fə̲ tə̲nɪ̲ hə̲də̲
    kind another this
    "This is another kind."

Ah: Not the same as cows?

W: ɭə̲ ɓə̲ɡə̲r ma̲ ɭi̲ ɬə̲m sem sem
    no cows not there is same same
    "No, not the same as cows."

Ah: OK. When did you come from India?
W: jidzi alhin sitte søne
    he comes now six year
    "I came six years ago."

Ah: No, I mean from vacation.

W: ḗḏæsə alhin
    vacation now
    "Vacation now."

Ah: Yeah.

W: ảrb kəmsə səhr kəloṣ
    four five month finished
    "Four or five months ago."

Ah: Five months finished?

W: aɾwə
    yeah
    "Yeah."

Ah: You have babies?

W: fì bebi
    there is baby
    "I have babies."

Ah: How many?

W: tñen
    two
    "Two."

Ah: Wanni, you have a license?

W: fì ruxs'e hindi
    there is license Indain
    "I have an Indian license."

Ah: What license is this? A driving liense?

W: ruxs'e lesəns sawwək aɾwə
    "rukhsa" license driver yeah
    "A driver's license, yeah."
Ah: What? You are a driver?

W: *la ana miñenîki bës fi rûks’ë fi mawdùd*  
no I (am) mechanic but there is license there is available  
"No, I am a mechanic but I have a license."

Ah: OK. This is a car.

W: *sairjære këbir hëda*  
car big this  
"This is a big car."

Ah: OK. You ride a car and go. Come on!

I: What do you do?

W: *awwâl jëf mutë fi jugël ba’dën fi gir*  
first see key there is start then there is gear  
"First, I start the car with the key and then move the gear."

Ah: There is no oil, no problem?

W: *la zët awwâl fi jëf ba’dën fi ruh sairjære*  
oil first there is see then there is go car  
"No, first I check the oil and then move the car."

Ah: Then?

W: *set moje ser karârët brekât awwâl fi jëf ba’dën fi irëf sairjære*  
oil water belt tires brakes first there is see then there is go car  
"First, I check oil, water, belts, tires, and brakes and then move the car."

Ah: Yeah, start!

W: *jeğgel ba’dën fi awwâl gir awwâl gir tæni irëf klëf*  
start then there is first gear first gear second he steps on clutch  
"Start and then move the gear into first position then second position by stepping on the clutch."

Ah: What do you do?
"Then, I speed by stepping on the gas accelerator and then go slowly and check if the brakes are good."

Ah: Yeah.

W: **awwəl fi sawwi brek**
first there is do brake
"First, I do the brakes."

Ah: Then this?

W: **wzæmur fi jʊf**
and horn there is see
"And check the horn."

Ah: Yeah.

W: **jœf lembə fi jʊf**
signal lamp there is see
"I check the signal light."

Ah: OK. You have a license plate on the car? Plate, plate?

I: "Loha, loha".

W: **plet aɪwə lohə fi**
plate yeah "loha" there is
"Yeah, there is a plate."

Ah: You know its number?

W: **la ana fi nəsit**
no I there is I forgot
"No, I forgot."
B: ana ljom fi ana jrizi kaen min rilmou?ama wae冰箱 sajaref fi seppem
I today there is I he comes was from the establishment
walking like this one car there is hit
"I was coming from the establishment today when I saw
a car hit."

Ah: Hit who?

B: wae冰箱 sajaref seppem
one car hit
"One car hit."

Ah: Two cars hit?

B: arwenen sajaref seppem ana fi waegeff kide jrizi lind isjaref
wegeff kide waegeff sajaref jrizi min wefa kide befen hina
befen hurub kide befen ajzel kollo jibki kefir
yeah two car hit I there is he stopped like this he
comes at the sign he stopped like this one car comes
from behind like this then here then escaping like
this then children all of it he cries a lot
"Yeah, two cars hit each other. One car stopped at the
sign and the other hit it from behind and ran away,
and the children started crying."

Ah: Whose children?

B: kefir hina fog ajzel
a lot here up children
"A lot of children up there."

Ah: Your children in the car?

B: la ijzel ketair naes fi
no children a lot people there is
"No, there were a lot of children and people."

Ah: Yeah.

B: woleed kollo fi hnaek ketair
boy all of it there is there a lot
"There were a lot of boys there."
Ah: Uh.

B: anajidi wera saria're ma fi d' u wera saria're
I he comes behind car behind not there is light behind car
"I came behind a car with no light."

Ah: Uh. There is no light.

B: wa'hid t'yla' guddæm beden beden rhu kide beden weggæf hu law ma fi ma fi sëddem saria're
one went ahead then then go like this then he stopped he if not there is not there is he hit car
"One of them went ahead then went like that then stopped. If he didn't stop, he wouldn't have been hit by a car."

Ah: Uh. He hit your car.

B: ma fi d'arb ana fi t'yla' kide jwarja guddæm wa'hid saria're fi sëddem fi weggæf hina sëddem
not there is he hit I there is he went ahead like this slowly ahead one car there is he hit there is he stopped here he hit
"I wasn't hit. I was up front. The car that stopped got hit."

Ah: Yeah. How much do you weigh, Batta?

B: h'ah
huh
"Huh?"

Ah: Weight? How much weight?

B: wazn ana sittin kilo
weight I (am) sixty kilo
"I weigh sixty kilos."

Ah: Sixty kilos?

I: And your height?

B: t'ul kamsawnas'
height five and a half
"My height is five and a half."
I: How tall are you, Batta?

B: ƙəmsə fiƙəmsə
five feet five
"Five feet, five."

I: Five feet?

Ah: OK. This is a recorder. What's its color?

B: ƙàddà məsə̀dəl məsə̀dəl ƙəmrə
this (is) recorder recorder red
"This is a red recorder."

Ah: Yeah. Why did you turn it off?

B: ana mə fi t'Affi ho jəyyəl hædi
I not there is turn off it (is) on this
"I did not turn it off. It's on."

Ah: On?

B: aɾwe jəyyəl
yeah on
"Yeah, on."
Ah: In India, do they grow wheat?

Q: no grow wheat there is Punjab "They grow wheat in Punjab."

Ah: Yeah.

Q: that is eastern "In the eastern area, that is."

Ah: OK. Is there bread here?

Q: yeah "Yeah."

Ah: Like the bread that is in India?

Q: there is bread "There is bread."

Ah: Bread?

Q: there is bread but not there is like bread there is difference "There is bread but it is different."

Ah: This bread? This?

Q: not there is rice wheat "There isn't rice wheat."

Ah: Wheat bread?

Q: wheat "Wheat"

I: Yeah. How do they make it?
Q: sawwi zai t'\hinge
make it like flour
"They make it as flour."

Ah: Flour?

Q: t'\hinge jə\ni gəm\h t\hinge
flour that is wheat flour
"Flour, wheat flour, that is."

I: Yeah.

Q: bə\dn fi sawwi lə\k\in ma f\i f\rm zai sə\u\di
then there is make but not there is oven like Saudi
"Then, they make, but not like ovens in Saudi Arabia."

I: Huh?

Q: f\rm s'\\u\vrir
oven small
"A small oven."

I: Small?

Q: s'\\u\vrir
small
"Small."

I: All of India, all of it, small oven?

Q: hæ\drə\p\i\d ma f\i a\k\l xə\bz kə\d\ir
this eastern not there is eating bread a lot
"In the Eastern area, they don't eat a lot."

I: Uh, they eat rice.

Q: kollu roz
all of it rice
"All of it, rice."

Ah: Yeah.

Q: ana bə\ləd ana bə\ləd jə\ni kerla
I town I town that is Kerala
"My home town is Kerala."
Ah: Yeah.

Q: \textit{ma fi kol xubz roz} 
not there is all bread rice
"There isn't always bread and rice."

Ah: Is there bread from rice?

Q: \textit{fi laakin hæða fi ismus ðæni} 
there is but this there is its name (is) another
"There is, but it has another name."

Ah: That is, there is bread, no wheat in it; there is rice in it?

Q: \textit{la la fi roz fi roz laakin hæða fi ismu løyæ kerla fi ismu ðæni} 
no no there is rice there is rice but this there is its name language Kerala there is its name (is) another
"There is rice bread, but it has another name in the language of Kerala."

I: Eh. That is, they grind flour later?

Q: \textit{t'æhin ai awwal run mak kin mækin ðægær bæden mækin fi roz} 
flour I first go machine machine a lot then mahine there is rice
"First, the machine produces flour, then there is rice."

I: Rice flour?

Q: \textit{in fi t'æhin} 
then there is flour
"Then, there is flour."

Ah: You are Abdulqader\textsuperscript{41}

Q: \textit{ana ðæbdulqødær} 
I (am) Abdulqader
"I am Abdulqader."

Ah: How many years have you been in the Kingdom?

\textsuperscript{41} A person's name.
Q: I now there is thirteen year two month
"I have been here for thirteen years and two months."

Ah: Two months?

Q: two month
"Two months."

Ah: Good, yeah. What is it that you grow in India?

Q: there is rice
"There is rice."

Ah: Rice.

Q: there are vegetables
"There are vegetables."

Ah: Watermelon?

Q: watermelon there is but not there is like Saudi a lot kind
"There is watermelon, but not many kinds as in Saudi Arabia."

Ah: What kind? How many kinds of watermelon?

Q: not there is like Saudi a lot there is
"There aren't as many kinds as in Saudi Arabia."

Ah: Is it long or circular watermelon?

Q: no circular circular
"No, circular, circular."

Ah: Circular?
Q: **arwa fi bət'ix**
   yeah there is watermelon
   "Yeah, there is watermelon."

Ah: One color?

Q: **lə? fi zər abja'd' wəəxə'd'ər**
   no there is like white and green
   "No, white and green."

Ah: White and green. That is, one watermelon white and one green?

Q: **abja'd' wəəxə'd'ər fi axə'd'ər**
   white and green there is green
   "White and green. There is green."

Ah: There is cantaloupe?

Q: **ʃəmməəm ana ma ʃəftə fi**
   cantaloupe I not I saw it there is
   "Cantaloupe, I did not see it, but there is."

Ah: Is there coconut?

Q: **dəozələənd fi kəθir**
   coconut there is a lot
   "Coconut, there is a lot."

Ah: There are short or tall trees?

Q: **la fi sənə kəθir fi jıdʒi t'awil**
   no there is year a lot there is it comes tall
   "A lot of years, they are tall."

Ah: Yeah. What does "one year a lot" mean?

Q: **fi ʃədzər ʃədzər kəbər kəθir**
   there are trees trees big a lot
   "There are a lot of big trees."

Ah: Yeah.
Q: ba'dn fi jswajə jswajə bəs ma fi kəthir
then there is a little bit a little bit only not there is much
"Then, they are becoming less and less."

Ah: Yeah.

Q: jəzər s'ayir fi kəthir
trees small there is a lot
"There are a lot of small trees."

Ah: OK. How do they bring the coconut from up there?

Q: za'r ju ismu
like what's its name
"Like... what's its name?"

Ah: Dates?

Q: za'r təmr za'r təmr ləkin ma
like dates like dates but not
"Like dates, but not..."

Ah: You climb up?

Q: ana fi xof
I there is fear
"I am afraid."

Ah: He is afraid?

Q: ana fi xof ruh wæhɪd mərrə ana s'ayir fi ruh wæhɪd mərrə fi
inizəl təht
I there is fear go one time I (am) young there is go one time there is climb down
"I am afraid. One time when I was young, I went and climbed down."

Ah: You fall?

Q: wæhɪd mərrə
one time
"One time."

Ah: Fall?
Q: *ba'den fi  ʕarb fi  babo*

then there is hitting there is dad
"Then, dad hit me."

Ah: Dad hit you? huh?

Q: *ana xof kəbir ba'den ma fi  yof*

I (am) fear a lot then not there is fear
"I was never afraid after then."

Ah: What did he do?

Q: *ʕarbtu  waḥid babo*

I hit him one dad
"Dad hit me."

Ah: You hit him?

Q: *la babo ana ʕarb*

no dad I hit
"No, dad hit me."

Ah: Dad, you hit him?

Q: *ʕarəbt babo ana*

I hit dad I
"Dad hit me."

Ah: Funny, this is.

Q: *ma fi  ana ʕarəb babo*

not there is I hit dad
"I did not hit dad."

Ah: Why did he hit you?

Q: *ʕarəb babo*

hit dad
"Dad hit..."

Ah: You hit dad? With what?

Q: *ana ma  ana ma fi*

I not I not there is
"I did not."
Ah: With a stick?

Q: \textit{ah əsə'ajə əsə'ajə}
uh stik stik
"Uh, a stick."

Ah: A stick?

Q: \textit{eh}
eh
"Eh."

Ah: Yeah. OK. Who climbs? There is a person climbing up or---?

Q: \textit{fi ənəfər ʃə'ʃəf ʃəg}
there is person he climbs up
"There is a person who climbs up."

Ah: That is, he climbs up and brings what? What's its name...a piece?

Q: \textit{dzoələhind}
coconut
"Coconut."

I: OK. Where does he bring it from? We heard... they said the monkey climbs up.

Q: \textit{gird}
monkey
"Monkey?"

I: Monkey, monkey.

Q: \textit{gərd}
monkey
"Monkey."

I: He... and the coconut up?

Q: \textit{arwe}
yeah
"Yeah."
I: Then a person comes, catches a stone, and hits the coconut.

Q: **ah fi jizi**
   uh there is he comes
   "Uh, he comes."

I: He hits at the monkey.

Ah: What does he do?

I: The monkey takes coconuts and throws them down.

Q: **fi fi d'arb fi d'arb hadgeer**
   there is there is hitting there is hitting stone
   "There is stone hitting."

Ah: Who hits a stone?

Q: **nafar fi d'arb hadgeer min tehdt**
   person there is hitting stone from down
   "A person hits stones from down."

Ah: He hits where?

I: At the monkey.

Q: **fand fand iffedger**
   by by the trees
   "By the trees."

I: At the monkey.

Q: **fand iffedger**
   by the trees
   "By the trees."

Ah: Up?

Q: **fand iffedger dgozilhind fi**
   by the trees coconut there is
   "By the trees, there is coconut."

Ah: Up?
Q:  "Eh."
Ah:  Where?
Q:  jįdį tąht
he comes down
"He comes down."
Ah:  Where?
I:  At the monkey.
Q:  ųnd ųnd alųdįkį
by by the trees
"By the trees."
Ah:  That is, he hits up?
Q:  fok
up
"Up."
Ah:  Yeah.
Q:  fi jįdį tąht hįna
there is he comes down here
"He comes down."
I:  Yeah. You know what monkey is?
Q:  arwė
yeah
"Yeah."
Ah:  What is "monkey"?
I:  Monkey, that is.
Ah:  The monkey.
Q:  riγrd  eh
the monkey eh
"The monkey, eh."
Ah: Yeah.

I: I heard something like this.

Q: 

Yeah yeah
"Yeah."

I: He climbs up trees.

Q: 

Yeah yeah
"Yeah."

I: Then he takes coconuts.

Q: 

Yeah yeah
"Yeah, yeah."

I: Someone comes-- like Abdulqader, like me. He wants. He can't bring from up there.

Q: 

Yeah.

I: He hits a stone at the monkey.

Q: 

Uh monkey monkey
"Uh, monkey, monkey."

I: The monkey, what does he do? He cuts coconuts and throws at him.

Q: 

Monkey.

Ah: Monkey, monkey.

Q: 

Monkey... monkey, this
"Monkey... monkey, this is."
I: Monkey, monkey.

Q: *mangī*  
monkey  
"Monkey."

Ah: Ape.

Q: *ismū*  
his name (is) what  
"His name is what?"

Ah: Monkey.

Q: *gird*  
monkey huh  
"Monkey, huh."

Ah: Monkey. There are people who say "ape".

Q: *ṣīdān*  
ape huh monkey  
"Ape, huh. Monkey."

Ah: Yeah.

I: Is this right?

Q: *ah ḥāda*  
hāda fi ṣebeil kēbir hawwā fi istenne  
mand ḫiṣār  
mumkin ḍīrābō fi ḥāḍer hawwā fi imṣīk eh  
uh this (is) what this (is) there is mountain a lot he  
there is wait by the trees maybe he hit him there is  
stone he there is catch eh  
"Uh. This is what? There are a lot of mountains. He  
waits by the trees. If he is hit by a stone, he  
catches it."

I: Nuts? Coconuts?

Q: *imṣīk*  
hāḍer fi  
ḥārd  
catch there is stone there is hitting  
"He catches a stone and hits it."

I: He catches a stone?
Q: **ah ɪmsɪk fi ḥeḏed fi ḍ'arb**

uh catch there is stone there is hitting
"Uh. He catches a stone and hits it."

I: **Uh.**

Ah: **No. That is, he (the monkey) climbs up the tree?**

Q: **arwe ḥeđa**

yeah this
"Yeah."

Ah: **Hits a stone?**

Q: **ma fi**

not there is
"There isn't."

Ah: **He does not have a stone?**

Q: **ma ʃinda ḥeḏed həwwə fi ʃilo ḥeđi fi**

not he has stone he there is carry it this there is
"He does not have a stone. He carries it."

I: **Uh. I heard something like that.**

Ah: **OK. This coconut...**

Q: **arwe**

yeah
"Yeah."

Ah: **There are trees. Are they cut from trees?**

Q: **iqt'ʌw min ḥeḏer**

cut from trees
"Cut from trees."

Ah: **What do they do?**

Q: **qiqt'ʌw min ḥeḏer**

cut from trees
"Cut from trees."

Ah: **And then cut from trees?**
Q: aiwa
Yeah
"Yeah."

Ah: This is tender or hard?

Q: la t'ari hæði beiden fi
no tender this then there is
"No, this is tender. Then, there is..."

Ah: You break it with a knife or a stone?

Q: kullo fi fi ma fi zikkin fi hægər
all of it there is there is not there is knife there is stone
"Not a knife, but a stone."

Ah: That is, you are what?

Q: lækin mumkin fi sawwi fi ə'arb sikkin
but maybe there is do there is hitting knife
"But maybe it is hit with a knife."

Ah: Because here coconut comes to Gurayat.

Q: aiwa
Yeah
"Yeah."

Ah: Too hard, right?

I: This is a hammer?

Q: aiwa hæða lef
Yeah this (is) why
"Yeah, this is why?"

Ah: Why is it hard?

Q: hæða kullo fi berrah fi hær kægir beiden jidgi zai hæða
this (is) all of it there is outside there is hot a lot then it comes like this
"They are all hot from outside, then it becomes like this."

Ah: Yeah. That is, what comes here, how old is it?
I: This becomes strong, then?

Q: **ah sawwi kīdē**
   uh do like this
   "Uh, like this."

Ah: That is, the coconut that comes here... how old is it? Has it been cut from trees a long time ago... two years?

Q: **mēber mumkīn thèlaēbè sēe sēe bējīn jīdī**
   trees maybe three year four year then there is it comes
   "From trees... maybe three or four years, then it comes here."

Ah: This is a piece?

Q: **ḥabbe la bēs**
   piece no only
   "One piece only."

Ah: What comes to Gurayat... how old is it?

Q: **ḥādā lef fi bēryā fi kābir fi kīdē fi ʃil bēryā kulla bējīn fi hutt'ā bēryā mumkīn xēmsē jom sītē jom ʃēfē jom jom**
   this (is) why there is outside there is a lot there is like this there is carry outside all of it then there is put it outside maybe five day six day ten day
   "A lot of them are put outside maybe for five or six or ten days."

Ah: Yeah.

Q: **fi jīdī zār ḥādī**
   there is it comes like this
   "It comes like this."

Ah: OK. What is its color up there on the trees?

Q: **axō'lr**
   green
   "Green."

Ah: Green?
Ah: Why is its color brown when it comes here? What is its color here?

Ah: Why, then?

Ah: Sun?

Ah: Maybe it is put in the sun from outside for ten or fifteen days.
APPENDIX II

DATA LISTS & TABLES
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject's pronunciation</th>
<th>Native speaker's pronunciation</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
<th>Token-type ratio&lt;sup&gt;42&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>absæm</td>
<td>abu usæm</td>
<td>Abu Usama</td>
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<tr>
<td>adis</td>
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<td>Haditha</td>
<td>0.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ah</td>
<td>uh</td>
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<td>girl</td>
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<td>town</td>
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<sup>42</sup> The token-type ratio = the number of the occurrences of a word/the number of word types in the speaker's speech.
is good 0.009
it separates 0.004
he drinks 0.004
it is 0.004
it is installed 0.014
it comes up 0.076
is 0.009
before 0.004
how 0.009
it is installed 0.014
that is 0.004
was 0.014
how much 0.014
five 0.014
how much 0.014
fifty 0.009
chemicals 0.004
speech 0.004
chlorine 0.004
how much 0.014
five 0.014
fifty 0.009
carbonate 0.014
many 0.028
all of it 0.009
good 0.014
no 0.009
no 0.009
on me 0.004
on him 0.004
three 0.004
three 0.014
three 0.004
by itself 0.009
why 0.009
with 0.009
not 0.081
not 0.004
not 0.004
water 0.019
water 0.043
water 0.004
machine 0.009
pipes 0.004
available 0.009
salt 0.004
salt 0.004
salty 0.004
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APPENDIX III

PHONETIC CHARTS
Phonetic Chart for H

a. Consonants

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<th>b</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>g</th>
<th>ʔ</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>t'</td>
<td>d'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>η</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>θ</td>
<td>ð</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>s'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>ʒ</td>
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<td></td>
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b. Vowels

<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>ʊ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ</td>
<td>æ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ʌ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>o</td>
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| Affricates: dʒ, tʃ |
| Diphthongs: ai, aw |
Phonetic Chart for A

a. Consonants

<table>
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<tr>
<th>b</th>
<th>t</th>
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<th>k</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>r</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>h</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>l</td>
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b. Vowels

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<th>u</th>
<th>o</th>
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### Phonetic Chart for O

**a. Consonants**

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<th>?</th>
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<td>d'</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>r</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>ð</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>y</td>
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<td>j</td>
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**b. Vowels**

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<td>æ</td>
<td>æ</td>
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**c. Other:**

*Affricates: dʒ*

*Diphthongs: ai, aw*
Phonetic Chart for Bas

a. Consonants

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{p} & \text{b} & \text{t} & \text{d} & \text{c} & \text{k} & \text{g} & \text{?} \\
\text{m} & \text{n} & \text{r} \\
\text{f} & \text{θ} & \text{ð} & \text{s} & \text{z} & \text{ʃ} & \text{ʒ} & \text{x} & \text{ɣ} & \text{ɥ} & \text{ɦ} & \text{ɭ} & \text{h} \\
\text{w} & \text{j} \\
\text{l} & \text{t} \\
\end{array}
\]

b. Vowels

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{i} & \text{u} \\
\text{ɪ} & \text{ʊ} \\
\text{e} & \text{ə} & \text{ʌ} \\
\text{æ} & \text{ə} & \text{ɒ} \\
\end{array}
\]

c. Other:

Affricates: \text{dʃ, tʃ}
Diphthongs: \text{ai, aw}
Phonetic Chart for W

a. Consonants

\[ p \quad b \quad t \quad d \quad \ddot{t} \quad k \quad g \quad ? \]
\[ t' \quad d' \quad ] \quad m \quad n \quad \eta \quad r \quad [ \quad r \quad \phi \quad s \quad z \quad \ddagger \quad \chi \quad \gamma \quad \nu \quad \varsigma \quad \varsigma \quad \phi \quad w \quad j \quad ] \]

b. Vowels

\[ i \quad \quad u \quad \quad \ddot{u} \quad \ddot{u} \quad o \quad \ddot{o} \quad e \quad \ddot{e} \quad a \quad \ddot{a} \quad \dddot{a} \quad o \quad \ddot{o} \quad a \quad o \]

b. Other:

Affricates: \( \phi_3 \), \( \dddot{t} \)
Diphthongs: \( ai \), \( aw \)
Phonetic Chart for B

a. Consonants

b t d k g ?
 t' d'
 m n
 r
 f ṥ s z j γ ʰ f ʰ
 s'
 w j
 l

b. Vowels

i u
 i ʊ
 e ə
 æ ø
 a

b. Other:

Affricates: dʒ
Diphthongs: ai, aw
Phonetic Chart for Q

a. Consonants

b t d k g q ?
t'
m n r
f θ ð s z šʒ ʒ x y h ʃ h s'
w j l

b. Vowels

i u
i ɔ
e ə
æ
a ɒ

c. Other:

Affricates: çʒ
Diphthongs: ai, aw
Phonetic Chart for all subjects

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c. Other:

Affricates: ɳ, ʃ
Diphthongs: ai, aw
**Common phones among all subjects**

**Phonetic Chart**

*a. Consonants*

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*c. Other:*

*Affricates:* ʤ
*Diphthongs:* ɑɪ, ɑw