

**THE SYNTAX OF MOROCCAN ARABIC/FRENCH AND
MOROCCAN ARABIC/ STANDARD ARABIC CODE SWICHING**

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SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|------------------|--|
| [] | one-to-one translation |
| { } | idiomatic translation |
| / / | phonemic transcription |
| / | switchable syntactic position |
| // | prohibitive syntactic position |
| * | ungrammatical or unacceptable |
| acc | accusative |
| Adj | adjective |
| Adv | adverb |
| AGR | agreement |
| AGR _g | gender agreement |
| AGR _n | number agreement |
| AGRP | agreement phrase |
| AGR _p | person agreement |
| AGRs | agreement subject (structural subject) |
| ASP | aspect |
| Comp | complementizer |
| COP | copula |
| CP | complementizer phrase |
| CS | code switching |
| dat | dative |
| Det | determiner |
| DP | determiner phrase |
| DS | data set |
| EL | embedded language |
| FC | functional category |
| Fem | feminine |
| FH | functional head |
| FPC | functional parameter constraint |
| Fr | French |
| GB | government and binding |
| gen | genitive |
| HP | head parameter |
| I/INFL | inflection |
| IND | indefinite article |
| IP | inflection phrase |
| LC | lexical category |
| MA | Moroccan Arabic |
| masc | masculine |
| ML | matrix language |
| MLF | matrix language frame (model) |
| MMA | Middle Moroccan Arabic |
| N | noun |
| NEG | negation |
| neg | negation specifier element |
| NEGP | negation phrase |
| nom | nominative |
| NP | noun phrase |

LIST OF NOTATIONS

| Notations | Description |
|-------------|---|
| a } a: } | Lower and more centralized in the presence of pharyngeal sounds, front and half open with plain consonants |
| b | Labial, plosive |
| <u>b</u> | Pharyngealized b |
| d | Dental, plosive |
| <u>d</u> | Pharyngealized d |
| e | Schwa |
| f | Labiodental |
| g | Velar, plosive |
| g̤ | Velar, fricative |
| h | Glottal, fricative |
| h̤ | Pharyngealized h |
| i | Generally, front lip-spread, but exhibit a range of allophonic variation which depends on consonantal environment |
| i: | |
| j | Dental, fricative |
| k | Velar, plosive |
| l | Dental, liquid |
| <u>l</u> | Pharyngealized l |
| m | Labial, nasal |
| <u>m</u> | Pharyngealized m |
| n | Alveolar, nasal |
| q | Uvular, plosive |
| r | Alveolar, liquid |
| s | Dental, fricative |
| <u>s</u> | Pharyngealized s |
| š | Alveolar, fricative |
| t | Dental, plosive |
| <u>t</u> | Pharyngealized t |
| u } u: } | Generally back, lip-rounded, but may vary depending on its sound environment |
| w | Lip-rounded, fricative |
| x | Velar, fricative |
| y | Palatal, fricative |
| z | Dental, fricative |
| ʕ | Pharyngeal consonant |
| ʔ | Glottal plosive |

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-----------|
| 1. INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| 2. DEFINING CODE SWITCHING | 4 |
| 2.0 Introduction | 4 |
| 2.1 Interference, Borrowing and Code Switching | 4 |
| 2.2 Code Switching: Diglossia or Bilingualism ? | 10 |
| 2.3 Code Switching: Alternational, Insertional or Fusional | 13 |
| 2.3.1 Switching Boundaries | 14 |
| 2.3.2 Insertional Code Switching | 16 |
| 2.3.2 Alternational Code Switching | 18 |
| 2.3.3 Fusional Code Switching | 20 |
| 2.4 Conclusion | 21 |
| 3. DIFFERENT PROPOSALS FOR CONSTRAINING CODE SWITCHING | 24 |
| 3.0 Introduction | 24 |
| 3.1 The Equivalence Model | 25 |
| 3.1.1 The Equivalence Constraint | 25 |
| 3.1.2 The Free Morpheme Constraint | 30 |
| 3.1.3 Nonce borrowing: A Rescue for the Equivalence and Free Morpheme Principles | 32 |
| 3.2 The Matrix Model | 34 |
| 3.2.1 System Morphemes in the MLF Model | 36 |
| 3.2.2 Content Morphemes in the MLF Model | 38 |
| 3.3.3 Word Order in the MLF Model | 40 |
| 3.3 The Hierarchical Model | 42 |
| 3.4 Conclusion | 47 |
| 4. SYNTACTIC THEORY AND CODE SWITCHING: THE FUNCTIONAL PARAMETER CONSTRAINT | 49 |
| 4.0 Introduction | 49 |
| 4.1 Theoretical Framework of the FPC | 49 |
| 4.1.1 Parameterisation Theory | 50 |
| 4.1.2 Functional Categories and Code Switching | 56 |
| 4.1.3 Functional Categories vs. Lexical Categories | 60 |
| 4.2 Setting the Parameters | 64 |
| 4.2.1 The Syntax of Arabic and French | 64 |
| 4.2.1.1 VSO/SVO Word Orders | 64 |
| 4.2.1.2 Noun-Adjective Phrases | 70 |
| 4.2.1.3 Adverbs | 72 |
| 4.2.1.4 Prepositions | 74 |
| 4.2.2 Code Switching Constraints | 75 |
| 4.3 Conclusion | 82 |
| 5. THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION | 85 |
| 5.0 Introduction | 85 |
| 5.1 Languages | 85 |
| 5.1.1 Standard Arabic | 86 |
| 5.1.2 Moroccan Arabic | 88 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| 5.1.3 French | 89 |
| 5.2 Bilingual Groups in Morocco | 90 |
| 5.3 Earlier Works on Code Switching in the Moroccan Context | 92 |
| 5.4 Conclusion | 101 |
| | |
| 6. INTRODUCING THE DATA AND SUBJECTS | 103 |
| 6.0 Introduction | 103 |
| 6.1 Looking for Fluent Bilinguals | 103 |
| 6.1.1 Procedures of Data Collection | 104 |
| 6.1.2 Data Sets of the Present Study | 107 |
| 6.2 Data Selection and Transcription | 110 |
| 6.3 Data Analysis | 111 |
| 6.4 Conclusion | 112 |
| | |
| 7. CODE SWITCHING BETWEEN MOROCCAN ARABIC AND FRENCH | 114 |
| 7.0 Introduction | 114 |
| 7.1 The Role of Functional Categories in Constraining Moroccan Arabic/French Code Switching | 114 |
| 7.1.1 Code Switching of DP | 114 |
| 7.1.2 Code Switching of IP | 127 |
| 7.1.3 Code Switching of CP | 132 |
| 7.2 The Role of Lexical Categories in Constraining Moroccan Arabic/French Code Switching | 134 |
| 7.2.1 Code Switching of Prepositions | 135 |
| 7.2.2 Code Switching of Adjectives | 140 |
| 7.2.3 Code Switching of Nouns | 143 |
| 7.2.4 Code Switching of Adverbs | 145 |
| 7.3 Conclusion | 146 |
| | |
| 8. CODE SWITCHING BETWEEN MOROCCAN ARABIC AND STANDARD ARABIC | 149 |
| 8.0 Introduction | 149 |
| 8.1 The Role of Functional Categories in Constraining Moroccan /Standard Arabic Code Switching | 149 |
| 8.1.1 Code Switching of DP | 150 |
| 8.1.2 Code Switching of IP | 154 |
| 8.1.3 Code Switching of CP | 161 |
| 8.2 The Role of Lexical Categories in Constraining Moroccan/Standard Arabic Code Switching | 162 |
| 8.2.1 Code Switching of Prepositions | 163 |
| 8.2.2 Code Switching of Adjectives | 164 |
| 8.2.3 Code Switching of Nouns | 167 |
| 8.2.4 Code Switching of Adverbs | 169 |
| 8.3 From Code Switching to Code Mixing: The Case of Middle Moroccan Arabic | 170 |
| 8.3.1 A New Phono-templatic Structure | 172 |
| 8.3.2 A New Morpho- syntactic structure | 174 |
| 8.3.3 A New Lexico -Stylistic Structure | 178 |

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-----|
| 8.4 Conclusion | 180 |
| 9. CODE SWITCHING: THE FPC AND BEYOND | 183 |
| 9.0 Introduction | 183 |
| 9.1 Accounting for Asymmetries | 183 |
| 9.2 The FPC: A Way Forward | 186 |
| 9.3 Summary | 189 |
| 9.4 Implications for Further Research | 190 |
| | |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 193 |
| | |
| APPENDIX 1 | 203 |
| | |
| APPENDIX 2 | 222 |
| | |
| APPENDIX 3 | 232 |
| | |
| APPENDIX 4 | 251 |
| | |
| APPENDIX 5 | 264 |

The Syntax of Moroccan Arabic/French and Moroccan Arabic/Standard Arabic Code Switching

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ABSTRACT

Contact between different speech communities represents one breeding ground for change and accommodation which can affect the forms as well as the functions of language. Code switching (CS), as one result of this contact situation, is an important site to display the dominance of one language over another, or to witness the resolve of a speech community to incorporate another language so as to satisfy their needs, be them syntactic, lexical or pragmatic. The aim of this thesis is to trace down the formal manifestations of this type of language negotiation whereby switching occurs between two or more languages. It will be shown that, in a CS situation, collision of languages is highly regularised by specific syntactic features. A number of different models to CS structural constraints are considered, and one particular approach based on the analysis of selectional properties of the functional heads is advocated; this I will call the Functional Parameter Constraint (FPC). The underlying assumption of the FPC, which owes its theoretical motivation to recent syntactic research (e.g. Abney 1986, Ouhalla 1991, Chomsky 1995), is that interlanguage parameters, as opposed to language universals, constrain CS. Parameters are restricted to the features of functional categories given that their lexical counterparts are conceptually selected entries which are drawn from an invariant universal vocabulary, and therefore, are not to be parameterised (Chomsky 1995).

Following Ouhalla (1991), three selectional properties for which functional categories can be parameterised cross-linguistically are identified, namely c-selection, m-selection and grammatical features. A corpus consisting of naturally occurring data was gathered to test the empirical validity of the hypothesis set for the study. The results of the examination of Moroccan Arabic/French and Moroccan/Standard Arabic bilingual conversations provide the sought empirical support.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The main aim of the present research is to carry out a study of code switching in the Moroccan situation. It intends to examine the syntactic constraints governing Moroccan Arabic/French and Moroccan/Standard Arabic bilingual conversations, and integrate and develop a framework for the study of code switching. Although work on code switching in the Moroccan situation has been ongoing for almost three decades, none has researched the subject of syntactic constraints in the Moroccan/Standard Arabic situation. As to the Moroccan Arabic/French situation, several studies have been carried out, but only few of them have dealt with the subject of syntactic constraints, and will be reviewed in the course of this study. The present thesis should be seen as a contribution to the ongoing research on code switching in Morocco, and the study of code switching in general.

The theoretical framework of the analysis to be undertaken in the present study is the claim guiding much work on language contact that equivalence between the grammars of two languages facilitates code switching. Underlying this claim is the assumption that in language contact situations, code switching is constrained in the same way, and only by cross-linguistic variation. Proposals to define cross-linguistic variation or equivalence in the case of code switching have generated different views with almost every language pair being introduced (Halmari 1997:1). Yet, little has been said as to the role of independent principles of language in constraining code switching. In most cases, the posited constraints tend to be specific to code switching rather than follow from the general principles which govern language as whole.

The view adopted in this regard is uniform in its conception of constraints for both monolingual and bilingual constructions. It follows from the UG assumption that language is a set of principles and parameters. It also builds on the assumption that code switching is governed by the equivalence paradigm which requires some kind of congruity between the two languages involved in the switch. Given these two assumptions, principles will not, therefore, constrain code switching in view of the fact that they are universals innately and identically endowed in all speakers of any natural

language. Parameters, on the other hand, represent the cross-linguistically variant (i.e. non-equivalent) areas between two or more languages, and therefore must be constraining in nature to code switching. Parameters are associated, following Ouhalla 1991, with specific properties of functional categories such as determiners and inflections as opposed to lexical categories which are conceptually selected entries existing invariantly in all human languages, and therefore belong to the set of universals rather than parameters.

Having set the theoretical assumptions underlying the view proposed for the study of code switching constraints, it remains to test their empirical validity. Naturally occurring data from conversations of Moroccan Arabic/French and Moroccan/Standard Arabic bilinguals has been collected for this purpose. The choice of the two language sets is motivated by the fact that I am a speaker of the three languages, which allows one to have a sense of language and code switching, a sense which often translates into accurate intuitions about the way languages work in contact situations.

In the following chapter (two), I will take the controversial issue of the distinction between (i) code switching and the other language contact phenomena of interference, borrowing and dialect switching, and (ii) between different types of code switching, namely insertional, alternational and fusional, with the aim to unify some of the earlier views on the subject. Chapter three will present a critical review of different approaches to code switching in the light of the Moroccan corpus as well as language sets from other studies. Chapter four will provide the theoretical foundations for the analysis to be carried out later in chapters seven and eight. It will set out the main hypothesis of the thesis (the FPC), namely that code switching is constrained by parametric values of functional categories. Chapter five will sketch briefly the background against which the research is set by introducing the linguistic situation in Morocco and a review of earlier studies on code switching in the Moroccan context. Chapter six will report on the nature of the subjects and the data gathered for the study. Reference will also be made in this chapter to the procedures followed during data gathering, transcription and analysis. Chapter seven will be devoted to the analysis of Moroccan Arabic/French switching found in the corpus using the theoretical framework laid out in chapter four. A similar analysis will be carried out on Moroccan/Standard Arabic switching in chapter eight,

which will also explore the applicability of the concept of code mixing in the Moroccan/Standard Arabic contact situation. The findings obtained from the analysis will lead to the final chapter, which will provide a restatement of the strengths as well as the challenges of the FPC hypothesis.

CHAPTER TWO

DEFINING CODE SWITCHING

2.0. Introduction

Although code switching has been an increasingly attractive area of research, it remains one of the least defined manifestations of language contact. This is because the study of the phenomenon of CS borrows heavily from a variety of linguistic disciplines, each of which has contributed to it from a different perspective. Nonetheless, it is generally agreed that CS involves the alternation of two or more languages. The level of alternation can occur at intra-sentential as well as inter-sentential boundaries. The distinction between intra- and inter-sentential CS will be discussed in the following chapter, which will also review the common assumption that CS grammaticality does not go beyond the sentence/clause boundaries.

For now, the definition of CS as the alternation of two languages will have to be examined in relation to other language contact phenomena such as interference and borrowing which are often thought to be motivated by different needs and undergo different linguistic processes (Clyne 1967, Romaine 1995). It follows that only by singling out CS from other phenomena, can we successfully determine its specific characteristics. In the section that follows, I will review the already existing accounts that have been suggested for this purpose. I will then argue that, in the process of determining CS grammatical constraints, interference needs to be distinguished from CS, while borrowing does not.

2.1. Interference, Borrowing and Code Switching

Within the scope of language contact, the distinction between interference and CS has often drawn less attention than that between CS and borrowing. Interference reflects "*a speaker-specific deviation from the language being spoken due to the influence of the other 'deactivated' language*" (Grosjean 1995:262). This view presupposes a strictly monolingual context in which only one language must be operational. If traces from the other language which is supposed to be deactivated appear, interference will take place. CS, on the other hand, involves a bilingual context which assumes the activation of two languages although

they may have different levels of operationality in the sense that one language is less activated than the other but never completely deactivated (cf. Myers-Scotton 1995, Grosjean 1995).

Interference also differs from borrowing mainly in that the former is contingent and individual while the latter is collective and systematic (Mackey 1968:569). That is, interference is an idiosyncratic feature of the individual which cannot be predicted systematically despite that the various factors contributing to its production may be traced back. By contrast, borrowing is a property of the speech community rather than the individual. It is not sporadic and is highly regularised. While interference can touch all levels of language, phonological, syntactic, lexical, semantic and/or pragmatic, borrowing is often restricted to the lexical level¹ wherein a word or short expression is taken from another language (Grosjean 1995:213).

The phenomenon of interference has been more widely investigated in the field of interlanguage studies (e.g. Sharwood-Smith and Kellerman 1986). More neutral terms such as transfer and cross-linguistic influence have been adopted to refer to the same phenomenon. Although no consensus definition of interference has emerged, there is general agreement that it can be divided into two types: positive and negative transfer. Positive transfer refers to cases where the knowledge of one language (usually L₁) facilitates the learning of another (L₂). Negative transfer relates to cases where previous learning hinders the learning of new skills (for illustration and further discussion see Romaine 1995:52-55). Grosjean (1995:262) postulates a different typology for interference: static and dynamic. Static interference is a reflection of permanent traces from one language onto the other such as permanent accent and the meaning extensions of particular words. Dynamic interference is associated with ephemeral influence from the other language not being spoken such as accidental slips on the stress pattern of a word and momentary use of a syntactic structure. In either case, Grosjean notes that it is easier to study interference within a monolingual rather than a bilingual mode.

- (1) šefti l-qamar yak ? *Il est beau?*
[you-saw the-moon_{masc} ya? It_{masc} is beautiful_{masc}?]
{Have you seen the moon? It's beautiful}
(MA/Fr, Lahlou 1998)

The clause *il est beau* in (1) above, if produced in a monolingual context, would clearly count as a case of interference from Moroccan Arabic into French. The French pronoun *il* should

bear the property [+feminine] of its language anaphoric reference *la lune* (moon: +feminine). Instead, it has negatively transferred the gender property [+masculine] from the Moroccan Arabic *l-qamar* (the anaphoric noun in example (1)). The same goes for the predicative adjective *beau* which should be feminine as in *belle* according to the French syntax.

In a bilingual context, such as (1), it would be difficult to argue that it is a case of ‘sporadic’ occurrence of interference. That the pronoun *il* takes the property [+masculine] follows from the fact that the syntactic rules of anaphora are observed. Instances like (1) are also reported in other language sets not to reflect a lack of competence in either language but are rather assumed (cf. Franceschini 1998, Reynolds 1999) to indicate a case of ‘code mixing’ or ‘fusion’ which supports the hypothesis that CS has come to be used as a consistent code in its own right (Franceschini 1998:61).

Permanent accents, when they are characteristic of a speech community rather than the individual, may also indicate the existence of an independent code or dialect. For instance, Gumperz (1982) reports some prosodic features which are common only to Pakistani and Indian minorities in Britain (in Romaine 1995:54). Accounting for these features as a type of interference will raise the question as to whether non-standard dialects of English should be considered as types of interference too. Alternatively, these features can simply be said to refer to a different dialect such as Indian English which might lead to the controversy of having a multitude of Englishes: French English, German English, Finnish English, *etc.* Although cases of permanent accent are clearly distinguished from CS forms, on the basis that the former is usually a recurring phonological or prosodic feature, the borderline is not as clear in the case of borrowing.

In distinguishing between CS and borrowing, studies carried out by most scholars (e.g. Gumperz 1982, Poplack, Wheeler and Westwood 1987) generally make reference to phonological and/or morpho-syntactic integration. CS is said to consist of alternations of two languages “à usage momentané” (Nait M’Barek and Sankoff 1988:144) whereby elements from one language will be used to cater for immediate communicative rather than lexical needs without being assimilated into the other language. By contrast, borrowing is thought to involve the integration of elements or structures from one lexicon into another such as *bwata*, *s-salu:n*, and *shmendifir* which are integrated forms of the French *boite*, *le salon*, and *chemin*

de fer respectively (Nait M'Barek and Sankoff, 1988:143). Phonological assimilation is considered as the chief, if not the only determining feature of borrowing (Halmari 1997:173).

- (2) Oli putter klöntti
[was butter lump]
{That was a lump of butter}
(Finnish/English, Halmari 1997:47)

A prominent feature of the borrowed form *putter* in (2) is its complete assimilation into the phonological system of Finnish. In fact, a large number of borrowed forms reported in other languages follow the same type of integration, which is also characteristic of French and Standard Arabic forms borrowed into Moroccan Arabic. Nonetheless, defining borrowing in terms of phonological adaptation *per se* is not without limitations because as Myers-Scotton (1992:31) explains “*while most established forms may be well phonologically integrated to the ML² by no means do all B[orrowed] forms show such integration*”. For example, Romaine (1995:601) reports that the word *chips* without undergoing any structural assimilation whatsoever has become a borrowing in the speech of many Punjabi/English bilinguals.

The total phonological assimilation of borrowing implies the complete un-assimilation of CS. Yet, the criterion of ‘phonological purity’ for CS, as conceded by Halmari (1997:173), can be blurred by bilingual permanent accents. For instance, Pickles (1999) reports a crosslinguistic influence in the pronunciation of the sound /r/ by Maghrebi pupils in France which clearly is not a case of borrowing; otherwise, every French category, be it functional or lexical, containing the sound /r/ would be considered a borrowing. The fact that switches can equally have traces of phonological influence from another language has been noted in other language sets. For example, Sobin (1976:42) mentions cases from Spanish/English data where phonologically assimilated items are CS forms rather than borrowings.

Despite the fact that borrowed forms tend to be phonologically integrated to their host language, their distinction from CS on the basis of this principle alone does not provide a clear-cut boundary between the two, hence the need for new criteria. Morpho-syntactic features have therefore been postulated (e.g. Poplack and Meechan 1995) as a complementary criterion in an attempt to account for CS as a separate language contact phenomenon. In accordance with similar studies by Bentahila and Davies (1983, 1991) and

Heath's (1989) characterising the relevance of morpho-syntactic features to borrowings in Moroccan Arabic, my data shows supportive evidence for the correlation between morpho-syntactic integration and borrowings. One example of this is,

- (3) Shri:t waħed l-ananasa
 [I-bought one the-pineapple-FEM]
 {I bought a pineapple}
 (MA/Fr, Heath 1989)

The EL³ lexeme *anana*sa has undergone full integration at the phonological, morphological and syntactic levels. At the phonological level, the sounds /n/ and /s/ have been pharyngealised into /ṇ/ and /ṣ/, pharyngealisation being a property of Moroccan Arabic but not French. At the morphological level, integration caused the inflection of the French lexeme with the Moroccan Arabic feminine morpheme /-a/. At the syntactic level, the form *anana*sa has been integrated into the Moroccan Arabic system thus producing a type of structure would be ungrammatical in French. Note here that in stark contrast to Moroccan Arabic, French syntax allows nouns such as *ananas* to be preceded by strictly one definite or indefinite article. Moroccan Arabic nouns, on the other hand, can be modified by a double determiner (numeral + definite article) to indicate indefiniteness.

- (4) *j'ai achet  une l'ananas
 [I-have bought one the-pineapple]
 {I bought a pineapple}

Accordingly, scholars usually set their prototype borrowed forms in contrast with CS forms which are thought to preserve the morpho-syntax of their source language. Yet, not all borrowed forms are morpho-syntactically integrated. For example, the syntax (as well as the phonology⁴) of some French expressions such as *bon voyage* and *eau de toilette* remains intact when borrowed into English. Besides, not all morpho-syntactically integrated categories are borrowed forms. In fact, a large number of elements with this type of integration found in Moroccan Arabic/French bilingual conversations falls within the category of CS.

- (5) qali "tu pisses" w kayn msa:ken ta-y-mši-w⁵
 [he-told-me "you pee" and was poor_{plr} TNS-AGR_p-go-AGR_n
 l-la toilette baš y-pissi-w
 to-the toilet so that TNS/AGR-pee-AGR]
 {He asked to pee and there were poor others going to the toilet for a pee}
 (MA/Fr, Bentahila & Davies 1991:384)

Despite the morpho-syntactic integration of forms like *y-pissi-w* in (5), they are to be considered as switches rather than borrowed forms. This is because borrowing is a process that is open to monolinguals as well as bilinguals, whereas the meaning or communicative function of the alternation in (5) is hardly recognisable to the Moroccan Arabic monolingual. Such occurrences are the preserve of bilinguals and, therefore, must not be equated with borrowed forms unless we are to add another category of borrowing that is specific to bilinguals only. They are normally idiosyncratic productions of the individual bilingual rather than the speech community. Their frequency of occurrence would, therefore, be very limited compared with established borrowings or native forms. Myers-Scotton (1992:35) points out in this respect that “*Borrowed forms, as ‘naturalised’ ML forms, should have a similar frequency to indigenous ML forms*”.

To maintain the validity of the criterion of integration, but most importantly to save the equivalence constraint (see 3.1.3), Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (1988) identify another type of borrowing which does not satisfy the conditions of accessibility and/or diffusion among monolinguals. This new type of borrowing is called ‘nonce borrowing’ as opposed to established (frequent) borrowing. The addition, however, of the category of nonce borrowing, as Myers-Scotton (1992:32) argues, is extraneous and does not add any explanatory value to the study of CS. Occurrences of this type, at least in Moroccan Arabic/French bilingual conversations, are found to be bound in the same way as non-integrated CS forms. For example, the mixed form *y-pissi-w* in (5) should be considered, in terms of Poplack’s definition, as a nonce borrowing since it contains a single French lexeme that has been morpho-syntactically assimilated into the ML (Moroccan Arabic). However, the structural integration of such forms is grammatically motivated in the same way that other non-integrated forms are as will be illustrated in chapter four. Bentahila and Davies (1983:322-4) attribute similar instances to the necessity of subcategorisation rules.

(6) *nqra šwiya baš r̀eussir à l'examin
 [I-work a bit so that to succeed at the-exam]
 {I work a bit harder to pass my exams}

(7) nqra šwiya baš n- r̀eussir à l'examin
 [I-work a bit so that TNS/AGR-succeed at the-exam]
 {I work a bit harder to pass my exams}
 (MA/Fr, Bentahila & Davies 1983:323)

According to Bentahila and Davies (1983:323), the hypothetical example in (6) is an impossible switch because it violates the Moroccan Arabic subcategorisation rules which require that *baš* introduces a finite clause. The acceptability of (7), on the other hand, follows from the satisfaction of the subcategorisation constraint⁶.

What the category of nonce borrowing shows us, though, is that CS and borrowing may undergo the same morpho-syntactic procedures as illustrated by examples (3) and (5). Evidence from other languages strongly supports this conclusion. In this context, Myers-Scotton (1993a:163) claims that

they [CS and borrowing] undergo largely the same morphosyntactic procedures (of the ML) during language production. Therefore, it turns out, the motivation for distinguishing them in order to assess models of morphosyntactic constraints seems to evaporate, at least for content morphemes.

Syntactic constraints governing CS must therefore govern borrowing in the same way if we assume that they “*are part of the same developmental continuum, not unrelated phenomena*” (Myers-Scotton 1993a:163) which is the case in the Moroccan context. Saib (1989:48) observes that “*En effet MC (melange de codes), dans le contexte marocain, a trait à un continuum allant de l'emprunt à PC (permutation de codes)*”. In the Moroccan context, the continuum process is observable not only within Moroccan Arabic/French alternations but also, and most particularly, between Moroccan Arabic, Standard Arabic and Berber. The Moroccan/Standard Arabic situation is often referred to as diglossic (Ferguson 1959, Bentahila 1983, Heath 1989). Berber, on the other hand, is a genetically and structurally different language although in intense contact with, if not shift towards Arabic varieties (Youssi 1989, see also 5.2 for more discussion). My concern in this thesis, however, does not extend to Berber⁷. None of my informants used Berber in the recorded conversations which mainly involve switching between Moroccan Arabic, Standard Arabic and French. The question that arises here is whether it is appropriate to speak of CS in the case Moroccan/Standard Arabic alternations.

2.2. Code Switching: Diglossia or Bilingualism ?

As mentioned earlier, the two varieties of Arabic used in Morocco are said to stand in a diglossic relationship, each of which has a different function and status. Using Ferguson's labels of Low variety (L) and High variety label (H), Bentahila (1983:4-5) claims that

Moroccan Arabic (L) is not socially valued in the same way as Standard Arabic (H). This statement implies that, unlike CS, when alternating between the two varieties of Arabic⁸, we are in reality switching functions rather than codes just as when we switch styles judging by the formality of the context. It is often held among Moroccan sociolinguists (e.g. Bentahila 1983, Youssi 1995) that Moroccan Arabic is reserved for informal conversations while Standard Arabic is strictly used in formal contexts. Moroccan/Standard Arabic alternations become in this respect a type of style shifting (SS), what the variationist would refer to as the alternative way(s) of saying the same thing in the same language. Labov (1972:188) states that:

It is common for a language to give many alternate ways of saying the same thing. Some words like car and automobile seem to have the same referents, others have two pronunciations like *working* and *workin'*. There are syntactic options such as *Who is he talking to?* vs. *To Whom is he talking?* or *It's easy for him to talk* vs. *For him to talk is easy*.

Here, *car* and *automobile* in English, the same as the Standard Arabic and Moroccan Arabic *z-zawja wa l-awlaad* and *l-mra u ddrari* in (8) and (9) respectively are similar in terms their propositional content. I propose to treat cases of Moroccan/Standard Arabic alternations such as (8) as CS rather than SS forms.

(8) ndiru taħna z-zawja w l-awla:d
 [we-do too the-wife and the-children]
 {I'd like to have a wife and children}
 (MA/SA, DS 2A, 39)

(9) ndiru taħna l-mra w d-drari
 [the-wife and the-children]

The fact that (8) and (9) share the same propositional content does not necessarily mean that (8) is an instance of SS. The Moroccan Arabic/French alternation in (10) has the same content as the monolingual Moroccan Arabic counterpart in (11) and would still be clearly identified as a CS form.

(10) bħal un professeur marocain...
 [like a teacher Moroccan...]
 {Like a Moroccan teacher}
 (MA/Fr, Heath 1989:34)

(11) bħal waħed l-'ustad megribi
 [like one the- teacher Moroccan]
 {Like a Moroccan teacher}

Similarity in terms of propositional or even equivalence at the discourse level are not solid criteria for the distinction between CS and SS. Romaine (1995:170) notes in this respect that

Style shifting accomplishes for the monolingual what code-switching does for the bilingual. A choice between forms of one language, e.g. lexis, phonology etc. can convey the same kinds of social meanings as a choice between languages

According to Romaine's definition above, Moroccan/Standard Arabic alternations would not fall under the category of SS. The two varieties are not mutually intelligible (cf. Nortier 1990) and therefore switching between the two is not a process that is open to the Moroccan Arabic monolingual.

Counter-evidence to Labov's claim that alternating dialects is a shifting of styles and not codes comes also from varieties he studied such as Black English/Standard English. DeBose (1992:157) states that the interaction between Black English and Standard American English is governed by the same principles as CS. She claims that instances like (12) point towards considering the two varieties as two separate systems with autonomous grammars.

(12) He *done* lost his poor mind out there, huh?
(Standard English/*Black English*, DeBose 1992:161)

The *done*-VERB subconstruction of the Black English subject-predicate construction is incompatible with the grammar of Standard English which indicates the case of a switching between two systems rather than a shifting of two styles from the same code. Evidence attesting the hypothesis that Moroccan Arabic/Standard Arabic alternations are governed in the same way as CS forms comes from dialects of other languages such as Spanish (Alvarez-Càccamo 1990, 1998) and Italian (Giacalone Ramat 1995, Alfonzetti 1998). For instance, Giacalone Ramat reports the existence of switches between Italian dialects which satisfy different structural constraints such as the equivalence and government constraints.

(13) venticinque anni *avi*
[twenty-five years has]
{He is twenty five years old}
(Standard Italian/*Southern Italian*, Alfonzetti, in Giacalone Ramat 1995:57)

(14) *Mio fratello non *l-e riva*
[my brother not he-is arrived]
{My brother has not arrived}
(Standard Italian/*Milanese Italian*, Giacalone Ramat 1995:57)

According to Giacalone Ramat, the grammaticality of (13) and the ungrammaticality of (14) find justification in the equivalence constraint (see 3.1 for discussion of the equivalence and other constraints). The word order of Milanese Italian and Standard Italian in respect of negation is parametric. Negation follows the copula *be* in Milanese but precedes it in the

Standard dialect which explains why switches like (14) are disallowed on account of the violation of the equivalence condition.

It seems that the autonomy of the linguistic systems both in the American and Italian context discussed above provides support for describing their alternations as CS rather than SS forms. In his comment on a similar situation originally investigated by Thelander (1979) which involves Burtrask (a Northern Swedish dialect) and Standard Swedish, Trudgill (1986:91) also associates switching with language distance. He writes:

Burtrask is an area where there is a considerable amount of distance between the local dialect and the national standard. In divergent dialect communities, it is quite normal to find situational dialect switching.

Similarly, Moroccan and Standard Arabic fulfil the criterion of autonomy (distance) not only in terms of their syntax (cf. Aoun, Benmamoun and Sportiche 1994) but also in terms of the extent to which one is comprehensible to the other (see 5.2). It is reasonable to assume at this stage that dialect switching between Moroccan Arabic and Standard Arabic is different from SS. As a matter of fact, this type of dialect switching constitutes another form of CS in which the interaction of two linguistic systems requires that the grammatical features should be arranged in a specific way.

2.3. Code Switching: Alternational, Insertional or Fusional?

Much of the debate on CS grammatical constraints still evolves around the question of whether the interaction of a pair of languages is organised according to the internal rules of one or both grammatical systems. Should the switch be formed according to the rules of one grammatical system (ML), the guest (EL) constituents will simply be inserted into the frame of the ML. The resulting switch will therefore be insertional and the identification of the ML will be obvious and automatic. On the other hand, if the switch is formed according to the rules of two grammatical systems, the configuration of the CS will be alternational in the sense that the constituents of each language preserve the frame specific to their system. In recent studies (Auer 1998, Reynolds 1999), there has been a shift from the insertional/alternational paradigm to account for CS as a code in its own right. CS is viewed as a sort of 'fusion' or 'code mixing' of two systems creating a new code. More research is still needed to examine how the grammar of this new code operates and at what level it is

constrained. That said, the concept of code mixing will be examined in chapter eight for the Moroccan/Standard Arabic corpus.

Within the insertional/alternational framework, the search for grammatical constraints on CS in most current studies (Poplack and Meechan 1995, Myers-Scotton 1995) is confined to a maximal unit of analysis. In syntactic theory, grammatical rules and principles are generally set within the sentence boundaries, i.e., grammar is not subject to any constraints beyond the sentence level. In much the same way, syntactic analysis of CS necessitates the determination of the maximal unit of analysis within which constraints on CS should be defined.

2.3.1. Switching Boundaries

CS occurs beyond as well as within the sentence boundaries. However, alternations like Poplack's famous example (1980) below are often thought to be irrelevant to the study of CS grammatical constraints

- (15) Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English *y terminó en español*
[Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English and finish it in Spanish]
(English /Spanish, Poplack 1980)

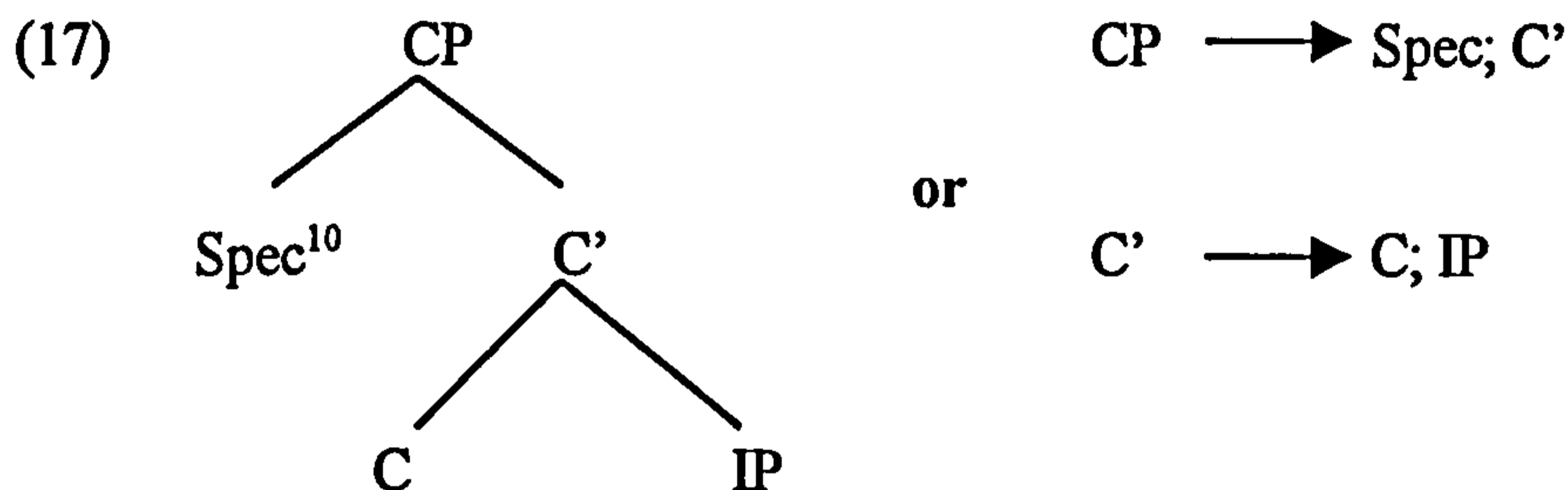
The switch in Poplack's example above is not constrained at any point because the utterance consists of two clauses which are independent of each other in terms of grammatical rules. Myers-Scotton and Jake (1995:982-3) point out in this respect that

regardless of whether the conjunction relating them belongs to one language or the other, CS between the two clauses involves the alternation of two monolingual grammatical frames which makes the distinction between ML and EL in this case inappropriate.

In their opinion, any search for grammatical constraints on this type of language alternation, called an inter-sentential/clausal CS, is deemed not necessary. Inter-sentential/clausal CS, irrespective of how different the structures of the two clauses are, is thought to be free and grammatical as far as each clause satisfies separately the well formedness conditions of the language in which it is uttered. In consequence, most studies of CS constraints have focused on those alternations which occur within the syntactic boundaries of the clause, commonly known in the CS literature as intra-sentential CS. Example (16) is a prototypical instance of intra-sentential CS where the clause is dominantly Moroccan Arabic with a single switch of the French preposition.

- (16) ka-ta-kl-u *jusqu'a* l-meǧrb
 [you-eat until-to the-nightfall]
 {You eat until the nightfall}
 (MA/Fr, Heath 1989:40)

In more recent work, Myers-Scotton and Jake (1995) choose the complementizer⁹ phrase (CP) as the unit of analysis relevant for the determination of CS constraints. They identify the CP as “a syntactic structure expressing the predicate argument structure of a clause” (Myers-Scotton and Jake 1995:982). The CP is roughly the technical term for clause within the Government and Binding (GB) model with the following tree representation:



Using the same line of analysis, Jake (1994:279-81) explained the grammaticality of some Moroccan Arabic/French CS forms such as (18) and the unacceptability of others such as (19) which first appeared in Bentahila and Davies (1983).

- (18) [_{CP} moi [_{IP} e [_{VP} dxlt]]]
 I went in

- (19) * [_{CP} [moi] [ana] [_{IP} e dxlt]]
 I I went in

According to Jake, the grammaticality of (18) derives from the fact that the Spec position of CP is empty, hence the insertion of the French pronoun. By contrast, the same position in (19) is filled by the Moroccan Arabic *ana* and the insertion of the French pronoun *moi* caused a double filling of the same slot which violates the syntactic rules of Moroccan Arabic.

By focussing on the CP or sentence boundaries in much of the literature on CS, there seem to be a lack of interest in inter-sentential CS which is often excluded as unconstrained. Moroccan Arabic/French CS instances, reported in earlier works, show, however, a reasonable arrangement of grammars beyond the sentence level, i.e. at the inter-sentential level.

instances like (23) in which both systems are equally represented in the sentence led proponents of the model (e.g. Myers-Scotton 1993a:36) to rethink the notion of asymmetry.

(23) *on doit avoir* waHed l-xutta f-l-bda dyal l-^sam
[we should have one the-plan in-the-beginning of the-year]
{We will need a plan of work for the beginning of this year}
(MA/Fr, DS 3C, 55)

(23) consists of an instance of switching in both directions. French elements such as the impersonal pronoun *on* do not have an equivalent in Moroccan Arabic, and the same holds true for Moroccan Arabic elements such as the double determiner (Det) *waHed l-* in French. Commenting on Joshi's model, Myers-Scotton (1993a:36) says that

First, there is no switching of categories at all in the MLF model, but rather a switching of procedures from those of the ML to the EL. This happens only when EL islands are formed. Second, there is no obvious motivation to restrict the direction of the inhibition and activation procedures.

According to her, (23) would be a case of ML + EL island where procedures are switched, i.e. two morpho-syntactic systems are alternated. The theoretical motivation and validity of the notion of islandhood will be discussed in 3.2.

With the exception of EL islands, CS is considered within the MLF model as an insertional process given that the switching of EL elements still has to satisfy syntactic rules imposed by the *ML Hypothesis* such as the *Morpheme Order Principle* and the *System Morpheme Principle* (see 3.2). While the notion of ML is essential in insertional models of CS, its identification is often controversial. Myers-Scotton (1993a:66-9) proposes criteria based on individual proficiency or dominance within the social community. She states that the ML tends to be the L₁ in which the bilingual is normally more proficient, or the unmarked language which dominates the number of types of interaction across the speech community. Such a claim seems to be incompatible with her assertion that the CP is the maximal unit within which CS insertions are constrained. It is unlikely the CP alone can reflect the bilingual proficiency of the individual or the dominant language in the community. Examples like (24) in which the CP is dominantly French with single insertions from Moroccan Arabic are frequent in my corpus. Yet, French is only a second language to my informants while Moroccan Arabic, clearly predominant in their overall interaction, is their L₁.

(24) *Chaque type de jeu a une grande importance* dyalu¹²
[each type of game has a big importance its]
{Each game has its own importance}
(MA/Fr, DS 2, 19)

If using Myers-Scotton's criterion of social dominance, the ML in (24) would be Moroccan Arabic in which case the principles of the ML hypothesis would be violated. For example, the French adjective *grande* occupies a pre-nominal position despite the fact it must be positioned post-nominally in conformity with the syntax of the ML (Moroccan Arabic). But again, Myers-Scotton (1993a:70) claims that the ML assignment is dynamic, and a change in its identity is possible within the same conversation or sentence. There is, however, as Bentahila and Davies point out, a danger of circularity with this type of argument, as it will become "*all too easy to end up saying that each time the language changes, the matrix language has changed too*" (1998:29).

Myers-Scotton (1993a:68) goes further to postulate another criterion which she calls the *Frequency-Based Criterion* stating that "*The ML is the language of more morphemes in interaction types including intrasentential CS*". She adds that the frequency counts must be based on a 'discourse sample' rather than sentences and that borrowed forms must be excluded from the counts. The criterion does not seem to be valid, at least in the Moroccan context. In all conversations recorded for the purpose of this study, the number of morphemes is predominantly Moroccan Arabic; nevertheless, CS forms like in (24) do not seem to have Moroccan Arabic as their ML. In fact, neither Moroccan Arabic nor French represents the ML in Myers-Scotton's sense; (24) consists of an alternation or mixing of both systems. The French adjective precedes its head noun despite it not being a syntactic property of Moroccan Arabic, and the Moroccan Arabic possessive pronoun post-modifies its head NP, which is not a syntactic feature of French either.

2.3.3. Alternational Code Switching

The claim that CS is alternational is particularly associated with local models of CS (see 3.1). It is held that both grammars are represented in the sentence producing an alternational configuration of both systems. A prototypical instantiation of alternation is the one occurring between clauses or sentences as in (15) above. But alternation can also happen within the clause boundaries as in (25) below.

(25) *John gave a book ek larakii ko*
 [a girl to]
 {John gave a book to a girl}
 (Hindi/English, Pandit 1990:45)

The configuration of the adposition phrase in (25) has been formed according to the Hindi syntactic frame as a post-position. In English, on the other hand, a verb such as *give* would require in the case at hand that the second internal argument (indirect object) takes the form of a prepositional phrase.

In the same context, Guowen Huang and Milroy (1994) provide a more precise distinction between insertional and alternational CS in relation to which parts of the clause have been switched. Basically, their claim is that the switch is alternational if it involves a whole clause element, and insertional if it involves only part of it. By clause element, they mean any of Leech and associates' (1982) five categories of Subject, Predicator, Object, Complement and Adverbial. They illustrate their claim by the following examples:

(26) *nei yeo mo any older relatives?*

(27) *nei yeo mo dig older relatives a?*
[Do you have any older relatives?]

(Cantonese/English, Guowen Huang & Milroy 1994:37)

Here the clause element Object is *any older relatives*. In (26) the whole clause element has been switched providing therefore an alternational structure. By contrast, in example (27) only part of Object has been switched into English while the remainder is in Cantonese which yields an insertional structure. Guowen Huang and Milroy's claim implies that switching is alternational when occurring at a smaller level than the clause element such as the phrasal level. One thing we know is that the phrase has its own internal structure governed by phrasal rules which reflect the grammar of its language. For instance, although the switch in (24) is not at the level of Guowen Huang and Milroy's clause element, it involves the alternation of English and Hindi systems because the grammars of both languages surface in the same sentence.

From what precedes, it seems that, apart from giving some prototypical illustrations of the two CS configurations, it is hard to draw a fine definition for each of them. The reason for this may be that CS is both insertional and alternational and therefore devising CS constraints on the basis of this typology may be invalid. Evidence from other languages shows that CS can be blocked regardless of whether it is insertional as in (28) where only a single English lexeme has been inserted into a Spanish frame, or alternational as in (29) where both languages contribute to the verb's inflection.

(28) *Estoy *eat*-iendo

[am eat-ing]

{ I am eating }

(29) **The student* had visto la película italiana

[the students had seen the movie Italian]

{ The students had seen the Italian movie }

(Spanish/*English*, Belazi, Rubin and Torbio 1994:224-5)

As will be shown in chapter four, syntactic requirements of CS are satisfied regardless of whether it is a singly inserted lexeme or an alternated grammatically formed string of constituents. I will argue that selectional requirements of specific grammatical categories are responsible for the constrained nature of CS, be it insertional or alternational.

2.3.4. Fusional Code Switching

Looking at CS from this new perspective, the main concern is not the distinction between insertional and alternational switching but rather between code switching and code mixing. Code mixing refers to the emergence of a new code from the mixing of two languages as is the case for pidgins and inter-languages. Franceschini (1998:62) finds that code mixing and inter-language are similar as neither is etymologically established as a language in the sense that they are not passed from one generation to the other; they are, however, different in that code mixing develops group norms and functions and expresses group identity.

It naturally follows that in the case of a new code we are also dealing with an independent grammar or at least a grammaticalisation process which is accompanying the emerging new code. Auer (1998:16) points out in this respect that “*the continuum from code-alternation to a mixed code seems to represent one possible path of development in the course of time. It may be an example of a 'cline' from pragmatics to grammar, i.e. a case of grammaticalisation*”. Studies indicating the ‘suspension of syntax’ in CS (Nortier 1995:89) and the use of CS as a ‘strategy of neutrality’ (Heller 1988, Myers-Scotton 1993b) have been taken as examples illustrating the convergence towards a new code (cf. Alvarez-Cáccamo 1998:35).

Bolonyai (1997) reports a similar case of code mixing in childhood bilingualism which she calls a *Composite Matrix Language*. In her study of a Hungarian/American bilingual child, she notices a process of ‘convergence’ whereby a bilingual speech passes disguised in the form of a monolingual speech.

(30) játsz-ok *school-ol*
 [play_{1sing/pres/subj.conj} school_{acc}]
 {I'm playing school}
 (Hungarian/*English*, Bolonyai 1997:34)

According to Bolonyai (1997), the switch in (30) is a case of Composite Matrix Language which exhibits an English word-order mapped onto Hungarian lexical items. Hungarian requires that the object NP should occur in topic position. Similar cases are reported in the Moroccan Arabic/French context where the lexicon comes from one language and part of the abstract lexical structure comes from the other.

(31) *Regarde la montagne!* la hadi lli ʿla š-šmal
 [look at the mountain_{fem} no this_{-fem} that on the-left
 šefti šha:l kbira
 you-saw how big_{-fem}]
 {Look at the mountain! Did you see how big it is?}
 (MA/*Fr*, Lahlou, 1998)

(31) consists of one French sentence and one Moroccan Arabic sentence respectively without any surface lexical or syntactic insertion from the other language. Part of the abstract lexical properties of the Moroccan Arabic sentence comes from French. The gender co-reference (feminine) in *hadi* and *kbira* is French as the Moroccan Arabic noun for mountain has the property [+ masculine].

This may well be evidencing the development of a new code in which code switching is the starting point. But much more work is needed to study what the procedures of this grammaticalisation process are and what constraints govern the current state of code mixing. Claims that the emergence of a new code (code mixing) should automatically call into question the search for grammatical constraints on CS (Alvarez-Cáccamo 1998:35) are unjustified in my view, at least in the Moroccan context. Patterns of CS are highly regularised through a mapping imposed by functional categories as we shall discuss in chapter four and demonstrate in subsequent chapters.

2.4. Conclusion

This chapter has been mainly concerned with the discussion of some of the concomitant implications of the study of CS. In the first section, I have attempted to distinguish CS from other language contact phenomena viz. interference and borrowing which are often thought in the literature to involve different processes, and should accordingly be singled out from each

other. I have shown that, while a distinction can be established between CS and interference, the differentiation between CS and borrowing is infeasible and unnecessary. I have argued, following Treffers-Daller (1991a), Myers-Scotton (1993a), that CS and borrowing are constrained in the same way.

The second section has dealt with the distinction between CS and SS with particular reference to the relationship between Moroccan and Standard Arabic. I have argued that alternations between two dialects, although they may be genetically similar, is not a mere style shifting in the variationist sense. Examples from different language sets showed that dialects could vary in terms of their syntactic properties, and can be just as distant in terms of their mutual intelligibility. To this effect, a uniform approach for both code switching and dialect switching was proposed.

The remainder of the chapter raised the controversial issue of whether CS is insertional, alternational, or fusional, a distinction on which current studies of CS found their models. Again, it has been argued for a uniform approach which accounts for the different types of CS, be it insertional, alternational, or fusional. A detailed discussion of the different approaches to CS is to follow in the subsequent chapter.

¹ According to Appel and Muysken (1987) borrowing can also take place at the syntactic level.

² ML refers to the Matrix Language. Suffice it to define it at this stage as the host language. More discussion of the notion of ML will follow in 3.2

³ EL is another of Myers-Scotton's terminology standing for Embedded Language. It refers to elements from the guest language which are inserted into the ML. More discussion of EL and Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame model will follow in 3.2.

⁴ The phonology of the borrowed form may change, but a native-like pronunciation is more desirable.

⁵ The prefix *ta-* or *ka-* depending on the Moroccan dialect can only be added to the imperfective to mark the durative. Only two tenses traditionally referred to as the perfective and the imperfective can be distinguished in Moroccan as well as Standard Arabic. It is often pointed out, as a result, that "*very few Arabic verbs embody a wholly unambiguous time signal*" (Beeston 1970:76). Moroccan Arabic also distinguishes between three moods: the indicative, the subjunctive and the imperative (see Afsinich 1986 for more discussion). These aspects of the Arabic verb will be referred throughout the thesis as TNS (tense) unless the analysis requires the distinction between them.

⁶ Switching instances such as in (11) will be explained in chapter four and subsequent chapters using a different theoretical framework. Some objections to the subcategorisation constraint will be raised in 5.4.

⁷ For discussion of CS involving Berber in the Moroccan context, see Koucha 1987.

⁸ For brevity purposes, the term Arabic will be used as cover term for both varieties of Arabic unless analysis or discussion requires otherwise.

⁹ The term complementizer (Comp) will be used throughout this research to refer to what is traditionally known as relative pronouns which normally refer to an antecedent as well as categories which do not have this referential relation but are used to introduce a clause (Radford 1997a).

¹⁰ Spec refers to specifier. In English, Spec is the grammatical function fulfilled by certain types of constituents which specify and precede the head of their containing phrase (Radford 1997a:90-91, 528). In a sentence like *Mary is studying languages*, the noun *Mary* is the specifier of the phrase *is studying languages*. Spec has also to agree with the head of the phrase containing it under, what is referred to as Spec-head agreement.

¹¹ A more detailed discussion of tense (TNS) and agreement (AGR) in Arabic and French will follow in chapter four.

¹² Literally, *dyalu* can be translated as *of it* or *of his*. It has the same function in Moroccan Arabic as the possessive clitics and will be translated as such throughout the research. The only difference between clitic possessives and this type of PP is that the clitics are always adjoined to a bare noun, whereas *dyal + clitic* can specify for either a bare or determined noun. Examples involving this type of pronoun in switching will be discussed in chapters seven and eight.

CHAPTER THREE

DIFFERENT PROPOSALS FOR CONSTRAINING CODE SWITCHING

3.0. Introduction

The search to comprehend the grammar governing the formation of CS forms has yielded constantly developing views theorising about the phenomenon. The formulation of the widely recognised constrained nature of CS has undergone significant metamorphosis in the 90's. Early studies on syntactic aspects of CS (Timm 1975, Pfaff 1979, Poplack 1980) did not go beyond listing syntactic categories of switched elements or switched sites. For example, Timm (1975) proposed that CS is constrained between a finite verb and its pronominal subject and then Pfaff (1979) extends the constraint to include pronominal objects. She claims that clitic pronoun objects must be realised in the same language as the verb in which they are cliticised to. Most of these constraints were based on data collected from Spanish/English bilinguals independently of theoretical or psycholinguistic motivations. They were, as Myers-Scotton points out, 'local-solution' constraints with an inductive motivation (1993a:24). In other words, this type of research relied heavily on observation of data to identify locations where switching do not occur and therefore represent constraining sites for CS. The most known local approach to CS is the equivalence principle model, uphold until today by Poplack and her associates as shall be discussed shortly.

In the face of mounting criticism and counter-examples to the local constraint, other approaches were advocated. Of particular importance is Joshi's asymmetrical model. It marks a shift of focus from the switching point in CS phenomenon to the asymmetrical roles the two languages play in constraining CS. Basically, the idea is that one language (the matrix language) is more dominant than the other and therefore insertions from the less dominant (embedded language) must fit in the syntactic frame set by the ML. Most non-local constraints are motivated by theories of language. First, Joshi (1985) built his model on the basis of production models of language (e.g. Garret 1975), claiming that closed-class items are categories which come solely from the ML. Joshi's model has been adopted and expanded through in the MLF model by Myers-Scotton (1993a).

The asymmetrical model is not, however, the only independent approach (i.e. finds motivation in an independent theory of language) that seeks to explain the constrained nature of CS. The Government model also attempts to account for CS constraints from a different perspective. Chomsky's (1981) GB theory represents the main premise of the model. The government constraint to CS is motivated by the assumption behind X-bar theory, namely that syntactic constituents are endocentric in the sense that their properties derive from those of their heads/governors (c.f. Muysken 1995:185). Based on this assumption, Di Sciullo, Muysken and Singh (1986) formalise the government constraint which bans switching between governors and governees. Like the other approaches to CS, the government model faces many challenges from several languages.

3.1. The Equivalence Model

This section will examine the two predictions claimed by the equivalence model: the *Equivalence Constraint* and its sister the *Free Morpheme Principle*. The former requires correspondence between the two languages in terms of their surface word order for CS to take place. The latter, disallows switching within word boundaries. The last part of the section will reassess the motivation and validity of the new category of nonce borrowing introduced by the model.

3.1.1. The Equivalence Constraint

According to the equivalence constraint, CS forms occur at switching points where the syntax of the two languages is similar. Although the equivalence constraint is almost always equated with Poplack and her associates, it can be traced back to Lipski (1978:258) who conceives that "*those portions falling after the switch must be essentially identical syntactically*". Along the same lines, Pfaff (1979:314) claims that "*surface structures common to both languages are favored for switches*" and Poplack (1980:586) follows stating that "*a switch is inhibited from occurring within a constituent generated by a rule from one language which is not shared by another*". In their early version of the equivalence constraint, Pfaff and Poplack viewed the switching sites in terms of phrases (Nishimura, 1997:24) which is not very different from Lipski's notion of 'portion'. This implies that CS between verb and object in Japanese/English or Moroccan Arabic/French bilingual conversations would be impossible, as Figure 3.1 illustrates.

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|---|----|---|----|---|
| English | s | / | v | // | o |
| Japanese | s | / | o | // | v |
| | | | | | |
| French | s | // | v | // | o |
| Moroccan Arabic | v | // | s | // | o |

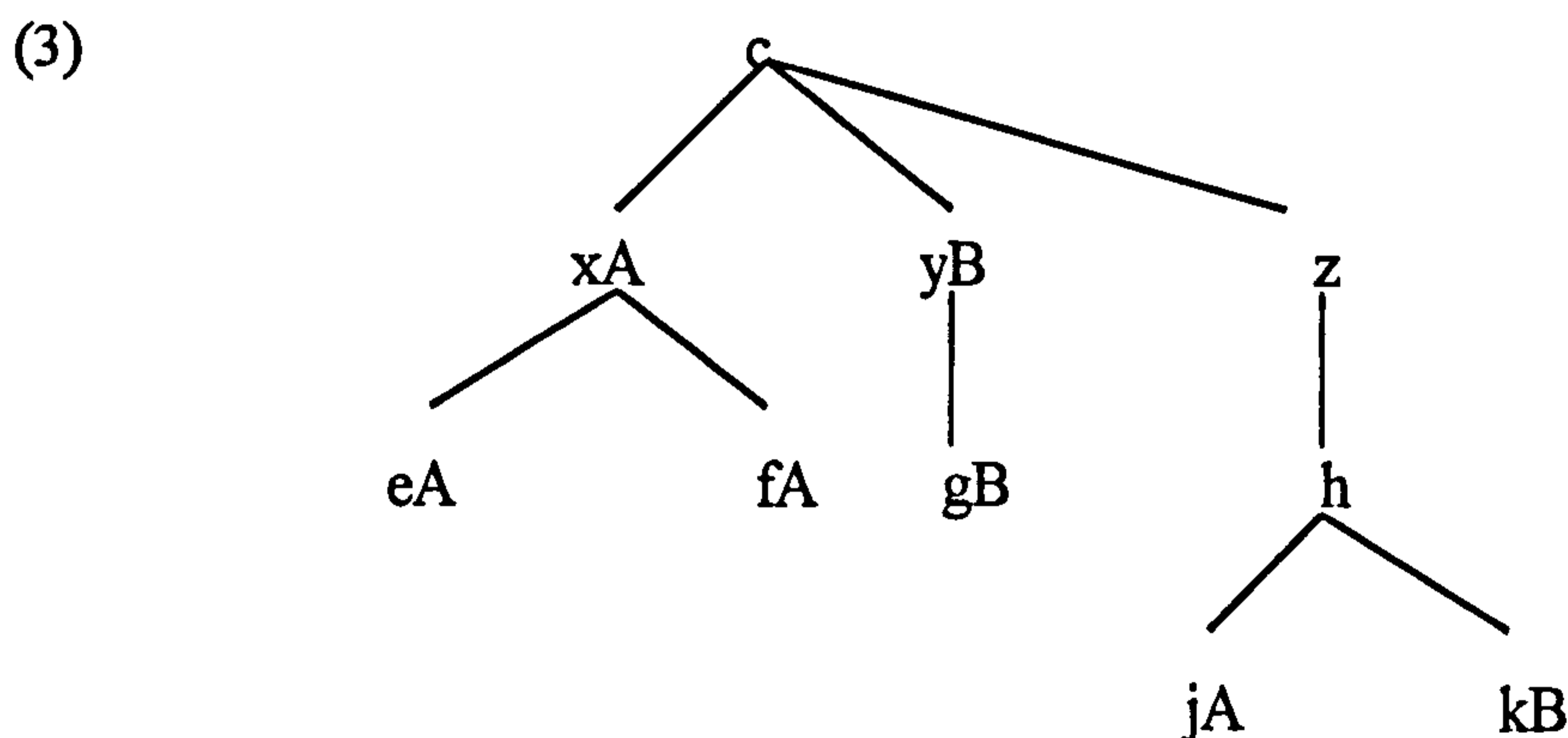
Figure 3.1 Inhibiting points for CS

Several counter-examples were cited in literature from various sets of languages (c.f. Myers-Scotton 1993a; Berk-Seligson 1986, Halmari 1997). Suffice it here to illustrate with two examples from two sets of languages described in Figure 3.1.

- (1) *Only small prizes* muratta ne
 [receive]
 {We receive small prizes}
 (Japanes/*English*, Nishimura 1986)

- (2) ta-t-šri *l'équipe* la:ib men l-xarij
 [TNS-AGR-buy the-team player from the-overseas]
 {The team buys a foreign player}
 (MA/*Fr*, DS 3B, 118)

The fact that we have an English object in a Japanese syntactic environment as in (1), and a French subject occupying a post-verbal position which is a feature of Moroccan Arabic as in (2) is a clear violation of the equivalence constraint. The constraint was further modified by Sankoff and Maineville (1986) who found it too restrictive. They postulate that the constraint should apply within phrases and not between them. They restricted the equivalence requirements to the two sister constituents which are immediate descendants of the same node. In (3) below the constraints apply only to the pairs (x, y), (y, z), (e, f), and (j, k) but allows switches like between f and g (A and B stand for two different languages)

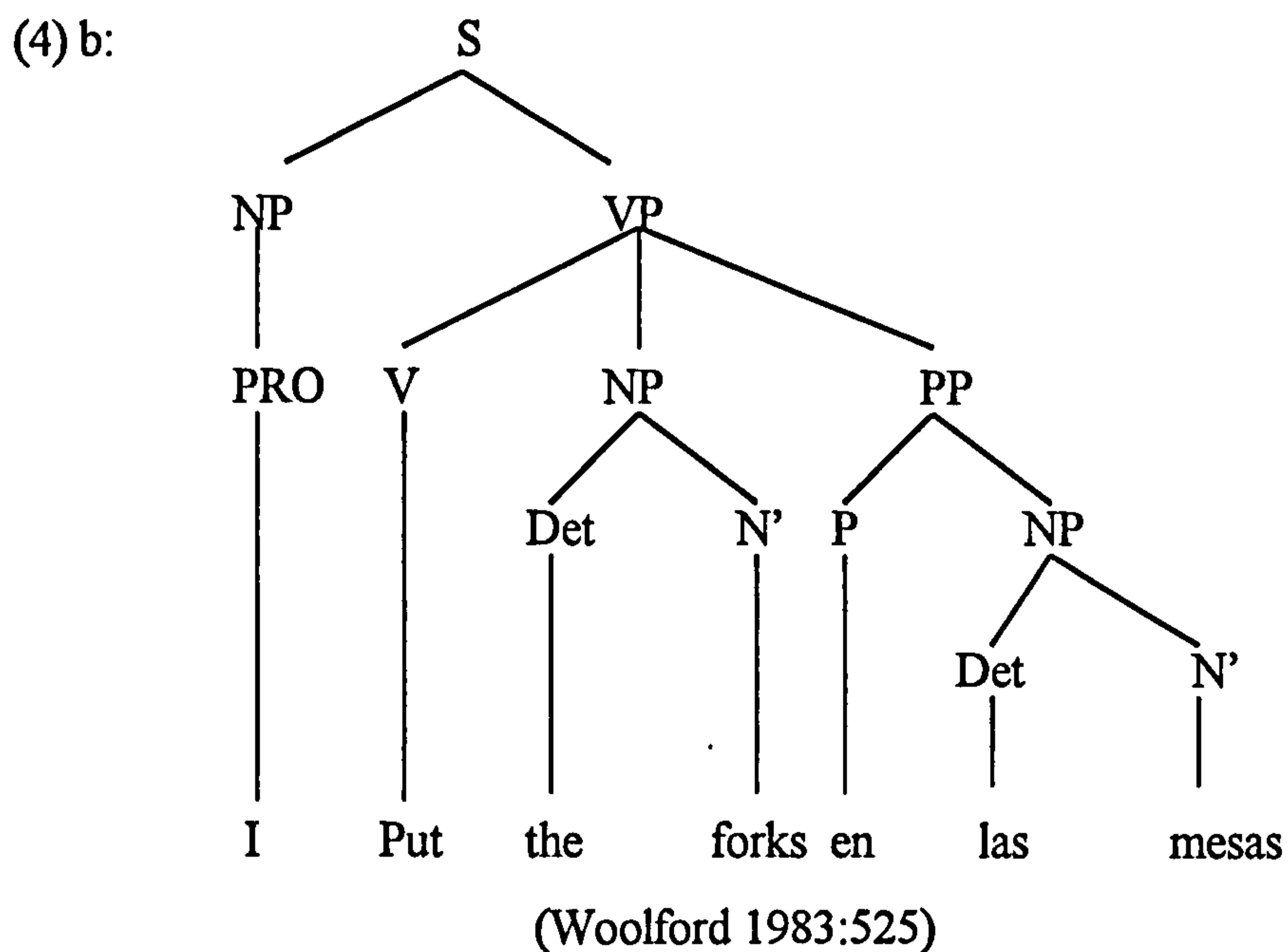


(Sankoff & Maineville, 1986:78)

The use of phrase structure trees as in (3) above to explain the equivalence constraint is also noted in Woolford (1983). She based her model on the assumption that the grammars of the

two languages operate in the same way during the process of CS as well as monolingual speech situations; each generates its own phrase structure rules. When these rules are common to both languages, it becomes impossible to identify the source grammar of the constraint. As a result, terminal nodes created by common rules become equally accessible to both languages. The tree below in (4b) illustrates how Woolford makes use of phrase structure rules to account for CS.

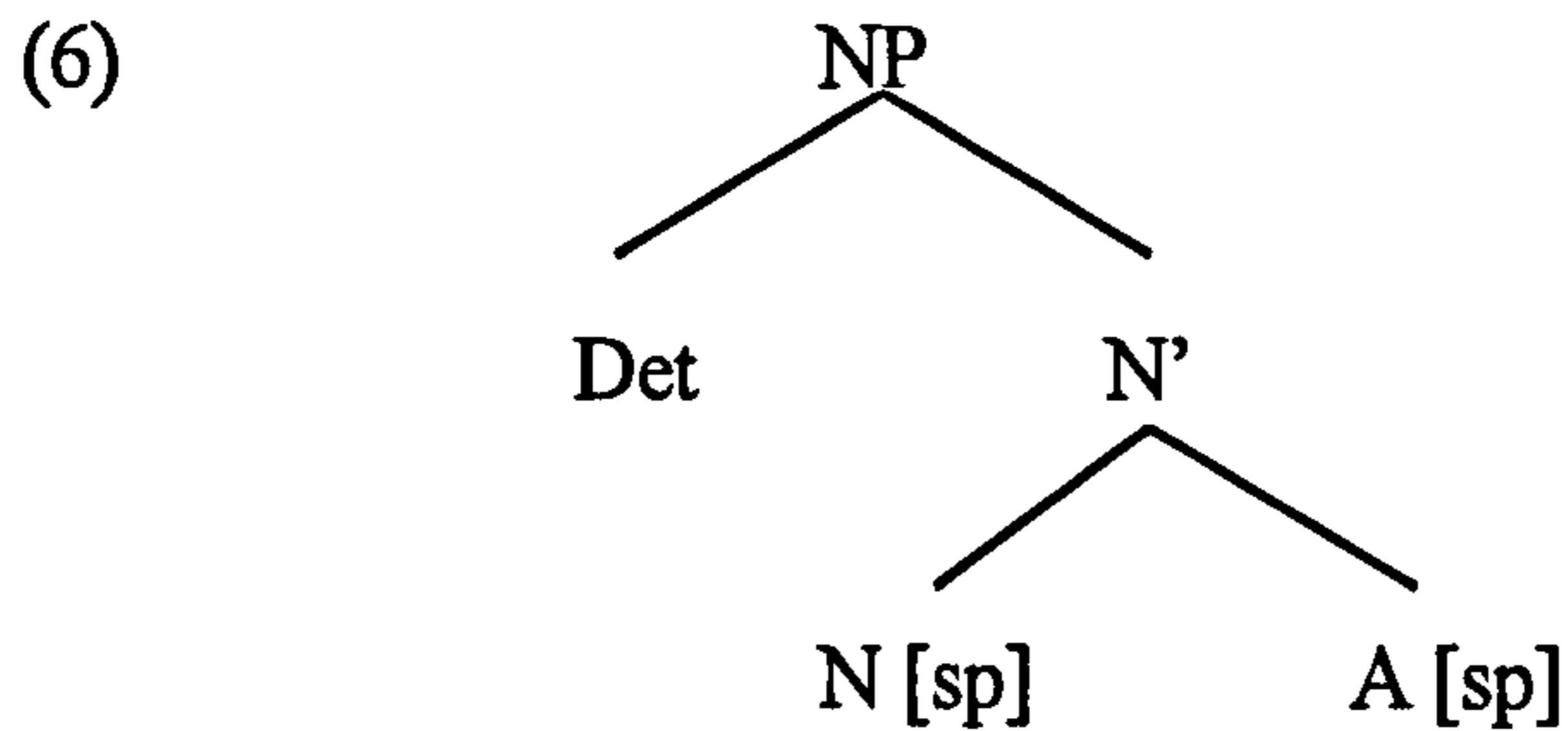
(4) a: *I put the forks en las mesas*
 [on the tables]
 {I put the forks on the tables}
 (Spanish/English, Woolford 1983:525)



Woolford claims that the syntactic construction of (4) is common to both Spanish and English and therefore its terminal nodes can be filled by the lexicon from either language. If the structure rules used to generate a structure are variant, the model would then prohibit switching as in the case of (5).

(5) **I went to the house chiquita*
 [little]
 {I went to the little house}
 (Spanish/English, Pfaff 1979:307)

Woolford (1983:528) states that the unacceptability of CS forms like (5) is due to the fact that only Spanish (not English) has a phrase structure rule expanding N' into a noun followed by an adjective. Therefore, this node (of noun) can only be filled from Spanish as in the following tree (the feature [sp] indicates restriction of language selection to Spanish).



Woolford's model was among the first approaches to account for CS in terms of phrase structure rules in a clear and systematic way. It has also been shown to work well especially for Spanish/English switches (Halmari 1997:77). As much as it was successful in Spanish/English situations, the model has also proved to be limited in the context of other language sets. For example, the model implies a prohibition of switches within adpositional phrases between languages with a prepositional structure (like English) and others with a postpositional structure (like Finnish).

Empirical evidence drawn from various bilingual groups does not support this claim. For example, Halmari (1997:77) argues that her Finnish/English data runs contrary to Woolford's constraint. She provides the following CS to support her counter-evidence.

- (7) Meiän opettaja meinaan aina *lunchin* alla kysyy
 [our teacher mean_{1sing} always lunch_{gen} under ask_{3sing}
 että "Iris do you need a lunchticket?"
 that]
 {Our teacher, you know, always asks before lunch "Iris, do you need
 lunch-ticket?"}
 (Finnish/English, Halmari 1997:77)

According to Halmari, the prepositional phrase *lunchin alla* (before lunch) is clear evidence against the generalisation of the equivalence constraint. Poplack and her associates would, however, describe *lunchin* as a category of borrowing and, therefore, refute the claim that it violates the equivalence principle. I will return to this example when discussing the two restrictive measures added to equivalence constraint which can refute example (7). But there are numerous other unequivocal counter-examples cited in data from other languages.

- (8) Anaonekana kama ni mtu *innocent*
 [COP person innocent]
 {He looks like [he] is an innocent person}
 (Swahili/English, Myers-Scotton 1993a:29)

(9) *C'est une pauvre bint*
 [it-is a poor girl]
 {She is a poor girl}
 (MA/Fr, Bentahila & Davies 1983:319)

In (8), the post-nominal position of *innocent* conflicts with the structure rules of English and therefore violates the equivalence constraint, and the same goes for (9) where the Moroccan Arabic noun *bint* must rather be post-modified.

Several proponents of the equivalence constraint have attempted to cater for such counter-examples by narrowing down its restrictiveness. Sridhar and Sridhar (1980), for example, restricted the constraint to the point where the switch of a constituent begins and not its whole internal (phrasal) structure. They state that:

The internal structure of the guest constituent need not conform to the constituent structure rules of the host language, so long as its placement in the host sentence obeys the rules of the host language (Sridhar and Sridhar 1980:411).

Sridhar and Sridhar's constraint would account for switches such as (8) and (9) above. The placement of the English adjective *innocent* and the Moroccan Arabic noun *bint* in the Swahili and French host sentences respectively does not violate the syntactic rules of the host language. However, even this restricted form of the equivalence principle would not account for the number of counter-examples arising from a variety of languages such as (10) below.

(10) *ily a des quartiers bna:whum jdad*
 [there are some districts they-built-them new]
 {There are some districts they have built new}
 (MA/Fr, Bentahilla & Davies 1983:230)

Example (10) consists of two clauses, a main clause which is in French and an embedded clause which is Moroccan Arabic. The point of switch, where the two clauses intersect, should be filled by a relative pronoun according to the French syntax which is not the case in (10). Therefore, this CS instance clearly violates the immediate adjacency version of the equivalence constraint postulated by Sridhar and Sridhar (1980).

The different versions of the equivalence constraint are similar in essence both in terms of the methodological foundation on which they base their claim and their failure to account for the large number of counter-examples cited in the CS literature. They are locational in perspective in the sense that constraints are defined in terms of linear order between the two languages at the location of the switch irrespective of which is the host (ML) or guest (EL).

This linear perception of syntax is theoretically anticipated to fail to account for CS constraints be it inter-phrasal or intra-phrasal. The empirical evidence from several languages (cf. Pandit 1990, Nortier 1990, Myers-Scotton 1993a among others) including Moroccan Arabic/French and Moroccan/Standard Arabic does not attest the validity of the equivalence constraint in all its forms.

Drawing on their Spanish/English data, early research advocating the equivalence constraint soon found it hard to account for the mounting counter-evidence, and to explain the restriction on CS within word boundaries (i.e. intra-word CS) even when equivalence is satisfied. As a result, a sister constraint has been designed by its proponents to rescue the equivalence constraint.

3.1.2 The Free Morpheme Principle

On the basis of their free morpheme principle, Sankoff and Poplack (in Romaine 1995:126) predict that CS may not occur between a bound morpheme and a lexical form unless the lexical form has been phonologically integrated into the language of the morpheme. It is suggested that Spanish/English mixed forms, like *flipeando* would be permissible, but that *runeando* would not be. Words such as *run* which have not been integrated into the phonology of Spanish cannot take the Spanish progressive suffix *-ando* (Romaine 1995:126, Clyne 1987:747). The integration paradigm serves for Sankoff and Poplack (in Romaine 1995:126) to draw a line between CS and borrowing. According to them, only lexical borrowed forms can cohabit with functional morphemes from the other language. The constraint implies that forms such as *trouver* (find) and *licencier* (licence) in (11) and (12) respectively would not occur as CS forms. It rather assigns them to the category of borrowing.

- (11) *wana-trouver* kila mara ma-*mots difficiles* ndani
 {They find every time difficult words in it}
 (Lubumbishi Swahili/French, Gysels 1992:47)

- (12) *le patron une fois t-y-licencier* xddam °endu,
 [the boss one time TNS-AGR-licence working at-his
s-syndicat †atnewed s-sda°
 the-union makes the-trouble]
 {If the boss makes one of his employees redundant, he'll face trouble
 from the union}

(MA/Fr, DS 2, 128)

The form *wana-trouver* in (11) consists of aspect, and subject and object agreement. They come from Swahili and are inflected to the French lexical verb. The same is noticed in (12) where the Moroccan Arabic tense and agreement are attached to the French lexical verb. The French verbs in (11-12) would be classified according to Poplack and her associates as borrowed forms. Their model assumes that in the case where the morphology and syntax are consistent with only one of the two languages, any non-native lexical item must be considered as a borrowed form. On the other hand, CS takes place only when the syntactic and morphological systems change within the sentence. Accordingly, neither (11) nor (12) is a violation to the free morpheme constraint.

Many instances would have been classed as counter-examples if not for the integration paradigm which plays a restrictive role on the free morpheme. As such, the constraint has been more successful than its sister equivalence constraint both in terms of the number of counter-examples cited especially in the Spanish/English CS literature and the recognition of other researchers (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:30-31). Violations of the free morpheme principle are not, however, hard to find in other sets of languages.

- (13) *She-wa took her a month to come home yo*
 [-Topic you know]
 {Talking about her, it took her a month to come home, you know}
 (Japanese/English, Nishimura 1997:102)

In (13), the topic marker, which is marked as a bound morpheme in Japanese, is attached to the English pronoun. This is a clear violation of the free morpheme constraint unless we are to view the pronoun *she* as a borrowing. The former explanation (violation) is more plausible for several reasons. First, subject pronouns are rarely (if at all) cited in the CS literature as borrowed forms. Second, it is unlikely that *she* is a borrowed form into Japanese while the morphology and syntax of the sentence are predominantly English. Obviously, the topic marker *wa* is not a borrowed form because, according to Poplack and her associates, such bound morphemes are not to be borrowed, and can only be lexified a borrowed form from the other language.

It should be noted, however, that many counter-examples for the free morpheme constraint cited in a number of studies (e.g. Halmari 1997, Myers-Scotton 1993a) can in fact be accounted for by Poplack and her associates' introduction of the category of nonce borrowing. Nonetheless, I will argue against the addition of this category for two reasons (see

also 2.1): (i) the persisting existence of counter-examples such as (13) above, and (ii) the fact that it narrows the scope of CS, thus excluding a substantial part in the study of CS. In the following chapter, a uniform approach will be developed to account for this left-out part of CS as well as contain counter-examples like (13).

In fact, the relative success of the free morpheme constraint is due to its concerns with intra-word CS, which often involves switching between a functional host morpheme and an inserted lexifier from the other language. Although quantitative evidence points towards the difficulty to switch at the intra-word level, it does not support a total ban on switching of bound morphemes. The fact that bound morphemes are not frequently switched, but are not totally disallowed either will be the concern of the following chapter. It will be argued that bound morphemes, usually functional categories, are peculiar for their tendency to have highly parametric properties across languages, and, as result, they tend not to be switched unless their properties can be fulfilled by the category they head or adjoin to (more discussion is to be found in 4.1).

3.1.3 Nonce borrowing: A Rescue for the Equivalence and Free Morpheme Principles

Until Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (1988) had brought the category of nonce borrowing to the centre of CS study, most CS researchers contented themselves with a simple distinction between loan words (established borrowings) and CS forms as different processes which are subject to different constraints and conditions. Poplack and her associates saw the distinction between CS on the one hand and the two borrowing categories on the other hand crucial to the demarcation of CS constraints. Describing the difference between CS and borrowed categories, Poplack and Meechan (1995:200) define CS as a process of juxtaposition of (fragments of) sentences that is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic (and optionally, phonological) rules of the lexifier language. As to the two categories of borrowing (established and nonce), they show full integration and native language synonym displacement. Established borrowing requires widespread diffusion even among monolingual speakers while nonce borrowing need not satisfy this diffusion requirement (Poplack and Meechan 1995, see also 2.1).

Their definition characterises CS as two separate monolingual parts of speech which are grammatically self-dependent apart from the point of their intersection where they have to share the same surface structure. It seems multiple-words CS is the ideal type of CS to fit this description.

- (14) *des fois* da nga y xool 0pt> // *un film avec des*
 [sometimes Aux you ASP watch a film with IND
sous titres en français
 subtitles in French]
 {Sometimes you watch a film with subtitles in French}
 (Wolof/French. Poplack and Meechan. 1995:213)

Example (14) consists basically (if we exclude the French discourse marker *des fois*) of two ‘sentence fragments’, Wolof and French respectively. Each fragment bears clearly the surface structure of its language. The switch was permissible because the slot of intersection filled by the French Det *un* is an equivalence site. We should be able to say the same thing about (15) below.

- (15) *én ó conséquences sociales* we nyi
 [DEM DEF consequences social it’s be
chomage me lé tón
 unemployment people PLU POSS]
 {These are the social consequences of unemployment}
 (Fongbe/Frenc, Poplack and Meechan 1995:221)

The French fragment in (15) is “*internally consistent with the morphology and syntactic rules of its lexifier language [French]*” (Poplack and Meechan 1995:200). We have a French word order between noun and modifying adjective and French number and gender agreement. The only problem with (15) is that it violates the equivalence principle. Conveniently, Poplack and Meechan (1995) assign to it the category of borrowing. The category of nonce borrowing is also used conveniently when dealing with single word switching.

- (16) *It has got a muudi*
 [lid]
 (Tamil/English, Sankoff, Poplack and Vanniarajan, 1991:193)

The Tamil object *muudi* is a violation of the equivalence constraint because it occurs in a non-equivalent surface site, as Tamil is an SOV language. But, according to Sankoff Poplack and Vanniarajan (1991:193), the Tamil noun is a borrowing into English. They argue that this assignment is supported by the fact that the Tamil word is not inflected or accompanied by a function word from Tamil, a kind of behaviour they expect borrowed vocabulary to have. My corpus shows, however, instances which do not satisfy this type of behaviour nor do they occur at equivalence sites.

(17) ta-y-xerju *les affectations au mois d-mars*
 [TNS-AGR-come out the appointments in month of-March]
 {The appointments come out in March}
 (MA/Fr, DS 2, 376)

We have in (17) a French noun, which occupies a subject position unique to Moroccan Arabic. The noun is also inflected for a French plural and is accompanied by the French plural Det. (17) is clearly a switching form which violates the equivalence constraint.

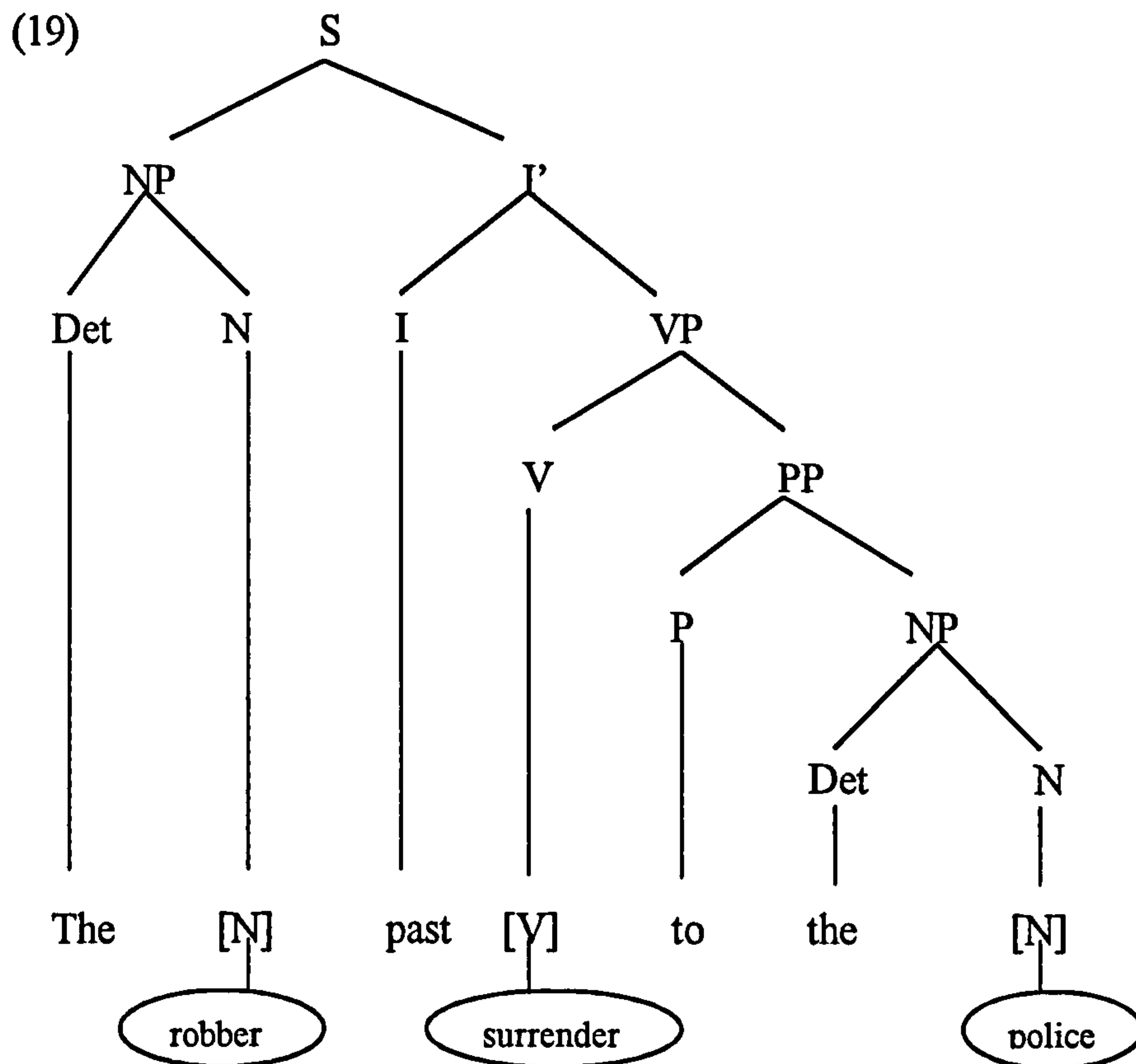
In their attempt to save the free morpheme constraint, Poplack and her associates conveniently use the category of nonce borrowing to disqualify counter-examples. They state that bound morphemes cannot be switched, but when they are switched, they claim they have been borrowed.

(18) bgaw *y-stabilis-iw-h* *ga manuellement,*
 [they-want TNS/AGR-stabilise-AGR-it just manually
sans ordinateur
 without computer]
 {They want to stabilise it just manually without using a computer}
 (MA/Fr, DS 2, 327)

It seems, however, that Poplack and her associates' claim is unfalsifiable: switches do not occur across bound morphemes but if they occur they are borrowings, neither should they occur across non-equivalence sites but if they do they are also borrowings. Contrary to Poplack and her associates, I will regard these instances as CS forms. I will argue throughout the remainder of this thesis that their occurrence follows from their satisfaction of specific syntactic requirements relating to their functional heads.

3.2 The Matrix Model

Azuma (1993) and Myers-Scotton (1993a) inherited the legacy of asymmetry from Joshi's (1985) model, which builds the ML concept on a strict distinction between two categories of words: closed class vs. open class. In his frame content hypothesis, Azuma views CS as a monolingual utterance where sentence processing involves a stage of frame building as well as a stage of content insertion. The first stage of frame building consists of accessing and retrieving closed categories, and then the content insertion stage proceeds by inserting open class items set at the preceding stage according to the mapping imposed by closed class categories, as (19) below illustrates.



(Azuma 1993:1072)

According to Azuma, retrieval of closed class items comes only from the ML whereas content words (open class) can be retrieved from another language (EL). Mixed forms like (20) which would have simply been conveniently dismissed within the equivalence model as borrowed categories are recognised and accounted for as CS forms by the frame content hypothesis.

- (20) tandau:z l-*visite* f-*iwad* Rachid
 [I-made the-check of-instead Rachid]
 {I made the check instead of Rachid}
 (MA/Fr, Bentahilla & Davies 1991:383-4)

The ML in (20) is clearly Moroccan Arabic since all closed-class categories are from Moroccan Arabic. The French word *visite* is a single EL content element inserted in a frame mapped by the ML. Azuma's model can be said to be successful in accounting for this type of switches. As Nishimura (1997:29) points out, the problem with his model is that it fails to account for phrase-level switches which were referred to earlier (in section 2.3) as alternational switches (cf. Muysken 1995, Guowen Huang and Milroy 1994).

- (21) *What do you call it nihongo de?*
 [Japanese (instrumental)]
 {What do you call it in Japanese?}
 (Japanese/English, Nishimura 1986:130)

Example (21) consists of closed class items from both languages involved in the switch: the pronoun and tense are English while the preposition and its complement are Japanese which runs contrary to the claim of Azuma. Myers-Scotton's (1993a) MLF model also bans switching of some closed class categories (system morphemes in her terminology) but makes concessions and exceptionally accepts CS instances like in (21) as EL islands.

In fact, the MLF model is much more successful in its claim for universality than its predecessors. Since the publication of Myers-Scotton's book *Duelling Languages* in which the principles of her model are set out more systematically, most researchers interested in CS grammatical constraints consent to the applicability of the MLF model at least to a large part of their data. In the remainder of this section, I will discuss the principles of the model as well as its validity in the Moroccan bilingual context.

In broad terms, the MLF model is built around two main issues, the distinction between ML and EL on the one hand, and between system morphemes and content morphemes on the other. Psycholinguistic studies (e.g. Grosjean, 1988) which assign different levels of activation for the two languages in the mind of the bilingual motivate the ML hypothesis. Findings from speech error data (e.g. Garrett, 1975, 1988, 1990) which prescribe different levels of production for closed class and open class items have been used to support her distinction between system and content morphemes.

3.2.1. System Morphemes in the MLF Model

Myers-Scotton's claim that system morphemes must come from the ML in bilingual conversation is not, in fact, as theoretically well founded as her ML hypothesis. Garrett speech error model from which she infers this claim is based on the study of monolingual data which does not involve in any explicit way bilingual speech. His claim that closed class and open class categories are accessed differently in the mind of the speakers does not necessarily indicate they are to come from the ML in a bilingual utterance. Empirical evidence from the Moroccan Arabic/French bilingual context does not support this claim either. According to the system morpheme principle, all system morphemes must come from the ML.

- (22) *Exactement, il faut que l-commission soit établie au niveau*
 [Precisely, it needs that the-commission be established at level
national et régional
 national and regional]
 {Precisely, the commission needs to be established at the national and
 regional level}

(MA/Fr, DS 3B, 53)

The ML in (22) is clearly French since all elements in the utterance (TNS, AGR, Comp, N, Adv, Adj, P), except for the Det *l-*, are French. On its own, the Moroccan Arabic Det cannot function as an EL island, and therefore (22) is clear evidence that the system morpheme principle does not hold universally. The type of CS forms like (22) is not, however, as frequent in my corpus as switches like (23) which would conveniently be isolated as EL islands by the MLF model.

- (23) *bda yterjem liha l-le français*
 [he-started translating for-her to-the French]
 {He started translating to her from French}

(MA/Fr, DS 1, 341)

According to Myers-Scotton (1993a:137), EL islands must show internal structural dependency relations (like AGR between French Det and its complement in (23)) and must be composed of two lexemes/morphemes in a hierarchical relation (which is again the case in 23). Nonetheless the EL islands hypothesis, despite its relative success universally, has its own weaknesses. Myers-Scotton (1993a:137) concedes that EL islands represent the potential Achilles' heel of the MLF model. For instance, we find that Myers-Scotton does not specify explicitly what motivates EL islands. All we know is that they violate the ML hypothesis. Their exclusion is not independently motivated, and seems like a circular argument that is used to explain away violations to ML hypothesis. There is also no indication as to when EL islands must (not) occur, i.e. we do not know whether they can be constrained as can their EL single constituent counterparts. Myers-Scotton (1993a:138) seems undecided as to whether "*they [EL islands] may or may not follow the restrictions of the ML hypothesis*" but recognises the weakness by conceding that "*if EL could be more specifically characterised than just recognised counter-examples to the ML hypothesis, the MLF model would be strengthened*". Or, maybe, the tradition in CS research that system morphemes (cf. also Poplack and associates' bound morphemes) are banned from switching requires re-thinking.

It seems like the phenomenon of system morphemes code switching is more recurrent and self-imposing than has been recognised. The idea of excluding this phenomenon as EL islands or nonce borrowings (cf. free morpheme constraint in 3.1) certainly narrows the scope of the study of CS constraints. The hypothesis which will be claimed in chapter four and will be empirically attested in subsequent chapters is that switching of a system morpheme¹ is possible as far as specific selectional requirements are respected. The relatively high-constrained nature of CS across system morphemes can be explained by the fact that these categories are highly specific cross-linguistically (cf. Myers-Scotton 1993a). The claim that will be adopted in the following chapter hypothesises both facts: that (i) CS constraints are highly governed by syntactic properties relating to this type of grammatical categories, and that (ii) cross-linguistic variation in terms of their selectional properties hinder CS because of language specific properties (see 4.1.2).

3.2.2. Content Morphemes in the MLF Model

The MLF model does not only disallow system morphemes from switching, but constrains content morphemes too. Myers-Scotton (1993a) sets out the *Blocking Hypothesis*, which according to her, regulates CS of content morphemes. It (the blocking hypothesis) states that:

In ML and EL constituents a blocking filter blocks any EL content morpheme which is not congruent with the ML with respect to the three levels of abstraction regarding sub-categorisation (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:121)

The first level of sub-categorisation concerns the status of the grammatical categories as to whether it is a system or content morpheme in both languages. In cases where a category is realised as a system morpheme in one language and as a content morpheme in the other, CS is expected not to happen. Myers-Scotton illustrates her proposal with the case of pronouns which can be realised as free pronouns in one language, hence content morphemes, and as clitics in the other language, hence system morphemes (1993a:121). For instance, in the Moroccan Arabic/French conversations, a clitic subject pronoun can not replace a free topic pronoun, nor can the topic pronoun replace the clitic counterpart.

(24) **je* *gadi*
 [I-clitic go]

(25) * *ana* *vais*
 [I-topic go]

(MA/Fr, Bentahila & Davies 1983:312)

(24-25) are similar to (21-22) discussed in the previous chapter. They confirm Myers-Scotton's (1993a) prediction about the impossibility to substitute a clitic for a non-clitic morpheme. However, this type of constraint, as will be elaborated in chapter four, does not follow from a property that is a characteristic of CS alone as implied by Myers-Scotton's explanation. It will be argued that such instances of non-switching are accounted for in terms of syntactic features of the mixed grammar rather than constraints specific to CS (see also MacSwan 1999). Their impossibility will be shown to follow from parametric selectional requirements which need to be satisfied regardless of whether the mode of discourse is monolingual or bilingual.

As to the second level of categorisation, it bears, according to the blocking hypothesis, on thematic roles. Content morphemes which vary cross-linguistically in terms of thematic role assignment block CS occurrences. In other words, the content morpheme must assign/be assigned the same thematic role in both languages for the switch to be successful. Myers-Scotton (1993a:123) illustrates this level of categorisation through the English preposition *for* as in (26) and its Swahili inflectional counterpart /-i-/ or /-e-/.

(26) I brought the book for John

According to Myers-Scotton (1993a), the preposition *for* has the feature of [-quantification], which makes it a content morpheme. It assigns the thematic role of beneficiary/goal to John. On the other hand, the Swahili counterpart /-i-/ or /-e-/ has the feature of [+quantification] and therefore it is a system morpheme which cannot receive or assign theta roles. This lack of congruence explains according to Myers-Scotton the non-occurrence of switches like (27) between Swahili and English.

(27) *Nika mwambia anipe ruhusa niende ni-ka-check for wewe
 [1s-consec-check for you]
 {And I told him he should give me permission so that I go and
 check for you}
 (Swahili/English, Myers-Scotton 1993a: 124)

Strangely, however, Myers-Scotton provides an instance of a switch, which shows the Swahili counterpart /-i-/ attached to an English verb.

(28) Labda yeye hana vitabu vyake father a-li-m-buy-i-a akapoteza vyote
 [3s-PAST-3s/OBJ-buy-APPL-INDIC]
 {Maybe he doesn't have his books [which his] father bought for him,
 and he lost all of them}
 (Swahili/English, Myers-Scotton 1993a:123)

Myers-Scotton does not explain how the blocking hypothesis would account for this switch nor does she indicate that it is a counter-example to the hypothesis. All she says is that the switch is in accordance with the system morpheme principle. It is not clear whether she implies by this that satisfying the system morpheme principle overrides the requirements of the blocking hypothesis.

Myers-Scotton (1993a) postulates a third level of sub-categorisation which EL content morphemes must satisfy in order to qualify as switches. According to this level, EL content morphemes must be congruent with ML counterparts in terms of discourse/pragmatic functions. Myers-Scotton (1993a) does not elaborate this level any further. It is not clear whether 'pragmatic functions' should be seen in the speech act sense of illocutionary and perlocutionary force, which is very unlikely as a CS form (even if we assume it has the same illocution within the overall utterance/speech act) will generate a different sequential effect from the ML counterpart. It is often the case that the same word/speech act when repeated will have a different effect, let alone when substituted from another language (cf. Steiner, 1992).

3.2.3. Word Order in the MLF Model

Like the equivalence model, the concept of word order has its value within the MLF model, although seen from a different perspective. While the equivalence model requires that both languages have an equivalent word order, the ML hypothesis necessitates that linear order be set by the ML alone, independently of the surface structure of the EL. This claim is clearly stated in the *Morpheme-Order Principle*, another main premise of the ML hypothesis. It says:

In ML and EL constituents consisting of singly-occurring EL lexemes and any number of ML morphemes, surface morpheme order (reflecting surface syntactic relations) will be that of the ML (Myers-Scotton 1993a:83).

Myers-Scotton (1993a) provides several examples from her Swahili corpus which supports her claim.

(29) mambo mengi new
[things many new]
{Many new things}

(30) huyu mtu ni sly sana
[this person is sly very]
{This person is very sly}

(Swahili/English, Myers-Scotton 1993a:84)

In (29), the adjectives *new* occupies a post-modifying position despite the fact that in English it functions as a pre-modifier. Likewise, the adjective *sly* in (30) precedes the Swahili degree adverb *sana* although adjectives in English must follow their modifying adverbs. According to Myers-Scotton (1993a), the word order in (29-30) follows from the requirement of the morpheme-order principle. The English adjectives are singly inserted EL content morphemes, and, as a result, can only occupy positions specified by the syntax of the ML- Swahili in the case of (29-30).

Like for the system morpheme principle, Myers-Scotton (1993a) uses EL islands to account for the many switching instances which would count as violations to the morpheme-order principle.

- (31) *daba huma kayhdru ʿel les diverses methodes*
 [now them they-talk about the different methods
baš yhesnu l'enseignement
 so that they-improve the-education]
 {Now, they talk about the different methods to improve education}
 (MA/Fr, DS 1, 509)

The noun phrase (NP) *les diverses methodes* in (31) functions as a complement to the preposition *ʿel* within a syntactic frame set by Moroccan Arabic. The internal word order of the NP does not conform to the syntax of the ML (Moroccan Arabic). The adjective *diverses* pre-modifies its head noun in (31), whereas adjectives in Moroccan Arabic take a post-nominal position. Hence, (31) is a violation to the morpheme-order principle. However, such violations are explained away by the MLF model using EL islands. Myers-Scotton (1993a:83) postulates that the morpheme-order principle “*does not apply automatically when two or more EL morphemes appear*”, which is the case in (31). I argued earlier against EL islandhood as theoretically unmotivated. I provided counter-examples, which violate the system-morpheme principle even when aided by the EL island hypothesis. EL islands do not save the morpheme-order principle either.

- (32) *J'ai une voiture mizyaena*
 [I-have a car nice]
 {I have a beautiful car}
 (Tunisian Arabic/French, Belazi, Robin & Toribio 1994:232)

- (33) *Je veux tani les voir avant que je ne décide*
 [I want again them see before that I not decide]
 {I want to see them again before I decide}
 (MA/Fr, DS 1, 286)

Both examples consist of French ML and Arabic single EL constituents. These constituents are expected to fill a slot mapped by French surface structure, which is not the case in either example. According to the morpheme-order principle, the Tunisian Arabic adjective should rather precede the French noun *voiture*, and the Moroccan Arabic adverb should rather occupy a post-verbal position as in monolingual (34) and (35) respectively.

(34) J'ai une belle voiture
[beautiful]

(35) Je veux les voir encore avant que je ne décide
[again]

Having said that, the MLF model, despite limitations, remains a powerful account of CS constraints (cf. also Halmar, 1997:90). The emphasis on system morphemes in the study of CS constraints represents one of its major strengths. It also represents the starting point of the hypothesis that will be developed in the following chapter. It will be argued that CS constraints can be explained in terms of the cross-linguistic properties of these categories. However, pending discussion of the proposed hypothesis for CS constraints until the following chapter, I will now turn to the discussion of the hierarchical model, as another major approach to the study of CS.

3.3 Hierarchical Model

The third group of studies which looks at CS from an alternative angle is the government model. The idea behind this perspective comes from Chomsky's (1981) GB theory, namely that the principles of grammar are formulated in terms of hierarchical relations between sentence constituents and their heads. The assumption is that heads will require specific syntactic elements in their environment which reciprocally derive their properties from their heads (Muysken 1995:85).

Accordingly, Di Sciullo, Muysken and Singh (1986:7) postulate that CS is also constrained by the same government principles which operate in monolingual grammars claiming that CS "*can be seen as a rather ordinary case of language use, requiring no specific stipulation*". They formalise the government constraint to CS as in (36).

(36) if X governs Y, ...X_q... Y_q

(36) states that, if X has language index q and governs Y, Y must have the language index q too (1986:7). Government is defined as (37) below:

(37) X governs Y if the first node dominating X also dominates Y, where X is a major category N, V, A, P and no maximal boundary intervenes between X and Y.

According to Di Sciullo, Muysken and Singh (1986:8), the principle of language indexing requires that (i) the governor assigns the language index to the governee, and that (ii) the head of the governee must carry the language index. Illustrating their constraint with the VP domain, they claim that complementisers, determiners, prepositions and quantifiers within the VP must come from the same language as the governing verb. (38) illustrates the categories which must bear the same language index within the VP.

- (38) a: I *saw that* he left V COMP
 b: I *saw the* man V DET
 c: I *went to* Rome VP
 d: I *went very* quickly VQ
 (Di Sciullo, Muysken and Singh 1986:8)

The model proves, however, to be too restrictive as many counter-examples surface from different language sets (cf. Pandit 1990, Myers-Scotton 1993a, Belazi, Rubin and Toribio 1994, Romaine 1995). Suffice to illustrate its restrictiveness in as far as the VP is concerned. (39 a-d) are counter-examples to (38 a-d) respectively.

- (39) a: Oyebi *que nazali na nionso mamu*
 {You know that I have everything, Mamu}
 (Lingala/French, Kamwangamalu, 1989:132)
- b: utaona *a change*
 {you will see a change}
 (Swahili/English, Myers-Scotton, 1993a:155)
- c: *Je serai parti fi-1-^cašra*
 {I will be gone at ten o'clock}
 (Tunisian Arabic/French, Belazi, Rubin & Toribio 1994:230)
- d: kaysme^c *trés attentivement*
 {He listens very carefully}
 (MA/Fr DS 1, 371)

Recognising that the domain of government was too large in Di Sciullo, Muysken and Singh (1986), Muysken (1990:124) modifies the government constraint into (40)

(40) *[X^p Y^q] where X L-marks Y, and p and q are language indices.

L-marking is a restricted notion of lexical government defined by Chomsky (1986:15) as (41).

(41) X L-marks Y if and only if X is a lexical category that theta governs Y.

The aim of Muysken's modified version, through the addition of the notion L-marking, is to be able to account for switches, like between Det and their complement or between verbs and locational adverbs which were not catered for in the earlier version of government (Muysken 1995:186-8).

Yet, even this revised version is still too strong as counter-examples abound. In both examples (42-43) below, the NPs which occupy the internal argument position (of object) have different language indices from the verb which L-marks them. These are clear violations of both versions of the government model.

(42) Ne tarvii *extra help*
 {They need extra help}
 (Finnish/*English*, Halmari, 1997:80)

(43) ana ka-ndir *intercultureel werk*
 {I am doing intercultural work}
 (Moroccan Arabic/*Dutch*, Nortier 1990:134)

The first form of the government model has been rather reinterpreted by Halmari (1997). According to her, elements may come from a different language than the language of the governor provided that the maximal projection includes a language index (L_q -carrier) which matches the language index of the governor (Halmari 1997:100-1). She proposes that case marking and agreement properties can also reflect a government relation and, therefore, are able to carry the language index of the governor. In other words the governed lexical head does not have to bear the same L_q as the governor if its (the governee) case marker and/or AGR inflection does.

(44) Mää oon koulu-ssa joskus pelannu *basketball-ia*
 [I have school-INE sometimes played basketball-PART]
 {I have sometimes played basketball at school}
 (Finnish/*English*, Halmari 1997:117)

Halmari (1997:118) explains that the switch between the Finnish verb *pelannu* (governor) and the English NP *basketball* (governee) which apparently have different L_q is due to the partitive morphemes */-ia/*, which bears the same language index as the governor. Halmari loosens the government constraint by allowing any part of the governed maximal projection to satisfy the language-indexing requirement. She argues regarding (44) above that “*this [partitive] morpheme must function as the L_q -carrier which will satisfy the government constraint on code switching*” (1997:118).

Like its predecessors, Halmari's version of the government constraint can be reproached on both theoretical and empirical grounds. First, although the government model of CS took precedence in being motivated by an independent principle of grammar, it fails to provide the same theoretical motivation as to "*why government, in particular, should be related to code switching, since the relation is presumed to be an operation of UG that is invariant cross-linguistically*" (MacSwan 1999:6). Second, empirical evidence does not support the re-interpreted version of the government claimed by Halmari (1997) as violations are attested in several language sets.

(45) *First name* wasureta
 [forget]
 {I forget his first name}
 (Japanese/English, Nishimura 1997:92)

(46) *The police officers have seen un ladrón*
 [The police officers have seen a thief]
 (Spanish/English, Belazi, Rubin & Toribio 1994:230)

(47) *w-f-la branche dyal l'economie tayqriw la sociologie*
 [and-in-the branch of the-economy they-teach the sociology]
 {And they teach sociology as part of the course of economy}
 (MA/Fr, DS 1, 454)

Clearly, there is no trace of the L_q of the governor verb in the governed maximal projections of (45-47).

The government model has also taken a new direction in Belazi, Rubin and Toribio (1994). Government according to them is no longer associated with lexical categories. Following Abney (1987), Belazi, Rubin and Toribio (1994) distinguish between lexical heads (V, P, N) and functional heads (Q, NEG, modal INFL). They argue that switching between a lexical head and its complement occurs unconstrained in contrast to the restriction on switching between a functional head and its complement. They formulate their own constraint for CS as in (48)

(48) The functional Head Constraint
 The language features of the complement f -selected² by a functional head, like all other relevant features, must match the corresponding features of that functional head (Belazi, Rubin & Toribio 1994:228).

Instances like (45-47) would pass unimpeded because they involve switching of lexical categories. But the functional head constraint incorrectly rules out switches such as

between Det and NP, and between Comp and the inflection phrase (IP) as in (49) and (50) respectively.

(49) I'll take some *naemaek*
[I'll take some salt]
(English/*Farsi*, Mahootian, 1993)

(50) *bzzaf dyal l-hmi:r daba lli ignorent l-mgarba*
[many of the-fools now who ignore the-Moroccans]
{Many of the fools now who do not know Moroccans}
(MA/*Fr*, Bentahilla & Davies, 1983:311)

Belazi, Rubin and Toribio (1994) soon concede that not all lexical categories are free to switch. Parallelism they found in their corpus between switching instances as (51a) and (51b), discussed earlier as (32), made them rethink the freedom they allowed lexical categories under the functional head constraint.

(51) a: *J'ai une voiture mizyaena*
b: *[°]*andi karhba belle*
[I-have car nice]
{I have a beautiful car}
(Tunisian Arabic/*Fr*, Belazi, Rubin & Toribio 1994:232)

In order to account for the contrast between (51a) and (51b), they propose an addition to their constraint formalised as (52).

(52) The word Grammar Integrity Corollary
A word of language X, with G_x, must obey grammar G_x
(Belazi, Rubin & Toribio 1994:232)

According to their analysis, switches such as (51a) are predicted by the word grammar integrity corollary because adnominal adjectives occur post-nominally in both Tunisian Arabic and French. The unacceptability of (51b), on the other hand, is due to the fact that the adjective *belle* belongs to a set of French prenominal adjectives. Therefore, the ungrammaticality of (51b) is predicted as the grammar of French is not obeyed with respect to the placement of the adjective. Yet, counter-evidence to their corollary constraint in (52) also abounds as (53) and (54) illustrate.

(53) *postá le cailín Brazilian*
[married with girl Brazilian]
{Married with a Brazilian girl}
(Irish/*English*, Stenson 1990:171)

(54) he presented a paper *exceptionel*
[exceptionel]
{He presented an exceptional paper}
(English/*French*, Bokamba, 1989:282)

It appears that the government model, in all its forms, falls short in accounting for the bulk of counter examples. What is valuable about this model though is that “*it predicts in a general way that the looser the syntagmatic relation is in a sentence, the easier it is to switch*” (Muysken, 1995:188). This assumption is also shared by the hypothesis that will be developed in subsequent chapters. The only difference is that relations will be viewed in the context of this study in respect of selectional properties of functional categories without devising any specific treatment for CS that is different from monolingual constructions (discussion will follow in chapter four).

3.4. Conclusion

In the course of this chapter, proposals to the study of CS constraints have been examined. Data from various language sets as well as the Moroccan Arabic/French corpus point towards certain limitations of these constraints, at least as far as universality is concerned. But, they are equally insightful in many respects for the thesis of this research. Several assumptions held in this work are built on resourceful insights from these models.

It has also been argued that the prevailing tradition (explicit or implicit) in CS literature, namely that functional categories are disallowed from switching should be re-examined. Abandoning this assumption will imply that sub-constraints such as EL islands and nonce borrowing will not be needed and that principles of comprehensiveness and economy in the study of CS will be achieved. In the next chapter, an alternative will be discussed with the purpose of showing that while the other proposals are insightful, generality of their constraints, at least for the Moroccan bilingual situation under examination, can be achieved through the study of properties of functional categories.

¹ I will be using the term *functional category* instead, which is roughly similar to Myers-Scotton's *system morpheme*. A detailed definition of this category will follow in 4.1.3.

² f-selection is the relationship between functional heads and their complements in terms of features such as agreement and case marking (Abney 1987, Chomsky 1991). According to Belazi, Rubin and Toribio (1994), the language feature such as [+French] or [+Moroccan Arabic] must equally be checked.

CHAPTER FOUR

SYNTACTIC THEORY AND CODE SWITCHING: THE FUNCTIONAL PARAMETER CONSTRAINT

4.0. Introduction

While the aforementioned theories of CS are insightful and account for CS patterns in a significant number of languages, their posited constraints fall short of catering for a full range of CS patterns in other languages, at least in the Moroccan Arabic/French situation. The intention, here, is not to reject earlier constraints for CS. In fact, the notion of the functional parameter constraint (FPC) builds basically on previous approaches which recognised syntactic congruence (Poplack 1980, Woolford 1983, Muysken 1995). The main difference with this line of analysis is that constraints are associated with syntactic properties of lexical categories (LCs) while constraints within the FPC framework are associated with functional categories (FCs). The shift of focus from LCs to FCs marks recent studies of CS- Myers-Scotton's MLF model is a prominent case in point. When comparing his model with Myers-Scotton's, Muysken (1995) also recognises the importance of FCs in constraining CS. He explains that

While the government model, particularly in its later version, specifically excluded functional elements from being relevant governors in terms of codes-switching constraints, ...the Myers-Scotton models are focussed on functional elements as governors to code-switching. It is fair to say that this latter option must be much closer to the truth (Muysken 1995:188).

The way FCs are thought to govern CS in the MLF model is different from the claims made by the FPC. Whereas FCs (roughly equivalent to Myers-Scotton's system morphemes) are altogether disallowed within the MLF model, it is argued in the context of the hypothesis developed in this thesis that FCs represent switchable categories provided their selectional properties are satisfied as shall be discussed throughout this chapter, and attested in chapters seven and eight.

4.1. Theoretical Framework of the FPC

The guiding assumption in much work on language contact, as Muysken (1995:192) observes, is that equivalence between the grammars of two languages facilitates bilingual

usage such as CS. But since it is the desire of most posited constraints on CS to claim universality, this assumption can be extended to generate the claim that in all language contact situations, CS is constrained in the same way and only by cross-linguistic variation (Aabi 1997). These areas of variation between grammars have been referred in recent syntactic theories as parameters in contrast with principles.

My discussion in this regard follows from the UG assumption that language is a set of principles and parameters. Principles represent a set of grammatical universals which are invariant across languages. If we assume the equivalence paradigm for CS, we would expect principles not to constrain CS in any way given that they are universals innately and identically endowed in all speakers of any natural language. Parameters, on the other hand, represent the language particular aspects which differentiate each language, and therefore children have to learn as part of the task of acquiring their native language (Radford 1997a:17). Assuming the equivalence paradigm again, one would say that only parameters constrain CS. The definition of parameters is not however a settled issue among linguists. In the following section, I will briefly review some approaches to parameterisation, and adopt the view that grammatical variation involves FCs in a crucial way.

4.1.1. Parameterisation Theory

In cross-linguistic studies, many proposals have been suggested to account for language variation within the theory of universals. We can discern at least two major methodological approaches: one typological and the other transformational.

Typological linguistics and transformational grammar can be contrasted on a number of parameters. The typological trend associated with Greenberg (1966) is based on empirical generalisations from a wide range of languages. There are purely statistical universals and parameters. For instance, 90% of the languages recorded have the feature X while 10% have -X with $-X = Z$ or $-X = Y$; Z and Y are parameters for X. There are also implicational universals such as (1)

- (1) If a language has the category of gender, it always has the category of number (universal 36, Greenberg 1966:95).

Neither of these are universals in any strict sense, as statistical universals are just tendencies while implicational universals do not necessarily reflect features of all human languages as they are rather typological generalisations.

This approach is unlikely to explain the constrained nature of CS. There is no doubt that a typological approach may participate in the construction of some predictions on the constraints of, and welcoming sites for CS. It provides some intuitive insights on those languages that are typologically similar and, thus, allow a higher degree of tolerance for switches and vice versa.

However, this approach lacks explanatory adequacy in view of the fact that it does not go beyond describing surface tendencies in different types of languages without explaining the relevant properties behind typological parameterisation. Adopting this approach as a model for the study of grammatical constraints of CS would, therefore, mean the building of impressionistic prescriptions/constraints which are unlikely to capture the reasons behind the block of some CS types, and therefore are expected to fail empirically to predict where switches may or may not appear. Take for instance, the word order parameter; the typologist would classify human languages into six logically possible types, viz. SOV, SVO, VSO, VOS, OSV and OVS (Comrie 1981:81). If the grammar of CS is organised according to the typologist's view, it would imply that any two different patterns of the word order of the two linguistic systems would involve the same degree of blocking. For instance, the degree of restrictions between SOV/SVO would be similar to that between VSO/VOS. We can also infer that two languages involving the same patterns, say SVO as in the case of English and French, would not disallow any switches; two predictions which are simply incorrect. Any account of CS in this line of argument is doomed to fail. First, different patterns of word order involve different and not necessarily prohibitive sites. Grammatical constraints on CS between Dutch as an SOV language and French as an SVO language (cf. Treffers-Daller 1991b) are different from those existing between Moroccan Arabic (VSO) and French (cf. Bentahila and Davies, 1983). Second, the claim that languages with the same order patterns do not block switches is not correct. Empirical evidence from studies carried out on various languages shows that CS is possible across

languages with different word order (e.g. Japanese/English, Nishimura 1997) and can be constrained across languages which are typologically similar (Spanish/English, Jacobson 1990).

Grammatical functions (S, V and O) and their distribution do not seem to posit any constraint for CS. Perhaps, the particular implications that the typologist infers, like a generative grammarian, from the general conditions of language might explain the reason behind the blocking of CS. For instance, it is held within typological linguistics that OV patterns are harmonic with postposition and VO patterns with preposition (cf. Croft 1990:55). We might assume accordingly that switching of a postposition to a language which is typologically prepositional would be disallowed. Example (25) from chapter two, repeated here for convenience as (2), confirms the opposite.

(2) John gave a book *ek larakii ko*
[a girl to]
{John gave a book to a girl}
(English/Hindi, Pandit 1990:45)

(2) illustrates the switching of a Hindi postposition phrase into an English frame which is prepositional. CS between a preposition and a complement from a postpositional language is also possible.

(3) John gave a book to *ek larakii*
[a girl]
(English/Hindi, Pandit 1990:45)

In (3), the English preposition has a complement from Hindi despite the typological dissimilarities between the two languages at this level.

As for the transformational type associated with Chomsky, there is no such pairing of universal rules on the one hand, and particular (idiosyncratic) rules on the other. There are only “*universal principles and finite options as to how they apply (parameters), but no language-particular rules*” (Chomsky 1995:6). Empirical data from an individual language have to be explained by highly abstract, universal restrictions on possible syntactic structures. These abstract principles make possible the prediction of grammatical phenomena in languages not yet investigated. They can be justified because they hold across different languages. Yet the model provides a range of possible values for

grammatical parameters. Within the Chomskyan framework, we can distinguish, with Ouhalla (1991), Bondre (1993) among others, two different models to parameterisation theory.

The first, expressed by Chomsky (1986), associates parameters with ‘open’ parameters such as the Head Parameter (HP). For example, the HP is assumed to have two values: head before complement or head after complement. For instance, in a right-branching language such as English, all heads precede their complements, while in a left-branching language such as Japanese, all heads follow their complements

(4) John wrote the book

(5) He cut the cable with a knife

(English: head-initial)

(6) Mary-ga hon-o yonda

[Mary-aspect book-acc read-perf

{Mary read the book}

(7) Amerika no daigaku

[America in university]

{A university in America}

(Japanese: head-final)

The head categories *wrote* (head of the VP) and *with* (head of the PP) precede their NP complements. In Japanese examples (6) and (7), they follow their complements.

Fanselow (1993) observed in this respect that this kind of parameterisation does not reflect any constraints on the processing capacity of UG. For instance, in the case of the HP all possibilities are exhausted in the sense that the complement can only precede or follow its head; it cannot be below or above. This is a major challenge since a parameter arguably implies a range of potential options associated with a given principle such as that of the head directionality. But the assumption that a language is either head-initial or head-final suggests that all head categories in a language are expected to select their complements in the same direction. For instance, in English, the head verb, the same as the preposition, selects its complement to the right (cf. examples (4) and (5)). This expectation might be fulfilled in Japanese as both verb and preposition select their complements to the left (cf.

(6) and (7)). But, this is not the case in all languages. While English is consistently head-initial, German cannot be classified as either head-final or initial.

- (8) ...dass Karl das buch kauft
[that Karl the book buys]
{That Karl buys the book}
(Haegeman 1991:520)

On the basis of (8), one might be led to adopt the idea that German is head-final as the head verb selects its object complement to the left. We may expect, therefore, that German, like Japanese, has postpositions.

- (9) Hans fuhr nach Berlin
[Hans went to Berlin]

The preposition *nach* (to) in example (9) does however select its complement to the right, the same as Comp *dass* (that) in example (8) does. This shows that parameterisation may depend on properties of individual categories rather than the general principles of UG such as the HP. For instance in the case of German, the head directionality will depend on whether the category being discussed is a verb or a preposition.

For the purpose of the same argument, Wexler and Manzini (1987) explored the binding domains to show that anaphoric elements in one language do not obey exactly the same laws as predicted by UG. Rather, they show that parameterisation tends to differ from one individual category to another within the same language. In UG (Chomsky, 1981):

- (10) (i) An anaphor must be bound in its governing category
(ii) A pronominal must be free in its governing category,

where binding means both c-commanding and coindexation, and the governing category is the minimal category which contains the element under investigation and its governor, and has a subject¹.

- (11) John_i criticized himself_i
(12) *John_i knew that I criticized himself_i
(13) *John_i criticized him_i
(14) John_i knew that I criticized him_i

The binding principle (i) accounts correctly for the well-formedness of (11) and ill-formedness of (12). (11) is well-formed because the reflexive (REF) is bound within its

minimal category which contains its subject (John). (12), on the other hand, is ill-formed because the REF is not bound within its minimal category. The binding principle (ii) also predicts the ill-formedness of (13) on the basis that the pronominal is bound within its governing category while it must be free. (14) is well-formed because the pronominal is not bound or coindexed within its governing category (I criticised him).

However, examples like (15) from Icelandic show that the binding principle should be parameterised:

(15) Jóhn segir að María elski sig
 [John_i said that Maria loves_{subj} REF_i]

(15) is well-formed although the REF is not bound within its minimal governing category. In terms of UG, (15) would be explained as a long-distance binding language type² in contrast with English which is a short distance type. Here the notion of parameterisation is made at a macro level (cf. Baker, 1995) as it specifies the language as a whole. Inference of CS constraints in terms of such macro-parameters would not be very different from the ill-conceived restrictions made on the basis of word order or the HP. Drawing on our assumption that the syntax of CS follows from the syntax of monolingual grammars (cf. Mahootian 1993, MacSwan 1999), it can be said that macro-principles would not predict accurately the constrained nature of CS given their failure to account for syntactic constraints at the monolingual level (as will be discussed shortly). Empirical evidence shows that constraints constructed on the basis of macro-assumptions of language (e.g. the equivalence principle and the government model discussed in 3.1 and 3.3 respectively) fail in their predictions.

I will argue, in line with the convincing evidence from the current development in syntactic theory, that what is needed is an approach which will account for variation in terms of the properties of individual categories in a monolingual and bilingual context alike. Indeed, evidence from syntactic theory shows that parameters must be determined in terms of the individual categories being investigated rather than grammar as a whole. For instance the ungrammaticality of (16) in Icelandic indicates that parameters cannot be formalised at a macro level

- (16) * Jóhn segir að María elskar sig
 [Jon_i says that Maria loves (indicative) REF_i]

The notion of long distance does not save (16) from being ungrammatical. Rather, the grammaticality of (15) and the ungrammaticality of (16) are decided by the lexical properties of the functional node-I (Wexler and Manzini 1987). If TNS category is specified for [+indicative], then REF must be bound within its minimal category and if it (TNS) is specified for [+subjunctive], REF must be free. Data from Icelandic as in the case of (14-15) indicates that linguistic variation falls out of just the lexical properties (eg +subjunctive, -indicative) of individual categories (such as IP). In Ouhalla (1991), cross-linguistic parameters have also been restricted to lexical properties of functional categories. The fact that four out of the five values of the parameter below suggested by Manzini and Wexler (1987) make reference to a functional category, namely INFL and TNS

- (17) π is a governing category for α iff
 π is the minimal category containing α and
 (i) has a subject, or
 (ii) has an INFL, or
 (iii) has a TNS, or
 (iv) has an indicative TNS, or
 (v) has a root TNS.

(Manzini and Wexler 1987)

supports the view that aspects of language variation are determined by functional categories. In the following section, I will examine some of the implications of the lexicalist model of parameterisation for CS. Discussion will be drawn mainly from Ouhalla's (1991) parameterisation model which associates cross-linguistic variation with specific properties of functional categories.

4.1.2. Functional Categories and Code Switching

As reported at the beginning of this chapter, syntactic constraints govern CS and are not different from constraints which operate on monolingual constructions. Assuming that "*parameters are actually restricted to the lexicon, which would mean that the rest of the I-language is fixed and invariant*" (Chomsky (1991:23), code switching will therefore be a simple consequence of mixing two lexicons in the course of a derivation (MacSwan 1999:21). Thus, items may be drawn from either language provided their lexical properties are specified in the same manner as a monolingual context (cf. also MacSwan 1999).

I will, however, argue here that only lexical properties of FCs must be specified. The reason is that lexical categories, known also as substantives, have uniform properties across languages. For instance, the English verb *kill* and its Arabic counterpart *qatal* are conceptually selected in the sense that they involve the same thematic grid.

| | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 | 2 |
| External argument (Agent) | Internal argument (Patient) |

Figure (4.1): Two-arguments thematic grid

Given their identity, the thematic structure of the English verb as well as its Arabic counterpart can be represented by the same Figure (4.1) above. The table consists of two arguments (underlined is the external argument) which are assigned thematic roles (henceforth T-roles) by the verb. In much the same way, figure (4.2) shows that the noun *translation* and the adjective *nice* have each the same argument grid in both languages

(18) Jamal's translation

(19) tarjamatu Jamal
[translation Jamal]
{The translation of Jamal}
(Arabic)

| |
|-------------|
| 1 |
| Agent/theme |

Figure (4.2): One-argument thematic grid

(20) The man is nice

(21) ar-rajul tayyib
[the-man nice]
{The man is nice}
(Arabic)

(22) 'izil urba
[nice boy]
{The boy is nice}
(Berber)

The same argument goes for triadic verbs (with three arguments thematic grid) such as *give* and diadic adjectives (with two arguments) such as *fond of*. Hence, "If substantives are drawn from an invariant universal vocabulary, then only functional elements will be parametrized" (Chomsky 1995:131). Functional categories are known to have idiosyncratic

properties across languages. An attempt will be made in 4.2 to determine some of these parametric properties in the Arabic/French.

The importance of FCs in governing CS constraints also finds support in the field of psycholinguistics (see Myers-Scotton, 1991,1993 for an elaborate account) and child language acquisition (Lanza 1997). For instance, Garret (1990) remarks that closed class items (roughly the equivalent of FCs) behave differently from open class items (LCs). He points out that closed class items rarely participate in ‘sound exchange errors’ as in

(23) He hissed all the mystery lectures

and are often stranded in stem movement exchanges as in

(24) We’ll sit around the song and sing fire-s

The fact that FCs are stranded in exchange errors suggest their status must be different from that of LCs which exchange places. The different behaviour of LCs and FCs in error production is explained by Garrett (1990) as the result of the fact that closed class elements are accessed separately as part of the morpho-syntactic planing frame:

Closed-class elements are not on the lexical list and are instead assumed to be features of the frame. If exchange arises as a function of misassignment of list members, or segmental features of list members, to planning frames of F [functional level] or P [positional level], elements of the planning frame should not exchange- and this is an empirical observation (Garrett 1990:165).

Garrett’ s finding, namely that closed class elements do not exchange, has been taken by Myers-Scotton (1993a, 1995) as evidence for System Morpheme Principles which claims that FCs are not switchable categories. Empirical evidence does not, however, support Myers-Scotton’s interpretation of Garret’s observation for CS (see 3.2, and chapters seven and eight). This type of inference from Garrett can only be valid if we assume that the rules governing language production errors are the same rules that govern CS, which is simply incorrect. Errors in this context are the product of physical exhaustion or brain diseases, and are expected to be breaches of the phonological, morpho-syntactic, and/or lexical norms of a language. CS, on the other hand, is the result of a socio-pragmatic need, and exhibits grammatical regularities which are often the product of a highly constrained amalgam of linguistic structures of two or more languages.

What Garret's observation may, however, indicate is a reflection of the highly constrained nature of FCs given their crucial role in the determination of the structural representation of constructions, and parametric variation. This also confirms Garrett's argument that errors tend to affect categories (LCs) with a less pivotal importance in the morpho-syntax frame planning. For instance, had the INFL category (IP) *-ed* in (23) moved along with the sound /m/ as in (25):

(25) He hiss all the mysteried lectures

lexical properties such as the specifier selection of a subject and complement selection of a verb would have been violated. Notice also that although the exchange in (24) affects a complete LC, the property of its FC (plural morpheme) to be cliticised to a noun has not been violated. Interestingly, a grammatical category N has been exchanged for another grammatical category N rather than for a verb as the underlined elements illustrate in (26)

(26) We'll sit around the fire and song sing-s

This does not suggest that FCs are not switchable. On the contrary, it indicates a tendency of FCs to maintain their lexical properties unchanged. And given the fact that the lexical features of FCs tend to vary from one language to another (Ouhalla 1991, Chomsky 1995), it is expected that switching across these categories will be less frequent, but not impossible. The idiosyncrasy of FCs, and therefore their low frequency of switching, can also be shown in infant bilingual switching. Redlinger and Park (in Lanza 1997:36) carried out a distributional analysis of word classes in infant bilingual switching where they distinguished between 'contentives' (according to them: nouns, verbs and adjectives) and 'functors' (adverbs, articles, pronouns, prepositions and conjunctions). They found that contentives are more frequently switched than functors. Nouns were the most frequently substituted items, followed by verbs. Among the functors, adverbs were the most frequently substituted elements (Lanza 1997:36). That adverbs are frequently switched is not surprising given that they are LCs.

Most studies of CS point towards the same conclusion, namely a difficulty in the switching of FCs. However, the fact that switching still occurs across such categories eliminates any generalisations on a total constraint of FCs in switching. Two conclusions can be drawn

from the two relatively contradictory paradigms of ‘difficulty’ but ‘not impossibility’ of FC switching. First, constraints of CS should be constructed according to individual categories given that some FCs can be switched and others cannot. Second, FCs are the most idiosyncratic categories across languages considering that switching is constrained in the same way as monolingual constructions through parametric features, and given the empirical evidence that switching across FCs is less frequent compared with LCs.

4.1.3. Functional Categories vs. Lexical Categories

Now that we hold that FCs, rather than LCs, determine linguistic variation, and, therefore, constrain CS, it is essential that we draw a distinction between FCs and LCs. As mentioned earlier, LCs are generally nouns, verbs, adjective, adverbs and prepositions. They dominate lexical items that are often semantically ‘whole’ in the sense that they have a semantic content that can stand on its own to produce meaning (Napoli 1993:169). Functional categories, on the other hand, refer to what is traditionally known as articles, determiners, pronouns, complementizers, and inflections (TNS, AGR, NEG). They serve primarily to carry information about grammatical properties of particular types of expression within the sentence such as number, gender, person, case, and definiteness (Radford 1997a:37).

Unlike LCs, FCs lack descriptive content. For example, the noun *iguana* has an obvious descriptive content in that it denotes a lizard with a greyish-green body, and a row of spines along the back etc., whereas the pronoun *they* has no descriptive content, for instance we cannot draw a picture for *they* as we can easily for *iguana* (for a definition of individual categories, see Radford 1997a:37-54). Description in terms of semantic content is only relative since not all LCs, such as prepositions, have a clear descriptive content. Besides, the same category may function as both an LC and an FC depending on the context of its occurrence. In English for instance, the category *toward* as in (27) specifies for the concept of direction, whereas the same category in (28) has an idiomatic relation to the verb and is otherwise meaningless, or referred to as a member of a category (Levelt, 1989:195).

(27) Frederic pointed toward the sun

(28) George waited for the dragon

Jones (1996:251) reports a similar process for the preposition *à* (to/at) in French. He distinguishes between *à* which accompanies the *penser* (think) type of verb as in (29a), and the other which accompanies the *parler* (talk) type as in (30a).

(29) a: Pierre pensait à elle
 [Pierre thought of her-nom]
 {Pierre thought of her}

b:* Pierre lui pensait
 [Pierre her-dative thought]
 {Pierre thought of her}

(30) a: Pierre parlait à elle
 [Pierre talked to her-nom]
 {Pierre talked to her}

b: Pierre lui parlait
 [Pierre her-dative talked]
 {Pierre talked to her}

(Jones 1996:251)

In (30b), the clitic-placement³ results in a grammatical sentence, while in (29) the same process produces an ungrammatical sentence. Jones explains this asymmetry by arguing that *à* in (29a) is a true preposition, and since the PP is an island in French, the clitic-placement in (29b) violates the PP-Island Constraint. By contrast, *à* in (30a) is a marker of dative case, not a preposition; thus, the French PP-Island Constraint is not violated in (30b).

Although definition of categories can be confusing, a contrast between FCs and LCs in terms of selectional properties can be clearly identified. LCs, unlike FCs, assign a T-role which makes their categorial selection (c-selection) redundant. In other words, although lexical items are specified for c-selections, for instance the verb *show* selects an NP or a CP while *eat* selects an NP, such selection is redundant given certain assumptions from the T-grid. For example, the fact that an actor argument is realised as an NP is predictable, thus the addition of such information is redundant (Chomsky 1986:86).

On the contrary, c-selection is essential for FCs since there is no feedback from T-theory given the fact that they do not assign or receive T-roles (Radford 1997a, Ouhalla 1991). Thus, information such as ‘I-node c-selects a VP rather than an NP as a complement’ is not irrelevant. The same analysis has been proposed for Det by Abney (1987) in her DP

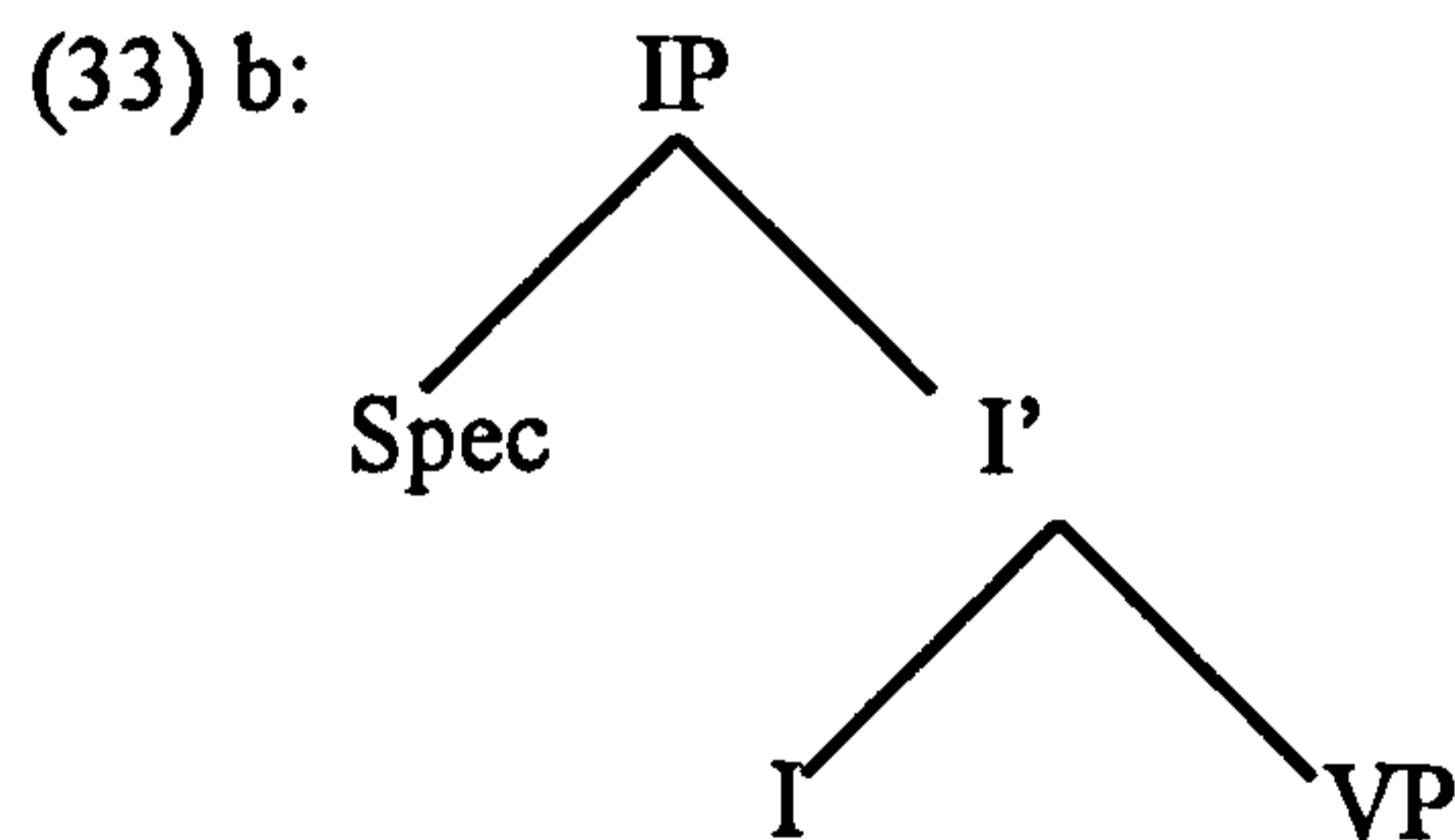
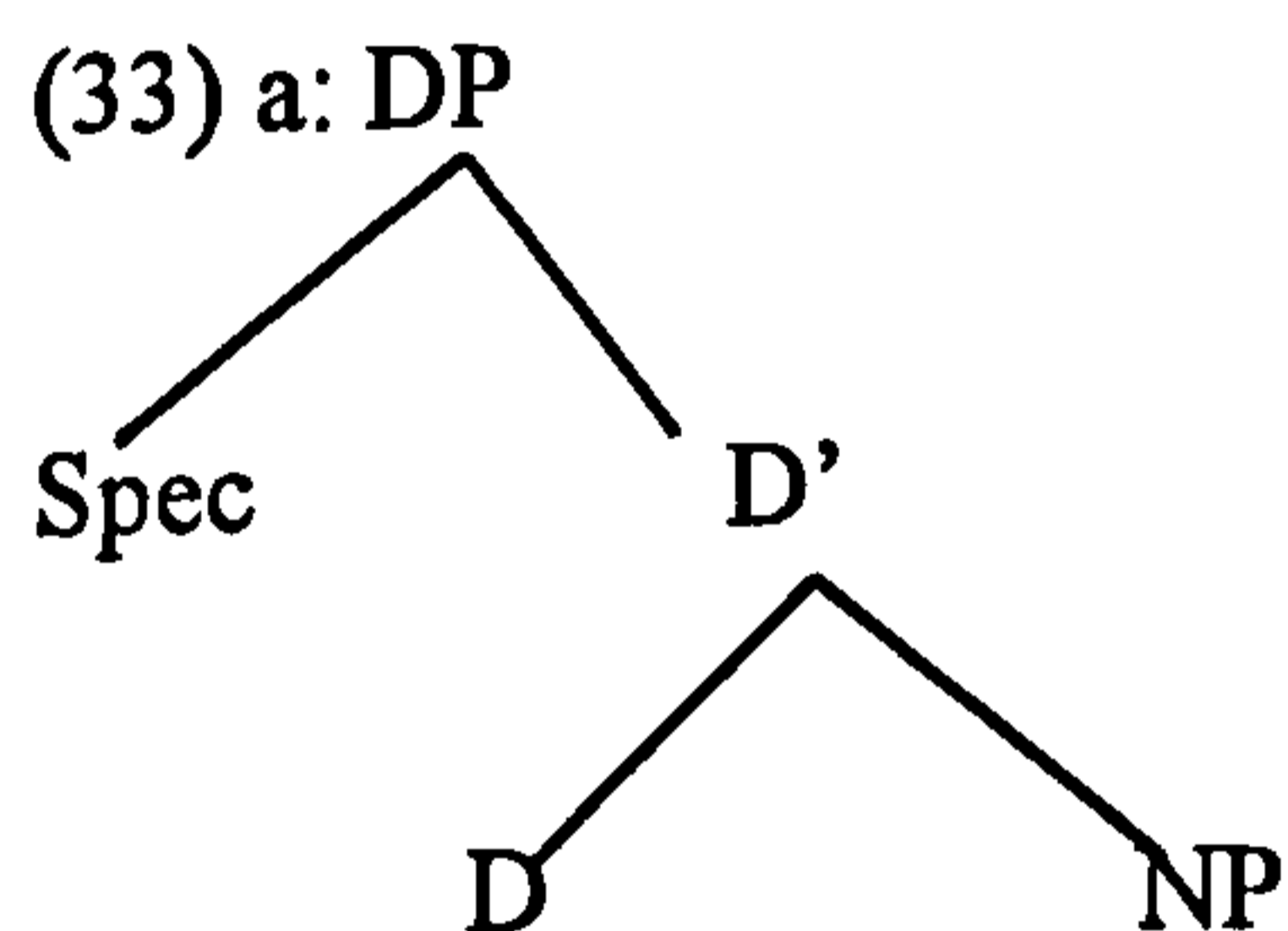
(determiner phrase) hypothesis by assigning noun phrases a structure which parallels that of clauses. This argument was based on the fact that Det elements in some languages such as French carry number/gender morphology which crucially determines the agreement relation with the AGR element on the verb (Ouhalla 1991:157).

- (31) a: This policy is short-sighted
 b: These policies are short-sighted

- (32) a: Le maire a assisté la cérémonie des funérailles
 [the_{masc.sing} mayor has attended the_{fem.sing} ceremony of funerals]
 {The mayor has attended the funeral ceremony}

- b: Les femmes sont mieux organisées que les hommes
 [the_{plr} women are better organised that the_{plr} men]
 {Women are better organised than men}
 (French)

Given the general assumption that only heads of constructions enter into an agreement relation, the Det elements in (31-32) will, therefore, qualify as heads of noun phrases. Thus, Det is the functional head of the DP and the NP is its complement, in the same way as I is the head of IP and has a VP complement as illustrated in (33):



Another characteristic of FCs is that they tend to be bound morphemes in nature. They are usually attached to other categories mostly LCs. Not all FCs are, however, bound morphemes as in the case of determiners in English (Ouhalla 1991:15). The property of whether the FC is bound or free is referred to as morphological selection (henceforth m-selection). Thus, the m-selectional features of a bound FC include (i) the property that the category is affixal, and (ii) specify the categorial nature of the element it can adjoin to (Ouhalla 1991:15). For instance, part of the selectional features of the Moroccan Arabic Det *l-* is that it is bound and must attach to a noun, or a noun and an adjective. By contrast, m-selection of a free FC includes the information that (i) it is not bound, and consequently (ii) will not need to be affixed to another category (Ouhalla 1991:15). For instance, the

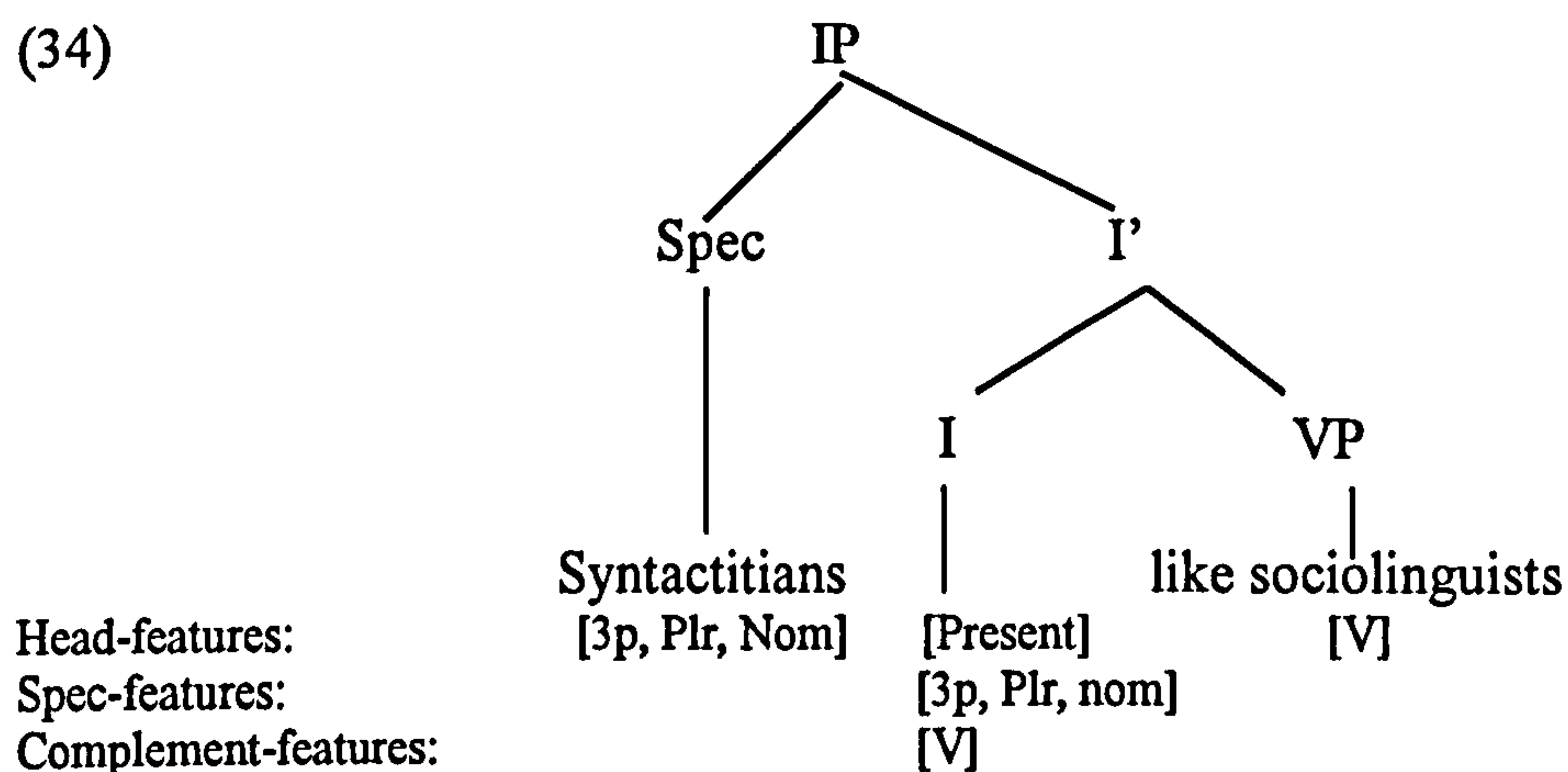
French disjunctive pronoun *elle* in (29a) above is free, and therefore does not need to adjoin to another category which is the case in (29a).

The third important property that characterises FCs is their grammatical features. These are the phi-features of person, number and gender associated with AGR, TNS features such as [+ present, future etc.], wh-features such as [+wh] depending on whether the language involves an overt wh-movement (e.g. English) or not (e.g. Chinese, Huang 1982) and case agreement such as [+ nominative, accusative etc.] (see Ouhalla, 1991 for further details). Thus, we may distinguish FCs from LCs following Ouhalla (1991) for three main lexical properties

- (a) C-selectional properties
- (b) M-selectional properties
- (c) Grammatical features

So far, the discussion of selectional properties (a-c) has been confined to the relation of FCs with their complements. It was mentioned, for instance, that Det elements enter an agreement relationship with their complement NPs. The French Det *la* selects a noun with the features [+feminine, +singular]. But FCs can also enter an agreement relationship with their Specs. For instance, an IP normally specifies for a Spec with specific selectional features as illustrated by (34):

(34)



The tree diagram in (34) shows that I has the head feature [Present]. It has also the Spec features [3p, plr, nom] which are matched by the Spec head features. Its specification for a complement with the feature [V] is equally satisfied as can be seen in the tree representation. Therefore, selectional requirements of a functional head (FH) such as I must

be met by the complement as well as Spec. Given our assumption that constraints operate on CS and monolingual language in the same way, we would expect that selectional requirements for Spec and complement are met in CS and monolingual constructions alike. This requirement will be referred to in the context of this research as the Functional Parameter Constraint (FPC):

(35) **The FPC:** The selectional properties of functional heads for Spec and complement must be met in code switching and monolingual constructions alike. If properties are parametric (i.e. cannot be satisfied from the other language), code switching will be blocked.

In the following section, I will analyse some of the properties of Arabic and French along these lines. In the process, some parametric properties across the two languages will be identified, and consequently constraints for CS will be set.

4.2 Setting the Parameters

Throughout the previous discussion, it has been argued that FCs are the locus for cross-linguistic variation. To account for interlanguage parameters between Arabic and French, I first identified the properties which generally characterise FHs namely c-selection, m-selection, and grammatical features. In the course of this section, I will first introduce some grammatical properties of the relevant languages to the study, namely Moroccan, Standard Arabic, and French. Parameters (constraints) across the functional categories of IP (AGRP/TNSP/NEGP), CP and DP will be stated accordingly. Testing the empirical validity of these parameters for CS will be the focus of chapters seven and eight.

4.2.1 The Syntax of Arabic and French

4.2.1.1 VSO/SVO Word Orders

Moroccan and Standard Arabic are characterised by the flexibility of their word-order. Sentences in both languages, as in (36) and (37) respectively, can exhibit either an SVO or a VSO pattern⁴.

(36) a: d-drari weʃl-u
[the-boys arrive_{3p.plr}]
{The boys arrived}

b: weṣl-u d-rari
 [arrive_{3p.plr} the-boys]
 {The boys arrived}
 (Moroccan Arabic)

(37) a: ‘al-‘ummalu ṭa:lab-u bi-ziyya:dati l-‘uju:ri
 [the-workers demand_{3p.plr} with-increase the-wages]
 {Workers demanded an increase in wages}

b: ṭa:laba l-‘ummalu bi-ziyya:dati l-‘uju:ri
 [demand_{3p.sing}]
 {Workers demanded an increase in wages}
 (Standard Arabic)

The only difference between the two, as far as word order is concerned, lies in the way agreement is realised. In Moroccan Arabic (36), the verb agrees with the subject⁵ in number in an SV as well as a VS order. By contrast, number agreement is realised in Standard Arabic (37) when the subject is preverbal⁶; in the case of a VS order, agreement obtains in gender only.

The lack of agreement in the Standard Arabic VS order can be explained, according to Mohammad (1989), by the fact that the nominal element occupies the thematic subject position (Spec of VP), while the structural position (Spec of IP) is occupied by a covert expletive element. As such, the VSO word order is derived by moving the verb to I:

(38) [IP [_{Spec} Exp1 [_I I [_{VP} [_{Spec} Subj [_{VP} V ...]]]]]]
 (Ouhalla 1994b: 44)

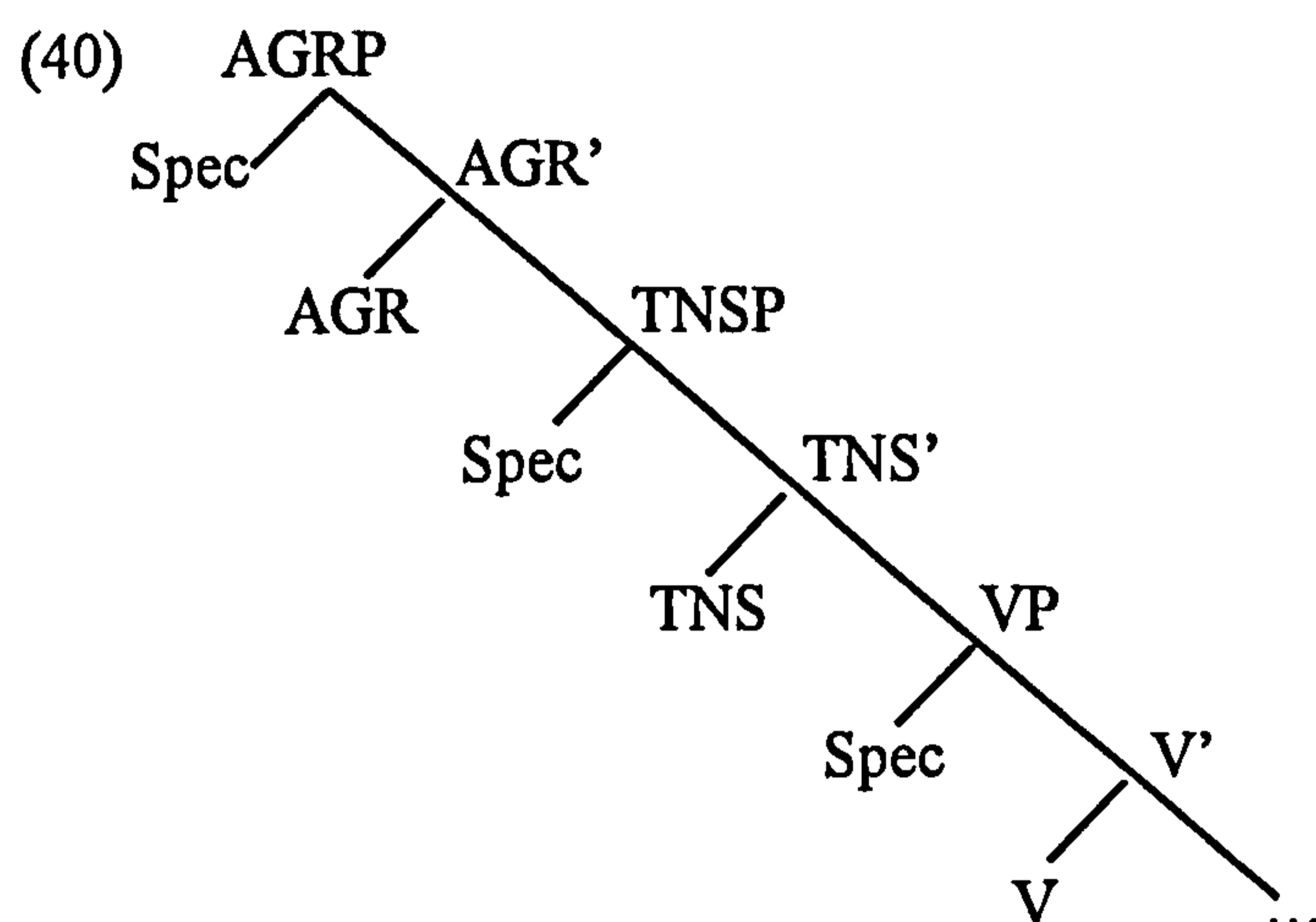
Thus, the fact that the thematic subject is not in a Spec-Head agreement with I, as illustrated through configuration (38) above, accounts for the lack of agreement between the two⁷.

While Moroccan and Standard Arabic are VSO languages which allow for an SVO alternative (Ouhalla 1994b), French is strictly an SVO type.

(39) a: le premier ministre annoncera sa démission ce soir
 [The Prime Minister will announce his resignation this evening]
 b: *annoncera le premier ministre sa démission ce soir

(39a) is an SVO grammatical sentence in French while the alteration of this order into a VSO as in (39b) yields an ungrammatical sentence⁸.

To account for the Arabic VS order, Ouhalla (1991) proposes Pollock's (1989) I-Split Hypothesis which reanalyses the IP into two independent syntactic categories: AGRP and TNSP. Note, however, that for the sake of brevity, IP will also be used, instead, when the analysis does not require the distinction between the TNS and AGR elements. Assuming the I-split, the structural representation of a sentence will be as in (40).



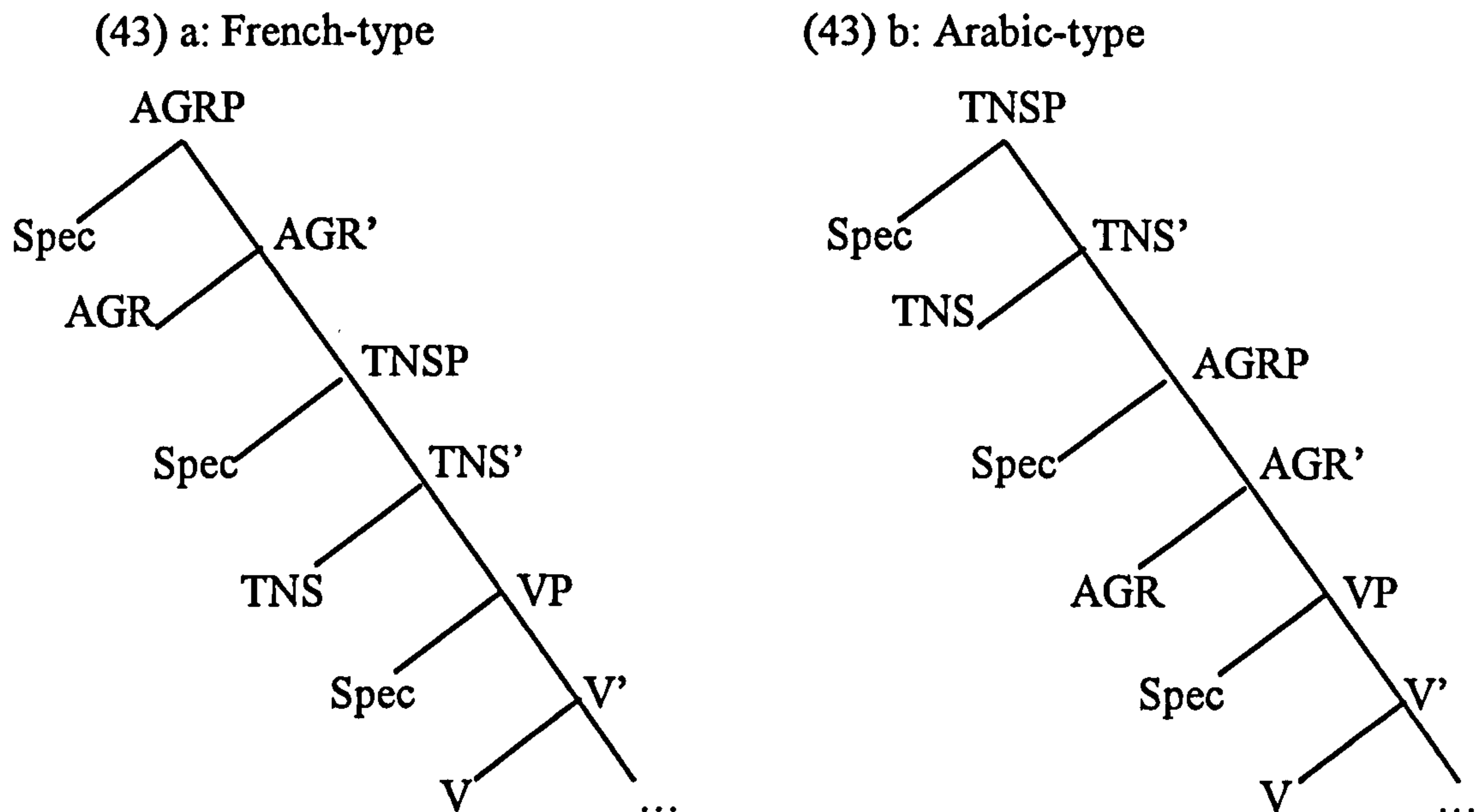
However, although languages such as French and Arabic have the categories of TNSP and AGRP, they may differ in terms of their selectional requirements, and, therefore, involve different derivations and movements.

(41) Son avion arrive-r-a ce soir
 [his flight arrive-TNSP_{future}-AGRP_{3p.sing} this evening]
 {His flight will arrive this evening}
 (French)

(42) a: ġa-y-wṣel °mm-u f-l-weqt
 [TNSP_{future}-AGRP_{3p.sing.masc}-arrive uncle-his in-the-time]
 {His uncle will arrive in time}
 (Moroccan Arabic)

b: sa-ta-qu:mu l-xa:dimatu bi-wa:jibi-ha:
 [TNSP_{future}-AGRP_{3p.sinf.fem} the-worker_{fem} with-duty-her]
 {She will perform her duty}
 (Standard Arabic)

Notice that while in (42) AGRP appears within the scope of TNSP, it falls outside the scope of TNSP in (41). According to Ouhalla (1991), each language has a different structural representation of AGRP and TNSP which reflects the order observed in (41) and (42),



Pro-languages such as Arabic are assumed to instantiate a *pro* (null) subject in addition to the lexical subject. The null subject occupies the structural subject position (Spec of AGRP), whereas the lexical subject (*ʿmmi* and *l-xa:dimatu* in (42a) and (42b) respectively) fills the thematic subject position (Spec of VP). French, on the other hand, provides one thematic/structural subject position (Spec of AGRP). The advantage of structure (43) is that it allows the order of AGR and TNS morphemes to be derived naturally through a process of stepwise V-movement to TNS in the case of Arabic and to AGR in the case of French (Ouhalla 1994b:46). Notice also that structure (43) yields correctly the word order of each language type. A stepwise V-movement to TNS, then to AGR will leave the subject at the initial position of the sentence in the case of the French as in (43a). By contrast, a similar stepwise movement in the context of Arabic (43b) will invariably leave the subject behind, whether the latter is Spec of AGR or Spec of VP (Ouhalla 1994b:46).

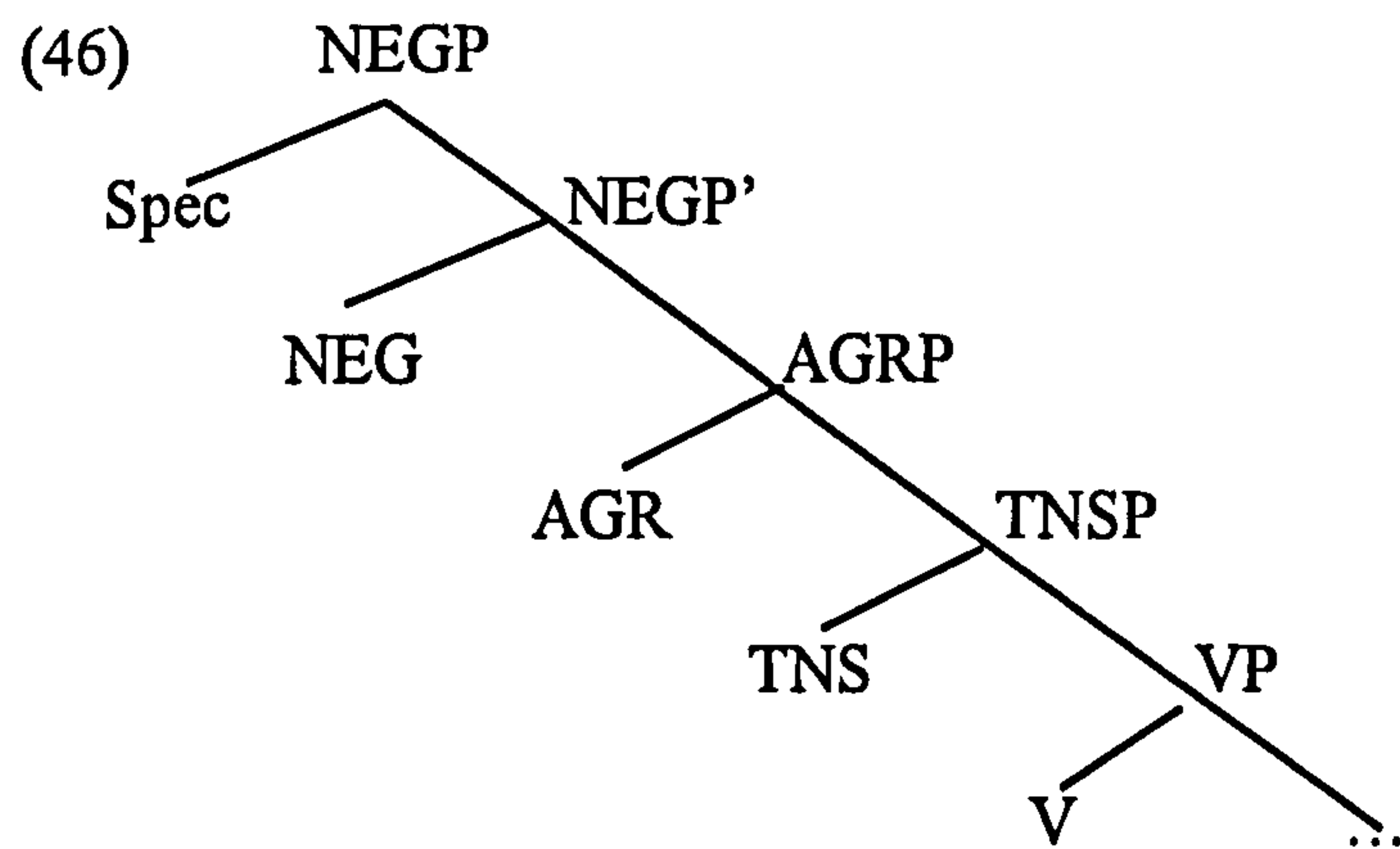
Like TNSP and AGRP, negation (NEG) is another independent syntactic category which functions as a syntactic head and projects into a NEGP (Radford 1997b:231-2). Negation in both Moroccan Arabic and French is expressed in terms of two elements, *ma...š*, and *ne...pas*, respectively where *ma* and *ne* are the heads of the NEGP and *š* and *pas* are their specifiers (cf. Ouhalla 1991). Negation is also expressed in Moroccan Arabic through the

single element *maši*; more discussion of this element is to be found in 7.1.2, also Nortier (1990).

- (44) ma-ğa-t- kemmel-š qrayt-ha
 [NEGP-TNSP_{future}-AGRP_{3p.sing.fem}-finish-neg study-her]
 {She will not finish her studies}
 (Moroccan Arabic)

- (45) Ils n' aborde-r-ont pas le problème comme il faut
 [they NEGP-tackle-TNSP-AGRP neg the problem as it should be]
 {They will not go about the problem the right way}
 (French)

NEGP in Moroccan Arabic as illustrated by (44) appears outside the scope of TNS and AGR. Following Ouhalla (1991), I will postulate the following structure for Moroccan Arabic NEGP.

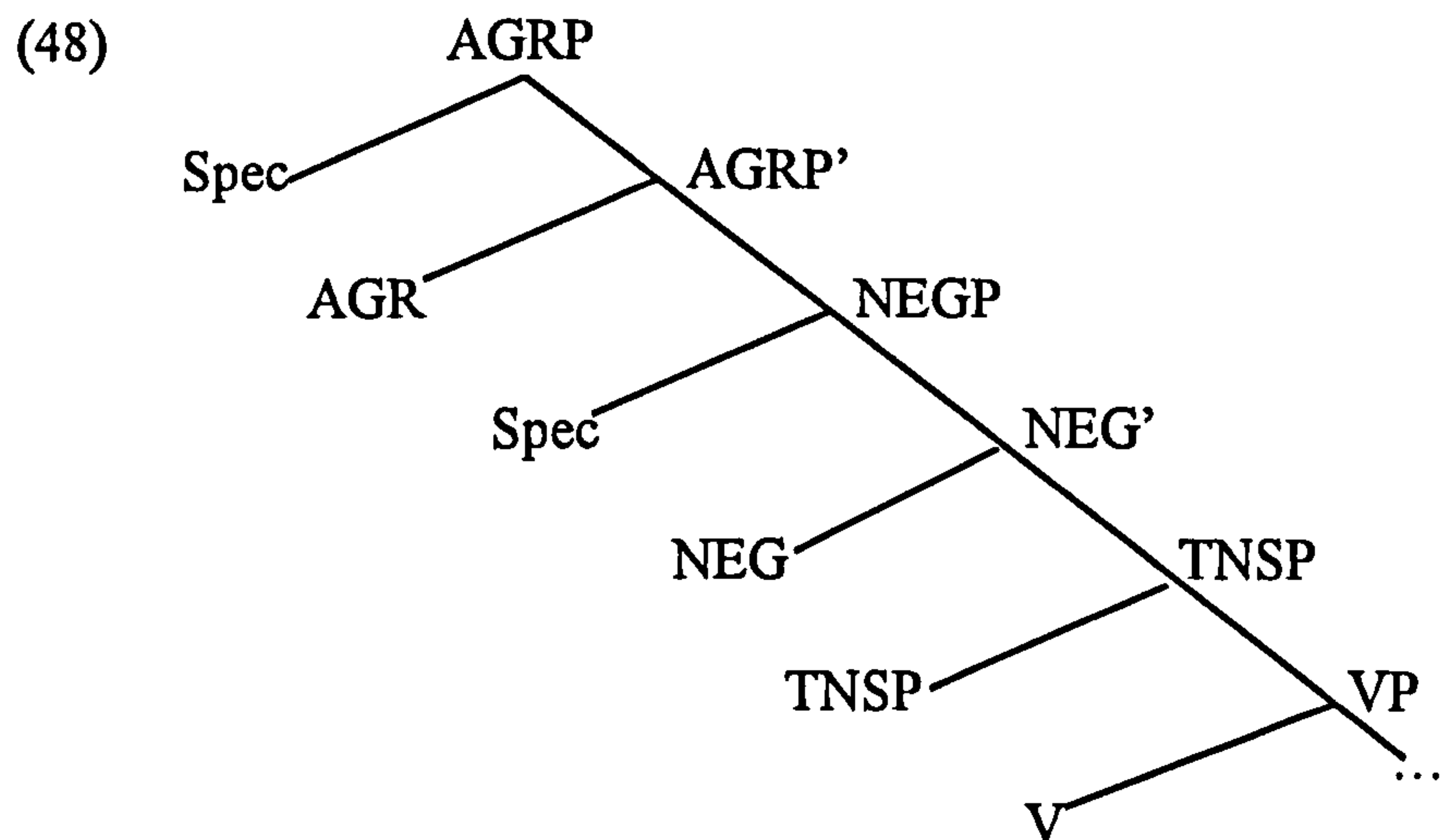


In view of the fact that both the negation head *ne* and the TNS/AGR elements appear on opposite side of the verb in (45), the same assumption made for Moroccan Arabic in (46) cannot necessarily be drawn for French NEGP on the basis of surface order. Drawing on evidence from colloquial French, Ouhalla (1991:143) argues that the syntactic position of French NEGP lies between AGRP and TNSP.

- (47) Jean il (n') arrivera pas ce soir
 [Jean 3_{masc}-NEG-arrive_{3_{masc}} neg this evening]
 {Jean will not arrive this evening}
 (French, Ouhalla 1991:143)

The fact that the noun phrase and the clitic *il* are produced in colloquial French without a pause between the two elements has been taken by Ouhalla to imply that the clitic is merely an AGR element, and *Jean* is the structural subject (1991:143). In view of this evidence, I

will assume, following Ouhalla (1991), that NGP in French such as (47) will have a structure where it appears inside AGRP and outside TNSP as in (48).

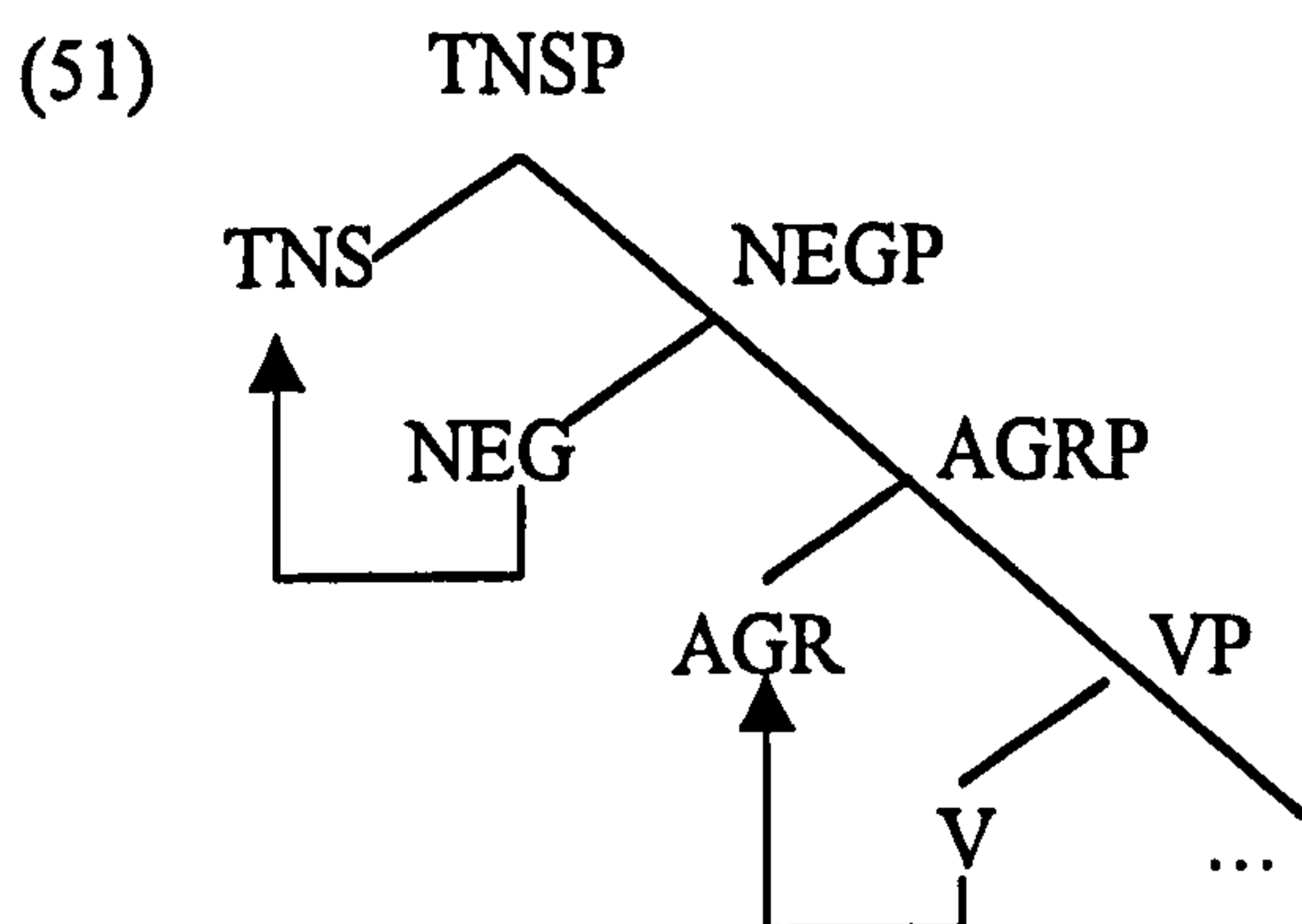


NEGP in Standard Arabic has also a different structure from Moroccan Arabic and French. In the presence of a NEGP, TNSP in Standard Arabic does not attach to the AGRP, but is rather realised in the negation element.

(49) 'an-nissa'u lam ta-hḍur
 [the-women NEG_{past (TNS)} AGR_{fem-attend}]
 {The women did not attend}

(50) 'an-nissa'u lan ta-hḍur
 [the-women NEG_{future (TNS)} AGR_{fem-attend}]
 {The women will not attend}
 (Standard Arabic)

To reflect the fact that TNSP is attached to AGR in a negative sentence, Ouhalla (1991:63) posited the following tree diagram for NEGP in Standard Arabic whereby NEG raises to TNS, and V to AGR.



4.2.1.2 Nouns-Adjectives Phrases

Word order between adjectives in relation their head or Spec nouns can be subject to variation between Arabic and French. Both languages have two types of Adjectives: attributive and predicative. In French, an attributive adjective can be pre-nominal as well as post-nominal⁹:

(52) une jolie voix/ *une voix jolie
[a pretty voice]

(53) une table blanche/ *une blanche table
[a table white]
{A white table}

In Arabic, attributive adjectives are always post-nominal except for comparative constructions (see Holes 1994:171-4), which are usually Standard Arabic forms.

(54) rajal dreyyef/ *dreyyef rajal
[man nice]
{A nice man}
(Moroccan Arabic)

(55) rajulun tayyib
[man nice]
(Standard Arabic)

By contrast, predicative adjectives occupy a position following their subjects in both languages although they usually take the form of an equational sentence in Arabic as in (56).

(56) 'al-muttahamu bari:'un
[the-defendant innocent]
{The defendant is innocent}
(Arabic)

(57) Le plaignant est innocent
[The defendant is innocent]
(French)

Both types of adjectives show gender (masculine/feminine) and number (singular/plural) agreement relations. Attributive adjectives agree with their head nouns and predicative adjectives with their subjects. Standard Arabic shows an additional feature of dual

agreement. Unlike Moroccan Arabic¹⁰ and French, Standard Arabic nouns have a dual form and require the adjectives they head or specify to be overtly marked for a dual agreement.

- (58) kita:ba:ni mufi:da:ni
 [books_{dual} useful_{dual}]
 {Two useful books}
 (Standard Arabic)

Definiteness is another type of agreement which attributive adjectives share with the nouns they modify in Arabic. Arabic nouns are made grammatically definite in two ways: by prefixing the definite article or by adding a pronominal suffix¹¹. In either case, the attributive adjective is prefixed the definite article 'al/l-. Unlike Arabic, French adjectives are not required to be overtly marked as (in)definite following their head nouns.

- (59) 'al-bintu l-muəa:biratu
 [the-girl the-persevering]
 {The persevering girl}
 (Standard Arabic)

- (60) rajel šaref
 [ø Det-man ø Det-old]
 {An old man}
 (Moroccan Arabic)

- (61) *l'élève le stupide
 [the-pupil the-stupid]
 {The stupid pupil}
 (French)

The adjective in the Arabic example (59) is prefixed a definite Det the same as its head noun. Arabic nouns are not overtly marked the property of indefiniteness and so are their modifying adjectives as illustrated by (60) above¹². In (61), the addition of an overt marker of definiteness to the adjective gives rise to ungrammaticality because adjectives do not overtly agree in terms of definiteness with the noun they modify in French.

In Standard Arabic, attributive adjectives are also obligatory marked for the same case, nominative, accusative or genitive, as their head nouns¹³.

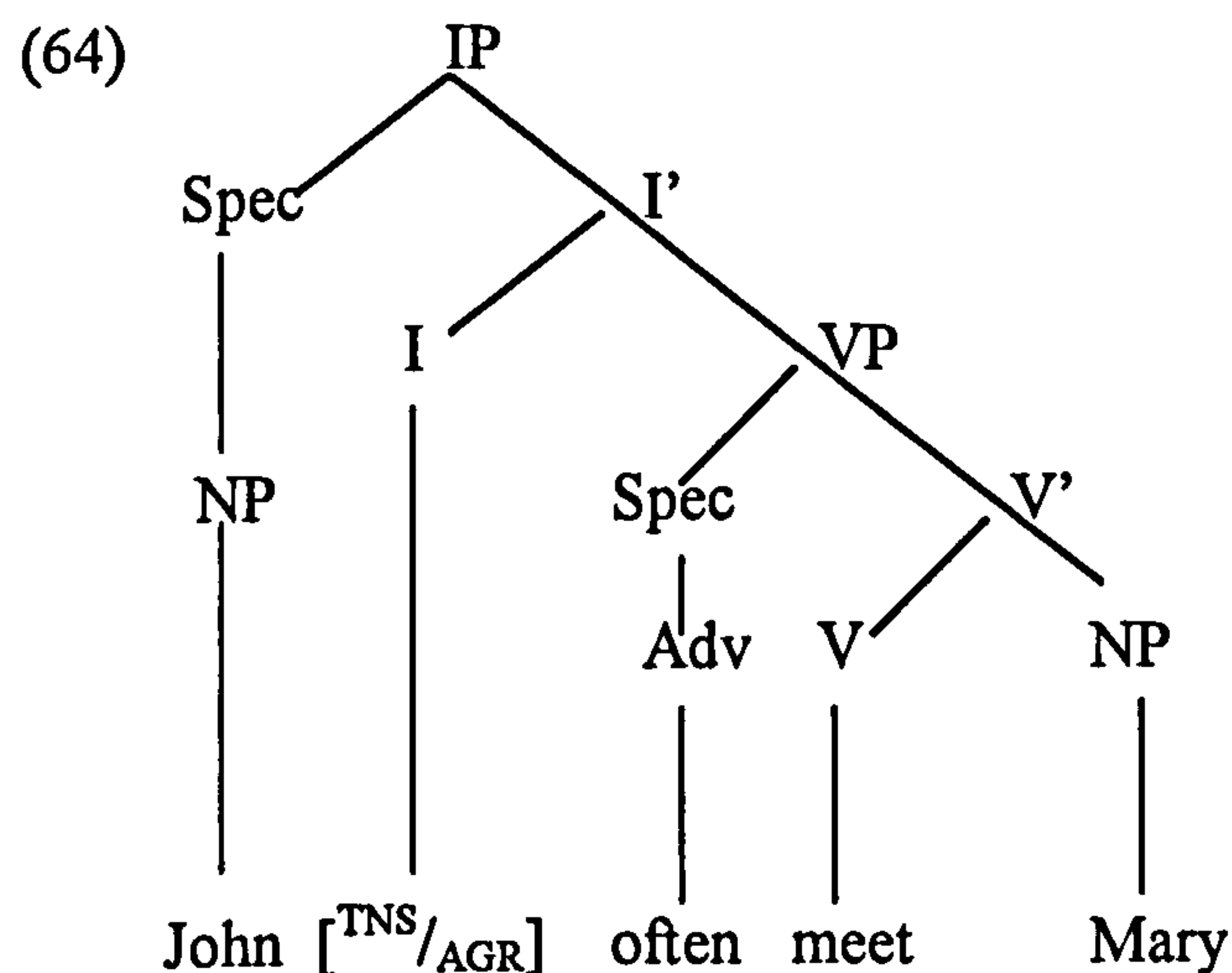
- (62) 'al-walad-u/a/i l-ğabiy-u/a/i
 [the-boy-nom/acc/gen the-stupid-nom/acc/gen]
 {The stupid boy}
 (Standard Arabic)

The assignment of case depends on the thematic position of the noun. In (62) for example, case will be marked either as nominative if the NP functions as subject to a verb such as *na:ma*, accusative if the NP functions as object of *zurtu* (I-visited), or genitive if the NP complements a preposition such as *inda* (at/to).

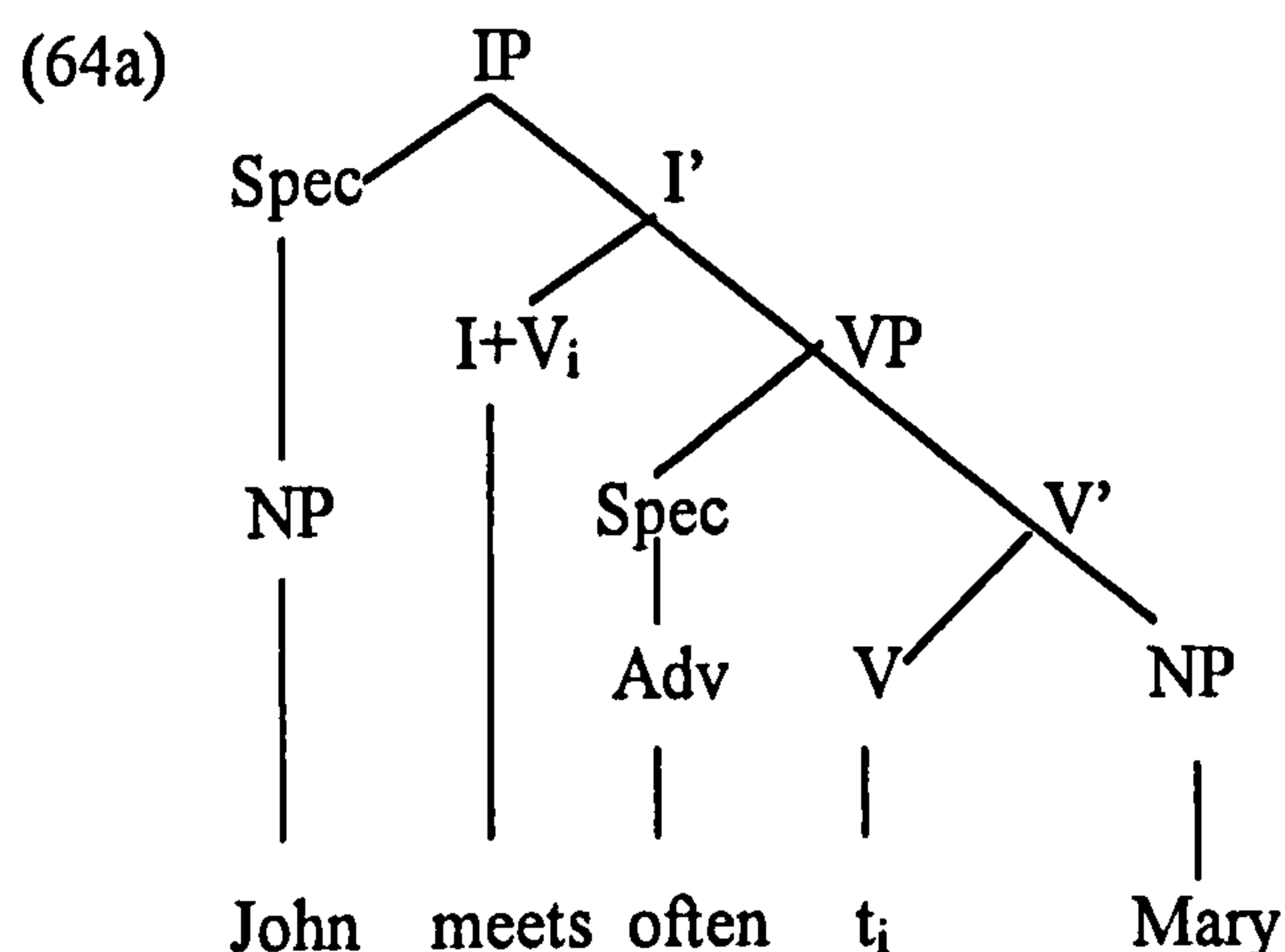
4.2.1.3 Adverbs

Like the SV/VS order variation, the different positions provided for the adverb cross-linguistically can be accounted for in terms of V-movement. In French, for instance, unlike English, main verbs obligatorily raise to I while Moroccan Arabic appears to allow for both, I-lowering like English and V-raising like French. Thus, the structure of a sentence such as (63) would have the tree representation as in (64).

(63) John often meets Mary

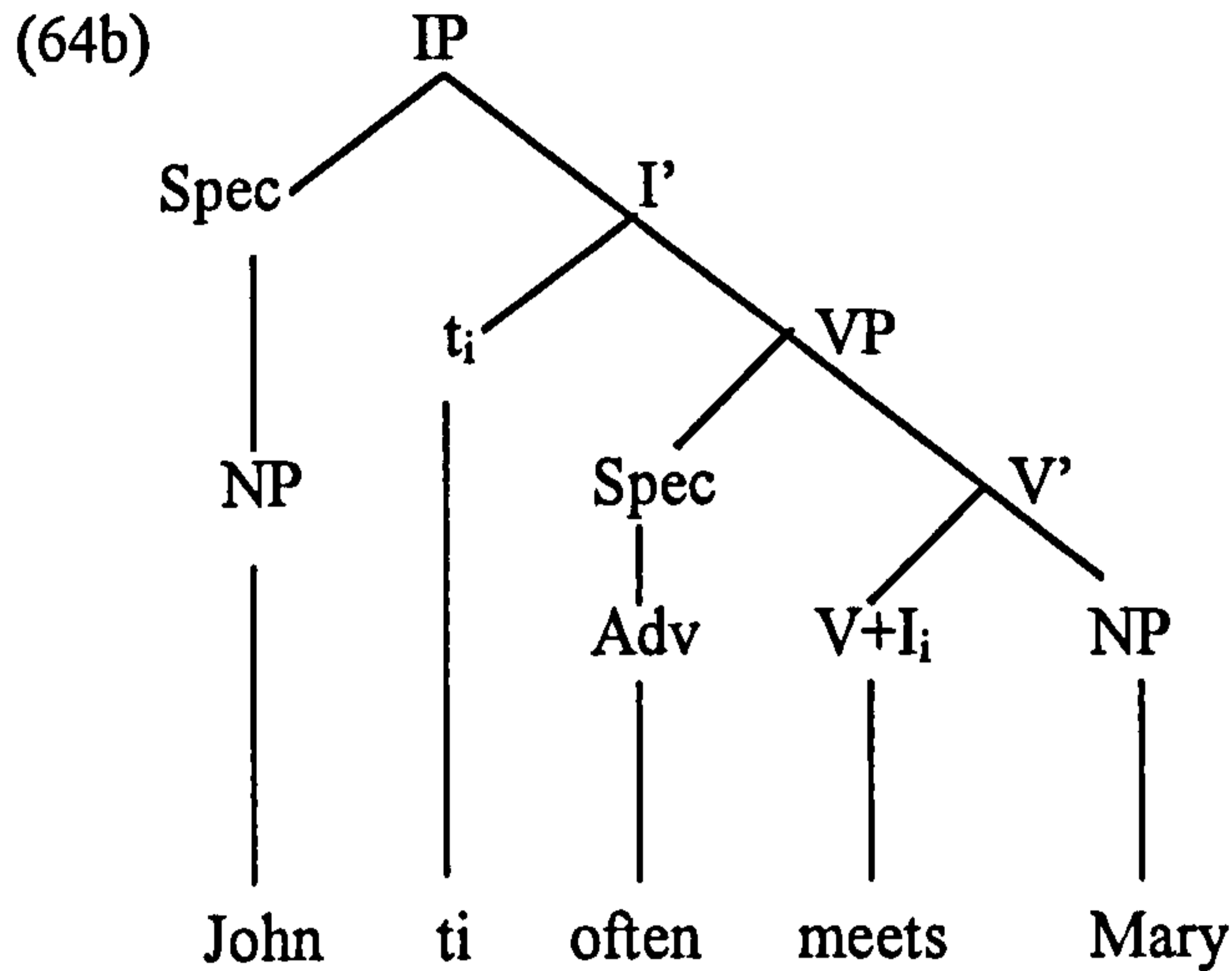


For the verb to be adjoined to the I-node, there are two possible movements: either the verb *meet* raises to I leaving a V trace (*t*) behind as in (64a).



(64a) * John meets often Mary.

or I lowers (moves down) to V leaving an I trace behind as in (64b)



(64b) John often meets Mary

Apparently, English opts for I-Lowering. French and Moroccan Arabic in (65) and (66) respectively show different patterns of verb movement.

(65) a: *Jean souvent embrasse Marie
 Jean often kisses Marie
 [IP Jean [I' t_i [VP souvent [VP embrasse +[I]_i Marie]]]]

I-Lowering

b: Jean embrasse souvent Marie
 Jean kisses often Marie
 [IP Jean [I' I + [embrasse]_i [VP souvent [VP t_i Marie]]]]

V-Raising

(66) a: Said dima tayšuf Leila
 Said always sees Leila
 [IP Said [I' t_i [VP dima [VP šuf + [I]_i Leila]]]]

I-lowering

b: Said tayšuf dima Leila
 Said sees always Leila
 [IP Said [I' I + [šuf]_i [VP dima [VP t_i Leila]]]]¹⁴

V-Raising

4.2.1.4 Prepositions

Unlike verbs, adjectives and nouns, prepositions are morphologically invariable in Arabic and French, i.e. they do not inflect for tense, number or gender. This is a property they share, though, with adverbs (Jones 1996:377). Prepositions in both languages require a DP complement which can be either definite or indefinite as in (67) and (68) respectively.

(67) a: rje^o men l-xedma
 [he-came back from the-work]
 {He came back from work}
 (Moroccan Arabic)

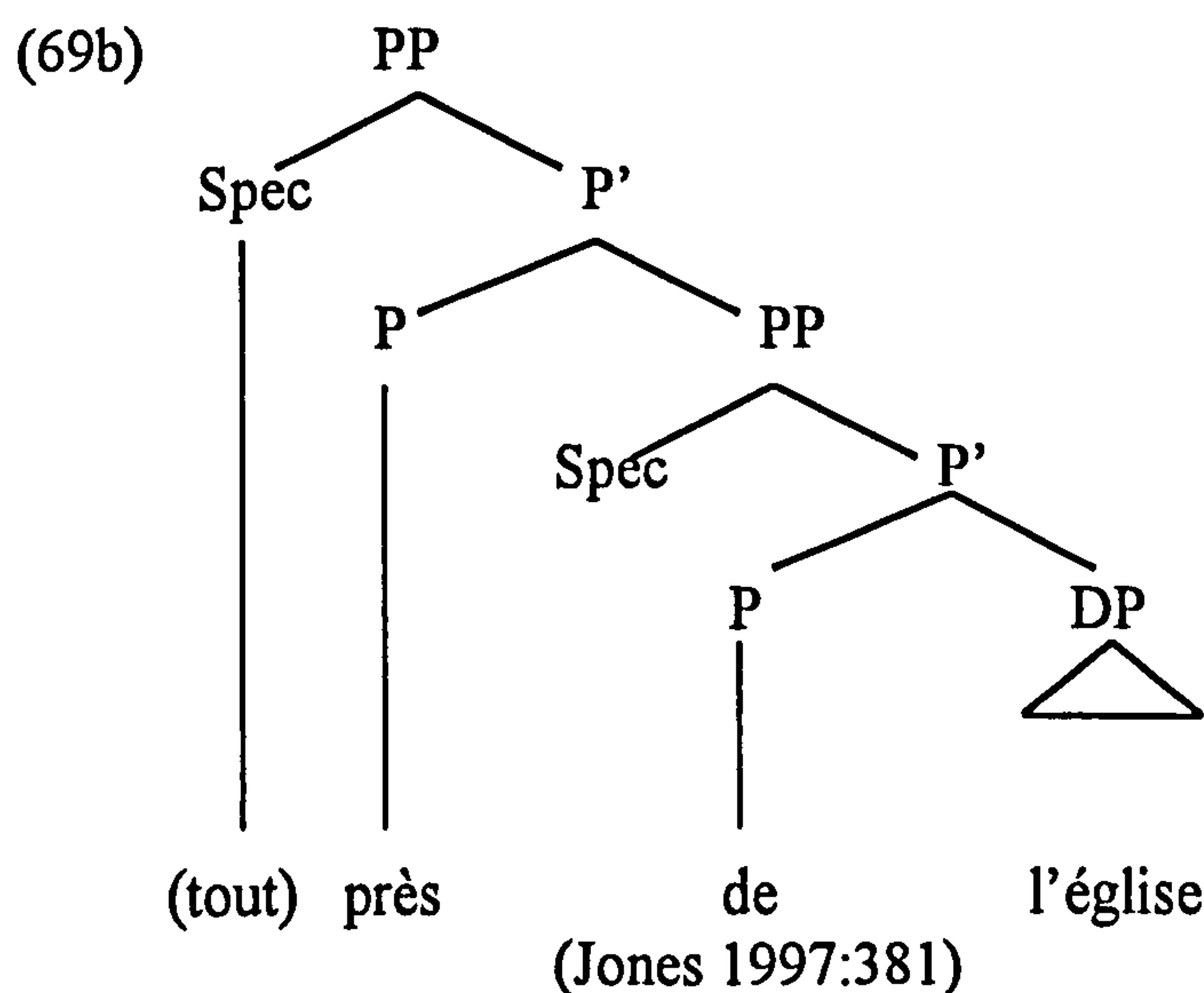
b: J'ai placé les clés sur la table
 [I have put the keys on the table]
 {I put the keys on the table}

(68) a: ya^oi:šu fi: baytin sagi:rin¹⁵
 [he-lives in ø Det house small]
 {He lives in a small house}
 (Standard Arabic)

b: Il l'a trouvé chez un ami
 [he it-have found at a friend]
 {He found it at a friend}
 (French)

Prepositions may not select a DP for complement in French. Prepositions like *près* require an intervening grammatical preposition with their NP complement as in (69).

(69a) (tout) près de l'église
 [(very) near to the-church]
 {Very close to the church}



Unlike English, prepositions cannot be stranded in both French and Arabic. Nevertheless, French allows for some prepositions to be intransitive.

- (70) Luc est sorti avec
 [Luc is gone with]
 {Luc left with (Marie)}
 (Jones 1997:386)

According to Jones (1997:386) constructions such as (70) are highly elliptical; their interpretation depends on recovering an appropriate complement from the context (e.g. Marie in (70)).

This sub-section (4.2.1) has provided a short summary of the syntax of the major grammatical categories that will be dealt during the analysis of CS occurrences in chapters seven and eight. I have identified a number of similarities and differences between Moroccan, Standard Arabic and French. In the following sub-section, constraints to CS will be formulated accordingly.

4.2.2 Code Switching Constraints

In the course of the analysis of the IP in 2.2.1.1, It has been argued that the scope of the TNS and AGR categories varies between Arabic and French. A TNS/AGR parameter will be posited accordingly as:

- (71) TNS/AGR Parameter
 (i) TNS c-selects AGR (in the Arabic language-type)
 (ii) AGR c-selects TNS (in the French language-type)

It is expected that switching between TNSP and AGRP would not appear in Moroccan Arabic/French bilingual conversations. Consider for instance the invented example (72).

- (72) * *ga-ons-cherche* *les gosses*
 [TNS_{future}-AGR_{1p.plr}-look for the kids]
 {We will look for the kids}
 (MA/Fr)

The c-selectional requirement of the Moroccan Arabic TNSP for an AGRP is satisfied, therefore we have the switching pattern: [TNSP_{MA} + AGRP_{Fr}]. Its oddness, however, follows the fact that selectional conditions of the French lower functional head AGRP are violated. French AGRP specifies for a TNSP c-selection, whereas in (72) it c-selects a VP. We should, accordingly, postulate that:

(73) Selectional requirements of all FHs, higher than lower, must be satisfied in code switching and monolingual constructions alike.

The TNS/AGR parameter does not block switches of the type in (74) where the inflection comes from Moroccan Arabic and the lexical verb from French.

(74) *fuqaš ta-y-commencer had le coeur à battre?*
[when TNS-AGR-begin this the heart to beat]
{When does this heart begin to beat?}
(MA/Fr, Bentahila & Davies, 1991:393)

In (74), although the lexical verb is in French, TNSP and AGRP are in Moroccan Arabic. Their selectional requirements are met given that TNSP c-selects AGRP, and AGRP c-selects VP. Notice that m-selection and c-selection of the inflectional categories TNS and AGR are similar, each adjoins to the category it c-selects. Not all FCs, however, adjoin to the complement they c-select as in the case of a CP which will be discussed shortly.

It has also been shown in 4.2.1.1 that properties of AGRP in terms of Spec selection vary between Arabic and French. Spec of the Arabic AGRP is not phonologically realised (i.e. null), whereas French always specifies for an overt DP in the same syntactic position.

(75) *ga-y-mši l-l-mdina*
[TNSP_{future}-AGRP_{3p.masc} to-the-town]
{He will go to the town
(Moroccan Arabic)

(76) *Elle confirme-r-a son billet*
[she confirm-TNSP_{future}-AGRP_{3p.sing} her ticket]
{She will confirm her ticket}
(French)

The sentence in (75) does not have a structural subject (given the rich inflectional system of Moroccan Arabic), whereas the deletion of the subject *elle* in the French sentence (76) will produce an ungrammatical sentence. It is expected that the same structural conditions obtaining in monolingual (75-76) will also obtain in code switching. In other words, a structural subject from French will not fill the Spec position of Moroccan Arabic AGRP, and French AGRP must always have a structural subject from French given that Moroccan Arabic does not have one. The AGRP parameter regarding Spec selection will be formalised as follows:

(77) The AGRP Parameter

- (i) AGRP selects null subject in Arabic**
- (ii) AGRP selects overt subject in French**

Like TNSP and AGRP, values of NEGP are parametric across Arabic and French. I argued earlier that NEGP appears outside the scope of TNS and AGR in Moroccan Arabic, between AGR and TNS in French, and between TNS and AGR in Standard Arabic. It follows that the switching of any of the three categories of NEGP, TNSP or AGRP is not expected to take place in Moroccan/Standard Arabic or Moroccan Arabic/French bilingual constructions in view of the fact that switching one of them will compromise the selectional features of the other(s). Thus, the TNS/AGR parameter postulated earlier as (71) must be restated as follows:

(78) The NEGP Parameter

In the presence of a NEGP,

- (i) NEGP c-selects TNSP, TNSP c-selects AGRP, and AGRP c-selects VP in Moroccan Arabic.**
- (ii) AGRP c-selects NEGP, NEGP c-selects TNSP, and TNSP c-selects VP in French.**
- (iii) TNSP c-selects NEGP, NEGP c-selects AGRP, and AGRP c-selects VP in Standard Arabic.**

CP is another FC that has parametric selectional values across Arabic and French. The category CP is not bound in either language, and therefore does not need to attach to the category it c-selects. CP, however, does not share the same c-selection properties in both languages. Given that TNSP is higher than AGRP in Arabic, we would expect CP to c-select TNSP. By contrast, French CP would c-select an AGRP given that the latter is higher than TNSP in French. Therefore, switches between CP and IP (TNSP/AGRP) are expected to be constrained in Arabic/French bilingual conversations.

(79) CP Parameter

- (i) CP c-selects TNSP in Arabic**
- (ii) CP c-selects AGRP in French**

A very limited number of examples of Moroccan Arabic/French CS which can be considered as violations to this constraint appeared in Bentahila and Davies (1983), and will be discussed in 5.3. As to CP switches which appeared in my corpus, they will be discussed in 7.1.3 (for Moroccan Arabic/French), and 8.1.3 (for Moroccan/Standard

Arabic). By contrast, switches like (80) which involves a Moroccan Arabic CP, and a French VP which is attached Moroccan Arabic inflection, are accounted for by the FPC. In fact, they appear more frequently than other instances which instantiate a violation to the CP/IP parameter.

(80) maši nta lli ta-d-dirriger les recherches
 [not you that TNSP-AGRP-direct the studies]
 {It is not you who directs the studies}
 (MA/Fr, DS 1, 282)

The affixation of the Moroccan Arabic IP to the French lexical verb is motivated by the presence of a Moroccan Arabic CP as a way to save its c-selectional requirement from violation.

So far, the selectional properties of FCs tend to show large variation between Arabic and French, which confirms the assumption that properties of FCs are highly parametric across languages (Ouhalla 1991, Chomsky 1995). Consequently, switching of these categories will be highly constrained compared with LCs. Determiners are, however, an FC-type which showed a greater leniency in switching as will be discussed in 7.1.1 and 8.1.1. The higher constrained nature, for instance of NEGP, TNSP, and AGRP, compared with DPs, can be explained by the fact that in the case of the former selectional requirements are satisfied in a chain manner. That is, both the selector and the selectee are FCs; thus, selectional conditions must be satisfied more than once, and the violation of one often affects the other. Dets, on the other hand, tend to c-select a noun which does not have to check selectional requirements.

(81) a: taygulu l- p-patron ...
 [they-say to the-boss]
 {They tell the boss ...}
 (MA/Fr, DS2, 125)

b: tab[°]i:n l-la défense
 [they-belong to-the defence]
 {They belong to the defense ministry}
 (MA/Fr, DS 2, 349)

The whole DP, i.e. Det element and complement, in (81b) are in French. In (81a), on the other hand, the Moroccan Arabic Det (expressed here through gemination) has its c-selection (for a noun) and m-selection (bound) properties satisfied. The Det element *l-*

defines all type of nouns irrespective of their number or gender, and therefore agreement feature would not be violated in (81a). By contrast, when a French Det element heads a Moroccan Arabic complement, agreement features of number and gender must be satisfied as illustrated by (82) below.

- (82) *C' est le seul 'ustad*
 [it is the_{sing.masc} only teatcher_{sing.masc}]
 {He is the only teacher}
 (MA/Fr, Bentahila & Davies 1983:319)

Moroccan Arabic also differs from French in the use of double Det such as *waħed l-* (literally: *one the-*) to express indefiniteness. The Moroccan Arabic Det *waħed* in this case c-selects a DP instead of just an NP (Ouhalla, personal communication). Semantically, the definite Det element *l-* has no function whatsoever given that the DP is indefinite. Such definite determiners are said to be expletives or semantically vacuous (Ouhalla, personal communication). Switching within this type of DP is not expected to be constrained provided the selectional property of the Det elements are preserved. For instance, for a French category to follow the Moroccan Arabic *waħed*, it must have the categorial status of DP with the grammatical features [+definite, +singular].

- (83) *whed le liquide*
 [one the_{-definite.sing.masc} liquid_{-sing.masc}]
 {A liquid}
 (MA/Fr, Bentahila & Davies 1983:317)

- (84) **waħed les liquides*
 [one the_{-definite.plr.masc} liquids_{-plr.masc}]
 {(some) liquides}
 (MA/Fr)

The selectional requirements have been satisfied in (83), hence its grammaticality. The ungrammaticality of (84), on the other hand, is due to the fact that the selectional condition of [+singular] is violated. According to principle (73), the lower FH, the switched French Det category in (84), must also have its selectional requirements, namely NP c-selection, plus the number and gender agreement, checked. Notice also that, unlike Moroccan Arabic, French Det elements require that the grammatical feature of gender must be fulfilled.

- (85) **waħed le residence*
 [one the_{-sing.masc} residence_{-sing.fem}]
 {A residence}

Therefore, switches such as (85) would be ungrammatical given that the feature of [+masculine] is not satisfied by the complement *residence* (discussion of more cases involving switching within the DP is to be found in 7.1.1 and 8.1.1).

In general, however, Moroccan Arabic and French appear to have similar grammatical features. For instance, case features are not morphologically assigned in either language which facilitates subject and object switching. The value of the wh-feature associated with the CP is generally positive as both languages involve an overt wh-movement which should not constrain switching. Note also that the phi-features of number, person and gender associated with AGR in DPs may not be switched.

- (86) a: l-bnat l-mtqf-a-t
 [the-girls the-educated- AGRg-AGRn]
 {The educated girls}
- b: les femmes bourgeois-e-s
 [the women rich-AGRg-AGRn]
 {The rich women}

The adjective in Moroccan Arabic (86a) and French (86b) show the same number and gender agreement, and surface order. Yet, switching of (one of) the lexical properties of gender and number is assumed to be constrained, and switches like invented (87) are not expected to take place.

- (87) * l-bnat l-mtqf-a-s
 [the girls the-educated-(Arabic) AGRp- (French) AGRn]

The implausibility of switches like (87) is due to the fact that the phi-features attached to the adjective do not represent an independent category in order to enter a switching transaction. Recall that one of the characteristics of functional categories is that they enter in an agreement with the category they c-select or adjoin to, which is not the case in (87). I will therefore assume that this of AGR (AGRP noun phrase), following Ouhalla 1991) is weak compared the verbal AGR that is accompanied by a TNSP. I will postulate that AGR on its own (i.e. AGR which is not an IP element), given that it is not an independent category, is too weak to move to or interact with another language.

- (88) Only independent syntactic categories can attract code switching

Therefore, in the case of an AGR, the presence of an AGR complex, i.e. AGR + TNS, is obligatory for CS to take place (more discussion of this issue is to be found in 7.1.2).

Discussion throughout this chapter has been limited to functional categories given our assumption that lexical categories do not constrain CS provided the syntax of their functional head domain allows their syntactic position. For instance, it is not expected that a Moroccan Arabic objective noun can be switched into a syntactic position between IP and its Spec as in (89).

- (89)* Je *ktab* lis-ais
 [I book read-IP]
 {I read a book}

A switch like (89) is not expected to take place simply because *ktab* is a head category, which will, therefore, obstruct V-raising to the French IP. Selectional requirements need not, however, be checked for LCs. We may also expect that the frequency of switching may differ from one LC to another, so that in cases, say of language A and B where A allows properties *i* and *j*, and B allows *i*, switches from B to A are easier than from A to B.

It has been shown earlier (4.2.1.3) that Arabic allows for both V-raising and I-lowering. It is expected, accordingly, that switching of French adverbs into Moroccan Arabic would be easier than switching in the other language direction. For instance, the French adverb *souvent* can be switched either before or after a Moroccan Arabic main verb provided the IP is also Moroccan Arabic as illustrated by the invented examples (90-91)

- (90) Said *souvent* tajshuf Leila
 [Said often sees Leila]
 (91) Said tajshuf *souvent* Leila
 [Said sees often Leila]
 (MA/Fr)

On the other hand, switching of a Moroccan Arabic adverb before a French verb as in (92), where the IP is French, is unlikely to yield an acceptable switch.

- (92) * Said dima voit Leila
 [Said often sees Leila]

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter has been mainly concerned with some theoretical assumptions relating to syntactic constraints on code switching. First, I reviewed some syntactic assumptions regarding the parameters which govern cross-linguistic variation. It was suggested that

parameters are restricted to the lexical (selectional) properties. It was also shown that these properties may vary not only from one language to another, but also from one category to another within the same language. Given the fact that lexical categories are known to have uniform properties across languages (Ouhalla 1991), it was argued that only selectional properties of functional categories are variant from one language to another, and that code switching will be constrained accordingly.

Following Ouhalla (1991), I identified three selectional properties which characterise functional categories, namely c-selection, m-selection, and grammatical features. I argued, following Radford (1997b), that syntactic heads (FCs) must have their selectional properties checked with their complements as well as their specifiers. Finally, I identified some parameters between Moroccan, Standard Arabic, and French that are likely to constrain code switching between them, and which will be subject to further explorations in the course of the data analysis in chapters seven and eight.

¹ (a) C-command:

A node A c-commands B iff:

- (i) A does not dominate B;
- (ii) B does not dominate A;
- (iii) the first branching node dominating A also dominates B.

(b) Coindexation:

A reflexive is said to be coindexed with an antecedent NP in the sense that the reflexive cannot have independent reference but depends for its reference on the binder (NP).

(c) Free

Free means is not bound

(Haegeman 1994:212)

² Long-distance binding displays a number of distinguishing cross-linguistically, notably long distance reflexives allow an antecedent outside their local domain (Yan Huang 1994:75).

³ According to Jones (1996:28), clitic-placement in the context of (29-30) refers to the transformation which moves the pronoun to the position immediately to the left of the verb, and can be formalised as follows:

[s ... [vp V... PRONOUN]

More discussion of clitic-placement is to be found in 5.3.

⁴ Medieval Arabic grammarians (e.g. Sibawayh), and some of today's standard treatment of Arabic grammar, treat VSO, SVO, VOS, and VOS, as in (i-iv) respectively, as possible word orders for the Standard/Classical Arabic sentence (Holes 1995:203).

(i) daraba Zayd-un Omar-a
[hit Zayd-nom Omar-acc]
{Zayd hit Omar}

(ii) Zayd-un daraba Omar-a

(iii) daraba Omar-a Zayd-un

(iv) Omar-a daraba Zayd-un

Orders (iii) and (iv) are stylistically/pragmatically (as in the case of topicalisation and/or contrastive emphasis) rather than syntactically governed (see Holes 1995:203-215 for further details on the functions of word order in Arabic). On the other hand, the VSO pattern in (i) represents, as Nortier (1990:31) points out, the typical word order of Standard Arabic. The SVO pattern in (ii) is obligatory when the sentence is embedded within such as *'anna* and *'inna*.

⁵ As will be discussed shortly, there are two types of subject in Arabic: a structural subject which is base-generated under IP, and thematic subject base-generated under VP.

⁶ Unlike Moroccan Arabic and French, AGR_n has three features in Standard Arabic: singular, dual and plural. The plural agreement feature does not, however, obtain unless the subject has the semantic feature [+human]. As Aoun, Benmamoun and Sportiche (1994: 197) point out, [-human] nominal elements exhibit "*a different and unexplained behavior*". While the verb agrees in number and gender with [-human] singular subject, all non-human plural nominal elements govern a feminine singular agreement with the verb.

⁷ Although AGR_n is lost in this type of configuration, AGR_g and AGR_p are still obtained. According to Ouhalla (1994b: 70), this type of agreement is only apparent or accidental assuming that AGR_g is only a secondary feature, and AGR_p is rather an inherent feature of expletive elements. Following Aoun, Benmamoun and Sportiche (1994), a different account which rather views gender as an inherent feature while it allows for other agreement elements to be lost will be discussed in 8.1.2.

⁸ VSO order is realised at the surface structure in French in the case of interrogative sentences through the application of the transformational rules of subject clitic-verb inversion or QU-movement (wh-movement). Further details on this type of sentences in French can be found in Jones (1994:463-533).

⁹ There are however instances where the same adjective can be both pre- and post-nominal. Ewert and Hansen (1993:164-6) points out that, although most French adjectives are post-nominal, almost every adjective may also occur pre-nominally whenever it assumes an emotional nuance depending on the speaker.

¹⁰ A very limited number of borrowed nouns from Standard Arabic which can take the dual form is also available in Moroccan Arabic. They require, however, a plural agreement relation with the category they head or specify.

¹¹ Unlike French, the Arabic definite Dets are not overtly marked for number and gender features. More discussion is to follow in 4.2.2 and 7.1.1

¹² The property of indefiniteness can also be overtly marked in Moroccan Arabic through the double Det *wahed l-*. Nevertheless, the attributive adjective in such a case would still bear a \emptyset Det.

¹³ The grapheme which marks case agreement varies according to the different declensions to which the noun and the adjective belong to (Holes 1995:141-143)

¹⁴ Examples and discussion in 4.2.1.3 are mainly based on Ouhalla (1991, 1994a).

¹⁵ When the DP complement of a preposition is not overtly marked for indefiniteness, an adjective or a modifying expression commonly follows the noun. That is, sentences like *yaʿi:šu fi: baytin* (he lives in a house) are unlikely to take place in Arabic.

CHAPTER FIVE

The MOROCCAN LINGUISTIC SITUATION

5.0. Introduction

Since the focus of this research is the study of the linguistic behaviour of Moroccan bilinguals, it is essential to have an understanding of the Moroccan linguistic situation prior any subsequent analysis. This chapter will therefore deal with some fundamental issues that are relevant to the actual analysis of code switching such as the type of languages and bilingual groups which form the bilingual situation in Morocco. In the first section, I will discuss some of the characteristics of each language, and the factors which determine their sociolinguistic functions. In the second section, an attempt will be made to identify the existing bilingual groups in Morocco, which has proven to be useful in setting the scene for the actual data collection (see also 6.1). The last section will examine some of the earlier works which touched the issue of code switching in the Moroccan situation. This section can be considered as an extension for chapter three which reviewed some of the major studies for code switching. The reason for the delay of this section lies in the fact that some of the examined works are very specific to the Moroccan situation, and would be better presented after a preliminary introduction of their linguistic context.

5.1. Languages

The multilingual situation prevailing in Morocco is quite unique compared with other Arab countries. Four major mutually unintelligible languages are being used in contemporary Morocco: Moroccan Arabic, Berber, Standard Arabic and French; Spanish is used in the North in addition to the four mentioned languages. This linguistic market has produced a large number of bi- and multilinguals (the term bilingualism will be used to refer to both) with CS as a salient aspect of their daily communication. Providing a retrospective review of these languages is central to any subsequent analysis or generalisation about CS in Morocco. Discussion in this section will however be confined to some fundamental linguistic and situational aspects of Moroccan Arabic, Standard Arabic and French which fall within the scope of this thesis.

5.1.1. Standard Arabic

Though most Arab linguists distinguish between two forms of Arabic used only by educated speakers: classical Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic (e.g. Holes 1995). Classical Arabic has a limited number of users (usually academic theologians who received a Muslim traditional education mainly at the university of Alqayrawan) and functions (mainly prayers, and academic theological issues). By contrast, Modern Standard Arabic is spoken by most educated Moroccans, and is used in larger areas of everyday life such as media, administration, and schooling. The two varieties do not, however, differ much linguistically, and can be said to share the same grammar. Their major difference is lexical and semantic; Standard Arabic has a richer vocabulary given the demands of contemporary life. Grandguillaume (1983:12) explains in this respect that

l'Arabe moderne s'est enrichi de nombreux termes nouveaux destinés à exprimer des réalités nouvelles. De ce fait, s'il est formellement semblable à l'Arabe classique ancien, il tend à s'en distinguer par son contenu qui reflète la vie moderne, laïque et technique.

Modern Standard Arabic has become richer with several new terms destined to express the new realities. Hence, though being similar in its form to (old) Classical Arabic, it is different in its content which reflects the modern, laic and technical life.

Given the similarity of their form (grammar), I will use Standard Arabic as a covering term for both varieties unless stated otherwise. The term Arabic will also be used to refer, in addition to the two mentioned varieties, to the Moroccan Arabic vernacular whenever discussion does not require specification.

Standard Arabic often has the reputation amongst non-native speakers of Arabic (e.g. Nortier 1990, Justice 1987) of being a 'difficult language'¹. This judgement is usually constructed, consciously or unconsciously, on a comparative deduction, namely that the more different phonologically, morpho-syntactically, and graphologically a language is from one's native language, the more difficult it is to learn. In his study of language attitudes, Bentahila (1983:32) found that his Moroccan respondents have a similar attitude towards Standard Arabic compared with the other languages used in the Moroccan situation.

| What language do you find the easiest/the most practical in everyday life? | | | | |
|--|--------|--------|--------|-------|
| | MA | Fr | SA | Blank |
| Easiest | 63.21% | 24.13% | 10.34% | 2.29% |
| most practical in everyday life | 72.26% | 21.83% | 3.44% | 3.44% |

Table (5.1): Attitudes towards practicality

(Bentahila 1983:32)

Table (5.1) shows that Standard Arabic ranked even lower than French in terms 'easiness'. The Moroccan bilingual attitude towards Standard Arabic is not, however, as simple as in table 5.1. When the same respondents were asked a different question, the situation changed completely.

| What language do you think Moroccans should use above all? | | | |
|--|--------|-------|-------|
| SA | MA | Fr | Blank |
| 59.78% | 27.59% | 8.04% | 4.59% |

Table (5.2): Attitudes towards identity

(Bentahila 1983:32)

Although respondents rated Standard Arabic as the most difficult and the least practical, they, nonetheless, felt it is the language that must be used most. This is not surprising given the different nature of the questions in each table. The response in table (5.1) is relatively based on individual experience. On the other hand, the question in (5.2) relates to the obligations/duty of Moroccans as a group. The paradigms of 'duty' and 'group' represent part of the Moroccan *conscience collective* symbolised in Islam and Pan-Arab Nationalism (c.f. Bentahila 1983:32) for which Standard Arabic represents the embodiment.

Being the language of the divine revelation and Arab unity gives Standard Arabic a unique value amongst Moroccans, and Arabs in general. It is therefore expected that a substantial amount of switching into Standard Arabic would involve a moralising discourse, be it religious or nationalist. The two types of discourse are usually inseparable in the Moroccan context. In my corpus, only a few sporadic occurrences of Standard Arabic switches surfaced when the conversation involved a technical or

scientific topic. By contrast, a larger amount of switching involving Standard Arabic took place in the context of a moralising discourse.

5.1.2. Moroccan Arabic

Moroccan Arabic is a vernacular variety spoken by over 90% of the total population of Morocco for intimate and informal, everyday life purposes (Youssi 1995:28). Moroccan Arabic along with other Maghrebi dialects differs from other Arab dialects by the stock of vocabulary borrowed from Berber and French. The influence of Berber can be explained by the fact that it was and still is the indigenous language spoken by the original inhabitants of Morocco (Berbers). As to the French influence, it is a result of the French colonisation followed by a post-colonial dominance of French as the language of education and administration. The influence of French is not limited to single word borrowings, but also affect its phonology and morpho-syntax (Ennaji 1988).

Within Moroccan Arabic, a number of variations can be observed across its sub dialects. As Guillome points out: *“En chaque pays , il y a une société de dialectes citadins et de dialectes ruraux ou Bédouins. ... Le Maroc a son dialecte citadin principalement centré sur Fez, le Fassi, distinct des parlers Arabes ruraux”* (1983:13). (In every country, there is a society of urban dialects as well as rural dialects or Bedouins. ... Morocco has its own urban dialect essentially centred in Fez, the Fassi which is different from the Arab rural vernaculars).

As discussed earlier (2.2), Morocco is often referred to as a diglossic country in respect of the two varieties of Moroccan Arabic and Standard Arabic where the former is identified as the L-variety and the latter as the H-variety. This H/L divide is in fact more noticeable between the regional dialects of Moroccan Arabic. People speaking rural varieties often switch to the urban *citadin* dialect. Switching in the opposite direction usually takes place to express mockery or for humour purposes. Assimilated borrowed French forms are often replaced with Arabic equivalents or French CS forms with no trace of assimilation. Even borrowed classical Arabic words are usually replaced with integrated Standard Arabic equivalents. The distinction between the dialects of

Moroccan Arabic would need substantial elucidation which fall beyond the scope of this research.

5.1.3. French

French is still the official language of Morocco in addition to Standard Arabic. Despite the fact that the Arabisation policy has reduced its areas of use, it remains the exclusive language of key sectors of industry and specialised subjects in education. The use of French in daily interaction was limited to a minority of speakers who had clerical positions during the French protectorate but with the expansion of schooling and education it has become widely spoken.

The use of French in spoken modes of discourse has influenced both Arabic and Berber dialects, which is manifested in the huge number of borrowings. CS is also another form of this influence though functionally different from borrowing which is often a result of a lexical gap at least in the Moroccan context. CS, on the other hand, is a process that is solely accessible to bilinguals and often conveys a social as well as a communicative function (see also discussion in 2.1).

Studies of the linguistic situation in Morocco usually define French in opposition to Standard Arabic as neither is a native language, and each competes to establish itself in the domains unfilled by Moroccan Arabic such as education, media and administration. The contest usually ends in favour of French given its superiority in such fields and despite the emotional attachment to Standard Arabic. Even through the support of language policies such as Arabisation, Standard Arabic is essentially a translation of French as far as modern days' fields of science and technology are concerned. The conflict between the practicality of French and loyalty to Standard Arabic which embodies the *conscience collective* illustrated in tables (5.1) and (5.2), is accurately described by Grandguillaume (1989:346) as he points out that

Si la langue arabe est valorisée dans la mesure où elle renvoie à une origine islamique, la langue française est considérée comme un mal inévitable, une utilité, mais pas comme un élément de l'origine dont on pourrait accepter de faire quelque chose... il s'agit dès lors d'une sorte de dénégarion d'une action qu'à la fois on accepterait et on refuserait.

While Arabic borrows its strength from historical association with Islam, being the language of the Koran, French represents the inevitable evil, a utility without any other symbolic function...It is a case of denial, something which is accepted and rejected at the same time.

The function of French in the Moroccan situation is usually paradoxical. It represents the world of seduction and modernisation as well as the language of oppression and dominance. Moroccan bilinguals are often confused as to whether their use of French is merely instrumental or the result of a continuing French dominance. Nevertheless, as Romaine (1995:43) points out, "*an instrumental rather than an integrative orientation is more important in determining the speaker's choice*", and this is exactly what makes French the most favoured language among Moroccan bilinguals.

So far, I provided a miniature introduction to some aspects of the linguistic situation in Morocco. Discussion has been limited to Moroccan Arabic, Standard Arabic and French which are the main concern here. The following section will elucidate the different types of Moroccan bilingual groups as far as Moroccan Arabic, French and Standard Arabic are concerned, while the remainder of the chapter will examine some of the literature on CS in the Moroccan context.

5.2. Bilingual Groups in Morocco

The identification of the different bilingual groups in Morocco is generally more straightforward than in migratory situations. Bilingualism in contemporary Morocco is mainly the result of schooling (at school and/or at the university). Apart for a minority of bilinguals, social factors do not play as an essential role in determining the fluency of bilinguals as the type of language policies which govern schooling. Most Moroccans learn French and Standard Arabic at school, but the level of fluency has been changing in line with the changing policies affecting the two languages.

We can distinguish in this respect, following Bentahila and Davies (1991) two major bilingual groups in the Moroccan situation. The first group, referred to by Bentahila and Davies (1991) as the older generation, consists of speakers who received their education

while Morocco was under the French Protectorate, or in the first decade following independence in 1956 (Bentahila and Davies 1991:377-8). While Moroccan Arabic is their native language, speakers of this group acquired a high level of fluency in French used extensively at the time as the sole medium of instruction.

The second group, described as the younger generation by Bentahila and Davies (1991), consists of speakers who were born in the late sixties and early seventies. Unlike the first group, the younger generation received a bilingual education where both French and Standard Arabic were used as media of instruction. Standard Arabic was taught as subject and used as the medium of instruction for non-scientific subjects such as History and Geography, Islamic Studies, and Philosophy. French was correspondingly used as the medium of instruction for all scientific subjects such as Maths, Physics, and General Science, in addition to being taught as a language subject. Only one of the two languages is used at the university as the exclusive medium of education depending on whether the subject of specialisation is literary or scientific.

In contemporary Morocco, one can also discern two more groups. The third group consists of bilinguals who were born during the second decade of the seventies and early eighties. Their bilingualism was immensely affected by the complete Arabisation of primary and secondary education. Standard Arabic has become the sole medium of instruction although university education of scientific subjects is still carried out exclusively in French.

As to the fourth group, it represents a minority compared with the other three types of bilinguals. Speakers of this group receive their education in private schools where French is the exclusive medium of instruction. Their parents are usually educated bilinguals, and French is equally or more extensively used than Moroccan Arabic at home.

For the data to be sufficiently representative of bilingual speakers in Morocco as far as Moroccan, Standard Arabic, and French are concerned, it is highly desirable that bilingual conversations from each of the four groups should be part of any study of code switching in the Moroccan context. In the following chapter, I will show that the data

sets on which the analysis in chapter seven and eight match the mapping of the bilingual community in Morocco.

5.3. Earlier Work on CS in the Moroccan Context

The look into the grammar of the phenomenon of CS in the Moroccan context has been previously examined by Abbassi (1977), Bentahila and Davies (1983), Nait M'Barek and Sankoff (1988), and Heath (1989) in his detailed descriptive study mainly focused on borrowing. But CS involving Moroccan Arabic has also been the topic of detailed linguistic investigations in migratory situations particularly in Holland (Nortier 1990, Boumans 1998). In this section, focus will be centered on studies carried out in the Moroccan context. Reference to and comparison with migratory CS will be made in the process of the analysis of my corpus.

As far as the Moroccan situation is concerned, Abbassi (1977) posits three constraints for CS between Moroccan Arabic and French: (i) the relative pronoun constraint, (ii) the preposition constraint, and (iii) the wh- constraint. According to the first constraint, the relative pronoun must be in the same language as the rest of its clause:

(1) a: wahed l-bent *que tu connais bien*
[one the-girl that you know well]
{A girl whom you know well}

b: *une fille* lli kate^{ref}-ha mezyan
[a girl that you-know-her well]
{A girl whom you know well}

c: *wahed l-bent lli *tu connais bien*

d: **une fille que* kate^{ref}-ha mezyan
(MA/Fr, Abbassi 1977)

The constraint has been criticised by Bentahila and Davies (1983:311) as too powerful. They (Bentahila and Davies 1983) provide two real data switches (2-3) and two hypothetical examples (3-4) to substantiate their claim for the violation of Abbassi's constraint. Example (2) below has been previously referred to as (50) in chapter three.

(2) bzzaf dyal l-hmi:r daba lli *ignorent* l-mgarba
[many of the-fools now who ignore the-Moroccans]
{Many of the fools now who do not know Moroccans}

- (3) *et si waħed ton inférieure yji yħdar m°a-k*
 [and if one your subordinates comes talks with-you]
 {And if one of your subordinates comes to have a word with you}
- (4) *kayn bzzaf dyał n-nas lli ne font rien*
 [there-are many of the-people that NEG-do-neg]
 {There are many people who do nothing}
- (5) * *ilya des gens qui tayħdru bzzaf*
 [there are some people who talk much]
 {There are some people who talk too much}
 (MA/Fr, Bentahilla & Davies, 1983:311)

Several reservations can be held against the presentation of the examples above (3-5) as evidence for the rejection of the relative pronoun constraint. First, Bentahilla and Davies (1983) did not provide any reference as to the frequency of the (2-3) CS-type because two isolated occurrences may not be representative enough to invalidate the constraint. This suspicion is confirmed by Bentahilla and Davies (1983) themselves as their invented example (5) above, which is similar to (3) in terms of the language direction of the switch, has been judged as 'odd' by their respondents. I also presented their non-hypothetical examples (2-3) to five Moroccan Arabic/French bilinguals who found them odd, too². Only, one of the five respondents considered (2) to be natural.

Reservations are also empirically motivated. Instances like (2-3) are considered very unusual according to Heath (1989:39). Only one instance appeared in his corpus. As to my corpus none has taken place (more discussion of this type of code switching is to be found in 7.1.2). This indicates that the constraint generally holds in the Moroccan Arabic/French situation. I will argue (in 7.1.2), however, that the validity of the constraint follows from parametric features between Moroccan Arabic and French, rather than from a code switching specific constraint.

The second constraint of Abbassi prohibits CS between prepositions expressing purpose and their complements

- (6) a: *mšina le-l-qehwa pour boire un pot*
 [we-went to-the-café in order to drink-infinite a cup]
 {We went to the café to drink a cup}
- b:* *on est allé au café baš boire un pot*
 [we went to the café to drink-infinite a cup]
- c:* *mšina lel qehwa pour n-šerb-u un pot*

[so that we-drink(INF) a cup]

(MA/Fr, Abbassi 1977)

Abbassi rightly bans switches like (6b) and (6c). The constrained nature of CS in this particular context has been explained by Bentahila and Davies (1983) in terms of parametric subcategorisation rules. My explanation is not very different as far as (6) is concerned. In fact the category *baš*, which Abbassi (1977) calls a purpose preposition, assumes the function of a Comp (see also Bentahila and Davies 1983:323). Hence, it is an FC which requires that selectional conditions are fulfilled. These conditions are, however, parametric between Moroccan Arabic and French, which explains the oddness of (6b-c). For instance, the condition that the category *baš* in Moroccan Arabic c-selects a TNSP with the grammatical feature [+subjunctive] is violated in (6b). Notice that in the case where the category *baš* is followed by a French verb, speakers compensate for the parameterisation by attaching a Moroccan Arabic IP to the French verb lexeme. In this way, the condition violated in (6b) becomes satisfied as in (7) below.

(7) tayhawlu daba baš y-develop-iw un nouveau système
[they are trying now so that TNS/AGR-develop-AGR a new system]
{They are now trying to develop a new system}
(MA/Fr, DS 1, 555)

The non-occurrence of switching between the French category *pour* and a Moroccan Arabic IP complement can also be explained by the fact that its property of [+infinitive] cannot be fulfilled. The Moroccan Arabic syntax does not have the property [+infinitive], and therefore, switches like (6c) are anticipated not to be possible.

By contrast, switching of other types of preposition is much more frequent although some quantitative asymmetries in terms of the language direction of the switch may arise. For instance, Koucha (1983), in his investigation of Berber/French CS in Morocco, claims that switching between a Berber preposition and a French complement is possible, but not vice versa.

(7) a: ra-d ^wgli-h s- la librairie
b: *ra-d ^wgli-h à la librairie
[I will go to the bookshop]
(Berber/French, Koucha 1983)

Koucha's constraint correctly refers to the issue of asymmetry in terms of the language direction which characterises CS, at least in the Moroccan situation. (see discussion in 9.2). In my corpus, for example, switches which involve a French preposition and a Moroccan Arabic complement are rare and do not exceed 5% of the total number of switches in the other direction. However, as an absolute constraint, Koucha's claim would fail to account for switches such as (8) between the complex preposition *jusqu' à* and a Moroccan Arabic DP complement (more examples are to be found in 7.2.1)

- (8) *kataklu jusqu' à l-megreb*
 [you eat until the nightful]
 (MA/Fr, Heath 1989:40)

Abbassi's third constraint states that the wh-word/phrase in an interrogative sentence must come from the same language as the rest of the clause (IP).

- (9) a: *est-ce qu' il y a des verbes dyal l-ħub?*
 [are there any verbs of the-love]
 {Are there any verbs for love?}
- b: *tu sais fuqaš mšaw?*
 [you know when they-left]
 {Do you know when did they leave?}
- c. **fayn tu passe le weekend?*
 [where you spend the weekend]
 {Where do you spend the weekend?}
- d. **qu' est-ce katešri men s-suq?*
 [what you-buy from the-market]
 {What do you buy from the market?}
 (MA/Fr, Abbassi 1977)

The constraint is attested too powerful by Bentahila and Davies (1983) who report a number of examples involving switching between a Moroccan Arabic wh-word and a French IP like (10a) below, They argue, though, that switches like (10b) were not found in their corpus, and were equally judged odd by their respondents.

- (10) a: *šhal min waħed étaient ...?*
 [How many were..?]
- b: **qui qal hadši?*
 [who said that?]
 (MA/Fr, Bentahila & Davies 1983:311-2)

The switch (10a) represents a clear violation to the wh-constraint; nonetheless, the prohibition of switches like (10b) by Bentahila and Davies (1983) would imply that it

works asymmetrically. This hypothesis would only hold if stated as a quantitative tendency rather than an absolute asymmetry. CS forms of the (10b)-type, although rare compared with the (10a)-type, do surface in my data.

- (11) *quand est-ce que* had xiyna gayfhem rasu? *je n' sais pas.*
 [when this guy will-understand himself? I don't know]
 {When will this guy realise the fact? I really don't know}
 (MA/Fr, DS 2, 464)

Contrary to Abbassi's constraint, and Bentahila and Davies's prediction regarding the unidirectionality, example (11) is a clear case of switching between a French wh-phrase and a Moroccan Arabic clause. In general, the constraints postulated by Abbassi are not supported by other corpora from the Moroccan bilingual situation. They do, however, succeed to identify correctly some of the constrained sites between Moroccan Arabic and French as in the case of (6) above. These would hold even better if explained in terms of independent principles rather than stated as mere code switching specific-constraints.

The need for an independent explanation of CS, which the study of Abbassi (1977) overlooked, represents the basis for the subcategorisation the constraint posited by Bentahila and Davies (1983). In their study, which followed Abbassi's, Bentahila and Davies (1983:329) postulate two constraints for of Moroccan Arabic/French code switching. According to them (i) CS is not possible across word-internal morpheme boundaries, and (ii) all items must be used in such away as to satisfy the (language-particular) subcategorisation rules imposed on them. The two constraints are not clearly spelled out by the authors. It is not clear what is meant by *word-internal morpheme boundaries* for the authors report instances which they identify as CS forms within these boundaries.

- (12) mabqaš *y-fonctionner*
 [it-is-not TNS/AGR-fuction
 {It stopped functioning}
 (MA/Fr, Bentahila & Davies 1983:315)

As to the second constraint, the authors do not specify what subcategorisation means and which grammatical categories or parts of language must satisfy this requirement. I will discuss, however, some types of CS which they consider to be prohibited and therefore must follow from the subcategorisation constraint. In some cases which involve

satisfaction of FCs's language particulars, their constraint seems to correspond to what was posited earlier as the FPC. For instance, Bentahila and Davies (1983:312) postulate that switching between a French pronominal subject and a Moroccan Arabic verb is constrained because the latter does not require an overt subject.

(13) a: **je gadi*
 [I TNS/AGR-go]
 {I go}

b: *moi dxelt*
 [me TNS/AGR-go]
 {I went}

(MA/Fr, Bentahila & Davies 1983:312-3)

The implausibility of (13a) and the grammaticality of (13b) are also predicted by the FPC. The Moroccan Arabic functional head AGRP specifies for a null subject and this selectional property is violated in (13a). (13b), on the other hand, meets this condition as *moi* is not a clitic subject but what Myers-Scotton, Jake and Okasha (1996:26) call a topic pronoun. An elaborate discussion of this type of switches will follow in 7.1.2.

Bentahila and Davies's (1983) banning of switches like (14a) and (14b) is also predicted by the FPC in view of the fact that the selectional requirements of the FH Det element in both examples are not satisfied (see also 7.1.1).

(14) a:* *cette l-xubza*
 [this the-loaf]
 {This loaf}

b:* *wahed professeur*
 [a teacher]

(MA/Fr, Bentahila & Davies 1983:321)

The implausibility of (14a) is due to the fact that the French c-selects an NP rather than a DP. On the other hand, the unacceptability of (14b) follows from the non-fulfilment of requirements of the Moroccan Arabic *wahed* which specifies for a DP selection. The explanation of (14) in terms of selectional or subcategorisation rules faces two problems. The first problem concerns its asymmetry as far as quantitative evidence is concerned. My corpus and Heath's (1989) do not show instances of switching between a French Det element and a Moroccan Arabic complement, be it an NP or a DP. By contrast, switching in the opposite direction, i.e. between a Moroccan Arabic Det and a French complement appears frequently (discussion of switching asymmetries is to be found in

9.2). The corpus of Bentahila and Davies (1983) does not seem to show this asymmetry. They report examples like (15) and (16) which were judged anonymously unnatural by my five judges.

(15) *des mraya:t*
 [∅ Det/Q mirrors]
 {(some) mirrors}

(16) *un ʿaskri*
 [a soldier]

(MA/Fr, Bentahila & Davies 1983:316)

The second problem is posited by some instances of CS in the Moroccan Arabic/Dutch corpora which show Dutch NPs taking the place of a DP after the Moroccan Arabic *wahed*. I will discuss and illustrate this type switching in 7.1.1.

Returning to the Bentahila and Davies's (1983) constraint, it can be said that the main distinction between the FPC and the subcategorisation constraint is related to LCs. Although some tendencies may be observed in switching between LCs, as the analysis of the data shows (in chapters seven and eight), LCs do not have to satisfy the selectional conditions according to the FPC. On the other Bentahila and Davies (1983) seem to indicate that LCs are constrained by subcategorisation rules.

(17) *dak l-warqa bleu*
 [that the paper blue
 {The blue paper}

(18) *les immeubles l-xri:n*
 [the flats the others]
 {The other flats}

(MA/Fr, Bentahila & Davies 1983:320)

According to Bentahila and Davies (1983:320), “*the smaller constituent ADJP [adjective phrase] conforms the rules of the language in which it appears; (85) [17 above] satisfies the rule of French, (86) [18 above] that of Arabic*”. In their view, the adjectives in (17) and (18) violate the equivalence principle; yet, they still satisfy the subcategorisation rules of their languages. In (17), the adjective *bleu* is not accompanied by a Det, and occupies a postnominal position as it normally does in a monolingual French context. The adjective in (18) also conforms to the syntactic requirements of Moroccan Arabic. However, neither adjective conforms to the rules of their head noun. Earlier, we reported their claim the Moroccan Arabic verb and Det *wahed* must specify

for a null subject and a definite NP, respectively. Hence, we are led to expect that the Moroccan Arabic definite NP in (17) must specify for a definite adjective, and the French NP in (18) for a prenominal adjective as required by the syntax of the languages of the head nouns.

Instances like (19) found in my corpus do not apparently support the claim that CS constraints follow from subcategorisation restrictions of LCs.

- (19) J' ai proposé un très bon projet *li-hum*
 [I-have suggested a very good project to-them]
 {I suggested a very good project to them}
 (MA/Fr, DS 3B, 146)

Subcategorisation has been broken in (19). French verbs such as *proposer*, *parler* etc. subcategorises for a clitic-placement. The clitic-placement rules for pronouns in French are as follow:

- (20) French Clitic-placement:
 Attach the pronoun to the first verb of the clause
 (Jones 1996:246)

- (21) French Clitic pronouns:
 (i) They must precede the verb, except in positive imperative sentences
 (ii) They cannot be separated from the verb except by another clitic
 (iii) They occur in a fixed order
 (iv) Their grammatical function is indicated by their form, not by their position.

(Jones 1996:249)

Using Bentahila and Davies's (1983) argument that the verb subcategorises for null subject in Moroccan Arabic, one may also say that the category of verbs such as *proposer* subcategorises, in the case of an objective pronoun, for a dative clitic as in (22a) rather than a PP as in (22b).

- (22) a: J'ai leur proposé un très bon projet
 [them]
 b: *J'ai proposé un très bon projet à eux
 [to them]

The subcategorisation of the French verb *proposer* for clitic placement (20) has therefore been violated as the Moroccan Arabic switched PP does not satisfy this requirement. Features (i) and in (ii) of French clitic pronouns described in (21) have been compromised.

Equivalence is another constraint which was also claimed by Nait M'Barek and Sankoff (1988) to govern Moroccan Arabic/French CS. The authors reveal that the equivalence principle in its original version does not account for Moroccan Arabic/French CS. They found that switches like (23) are not predicted by the constraint as they occur at non-equivalent sites.

(23) jaw *les demandes*
 [TNS/AGR-come the applications]
 {The applications arrived}
 (MA/Fr, Nait M'Barek & Sankoff 1988:46)

(23) consists of a Moroccan Arabic structure: verb + postverbal subject, which does not correspond with the surface syntax of French requiring a prenominal subject. To account for this type of violation of switching within the equivalence paradigm, the authors added the criterion of constituent insertion whereby the internal structure of the constituent (the French NP in the case of (23)) does not have to be equivalent to the language it is inserted to (the ML). The constituent as a whole, though, must fill a phrasal slot mapped by the ML. The concept is similar to Myers-Scotton's EL island. Discussion of the different versions of the equivalence constraints has been one of the main focuses in chapter two and will not therefore be expanded any further here.

While Moroccan Arabic/French CS has received considerable attention in several linguistic investigations (Bentahila and Davies 1983, 1991, 1995, Saib 1989, Heath 1989 among others) and raised discussion in several other studies (e.g. Jake 1994, Nortier 1995), little attention has been given to Moroccan Arabic/Standard Arabic. Apart from Heath's (1989) descriptive analysis which is mainly concerned with the process of borrowing in Moroccan Arabic either from French or Standard Arabic, there are no other studies that I am aware of which examined CS grammatical pattern between Moroccan Arabic and Standard Arabic. Since this section is concerned with the examination of the code switching literature in the Moroccan situation, and in the absence of earlier studies which tackled Moroccan/Standard Arabic CS, adequate treatment of this subject would not be possible until the actual analysis of the Moroccan/Standard Arabic corpus in chapter eight.

5.4 Conclusion

The main purpose of this chapter has been to provide the necessary background for CS in the Moroccan context. It has been reported that different languages have different social functions, and trigger different attitudes. Different linguistic situations or domains may, therefore, result in different rates and types of CS. I have also tried to survey briefly the different bilingual groups existing in the Morocco as far the relevant languages to the present study are concerned. In view of the fact that bilingualism is largely the result of education (and colonialism at an early stage), four major bilingual groups can be clearly discerned in the Moroccan situation. The four types of bilinguals will represent the target respondents for a representative corpus. In the remainder of the chapter, I have reviewed some constraints posited for Moroccan Arabic/French CS mainly by Abbassi (1977), and Bentahila & Davies 1983. It has been argued that their constraints do not generally hold. However, the fact that the corpus of Bentahila and Davies (1983) shows violations for the constraints of Abbassi (1977), while my corpus shows violations of both (and at the same time, maintaining that they still hold as tendencies) might indicate a dynamic relaxation process in the constraining of CS. This hypothesis goes beyond the available resources of the current research especially regarding longitudinal data, but will be referred back to briefly in chapter eight.

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¹ The property of 'difficult' ascribed to Standard Arabic is often taken to be an inherent feature of the language. My view, however, is that its difficulty is the result of outside, rather than intrinsic, factors—mainly attitudinal (relating to dominating ideologies) and didactic (relating to the old methods and pedagogy with which it has been taught). An elaborate discussion of this issue would need further probing into these factors, which the nature of the present research does not permit. The reader can though check some of these factors in Al Jilani (1990).

² Due to the limited time and resources, a large scale triangulation was not possible.

CHAPTER SIX

INTRODUCING THE DATA AND SUBJECTS

6.0. Introduction

Collecting data is about the selected methods of investigation as well as the type of subjects to be investigated. Under ordinary circumstances, the researcher must define the type of subjects s/he is looking for prior to selecting the methods of collection. In the case of code switching, it is commonly agreed that subjects must be fluent bilinguals, and that methods of data collection must be designed in a way that ensures a high level of naturalness and spontaneity (Poplack 1980, Nortier 1990, Halmari 1997). Although fluency and naturalness appear to be crucial requirements for the study of CS, they also represent two of the most controversial issues in bilingual studies (Romaine 1995), and linguistic theory in general (Stubbs 1983). In this chapter, I will attempt to reconstruct some of the steps followed to increase both representativeness and naturalness.

6.1. Looking for Fluent Bilinguals

In view of the fact that the research is equally concerned with Moroccan Arabic/French as well as Moroccan/Standard Arabic switching, I had to find bilingual speakers for each set of languages. Since all my subjects are native speakers of Moroccan Arabic, it remained necessary to define the fluency of each group in French and Standard Arabic. Being a fluent bilingual in the present context implies having 'a native-like control', using Bloomfield's terms (1933:56), in French and/or Standard Arabic. The problem, however, with this assumption, as it is usually the case with most attempts to define bilingualism, is that it is often relative or impossible to determine (Romaine 1995:11-12). The degree of competence (fluency) of bilinguals tends to vary from one language to another depending on several psycho-sociological factors (cf. Nortier 1990) and discourse features such as the nature of the topic of conversation. This makes the judgement that a bilingual is more competent in language A than language B very relative indeed. The task of identifying the ideally fluent speaker will necessarily reduce bilingualism to a limited set of features that are being examined. Following Romaine (1995:12), I will use the term bilingualism to refer the ability to use alternatively two or more languages. In this way, the search for subjects will not be limited to the category

of ideally fluent bilinguals, a task (looking for ideal fluency) which not only may prove impossible, but may also limit the scope of the study of bilingualism.

My intention regarding the process of data collection is to ensure as much variety in the corpus as possible from a much wider range of people of different backgrounds. The reason for this is simply to investigate the extent to which my hypothesis for CS constraints (the FPC) can account indiscriminately for all switching instances regardless of the type of bilingual groups and their level of fluency. Prior to the description of the selected bilingual groups and their conversations, I will first introduce a preliminary sketch which explains some of the techniques followed in the process of data collection.

6.1.1 Procedures of Data Collection

Selecting a specific set of procedures for data collection usually depends on the kind of information which is sought, from whom and under what circumstances (Robson 1993). In the context of this research, the first two criteria regarding the type of information and informants are clearly identified. We are looking for code switching instances from Moroccan bilinguals who can be divided in terms of their educational background into four main bilingual groups as discussed earlier in 5.2. As to the circumstances of such procedures, it is often held in the code switching literature that procedures must be selected in a way that ensures naturalness. Again, the search of absolute naturalness is almost unattainable, or as Stubbs (1983:225) describes it: *“the hunt for pure, natural or authentic data is a chimera”*.

Alternatively, it has been suggested by some social scientists that the goal of objectivity or naturalness should be replaced by the researcher's own reflexivity (Clifford 1988 in Blum-Kulka 1997). It has been argued that *“As social actors, human beings have the reflexive abilities in that they possess the capacity to understand what they do while they do it”* (Reiter 1999:68). This view is not without theoretical and practical drawbacks. First, not all cognitive processes are conscious and thus capable of verbalisation (Fraser 1996:67), and even conscious processes are not wholly verbalised since verbalisation is a type of translation which necessarily involves losses. Second, relying only on the researcher's own reflections would imply the study is carried out on purely intuitive foundations. Natural data research often shows perplexing linguistic

behaviours which researchers do not always expect to find; given this, the researcher's own reflections are unlikely to provide an adequate description of linguistic phenomena such as code switching.

Natural data is therefore indispensable for the study of code switching. It is customary that naturalness in the absolute sense is not achievable; nonetheless, there are factors which, if controlled appropriately, can ensure a reasonable level of naturalness in the corpora to be studied. In this context, Nortier and her assistant (Nortier 1990:85-86) have identified some factors that may possibly affect the naturalness of the speech of bilinguals, and which I adopted during the process of my data collection.

(i) Number of Participants: As Nortier (1990:85) points out, a two party conversation between the field worker and another interlocutor is likely to be perceived by the latter as a formal interview, and may therefore hinder naturalness. For this purpose, recording of my data always involved multi-party conversations where three or more participants (excluding the field worker whenever one is involved) took part in the conversation.

(ii) Presence of the tape recorder: My first recording trial showed that the presence of recorder tends to attract the attention of speakers. I therefore opted for a more discrete approach. Participants are told about the recording at an initial meeting without having to display the recorder. Farki, one of the research assistants, suggested that the process of recording, though discrete, should be explained to the respondents so as not to raise their suspicion or curiosity during the process of data recording. Participants were then shown the tape recorder once, and were told that it would not be displayed again, and the reason why it would not be displayed (to maximise naturalness).

(iii) Spontaneity: According to Nortier (1990:87), recording should be made as spontaneous as possible and not through special arrangements. My corpus consists of three non-formal conversations all of which were recorded during routine times when the group of participants being recorded normally gather. The appropriate choice of the place of recording is also essential for ensuring spontaneity. Recording of each conversation took place in a location where the group of speakers being recorded often meet and engage in informal conversations such as the cafeteria, café, or communal

residence. Confidence is another factor which may determine the level of spontaneity. According to Nortier (1990:87), the field worker and his informants should share a reasonable degree of confidence and familiarity. To avoid the process of confidence building which is often time consuming, one of the informants whenever possible is asked to carry out the recording. For instance in each of the Data Sets 2 and 3A (see 6.1.2), the recording was carried out by a participant who is a member of a group of friends. The two assistants, whom I know personally, were given instructions on how to use the recorder. Both assistants would be recording friends that generally have the same educational background and native language (Moroccan Arabic) as theirs. Before the beginning of the recording, I was first introduced to each group to whom I explained that:

-The recording of their conversation represents part of a Ph.D. research at the University of Sheffield which studies the syntax of sentences made by Moroccan bilinguals.

-Their participation is entirely voluntary and they are free to withdraw at any time

-Their conversations may be part (as extracts or appendices) of the final research

-Under no circumstances will their name or any identifying characteristics be included in the thesis.

-If they wish to receive summary of the thesis after its completion, they may leave their address with the acting research assistant.

The aim of such introduction is to find out about the educational background and make sure each subject belong to the same category of bilinguals being recorded.

As to the recording of Data Set 1 (see 6.1.2), a confidence building stage was necessary since I was not familiar with any speaker of the group who were Baccalauréat (A level) students at Lycée Descartes in Rabat. Mohammed Farki who lived at the time in Rabat kindly acted as my research assistant for this group of bilinguals. During that time, Farki had just completed a D.E.A. (= Masters) in sociology from the university of Mohammed V in Rabat. He is a balanced bilingual in Moroccan Arabic, French and Standard Arabic, and could hold a monolingual conversation with total ease in each of the three languages.

Farki devoted the first two weeks for confidence building until he was confident he reached the necessary level of familiarity with the participants that can ensure

spontaneity and naturalness in their conversations. Farki had also to explain to them the purpose and the procedures of recording their conversations in the same way it was explained to participants of Data Sets 2 and 3A.

6.1 2 Data Sets of the Present Study

The data consists of audio-tapes of naturally occurring conversations in different Moroccan speech situations. The subjects are all Moroccans and they form a fairly heterogeneous group in terms of social status, bilingual competence, age and sex. The conversations were usually multi-party ones and they were all recorded between January and February 1997.

6.1.2.1 Data Set One

The first set of data involves Moroccan-French bilinguals who are aged between 16 and 20. Altogether, there are sixteen speakers in the group recorded by Farki. The group consists of four females and twelve males who know each other. They are highly proficient in French because they have received most of their education in French through private education, otherwise called *les missions Françaises*. There, they begin learning French at a very early age, and at the time of recording, they were pursuing their higher education studies through the exclusive medium of French. Their language proficiency is supported by an extensive use of French at home with their parents and siblings. As such, they could certainly be described as near-native speakers of French who have the ability to converse in French with perfect ease in formal as well as informal situations.

6.1.2.2 Data Set Two

The second set of data consists of informal conversations between Moroccan bilinguals who are university graduates, and aged between 25 and 36. There are five speakers, all males, who live together in the same block of flats designed for military officers. They are all navy employees or officers who work in the navy head quarters in Salè, although with different departments. They usually spend their spare time together either in cafés, playing soccer, or playing cards. They often share the same table at meal times. In short, the intimacy between this group of informants is very high, and I was concerned that the 'intrusion' of an outsider to record their speeches may jeopardise the routine and

naturalness of their conversations. One member of the group agreed to carry out the recording, and therefore my direct involvement was not necessary.

All participants of Data Set 2 have received a bilingual education, but in state schools where they only began to learn French at the later age of 10. During primary and higher education, they were taught scientific subjects in French, and literary subjects in Standard Arabic. French was used as the exclusive medium of instruction during their university education as they are all graduates from science faculties and institutes, except for one participant who graduated in Law but equally used French as the sole medium of instruction. While they are able to understand, speak and write French and Standard Arabic, they are not as fluent as the speakers of the former category in French. They are, however, more fluent in Standard Arabic than the former group who studied the language (Standard Arabic) as a subject but did not use it as a medium of instruction.

6.1.2.3 Data Set Three

The third category introduces Moroccans with an age range of 17 to 22 whose education has not gone beyond the level of secondary school. Their conversation will be referred to as Data Set 3A. The recording consists of three-party conversations between three intimate male friends, and was carried out by one of participants. The type of bilingualism speakers of this group have achieved is largely affected by the Arabisation policy. Unlike the former groups, who used French as the sole or a partial medium of instruction, the present category is taught French as a subject only. Their fluency in Standard Arabic is higher than in French in view of the fact that Standard Arabic is their exclusive medium of instruction. Surprisingly enough, the frequency of switching in their conversations is very low compared with the other groups, and their switching into Standard Arabic is just as infrequent as their switching into French. In fact, this outcome is expected given that the discourse of the recording does not provide the favoured domain of Standard Arabic. The use of, or switching into Standard Arabic in the Moroccan situation often takes place in formal situations (see also Bentahila 1983, Youssi 1995).

For this reason, I have also included in this data set two other conversations which satisfy the requirement of formality. The first (Data Set 3B) consists of a recording of an open meeting of the Moroccan National League of Boxing. It is safe to say that the subjects' speech behaviour, even though they might have been aware of the recording, did not change as recording of such meetings is often a standard practice. The domain of this conversation can be rather described as semi-formal given the large number of attendants, although the number of participants is smaller (fifteen). Participants are aged between 21 and 55, and therefore represent different categories of Moroccan Bilinguals. In addition to the formal character of the conversation which trigger Standard Arabic switches, it also involves participants which belong to the older generation, and therefore, switching into French is equally expected.

The second set of formal data (Data Set 3C) introduces conversations between a group of seven Moroccans, five males and two females, aged between 30 and 45. These are celebrities, journalists, and state officials, including the secretary of state for national co-operation. The speakers are native speakers of Moroccan Arabic and highly competent in both French and Standard Arabic. Their conversation was recorded as part of a televised interview where the interviewees discussed their view about the role of Moroccan celebrities in promoting charity works. Yet switching into French was almost non-existent. The formality of the discourse of the conversation triggered a high frequency of switching into Standard Arabic, instead. In fact, the participants have used extensively a mixed code that is an amalgam of both Moroccan and Standard Arabic (discussion is to be found in 7.3, see also Youssi 1995).

Given the different characteristics of each group such as the levels of education, background and age, the three data sets (1-3) can be said to represent a fairly varied view of Moroccan bilinguals. Each group reveals distinctive features which characterise the switching style they use. It emerges that such diversity of the type of bilinguals equally generates diversity in the patterns of switching. These patterns are relatively similar to the switching styles identified by Bentahila and Davies (1991). However, as far as the main goal of the present study (syntactic constraints on CS) is concerned, all conversations showed similar syntactic restrictions as will be discussed in subsequent chapters seven and eight.

6.2 Data Selection and Transcription

Altogether, the data includes fifteen hours of recorded conversations. Data Set 1, 2, 3A and 3B consist of approximately three hours recording each. Data Set 3C consists of about half an hour which is the actual length of the televised formal interview it represents. Each Data set, except for Data Set 3C, was recorded in three 90-minute tapes, and each face of a tape consists of approximately a half an hour conversation as the three hours recording did not take place continuously except for Data Set 3B. In view of the argument that syntactic features of CS can be represented beyond the sentence boundaries (see 2.1.3), transcription of the conversation as a whole, rather than sentences independently, was necessary. Nonetheless, I confined myself to the transcription of last recorded tape of each Data Set. Altogether, I transcribe five hours conversations. The selection of the last tape was motivated by the fact the more used speakers are to the process of recording, the more spontaneous their speeches are likely to be. Last recordings are, therefore, expected to be more spontaneous than their predecessors. Obviously, it would have been better if all conversations were transcribed; however, the time and resource constraints of the study did not allow this lengthy process.

The selected conversations were first transcribed using the Arabic letters for Moroccan Arabic and Standard Arabic, while standard French spelling was kept for the French parts of the conversations. The advantage of this initial type of transcription is that instances of switching especially of French become more noticeable and easy to detect. However, to follow standard procedures, all Moroccan and Standard Arabic excerpts and appendices which were discussed in, or attached to, the present study have been transliterated. Conversational Analysis transcription techniques were not used in view of the nature of the research. The main focus of the research is to look for syntactic constraints on CS, and therefore techniques to mark turn taking, overlap, or breathiness were not necessary. Only two markers are used during the transcription, one of which is ‘..’ (two dots) to indicate a gap when the speaker does not finish his/her sentence or gets interrupted before finishing it. The second marker is ‘...’ (three dots), and it is used to indicate left out parts of the utterance that are not clear.

6.3 Data Analysis

Once the data is transcribed, the following stage is to identify parts of the conversation that are to be studied. Since the purpose of the study is to examine the hypothesis that only parametric selectional properties of FCs constrain CS, whereas switching of LCs is free, it is, therefore, essential to check the validity of both parts of the hypothesis against the corpus. Selectional requirements of all FCs involved in a switching transaction must, therefore, be checked whether they have been satisfied. Two main problems surface in the process of the hypothesis testing operation. First, functional categories are a recent research area and new FCs are often discovered or advocated in the literature, which makes it hard to keep up with the ongoing advancement in the study of this area of syntax. It was necessary to limit the analysis to a finite set of FCs, and preferably those which have been amply discussed in the literature. These are DP, AGRP, TNSP, NEGP, and CP. Second, some switches are too frequent to be all included in the analysis. Therefore, only representative samples are discussed. For example, in the case of DP switching, samples of almost all conceivable types of DPs such as \emptyset Det, pre- and post-nominal Det, and double Det are analysed and discussed. This does not, however, remove the laborious task of checking that every single instance of Det (and the same goes for the other investigated categories) in the whole corpus has its selectional properties satisfied. Cases which may look as a potential threat for the validity of the FPC hypothesis are thoroughly discussed. In most cases, these instances can still be explained within the FPC framework, and rarely has the hypothesis to be altered in order to cater for such instances (cf. for instance the discussion of Aoun, Benmamoun and Sportiche's (1994) principle numbered as (17) in chapter eight).

The FPC hypothesis also assumes that LCs are free, and therefore part of the data analysis must be conducted in a way that ensures the examination of the validity of this claim. First, like FCs, it was necessary to limit the analysis of LCs to a finite set of categories, namely prepositions, adjectives, nouns, and adverbs. Then, switching is checked whether it occurs freely in all conceivable syntactic positions of each LC. For instance, a French adverb will be checked in the corpus whether it can indeed be switched preceding and following a Moroccan Arabic verb given that Moroccan Arabic provides both syntactic positions although French does not.

In general, the data has been found to provide a varied and rich corpus that is essential for a reliable analysis. Only few problems were encountered during the classification of the language of switches especially between Moroccan Arabic and Standard Arabic. The cut between the two varieties is not always straightforward regarding some lexical categories. In some cases, the distinction can be established on the basis of prosodic as well as semantic grounds. For instance, the perfective form of the tri-consonantal root [n°s] is pronounced in Moroccan Arabic /n°es/ adding what Kay (1990) calls a cold vowel. In Standard Arabic, the same form would be pronounced as /na°asa/. The two categories also differ in their semantic content. The English equivalent of the meaning it conveys in Moroccan Arabic is *to sleep*, and *to drowse* in Standard Arabic. Such criteria are not always available as borrowed words from Standard Arabic usually preserve their original meaning in Moroccan Arabic. The task also becomes harder when the lexical category occurs in a Moroccan Arabic morpho-syntactic frame which may also affect its templatic structure (see 7.3), and therefore makes the distinction on the basis of prosodic features almost impossible. In such cases, the criterion of monolingual accessibility was used to distinguish between the two. Only categories whose meaning is readily recognisable by Moroccan monolinguals are classified as belonging to Moroccan Arabic. I have relied in this respect on five judges who are native speakers of Moroccan. They have no education whatsoever and are rarely exposed to other languages through either the radio or television. Recourse to this type of elicitation technique has also been used for some bilingual examples. Five additional bilingual judges have been consulted in instances of some undecided cases, particularly those relating to the asymmetries realised in the occurrence of some switches across other Moroccan Arabic/French corpora.

6.4. Conclusion

This chapter has been mainly concerned with the discussion of some issues which relate to the process of data collection and analysis. It has presented an overall account of the main procedures followed during this process of data collection and analysis for the purpose of the present study. It has been argued that fluency is rather a relative concept, and that a more reliable representation should involve different groups of bilinguals with diverse educational background, and different bilingual fluency. The selection of my correspondents has been carried out accordingly, and the corpus was divided into

three major data sets. They represent the major types of bilingual speakers in Morocco as far as the relevant languages to the current study are concerned. Another part of the chapter has introduced some criteria that have been followed to ensure naturalness of data, namely number of participants, presence of the tape recorder, and spontaneity. In the remainder of the chapter, routine procedures following the process of data transcription and analysis have been explained. In the following chapters, I will proceed to a detailed analysis of code switching instances in the corpus. Discussion will be restricted, as mentioned earlier, to specified functional and lexical categories.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CODE SWITCHING BETWEEN MOROCCAN ARABIC AND FRENCH

7.0. Introduction

In the previous chapters, a number of different approaches to CS structural constraints were considered, and a particular approach (the FPC) was advocated. In this chapter, the empirical validity of the advocated approach will be examined in the context of Moroccan Arabic/French code switching. In the process of analysis which will be carried out throughout this chapter, two main hypotheses made earlier (in chapter four) concerning the constraining of CS will be tested. First, the claim that switching is blocked when selectional properties of FHs are parametric will be tested against data from the Moroccan Arabic/French corpus. In other words, I will show that in order for a switch to be successful, CS between an FH and its complement/Spec should exhibit cross-linguistic compatibility in terms of selectional features. Second, I will demonstrate that CS across LC is not constrained. CS patterns in the corpus indicate that switching of LCs does not have to satisfy any syntactic requirements provided that the final construction-structure is grammatical in either language involved in the switch.

7.1. The Role of Functional Categories in Constraining Moroccan Arabic/French Code Switching

The idea that properties of FCs represent the locus of CS constraint will be the subject of empirical discussion in this section. The hypothesis that FCs are heads which require specific selectional features in monolingual constructions (Ouhalla 1991) will also be examined in the (Moroccan Arabic/French) bilingual context. As mentioned earlier (see 6.3), discussion will be restricted to the analysis of three functional phrases: DP, IP and CP. Functional phrases such as AGRP, TNSP and NEGP will be examined as part of the discussion of the IP switches.

7.1.1. Code switching of DP

DP switching can be either at the DP level or within the DP. At the DP level, switching is not constrained as both Det element and its complement come from the same language and, therefore, checking whether the selectional conditions of the FH are met

is not required unless the sentence is judged ungrammatical from a monolingual perspective.

As to the second type which involves switching within the boundaries of the DP, that is between the Det element and its complement, CS must be constrained in such a way that selectional requirements of the FH (Det) are not violated.

| | | N | % |
|------------|-----------------------------|-----|----|
| ∅ Det | MA ∅ Det +Fr complement | 54 | 18 |
| Single Det | MA Det + Fr complement | 132 | 44 |
| | Fr complement + MA Det | 17 | 05 |
| Double Det | MA double Det+Fr complement | 68 | 23 |
| | MA Det+Fr Det+Fr complement | 31 | 10 |

Table (7.1): MA/Fr CS within DP

As illustrated in table (7.1), data recorded from the four data sets shows three main types of switches within the DP, all of which involve a switch between Moroccan Arabic Det and French complement. None of the switches classified under the patterns represented in table (7.1) show any kind of violation to the FPC.

Switching between a Moroccan Arabic single Det and a French complement represents the most frequent type of CS within the DP with approximately 44% of the total number of within DP-switches. There is, however, the risk that this percentage may not be completely accurate given the fact that it is difficult to distinguish between the Moroccan Arabic definite Det // and the French contracted equivalent form //.

- (1) *l'assimilation c' est le resultat de l'acculturation*
 [the-assimilation it-is the result of the-acculturation]
 {Assimilation is the result of acculturation}
 (MA/Fr, DS 1, 321)

(1) is a monolingual French sentence which consists of two contracted Det forms //. In Standard French, words which begin with a vowel sound cliticise Det into the contracted form // instead of *le*, but in spoken French the contracted form can also precede non-vowel sounds. This may raise the question as to whether switching between the Moroccan Arabic Det element // and a French noun occurs at all.

Nonetheless, the fact that informant (B) in data set 1, among others, produced on several occasions the non-contracted as well as contracted form, sometimes for the same word, indicate that the Det // preceding a word beginning with a consonant is likely to be a switch.

- (2) kan ʿendek l-quotient intellectuel huwwa hadak baš ddir
 [it-was you-have the-quotient intellectual good enough so that you-do
 l-médecine wlla ma-njehtiš mezyan
 the-medicine or NEG-you-succeed-neg well]
 {Either you didn't have the necessary IQ for medical studies or you failed the
 grade requirements}

(MA/Fr, DS 1, 160)

- (3) šditti le Bac ʿla tmentašr ʿam w rbeʿ snin dya la médecine
 [you-had the Bac at eighteen years and four years of the medicine
 hiyya vingt deux ans
 that's twenty two years]
 {You had your Bac at the age of eighteen, plus four years at the
 medical school; that makes you twenty two years old now}

(MA/Fr, DS 1, 174)

The two examples (2-3) are produced by the same speaker. Notice that the DP *l-médecine* in (2) is produced again as *la médecine*. The fact that they are produced by the same speaker in the same situation points strongly to the interpretation of the Det element in the former as belonging to Moroccan Arabic. Notice also that each of the two examples involves two DPs in which the complement is always French. In (2) both complements are attached to the Det // while in (3) they are preceded by a French Det. This may suggest that the language of the FH in the first DP of each example might have triggered the language of the FH of the following DP. Indeed, my corpus shows that French nouns tend to be headed by a Det element from one language only, be it Moroccan Arabic or French within the same conversational turn.

Switching between Det and complement is not restricted to the Moroccan Arabic Det // as in (2) or (4) below. It also involves switches of the type in (5) where the French complement precedes the MA Det.

- (4) xelleḡ w dir r-recours
 [you-pay and you-do the-recourse]
 {Pay and then you can have recourse to justice}

(MA/Fr, DS 2, 60)

- (5) *xassu ydi:r rapport waħed, l- rapport tani taydxel*
 [he-must he-does report_{sing-masc} one_{sing-masc} the-report again it-enters
l-s-supérieur dyalu hierarchique
 to-the-superior his hierarchic]
 {He must prepare a report; the report then goes to his hierarchic superior}
 (MA/Fr, DS 2, 67)

The switching within the two DPs *l-quotient* and *l-medecine* in (2) and the DP *r-recours* (4) satisfy the selectional requirements of their FH Det. In all three cases, the FH (Det element) c-selects an NP to which it is morphologically prefixed. Note that the attachment of the French noun *recours* to the Moroccan Arabic Det satisfies phonological conditions too. If a consonant /r/, among others, in Moroccan Arabic initiates a noun, it is always doubled when prefixed by the definite Det /l/, i.e. pronounced as /r-r/. The process is called gemination. There are, however, instances which do not seem to satisfy these phonological conditions but do not flout them either. For instance, the French noun *rapport* in (5), although beginning with the same letter as in (4), is still headed by the Det form /l/ and, therefore, has not undergone gemination. The phonological conditions are not, though, violated in (5). Listening again to the tape shows that the initial /r/ of the complement *rapport* is clearly pronounced as /g/, a sound which does not require doubling in Moroccan Arabic (/r/ and /g/ are also two dialectical realisations of the same phoneme in French).

Example (5) also involves a switch of the type sometimes referred to as number phrase. The switch consists of the Moroccan Arabic numeral *waħed* preceded by a French complement (*rapport*). Notice that the number phrase *waħed* is different from the indefinite article *waħed l-* which will be discussed shortly. Like its French counterpart, the Moroccan Arabic *waħed* specifies, in addition to the intrinsic number-feature, for gender selectional features. It has the same grammatical features as its complement [+masculine, +singular] in (5). The corpus also shows instances where a Moroccan Arabic numeral and its French complement have the feature [+feminine] as in (6), but none of the type of (7) where selectional conditions are not fulfilled.

- (6) *Je crois que visite weħda chez le médecin suffit*
 [I think that visit_{sing.fem} one_{sing.fem} to the doctor is sufficient
pour faire un bilan de santé
 to do a check-up of health]
 {I think one visit to the doctor is sufficient for a medical check up}
 (MA/Fr, DS 3B, 120)

- (7) * *Je crois que visite* waḥed ...
 [I think that visit_{sing-fem} one_{sing-masc} ...]

Notice also the numeral *waḥed* behaves like an affixal category in Moroccan Arabic in the sense that it cannot be separated from its complement (noun) by another category. This property has also been maintained in bilingual constructions as can be illustrated through (8-9) below.

- (8) *kra chambre weḥda sgira*
 [he-rented room_{sing-fem} one_{sing-fem} small_{sing-fem}]
 {He rented a small room}
 (MA/Fr, DS 2, 204)

- (9) **kra chambre sgira weḥda*
 [he-rented room_{sing-fem} small_{sing-fem} one_{sing-fem}]

CS involving \emptyset Det is another frequent type of switching in my corpus. It represents 18% of the total of switching within the DP. These are usually cases of French nouns which are not accompanied by any sort of overt Det. \emptyset Det is a property of Moroccan Arabic and is used to indicate indefiniteness for singular as well as plural nouns. Such constructions are rarely used in French and generally take the form of collocations or idiomatic expressions.

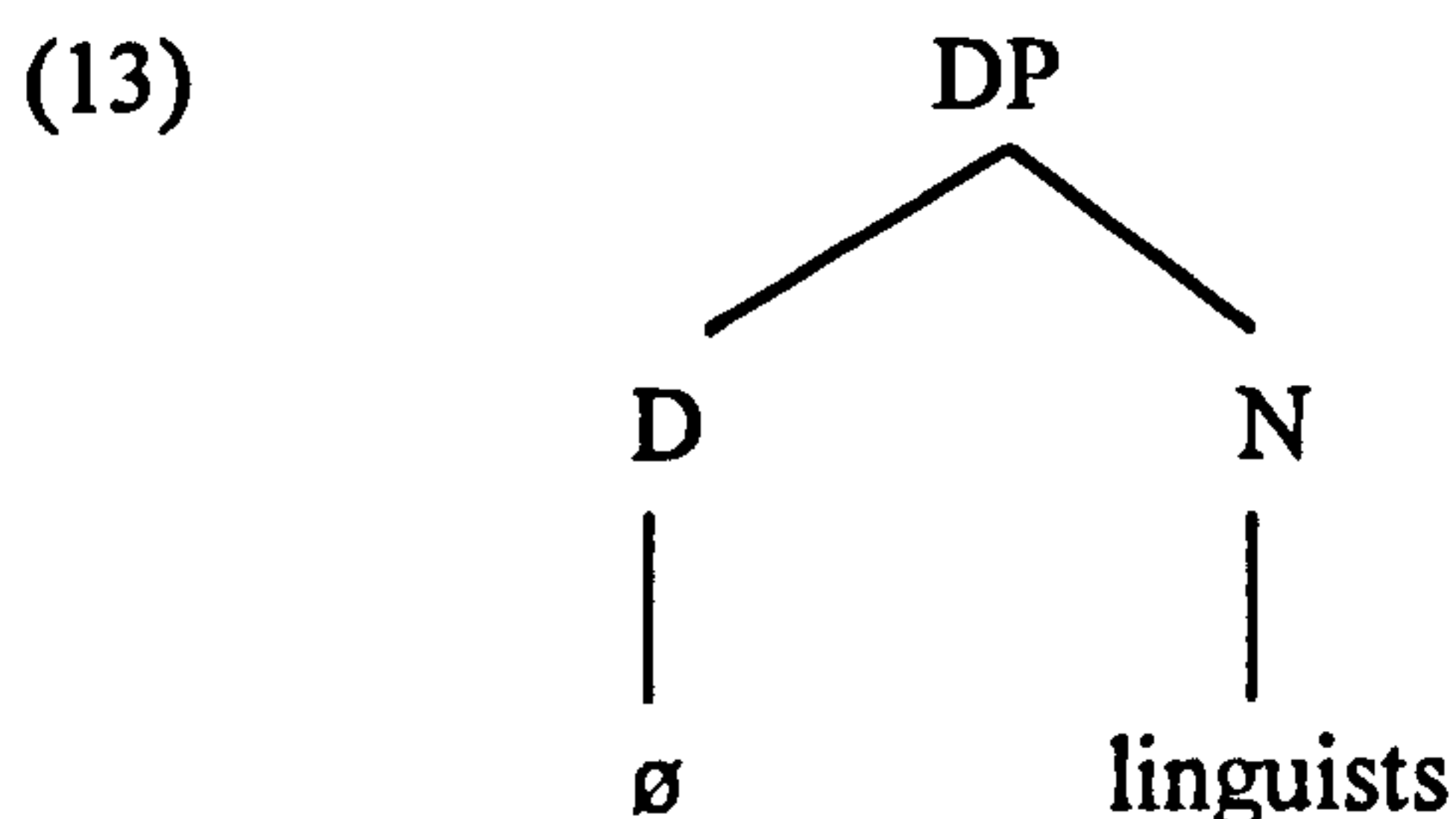
- (10) *wellaḥ, promotion xemsa w tes'in*
 [by-God, class ninety and five]
 {I swear it, (she's) a graduate of ninety five}
 (MA/Fr, DS 3A, 84)

- (11) *crions victoire a d-drari l-qehwa fethat*
 [shout victory you the-guys the café opened]
 {At last, the café is open guys}
 (MA/Fr, DS 2, 555)

In the last example (11), we have a switching of a complete French semi-idiomatic expression, which does not bear any article in a French monolingual context and has been kept as such in the bilingual context. Collocations, as in the case of (10), are more lenient towards code switching in the sense that part of the collocation can come from another language. The noun *promotion* normally collocates in French with a numeral after the elision of the preposition. In (10), the collocation has kept the same structure in spite of the fact that the numeral is Moroccan Arabic. Like the bilingual (10), a monolingual French equivalent collocation would still have \emptyset Det as in (12) produced by one of the respondents.

- (12) *je suis promotion quatre-vingt cinq*
 [I am class eighty five]
 (*Fr*, DS 1, 168)

However, one might rule out the possibility of switching between an empty category such as \emptyset Det and its complement altogether in view of the fact that no overt (phonologically realised) switching takes place. The argument against this hypothesis is both theoretically and empirically motivated. If we assume (following Abney 1987, Longobardi 1994) that all nominals are projections of a head determiner constituent, bare nominals would also qualify as DP headed by a null determiner.



Phrasal categories are known to be projections of the head-features of their heads; it follows that \emptyset Det, the head of a DP as in (11), must carry head-features such as case and agreement features. Radford (1997a:153) illustrates this property of \emptyset Det, namely that they specify for head features, through the following examples:

- (14) a: We syntacticians take ourselves/*yourselves/*themselves too seriously,
 don't we/*you/*they?
 b: You syntacticians take yourselves/*ourselves/*themselves too seriously,
 don't you/*we/*they?
 c: Syntacticians take themselves/*ourselves/*yourselves too seriously,
 don't they/*we/*you?
 Radford (1997a:153)

The DP *we syntacticians* in (14a) headed by a first person Det indicates that it can only bind a first person reflexive and be tagged by a first person pronoun and the same goes for (14b). The head-features of the Det element determine the type of reflexive the DP can bind and the type of pronoun it can be tagged by. Radford (1997a:153) proposes the same analysis for (14c). He suggests that since the DP \emptyset Det *syntacticians* can only bind a third person reflexive and be tagged by a third person pronoun, this must reflect the head-features of the head of the DP. Therefore, it can be said that \emptyset Det specifies in the same way as its overt counterparts for head-feature selection. The hypothesis that null forms do specify for feature selection is also illustrated by Chomsky (1995:119) in his analysis of the empty category PRO.

- (15) a: they want [PRO to be officers]
 b: *they want [me to be officers]

According to Chomsky, PRO includes phi-features for agreement. In (15), one might say that PRO carries the head-features [+3 person, +plural]. PRO also carries, according to Chomsky (1995:20), elements for abstract case which is checked by the infinitive IP.

As a result, \emptyset Det must also have specific complement-selection, the same as overt Det. In this respect, consider the following sentences taken from Radford (1997a:153).

- (16) a: I write poems
 b: I write poetry
 c: * I write poem

(16a-c) suggest that selectional restrictions apply on the type of complement that \emptyset Det selects. It can select as its complement a noun with the features [+plural] like *poems*, or [+mass singular] like *poetry*, but not [+count singular] like *poem* (Radford:1997a:153). The aim of these monolingual illustrations is to show that if \emptyset Dets specify for selectional requirements in a monolingual context, so should they in the bilingual context given our assumption in chapter four that selectional conditions are satisfied in monolingual and bilingual constructions alike. Instances like (17) indicate that \emptyset Det from one language can have a complement from another language as long as the selectional conditions are satisfied.

- (17) ka:yn *contrôleur* nta° d-dariba, inspecteur de finances taydu:r,
 [there-is \emptyset Det inspector of the-tax, inspector of finances circulates
 °endu *secteur* lli tayraqeb
 [he-has \emptyset Det sector that he-inspects]
 {Each tax-inspector has a sector to control}
 (MA/Fr, DS 2, 68)

In (17), both nouns *contrôleur* and *secteur* would need an overt Det should their syntax be French. The grammaticality of the structure of the two French bare nouns in (17) follows from the fact that they are headed by a Moroccan Arabic \emptyset Det. Recall that the FPC allows switching between FHs and their complements only if selectional properties are not parametric. Moroccan Arabic allows variable agreement and case properties for \emptyset Det, which can be either singular or plural in number, masculine or feminine in gender, nominative or objective in case. Their complements can therefore have either the head-feature [+singular] or [+plural]. Hence, switching in (17) between the Moroccan Arabic null determiners and their French complements is justified. (17) can

also be accounted for by the MLF model as a case of ML+EL constituent. The advantage of the FPC framework in this respect manifests in its ability to explain how such a bare French nominal structure, supposedly ungrammatical if the syntax were French, is an acceptable switch. The superiority of the FPC over the ML+EL constituent hypothesis, in the case of French/Moroccan Arabic, also lies in its power to explain switches that the MLF principle cannot account for such as (18) below.

(18) *je vais te dire ce que l-medecin peut faire..*

[I will you tell what the-doctor can do ..

est ce que ça c'est une évaluation médicale?

[what this it is an evaluation medical ?]

{I'll tell you what the doctor can do.., is this a proper medical evaluation?}

(MA/Fr, DS 3B, 8)

According to the MLF model, the ML for (18) would be French and therefore the switching of a system morpheme like the Moroccan Arabic Det element *l-* is not accounted for by either the ML+EL constituent or EL island hypotheses. According to Jake (personal communication), the article *l-* in (18) could be a French contracted form of *le*. It may be the case but, as explained above, the fact that the same informants attach to the same French nouns the determiner form *l-* as well as *le* on different occasions indicate that they differentiate between the two, the first being Moroccan Arabic and the second French. Moreover, instances like (19) below obviate any doubt about the fact that switching does take place between the Moroccan Arabic Det and French complements within a French ML.

(19) *il y avait des toilettes ou plutôt s-salle de bain*

[there was Det_{plr.-indef} toilets or rather the-bathroom]

{There was a toilet or rather a bathroom}

(MA/Fr, DS 2, 401)

Example (19) consists of a French ML where the whole sentence is French apart from a single switch of the Moroccan Arabic Det realised through the gemination of the first sound /s/. This Det is clearly Moroccan Arabic because the phonological process it has undergone is foreign to French. Again, none of the hypotheses of the MLF model could account for the switch while it is predicted by the FPC.

So far switching within DP headed by a \emptyset Det element is accounted for in the sense that the properties of the French bare nouns are compatible with the properties of the Moroccan Arabic FH (\emptyset Det). A number of quantitative asymmetries can be observed in my corpus regarding switching within this type of DP. For instance, while \emptyset Det

constructions in the Moroccan Arabic monolingual context are very infrequent, they represent a relatively high number of the total DP in the bilingual context. In my corpus, monolingual \emptyset Det constructions (i.e. bare Moroccan Arabic nouns) constitute less than 5% of the total of number of DP constructions where both Det element(s) and the complement come from Moroccan Arabic. By contrast, bilingual \emptyset Det constructions (i.e. Moroccan Arabic \emptyset Det + French complement) represent 18% of the total of switches within DP. Various explanations may be advanced in this case such as bilinguals tend to resort to the least effort code-switching transactions when the syntax of the two languages offer more than one alternative. \emptyset Det is used in Moroccan Arabic to convey indefiniteness and so are the Det elements *un/e* and *des* in French. A phonologically null determiner would require less effort in production than overt determiners. Such an assumption remains, however, pure speculation, and explanation of the phenomenon of quantitative tendencies is not part of the scope of this research (a general discussion will be, though, provided in 9.1).

Of course, there are quantitative irregularities which are worth pointing out. But, it should be emphasised that, contrary to what would possibly be the case for some qualitative constraints on CS, my intention is not to make any claim that the FPC hypothesis could predict in a conclusive manner such frequency irregularities. For instance, the fact that Moroccan Arabic \emptyset Det allows both properties of [+singular] and [+plural] means that we would expect switching of French bare singular as well as plural nouns. The corpus, however, shows only instances of switching that involve the Moroccan Arabic \emptyset Det and French singular nouns. Similar unequal switching-patterns are observed between Moroccan Arabic Det *l-* and French complements; only French singular nouns filled the complement position in this type of DP frame. Such irregularities do not in any way nullify the qualitative validity of FPC hypothesis. So far all switches that have been examined do not represent any violation to the hypothesis.

The other type of switching that will be examined in this sub-section will involve double Det. Det doubling is a syntactic property of Moroccan Arabic not French. CS involving this category represents about 33% in which doubling is either completely or partly Moroccan Arabic. Switches where both Det elements come from Moroccan

Arabic such as (20) are more frequent than switches where each Det element comes from one language.

- (20) *ydiru lina waħed l-programme*
 [they-make us one_{sing} the-programme]
 {They'll set for us a training programme}
 (MA/Fr, DS 3B, 88)

The DP in (20) includes a Moroccan Arabic double Det and a French complement. Double Det consists of two Det elements *waħed* and *l-*. When the two are combined together in a pre-nominal position, they express indefiniteness. When used separately, they assume different grammatical functions. The determiner *waħed* can be used post-nominally as a numeral meaning *one* and takes the suffix /a/ to convey the feminine property as explained earlier, but when it is part of the double Det, it always fills a pre-nominal slot and does not inflect for gender. The determiner *l-*, on the other hand, occupies a pre-nominal position and does not have an overt agreement property (see discussion above) regardless of whether it is used separately or as part of double Det.

Demonstratives are also used in Moroccan Arabic through doubling such as *had l-* (literally *this the-*, meaning *this*). The question that arises in this context is whether to consider double Det as one single category since indefiniteness/demonstrativeness is conveyed only by the two elements combined, or as two separate FCs considering that each element can assume a grammatical function without the other as is explained above. The latter option is more plausible as switching does occur between the two elements: MA Det + Fr Det + Fr complement (see also discussion in chapter four). Other cases are also reported in the Moroccan Arabic/Dutch situation where the Moroccan Arabic Det *had* is followed by another DP in which the lexical head is Dutch as in (21).

- (21) *had l-kans*
 [that_{sing} the-chance]
 {That chance}
 (MA/Dutch, Nortier 1990:147)

Assuming that double Det consists of two FCs, each would, therefore, have specific selectional conditions that must be met. In (20), the FH *waħed* is higher, and therefore its selectional conditions must be first satisfied. The Det *waħed* allows for both values of the gender feature (masculine or feminine), but specifies for a DP c-selection with the grammatical features [+definite, +singular¹]. And the same goes for the demonstrative

had. Both switches in (20-21) fulfil these conditions. The FHs *waħed* and *had* in (20) and (21), respectively c-select another DP which consists of a Moroccan Arabic definite article and a French noun. The lower Det *l-* has also its selectional requirements satisfied, namely it c-selects a noun to which it adjoins.

Switching between the two elements of double Det can also be accounted for in the same way. The selectional requirements must be satisfied in a hierarchical manner; the higher FH and then the lower.

(22) *les linguistes* taydiru waħed *le* *travail* °el *les conversations*
 [the linguists do one the_{sing-masc} work_{sing-masc} on the conversations]
 {Linguists are working on project on conversations}
 (MA/Fr, DS 1, 41)

(23) ana, s- *secteur* dyali, °aref *had la* *société*
 [me, the-sector my, I-know this the_{sing-fem} company_{sing-fem}]
 {In my sector, I know every company}
 (MA/Fr, DS 2, 68)

The Det *had* specifies for the same features described for *waħed* earlier which accounts for its restriction to a choice of either masculine or feminine French complement as in (22) and (23), respectively. The selectional requirements of the two lower FHs are also met as *le* specifies for a noun with the grammatical feature [+singular, +masculine] and the Det element *la* specifies for a noun with the grammatical feature [+singular, +feminine]. Notice, however, that there are FHs in the higher position of double Det which have intrinsic gender head-features and therefore require that their complements must show compatible features.

(24) tatddir *hadak* *le* *truc*
 [you-do that_{sing-masc} the_{sing-masc} thing_{sing-masc}]
 {You do that thing}
 (MA/Fr, DS 1, 276)

(25) *hadik* *la* *pyramide* *hiyya s-s'iba* *fihum*
 [that_{sing-fem} the_{sing-fem} pyramid_{sing-fem} it-is the-difficult in-them]
 {That pyramid is the most difficult (to climb)}
 (MA/Fr, DS 1, 103)

The Det *hadak* has the head-features [+singular, +masculine] while the Det *hadik* has the properties [+singular, +feminine]. They would therefore be expected to project these features onto their complements which is the case in (24) and (25). Cases where Det *hadak* has a French DP-complement with the feature [+feminine] and/or [+plural], or

where the Det *hadik* has a complement with the feature [+masculine] and/or [+plural], which would violate the FPC, have not taken place in the corpus.

So far the model has worked well. But the difficulty arises when dealing with Moroccan Arabic/Dutch code switching. Nortier (1990, 1995) has reported switching instances like (26) and (27) below where the selectional conditions of the higher FH of double Det have not been satisfied.

(26) *waḥed gesprek*
[one conversation]

(27) *dik cultuur*
[that culture]

(MA/Dutch, Nortier 1995:87)

Det elements *waḥed* and *dik* in (26) and (27), respectively, would normally specify for a DP c-selection which is not the case here. Comparing Moroccan Arabic/French and Moroccan Arabic/Dutch code switching, Nortier (1995) provides a number of explanations for ‘the deviance’ of the latter in respect of double Det construction. She finally argues, following Muysken (1987), that the non-occurrence of switching patterns such as (26) and (27) in Moroccan Arabic/French code switching is due to the clitic nature of French determiners. Nortier (1995) supports her claim on the basis of an examination of telegraphic styles in both French and Dutch newspaper headlines. Her findings show a tendency of Dutch to drop definite articles in headlines whereas in French headlines, their frequency is even higher than in “*normal French newspaper text*”. This parallel from telegraphic style, according to her, supports the claim that clitic determiners, unlike in Dutch, are inseparable from their lexical heads. Nortier’s hypothesis distinguishing between the nature of definite articles in the French-type languages and the Dutch-type languages has also been held by Boumans (1996). He (1996:52) provides a psycholinguistic interpretation, based on Myers-Scotton’s (1993) Lemma Congruence Model, claiming that

languages like English and Dutch rely more on encoding definiteness on the spot, while languages like French, Spanish, and Moroccan Arabic make use of preformulated entities that are stored in the lexicon. Marking for definiteness is less productive in the latter category of these languages, and embedded nouns from these languages tend to retain their article.

The Moroccan Arabic/French corpus in the present study does not support their hypothesis. Fifty-four cases of French bare nouns, which do not bear any type of phonological Det were recorded in my data. If the specification of a lexical head for a clitic pronoun does constrain code switching, this relatively high number of French bare nouns switches in the corpus should be impossible. This type of switches, as discussed earlier, can be explained by the fact that they are headed by and satisfy the selectional conditions of the Moroccan Arabic \emptyset Det.

Nortier (1995) also brought support for her explanation from the fact that French forms such as *la gare* and *la plage* are borrowed into Moroccan Arabic with their definite articles. But as Nortier (1995:92) concedes the vast majority of French borrowed-forms are integrated into Moroccan Arabic without their original definite article. In fact, the omission or substitution of the original determiner is not a characteristic of borrowed forms alone. A large number of switches include either bare French nouns as mentioned above, or French NPs headed by a Moroccan Arabic definite article such as *s-sociologie*, *s-salle*, *de bain*, *l-médecin*, etc. Such evidence does not support 'the clitic explanation' for omission of articles in Moroccan Arabic/Dutch code switching. The question as to why a Det element is omitted in contrast with selectional requirements remains, however, unanswered.

Several hypotheses may be offered for the explanation of this phenomenon. It could simply mark a grammaticisation process whereby grammatical structures from two languages are fused into a new code. Perhaps, speakers, in this case, resort to the most 'economic' structure. Dutch requires only one Det element, and thus, the Dutch DP construction would require less effort, at least in production. The hypothesis of grammaticisation will be examined for Moroccan/Standard Arabic in 8.3 relying on the mounting evidence from earlier researches which show that a new mixed code is underway. The dropping of the article could also be, as Boumans (1998:92) points out, "*a feature of the monolingual language or an idiosyncratic speech variety*". However, since the dropping of the obligatory Moroccan Arabic Det *l-* is specific to the Moroccan Arabic/Dutch situation, the phenomenon can only be explained, as Nortier (1995:90) rightly points out, by answering the question: "*why is Dutch deviant from other languages (like French and English) in comparable circumstances?*". Unfortunately,

the answer to this question would require the availability of a Dutch corpus, and a thorough comparative examination of the Dutch language, both of which are beyond the scope of this study.

In total, the data shows three types of CS between Det and complement (\emptyset Det, single Det, and double Det) all of which appear to satisfy the FPC requirements. Our findings support the hypothesis that FCs represent the flesh and blood of grammar and the locus of code switching constraints. They also confirm the hypothesis that code switching in the Moroccan Arabic situation is governed by properties of individual categories; that is, its constraints do not follow from the properties of language as a whole.

7.1.2. Code switching of IP

In chapter four, I opted for the analysis of IP (following Pollock 1989, Ouhalla 1991) in terms of the head categories AGRP, TNSP and NEGP. My data does not, however, show any switching between these categories. That is to say, switches where one of the three categories comes from one language and the remaining two from the other language just do not surface. I will argue that parametric variations in terms of the selectional properties of such head categories are behind this switch ban. First, I will consider some instances of code switching which touch upon IP.

(28) *ta-t-arrêter* *w temši txelles les impôts*
 [TNS-AGR-stop and you-go you-pay the taxes
 {You draw up the balance sheet and then you pay tax}
 (MA/Fr, DS 2, 58)

(29) *nta ta-t-compter* *w l-axer ta-y-inspecter*
 [you TNSP-AGRP-count and the other TNSP-AGRP-inspect]
 {You count while he inspects}
 (MA/Fr, DS 2, 66)

Switches in (28) and (29) are similar in the sense that both involve a French lexical verb headed by a Moroccan Arabic IP. Notice that the selectional properties of the FH TNS and AGR are satisfied; in Moroccan Arabic, TNS c-selects AGR and AGR c-selects a lexical verb (see chapter four) and therefore the switches are anticipated. (28) and (29) differ in that the latter involves a preverbal pronoun. This should not be a cause of concern here because Moroccan Arabic, despite being a pro-drop language, allows also for overt pronoun structures. But, this type of switch should not be equated with switches of the like of (30) discussed in chapter five as (13).

- (30) **je gadi*
 [I TNS-AGR-go]
 {I am going}
 (MA/Fr, Bentahila & Davies 1983:312)

Switches like (30) do not surface in any of the Moroccan Arabic/French corpora. This is explained, following Bentahila and Davies (1983), Ouhalla (1991), Myers-Scotton, Jake and Okasha (1996), by the fact that preverbal pronouns in (Moroccan) Arabic, such as (29), do not function as the thematic and structural subject of the verb but rather occupy a topic non-argument position. This function of Moroccan Arabic overt pronoun is clearly observed in (31) where the French IP (TNS/AGR) is preceded by a French and a Moroccan Arabic pronoun (*tu* and *ntaya*, respectively).

- (31) *daba, c'est quoi ntaya tu penses d-la jeunesse marocaine?*
 [now, what is it you you think of-the youth Moroccan?]
 {Now, you, what do you think of the Moroccan youth?}
 (MA/Fr, DS 1, 19)

- (32) * *daba, c'est quoi ntaya penses d-la jeunesse marocaine?*

Assuming that the Moroccan Arabic pronoun *ntaya* could function as a thematic subject, the structure of (31) would be ungrammatical since the French pronoun *tu* fills the same AGRP Spec position (see 4.2.1.1, also Ouhalla 1991 for more details about Specs of AGRP and TNSP). This is supported by the fact that instances where the Moroccan Arabic pronoun could replace the French thematic subject such as the invented (32) do not surface in the Moroccan Arabic/French corpora. If this explanation is correct, the ungrammaticality of (30) is, therefore, predicted by the FPC. Recall that the selectional conditions of the FH in terms of specifier features must also be met for a switch to take place in a Spec position. In (30) this condition has been violated. The pronoun *je* occupies a thematic position in French (i.e. Spec of AGRP) while the Moroccan Arabic AGRP specifies for a null subject in the Spec position. Notice that switching of a French topic pronoun before a Moroccan Arabic would be allowed for the same reason; topic pronouns could occupy a non-argument position. Although this type of code switching has not been recorded in my data, it has been recorded in other Moroccan Arabic/French corpora such as Bentahila and Davies's (1983).

- (33) *moi dxelt*
 [I_{topic} TNS-AGR-enter]
 {I went in}
 (MA/Fr, Bentahila & Davies 1983:313)

Now, we turn to the questions why the corpus does not show switches between AGRP, TNSP and NEGP. In chapter four, I argued, following Ouhalla 1991, that the (Moroccan) Arabic IP has the structure [TNSP [AGRP]] while French IP has the structure [AGRP [TNSP]]. By way of the Mirror Principle² (Baker 1985), it follows that the verb attaches first to AGR then TNS in Moroccan Arabic, and vice versa in French. In other words, TNSP c-selects an AGRP complement and AGRP c-selects a VP in Moroccan Arabic. In French, on the other hand, AGRP c-selects a TNSP while TNSP c-selects a VP. Therefore, switching between the two languages in terms of the two syntactic categories of TNS and AGR is predicted not to take place due to parametric selectional properties formalised in chapter four as the TNS/AGR Parameter. Let us illustrate with the invented (34).

- (34) **les deux équipes joue-r-u* *demain*
 [the two teams play-TNS-AGR tomorrow]
 {The two teams will play tomorrow}

The lexical verb in (34), through a process of V-raising (see chapter four), is first attached to the French TNSP and then to the Moroccan Arabic AGRP. The c-selection condition of the lower FH (French TNSP c-selects VP) has been met. But the FPC states that the selectional requirements of FH must be satisfied in a hierarchical manner, that is the higher FH then the lower and so on. In (34), AGRP is higher than TNSP and therefore its selection must be checked first. The Moroccan Arabic AGRP c-selects a VP, which is not the case in (34), hence the ungrammaticality of the switch.

In chapter four, it was also assumed AGR on its own (i.e. when it is not part of an IP which consists, in addition to AGRP, of a TNSP) is too weak to host a foreign category. The corpus shows, however, instances like (35), which might appear as counter-evidence to this claim.

- (35) *xass y-signaler* *l'arbitre..*
 [it-must TNS/AGR-signal the-referee]
 {The referee must give the signal}
 (MA/Fr, DS 3B, 145)

Nortier (1990:15-16) describes forms such as *y-signaler* as untensed verbs. Such forms are also similar to the French subjunctive as they tend follow the same category of verbs (expressives), and are inflected for agreement.

(36) Je veux que tu fasse-s ton devoir
 [I want that you do_{subjunctive-2p.sing} your duty]
 {I want you to do your homework}
 (French)

(37) bğit (baš) t-dir xdemt-k
 [I-want (that) subjunctive.2p-do work-my]
 {I want you to do you work}
 (Moroccan Arabic)

The subjunctive in both languages as illustrated in (36-7) is similar except for the fact the complementizer is optional in Moroccan Arabic and obligatory in French (and Standard Arabic). But these forms can be formally represented as infinitives (Jones 1996:180), and will be considered as such in the present study. Boudali (1986) also draws an analogy between this type of forms in Moroccan Arabic and English infinitives, claiming that the only major difference between the two is that Moroccan Arabic shows agreement features attached to the infinitive form (in Nortier 1990:16). In fact, all the above mentioned properties of Moroccan Arabic are satisfied in (35), and the hypothesis that switching is not possible across AGRP on its own has not been violated either. The form *y-signaler* consists of an AGRP which is headed by a TNSP. The idea is similar to the argument for bare nouns that they are headed by a \emptyset Det. TNSP has here the head features [+subjunctive, +infinitive], and c-selects an AGRP. Notice that the TNSP (*y-signaler*) in (35) is preceded by a modal verb. The preceding modal must also have its selectional conditions fulfilled. Modals are independent FCs which are not base generated inside VP; hence, FHs which have selectional requirements (Ouhalla 1991:69-72). In (35), the Moroccan Arabic modal specification for a TNSP c-selection with the feature [+subjunctive] is met. The switch is therefore accounted for by the FPC hypothesis.

The same argument postulated above for the impossibility of switching between AGRP and TNSP goes also for NEGP. The intactness of AGR and TNS in Moroccan Arabic/French bilingual constructions reaches NEGP. In the presence of NEGP, switching, for instance, of a French lexical verb seems to require that the cluster of NEG, TNS and AGR must altogether come from one language, Moroccan Arabic in the case of (38).

(38) *ma-ta-y- rende-š* *les services*
 [NEG- TNS- AGR-return- NEG the favours]
 {He is not helpful}

(MA/Fr, DS 2, 9)

The reason behind this type of constraint is predicted by the FPC. It was postulated earlier (see 4.2) that Moroccan Arabic has the structure [NEGP [TNSP [AGRP]]] while French has the structure [AGRP [NEG [TNSP]]]. Therefore, switching one of the three categories will affect the selectional properties of (one of) the two other categories. For instance, if the same negation position in (38) has been filled by a French NEGP, the selection feature of the latter (c-selection of AGRP) would be violated. NEGP can also precede a noun or and an adjective in Moroccan Arabic. This type of NEGP, phonologically realised as *maši*, can be said to have an intrinsic tense property. In Moroccan Arabic, negation instances, such as (39), always refers to a present tense.

(39) *maši ġali*
 [not expensive]
 {It is not expensive}
 (Nortier 1990:41)

The only way for (39) to refer to a past tense is by inserting a support verb *kan* in the past tense-form and substituting the continuous negation form *maši* with the discontinuous form *ma...š* (terminology is taken from Nortier 1990:40) as in (38).

(40) *ma-kan-š* *ġali*
 [NEG-(past)do(3psm)-neg expensive]
 {It was not expensive}

This clearly indicates that the negation *maši* consists of an (intrinsic) tense category, and therefore, unlike the weak AGRP, is not too weak to host a switched category from another language as in the case of (41) below.

(41) *non, maši* *inter-cours*
 [no, NEG(present) break time]
 {No, it is not a break time}
 (MA/Fr, DS 1, 252)

The support for the hypothesis that continuous negation has an intrinsic tense comes also from the fact that it can function as an expletive clause as in (42). Notice here that although the clause as whole (*maši*) has an expletive function, there is no overt realisation of an expletive pronoun given that pro-drop languages lack them (Haegeman

1994:60). The discontinuous negation, on the other hand, cannot form a sentence in its own right unless, along TNSP and AGRP, is attached to a lexical verb.

- (42) maši ma-ta-n-bgi-š ...³
 [not NEGP-TNSP-want-NEG]
 {It is not (that) I don't want to}

It is expected that this type of negation would allow switching as far as the selectional restrictions are respected. In structures such as (42), the negation is often followed by a clause headed by a phonologically null (\emptyset) Comp (or occasionally an overt Comp from Standard Arabic). Code switching as in the case of (43) is therefore predicted.

- (43) maši on manque d' enseignement theorique
 [it-is-not \emptyset Comp we lack of training theoretical]
 {It's not that we lack theoretical training}
 (MA/Fr, DS 3B, 7)

Evidence, based on the analysis carried out in this section indicates that the FPC does indeed predict the restricted nature of code switching between the categories of NEGP, AGRP and TNSP in the Moroccan Arabic/French situation. It has been found that only together (TNSP/AGRP or NEGP/TNSP/AGRP in the presence of a negation) can they host a foreign category. It has also been argued that such restriction follows from parametric requirements of these categories across Moroccan Arabic and French, rather than a code switching specific-constraint.

7.1.3. Code Switching of CP

The Comp is another FC which requires the fulfilment of selectional conditions for code switching to be possible. In my corpus, most switches in this context are of the relative pronoun type as in (44). But bilingual constructions involving a Comp element of the type *I think/hope that*, illustrated by (45), are not short in the corpus either.

- (44) *un discours royal* lli ta-y-gul 'endak *au bout d'un mois*
 [a speech royal which TNS-AGR-say you-have up to one month]
 {A royal speech which says you have up to one month}
 (MA/Fr, DS 2, 54)

- (45) *J'espère belli dorénavant les procédures administratives*
 [I-hope that from now on the procedures administrative
 ga-y-welliw *plus souple*
 TNSP-AGRP-become more flexible]
 {I hope that from now on bureaucratic procedures will be reduced}
 (MA/Fr, DS 2, 123)

Both Comp element and the clause it introduces come from Moroccan Arabic in (44) and therefore there is no reason to check selectional conditions. (45), on the other hand, consists of a Moroccan Arabic Comp followed (at the surface level) by a French adverbial and DP occupying the Spec positions of the Moroccan Arabic AGRP. Notice, though, the main verb of the clause headed by the Comp element *belli* is Moroccan Arabic. The switches in (44) and (45) are similar in that the lexical verb in both preserves the language of its head CP. They also represent the type of CP switching that is most common in my corpus. In more than 80% of CP switches, the Comp element and the main verb come from the same language. This may indicate that code switching is constrained, contrary to Abbassi' (1977) constraint for relative pronouns (discussed in 5.3), only between Comp and verbs. This type of constraint does not explain why code switching is restricted between the two categories of Comp and verb. In fact, it is not. Code switching between Comp and verb is possible as (46) illustrates.

(46) n-nas lli ta-y *consomm*-iw bzza:f l-ħu:t
 [the-people who TNS-AGR-consume-AGR a lot the-fish
 hu:ma s-sblyu:n
 they-are the-Spanish]
 {Spanish people consume a lot of fish}
 (MA/Fr, DS 2, 4)

In (46) the lexical verb does not come from the same language as Comp but its inflection (IP) does. This indicates that the relation of CP with IP rather than with the lexical verb is responsible for the constraining code switching. This can be accounted for by the FPC in terms of the CP Parameter. The Comp *lli* as in (46) specifies for a TNSP c-selection which cannot be switched from French given that the latter is an AGR-initial language. The same explanation would also account for Bentahila and Davies's (1983) hypothetical example which their informants judged as unacceptable.

(47)* *il y a des gens qui ta-y-ħdru bzzaf*
 {there are people who talk too much}
 (Bentahila & Davies 1983:311, MA/Fr)

The French Comp *qui* specifies for an AGRP selection which has been violated in (47) given that Moroccan Arabic is TNS-intial. Notice also in (48) below that the speaker had to double the production of the Comp element in order to save selectional conditions from violation.

- (48) *l-bnat lli qui ne fument pas*
 [the-girls that who AGR-NEG-TNS-smoke]
 {The girls who don't smoke}
 (MA/Fr, DS 1, 419)

The addition of a French Comp element in (48) is syntactically motivated as there is no apparent pragmatic motivation for its doubling. In view of the fact that CS is possible between Moroccan Arabic CP and French lexical verb (cf. example (46) above), the syntactic motivation for the added Comp is therefore to be found in the relationship between CP and the functional elements of the verb. Indeed, the analysis provided for these functional elements in 4.2 offers an explanation for (48). It was argued following Ouhalla (1991) that, in the presence of a negation, Moroccan Arabic has the structure [NEGP [TNSP [AGRP]]], and French the structure [AGRP [NEGP [TNSP]]]. Therefore, in the presence of a negation, a Moroccan Arabic CP would c-select a NEGP, the French CP would c-select an AGRP. Given that the IP structure in (48) is French, the CP selectional requirements would have been violated had the French Comp element not been inserted.

In the course of this section, I have discussed instances of code switching which involve functional categories and have been tested to support the FPC hypothesis. I have also shown that the impossibility of some switches follows from the same principles hypothesised by the FPC. The discussion was, however, mostly unidirectional in the sense that the switches analysed predominantly involve Moroccan Arabic rather than French FHs. The issue of quantitative asymmetries will be discussed in chapter nine, but will be also raised in 8.3.

7.2. The Role of Lexical Categories in Constraining Moroccan Arabic/French Code Switching

Various constraints have been postulated for CS of LC. Myers-Scotton (1993) defines these constraints in terms of the syntactic requirements imposed by the ML, which she describes as 'matching the lemmas'. Mahootian (1993), Bentahila and Davies (1983) have posited them in terms of the subcategorisation requirements, and Poplack and Meechan (1995) in terms of their linear order. Contrary to these claims, I will show that as far as the Moroccan Arabic/French context is concerned, code switching across LCs is possible provided it can be accounted for by one of the mixed grammars. Some types

of LCs switching may be more favoured than others, which indicates frequency irregularities. This does not weaken the hypothesis that switching of LCs is free as far as it does not interact with an FH and therefore must be part of the fulfilment of (but not having) selectional requirements. For instance, it is traditionally held in inter-language studies (e.g. Corder 1981) that the high frequency of some errors made by foreign language learners (e.g. article errors) is due to the need to use this category more often. One may also say that the quantitative distribution of LCs switches is also motivated by the varied need, be it linguistic or pragmatic, to use these categories. However, the main concern of this section is not the discussion of quantitative distributions as it is a qualitative analysis of the conceivable switching sites for LCs regardless of their frequency. Discussion of LCs in this section will be limited to five main categories namely, prepositions, adjectives, nouns, verbs and adverbs.

7.2.1. Code Switching of Prepositions

We can distinguish in the corpus two types of code switching in respect of prepositions: switching of the whole PP and switching within the PP. The first type is less frequent than the second type, but is not rare either. It is enacted in both language directions (Moroccan Arabic and French) as illustrated in (49) and (50) respectively.

(49) *on doit avoir chaque an un stage l-l-mudarrebin f-lmeqrib kulu*
 [we should have every year a training for-the-coaches in-Morocco all]
 {We should have annual training sessions for coaches all over Morocco}
 (MA/Fr, DS 3B, 57)

(50) *la capacité...lli gayeqder yaxed l-mudarreb de la section*
 [the ability that can take the-coach of the section]
 {The responsibility that the coach of the section can undertake}
 (MA/Fr, DS 3B, 3)

The two examples show that switching of the PP can be Moroccan Arabic as well as French. (49) consists of two Moroccan Arabic PPs while the rest of the sentence is in French. (50), on the other hand, is a Moroccan Arabic dominated sentence in which a French PP is inserted. The data shows this type of PP switching in almost every conceivable position such as after nouns (as above), verbs and adjectives. Switching of PPs has also taken place after FCs such as the Comp element without compromising, though, selectional conditions.

- (51) *ji:b li la brosse lli contre le mur*
 [bring me the brush which against the wall]
 {Bring me the brush which is against the wall}
 (MA/Fr, DS 1, 217)

(51) is the only switch in my corpus in which a Moroccan Arabic Comp is followed by a French preposition. The switch is accounted for in view of the fact that Comp in Moroccan Arabic can be followed by a PP without the insertion of a copula. The English *be* or French *être* in contexts such as (52) and (53), respectively do not have a Moroccan Arabic equivalent as in (54).

- (52) The brush which is against the wall

- (53) *la brosse qui est contre le mur*
 [which is]

- (54) *š-štaba lli °la l-ħit*
 [the-brush which on the-wall]
 {The brush which is on top of the wall}

The Moroccan Arabic copula-like *kan* can be added after the Comp *lli* only if it is used to convey the durative aspect or past tense (perfective). The Moroccan Arabic Comp in the context of (51) and (54) can be therefore said to specify for a PP or even for a null TNSP since reference to the present tense is still conveyed in both examples. In either case, the selectional requirement is still satisfied in (51). By contrast, switches like (55) between a French Comp and a Moroccan Arabic PP without the insertion of the copula are implausible.

- (55) **ramenez moi le livre qui f-l-bi:t*
 [bring me the book which in-the-room]
 {Bring me the book which is in the bedroom}

The implausibility of (55) can be explained by the fact the French Comp *qui* specifies for an overt IP (AGR-TNS) c-selection which has been violated in (55). Had this condition been met, the switch would be possible as (56) from my data illustrates.

- (56) *les gens qui arrivent f-l-°šiyya*
 [the people who arrivent in-the-evening]
 {People who come in the evening}
 (MA/Fr, DS 2, 7)

So far, I have illustrated switches which involve the whole PP. Switching between a preposition and its complement is another CS-type found in the corpus. The patterns of switching between a preposition and its DP complement are similar to those noticed for other FCs in terms of the language directionality of the switch. In my corpus, apart from

two single instances which will be presented shortly as (59-60), all PP switches are of the type found in (57) and (58).

(57) *ils abordent des sujets lli très intéressants f-la conception*
 [they tackle Det subjects which very interesting in-the conception]
 {They tackle subjects which are intellectually very interesting}
 (MA/Fr, DS 2, 20)

(58) *hiyya ma°endhaš f-s-sociologie*
 [her, she does not have in-the-sociology]
 {Her, she does not know anything about sociology}
 (MA/Fr, DS 1, 39)

Example (57) consists of a Moroccan Arabic preposition *f-* and a French DP *la conception*. In (58), on the other hand, the DP complementing the same preposition *f-* is headed by a Moroccan Arabic Det element while the noun is French. Therefore, the switch in (58) is rather between the Det element and its complement. The selectional requirements of the Det are satisfied (cf. 7.1.1) and therefore the switch is predicted.

As to switching between French prepositions and a Moroccan Arabic complement, only two switches were found in the corpus. This is not surprising because other corpora report the rarity of this type. Heath (1989:40) states that only one single instance of this type switching surfaced in his corpus. Bentahila and Davies (1983:325) report having found numerous within-PP switches where the preposition can be either Moroccan Arabic or French. However, they illustrated their discussion with more examples in which the preposition was Moroccan Arabic; only two instances of switching involving French prepositions were mentioned.

(59) *c'est juste avant Marakech, en fin plus dans l-daxel*
 [it's just before Marakech, well more into the-interior]
 {It's just before Marakech, well, more into the centre (of the country)}
 (MA/Fr, DS 1, 136)

(60) *šaryin une télé grand écran w hattinha*
 [they-bought a telly big screen and they-put-it
sur waħed t-twibla sgi:wra
 on one the-little table small]
 {They bought a big screen-telly and put it on small table}
 (MA/Fr, DS 2, 320)

Although rare, the switches in (59-60) do not violate any selectional rules. In fact, (60) confirms the assumption that LCs are free in the sense that they do not have selectional requirements. Had LCs had to satisfy such requirements, (60) would not be accounted for. Although the French preposition *sur* does not specify for a complement headed by a

double Det, switching of this type still takes place as illustrated by (60) above. The reason is that LCs are free to switch as far as the resulting construction can be accounted for by the mixed grammar, but not of the LC itself as it is the case for FHs (see discussion in 4.1). By contrast, doubling after French FCs would be impossible given that FCs are heads which require their language particular requirements to be fulfilled.

- (61) **cette* l-xubza
 [this the-loaf]
 {This loaf (of bread)}
 (MA/Fr, Bentahila & Davies 1983:321)

Notice that although the Moroccan Arabic equivalent *had* of the French demonstrative *cette* in (61) would require another DP complement, the construction is still ungrammatical. This is because *cette*, unlike the preposition *sur*, is an FH, and therefore its specification for a noun rather than a DP c-selection must be satisfied.

The analysis of prepositions also indicates that some PPs tend to keep their language specific rules in switching. A case in point is the preposition *dyal* when followed by one of the clitics *-i/k/u/ha/na/kum/hum* (mine, yours_{sing}, hers, ours, yours_{pl}, theirs). When combined, the preposition and the attached clitic function as a disjunctive pronoun⁴. For instance, *dyal-na* (literally meaning *of ours*) can be used to answer questions in Moroccan Arabic such as *whose books are these?*. By contrast, neither the clitic nor the preposition can assume this function independently of each other. This type of PP shows also word-order restrictions in both monolingual and bilingual constructions that are similar to those of pronouns.

- (62) *s-supérieur* dyalu hiérarchique
 [the-superior his hierarchic]
 {His hierarchic superior}
 (MA/Fr, DS 2, 67)

- (63) **xda la grande* dyalha part
 [he-took the big her share]
 {He took her big share}

In both examples (62-63), the Moroccan Arabic PP *dyal* + *clitic* modify a French NP. Yet, switches like (63) are not attested. This can be explained by the fact that *dyalna*, like the numeral *wahed*, requires its complement to the left, which is not the case in (63). Notice, however, that unlike *wahed*, *dyalna* does not have to follow immediately its complement.

(64) a: dar weħda kbira
 [house one big]
 {One big house}

b: *dar kbira weħda

(65) a: l-ktab dyalu l-ħmer
 [the-book his the-red]
 {His red book}

(65) b: l-ktab l-ħmer dyalu

The fluidity of *dyal* + *clitic* in allowing an adjective to occur after the noun they (P + clitic) modify is also observed in code switching as in (66) below.

(66) *exactement, la formation physique dyalna n'est pas à la hauteur*
 [precisely, the formation physique our is not at the standard]
 {Precisely, our physical training is not up to the standard}
 (MA/Fr, DS 3B, 2)

Notice also the FPC predicts that PP *dyalna*, in view of the fact it is not an FC, does not need to check selectional requirements in the same way as FHs. This is confirmed in (66). Had *dyalna* been an FH, its requirement in the context of (66)⁵ that both the noun and the adjective it modifies must be headed each by the Det element *l-* would have been violated.

The category *baš* traditionally referred to as a purpose preposition (Abbassi 1977) has shown in my corpus restrictions on the switching of the complement from French. However, as explained in 5.3, *baš* is an FC, and therefore the fact that switching is constrained between this category and its complement is predicted. The category *baš* has occurred in the corpus in two main types of bilingual constructions as illustrated in (67-68) below.

(67) ma[°]endnaš l-ħeq baš n-*risqu*-iw
 [we-don't-have the-right Comp TNS/AGR-risk-AGR
 l-ħayat dyal l-‘insan
 the-life of the-people]
 {We don't have the right to risk other people's lives}
 (MA/Fr, DS 3B, 22)

(68) juj baš *dans chaque région* ywelli [°]endna *un médecin*
 [two Comp in each region we-will we-have a doctor]
 {Two so that we could have a doctor in each region}
 (MA/Fr, DS 3B, 36)

In (67), the French lexical verb has been attached a Moroccan Arabic IP because of the CP Parameter. The Comp in Moroccan Arabic c-selects a TNSP which can be satisfied

by French in view of the fact that French is AGR-initial (see also 4.2). The same goes for (68). Although the Moroccan Arabic Comp is followed by a French adjunct, the IP is still Moroccan Arabic. Notice that cases where *baš* is followed by a French IP as in (69) has not taken place, which confirms the validity of the CP Parameter.

(69) * ma[°]endnaš l-ħeq baš *nous risquons* l-ħayat dyal l-‘insan
 [we AGR-TNS-risk]

7.2.2. Code switching of Adjectives

Moroccan Arabic can differ from French in terms of the linear order of adjectives (see 4.2.1.2). In the case of constructions with a French pre-nominal adjective, code switching is expected to be impossible according to the equivalence constraint. Recall, however, that the FPC hypothesis assumes that the linear equivalence of LCs does not pose any type of constraints on code switching. Although the data exhibits a high tendency for attributive adjectives to come from the same language as their head nouns, several switching instances were registered where a Moroccan Arabic adjective take a post-nominal position (after a French noun) and vice versa.

(73) *il a fait une demarche kbira*
 [he did a step big]
 {He made a big step}
 (MA/Fr, DS 2, 424)

(74) [°]endu waħed t-ħaserruf *répréhensible*
 [he-has one the-behaviour reprehensible]
 {He has a reprehensible behaviour}
 (MA/Fr, DS 2, 457)

All switches, except for one single instance presented as (78) below, are of the type of (73-74) where the adjective has the word order that is particular to its language. The word order of the NP in (73) can be said to be Moroccan Arabic given that in French, the equivalent adjective, in the same context, would occur pre-nominally as in (75).

(75) *il a fait une grande demarche*
 [big]

On the other hand, it is hard to distinguish whether the word order of the adjective in (74) belongs to Moroccan Arabic or French in view of the fact that both languages provides the syntactic slot the adjective *répréhensible* occupies in (74) as can be illustrated through (76-77).

(76) [°]endu waħed t-ħaserruf xayeb
 [reprehensible]

(77) il a un comportement répréhensible
 [he has a behaviour]

Given this tendency, it might seem that word order imposes some sort of constraint on the switching of adjectives. According to Bentahila and Davies (1983) such word order follows from the subcategorisation rules of the language of adjective (see 5.3 for more discussion of this hypothesis). However, the occurrence of the French adjective in a post-nominal position as in (78) does not follow from the subcategorisation rules of French.

(78) °endhu wahad š-šufa *curieuse*, tatekle°
 [she-has one the-look strange, it-frightens]
 {She has a strange look which frightens me}
 (MA/Fr, DS 1, 230)

(78) represents the only switch of a French attributive adjective found in the corpus. In French, the adjective *curieuse* occurs pre-nominally when it has the meaning *strange* as in this context. This subcategorisation rule has not been observed in this instance. In view of the singularity of this switch from French and the fact that the adjective *curieuse* is more often used pre-nominally with the meaning *curious*, the question might raise as to whether (78) is rather an exception or even a mistake. Thus, the claim that LCs, including adjectives, are not constrained by word order may hold here. This is ruled out because the same type of code switching as (78) appears in other corpora. In Karama (1998), three similar switches are found.

(79) kanet weħda men l-bnat *les premières*
 [she-was one of the-girls the first
 lli xedmu f-l-jami°a
 that they-worked at the-university]
 {She was one of the first girls to work at the university}
 (MA/Fr, Karama 1998)

The switch of in (79) is clear violation for the subcategorisation constraint that has been posited for adjectives by Bentahila and Davies (1983). The adjective *premières* occupies a post-nominal position in (79), whereas in a corresponding French monolingual construction, it must be pre-nominal. That the French adjective and the Moroccan Arabic noun are headed each by a Det element does not follow either from the subcategorisation rules of the language of the adjective as postulated by Bentahila and Davies (1983). Therefore, the evidence points towards some tendencies in, but by no means constraints of, code switching patterns of LCs.

Switches of predicative adjectives are more recurrent than their attributive counterparts despite the cross-linguistic variation of the two languages especially regarding the presence of a copula. The predicative adjective in French is always preceded by the copula *être* (similar to the English *to be*). In Moroccan Arabic, on the other hand, they can occur with or without a copula-like verb. Switching of predicative adjectives which involves a copula or copula-like element comes from both languages as illustrated in (80-81)

(80) l-mesxu:t baqi *celibataire*
 [the-cursed is-still bachelor]
 {The lucky devil is still a bachelor}
 (MA/Fr, DS 2, 8)

(81) tu es mrid nta, 'a-sahbi
 [you are sick, you, my friend]
 {You are a sick person}
 (MA/Fr, DS 1, 236)

Notice, however, that while switches of the type of (80) where a French adjective follows a Moroccan Arabic copula-like element are recurrent, the corpus shows one single instance of the (81)-type where a Moroccan Arabic adjective follows a French copula. The issue of quantitative inequalities, as mentioned earlier, is not the main focus of this study, but will be raised in subsequent chapters.

The same type of language asymmetry is also observed for the switching of predicative adjectives when they are not preceded by a copula. Switches seem to be of the type of (82) below where a French subject is followed by a Moroccan Arabic predicative adjective but not vice versa. The function of the adjective as to whether it is attributive or predicative in examples like (83) is not always clear.

(82) *l'escalade* zwina eh?
 [the-climbing nice, eh?]
 {The is nice, isn't it?}
 (MA/Fr, DS 1, 62)

(83) šiħaja *éveillé*
 [something bright]
 (MA/Fr, DS 1, 178)

(82) consists of a French noun followed by a Moroccan Arabic adjective. The function of the adjective is clearly predicative because the head lexical noun is preceded by a definite article (see Nortier 1990 for discussion). On the other hand, (83) consists of a

French adjective and a Moroccan Arabic quantifier. The sentence can be interpreted either as *a bright thing* as in *waḥed l-ḥaja éveillé*, hence the adjective is attributive, or as *something is bright* in which case the adjective would be predicative.

7.2.3. Code Switching of Nouns⁶

Nouns represent another lexical category that is not constrained in code switching by the language-specific rules (such as word order) of their language. I will consider in this section switching across the noun's two grammatical functions of subject and object of verb.

- (84) *les gens* tayjiw l-temma
 [the people come to-there]
 {People come there}

(MA/Fr, DS 2, 20)

- (85) neqlu *les Arabes* l-msreḥ men °end l-yunan
 [copied the Arabs the theatre from at the-Greeks]
 {The Arabs took the theatre from the Greeks}

(MA/Fr, DS 2, 34)

- (86) l-°usab ont *besoin de plus de formateurs et de financement*
 [the-leagues have need for more of trainers and of financing]
 {The leagues need more coaches and more money}

(MA/Fr, DS 3B, 10)

Examples (84) and (85) instantiate two different word orders: SVO and VSO, respectively. The SVO order which is a common feature of both languages (Moroccan Arabic and French). On the other hand, the VSO order is specific to Moroccan Arabic, among other languages (see 4.2.1.1). The insertion of French noun subject into a VSO structure indicates that cross-linguistic variation in terms of the ordering of LCs does not pose any obstacle for the operation of switching in the Moroccan Arabic/French context. The impossibility of switches like (87) may point to the contrary.

- (87) * *ont besoin* l-°usab *de plus de formateurs et de financement*.

This is, however, ruled out using the same argument, namely that a French (noun) subject is allowed in (85) after a Moroccan Arabic verb. This leaves the question why (87) is impossible unanswered. One explanation is that the language of the verb restricts the type of subject it specifies for. The verb in (87) consists of two main categories: the lexical verb and the IP (AGRP-TNSP) and therefore it is not clear which category is responsible for the blocking of the switch. It seems that IP constraining the switch is a more plausible explanation. Consider (88) below.

- (88) *developp-aw l-[°]erb bzzaf dyal l-[°]ulu:m*
 [develop-IP the-Arabs many of the-sciences]
 {The Arabs developed several sciences}
 (MA/Fr, DS 2, 36)

The occurrence of switches like (88) indicates that the language of the verb cannot be the reason for the blocking of switches like (87). The invariable element in the VSO construction (88) is the Moroccan Arabic IP. Our earlier assumption that selectional conditions apply to specifier switching of FHs correctly predicts the impossibility of (87). The French IP (more precisely, the AGRP) selects its Spec to the left. On the other hand, lexical subjects in (Moroccan) Arabic can occur post-verbally because they occupy the Spec position of VP (Ouhalla 1991:127). Thus, since the lexical subject *l-[°]usab* is filling a Spec position of VP in (87), the requirement of the French AGRP for an overt Spec has been violated, and the ungrammaticality of the switch is anticipated.

Nouns can also serve as internal argument of the verb, i.e. objects. The position of the object in both Moroccan Arabic and French is post-verbal. We should therefore expect that a switched object from either language should follow the verb.

- (89) *tanji:b l'authorisation men [°]end l-qayed*
 [I-bring the-authorization from at the-governor]
 {I get the permission from the local authorities}
 (MA/Fr, DS 2, 50)

- (90) *on ne peut pas appliquer t-te[°]lima:t dyal l-jami[°]a à la lettre*
 [we cannot apply the-instructions of the-league to the letter]
 {We cannot apply the league's guidelines to the letter}
 (MA/Fr, DS 3B, 54)

In (89), a Moroccan Arabic verb is followed by a French object. (90), on the other hand, represent a switch in the opposite language direction. This shows that code switching of the object function of nouns can be from either language. The linear order is not an issue in this context since it is the same in both languages.

So far, I examined some instances of switching between two lexical categories of noun and verb: S/V and V/O. All possible combinations of the two LCs across different grammatical functions are attested in code switching. The corpus shows also switching combinations of both subject and object either from French or Moroccan Arabic such as (91-92).

(91) *les conteurs* tayhkiw *des contes*
 [the story-tellers tell Det stories]
 {The storytellers tell stories}
 (MA/Fr, DS 2, 30)

(92) l-^ousab *ne respectent pas* t-te^oli:mat dya:l l-jami^oa
 [the-clubs do not respect the-guidelines of the league]
 {The clubs do not respect the guidelines of the league}
 (MA/Fr, DS 3B, 165)

In conclusion, all conceivable combinations between verb, subject and object are attested in Moroccan Arabic/French code switching, except for cases where a French inflected verb is followed by a subject from either language. This exception has been explained in terms of selectional requirements of the AGRP being violated. The FPC, so far, correctly predicts that LCs and their linear order do not constrain code switching.

7.2.4. Code Switching of Adverbials

Adverbials can be single lexemes usually used as adverbs and often share ending such as the *-ment* words in French *exactement*, *normalement*, etc. or the corresponding *-ly* words in English such as *exactly*, *normally* etc. Regular adverbial morphemes of this type are not a characteristic of Moroccan Arabic. Adverbials can also be prepositional adjuncts of time, manner and place. They are structurally a type of PP which consists of a preposition followed by a noun. The same analysis carried out for switching of prepositions in 7.2.1 applies for this type of adjuncts, and, therefore, will not be re-discussed in the course of this section.

Adverbs, on the other hand, structurally behave differently in a sentence and should therefore be examined as to whether they affect code switching occurrences. According to the FPC, adverbs are predicted not to be constrained in view of the fact they are LCs.

(93) *la société* souvent tat^oewed^o ʔ1 *les accidents de travail*
 [the company usually compensates for the accidents of work]
 {The company usually provides compensation for work accidents}
 (MA/Fr, DS 2, 152)

(94) tanemši *rarement* l- *les cours d'Arabe*
 [I-go rarely to the courses of Arabic]
 {I rarely attend the Arabic class}
 (MA/Fr, DS 1, 535)

Examples (93-94) indicates that the French adverb can be switched either pre- or post-verbally although the same positions are not usually available in French syntax. For instance, the monolingual (95) below would be ungrammatical in French (see also discussion of adverbs in 4.2.1.3).

(95) * la société souvent rembourse pour les accidents de travail
 [the company usually compensates for the accidents of work]

Whereas the French adverb can occupy all conceivable adverbial positions in a Moroccan Arabic construction, the Moroccan Arabic adverb does not enjoy the same freedom with a French verb. The corpus shows that it always takes a post-verbal position.

(96) *je vais revenir daba pour te raconter quelque chose*
 [I will come back now to you tell some thing]
 (MA/Fr, DS 1, 31)

(97) **je daba vais venir pour te raconter quelque chose*

Nothing of the type of the invented (97) appears the corpus. Here again, it is not the lexical French verb that prevents occurrences such as (97), otherwise, switches such as (98) below would be impossible.

(98) *huma dima ta-y-essay-iw waħed qbel mayšriw*
 [them always TNS-AGR-try-AGR one before they-buy]
 {They always try one before they buy it}
 (MA/Fr, DS 3B, 161)

The invariant element in these types of switches is the IP. Indeed, as explained in 4.2.1.3 and 4.2.2, it is the parametric variation between Moroccan Arabic and French in terms of the movement of IP which prevents the occurrence of such code switching forms.

7.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, the Moroccan Arabic/French corpus has been analysed and the validity of FPC hypothesis has been confirmed. The first part of the chapter has dealt with the analysis of three main FCs (DP, IP and CP), all of which have shown that their selectional requirements are satisfied. By contrast, the second part of the chapter has focussed on the analysis of code switching across three main LCs (prepositions, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs). This part has also confirmed the assumption that that LCs are unconstrained in nature. LCs have shown to explore all conceivable syntactic positions provided by both languages, unless restricted by an FH. In summary, the analysis of

switching across both categories (FCs and LCs) indicates that the formulation of the FPC hypothesis accounts correctly for the Moroccan Arabic/French corpus.

The analysis of the corpus has also shown some quantitative inequalities regarding the language direction of the switch. Asymmetry is even observable regarding some types of switching within the same language direction. However, as will be discussed in 9.2, such asymmetries are not necessarily syntactically motivated. In fact, they often find justification in socio-pragmatic and psycholinguistic factors. Given the scope of the present study, such motivations have not been discussed, but will be presented in 9.2 rather as open questions for further research.

¹ The grammatical feature of [+singular] is not a selectional requirement for the Det *wahed* in some Moroccan Arabic dialects.

² The Mirror Principle states that morphological derivations must directly reflect syntactic derivations. That is, in the case of a complex of the form [Affix₁ + Affix₂ + V], the process which attaches Affix₂ to the verb attaches prior to the process which attaches Affix₁ to the same category (Ouhalla 1991:50).

³ Nortier (1990:41) cited a similar example as ungrammatical in Moroccan Arabic:

(121) *maši kayn muškil
[not (present, 3sm)-be problem]
{It is not that there is a problem}
(my translation, numbering is original)

Nortier (1990:41) correctly states the “verb *kan* never have a continuous negation”. When I asked native speakers of Moroccan Arabic about the grammaticality of (121), I received different views. However, all agreed that (121a) is grammatical.

(121a) maši kayn muškil f-lxedma dyalu, ġa mabaġaš yexdem
[in-the-work his just he doesn’t want to work]
{It is not (that) there is a problem with his work, he just didn’t like to work}
(my translation and numbering)

The confusion of the informants regarding the grammaticality of (121) is due to ambiguity in the interpretation of the scope of the negation. If the negation extends to the verb *kan*, then the sentence is ungrammatical, but if *kayn muškil* forms a separate embedded clause and the scope of the negation is confined to the first expletive-like clause, as (121a) shows more clearly, then the sentence is grammatical.

⁴ The term *clitic* conveys the idea of attachment, whereas *disjunctive* suggests syntactic independence (Jones 1997:246)

⁵ As far as determination is concerned, there are three possible structures in Moroccan Arabic in the context where *dyalna* modifies an NP consisting of a noun and an adjective:

(i) Both noun and adjective must be preceded each by a definite article as in (65) above.

(ii) Neither the noun nor the adjective must be preceded by a Det element as in:

-ktab hmer dyalu

(iii) The noun is preceded by the double Det (*wahed l-*), and the adjective must be bare as in:

-wahed l-ktab hmer dyalu

⁶ The term *noun* will also be used to refer to NPs throughout this section.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CODE SWITCHING BETWEEN MOROCCAN ARABIC AND STANDARD ARABIC

8.0. Introduction

It has been argued earlier (2.2) that dialect switching is a form of CS which involves a continuum between the grammar of two linguistic systems. The two varieties can be clearly distinguished from each other in a way that Moroccan Arabic is as distant from Standard Arabic as is French from Latin (Nortier 1990:49). However, the fact that, in the Moroccan situation, the two varieties are in intense interaction has brought the two a step closer. For instance, Standard Arabic words are often produced with a Moroccan syllabic structure by Moroccan bilinguals. To this effect, the determination of whether an utterance involves a mixing of Moroccan and Standard Arabic (hence a CS) or only one of them (hence a monolingual utterance) is not always straightforward. In such cases, the principle of monolingual accessibility will be applied to distinguish between the two. That is, those categories which are not generally accessible to the monolingual speakers of Moroccan Arabic will be considered as instances of CS. Another alternative will also be considered in the final part of this chapter (8.3). I will explore the hypothesis that Moroccan/Standard Arabic alternations are structured in a way that reflects the emerging of a new mixed code, rather than a series of sporadic instances of CS.

8.1. The Role of Functional Categories in Moroccan/Standard Arabic Code Switching

FCs are often easily distinguished as either belonging to Moroccan Arabic or Standard Arabic. CS constraints in terms of these categories are assumed to be governed, in the same way as Moroccan Arabic/French switching, by parametric selectional features of FHs between the two Arabic varieties. The analysis of CS patterns within the scope of three FHs, namely DP, IP and CP, indicates that Moroccan Arabic/Standard Arabic bilinguals observe the same selectional conditions found in the context of Moroccan Arabic/French code switching in the preceding chapter.

8.1.1. Code Switching of DP

Switching within the DP between Moroccan Arabic and Standard Arabic is not very different from the type of switching found between Moroccan Arabic and French. In both cases, it seems that CS is unidirectional in the sense that the FH Det comes from Moroccan Arabic while the complement comes from the other language (Standard Arabic or French). Not all switching patterns, however, surfaced in the same way in the corpora from each bilingual pair. Unlike Moroccan Arabic/French CS, only two types of switching within DP can be clearly distinguished in the Moroccan/Standard Arabic corpus.

| | | N | % |
|------------|-------------------------------|-----|----|
| Single Det | MA Det + SA complement | 126 | 70 |
| | SA complement + MA Det | 17 | 10 |
| Double Det | MA double Det + SA complement | 35 | 20 |

Table (8.1): MA/SA CS within DP

CS of DP where the FH is \emptyset Det is one of the switching patterns that is not represented in table (8.1). The reason is not that this type of CS does not appear in my corpus. Ample instances of \emptyset Det + SA complement, and \emptyset Det + MA complement such as (1) and (2) respectively are recorded in the data.

- (1) $\text{ʕendhum } \textit{tajarib}$ w $\text{ʕendhum } \textit{hinka}$
 [they-have \emptyset Det experiences and they-have wisdom]
 {They have experience and wisdom}
 (MA/SA, DS 3B, 125)

- (2) $\text{jabu } \textit{lʔa:b}$ men s-senegal
 [they-brought \emptyset Det player from the-Senegal]
 {They brought a player from Senegal}
 (MA, DS 3B,65)

The question of which language sets the syntactic frame of the DPs containing the Standard Arabic complements *tajarib* and *hinka* in (1), and the Moroccan Arabic *lʔa:b* in (2) is crucial in order to find out whether they (DPs) involve a CS form. The fact that the syntactic rules for \emptyset Det are the same in both varieties makes this task almost impossible. In the Moroccan Arabic/French corpus, on the other hand, this type of CS is easier to

detect. In view of the fact that \emptyset Det is not characteristic of French syntax, the occurrence of French nouns without an overt Det element implies that the bare French noun has been inserted into a Moroccan Arabic DP frame. However, the identity of the selectional features of \emptyset Det in both Moroccan Arabic and Standard Arabic makes also the task unnecessary. That is, in (1) and (2), \emptyset Det can be only Moroccan Arabic or Standard Arabic and in either case, selectional features do not change.

When the DP involves overt Det elements, CS forms are often easier to identify. As table (8.1) illustrates, such switches appear in DP frames headed by either a Moroccan Arabic single or double Det. In the case of single Det, two main CS types are found. The first concerns switches which involve a Moroccan Arabic Det followed by a Standard Arabic complement. The process of identification of this of CS is not always straightforward because the Standard Arabic Det element 'al- can also be phonologically realised as l- which is similar to the Moroccan Arabic counterpart.

- (3) lemma kenna kaneddakru ^ʿla l-*mutafarrigi:n*
 [when we-were we-discuss about the-people in charge]
 {When we were talking about the people in charge}
 (MA/SA, DS 3B, 123)

- (4) daba jawbni ^ʿla t-*tarh*
 [now answer-me about the question]
 {Now, give me your opinion}
 (MA/SA, DS 3C, 3)

The DPs in (3) and (4) function as complements for the Moroccan Arabic preposition ^ʿla. The nouns in both DPs are Standard Arabic but the language of the Det elements cannot be clearly distinguished. In Standard Arabic, the definite article is realised as l- when it is preceded by a word ending with a vowel which is often the case as most words in Standard Arabic take a vowel at the end as part of their case-marking. In (3), the Det element is preceded by a vowel and, therefore, the realisation l- could also be Standard Arabic. In (4), doubling of the consonant /t/ initiating a word (gemination) in order to convey definiteness is a feature of both languages; thus, Det in this context could also belong to either language. Such an ambiguity raises the question as to whether CS takes place at all between definite Det and complement in the Moroccan/Standard Arabic situation. The implication is that the FPC hypothesis might be in a weak position as it would then fail to predict the impossibility of CS between Det and complement, while selectional features are satisfied given the identity of the

two languages in this respect. This possibility is ruled out given the fact that the Det element *l-* heading a Standard Arabic complement appears in other sentences where it is not preceded by a vowel.

- (5) *l-fariq ma°enduš imkaniyat ma:ddiya*
 [the team NEG-have means financial]
 {The team does not have sufficient funding}
 (MA/SA, DS 3B, 157)

- (6) *w mašahi:r l-mujtama° tahuma*
 [and celebrities the-society as well]
 {And the same goes for celebrities in the society}
 (MA/SA, DS 3C, 7)

The Det element in (5) can be classified as belonging to Moroccan Arabic given that it initiates the sentence, a position in which it should be phonologically realised as *'al* had it been Standard Arabic. In (6), the Det element is not preceded by a vowel and therefore the possibility that it could be Standard Arabic is excluded. Notice, though, that the nominative suffix /u/ has been dropped for the noun preceding Det in (6). The elision of case markers for Standard Arabic when mixing with Moroccan Arabic will be discussed in 8.3. Examples (5-6) confirm that switching is not constrained between Det and complement in the Moroccan/Standard Arabic situation given that selectional conditions of the FH Det are not parametric between the two languages.

The corpus shows also instances of CS in which the Moroccan Arabic Det element selects its complement to the left. This type of CS is not, however, as frequent as other DP switching types. It represents less than 10% of the total of switches within DP while switches involving a pre-nominal Det represent more than 70%.

- (7) *'umsiyya weħda makafiaš*
 [evening party one (feminine) is not enough]
 {One evening party is not enough}
 (MA/SA, DS 3C, 46)

The Moroccan Arabic Det *weħda* in (7) is a feminine numeral which specifies for a complement selection with the grammatical features [+singular, +feminine]. The Standard Arabic complement satisfies these requirements and the switch is therefore predicted. Notice, though, that the Moroccan Arabic *weħda* and the Standard Arabic equivalent *wa:hida* share the same selectional features. Their DP structure is similar in both languages.

The other type of DP switching relates to double Det. Almost the same patterns of double Det that appeared in the Moroccan Arabic/French situation are also observed in the Moroccan/Standard Arabic context. The Det element may come from Moroccan Arabic and the complement from Standard Arabic but not vice versa. The composition of double Det, however, differs in each language pair. In the previous chapter, two patterns of CS within double Det phrases are observed. In Pattern (i), the whole double Det comes from the Moroccan Arabic and the complement from the French. In pattern (ii), only the higher FH comes from the Moroccan Arabic whereas the rest of the DP comes from French.

(8) (i) MA Det + MA Det + Fr Complement

(ii) MA Det +Fr Det +Fr Complement

On the contrary, the Moroccan/Standard Arabic interaction has given rise only to pattern (i) where both Det elements are Moroccan Arabic and the complement is Standard Arabic.

(9) °endna waħed n-*nuqta*

[we-have one the-point]

{We have a point}

(MA/SA, DS 3B,63)

(10) ketti f-Merrakech nnit had l-*'ayya:m*

[you-were in MeraKech indeed these the-days]

{Have you been indeed to Merakech these days '}

(MA/SA, DS 3A,17)

The double Det *waħed l-* in (9) does not have an equivalent in Standard Arabic. Its function as an indefinite article can be conveyed in Standard Arabic only through a \emptyset Det. The DP structure is foreign to the Standard Arabic lexical complement *nuqta*. This confirms again the claim that LCs are not constrained in CS; had it been otherwise, the switch in (9) would not have been possible. The DP structure in (10), on the other hand, is similar to the Standard Arabic counterpart. In both Arabic varieties, the demonstrative Det c-selects the definite Det *l-* which in turn c-selects a noun and, therefore, the switch is accounted for by the FPC.

8.1.2. Code Switching of IP

As discussed in the previous chapter, the corpus shows that switching does not operate within the IP, that is, between the categories of TNS and AGR. The constrained nature of CS in this context has been explained by the cross-linguistic variation between Moroccan Arabic and French in terms of the selectional features of the two categories. On the other hand, the selectional features of TNSP and AGRP in Moroccan and Standard Arabic do not vary widely. For instance, they share the same scope where TNS is higher than AGR. Thus, switching is not expected to be constrained across these categories. The corpus, however, does not show all types of CS which are predicted to take place within the IP. Like CS in the Moroccan Arabic/French context, CS involving IP switching in the Moroccan/Standard Arabic context is unidirectional. In the event of a CS, the IP comes always from Moroccan Arabic and the lexical verb from Standard Arabic. Instances where the lexical verb is clearly Moroccan Arabic are never inflected a Standard Arabic IP.

- (11) kul [°]amayn ka-y-lqa-w ka-y-dir-u l-rapport
[every two-years TNS-AGR-find-AGR TNS-AGR-do-AGR the-report]
{They find or rather prepare their report every two years}
(MA/Fr, DS 3C,18)

- (12) kayfa sa-na-jidu un compromis ardiya muštarka...
[how TNS-AGR-find a compromise ground common]
{How do we find a compromise or common ground...}
(SA/Fr, DS 3C,21)

Although the verb *lqa* in (11), among others such as *n[°]es* (to sleep), can be traced back to Standard Arabic, they are not used with the same meaning. Their equivalent forms in Standard Arabic are *wajada* (as in (12) above) and *na:ma*, respectively. The prosodic features and semantic meaning of these originally Standard/Classical Arabic verbs have been transformed and become part of the Moroccan Arabic lexicon. In the corpus, this type of integrated verbs (such as *lqa* and *n[°]es*) always bear a Moroccan Arabic IP while the Standard Arabic non-integrated counterparts (such as *wajada*) can carry either an IP from the same language as in the case of (12) or from Moroccan Arabic as in (13). In (13), the verb is Standard Arabic given the fact that the equivalent form a monolingual speaker would use in Moroccan Arabic is *ka-d-dir* (initially *ka-t-dir*). The inflection, however, in (13) is Moroccan Arabic.

- (13) *l-jam[°]yat* *ka-t-qum b-hadak*
 [the-associations TNS-AGR-do with-that]
 {Charity trusts take care of it}
 (MA/SA, DS 3C, 48)

This type of asymmetry which shows Moroccan Arabic as being protective about the integrity of its IP and lexical verb as a unit from the same language may be explained, as Owens and Bani-Yasin point out, by the fact that

Since [Standard Arabic] is a non-native language, ... there is no group of speakers of [Standard Arabic] to dictate what the spoken norms should be. Speakers of [Standard Arabic] are free, as it were, to establish what their spoken norms should be (in Wilmsen 1996:84).

However, this hypothesis does not explain the same type of unidirectionality observed in the Moroccan Arabic/French corpus. French is a native language with its own native speakers and still the same asymmetry is found in this context; only French lexical verbs can carry a Moroccan Arabic IP and not vice versa. Asymmetries have also been found in other language sets such as the Finnish/English contact situation where the explanation provided by Own and Bani-Yasin is not applicable (cf. Halmari 1998). More discussion of switching asymmetry follows in 9.2.

As mentioned earlier, TNS and AGR heads tend to share similar properties in both Moroccan and Standard Arabic. The major difference between the two varieties in respect of the two FCs concerns the phi-features of the AGRP. While Standard Arabic allows for partial loss of AGR features in the case of a nominal post-verbal topic subject, full AGR is required in Moroccan Arabic regardless of the syntactic position of the topic subject. It is therefore expected that in the case of a CS involving a Moroccan Arabic AGRP, all phi-features must be realised irrespective of whether the topic subject precedes or follows the verb. This is indeed the case in most cases as illustrated by (14-15).

- (14) *l-jm[°]iyat* *ka-y-ħesses-u* *d-dawla ..*
 [the-associations TNS-AGRp-make aware-AGRn the-government]
 {The trusts make the government aware..}
 (MA/SA, DS 3C, 47)

- (15) *kama ka-y-qtarħ-u* *l-‘ixwane*
 [as TNS-AGRp-suggest-AGRn the-brothers]
 {As the other participants mentioned}
 (MA/SA, DS 3C, 6)

Using the criterion of monolingual usage, the lexical verbs *hesses* and *qtareh*¹ in (14-15), can be said to be Standard Arabic, whereas their IPs are Moroccan Arabic. They exhibit different word order: SV in (14) and VS in (15). The feature of number agreement is realised under the Spec-Head relationship in both examples regardless of word order. The two switches are predicted by the FPC because the specifier features of the AGR head [+3person, +plural] are checked with their Specs: *l-jm^ʿiyat* and *l-ixwane*. Notice that in the previous chapter it was argued that only clitic pronouns, not topic subjects as in the case of (14) and (15), occupy the Spec position of AGR in Arabic. Yet, AGR features are still checked with the topic subject. This follows from the fact that, as Ouhalla (1991:123) points out,

Given the coreferentiality relation between the topic and the subject pro, expressed formally in terms of coindexation, the topic also agrees, by transitivity, with the AGR element.

Not all switches, however, are of the type found in (14-15). Instances of switches where the Moroccan Arabic AGR is partial also appear in the corpus. (16) is an example where the phi-feature of number is not phonologically realised despite the fact that the AGR head is Moroccan Arabic and the topic subject has the head feature [+plural].

(16) *ta-t-teffel* *l-^ʿuṣab* *ʿla l-furuq*
 [TNS-AGR_g-interfere the-leagues in the-teams]
 {The leagues interfere themselves in the teams}
 (MA/SA, DS 3B, 158)

The m- and c- selectional conditions for complement are satisfied in (16) as TNS is affixed to AGR which c-selects a verb. Conditions are not, however, met in terms of agreement with the topic subject. The Moroccan Arabic AGR in (16) agrees with the Standard Arabic topic subject in gender (feminine). AGR has the feature [+singular] while the topic subject is plural. This may suggest that, in code switching, only AGR_g must be realised and AGR_n is optional. This hypothesis has been claimed by Aoun, Benmamoun and Sportiche (1994) for monolingual constructions in their comparative study of AGR in Moroccan, Lebanese and Standard Arabic varieties. They formalised the following principle:

(17) Agreement must be retained for intrinsic features but not for grammatical features (Aoun, Benmamoun and Sportiche 1994:206).

Aoun, Benmamoun and Sportiche (1994:206) claim that, unlike AGR_n, AGR_g is an

intrinsic feature in view of the fact that in languages which incorporate the property of gender for nouns, “*gender is arbitrarily determined*”. Aoun, Benmamoun and Sportiche (1994) argue that, for instance, the Arabic nouns *qamar* (the moon) and *šams* (the sun) are intrinsically masculine and feminine respectively. Their French corresponding equivalents have the reverse gender: *la lune* (the moon) is feminine and *le soleil* (the sun) is masculine. AGR_n, on the other hand, may not be retained. For instance, Kayne (1989) refers to an English dialect that allows AGR_p, a non-intrinsic (variant) feature, to be lost as in (18):

- (18) a: The people who Clark think are in the garden
 b: The people whose cars John think are beautiful
 (in Aoun, Benmamoun and Sportiche 1994:205)

Aoun, Benmamoun and Sportiche (1994) principle cited above as (17) offers an explanation for the FPC violation in (16). Thus, we may also alter the condition of grammatical features that in the event of an AGRP which selects a nominal Spec² (by way of coreferentiality), only intrinsic features must be checked, whereas other grammatical features may not be retained. Principle (17) may also account for switching instances like (20) of chapter two repeated here as (19).

- (19) šefti ša^cr-i? *Je le laisse comme ça?*
 [you-saw hair-my? I it leave like this?
 {Have a look at my hair, do you think I should leave it like this?}
 (MA/Fr, Lahlou 1998)

Like AGR_g, AGR_n can also be arbitrarily determined for certain nouns. The noun *š^cer* in Arabic is arbitrarily singular (and masculine) while the corresponding French noun *cheveux* is arbitrarily plural (and masculine). The fact that AGR_n is intrinsic, in this context, explains why the French pronoun carries the feature [+singular] although it refers to the anaphor *hair* which has the property [+plural] in French. The co-referent of the French pronoun in the context of (19) is the Moroccan Arabic *š^cer* which has the intrinsic features AGR_n and AGR_g. Therefore, the pronoun must obligatorily check the two intrinsic features with its co-referent.

Very few instances, where the principle of intrinsic features retention has not been met, appeared in the corpus such as (20) below.

- (22) *mašahir l-mujtama^ʕ f-l-meğrib ma-ka-t-qum-š*
 [celebrities the society in Morocco NEG-TNS-AGRg(fem)-do-neg
b-š-šay^ʕ l-katir
 with-the-things the-many]
 {Celebrities in Morocco are not as much involved in charity work as they
 should}

(MA/SA, DS 3C, 1)

- (23)* *mašahir l-mujtama^ʕ f-l-meğrib la:-ka-t-qum...*
 [NEG-TNS-AGR-do]

- (24)* *mašahir l-mujtama^ʕ f-l-meğrib lan-ka-t-dir...*
 [NEG-TNS-AGR-do]

Switches like (23) and (24), which involve a Standard Arabic NEGP while the rest of the IP comes from Moroccan Arabic, do not surface in the corpus. The impossibility of such switches is rightly accounted for by Eid (in Wilmsen 1996:77). She explains the impossibility of similar switches in the context of Egyptian/Standard Arabic by the cross-linguistic variation in the manner NEGP operates in the two Arabic varieties. She argues that TNS is realised on the NEG element in Standard Arabic, while the TNS element appears attached to the verb in Egyptian (and Moroccan) Arabic. This hypothesis is also attested in other researches on the syntax of Arabic (e.g. Benmamoun 1989). However, the constraint posited by Eid on this basis is not confined to selectional properties. She claims that:

Switching ... is not permitted [where] the grammars of the two languages involved include contradictory conditions ... that cannot be satisfied simultaneously (in Wilmsen 1996:79)

Accordingly, Eid disallows switches between a NEG element and a verb from another language. As such, Eid's constraint, which is, as Wilmsen (1994:79) points out, similar to the Equivalence Constraint, fails to account for switches of the type in (22).

The FPC framework, on the other hand, accounts for both the possibility of (22) and the impossibility of (23-24). Assuming that the Standard Arabic NEG includes a TNS element, the IP structure in (23-24) would be as: [NEG/TNS-TNS-AGR] where a TNS element is stranded. The NEG/TNS elements in Standard Arabic specifies for an AGR c-selection rather than another TNS element (a detailed discussion is to be found in 4.2.1.1). By the same token, (22) is predicted because the TNS element is not realised in

default masculine feature of the Standard Arabic subject noun *mašahir l-mujtama* as feminine.

8.1.3. Code Switching of CP

Switching has taken place between Comp and almost every conceivable LC in the Moroccan/Standard Arabic corpus in both language directions. Most switches, like in the Moroccan Arabic/French corpus, involve a Comp of the relative pronoun type.

- (28) *l-‘andiyya lli [l-‘uSba] [ta-t-muwelha] [‘ahyanan]*
 [the-clubs that the-league TNS-AGR-finance occasionally
xila:la mudahara:t]
 during demonstrations]
 {The clubs that occasionally receive financial support to participate in
 manifestations}

(MA/SA, DS 3B, 166)

(28) consists of a Moroccan Arabic Comp preceded and followed by a Standard Arabic noun. The corpus shows other switching instances for each type of the bracketed phrases following immediately a Moroccan Arabic Comp. Standard Arabic verbs which follow a Moroccan Arabic Comp tend to be headed by a Moroccan Arabic IP as in [*lli ... ta-t-muwelha*] in (28). There are, however, switching instances which do not follow the same tendency and rather exhibit a Standard Arabic IP.

- (29) *wasal il l-‘ilam lli sa:hama-t bišaklin ‘ija:bi:y*
 [media that (past)-participate-AGR in-a manner positive]
 {The media which has an active involvement}

(MA/SA, DS 3C, 23)

None of the switch-type in (29) has been found in the Moroccan Arabic/French corpus, which has been explained in terms of the CP parameter (see 7.1.3). The fact that Moroccan and Standard Arabic are not parametric in this respect explains the possibility of switching instances like (29). The condition that the Moroccan Arabic Comp c-selects a TNS category is met since the Standard Arabic IP, following it, is TNS-initial.

Standard Arabic Comp tends to show the same tendency. They are often accompanied by an IP and a verb that are Standard Arabic. As mentioned earlier (8.1.2), Standard Arabic IP is always accompanied by a verb from the same language, and the same restriction expands in the presence of a Standard Arabic Comp.

(30) *la yumkin abadan 'an nasi:ra b-nidam l-'uju:r*
 [NEG it is possible never that IP-follow with-system the-wages
l-ħa:li
 the-current]
 {We can no longer carry on the current wage system}
 (MA/SA, DS 3C, 33)

(30) is a prototype example of Standard Arabic Comp occurrences in the corpus. Such instances do not involve any type of switching between Comp and IP complement since they both come from Standard Arabic. Although less frequent, switching between Standard Arabic Comp and Moroccan Arabic IP appears in the corpus as (31) illustrates.

(31) *fa 'ida kenna naxdu b-ħurriyat l-'ixtiyar...*
 [and if IP-be IP-take with-freedom the-option]
 {And if we have the freedom of option}
 (MA/SA, DS 3C, 15)

Our assumption that parametric values of FHs constrain CS is confirmed once again. For instance, the CP parameter accounts for the possibility of switches like (31) between Moroccan and Standard Arabic and their impossibility between Moroccan Arabic and French. The Standard Arabic Comp *'ida* allows a Moroccan Arabic IP in (31) because both languages are TNS-initial and, therefore, categorial selection would not be violated. Notice that in the Moroccan Arabic/French corpus none of the switches like (31) have been found due to parametric variation in terms of selectional features.

8.2. The Role of Lexical Categories in Moroccan/Standard Arabic Code Switching

It has been argued throughout this study that switching of LCs is free provided the FPC is observed when these categories form part of the selectional conditions of an FH. The analysis carried out in the previous chapter indicates that switching of LCs between Moroccan Arabic and French enjoys a high degree of fluidity. LCs tend to be switched freely despite the existence of some quantitative asymmetries which can be linguistically or pragmatically motivated (see discussion in 9.2). The analysis of LCs in the Moroccan/Standard Arabic corpus points towards a similar degree of freedom in their switching patterns. This shall be demonstrated through the examination of switches involving LCs such as preposition, adjectives, nouns and adverbs.

8.2.1 Code Switching of Prepositions

Two main types of switching can be distinguished regarding prepositions: switching (i) across and (ii) within the PP. The first type has taken place in both language directions. The corpus shows switches which involves Moroccan Arabic as well as a Standard Arabic PPs as in (32) and (33) respectively.

(32) *l-ḥaraka l-jamʿawiya f-blad-na*
[the movement the-organisational in-country-our]
{The charity movement in our country}
(MA/SA, DS 3C, 4)

(33) *nwejdu l-ʿaba dyalna ʿala: ʿal-mustawa: ʿal-q:arri:*
[we-prepare the-players our at the-level the-continental
wa l-ʿa:lami:
and the-international]
{We prepare our players at the continental and international level}
(MA/SA, DS 3B, 157)

The PP in (32) consists of a Moroccan Arabic preposition and noun³ and functions as a complement to a Standard Arabic NP. In (33), the switching takes the other language direction. The Standard Arabic PP functions as an adjunct to a Moroccan Arabic verb.

The corpus also shows instances of switching within the PP. Like in the Moroccan/French context, this type of switching is unidirectional. The preposition comes from Moroccan Arabic while its complement is Standard Arabic. Switches include complement nouns as well as gerundives.

(34) *n-nida:m l-jadid f-t-tawazuna:te l-ʿijtimaʿiyya*
[the-system the-new in-the-balance the-social]
{The new system for social equality}
(MA/SA, DS 3C, 33)

(35) *t-sahem ... f-ʿibraz wajh ʿaxar li-l-maḡrib*
[it-participates in-showing face other for-the-Morocco]
{It participates in giving a new look to Morocco}
(MA/SA, DS 3C, 13)

(34) consists of a Moroccan Arabic preposition followed by a Standard Arabic noun. (35), on the other hand, consists of two PPs. The first involves the switching of a Standard Arabic gerund to a Moroccan Arabic preposition. The second does not involve any switching as the preposition and its complement are both Standard Arabic. In fact, all Standard Arabic prepositions in the corpus take a complement from the same language.

There are also instances of switching where the Moroccan Arabic preposition appears followed by a Standard Arabic adjective pre-modifying a noun, or by a Comp heading a clause.

(36) *l- 'abwab dyalna maftouha l-^oa:mat n-nas*
 [the-doors ours open to-general the-people]
 {Our doors are open for every body}
 (MA/SA, DS 3B, 88)

(37) *ka-n-rekez ^ola anna taqaft-u l- 'ijtima^oiyya*
 [AGR-TNS-emphasise about that education-its the-social
xas-ha t-qawwa
 must-it (pass)it-srenghten]
 {I emphasise that its social education must be strengthened}
 (MA/SA, DS 3C, 15)

The Moroccan Arabic preposition *l-* in (36) follows a Standard Arabic predicative adjective and precedes another attributive adjective. In (37), the preposition *^ola* is preceded by a Standard Arabic verb headed by a Moroccan Arabic IP. It is also followed by a CP headed by a Standard Arabic Comp.

In general, switching across as well as within the PP shows a great deal of fluidity in that CS takes place in all possible syntactic positions. Quantitative imbalance has been observed in respect of the language direction of switches within the PP. All insertions of complements within a PP frame headed by a Standard Arabic preposition have come from the same language (Standard Arabic). By contrast, switches between a Moroccan Arabic preposition and a Standard Arabic complement are frequent.

8.2.2 Code Switching of Adjectives

Adjectives work in the same way in both Moroccan and Standard Arabic. They take a post-nominal position, have to agree with their head or subject noun, and can be attached to a Det element. That said, one would expect a high frequency of adjective switching given the freedom of LCs to switch. This is not, however, the case as switching of adjectives has a very low frequency compared with nouns. This conforms with the 'borrowability or switchability hierarchy' according to which nouns are the categories most often switched (Appel and Muysken 1987:170-2). Appel and Muysken (1987) trace

back this hierarchy to the fact that reference is established primarily through nouns.

- (38) *men bin l-mawadi^c lli jadida*
[from within the-topics that new]
{One of the new topics of the day}
(MA/SA, DS 3C, 2)

- (39) * *men bin l-mawadi^c llati jadida*
[that new]

The switched adjective is predicative in both examples. The impossibility of the switch in (39) is due to the violation of the FPC. The Standard Arabic Comp *llati* specifies for an overt IP (TNS) c-selection, a condition that the switched Moroccan Arabic adjective cannot satisfy. The permissibility of the switch in (38), on the other hand, follows from the fact that the Moroccan Arabic Comp allows for the occurrence of a predicative adjective without an overt IP (attached to a copula). This indicates the switchability of adjectives can be constrained if they form part of the selectional features of a FH.

Switching of an LC such as an adjective is also unlikely to take place at a syntactic position that none of the two languages involved in the switch could provide.

- (40) * *mezyan 'ittifaq*
[good deal]

- (41) * *jiddi: ra:jl*
[serious man]

The impossibility of a pre-nominal switching of the Moroccan and Standard Arabic adjectives in (40) and (42), respectively, is due to the fact that that neither language offers this syntactic position. In a monolingual context be it Moroccan or Standard Arabic, both sentences with the same word order would be judged ungrammatical.

Although the switching of adjectives is not as frequent as that of nouns, the corpus consists of CS instances of adjectives in different sentence positions and from both languages. This only confirms the validity of the FPC which predicts the freedom of adjective switchability provided the FPC is observed.

- (42) *n-nass katqder tehder walakin bla ši mubarrir šiḥ*
[the-people can speak but without some evidence real]
{What people might say is not justified}
(MA/SA, DS 3C, 20)

- (43) *l-l^{ab} l-muhtarif tayxessu taka:li:f ba:hida*
 [the-players the-professional requires expenses large]
 {The professional player requires large expenses}
 (MA/SA, DS 3B, 65)

(42-43) represent instances of CS where an attributive adjective has been switched. In (42), the Moroccan Arabic adjective *shih* post-modifies a Standard Arabic noun *mubarrir*. Switching of adjective from the other language is also possible. The Moroccan Arabic noun *fab* in (43) is post-modified by a Standard Arabic adjective. In all cases, the attributive adjective can be switched from either language but must take a post-nominal position, except for superlatives.

- (44) *hadak 'aqbah bnamem 'ala wajhi l-'ard*
 [that worst human being on earth]
 {He is the worst man on earth}
 (MA/SA, DS 3B, 150)

The switch in (44) consists of a Standard Arabic superlative which pre-modifies a Moroccan Arabic noun. All switches of superlative adjectives are of the type of (44) in terms of the language direction of the switch and its syntactic position. Switching in the other direction is not possible because Moroccan Arabic does not have a syntactic form for superlatives.

CS forms that involve a predicative adjective have also been found in the corpus. Like attributive adjectives, predicative adjectives can be switched from either language.

- (45) *'asahb-i d-deriya ra:'i'a f-'qel-ha*
 [mate-my the-girl excellent in-mind-her]
 {That girl is excellent in the way she thinks}
 (MA/SA, DS 3A, 93)

- (46) *la yumkin 'an nahkum 'anna l-la:'ib mezyan*
 [NEG it-can be that we-judge that the-player good
min xilal muqabala wa:hida
 form match one]
 {We cannot judge the quality of a player from a single match}
 (MA/SA, DS 3B, 162)

In both examples, the predicative adjectives follow immediately their subject noun without an intervening copula. The language of the adjective does not seem to constrain switching of adjectives in this context. In (45), the Standard Arabic adjective *ra:'i'a* is preceded by a subject noun and followed by a PP adjunct from Moroccan Arabic. The

roles are reversed in (45) where the whole sentence is Standard Arabic except for the Moroccan Arabic predicative adjective.

Switching instances of a predicative adjective after a copula such as (47) below have also been recorded.

(47) *htta l-jama'a:t l-maḥaliyya katkun mas'ula*
[also the-trusts the-local are responsible]
{The local trusts are also responsible}
(MA/SA, DS 3C, 40)

(47) is an example of code switching between a Moroccan Arabic copula and a Standard Arabic predicative adjective. As illustrated through (38-47), the switching of adjectives between Moroccan and Standard Arabic has taken place in different sentence positions. The fact that all attributive adjectives occur pre-nominally does not follow from an equivalence constraint imposed on LCs. It is rather a result of the similarity of word order in both languages. This is supported by the fact that switching of LCs has taken place between Moroccan Arabic and French despite the variation of their word order, for instance, in respect of adjectives and adverbs (cf. 7.2).

8.2.3. Code Switching of Nouns

As mentioned earlier, nouns is one of the most frequently switched categories in the corpus. The problem that arises in the process of analysis of this category in the Moroccan/Standard Arabic context is the difficulty of its identification. Most Moroccan Arabic nouns as well as other categories originate from Standard or Classical Arabic. In a monolingual context, they are often easily distinguished in terms of vowelisation. Moroccan Arabic categories tend to be vowelless or, at least, bear less vowels than Standard Arabic equivalents. For instance, the Standard Arabic noun *rajul-un* (man-nominative) has the Moroccan Arabic equivalent *rajl* in which the vowel /u/ and the case marker /un/ are elided. Yet, the problem of identification usually surfaces in a bilingual context. Even those Standard Arabic LCs which have Moroccan Arabic equivalents with different stem origins undergo the same process of Moroccanisation as established Moroccan Arabic categories (see 8.3). For instance, the form *nwejdu* (we find) can only be produced by bilingual speakers of Moroccan and Standard Arabic. Monolingual Moroccans are unlikely to produce this form in their daily conversations. Its equivalents

in a strictly monolingual Moroccan or Standard Arabic context are *nlqaw* and *najidu*, respectively. The verb *mwejdu* has a stem that is similar to Standard Arabic, and a syllabic structure that is similar to Moroccan Arabic (see Heath 1989, and also 8.3 for more discussion). As a result, these forms are often hard to define as belonging to one of the two varieties (Moroccan or Standard Arabic).

Nonetheless, the corpus shows other cases where the switching between noun and verb is clearer. It has been assumed throughout this work that nouns have a DP projection. The analysis of Moroccan/Standard Arabic switches within this framework has been discussed in 8.1.1. Abstracting away from the noun functional projection, this section will discuss some instances of noun switches along the grammatical positions of subject and object.

- (48) ssi L[°]ezzouzi dawa *hala:t mu[°]siya*
 [Mr L[°]ezzouzi treated cases serious]
 {Mr L[°]ezzouzi treated serious cases}
 (MA/SA, DS 3B, 22)

- (49) *tusa:dif* tammara men *ṣegre-k*
 [you-face hard-life from childhood-your]
 {You face hard life from childhood}
 (MA/SA, DS2, 451)

Examples (48-49) indicate that the switching of nouns in the objective position can take place in either language direction. Whereas (48) involves a switch between a Moroccan verb and a Standard Arabic direct object, (49) consists of a switch between a Standard Arabic verb and a Moroccan Arabic object noun. Switching also takes place between subject and verb in both a pre- and post-verbal position as illustrated in (50) and (51), respectively.

- (50) l-*'andiyya* tatšri *la: 'ibin muḥtarifin*
 [the-clubs buy players professionl]
 {The clubs buy professional players}
 (MA/SA, DS 3B, 72)

- (51) jaw *rija:l 'a[°]ma:l* men l-xarej...
 [came businessmen from the-overseas]
 {Businessmen came from abroad ...}
 (MA/SA, DS 2, 124)

So far, the corpus displays noun switching in all conceivable syntactic positions. To this effect, it can be said that switching of nouns, as far as LCs specifications are concerned, is free. Nouns are only constrained if they violate their FH requirements.

8.2.4. Code Switching of Adverbs

In the previous chapter, I identified adverbials as adjuncts which normally consist of a preposition and an NP complement. These have been discussed as prepositional phrases in 8.2.1. I also referred to adverbs as single lexemes which serve to modify a verb, another adverb or a whole sentence. This category of adverbs will be the main focus of the present section. The analysis of the corpus shows a high switching frequency of adverbials compared with adverbs. This might be due to the fact that Arabic does not make available as many adverbs as other languages such as English or French where most Adverbs are easily derived from adjectives through the addition of the inflections *-ly* and *-ment* respectively. Although not as frequent as adverbials, switching of adverbs still takes place in different sentence positions.

(52) *ʿadatan* tatʿmmer-ha qbel matʃuf le patron
 [generally you-fill-it before you-see the boss]
 {Generally, you have to fill before you can see the boss}
 (MA/SA/Fr, DS 2, 126)

(53) taybgi ykun *ʿaslan* *ʿedn-a* *jiha:z* ..
 [it-requires is originally have-we system]
 {It requires that we first have a system..}
 (MA/SA, DS 3C, 10)

(54) n-na:s *ʿa:mmatan* tay-mšiw l-temma f-š-šif
 [the- people usually they-go to-there in-the-summer]
 {People usually go there in the summer}
 (MA/SA, DS 2, 366)

The adverb in all three examples (52-54) is Standard Arabic. It fills a different syntactic slot in each example. It initiates a whole Moroccan Arabic/French mixed sentence in (52), takes place between a copula *ykun* (to be) and the main verb *ʿedna* (to have) in (53), and occupies a preverbal position immediately after the subject in (54).

As (52-54) illustrate, switching of the adverb between Moroccan/Standard Arabic occurs freely in different syntactic positions. In all instances found in the corpus, the adverb always comes from Standard Arabic. This is because the category of adverb, as

described above, does not exist in Moroccan Arabic (except for one Standard Arabic borrowed form *dima* meaning ‘always’). Moroccan Arabic makes use of PPs such as *b-z-zerba* (‘with-the-speed’, meaning *fast*) instead. The non-availability of this category in Moroccan Arabic did not stop switching of adverbs from Standard Arabic. This confirms our assumption that cross-linguistic variation in terms of LCs properties do not constrain CS provided selectional conditions of FHs are met.

The analysis carried out in this chapter shows that in the event of Moroccan/Standard Arabic interaction, although two close varieties of the same origin, we are dealing with a case of CS that is constrained in the same way as two typologically different languages such as Moroccan Arabic and French. The examination of this type of switching also indicates that FCs govern the way CS is laid out. CS is constrained only if selectional features of FHs are parametric across the two languages involved in the switch.

The analysis of the corpus shows a greater frequency of some CS forms (e.g. nouns) than others (e.g. adverbs), or sometimes switching in one language direction (Moroccan Arabic) but not the other (Standard Arabic). These asymmetries could be the result of various psycholinguistic or socio-pragmatic factors. This perspective will be explored briefly in 9.2. They (asymmetries) could also indicate the beginning of a grammaticisation process whereby a new code (code mixing) is being formed, and choices, normally offered in a bilingual mode, are limited as result of a *monolingualisation* process. This hypothesis, which has been the focus of recent studies of code switching (e.g. Auer 1998, Reynolds 1998, 1999), will also be explored in the Moroccan/Standard Arabic contact situation in the following section.

8.3. From Code Switching to Code Mixing: The Case of Middle Moroccan Arabic

The topic of code mixing has been raised in chapter two. It has been argued that although language contact situations may result in the emergence of a new code, the switching or mixing of the two codes is subject to constraints imposed by the syntax of the two languages. In the course of the analysis of the Moroccan Arabic/French and Moroccan/Standard corpora, it has been shown that the FPC accounts for the different

types of language alternations that appeared in the corpus. What makes, however, code mixing different from CS is that the former exhibits

...[a] course of grammaticisation [where] there is a narrowing down of options. Ad hoc alternatives would be ruled out because there is a grammatical structure instead of a contextually induced [and grammatically permitted] variety of options (Maschler 1998:137).

This process of grammaticisation where alternatives are ruled out appears clearly in the Moroccan/Standard Arabic situation. The closeness and increasing intense contact between Moroccan and Standard Arabic induced by the language policy of Arabisation led to the emergence of a new code. As the role of French has been gradually diminishing with Arabisation taking over, switching has intensified between Moroccan and Standard Arabic, and a mixed code, which is an amalgam of the two varieties, becomes increasingly autonomous. In his study of the triglossic situation in Morocco, Youssi (1995) identifies this new code which he refers to as Middle Moroccan Arabic. He defines it as

a 'compromise', a 'middle of the road' between the complex, exclusively written variety of Arabic [Standard Arabic] in the upstream direction and the particularistic, exclusively spoken vernacular [Moroccan Arabic] in the downstream direction (Youssi 1995:35).

The Middle Moroccan Arabic is spoken only. It is usually used by Moroccan Arabic speakers with a good knowledge of Standard Arabic. Youssi (1995:29) estimates that 40% of the Moroccan population have a functional command of the latter variety and a higher percentage for those who have a passive knowledge only. Live interviews, as in the case of Data Set 3C, is one of the domains where this variety is commonly used. Other domains include political speeches, live reports (e.g. soccer), and national series and films (Youssi 1995:38). The analysis in this section will draw mainly from Data Set 3C since, following Youssi's (1995:38) scale of language use in terms of domains, it represents the most appropriate triggering discourse for Middle Moroccan Arabic. The autonomy of Middle Moroccan Arabic is established through a process of 'narrowing down of options' mainly in terms of its phono-templatic, morpho-syntactic, and lexicostylistic structures as will be discussed in 8.3.1, 8.3.2 and 8.3.3 respectively. In determining these features, the aim of this section is to show that code mixing is a potential result of language contact situation.

8.3.1. A New Phono-templatic Structure⁴

In most cases, Middle Moroccan Arabic preserves the phonology of Moroccan Arabic and seeks to approximate the syllabic (templatic) structure of Standard Arabic (Youssi 1995:36). Thus, phonemes like /ð/, /d̥/ and /θ/ which are not found in Moroccan Arabic are replaced by the nearest sounds such as /d/, /d̥/ and /t/ respectively. For instance, the voiced interdental fricative /ð/ in the phrase *fa-ida* (and if) has been substituted by the sound /d/. Such phonologically integrated forms are not commonly produced by Moroccan Arabic monolinguals and do not surface in a strictly Standard Arabic domain such as news bulletins. They are rather a fusion of Standard Arabic lexemes and Moroccan Arabic phonology, which together form a new code that has its own speakers and domain of use.

The phonology of Middle Moroccan Arabic is not completely identical to the phonology of Moroccan Arabic vernacular. Moroccan Arabic drops the glottal stop /ʔ/ in words such as *kas* (glass)- the Standard Arabic equivalent is *kaʕsun* (Youssi 1995:36), or allows for both phonological realisations as in *l-išhar* or *l-ʕišhar* (the-publicity)- the Standard Arabic form is *ʕišha:run* (Heath 1989:47). In Data Set 3 C, which exemplifies Middle Moroccan Arabic in the corpus, the glottal stop has been retained in all originally Standard Arabic forms. Words such as *ʕlam* and *ʕišhar* occurred on several occasions in the conversation. No cases have been found where the glottal stop is elided except for four instances of the words *xra/luxrin* (other/the others). Such forms which do not incorporate the sound /ʔ/ often occur as part of a Moroccan Arabic collocation as in *merra xra* (another time), and may be therefore considered as Moroccan Arabic switches.

On the other hand, the equivalent forms *ʕxra* incorporating the glottal stop have also been found four times and appear to co-occur with lexical words that are not inherently Moroccan Arabic.

- (55) wa kadalik barami:j ʕxra
[and also programmes other]
{And other programmes, too}
(DS 3C, 26)

Examples like (55) were described earlier as monolingual instances of Standard Arabic. All words in (55) are unlikely to be used by a monolingual Moroccan Arabic speaker, except sometimes for *baramij*. In a strictly Standard Arabic context, the same forms might have a different phonology, vowelisation and morphology. For instance, *kadalik* will have the /ð/ sound instead of /d/, the long vowel /a:/ instead the short vowel /a/, and the accusative case marker at the end of the word as in *kaða:lik-a*. Instances like (55) are, in fact, a case of Middle Moroccan Arabic.

The sound /j/ illustrates another instance of the restriction of option characteristic of code mixing. Whereas the sound /j/ initiating a word in Moroccan Arabic triggers doubling to express definiteness as in *j-jbel* (the-mountain) and *j-ji:ra:n* (the-neighbours), equivalent words in Standard Arabic would carry the definite Det 'al' as in 'al-jabalu and 'al-ji:ra:nu. The mixed code narrows down the two options into one as can be illustrated by (2) below.

(56) l-ji:ra:n dyalna
 [the-neighbours our]
 {Our neighbours}
 (DS 3C, 1)

All *j*-initial words in Data Set 3C have form similar to (56) when prefixed a definite article. In other words, they do not trigger doubling of the initial sound (gemination) as in Moroccan Arabic. Interestingly, they are always defined by the Moroccan Arabic Det *l-* rather the Standard Arabic equivalent 'al-.

Middle Moroccan Arabic also tends to reduce the heavy consonantal clusters typical of Moroccan Arabic via the insertion of vowels seeking to approximate the templatic structure of Standard Arabic (Youssi 1995:36).

| | MA | MMA | SA |
|-------|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| Using | mst(ð) [°] mlin | mustð [°] milin | musta [°] mili:na |

(Youssi 1995:36)

Middle Moroccan Arabic has also an independent templatic shape for verbs which tend to be Standard Arabic in stem although Moroccan Arabic may have a (near) equivalent. The independence of these forms which consists of new sound organisation tends to extend to the morpho-syntactic level.

8.3.2. A New Morpho-syntactic Structure

The narrowing down of options that code switching between Moroccan Arabic and Standard Arabic should allow is noticed at the morpho-syntactic level too. While switching permits morpho-syntactic structures to come from either language provided they do not violate CS constraints, such structures tend to be unidirectional in the Moroccan/Standard Arabic contact situation. If there are no obvious linguistic constraints for quantitative asymmetries in code switching, this could well be evidence for the development of a new mixed monolingual mode out of a bilingual context.

The DP is an instance where syntactically possible alternatives are ruled out. Some Det elements come from Moroccan Arabic only whereas their complements tend to be Standard Arabic.

- (57) *hada ja: 'a ya'ni biquwwa fi xutab sahib l-jalala*
[this came it-means strongly in speeches his the-majesty]
fa-hunaka kadalika l-mujtama' l-madani ...
[and-there-is also the-society the-civil]
{This, I mean, has been emphasised in the speeches of his majesty, and there is also the civil society...}
(MA/SA, DS 3C, 15)

It is unlikely that Moroccan Arabic monolinguals would understand a highly Standardized⁵ form such as (57). The definite articles in (57) are inserted in a predominantly Standard Arabic sentence. The insertion, however, of Standard Arabic Det element even before these highly Standardized forms do not seem to take place. Standard Arabic nouns, in all possible syntactic positions, seem to co-occur with the Moroccan Arabic Det form. Example (33) above repeated here as (58) is the only exception to this rule in the corpus.

- (58) *nwejdu l-'aba dyalna 'ala: 'al-mustawa: 'al-q:arri:*
[we-prepare the-players our at the-level the-continental
wa l-'a:lami:
and the-international]
{We prepare our players at the continental and international level}
(MA/SA, DS 3B, 157)

(58) consists of a switch between Moroccan and Standard Arabic. The uniqueness of the switch lies in the prominence with which it is uttered. Syntactically, the Standard Arabic *'al-* is realised as *l-* when preceded by a vowel. This phonological rule is overlooked in

(58) for the purpose of emphasis and assertion. The emphatic function is also strengthened in (58) through the use of long vowels at the end of each word. The motivation for the Standard Arabic Det form *'al-* in (58) is, therefore, stylistic/pragmatic rather than syntactic.

The use of possessive pronouns in the corpus may also point towards the emergence of an independent mixed code. In Moroccan Arabic, possession is expressed through the suffixation of clitic pronouns to the noun or through a disjunctive-like possessive pronoun which is a composition of the preposition *dyal* (of) and one clitic pronoun *-i, -k, -u, -ha, -na, -kum, or -hum*. By contrast, possession is expressed in Standard Arabic only through the affixation of the clitic pronoun directly to the noun it modifies.

(59) **ra 'y-i**
 [opinion-my]
 {My opinion}
 (DS 3C, 1)

(60) l-*'iqtirah* dyali
 [the-proposal my]
 {My proposal}
 (MA/SA, DS 3B, 165)

The bold print is used in (59) because it is not clear whether the clitic pronoun belongs to Moroccan or Standard Arabic. The non-clitic pronoun in (60) is clearly Moroccan Arabic. Although (59-60) may indicate that a Standard Arabic noun can co-occur with either form of pronoun, the examples do not reflect all tendencies found in the corpus. For example, plural possessive pronouns appear in the non-clitic form only as in (61).

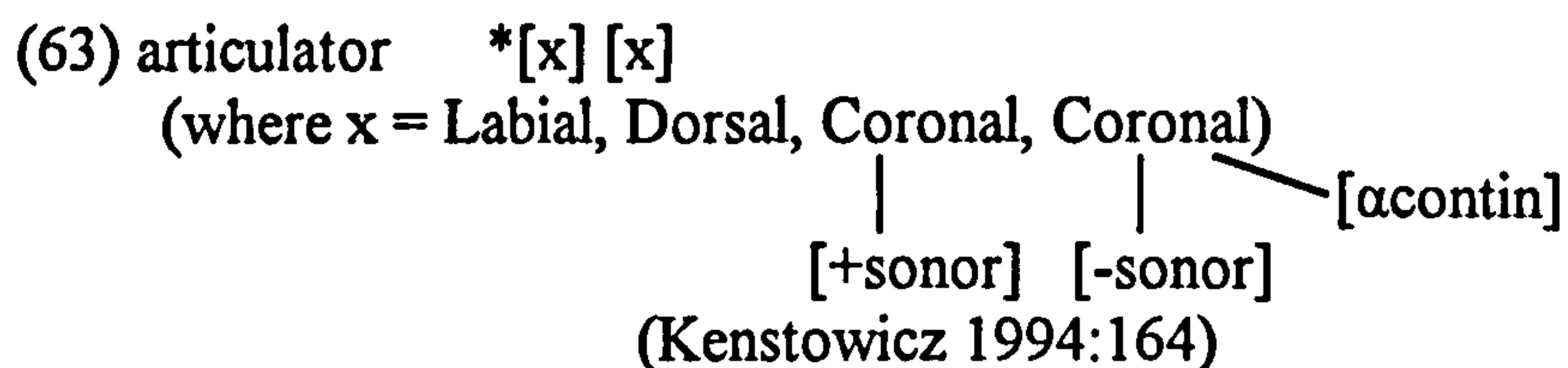
(61) nzidu f- l-*amal* dyalna
 [we-increase in-the-work our]
 {We increase our efforts}
 (MA/SA, DS 3B, 53)

(62) (?) nzidu f-*amal-na*
 [our]

If (59) is possible, we should expect the same for (62); yet, instances of plural clitic pronouns like (62) did not take place in any of the recorded conversations. Grammaticisation is a possible interpretation for the contrast between (59) and (62). It may indicate a process whereby a fusional independent system (Middle Moroccan Arabic) is formed, and the variety of alternatives that may be offered by codes switching

are restricted. In other words, the grammaticisation process marks a change from the bilingual mode, where options are enlarged, into a monolingual mode, where such options are narrowed down. This hypothesis raises, however, the question of what procedures define this grammaticisation process in view of the fact that restrictions affect instances like (62) and not (59).

A possible answer lies in the phonological contrast existing between the two clitics in (59) and (62). If we assume, following Youssi 1995, that Middle Moroccan Arabic avoids the cluster of consonantal sounds, then a mixed form as in (62) would be dispreferred. Standard Arabic nouns in a bilingual context (usually Middle Moroccan Arabic forms) as in (62) are often produced with a consonant sound at the end. The suffixation of the possessive clitic *na-* would yield a CC dispreferred phonemic structure for nouns. On the other hand, the suffixation of the clitic /i/ makes the syllabic structure better aired in (59) than (62) (cf. Youssi 1995:36). The restriction on (62) may even follow from deeper phonological constraints. For instance, Kenstowicz (1994:164) postulates the Arabic root constraint whereby successive entries on the articulator tier that choose identical values are disallowed. He expressed his constraint as follows:



The restriction on (62) can also be explained by principle (63) given that both sounds /l/ and /n/ are coronal sonorants. Phonological constraints are, however, beyond the scope of this work and shall not be discussed further.

The use of the dual form is another instance where options are restricted. Moroccan Arabic does not have a dual form (except for a very limited number of nouns, see Heath 1989). The numeral *juj* (two) is used, instead, to convey this function as in (64). On the other hand, duality is morphologically inflected to Standard Arabic nouns, verbs and adjectives as in (65).

(64) *juj dya/d- l-bna:t*
 [two of the-girls]
 {Two girls}

(65) bint-ayn
 [girl-dual]
 {Two girls}

The corpus does not show, however, instances of Standard Arabic nouns in their dual form as in (65). Duality for Standard Arabic nouns has been conveyed through the Moroccan Arabic numeral *juj* as in (66).

(66) *juj d-r-rihanat*
 [two of-the-challenges]
 {Two challenges}
 (MA/SA, DS 3C, 13)

This type of mixing illustrates a grammaticisation process whereby Standard Arabic nouns lose their dual form for the Moroccan Arabic numeral *juj*.

The dropping of case markers is another characteristic of Middle Moroccan Arabic (cf. Youssi 1995). Categories, which are clearly Standard Arabic judging from their unintelligibility to the Moroccan Arabic monolingual, often have their case endings deleted. In Standard Arabic, nouns and adjectives, except for dual and masculine sound plural⁶, take one of the suffix case markers /u/, /un/, /a/, /an/, /i/ or /in/. These are always dropped in the Moroccan/Standard Arabic bilingual context, except for some adverbs whose case ending does not change and few sporadic occurrences of verbs, adjectives and nouns. When case can be inflected in more than one manner, a process of narrowing down of alternatives takes place. The plural morpheme for sound masculine plurals is realised either as the nominative *u:na* or accusative *i:na* depending on the syntactic position of the lexical category they are attached to. Yet, only the accusative form appears in the corpus.

(67) *l-mutaqqaf-in r-riyadiy-in makayšarkuš ..*
 [the-intellectual-plural/acc the-leaders-plural/acc do-not-participate]
 {The leading intellectuals do not participate..}
 (MA/SA, DS 3C, 12)

Although the NP *l-mutaqqafin r-riyadiyin* in (67) occupies the (topic) subject position of the verb, which specifies for nominative case marking, it has been assigned an accusative case. All Standard Arabic nouns in the corpus take an accusative case regardless of their syntactic position. This is a characteristic of Middle Moroccan Arabic which cannot be traced to Moroccan Arabic either. Plural forms of grammatical categories such as nouns

are not often constructed in the same way as Standard Arabic. Moroccan Arabic plurals tend not to show any type of overt realisation of case, except for few nouns such as *mu'ellim-in* (teacher-plural/acc). Usually, Standard Arabic forms such as *fallaḥ-un/in/an* (peasant-nom/dat/acc) can either have the plural accusative as *fallaḥ-ina* or the plural nominative as *fallaḥ-una*. The Moroccan Arabic equivalent form *fllaḥ* is suffixed the plural morpheme *-a* as in *fllaḥ-a* without the inflection of a case marker. It is, therefore, likely that the accusative case for sound plurals as in (67) has undergone a grammaticisation process whereby it functions as a marker for all other types of case, or simply as part of the plural morpheme in the mixed code.

In general, the corpus shows a regular combination between Standard Arabic lexical categories and, to some extent, templatic structures on the one hand, and Moroccan Arabic functional categories and largely morpho-syntactic structures on the other. This may explain the asymmetry observed during the analysis of Moroccan/Standard Arabic code switching in respect of some FCs such as TNS and AGR which always come from Moroccan Arabic while the lexical verb tends to come from Standard Arabic, but not vice versa. This is likely to be another case of narrowing down of options where various alternatives from the two languages in contact are assessed and a particular structure is selected as part of an emerging independent system.

8.3.3. A new lexico-stylistic structure

The Moroccan Arabic phonological and morpho-syntactic structures tend to be more predominant in the Moroccan/Standard Arabic bilingual context, possibly because of their simplicity and economy compared with the corresponding Standard Arabic structures. For instance, Moroccan Arabic often requires less complicated agreement structures, and has a more simplified phonological system. The lexical capital, on the other hand, tends to come from Standard Arabic, which may be motivated by linguistic (given the richer lexical reserve of Standard Arabic) as well as socio-pragmatic (in view of the formality and higher social status of Standard Arabic) factors (Karama and Aabi 1999). The combination of the Standard Arabic lexis and the Moroccan Arabic morpho-syntax in a relatively independent templatic shape represents the main ingredient of the grammaticisation of Middle Moroccan Arabic.

Although LCs in this new code are often inserted in a Moroccan Arabic morpho-syntactic frame, the stylistic choices of these categories remain predominantly Standard Arabic. For instance, Moroccan and Standard Arabic differ in the frequency and availability of nominal structures. There is a tendency to use nominal clauses more often in Standard Arabic. Whereas the verb plays a crucial role in the structure and in the meaning conveyed by sentences in Moroccan Arabic, the Standard Arabic verb plays a much more modest one. Kharma points out in this respect that

In [Standard] Arabic, there are two major types of sentence. Only in one of them does the verb feature as the basic element. The other (called 'the nominal/equational sentence) need not have a verb at all (1983:30).

Nominal structures are also a salient characteristic of mixing between Moroccan and Standard Arabic as can be illustrated by (16) below.

(68) *maši saʿb i:jad wasa:ʿil li-taḥsin*
 [not difficult finding methods for-improvement
ʿataʿ l-jamʿiyat l-xayriyya
 performance the-trusts the-charitable]
 {It is not difficult to find ways to improve the performance of the charity trusts}
 (MA/SA, DS 3C, 43)

Except for the gerund *i:jad*, example (68) is a verb free grammatical sentence. When translated into English, nominal phrases are replaced by verbal phrases given the preference of the English language for verbal structures, whereas nominalised forms are rhetorically more desirable in Standard Arabic⁷. The same rhetorical feature (of nominalisation) has also been maintained in the mixed code of Middle Moroccan Arabic. On the other hand, nominalisation in Moroccan Arabic is not often as readily available option as in Standard Arabic. For instance, a Moroccan Arabic equivalent for (68) would be like (69):

(69) *maši šʿib (baš) nelqaw kifaš l-xiriyyat yebdaw ...*
 [not difficult (so that) we-find how the-charities become ...]

Tensed verb structures as in (69) are more commonly used in Moroccan Arabic, and tend not to have an available nominalised form. For instance, the first verbal clause in (69) cannot be transformed into a nominal clause because the verb *nelqaw* (we find) does not have a nominal structure in Moroccan Arabic.

Nominalised verbal structures in the context of Moroccan/Standard Arabic mixing show a high density of Standard Arabic categories. Occurrences of Moroccan Arabic categories within a nominal clause are often Standardized forms or peripheral (e.g. FCs) in terms of their content i.e. the meaning they bring to the clause. In an appropriate domain of use (Youssi 1995:38) such as DS 3C, Moroccan/Standard Arabic mixing shows a high tendency to avoid Moroccan Arabic words (e.g. *l-xxut*: the-brothers) which are very different in their templatic shape from the Standard Arabic form (*l-ixwan*). Moroccan Arabic words which are originally borrowings from other languages such as French, Spanish or Berber are also avoided. Despite the fact that the participants in the conversation are French bilinguals, switching into French is almost non-existent (four single word French switches in the whole conversation, one of which is (20) above). However, words that are directly borrowed into Standard Arabic such as *mikanizm-at* (mechanism-plural) are often maintained whenever necessary.

In this section, I have discussed some characteristics of Middle Moroccan Arabic as a result of mixing between Moroccan and Standard Arabic. In the process of this discussion, we have seen that while code switching enlarges available switching structures, code mixing reduces them as the grammaticisation of a new code marks a change from the bilingual to the monolingual mode. This has not affected our conclusions in the previous sections where no distinction was made between Standard Arabic and Middle Moroccan Arabic because syntactic constraints still apply in either context, be it code switching or code mixing (see 2.3). The purpose, however, that has been sought from the identification Middle Moroccan Arabic as an emerging new code is to help understand some of the asymmetries observed in the corpus.

8.4. Conclusion

This chapter has been mainly concerned with the analysis of switching in the Moroccan/Standard Arabic situation. In the first part of the chapter, I discussed instances of switching between the two Arabic varieties across three FCs, namely DP, IP (NEGP, TNSP, and AGRP), and CP. Like Moroccan Arabic/French CS, it has been found that Moroccan/Standard Arabic CS is constrained in the same manner by parametric selectional values of FCs. The analysis of LCs in the second part of the chapter confirms

our assumption that LCs enjoy greater freedom than FCs in switching. It has also been found that both types of switching (FCs and LCs) tend to show a quantitative narrowing down of options. In the last part of this chapter, an attempt has been to explain this tendency within the framework of code mixing. It has been argued that a grammaticisation process of a new code is under way in the Moroccan/Standard Arabic contact situation which could well explain distributional asymmetries as part of this process. The grammaticisation process has been illustrated at different levels of language. It should be, however, noted that the discussion of correspondence between code mixing and asymmetry in this section is preliminary. The issue needs more extensive research than one section, which the scope of the current of the present study does not allow.

¹ Unlike French switches, switching of Standard Arabic lexemes into Moroccan Arabic is often accompanied by a change in prosodic features. More discussion is to be found in 8.3.

² Note that while nouns are often arbitrarily specified for gender, only pronouns are intrinsically specified for all phi-features of number, person and gender (see Aoun, Benmamoun and Sportiche 1994 for more details).

³ The noun is also headed by a Det. Analysis will be restricted, however, to LCs only; discussion of Det and other FCs' switching is to be found in 7.1 and 8.1.

⁴ Phono-templatic structure refers in this context to the way sounds are produced in Middle Moroccan Arabic (e.g. substituting /d/ for /ð/) and organised within a sound system (e.g. substituting a CVC template for a CCV one).

⁵ The term *Standardized* refers to forms which may have Moroccan Arabic phonological features but are originally Standard Arabic. These forms are often inaccessible to Moroccan Arabic monolingual speakers.

⁶ Standard Arabic consists of two types of plurals: (i) Sound plurals are forms where the plural of a noun is derived from the singular. These are a marginal phenomenon (Kenstowicz 1994:636). (ii) Broken plurals reflect the root-(rather than word-)based nature of Arabic. They are formed by the modification of the template (Kenstowicz 1994:636).

⁷ A more detailed discussion of rhetorical preferences between Standard Arabic and English in terms of nominalisation can be found in Hatim 1997.

CHAPTER NINE

CODE SWITCHING: THE FPC AND BEYOND

9.0. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to recapitulate the strength of the FPC on the basis of the analysis and discussions carried out throughout this study. In the first part, however, I will focus on some of its challenges regarding asymmetry which has been previously raised in the context of Moroccan and Standard Arabic (see 8.3). Discussion of asymmetry here will consider other perspectives, apart from syntax, which might have motivated this phenomenon. The second part of the chapter will re-state some of the main assumptions underlying the FPC in order to draw a clearer picture of the study. This will help confirm the validity of the hypothesis I have argued for throughout this thesis and highlight the advantages of the FPC over other approaches in accounting for Moroccan Arabic/French and Moroccan/Standard Arabic switching. In the final part of the chapter, a summary of the thesis will be provided with suggestions regarding further research on CS constraints.

9.1. Accounting for Asymmetries

The phenomenon of asymmetry seems to prevail in various language contact situations (e.g. Halmari 1998, Bentahila and Davies 1998) where it has, quite expectedly, represented one of the major challenges that have often been approached with much reserve if not neglected in the code switching literature (Bentahila and Davies 1998). This section will explore briefly certain factors which may contribute to asymmetries in the patterns of code switching with particular reference to the Moroccan situation. The analysis of the data has shown cases of extreme quantitative imbalances regarding the switching of some categories. It is observed that, for instance, switching into French is generally more common than into Moroccan Arabic. French elements (usually LCs) are commonly inserted into matrices headed by a Moroccan Arabic FH. On the contrary, switching from French into the direction of Moroccan Arabic is very rare. My purpose here is not to claim instant solutions for this phenomenon, but to raise questions as to whether explanation should be sought elsewhere at different levels of language such as sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics in addition to syntactic.

From, a socio-psycholinguistic perspective, asymmetry can be explained by the fact that social factors related to language use such as power vs. solidarity, and majority vs. minority language make elements from one language "*naturally more on the 'surface'-more readily activated or more easily accessible*" (Halmari 1998:158). In a bilingual context, bilingual speakers tend to switch more frequently to the majority language to which they are more exposed to (Halmari 1998). The problem with this type of explanations is that they must be constructed in a way that is context or situation sensitive. For instance, the linguistic situation in Morocco shows opposite switching patterns to what has been found in the Finnish/English context. Although the Moroccan Arabic/French bilingual situation in Morocco cannot be described using the paradigm majority vs. minority, it is safe to say that most bilinguals are usually and more extensively exposed to Moroccan Arabic than French in their daily life. Yet, switches are more frequent into French than Moroccan Arabic. In such a case, as Bentahila and Davies (1998:47) point out, French can simply act as a lexical filler or a pragmatically motivated substitute providing vocabulary that is not readily available in Moroccan Arabic as in the case of scientific subjects, or that is found to be more desirable.

Asymmetries have also been observed within the same language direction. The 'majority' paradigm cannot explain either why switching of French LCs, functioning as a complement or Spec to a Moroccan Arabic FH is very frequent compared to the rarity of French FCs. Again, the same explanation posited by Bentahila and Davies (1998) above can be adopted here. Since the 'lesser used language' (French) can be resorted to in order to perform a semantic or pragmatic function, French FCs would be the least used given the fact that they do not normally have a semantic content or pragmatic function (see 4.1.3).

Syntax may also help explain some the quantitative imbalances found in code switching. For instance, Halmari (1998) has found that asymmetry in her Finnish/English corpus is the result of the Government Constraint. As discussed earlier (3.3), the government model does not account for Moroccan corpus,

and therefore, it is unlikely that it accounts for its asymmetries. But syntactic principles, in general, are likely to explain some of these asymmetries. Consider for instance (6-7) below.

(1) *l-rapport doit être bien redigé*
 [the-report must(present, 3sing) be well written]
 {The report must be well written}
 (MA/Fr, DS 3C, 18)

(2) * *l-rapport-s doivent être bien redigé-s*
 [the-report-plr must(present,3plr) be well written-plr]
 {The reports must be well written}

While switches like (1) are frequent in the corpus, switches like (2) are not attested. In both examples, selectional conditions of the Det head are satisfied; yet, switches like (2) do not surface in the corpus. The only difference between possible (1) and unattested (2) is that the Moroccan Arabic Det c-selects a singular noun in (1) and a plural noun in (2). One of the possible explanation for the non-existence of switches like (2) in the corpus is the fact that the French plural morpheme attached to the noun is often silent, which makes overt realisation of pluralisation in the article obligatory. In Moroccan Arabic, on the other hand, the number feature is overtly realised in the noun, which makes its enactment in the article unnecessary. The requirement of certain grammatical features in the FH element when they are not directly inflected in the lexical complement is also a characteristic of monolingual constructions. For example, the requirement vs. the optionality of the Det element is observed by Olsen in context of German (3) and Latin (4).

(3) *dem Hund* 'the dog (dative)'
 (4) *cani* 'the dog (dative)'

Olsen explains that the features of [3p, sing, masc, dat] are not expressed in the German noun in (3), but only by the Det element *dem*, which makes its (the Det's) realisation obligatory (In Löbel 1993:189). On the other hand, the absence of the article in (4) can be explained by the fact that this set of features is expressed directly on the noun in Latin (In Löbel 1993:189).

The contrast in respect of the realisation of Det is also similar to the contrast found between non- and pro-drop-languages. The richness of the agreement system in pro-drop languages such as Italian and Arabic makes the use of personal pronouns optional. On the other hand, the use of personal pronouns in non-pro-drop languages such as

English and French is obligatory because verb's inflections are too poor to do away with personal pronouns.

Syntax or otherwise, it has now become common practice in the code switching literature that, when syntactic constraints are not met, explanations are sought at other levels of language (cf. Halmari 1998). This drift towards accepting other constraining aspects of code switching in addition to syntax could mark the beginning of a more comprehensive approach to the study of code switching where all levels of language may interact together. The risk, however, of this new inclination lies in the fact that current syntactic approaches, when they refer to other levels of language, tend to do so as a last resort to explain away violations to a particular constraint. What is needed, on the other hand, are serious attempts to implement other aspects of language as a crucial part of any account of code switching that claims itself to be comprehensive rather than use them as an instrument to refer to only when convenience requires.

9.2. The FPC: A Way Forward

The analysis of the corpus in chapters seven and eight indicates that the FPC rightly accounts for constraints on Moroccan Arabic/French and Moroccan/Standard Arabic CS. The FPC also accounts for many switching instances in the corpus which would represent clear violations for other approaches (discussed in chapter three). In this section, I will restate some of the major characteristics of the FPC which makes it superior to other models, at least as far as my corpus is concerned.

First, the theoretical foundations of the FPC, as a syntactic constraint, emanate from syntactic theory itself. On the other hand, constraints posited by the equivalence and MLF model such as the free Morpheme constraint and the System Morpheme Principle, respectively, are taken to be independent principles of grammar, and therefore implicate that code switching is governed by a third grammar (Mahootian 1993, MacSwan 1999). That is, the fact that a bound or system morpheme is constrained in a bilingual sentence by principles which do not apply in the monolingual mode suggests that we are dealing with a third grammar that is specific to code switching. However, *“to make the simplest effort, we should [in fact] appeal to a third grammar only if forced to do so by the data under analysis”* (MacSwan 1999:2). As mentioned above, the analysis of the data does

The FPC also proves to be superior to other approaches which are set under the auspices of independent principles of grammar. The government model states that switching is constrained between governor and governee (Di Scullo *et al.* 1986), or the governee must have an L_q that is similar to the governor (Halmari 1997). As such, the government model is not different from the other models discussed above which posit a special treatment for CS that is different from monolingual sentences (see 3.3). It also fails empirically to account for many switches which are, on the other hand, accounted for by the FPC as in the case of (47) of chapter three borrowed here as (7).

- (7) *w-f-la* *branche dyal l'economie* *tayqeriw la sociologie*
 [and-in-the branch of the-economy they-teach the sociology]
 {And they teach sociology as part of the course of economy}
 (MA/Fr, DS 1, 456)

While (7) violates the government constraint as the governee (*la sociologie*) does not come or have an L_q from the same language as the governor verb (*tayqeriw*), it is clearly accounted for by the FPC as all selectional conditions of FHs are satisfied in the example.

The analysis carried out in this thesis shows that constraints set specifically for bilingual constructions fail to account for the Moroccan corpus. Two main conclusions can be drawn from the overall analysis. First, CS constraints in the Moroccan situation can be described without reference to such specific constraints; hence, their role is not necessary by the general principles of scientific parsimony and in the interest of making minimal use of theoretical apparatus (McSwan 1999:38). We may, therefore, repeat the following claim stated earlier in chapter four:

- (8) Conditions for code switching must be met in bilingual and monolingual constructions alike.

The second conclusion draws partly from the first. Assuming (8), code switching will therefore be blocked only if conditions are parametric across the two languages involved in the switch rather than any CS specific constraints. And since parametric values across languages are restricted to the lexicon (Chomsky 1991, 1995, Borer 1989, Ouhalla 1991), CS constraints must be identified accordingly. Within this framework, parameters are restricted to functional categories only in view of the fact that lexical categories have uniform properties cross languages (Chomsky 1995, Ouhalla 1991).

The analysis of data indicates indeed that lexical categories enjoy far greater fluidity in switching than functional categories. Functional categories often have parametric properties cross-linguistically, and can enter a switching transaction only if their selectional requirements are satisfied, and this an empirically valid fact in the corpus.

(9) Selectional requirements of functional categories must be satisfied.

The consequence of (8) and (9) is that no distinction is needed between code switching and (nonce) borrowing in order to explain CS constraints. The FPC hypothesis offers, in this respect, a unified account of both language contact phenomena.

The FPC represents, therefore, a way forward on both conceptual and empirical grounds. It argues that there is no need to set a specific grammar for code switching, and that bilingual phenomena can be accounted for in a unified manner. Its empirical superiority lies in its ability to explain switches which would have been considered as exceptions within the framework of other approaches (e.g. EL islands), or would have simply been set aside as another type of language contact (e.g. nonce-borrowing).

9.3. Summary

The research was primarily designed to identify the syntactic constraints which govern code switching in conversations between Moroccan bilinguals. A particular approach was devised on the basis of theoretical motivations, and further tested and supported through the practical analysis of naturally occurring conversations. The thesis proceeded with a chapter that was mainly concerned with defining code switching in relation to other language contact phenomena. Three main conclusions have emerged from the discussion in chapter two. First, that the distinction between code switching and (nonce) borrowing is unnecessary, a syntactic approach to CS constraints must account for both phenomena in a uniform way. Second, that in the context of Moroccan/Standard Arabic alternations, we are dealing with an instance of switching rather than a type of style shifting. Third, that CS can be insertional, alternational, and/or fusional, but such typology should not exclude the prospect of a comprehensive account of CS constraints irrespective of their type.

Chapter three attempted to put the present study into the general context of code switching research by presenting a review of some the major approaches to the study of

CS constraints. Three models were considered in this respect: the locational model, the ML model and the hierarchical model, the three of which have been shown not to account adequately for syntactic constraints on CS. The argument against these models was based on both theoretical and empirical grounds, hence the need for a new approach. In chapter four, a particular approach (the FPC) to CS in the Moroccan situation was advocated. The underlying theoretical assumption of this approach is that the set of language universals is a welcoming site for CS given the similarity of the two languages at this level. On the other hand, the set of parameters represents the blocking site due to its inherently idiosyncratic nature. Parameters were associated with three selection properties of FCs, namely c-selection, m-selection, and grammatical features.

In chapter five, an introduction to the Moroccan linguistic situation as well as a review of some studies that have been carried out in the same context were provided. Chapter six provides a description of the role and procedures for the selection of informants, and the collection and analysis of data. In chapter seven, the Moroccan Arabic/French corpus has been examined. The analysis, which included three FCs (DP, IP and CP) and four LCs (prepositions, adjectives, nouns and adverbs), has shown that parametric selectional properties of FCs constrain switching between Moroccan Arabic and French. Similar analysis has been undertaken in chapter eight for Moroccan/Standard Arabic code switching. It has shown similar patterns to those observed in the context of Moroccan Arabic/French code switching. The notion of code mixing has also been considered in the final part of this chapter. Some linguistic features which could indicate the emergence of a new mixed code (Middle Moroccan Arabic) have been identified. The first part of the final chapter discusses the question of quantitative imbalance which represents a major challenge to syntactic studies of code switching. It was argued that asymmetry could follow from (the interaction of syntax) other levels of language. The second part is a recapitulation of the advantages of the FPC over other approaches. In the next section, proposals for further research will be suggested.

9.4. Implications for Further Research

Asymmetry is the main challenge that has been encountered in the process of this study, and probably is in other studies on code switching constraints (Bentahila and Davies 1998). Further research is needed to examine why certain elements with the same

categorial status occur in one language and not the other, and why switching of some categories in the same language direction occurs more often than the others. These asymmetries may have implications for syntactic theory itself. It could mean that further research is required to distinguish between such categories which behave differently in a bilingual situation, but are often treated in the same way in syntactic theory. The asymmetries can also be the result of other factors such as phonology mentioned briefly in 8.3. This indicates the need for multi-disciplinary studies of CS. The continuous advancement of linguistic theories tends also to have a positive bearing on the study of code switching. Currently existing studies of code switching which implement recent findings of independent theories of language in their investigations tend to account for larger corpora than others.

Another area of inquiry relates to the relationship between different posited constraints for code switching especially regarding the same language sets. For example, as far as the Moroccan situation is concerned, Abbassi (1977) postulated certain constraints which were later found to be violated in Bentahila and Davies's (1983) corpus. As a substitute to Abbassi's constraints, Bentahila and Davies (1983) posited their subcategorisation constraint (see 5.4). But the latter did not find support in my corpus and other recently gathered data (e.g. Karama 1998), which called for a new approach (the FPC). The common feature between the 'old' and 'new' constraint, in this context and in most code switching literature, is that the new approach is often a weaker version of the one that precedes it. Earlier models are often reproached to be theoretically unmotivated or empirically invalid. The other explanation, which perhaps needs further and thorough investigation, is that each constraint might have shown validity for its data, and perhaps its contemporary linguistic situation. However, the possible effects of the dynamic nature of cross-linguistic interaction on the structure and patterns of bilingual alternations necessitate that constraints are reviewed correspondingly. What is needed, therefore, is an exhaustive longitudinal study of code switching patterns. If such an analysis shows that the changing constrained nature of code switching is the result of a changing linguistic situation, focus in the study of code switching must look into how syntactic constraints are affected by the dynamics of language change.

For the present, however, the current study has shown that code switching specific constraints are not necessary. Bilingual and monolingual constructions can be accounted for in the same way. Selectional requirements for Spec and complement of FHs constrain the syntax of constructions, be them monolingual or mixed. This uniform view of bilingual as well as monolingual speech represents a new concept in the study of code switching constraints (cf. also Mahootian 1993, MacSwan 1999) which should be further investigated. It is axiomatic that this thesis cannot provide an account to all aspects of code switching. It should be seen as indicative rather definitive. Further research is required of greater depth and from different perspectives.

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APPENDIX 1

DATA SET 1

- 1 A: °endakum t°etlu °la les cours
- 2 B: ra gawri hadak tabe° les règles de la France
- 3 A: dik l-merra fin jit naxud waħed r-ruxsa geltlihum waš maxešniš njib ši ħaja men d-daxiliyya gallik on s'en fout men l'adminisration marocaine mšit dert mon enquête m°a l-xrin w rje°t finalement il s'est avéré que j'avais besoin d'une autorisation mais pas du ministère de l'intérieur
- 4 B: nta xdam pour qui daba
- 5 A: ana assistant dans un projet d-recherche en linguistique
- 6 B: ah oui hadak le projet sur les langues avec dak l-professeur
- 7 A: ayeh galli huwa tu peux me faire un enregistrement w huwa il va travailler dessus
- 8 B: ça a l'air très intéressant et excitant aussi quand c'est comme tu faisais une sorte d'enquête et que tu vas analyser et établir des résultats ana personnellement j-suis très attiré par les études sociologiques et linguistiques je trouve que c'est un domaine très riche škun les gens qui font la sociologie actuellement au Maroc la plupart des études ont été effectuées par des Français
- 9 A: kayn kayn un changement f-l'histoire de la sociologie au Maroc je crois que depuis la fin des années quatrevinght s-sociologie f-l-meğrib xdat un autre tournant
- 10 B: nta dans les recherches que tu dirriges toi même tu fais des enregistrements
- 11 A: á vrai dire je n'y ai pas pensé walakin tanxdem °l la memoire anaya dak š-ši lli tanšuf men be°d tanketbu °endi une très belle memoire
- 12 B: wellah w matkun °endek une mémoire mjehda ima te°qel °la had š-ši bon je suis un peu curieux lá mais je voudrai te poser une question je veux savoir anaya daba ntaya ašnu tatstafed men had l'experience hadi
- 13 A: ana kanstafed le systeme educatif hna °endkum tanšuf ana par exemple je compare entre le système éducatif public et privé ce que ça a comme effet sur le plan social et tout
- 14 B: had š-ši lli xešek ntaya tfeker fih tu dois te présenter °end les gens dgul lhum voilà je suis sociologue j'ai l'autorisation de recueillir quelques propos pour mon sujet, xeš bnadm yšuf fik w tban lih belli rak un sociologue
- 15 A: walakin baš mzyan had š-ši l-d-drari c'est tout le système qui se resource de ses études qui ont pour sujet le rapport entre les langues
- 16 C: vous parlez d-la sociologie tu sais quoi nous on fait la philosophie en classe w tandiru s-sociologie lakin on ne comprend rien á rien
- 17 B: c'est ce que j'allais dire lá alors taħnaya ġadi nestafdu men had les études cv sociologiques °awtani
- 18 A: walakin t-talaba dyalkum mataybġiwš ystafdu weħda gelt liha ġedda ji nešreħ lik s-sociologie geltliha daba ra j'enregistre ġedda vers le coup de onzes heures je suis libre aji nšreħ lik parcequ'elle se posait des questions sur le sujet dyal l'acculturation w ši ħaja d-la culture w kda masa'il bsiġa l-ġed jit ana m°a l-ħdaš jit bla ma nħessen jit mezrub jit mašebthaš gelt bon hadi šġulha w w majatš °ad nebda nqeleb °liha dber rasha šuf hiyya kinwatha ana gelt f-rasi ġadi nšreħ liha hiyya mabġatš tji aš ġadi ndir liha
- 19 C: daba c'est quoi ntaya tu penses d-la jeunesse marocaine?
- 20 A: ana je ne pense pas ana..

- 21 C:daba pour ce qui concerne la jeunesse marocaine yallah fesser liya had š-ši
 22 A:ana en premier lieu ana kan bqa nšuf °ibad llah aš tay gulu mšat dik l-weqt dya ana la source du savoir..
- 23 C:toujours est-il que xasek tebda dir des recherches w t-publier des articles, baš testafd tanata pour que tu deviennes iun vrai sociologue
- 24 A:dakši ra tandiru je fais des recherches et je piblies ici au Maroc
- 25 C:parce que f-lmeğrib il y a un manque d'ouvrages dans le domaine de la sociologie une quasi absence tatemši l-la bibliotheque tatelqa ši ħaja °el l-'islam dima tatelqa ši ħaja les auteurs tous étrangers w l-meğribi .. taykteb b-l-français
- 26 D:bonjour on peut vous joindre lá participer á la conversation
- 27 A:aji °laš mabğitiš dik l-merra theđri m°aya
- 28 C:Lubna, viens t'asseoir ..
- 29 E:je vais bouffer
- 30 C:y a pas de bouffe hnaya
- 31 E:je vous rejoint dans une minute je vais revenir daba pour te raconter quelque chose
- 32 A:°laš mabğitiš dik l-merra theđri m°aya
- 33 D:je n'avais pas envie
- 34 B:w daba theđri makayn muškil il faut t'enregistrer lá sérieusement tu veux bien parler avec lui moi j'ai déjà parlé et j'ai été enrregistré
- 35 D:je suis timide de nature
- 36 C:moi aussi j'ai parlé et je suis enregisré en plus
- 37 D:il va nous demander quelque choses en sociologie
- 38 E:moi je n'ai pas envie de parler de sociologie
- 39 B:moi çe que j'ai compris c'est pour un travail de recherche il ne pose pas de questions sur la sociologie on discute c'est tout tu peux parler de ce que tu veux tu es libre hiyya ma°endhaš f-s-sociologie
- 40 E: ah bon
- 41 B: parceque tayemši had le travail de recherche tayemši l-l'Angleterre lábas s'effectue un travail de linguistes les linguistes taydiru waħed le travail °el les conversations
- 42 C: la la bğat wellah ila bğat regarde dailleurs tu m'avais dit l'autre jour que tu étais intéressée
- 43 B: ħna on continue á parler elle peut rester si elle veut et écouter et si jamais elle a envie de participer elle peut le faire
- 44 C:ana je veux discuter plein de choses comme le tabagisme le lycée le système d'éducation bzzaf dya l-ħwayej salut xawla ça va
- 43 A: tji tegles m°ana
- 44 F: hana galsa hnaya, je suis bien içi
- 45 C: d'accord bon alors je vais poser la question que penses tu du lycée Descartes de l'entourage que tu frequentes quotidiennement
- 46 F: c'est pour une conférence kaddir had š-ši
- 47 D: non il dit que c'est pour une recherche sociolinguistique
- 48 B: bon puisque c; est moi qui l'ai rencontré en premier lieu je vous présente monsieur Mohamed chercheur en sociologie
- 49 C: à propos Mardi prochain °endna ġadi ykun °endna une conference d-sociologie f-dix-huit heures trente
- 50 E: fin f-la salle polivallante
- 51 F: w škun li ġaydirha

52 C: ši waħed taygulu lu Mohamed Touji
 53 B: on veut parler sur tout quoi maintenant
 54 E: j'ai pas envie
 55 B: toi t'auras pas ta photo en premiere page
 56 E: mais j'écoute je suis libre
 57 C: tu peux donner tes idées ou peut être dire ce que tu penses sur un sujet, non
 58 A: si vous voulez parler vous pouvez dire ce que vous voulez dailleurs...
 59 B: Xawla parce que °endek la colonne vèrtèbrale hna °endek une culture
 mezyana.. had la piscine lli daru kay °emruha daba wella mazal
 60 E: non l-berd daba
 61 A: lliana šeft hiyya l'escalade lli daru likum.
 62 B: tu as vu l'escalade zwina eh
 63 A: l'escalade mšhal men mitru fiha
 64 C: wah bezzaf
 65 B: trente mètres
 66 E: trente je ne savais pas ça
 67 D: melli taṭle° l-fuq tatšuf kulši tu as une vue panoramique
 68 F: yak tu te rapelles l-°am lli fat on était les seuls f-la classe lli ṭle°na
 69 E: wé wšelna tta l-sommet
 70 F: ana wiyaha rien que les deux f-la classe dyalna on était les deux w had l-°am
 je crois que je vais être la seule á vouloir monter en haut
 70 D: mais écoutez ils ont mis des trucs des morceaux de verres sur le contour
 71 E: mais tu sais pourquoi parceque il y a beaucoup d-gens qui ont essayé d-
 monter de dehors maintenant pour les empêcher l'administration a fait ça
 72 A: had l-°am lli daruha
 73 E: lla il y a deux ans
 74 F: ġadi ydiru whda xra l-°am j-jay mxeyyra hadik
 75 C: ṭle°t deux points jusqu'en haut l'autre fois j'ai eu quinze et demi
 76 E: moi moi c' était vingt
 77 D: ça depend ça depend °el l-comportement ça depend °el la participation
 78 C: l' avant dernière année on m'a mis aussi quinze et demi c'était la meilleur note
 de la classe quinze et demi quand même pour monter jusqu' en haut
 79 D: tu sais pourquoi maṭle°tiš b-z-zerba
 80 C: šuf šuf on avait f-l-ħiṭ ġi f-l- ħiṭ monter l-chrono d'accord on avait l-rappel
 chrono..
 81 D: tu as été la première
 82 C: peut être après j'ai laissé tomber.. et..et aussi šnu W ṭle°t l-fuq avec.. smitu..
 83 E: f- les carreaux
 84 D: Xawla elle a fait smitu un temps record f..
 85 C: f-l-rappel
 86 E: et puis aussi j'ai été classée deuxième
 87 A: mais tu étais la meilleure ou pas
 88 E: em
 89 A: t'as eu la meilleure note ou non
 90 E: tout l-monde bon tout ceux qui ont participé étaient bien...
 91 A: oui mais tu as quand même eu la meilleure note
 92 E: non il y avait bħal daba Younes
 93 C: mais l'année dernière Younes n'a même pas monté
 94 E: je sais mais par exemple m°a tay°erfu l-prof
 95 C: n'empêche que tu étais la meilleure toi

- 96 E: non il y en a d'autres bhal Lgherf la f-l-rappel °refti kif tel°at puis elle a mis la corde autour de sa taille et elle est redescendue dans un clin d'oeil
- 97 C: oui mais tu vois qu'elle n'a qyand même pas été classée première á cause de son manque de discipline
- 98 A: gulli kayn ferq bin dik l-blasa lli mafihaš l-sfer w laxur
- 99 E: hadik lexra lli mafihaš l-ħit
- 100 C: s°eb
- 101 E: la la shel au contraire °la wudd c'est une surface plate
- 102 A:bant liya hadik bha la s°iba
- 103 E:hadik la pyramide hiyya s-s°iba fihum °la wudd lexra
- 104 D:sahla hadik tu as les prises °endek les prises l-keħlin tu les vois w °endek les prises l-bidin tatšedhum amma hadik lexra tatšed ġir b une corde simple
- 105 E: oui c'est comme ça, ou comme ça
- 106 D: c'est pas la même chose bhal daba °endek ġir des petits trous tatšed fihum enfin tu place tes mains dedans pour tenir le mur en grim pant
- 107 C: quand j'étais en CMdeux en CMdeux moi j' adorais grimper
- 108 A:personne n'a peur de tomber wella glisserf tu fractures tion tibia wella
- 109 C:hada c'est le tibia et hadu les péronés yak c'est ça
- 110 B:moi je connais pas le mot
- 111 A:tibia et péroné le petit c'est le péroné et le grand c'est le tibia
- 112 C: had la culture générale les connaissances que tu as mnin xditihum daba
- 113 D:le fémur c'est le mot que tu cherchais
- 114 B: le fémur oui voilà
- 115 A: la l-fémur hada
- 116 C: tu te souviens de tout ça had š-ši kullu des années et des années après ton passage au lycée hiyya °endek ši °qel maši huwwa hadak intelligence supérieure
- 117 A: la la
- 118 F:dayer l'économie
- 119 A:la s-sociologie
- 120 F:s-sociologie w l-medecine tattir fiha
- 121 E:mnin kenti sġir w nta tatmenna tkun sociologue
- 122 A:fin kent sġir kent tantmenna nkun t̄bib w kent tanemši l-s-sbiṭar w tanbda nehfed duk d-dwayat lli tayrmiw
- 123 E:hiyya dwwezti l-ši waħed je veux ja °endek ši ħed pour une consulation..
- 124 A:iwa l-prospectus dyal asmitu dyal d-dewyan bhal d-docteur Knok wella l-medecin melli tayħfed les prospectus m°a l-mudda wellit ħtanaya
- 125 G:vous faites quoi lá
- 126 B: ħna on est entrain de parler avec Mohammed..
- 127 C: w fin qriti
- 128 A:ntaqelt bezzaf qrit C-CP un f-Azilal
- 129 B: w mnin nta?
- 130 A:men Beni-Mellal
- 131 C: c'est où c'est où ça
- 132 B: tu ne sais pas où est Beni-Mellal
- 133 C:non je ne sais pas
- 134 B: tu connais Berchid la route de Marakech
- 135 C:oui
- 136 B: un certain temps tu trouves Berchid après Casa la première ville après Casa c'est juste avant Marakech en fin plus dans l-daxel
- 137 D: °ad dert fiha un concours d'équitation

- 138 C: fin
- 139 D: á Benimellal
- 140 A: concours dyalaš
- 141 D: l-xil
- 142 A: dyalaš
- 143 D: l'équitation l'équitation
- 144 A: ah l' équitation tema zwin f-jbel
- 145 D: ah zwin w j'ai gagné j'etais le premier j'etais le premier
- 146 A: kat^craf dir l'équitation škun le meilleur f-l-meğrib
- 147 D: f-l-meğrib kamel y a pas quelqu'un de brillant ze^cma
- 148 C: viens viens Hanae et ramène Salwa avec toi
- 149 A: cla ze^cma matayorganiziwš des concours
- 150 D: f-toutes les villes
- 151 G: as-salamu ^calykum
- 152 A: fin kayn hada dyal l'équitation kayn f-Leksiba
- 153 D: kayn f-Beni-Mellal kayn f-la sortie du côté de Marackech..
- 154 B: lla hada l-concours ašahbi tayeh_uder ^cel l-club
- 155 C: bon je dois partir il y a Selma qui m'appelle á toute
- 156 E: makmmeltiis qbila gelt lik waš men l-lewwel tu as toujours voulu devenir sociologue w gelti liyya la kent bađi nkun medecin w makmmeltiis kenti tatšuf les ordonnances
- 157 B: racontes ^claš tu n'a pas fait la medecine pour quelle raison est ce parceque maqdertiš wella intellectuellement maqdertiš wella..
- 158 A: maderthaš w šafi wellit bedeltha
- 159 G: comme ça sur un coup de tête
- 160 B: kan ^cendek l-quotient intelectuel huwa hadak baš d-dir l-medecine wlla ma njehtiš mezyan
- 161 A: lla f-lycée kent tanjib mxeyyer
- 162 G: xditi la voie économique
- 163 A: non s-sociologie kent tandir bhal dak š-ši d-ssibaq kent très dynamique tanji deuxième, premier premier.. deuxième premier premier
- 164 G: et malgré tes capacités tu n'as pas opté pour la médecine pour faire la sociologie
- 165 E: w^claš madertiš médecine puisque tu avais le choix
- 166 A: f-la quatrième année bdelt gelt gander ^cilm l-'ata:t
- 167 E: ^claš
- 168 A: dik ssa^ca f-rab^ca w tmanin xemsa w tmanin je suis promotion quatre-vingt cinq
- 169 E: hiyya tbark llah quel âge tu dois avoir maintenant
- 170 A: bien plus âgé que vous tous
- 171 D: w ^claš maxrejtiš l-l étranger si tu faisais déjà ta quatrième année en quatrevingt quatre
- 172 G: quatrième année c'est á dire
- 173 A: j'ai eu le Bac ^cla -tmentašer ^cam
- 174 B: šdditi le Bac ^cla tmentašr ^cam w rbe^c snin dyal la médecine hiya vingt deux ans
- 175 A: la madertš la medecine carrément
- 176 G: madertiš l-médecine j'ai cru entendre que tu as fais quatre ans de médecine
- 177 A: non dert la fac muba:šaratan

- 178 E:ben voilà hiyya tu n'avais pas l'intention baš ddir medecine beṣeḥ hiyya kant
gi une petite passion ...ši ḥaja éveillée au fond
- 179 G:daba ašnu taddir
- 180 A: tandir sociologie banet liyya ṣ'iba á l'époque
- 181 E: quand on est premier de sa classe aucune matière ne te fais peur
- 182 B: tu a été á la bibliothèque ce matin
- 183 H:wa kent m'ak a-z-zamel kent m'akum
- 184 E: yak kan m'ana
- 185 G: la voilà Amina tu veux que je te l'appelle
- 186 B: Amina wella Fatima be'ed menha
- 187 G: pourquoi tu dis ça elle est très gentille nguliha Amina je t'invite gadi tji
tsellem 'lina
- 188 H: ḥabib ḥabib waš nta cinq sur cinq
- 189 G: 'eqdu gullu je parle pas Anglais
- 190 A: I don't speak English
- 191 G: il parle pas Anglais
- 192 A: I don't speak English
- 193 D:lli šaf fik ygullik ça y est ça y est w dik s-sa'a gullihum ça suffit
- 194 G: Samia ça va tu vas bien viens viens Samia Samia
- 195 I:oui
- 196 G: je te presente Abdullah
- 197 D:be'ed menha laisse la tranquile
- 198 G: non non je te jure c'est un gars très bien tu veux pas..
- 199 I: c'est un camera-man à deux M
- 200 G: oui
- 201 I: c'est vrai
- 202 G:je te présente Abdullah Abdullah je vous présente Samia
- 203 I: c'est très gentil je vous entends parler de ce gars la tout l-temps de quel pays il
est
- 204 G: alors c'est Abdullah il travaille avec la Côte d'Ivoire
- 205 I: c'est quoi
- 206 G: la Côte d'Ivoire le foot maison de foot
- 207 I: pourquoi tu ris toi j'ai l'impression que vous vous fouttez tous de ma gueule il
est pas d-la côte d'Ivoire le type dailleurs il n'en pas l'air
- 208 G: on t'a eu
- 209 I: minables allez
- 210 G: tu veux t'asseoir
- 211 I: non j- m'en vais lá
- 212 G: allez
- 213 I: bon d'accord je m'asseois mais je me vengerai
- 214 B:'eyyeṭ 'eyyeṭ l-'Adel et Meryem aussi viens viens je t'en supplie
- 215 G:tu veux un peu de coca
- 216 I:non non merci Meryem tu viens
- 217 B: passe passe un verre de coca ji:b li la brosse lli contre le mûr aussi s'il te plaît
- 218 I: asmu šnu smitek axay
- 219 J: 'Adel
- 220 B:Samia je te présente 'Adel 'Adel Samia tu lui fais la bise
- 221 I: iwa lla lla
- 222 J:hšem hšem ça suffit
- 223 J:dir lna blaša ḥdak ṣaḥibuna

- 224 B:ya d-la place ça va comme ça
225 D: °eyyeṭ °yyeṭ l-Farah a °Adil °yyeṭ l-Farah ra hiyya
226 J: Fara
227 D: tu ne la connais pas
228 B: ana je ne la connais que de vue
229 D:jemmet °Adil c'est la copine á °Adil
230 J: qeḥba hadik w °endha waḥed š-šufa curieuse dailleurs
231 D: °Adil °Adil qu'est ce t'en pense
232 B: dewwer rašek voilá la surveillante générale qui arrive
233 J:merde elle sait que j'ai cours maintenant miyyek miyyek
234 B:šafi šafi elle a fait demi tour elle t'a pas vu
235 J: je vais faire un coup d'état dans ce lycée lá
236 B: tu es mrid nta ašaḥbi voila quelque chose d'intéressant on enregistre ici hahiya Farah
237 K: salut
238 B: tu veux du coca Farah
239 K: non merci merci je viens d'en prendre
240 A: taxdi des petits fours
241 K: la šukran šukran
242 B: écoutes Farah njebdu dak le fameux sujet ana wiyyak
243 K: non non..
244 B: °laš ašnu fiha je veux parler f-waḥed le sujet lli tanhedru fih ana wiyyaha bezzaf
245 A: yallah hder nsaḥeb ana
246 B: la la tu peux rester de toute façon ça va être enregistré enregistré alors waxa tensaḥeb ça n-change absolument rien
247 G: Samia tu veux un morceau
248 I: non merci c'est bon ça va j'ai pas faim
249 E: tu sais °endna une interro daba w mahafdin walu ..
250 A: tay kun ši ḥed hnaya bin l-ṭnaš w l-weḥda
251 E: entre midi et une heure gaykun asmitu..
252 A: les inter-cours
253 E:non maši inter-cours y aura plein d-monde les étudiants qui commencent les cours á une heure se rassemblent devant le portail tatkun la foule
254 A: bon tana nemši ntgedda bin l-ṭnaš w l-weḥda w nerje° après
255 E: kayn ši ḥed hna taydir s-socio men ġirek nta
256 A: ah zuj
257 E: zuj c'est tout
258 A: ana tandir s-sociologie
259 E: fin hna f-Rabat
260 A:tandir t-troisième cylcle en sociologie w tanqra les langues neqra l-portugais w j-japonais
261 E: tu fais le Japonais
262 A: hada dyal l-ḥruf les caractères
263 E: ça alors vraiment
264 A:°endi bzzaf had š-ši dyal l-ḥruf dyal waḥed le genre d-l-ḥruf w fih á peu prés trois cents caractères w huma en total les caractères kaywešlu l-cinq mille
265 E: cinq mille lettres
266 A: xešek alfayn baš teqra j-journal
267 E:°laš w xemsalaf kulhum nécessaires pour apprendre la langue

- 268 A: c'est pour ça hada taytteqra bjuj turu:q
269 D: c'est trop développé pour nous c'est pas bon
270 A: maši trop développé plutôt arriéré
271 D: c'est vrai c'est pour cela que j'ai dis que c'est compliqué
272 A: non regarde kayn des fois xeṣu yteqra bħal hna
273 D:walakin huma ils n'ont pas le même système que nous hna c'est les lettres avec des lettres tu fais des mots huma °endhum des mots
274 A: walakin ma°endhumš matalan ħerf l-ba t-ta
275 D: bħal hna f-l-°erbyya
276 E: tatddir hadak le truc walakin A quoi sert tout ça
277 A: nti aš tatqray hna
278 E: Français Anglais
279 A: walakin tu ne t'es pas encore spécialisée il y a des gens par exemple qui se spécialisent en linguistique
280 D: ehuh
281 A: le plus tu te spécialises le plus de recherche tu dois faire ana j'aide had le type qui fait des recherches
282 E: maš nta lli ta-d-dirriger les recherches
283 D: nta tu va lui envoyer had l'enregistrement brut zecma maddir fih la comentaire la walu
284 A: šifet lu waħed déjà w men ba°d je vais lui envoyer trois autres cassettes
285 E: tu vas rester debout
286 D: non tu sais °endna des fichiers qu'il faut lire au sujet du phénomène de l'assimilation je veux tani les voire avant que je ne décide quelle partie choisir pour...
287 E: pour l'heure de l'expression orale
288 A: qu'est ce que tu veux dire par l'assimilation
289 D: c'est lorsque tu socialises ou je ne sais quoi
290 E: normalement je crois que c'est quand on assimile des principes des valeurs étrangères comme si elles nous appartiennent
291 A: ħna maqinahaš b-l-fransawiyya ana qariha b-l°erbya
292 D: en général l' assimilation c'est lorsque tu assimiles les normes et les valeurs d'une société
293 A: dans quel cadre
294 E: moi, je trouve ça. .. alors lá
295 D: tu as lu waħed l'article lli kteb waħed f-le magazine du lycée
296 E: j'ai lu le truc mais je l'ai pas trouvé très intéressant
297 G: vous parlez de l'assimilation
298 E: oui ..tu peux donner ton idée
299 G: c' est quoi c'est un processus d'acculturation où la culture macro a disparu.
300 E: voilà
301 D:oui l'acculturation c'est ça
302 G:l'acculturation est quand tu as une culture qui viens et qui impose sa culture sur une autre
303 D: bħal hna
304 A:had le terme dyal Bourdieu
305 E: non maši Bourdieu man°ref
306 A:ntuma tayqrriwkum les termes mataygululikumš mnin tayjiw
307 E: la la kay kay..
308 G:si si..

- 309 D:tanhedru 'la Bourdieu mais pas comme á la fac
310 A:walakin l'acculturation c'est quoi au juste
311 E:je te donnes un exemple quand tu vois des jeunes marocains qui ont laissé tomber leur traditions et leur culture pour une culture étrangère
312 G:ça c'est l'assimilation
313 E:non l'assimilation c'est la conséquence d-l'acculturation l'acculturation précède l'assimilation
314 G:c'est ici
315 D:attends attends l'acculturation c'est quand on a une culture qui vient et qui envahit
316 G:l'assimilation c'est quand on perd notre culture
317 A:l'imperialisme ça fait partie du monde de l' acculturation
318 G:l'assimilation vraiment c'est lorsque tu abandonnes toute attache avec tes racines
319 A:l'assimilation c'est
320 D:attends d'accord attends l'acculturation c'est la perte d'une culture en vue d'une autre et l'assimilation est une conséquence c'est l'intégration complète c'est l'identification d'une personne par rapport aux modes de pensées occidentales
321 G:l'assimilation c'est le résultat de l'acculturation
322 C:c'est généralement quand on s'intègre il y a différentes formes d'intégrations toi tu t'intègres.. c'est à dire que l'acculturation par exemple tu es dans ton pays et tu suis un modèle par exemple le modèle européen c'est de l'acculturation
323 D:non ça n'est pas ça l'acculturation
324 G:tu abandonnes toutes tes traditions alors que l'assimilation c'est à dire par exemple les immigrés en France ils abandonnent tout a fait leur culture leur traditions pour ..
325 C:c'est ce que je viens de dire
326 D:mais dans un pays même tu vois on ne parle pas d'acculturation dans ce sens
327 C:si si c'est ça l'assimilation l'assimilation elle combine les normes et les valeurs d'une société avec celles d'une autre
328 G:voilà comme quand on change de religion comme on change de valeurs et quand tu t'intègres aussi..
329 D:mais nous sommes assimilés comme je
330 G:oui oui on représente le produit de l'assimilation parfaite
331 E: non on a une intégration parfaite
332 C:on a notre intégration dans la société française et notre intégration dans la société marocaine
333 F:non on a notre religion notre langue notre système de valeurs mais en même temps on est intégré à une autre société
334 A: aš men řariqa ...l'assimilation tay gulu likum hadi hiyya la science
335 E:non on ne parle pas de .. pas dans ce cas
336 A:ašnu tatqraw f-s-sociologie
337 F:hna par exemple on l'a fait l'année dernière
338 A:ašnu qritu fiha
339 L:qu'est ce qu'il a dit
340 F:ce qu' on a étudié en sociologie
341 A: makatefhemš l-^carbiyya bda yterjem liha l-le français
342 L:bonjour si si je comprends
343 F:salut Nawal tu peux nous parler un peu de ce vous étudiez en sociologie
344 L: pourquoi

- 345 E:c'est Mohammed qui nous a posé la question on parlait de l'assimilation et l'acculturation
- 346 L:je sais je l'ai entendu ben en sociologie nous on a étudié les noms specialisés en philo-texte tels que Durkeim Weber Bourdieu Gaudon
- 347 A: vous travaillez sur des textes
- 348 L: de Gaudon et Bourdieu...
- 349 E: tu es debile toi
- 350 A: la xtari kayn Gaudon w kayn Bourdieu
- 351 L: tu n' es pas intelligente du tout toi
- 352 A:Gaudon ašnu smitu Raymond
- 353 M:hadak Raymond Bourdieu hadak
- 354 A: lla
- 355 M: Pierre Bourdieu
- 356 A: hadak Pierre
- 357 L: Pierre Pierre
- 358 A: w Gaudon ašnu smmitu hada Raymond lli °endu les méthodes
- 359 L: on voit les differentes approches comment chacun...par exemple
- 360 A: katqrawha f-l-felsafa wela katqrawha f...
- 361 L: s-sociologie
- 362 M:la f-l-qtīša:ǧ l' économie
- 363 F:l-qtīša:ǧ l-qtīša:ǧ w...
- 364 A:l-madda d-l-qtīša:ǧ
- 365 L:hna šu^ʿba économie
- 366 A:li'anna šhal men merra kanji l-hna ma^ʿumri makan^ʿref bi'ana kayn nass lli kaydiru l'économi
- 367 L:kayn reb^ʿa kbar
- 368 E:il est amoureux d'elle
- 369 L:comment
- 370 E:il est amoureux de toi šefti comment ila la regarde w kaysmec très attentivement
- 371 L:mabǧituš je peux avoir une
- 372 M:je n'en ai pas
- 373 L:°laš y a qu'nous deux nous deux
- 374 M:arrêtes non non
- 375 L:nous deux nous deux qu'est ce qu'il y a
- 376 M:ykun dayz ši waħed on n' sait jamais
- 377 L:il n'y a personne allez
- 378 M:geltlik mettafqin la dessus
- 379 L:c'est pas juste
- PAUSE**
- 380 A:hana ġadi ǧerja^ʿ šafi
- 381 D:ašnu ġedda á dix heures c'est pas possible si tu veux á onze heures
- 382 A:waxa l-ħǧaš nkun hna
- 383 D:ila lqitini huwa hadak ila makuntš šafi
- 384 A:šafi ana ġadi nkun hna ġadi nkun hna ma^ʿendi fin nemši
- 385 D:d'accord
- 386 A:merci
- 387 D:pas de quoi
- 388 A:hahuwa Karim aš xbar j-japoniyya gulti dik n-nhar kateqraha
- 389 N:ça va un p'tit peu

- 390 A:škun makayfhemš
391 D:hada le dernier d-la classe
392 A:ašnu makayfhemš w karim
393 D: karim
394 A: rah °rad °liya rah kent ġadi kanqalleb melli huwa °red °liya yak
395 N:wašnu nta kaddir kaddir l'étude des langues yak
396 A:kandir s-sociologie w hna kandir une recherche
397 N: enregistré tu es entrain d' enregistrer lá
398 D:tu as enseigné au par avant a Mohamed
399 A:non je n'ai jamais enseigné enfin pas vraiment
400 D:l-tnaš sonate wella pas encore salut
401 O:bonjour
402 D: je te présente Mohamed
403 O: enchantée
404 A:wašnu smittek be°da
405 O: °Alia °Alia
406 A:hadi s-smiya l-megribiya be°da
407 N:hiya hadik °Alia smiyetha
408 A:kanšuf la plupart dyal d-drari taykunu hna
409 N:ah bezzaf
410 A:w kulši mebli bnat w wlad
411 N:wa ga° lli kaykmi rah mebli ga° lli kaykmi rah mebli
412 A:la d-drari la l-bnat tout le monde fume ici
413 N:wa de toute façon ça n'veut rien dire ze°ma quand tu distingue entre filles et garçons la cigarette représente un danger pour les deux
414 A:uhm
415 N:makaynš bhal daba dgul l-bent matkmiš w l-weld yekmi
416 A:walakin f-l-mujtama° l-megribi l-bnat makaykmiwš
417 N:iwa l-mujtama° l-megribi rah xašu yṭ-ṭawer maḡašuš yebqa huwa huwa
418 A:ah wehda t-tafqat m°aya
419 O:°la qlal l-bnat lli qui ne fument pas luxrin ġir mataybanuš
420 N: kifaš qlal makaybanuš
421 O: iwa ašna huwaya les filles marocaines gallek qui ne fument pas
422 N: ah ah
423 O: f-les écoles marocaines ga° kulhum elles fument
424 A:walakin maši ze°ma f-les écoles marocaines
425 O:kulhum tout l-monde fume
426 A:ya°ni hadu l-°adiyyin dyalna dyal l-ḡukuma
427 O:absolument
428 A:l-bnat kaykmiw fihum
429 O:ça t'étonnes ntaya
430 N:rah dak z-ziyar dak z-ziyar w dak š-ši kullu ces des trucs comme ça qui developpent la prostitution w dak š-ši enfin
431 A:kenna f-l'internat w kenna m-zayrine w dak š-ši alors lli kanu kakmiw kanu une minorité
432 N:ahah
433 A:ya°ni haduk lli kanu kaykmiw kanu une faible minorité
434 N:et les autres tu crois que melli yexerju ils ne vont pas essayer de fumer
435 A:ah enfin °el 'aqal nta melli getti liya

- 436 N:dak z-ziyar dik l'opression hiyya á mon avis huwa qui développe dik dik l'adolescence retardée et tout ce qui va avec
- 437 A:w melli katerxi melli katerxi melli katerxi lihum kate^ctaqed annahum
- 438 N:lla il faut quand même pas aller d'un extrême á l'autre quand on interdit quelque chose on explique pourquoi
- 439 A:ah hadi muhimma annak terxi w t-fesser
- 440 N:katerxi w t-fesser
- 441 A:le malheur huwa annahum raxyine likum walakin makayfessruš l-d-drari bi'anna had š-ši xayb w bi'anna had š-ši mudir
- 442 N:l-la kayfessru
- 443 A:walakin hahuma
- 444 N:walakin je ne suis pas vraiment d'accord m^ca ši hwayj bhal daba la cigarette doit être interdite au sein du lycée c'est vrai moi je suis entièrement d'accord avec toi kun makanš walakin ze^cma ašnu ngullik elle doit être interdite au lycée parceque bhal daba s'il y avait pas la cigarette au lycée peut être pas moi moi j'avais commencé en dehors du lycée mais si elle était interdite fe-l-lycée bezaf men hadu lli kaykmiw maykunuš kaykmiw
- 445 A: kayt^calmuha f-l-lycée
- 446 N:ah kayt^calmuha au lycée avant ou entre les cours
- 447 A:donc kaykunu bhal hakda en groupes w-taybdaw
- 448 N:bien sur
- 449 A:kayšufu šhabhum w kaydiru bhalhum
- 450 N:et c'est comme ça que ça devient une habitude et puis un besoin
- 451 A:ha l-muštalaħat dyal dak asmitu Bourdieu l'habitude l'acculturation ga^c had š-ši kamel rah kayqriwkum Bourdieu walakin maka t-šduš dak š-ši f-r-ras
- 452 N:iwa ils essayent de faire walakin maġa yemkenlekš bhal daba waħed f-t-taħdiri t^celm lih les equations kat^celmu be^cda yehseb
- 453 A:walakin waš hadeš-ši lli kayqerriwkum sociologique
- 454 N:lla ħna ^cendna kayn be^cda ġir f-la branche nta^c l'économie kayna la branche ta^c l'économie yak
- 455 A:ahah
- 456 N:w f-la branche dyal l'économie tayqeriw la sociologie
- 457 A:kayqeriw la sociologie
- 458 N:walakin n-nuš dyal l-programe sociologie w n-nuš qtisad
- 459 A:w men be^cd fin kaytwejhu šhab l' économie hnaya
- 460 N:kaytwejhu ya'imma vers des écoles de commerce wella ši ħaja
- 461 A:ana n-gulhalik men daba la sociologie ila maqritihaš r-rasek rak mat šed walu kayn ši ħaja f-had l-l-xer bdat kattewer aji be^cda šeft la plupart lli hnaya kayhedru b-l-Français kifaš l-qadiya waš snobisme wella
- 462 N:lla c'est pas du snobisme c'est le phénomène de l'acculturation
- 463 A:baqyin ġa kanhadru ^cliha
- 464 N:iwa hiya hadi c'est le phénomène de l'acculturation iwa quand tu as par exemple toutes les matières nta^cek katqrahum en Français w ga^c les profs lli ^cendek kayhedru en Français ^cendek ġir matière weħda lli kateqra b-l-^carbiya hiya l-^carbiya kifaš mabġitiš
- 465 A:makerhuš daba yeqraw l-^carbiya b-l-fransawiya
- 466 N:ta daba rah kayn les profs dyal l-^carbiya kayqeriwk kaybdaw y-ħadru en Français
- 467 A:yak ^cadituhum

- 468 N:walakin 'laš ħna 'laš on parle Français on ne parlerait pas Anglais 'laš daba nta bon nta tu fais plusieurs langues walakin ta l-bac kenti katehder l-^carbiya w l-Français 'laš xtariti l-Français w ma xtaritiš par exemple
- 469 A:farđuha 'liya maši xtaritha
- 470 N:voilà walakin 'laš 'laš farđuha l-Français w maferđuš luġa xra ħit daz listi^cmar w daz hada yak ħit jaw n-nšara llehna yak oui ou non
- 471 A:ahah
- 472 N:wara c'est exactement la même chose l-sti^cmar tqada walakin mazal mazal les Français
- 473 A:msta^cmrine mazal baqaya dyal s-sti^cmar
- 474 N:maši qadiyya dyal ħadyine men s-sarjem walakin indirectement c'est ça
- 475 O:bħal f-l'egypte ceux qui parlent l'Anglais sont considérés comme de vrais intellos alors que ceux qui ne le parlent pas...
- 476 N:leur deuxième langue hiya l'Anglais
- 477 A:^cala ayyine kayn waħed l-mes'ala mezyana huwa anna:hu ba^cd l-kutab lli kayketbu b-l-faransiya kayfekru 'annahum y^cawdu l-kitabat dyalhum b-l'Anglais kayketbu b-l'Anglais li'annahu ta waħed makayeqra l-Français
- 478 N:walakin ça c'est des exceptions ana kanehder 'la en général 'la la société l-mujtama:^c bi'akmali:h
- 479 A:ħna t-ferđat 'lina makanš ^cendna xtiyar
- 480 N:ah?
- 481 A:ħna t-ferđat 'lina makanš ^cendna xtiyar
- 482 N:ta ħna daba b-waħed t-tariqa ra t-ferđat 'lina
- 483 A:walakin b-n-nesba l-n-nas lli kayqraw f-l'institut Descartes fakayn l-Français f-les écoles marocaines walakin f-l-lycée Descartes ktar walakin lli kayji lel-madaris dyal les missions kaye^craf bi'annahu men l-mefru:đ 'lih bi'annahu mel mefru:đ 'li:h yehder b-l-Français ktar
- 484 O:les parents huma lli kayħatmuh 'lina
- 485 N:lla bon d'accord waxa t-ferđat 'lik walakin indirectement.. indirectement rah taħna le système éducatif nta^cna le système éducatif publique ta^cna t-tahuwa fregħa b-waħed t-tariqa waš meġ-tafeq m^caya bi'anna le système éducatif publique marocain w ze^cma hadi rah kayhedru 'liha f-l-'axbar f-t-télévision w kulši bi'annahu il n'est pas au niveau c'est pas un système éducatif au niveau
- 486 A:hadi la tuna:qaš
- 487 N:yak be^cda j'ai raison la dessus
- 488 A:ayeh ayeh walakin il faut quand même...
- 489 N:lla ġir tebbe^cni
- 490 A:mettafeq m^cak walakin comme j'allais dire rah
- 491 N:bellati yak donc ce qui te pousse d'aller vers un autre système éducatif qui entre guillemets semble-t-il meilleur entre guillemets eh magultš b-đ-đarura c'est le meilleur walakin entre guillemets semble -t-il le meilleur walakin pour arriver á hadak tu fais un sacrifice tu fais le sacrifice de ta culture pas de ta culture entièrement walkain de ta langue
- 492 A:^candkum des étrangers hnaya kayqraw m^cakum f-l-lycée
- 493 N:ahah kayn m^cana des Italiens des Français hahuwa hada c'est un Italien je te présente Mathias
- 494 A:enchanté
- 495 N:kayqra hnaya
- 496 A:idan kaynin m^cakum les étrangers bzzaf f-šbaħ šeft ana waħed t-tunsi
- 497 N:ayeh kayn t-twansa

- 498 A:w šuft wehdin xrin maykunu ġir wlad w kulši makayn ġir lli kayehder b-l-français l-merra l-wahida lli sme^othum kayhedru b-l-^oarbia hiya melli kanu kayt^oayru biha katjbed ġir l-masa'il l-xaybat
- 499 N: bon n-kemlu l-hedra nta^ona
- 500 A:ayeh idan gelti belli katedter temši l-un système meilleur w katedter baš ddehi b-la culture dyalek
- 501 N:t-taqafa nta^oek w lluga nta^oek
- 502 A:b-taqaftek w b-luġtek walakin n-šufu kayn t-taħawula:t l-^oa:lamiya l-luga l-faransiya: w n-nida:m t-tarbawi: dyalha ma bqaš f-iddu
- 503 N:lla makanhderš ana ^oel la langue kanehder ^oel le système éducatif ^ola la façon d'enseigner et qu' est ce qu'ils t'enseignent maši avec quelle langue ils t'enseignent c'est á dire kun kanet bħal daba le même enseignement la façon d'enseigner et ce qu'on enseigne ydiruh lina ta b-š-šelħa lla bšaħ ġadi ykun meilleur hadik sa^oat la langue ce sera autre chose
- 504 A:idan nta daba la langue makatšufš belli ^oendha dawr f-l-^oamaliya t-tarbawiya:
- 505 N:lla ^oendha dawr dans le sens si c'est en Anglais c'est c'est...
- 506 A:lla daba kayhedru ^oel t-ta^ori:b taygulu belli saba:b ta'axur n-nida:m t-tarbawi: l-maġribi: huwa l-farņasa
- 507 N:ahah
- 508 A:aji n-rej^ou l-t-ta^orib n-ref^ou l-t-ta^orib
- 509 N:la la smeħ liya ġadi n-bdaw n-hedru ^oel t-ta^orib hadi ħaja xra w maši ġir ana lli tangulu rah ce sont les dirrigeants du pays qui disent que c'est du n'importe quoi ça a été une politique qui qui ça a été de la merde tayqerriwk b-l-^oarbiya ta l-bac kaduz l-la fac kulši kayteqleb bel-Français kifaš bġiti had d-deri yeqra imma ^oarreb kulši imma farnes kulši daba huma kayhdru ^oel les diverses méthodes baš yħesnu l'enseignement
- 510 A:hakak iwa gul liya l-mes'ala kanet meqsuda
- 511 N:maši meqsuda magultš ana bi'annaha meqsuda lla
- 512 P:de quoi vous parlez
- 513 N: eh
- 514 P:de quoi vous parlez
- 515 N:de l'arabisation
- 516 A:t-ta^orib melli kat-qerri l-waħed ta l-bac w men be^od katgullu katqleb
- 517 N:lla taykun qra b-waħed l-luga ta l-bac w men be^od katqleb lih dik lluga kifaš bġitih kifaš bġitih y...
- 518 P:bħal f-waħed l-weqt kan au Maroc tout s'enseignait en Arabe et á un moment donné qelbu lihum kulši galu lhum bon voilà on va faire les maths en Français
- 519 N:c'est une question de logique ou bien tu mets tout en Français ou tu mets tout en Arabe
- 520 P:wella en même temps c'est á dire qu'ils expliquent en Arabe w kaydir lik l'équivalent en Français
- 521 N:wa ça á la rigueur c'est mieux c'est bien
- 522 P:oui mais c'est c'est un travail de plus et je trouve que c'n'est pas vraiment nécessaire
- 523 A:bon f-nadarak ašnu ħsen anna tkun l-^oarbiya mentašra wella ykun l-français mentašer
- 524 P:non il faut qu'il y ait les deux langues parcequ'on est dans un pays francophone
- 525 N:bilinguiste
- 526 P:oui bilinguiste donc il faut qu'on aie deux langues
- 527 A:ih walakin kaytexleq lina muškil

- 528 P:katelqa nas °endhum des professeurs wella des porteurs de licences ou de maitrises qui ne peuvent pas se débrouiller en Français
- 529 A:aji n-gullik l-fransawiyine imta kayqriw l-luga t-tanya l-wladhum f-ay sin
- 530 N:f err f-la première année lli hiya kaysemmiwha f-s-système marocain s-sixième
- 531 A: idan ta kaydouwez xams snin °ad kay...
- 532 N:ta kay duwez xams snin °ad kay qraha f-l btida'i
- 533 A:xams snin f-l-btida'i f-la langue dyalu maternelle
- 534 P:ahah f-sa langue maternelle
- 535 A:hna yallah kateqra katedxul l-°arbiya kateqra kate°ref l-ħuruf wella makate°refhumš men be°d wellit tanemši rarement l-les cours d'Arabe
- 536 N:kaduz l-CE1(un) CE2 (deux)
- 537 A:lla l-bit t-tania l-bit t-tania
- 538 N:l-bit t-talet je pense
- 539 A:lla l-bit t-talet kaykun l'enfant baqi mašeddš waħed lluga katluħ lih luga xra kaywelli confus makay°ref waš yšed hadi wella hadi
- 540 N:lla lla lla maši dak š-ši
- 541 A:wa ana kanqerri d-drari et je peux te dire que d-drari arrivent á un stade où ils confondent les deux langues
- 542 N:šuf šuf kayna ta:riqa baš t-°almu dak š-ši ila bgiti d-deri yebda yetkellem quatres langues w huwa mazal ga°ma ye°ref yekteb w yeqra tariqa baš ġadi t-°almu biha hiya lli kaysemmiwha la pédagogie
- 543 A: ila kanet muntadima ila °allemtih btariqa mezyana waxa tluhu l-mane°ref fin yeṭla° kayhder mezyan men t-teħdiri
- 544 N:biensûr me°lum me°lum bħal ana f- CP1 kunt kaneħder b-l-°arbiya w l-fransawiya w nekteb b-l-°arbiya w l-fransawiya sans aucun problème
- 545 P:daba notre pays il est en voie de développement et il faut privilégier des domaines il a privilégié la santé il a privilégié l'hygiène privilégié l'infrastructure etc et c' est ce qu'on a fait jusqu'á présent le gouvernement a privilégié tout ça alors maintenant il faut privilégier l'enseignement
- 546 N:uhum
- 547 P:malheureusement l'enseignement est délaissé donc il faut privilégier l'enseignement
- 548 N:°laš parceque l'enseignement est la base de toute société
- 549 P:voilà l'enseignement c'est plus important
- 550 A: °laš li'annahu kan xaṭa' men l'awwel škun lli kan xasu
- 551 P:lla makanš xaṭa' men l'awwel li'anna:hu l-meħrib °ad bda on est dans un pays qui vient de commencer il est en voie de développement maši sous developé
- 552 N:il n'est pas trop tard mazal tout tout il n'est jamais trop tard
- 553 P:fhemti xeš d-dula walabedda ddir un bilan ġan ħuṭtu flusna f-had š-ši kulši f-l'infrastructure ġanbniw ddyur nbniw les immeubles les sociétés et tout ça donc il ont une tendance á délaisser l'enseignement
- 554 A:men qbel
- 555 P:ayeh had š-ši men qbel daba °ad il y a du nouveau il ont pris les mesures nécessaires pour privilégier l'enseignement pour apporter du nouveau á l'enseignement mais tout ça ce n'est que récent quand même ce n'est que maintenant qu'on pense beaucoup á l'enseignement tayħawlu daba baš y-develop-iw un nouveau système
- 556 N:il faut penser á l'enseignement
- 557 A:daba huma kayħedru °el les diverses méthodes baš yħesnu l'enseignement

- 558 P:biensûr mais il ont délaissé l'enseignement maintenant qu'ils se sont repris c'est tout á fait normal toute société passe par lá
- 559 A:daba melli kayhedru °el l'enseignement kaygulu belli l'enseignement rah ši haja lli makatentej linaš taygulu xasna n°tiwh qal
- 560 P:lla ils sont conscients ils sont conscients tout l-monde est conscient de l'importance de l'enseignement
- 561 N: iwa °ad déniérement ja le rapport de la banque mondiale rah biyyen lli kan ze°ma il n'a rien caché il a montré que l'un des principaux défauts si ce n'est pas le principal défaut lli huwa l'enseignement
- 562 A:lla huwa l-'asa:s
- 563 N:huwa l-'asa:s l'enseignement huwa huwa daba waš yemken lik t°iš bla matkun qari impossible
- 564 A:impossible n-nas rahum kayhedru °la maħw l-'ummiya w hna baqyin mamħina walu šhal daba kanu dekru waħed n-nisba w kanu galu belli f-sanat alfayn ma ġadi yebqa taħed
- 565 N:w be°da had l-qadiyya dyal muħarabat l-'ummiya katelqa waħed °endu xemsa w settin °am kayemši l-muħarabat l-'ummiya w baġi yeqra kayxruj kaylqa waħed d-deri °endu set snin kay bi° d-detail wa be°da qerri hada wella hada qerri waħed fihum wella qerrihum bjuj
- 566 A:hadak mul sett wella seb° snin °laš maġadiš yeqra li'ana °endu xuh f-d-dar °endu l-licence maxedamš ye°ni l'enseignement kann xaṭa' men l-luwel fhemtini qerraw n-nas f-l-luwel had n-nas šeddu des postes men be°d dak š-ši lli kaytxarrej men l-jami°a makanš tawazun bin s-suq w ya°ni bin l-°ard w t- talab w n-nas lli kanu kaytxerju makay ysibu maydiru des milliers de licenciés galsin f-dyurhum °ad baqi d-deri s-ġir yeqra
- 567 P:hta en France il y a le même problème ta° š-chomage
- 568 A:lla walakin kayn farq mabin š-chomage dyalna w š-chomage dyalhum kayn ferq
- 569 N:bessaħ kayn ferq kbir hna rah quand katbi° d-détail tu es considéré comme si tu travailles
- 570 P:walakin tu n'es pas recensé dans la population active
- 571 N:walakin tu crois que ce sont des recensements correctes ici au Maroc c'est des estimations y a pas d'ANTE y a pas
- 572 P:°laš parceque le problème hna baqyin °endna duk les p'tites villes zniqat fin kayn les p'tits coins dyal où tu vois il y a encore ça on est un pays qui est entrain de se développer il faut donner du temps
- 573 A:donner du temps laš
- 574 P:°la la France ġir jaw w wellaw bħal hakdak les états unis ġir jaw w wellaw bħal hakdak
- 575 A:Franša messatna maši ġir jat w wellat bħal hakak Fransa messatna w baqa katstamer
- 576 P:w daba hada c'est le problème dyal la colonisation
- 577 A:w baqa á présent w raha muškil
- 578 P: c'est le phénomène de la colonisation
- 579 A:lla w baqi mestamer le problème dyal l'endettement baqi °endna muškil tayjiw dak š-ši lli katebqa katejme° bħal lli kaydir bna dem m°a n-ħal dak š-ši lli katejme° nta m°ahum melli katsellef men °andhum Fransa °endhum del °aqliya dyalhum n-nas lli kaynetju n-nas lli kayestetmru °endna hna l-bourjoiziiyyin hna yemši yebni lik °imara gedha geddaš yemši yefraha w maydirlikš meslaħa li

- anna xaṣu n-naqaba w ddaman lejtima^oi aš tgul lih l-bourjoiziya dyalna maši nas
lli asmitu lli kayherku ga^o ila darha kayemši yhetha fel'abnak dyal berra
- 580 P: la génération lli ṭal^a elle est ça va elle est consciente de tout ça
- 581 A:consciente de quoi
- 582 P:si si
- 583 A: duri f-š-šari^o tšufi des milliers de jeunes mtkyine ^oel-ḥyut
- 584 P: ma^oendhum maydiru ils n'ont pas d- boulot
- 585 N:d'accord d'accord lá je suis d'accord avec toi
- 586 A:gadi ne^oṭik un exemple lli ma^oruf ^oalamiyan l'Allemagne men be^od l-ḥarb klat
le^oṣa lli maklaha ḥtta ši dawla ^oašr snin w hahiya naḍet idan l-mes'ala hiya
met^oelqa b-l-^oeqliya lli katsiyyer maši b^oendek ma ^oendekš had d-docteur
Charques jabtu Andunisya
- 587 P:ḥna š-ša^ob dyalna makaybgiwš yfekru
- 588 N:non il ne faut pas dire ça non non j'suis pas d'accord
- 589 N:si si si
- 590 N:non écoute ^ola kayn ši ḥad lli kayxlaq haka kayexlaq w kaygul mabgitš nṭawer
safi
- 591 P:la la c'est á dire que c'est
- 592 N:non c'est pas comme ça c'est un problème d'idées
- 593 P:bon alors comment expliquer le problème ta^o les immigrés lli kaymšiw l-fransa
il part en France il trouve un boulot kaywelli ^oendu lli kay^oiš ḥsen men n'importe
qui iči et pourtant il n'intégre pas f-dik la société c'est á dire que kayrje^o lehna
bḥal la ^oumru ma mša l-fransa kayrje^o lehna bḥal ^oumru ma qra temma wella šaf
qu'est ce qui se passe labás comment les gens vivent comment ils ont l'habitude
de vivre et tout ça il revient ici bḥal la ^oumru mamša l-fransa il revient ici
kay^oawd ydir les mêmes conneries la même chose
- 594 A:li'ana š-ša^ob dyalna makayfhemš
- 595 P:voilà li'ana š-ša^ob makaybgiš yexdem
- 596 N:ça c'est carrément une forme de racisme ce que tu dis lá
- 597 P:lla ce n'est pas une forme de racisme ^olaš
- 598 N:écoutes un peu c'est á partir du moment où tu admets qu'un peuple veut se
developer et un autre peuple ne veut pas se développer ça n'est pas logique le fait
de dire qu'un peuple est doté d'un certain degré d'intelligence et un autre ne l'est
pas alors tu passes á une autre dimension le problème n'est pas d'avoir ou non de
l'intelligence mais de savoir dirriger cette intelligence vers où tu veux lá alors
c'est tout le système qui est concerné c'est tout le système qui est pourri
- 599 P:tout le système tu veux dire que
- 600 N:non non je ne parle pas du système je parle de l'enseignement et donc du
système éducatif le système éducatif est mauvais et tout le monde est d'accord
avec ça le système éducatif est mauvais donc je me demande si tune formes pas
une génération par le système éducatif par quoi tu vas la former donc si ton
système éducatif est mauvais tu formes une mauvaise génération
- 601 P:nos parents je crois que ce sont les premiers c'est la première génération qui
ont eu le bac au moins minimum le bac
- 602 N:nos parents nos parents á nous gens aisés maši les parents á tout le monde
- 603 P:ayeh la génération de nos parents la génération des parents de mes parents
maqrawš si le problème est toujours lá d'ici vinght ans pour une autre génération
alors lá c'est grave on est entrain de comparer la société dyalna avec la société
française la société française elle est passée par elle aussi elle a connu les mêmes
problèmes les mêmes histoires

- 604 N:moi quand je suis entrain de discuter des débats pareils je ne me sens pas libre
- 605 A:lla smeħ liya
- 606 P:comment
- 607 N:je ne me sens pas libre quand je discute des sujets pareils
- 608 P:et pourquoi
- 609 A:tu ne te sens pas á l' aise
- 610 N:je peux pas dire tout ce que je veux et ça aussi c'est peut être un autre défaut de notre système
- 611 A:smeħ li smeħ li n-gullik attendez attendez kateqraw s-sociologie yak kayn asmitu kayn un facteur maxešnaš n-nsawh développement dyal fransa w dyal l-megrib men gbila w ntuma katqarnu binathum fransa ttewrat b t-tawra s-sina:°iya wa smitu w l-'isti°ma:r mayemkenlikš finma kayban lik insan hna fih šwiya dyal dduw kayaxduh °andhum wella y-qetluh
- 612 P:škunahuma lli kayqetluh
- 613 A:bħal les marocains lli kanu kaytqetlu fi rusiya w hadak l-marocain lli kan sejjel šo ħaja dyal l'uranium wella
- 614 N:ta° n-nucléaire nucléaire hadak men l-°a'ila °endna
- 615 A:hadak yallah qeddemha l-malik wella °tah l-malik ja'iza je ne sais comment ça c' est passé dazet trois jours w teqtel di t-triq dyal suq lareb°a wella comme ça wahed l-megribi axur °endu vinght ans kanu xeddamin kan très doué kan °ayš f-Canada qetluh idan ha huma ils te bloquent lli mumkin ysahem f-t-tanmiya f-d-développement dyalek
- 616 P:il faut dire que ce n'est pas un problème á nous maši gir ħnaya lli °endna had le problème hadaya ra šħal men intellectuel w šħal men scientifique w šħal men lli tqetlu f les pays européens et des et des
- 617 A:lla le problème est un problème á nous parceque ħna melli fransa kanet kattewer frasha ma kanuš les arabes kay..
- 618 P:melli kanet fransa kattewer on était colonisés le problème á nous °laš matterš en même temps que les autres pays développés c'est parcequ'on était colonisés
- 619 A:les experts kaygulu belli
- 620 N:dans un sens d'accord d'accord walakin c'est une solution très facile que de dire que ħna on ne s'est pas développé parcequ'on était un pays colonisé l-colonialisme ra daz ra men mille neuf cent cinquante six ta l-daba tal daba
- 621 P:pourquoi on est en retard pourquoi on est en retard
- 622 N:l- colonialisme ra daz
- 623 P:pourquoi on est en retard puisqu'on a pris notre indépendance en milleneuf cent cinquante six iwa alors on est en quelle année on est en quatrevinght dixsept ben lá je trouve que c'est un parcours normal
- 624 N:pas du tout
- 625 P:°laš
- 626 N:pas du tout chaque chose a des points positifs et négatifs le colonialisme a plus de points négatifs que de points positifs ça je suis tout á fait d'accord mais il y a plein d-choses les chemins de fer par exemple les chemins d'fer lli xallaw n-sara huwa lli bqaw tal daba šnu t-triq men Wejda ta l-Agadir men Wejda ta l-Merrakš ta l-Merrakš mazala men cinquante six l- daba et pour faire un chemin de fer il te faut combien cent ans
- 627 P:walakin on a construit des autoroutes on a construit
- 628 N:combien d'autoroutes on a construit une w weħda mazal matsalatš
- 629 P:en plus ħna les ressources lli °endna w les revenus lli °endna
- 630 N:tu sais ce que je vais te dire écoutes écoutes je suis d'accord avec toi

- 631 P:lla bellati ašnu huma les ressources lli °endna qu'est ce qu'on a comme ressources au Maroc
- 632 N:mais á mon avis aujourd'hui il ne faut plus se lamenter et dire rah ħeqa c'est á cause du colonialisme
- 633 P:non non je suis d'accord avec toi non ana gultlek °laš on est en retard parrapport aux autres pays développés °laš pourquoi les pays sous développés wella en voie de développement pourquoi ils sont en retard
- 634 N:l-muhim on n'en finira jamais c'est une situation compliquée on verra bien ce qui va arriver dans le future on ne sait jamais j'espère bien que ça va changer.

APPENDIX 2

DATA SET 2

- 1 A:les usines ga° kulhum kayermiw les déchets dyalhum f-l-bher wella la aṣahbi
2 B:ašnu ze°ma mabqa hut xellina naklu l-cot-lete hna aš getti a s-si l-mufek-ki:r
n°amru cholestérole matji fin tewṣel l-quarante wella quarante cinq ans tatelqa
rasek fediti
- 3 C:°refti had l-mes'ala dyal l-cholestérole les japonais be°da ga°ma °endhum
justement li'anahu matayakluš la viande rouge tayconsomiw bezaf l-poisson
- 4 B:n-nas lli tayconsomiw bezzaf l-hut hu:ma ṣ-ṣblyun ga° l-poisson dyal l-megrib
ddawh
- 5 C:man°ref mšhal telqahum tayaklu dyal l-poisson par semaine
- 6 B:iwa rah tayconsomiw mzyan w malgré ça mazal gallik insuffisant
- 7 A:l-hut a s-si rah xaṣek taklu au moins deux fois par semaine °refti daba les gens
qui arrivent f-l-°šiyya l-port tatkun fatehum la criée dyal ṣ-ṣbaḥ matayelqaw tta
haja
- 8 B:°rafti waḥed l-'ustad d-l-français huwa docteur f-l-linguistique galek a sidi
mayakulš l-hem l-meṣxut baqi célibataire °ayš gab l-poisson walakin bien portant..
- 9 C:°la dikr l-français kan waḥed l-professeur °endna w šwiyya l-français dyalu
°eyyan w ma-ta y-rende-š les services ya xuya l-tta waḥed kanu des groupes w
kulla groupe yeddi qiṣa yqraha w ylaxeṣha w kul waḥed kaynud yqra l-résumé
dyalu à tour de rôle iwa waḥed derri tahuwa phénomène
- 10 B:°raftek °la men katehder šefti hadak men d-départ mša šra dar a sidi f-avenue
Mohammed cinq
- 11 C:ašnu dar bqa kaycotiser liha hta jme° flusha wella t-sellef wella °ṭawh crédit ana
lli °aref belli huwa gir un petit fonctionnaire f-l-muqata°a
- 12 A:šhal fikum aṣahbi dyal n-namima bedlu d-disque ah Xalid kidayr dak le jeux
informatique lli xditi dik n-nhar
- 13 D:mal le jeux le jeux axuya mazal maqritš les instructions hada l' prospectus dyalu
- 14 A:comme ça hiyya mazal ftehtihš
- 15 D:pas encore makanš °endi l-weqt w ziyada °la had š-ši huwa kaybgi šwiya dyal l-
concentration fa xellitu tal men be°d
- 16 B:°reftu a d-drari rah maši qadiya dyal l-concentration rah ma°refš lih
- 17 D:galha l-créateur dyal les jeux tbark llah
- 18 A:šeftu be°da le jeux melli katl°bu c'est vrai que ça demande waḥed le degré dyal
l-concentration walakin maši muhim mais par contre kun matalan le jeux tatcreih
nta tatcréer un jeux oui parfois tay°tik une idée de conception
- 19 D:chaque type de jeu a une grande importance dyalu huwa ze°ma des fois rah
tatkun m-concentré °la ši xedma w tatbgi t-relaxa
duk tlata d-sway° m°a l'ordinateur b-ši jeux walakin dima l-waḥed xeṣu ydir
attention melli tay kun tayšuf f-l'écran hadak il vaut mieux ybe°ed
- 20 C:°refti kayn f-ši blayṣ f-des centres dyal l'informatique parfois tayéquiw un
salon un salon de repos équipé b-kulši b-les jeux b-les moyens de distractions les
plus développés ga° w les gens tayjiw l-temma tayriyhu tayšeddu qhiwa matalan
wella ybdaw yla°bu ši haja w en même temps ils abordent des sujets lli très
intéressants f-la conception
- 21 D:iyeh w xassek te°ti ši haja tkun à jour m°a l'état actuel dyal l'informatique,
fhemtini ši haja qui est pas...

- 22 E:dans un sens rahum kaydiru l-halqa waheed taygul haja w les autres kayšufu fih
 23 A:xditiha f-had le sens hada en temps que Marocain de source disons Arabesque
 gallek l-halqa
 24 C:depuis la nuit des temps w l-hlayqiya mujudin °endna ce qu'on appelle les
 conteurs
 25 D:les conteurs l-hlayqiyya
 26 C:ah tayji l-conteur w taybda y°awed l-°ibad llah ja waheed d-dinossaure
 taygullihum
 27 D:xerjat soucoupe volante
 28 B:kaynin des conteurs spécialisés tayjibuhum men Franša w kayna dik dossiers
 extraordinaires tayjibuha yemeken f-TV5 wella ma°reft la RTM
 29 D:ah °reft dik l'émission hadak xiyna lli tayjibu taydir la narration mezyan la
 narration huwa wa°er fiha
 30 B:les conteurs tayhkiw les contes w hadak lli taydir dossiers extraordinaires
 tayhki des histoires vraies
 31 C:ka:n had š-ši f-l-megrib depuis toujours w lakin ce n'était pas du théâtre il n'y
 avait pas de théâtre comme culture
 32 A:l-°rab makanš °endhum un théâtre fin °ummerna kan °endna ši théâtre
 33 B: gir jiti hakkak w geti ma °ummer kan t-théâtre °end l-°rab bla justification.
 34 A:bla justification b-les preuves galak on a tout copié neqlu les Arabes l-mesrah
 men °end l-yunan enfin on a pris beaucoup de choses men °end l-yunan
 35 C:hadak huwa l-xaṭa' l-meṣrah b-dabt comment ça se fait °laš l-meṣrah lla b-dabt
 °laš il n'y avait pas d'autres activités
 36 A:wa justement °laš b-dabt développ-aw l-°erab bzzaf dyal l-°ulu:m lakin ma-
 ddevelp-aš l-masrah bhal daba °laš d-developpat l-andalus w developaw š-šir
 37 B:f-l'absurde ana tangul kan l-masrah c'était pas de l'humour mayemkenš bha:l
 daba l-masrah hna ykun bhalu bhal parceque °endna htta f-la culture dyalna
 ma°endnaš hadak lli kaysemmiwh luxrin
 38 C:°endu waheed l'appelation b-l'argot
 39 D:daba °laš katehderu ntuma waš l-meṣrah f-hed datu wella b-ši mes'ala katxušu
 40 C:aš kaysemmiw hadak lli l°eb dak xiyna lli kaydir waheed le jeux wella un tour f-l-
 meṣrah
 41 D:un joker c'est un jokére dak s-siyyed un jokére en gros en grros kayxleq
 n'importe quoi
 42 C:had l-mes'ala °endha bien sûr ši sense...had le terme muti:r fi°lan li-s-suxriyya
 w-hetta had le terme hada
 43 D:maši gir had š-ši lli mutir l-s-suxriya mašeftiš nta waheed l-fdiha f-t-tiran kant f-
 wahed la coupe mektuba f-t-tiran m°alqa bhal ši panneau publicitaire:
 "mukayyifa:t z-zamel"
 44 C:hadak rah m-mizi flus šhiha waheed axur rah ma m-mizi tta ryal baqi gatmši
 llih
 45 B:ah f-l-kar d-minuit taqriban c'est la même distance gir mais c'est pas un court
 trajet
 46 A:wa ṣahbi l-maḡarba ybqaw dima tiers-monde tiers-monde makaynš l-le°b
 mafhemtš ana mafhemtš jusqu'à présent baqi mafhemtš °endek l-kiran w t-
 taksiyat l-kbar a°udu billah
 47 B:li'anna normalement tander melli tanbgi nemši lmeknas kenti katemši katelqa un
 grand taxi katerkeb fih

- 48 A:dik n-nhar mšina bgina naxdu l-kar lli ġadi yemši l-Casa sur place...justement rkebna fih wa ʿrefti bqina ta l-huit-heurres et demi du matin ʿrefti melli nzalna rejlina maqdernaš nherkuhum
- 49 B:ana makayn maʿda ʿendi men l-kiran kaytʿetlu ya xuya w ktar w maši en bon état katelqa kul kar kaytleq leq kilu dyal d-duxan surtout f-les zones industrielles
- 50 C:belʿaks f-les zones industrielles buhdhum isolées dak š-ši bien étudié w ħta baš ila bgit ndir ši ħaja tanji:b l'autorisation men ʿend l-qyed
- 52 B:aš men autorisation malek baġi tefteħ uzin kanhder lek anaya ʿla l-kiran
- 53 C:iyeh wa même fhad d-domaine dyal les usines had l-qadiyya lli gelt lek dyal l'étude nta ġa d-dir uzin n-supposiw dyal l-xmira w n-supposiw gaʿ annahum bgaw yeʿtiwk l'autorisation walakin l-muškil huwa annahu bqa temma d-dossier dyalek ila ajalin ġayr musamma
- 54 B:daba kayn un discours royal lli taygul ʿendek au bout d'un mois ila majawbukš galha huwwa suite l-bzzaf d-l-ħwayej des réclamations men ʿend des étrangers jaw bgaw ydiru hna mašariʿ
- 55 A:w les impots lli tay qbtuk mabqaw y-telquk n-sitihum supposons nta ġa d-dir ħanut ʿadi ma taytbazawš lik maʿendhumš ši ħaja baš taytbazaw baš y-xellu ʿibad llah d-dariba
- 56 B:les impots suivant la déclaration lli dar mohammed f-l-lwel tayšufu la passe d'assiéttes supposons nta ʿendek t-travail w tu ne tiens pas la comptabilité dak š-ši lli taydiru lik taytsema un arbitraire forfaitaire
- 57 A:ayyeh daba l-comptable kayqedder un chiffre d'affaires hna taymekenlik tmizi lih w ybda ycalcula dima ʿla hada:k melli tayebġi yeħseb tayqedder w kaytcalcula dima ʿla hadak š-ši w safi tatwelli d-diti ʿlih w katwelli ʿaynek mizanak hadu b-n-nesba lli maʿendhumš l-comptabilité aralna lli ʿandhum l-comptabilité kayn deux cas imma ʿendek un service comptable et financier dyalek f-l-administration dyalek taydir le suivit comptable w tay-arrêter f-la fin d-l'année un bilan kad-déclarer fih dak š-ši lli ʿendek soit maʿendekš fa katxeddem un expert comptable w katxelles lih les honoraires dyalu
- 58 B:donc nta ta-t-arrêter w temši txelles les impots ʿla ħasab la declaration dyalek ʿinnama kayn un contrôle hadu:k šhab l-contrôle ttahuma ʿayqin tayšufu matalan f-les avoirs lli ʿendek
- 59 C:walakin kayn des droits qawanin et des procédures á suivre si jamais dak š-šaxš lli daru lih les impots n'est pas satisfait
- 60 D:ʿendek a-šaħbi le droit d-recours á la justice xelles w dir r-recours tayji dak š-ši dyal l'expert comptable huwa lli kaydir l-controle
- 61 C:l'expert comptable a s-si ra dyalek wa l-controle men jiha xra huwa lli xassek w xassu
- 62 D:kayn des experts comptables tatxelleshum tateʿtiħ d-dossier
- 63 A:kayn lli maʿenduš d-dosi gaʿ mašeftuš ntuma hadi
- 64 D:wa l-muhim mul š-šġul huwa lli kayeʿti l-l'expert comptable les honoraires dyalu huwa lli tayeʿtiħ d-dossier ila kayn w dik s-saʿa kaybqa l'expert ʿendu le choix
- 65 A:iwa ra c'est son domaine well la c'est son domaine ra d-domaine dyalu hada des tribunaux de...taʿ l-ministère des finances w hadik la bagatelle kulha w kayn m-mallin dar d-dariba merra merra kaynezlu ʿlik tayjiw ʿendhum w huma tta huma šhab l-control bħal lli gal Ahmed gbila ʿayqin tayeqbeṭ tayʿiq taydreb dura tayšuf matalan les transactions lli dayzin ʿendek

- 66 D:tay ji °endek l-controleur b-r-réference b-n-nimiro b-kulši b-l-wraq b-kulši
yejbed les factures w yejbed hadi kulši wa gir les machines tewhel fihum tayšuf
les amortissements tayšuf les machines fuqaš šritihum w la durée w aš men
poids appliqui-ti nta tatcompter w laxer tayinspecter
- 67 A:iyeh iyeh l'essentiel tayjiwk les commissions de compensiers kayna regionale w
nationale ma°endekš un expert comptable ma°endekš un service financier
tayqebtu d-dossier dyalek... hak ha d-duši dir liyya la comptabilité tay gulu lik w
taydiru la déclaration dyal les impots w škun lli kayetfahem ma°ahum maši l-
mudir wella l-PDG l-comptable huwa lli kayddabez m°ahum melli kaytfathmu kay
arrêtéw w hadak laxur ašnu xassu ydir rapport waheed l-rapprt tani taydxel l-s-
supérieur dyalu hiérarchique w hiyya gada
- 68 D:ka:yn un controleur nta° ddariba inspecteur des finances taydur °endu secteur lli
tayraqeb matalan ana s-secteur dyali °aref had la société aw companie kankun
°arfu
- 69 B:kayna ta waheed c-certaine durée dyal l-rotation w par exemple ila bgit n-tleb
lik la comptabilité dyal °ešr snin tan-°eyyet °el l'expert lli sawweb liyya l-bilan
- 70 A:ši société matalan dayerha wazir w nuđ nta dir nta société tatnafsu temši d-
déclarer hadik hiyya °laš tayxerrju lik le taux dyal d-darra'ib txelles ça depend °el-
l-projet lli gadi ddir
- 71 B:ahah bhal daba gir mul z-zeri°a y-xalles l-patente šuf kulši kayxelles šaf l-local
- 72 C:šefti l-patente l-patente kulši yxallesha
- 73 E:tlatin alf ryal lli txalles wella ši haja bhal hakka
- 74 C:lla l-patente ašna hiya r-registre d-commerce kate°tik n-nemra d-l-patente
- 75 D:l-patente ah
- 76 E:hada lli °endu r-registre d-commerce
- 77 D:wašna hiya r-registre d-commerce kaddéclarer
- 78 E:wa ga bellati
- 79 D:lla ašna hiya r-registre d-commerce katemši kaddéclarer kadgul bgit nebda
commerce taygulu lik sir jib liya werqa
- 80 E:li'annahu bhal daba kay°erfu bi'anna l-minimum bhal daba mul z-zeri°a °endu
tlatin alf ryal tayxelles l-patente
- 81 D:šefti bhal daba normalment mul z-zeri°a bga yefteħ ybi° z-zeri°a rah b-'imkan ay
waheed yebda ybi° z-zeri°a xaşu authorisation men °and l-qayd dyal l-muqata°a sir
jib liya werqa men dar d-dariba kaygulu lek f-dar ddariba sir l-meħkama tsejjel f-
r-registre d-commerce jib liya n-nemra katemši katsejjel w bdik n-nemra °andhum
kaydiru lik la patente donc kaye°tiwk la patente katemši l-dar d-dariba kate°tiha
lihum w men be°d temši °end l-qayd baš ye°tik l'authorisation donc ašnu derti
- 82 E:ga°ma mšiti déclariti l-maħal
- 83 D:wayelli kayji waheed n-nhar waheed men °endhum kayšufek hanh hanh hanh l-
maħal xeddam kaydir un plan forfaitaire w huwa lli kayddiw °lih kayn lli kayxdem
au niveau dyal les documents w kayn lli yxdem lek bla les documents
- 84 A:kay tleb lik les factures iwa normalement ta°etiħ l-likayn mayqderš yxdem bla
les documents
- 85 D:iyyeh ila derti des achats tatjib lih les factures be°ti ta°etiħ la facture šriti ta°etiħ
la facture de toute faħon ta°etiħ la touche kulši soit l-actif wella l-passif kulši ye°ti
- 86 D:wa rahum tayle°bu f-les amortissements tayle°bu f-les provisions tayle°bu f-la
charge w taysaweb lik l-masa'il bhal lla kulši šafi huwwa hadak conforme walakin

- attention ddir m'ah ġir conflict sġir ġir malentendu kan lek llaħ récement waħed
l'expert xrej 'la waħed s-siyed men la famille dyal Grwan 'endu ši société
- 87 B:l- problème huwwa annahu ma'endnaš des juges xassin bhad š-ši d-droit des
affaires katemši 'end un juge simple juge ... 'asmitu f-had š-ši dyal 'c-civil l-
qadaya l-madaniyya huwa lli taytrancher f-had l-masa'il
- 88 A:w d-droit commercial dyal les commerçants bin la société matalan ...xass
ydiru des juges xassin bhad š-ši soit bin l'administration w la société tay mšiw l-
maħ:kim ila kan deux parties partis administratif w parti hada...
- 89 D:waxxa lmuħim dak asmitu l'essentiel kayn les commissions dyal l-compensier
kayn commission régionale...taddir appel l-commission nationale w 'endha 'alaqa
b-had š-ši dyal les impots
- 90 A:'laš 's-sizi škun taydiru l-ministère des finances tatsizik l-meħkamat tatsder un
arrêt dyal 's-saisie
- 91 C:'la l-qadiyya dyal l'expert comptable yemken lek nta matste'mluš ga' ntaya dir
bureau dyal l'administration ga ddir comptable dyalek comptable tat-xelsu b-š-
šhar huwwa yarrêter lik l-bilan w nta ddéclarer yak
- 92 E:lli kan šuf ana bħal l-qadiya dyal l-blad mazal makaynš lli
- 93 C:lla bħal l-'rubiyat mazal mazal
- 94 E:šuf d-décor fin hašlu šuf d-décor gallek a s-sidi bgaw y bgaw kayn lli bga daba
yşawb l-passerpport fhemti
- 95 C:ġay gulu lih jib n-nemra dyal la patente
- 96 B:w le cas dyal les sociétés lli kaydéclariw faillite w huma ra rabħin w
kaydéclariw faillite haduk rah xašum ycontriliwhum
- 97 E:huwa 'andu l-ħanut dayman dayr faillite taygulu lih kayeṭle' l-meħkama
kaytsejel kayemši l-d-dariba tan tan kayduwez 'aynu kaywelli xaser tmanin alf
ryal kaywelli mamša la l-xarij wa la walu
- 98 D:iwa bħal la fdeħ rasu
- 99 E:wa šħal men waħed daba kayn lli sed l-ħanut hadi reb' snin
- 100 D:baqi kayxelles ysed dik ttijara ygul lihum şafi mabqaš 'endi
- 101 C:ila sedditi rak kaddéclarer
- 102 D:iwa hahuwa gallek sed w baqi kayxalles
- 103 C:iwa ra ma sedš
- 104 D:wa gallek sadd rbe' snin hadi w baqi kayxelles
- 105 C:a lla daba ka ddéclarer kadgul lihum rani salit kayħiydu lik la patente
- 106 E:daba huwa ra sadd w mamxallesš lihum dak š-ši l-qdim w sadd
- 107 D:iwa hakkak hadak š-ši 'laš tab'inu hadak mqawwedha hadak
- 108 B:bħal 'el au niveau dyal l-kra katekri 'end ši ħed mamdeclariš katwqe' waħed
muškil bħal waħed xayna jbed muškil waħed xayna 'endu ši trois étages wella
- 109 D:yakemma had š-ši dyal n-naḍafa wella ma'ert ašnu
- 110 B:daba hadak bga yşawweb šahadat s-sukna mša 'end l-muqata'a galliħum ana
kari lħih galu lih baš 'rafnak ħna kari jib liya r-reçu jab lih rreçu laxur mamdeclariš
iwa nezlu 'la lli kari
- 111 D:'ta r-reçu mamlégaliziš
- 112 B:'ta r-reçu mamlégaliziš
- 113 D:ra kayħaydu lik ma'ert ši quatre wella trois mois dyal d-dariba f-l- 'am lli
kayħaydu lik
- 114 B:deux mois lli kathiyed kathadru 'la le quotient dyal TVA deux mois
- 115 D:l-mul d-dar

- 116 B:wa daba ila kenti kari dar b-tlatin alf ryal l-š-har kaynezlu °lik kayhaydu lik deux mois
- 117 D:wa xuya ana makarihaš kayddiw lih bezzaf ašahbi šhal kayhaydu lih dix pour cents
- 118 B:°refti f-Rbaṭ hay n-nehda waheed xayna jab l-matériel men t-talyan ana kan°arfu f-hay n-nehda f-Rbaṭ bga ywelli ydir dak š-ši dyal la crème w lli kayjibu men l-xarij w dak š-ši yebda yšawbu hna yallah bga yebda l-xedma dyalu w huma y-nezlu °lih sdeq baye° dak š-ši dyalu b-un prix dérisoire
- 119 D:šefti l-waheed aš xassu ydir xassu ysewwel w ye°ref men n-nhar l-lewel w maddéclareš ttal men be°d waheed l-°am wella °amayn tta yjiw huma l-°endek wila suwluk tgul lihum ana ma°aref walu
- 120 B:°refti aš wqe° f-Fas dik n-nhar šefti dak l'uzine dyal sabir dyal l-xmira bhal daba yeqder yemši mulah ygul dar faillite f-mdina xra
- 121 D:škun gadi y°arfu daba n-nas kay dewru baš ymeššiw l-ħaraka
- 122 B:li'annahu makayxalliwkš tetla° yallah kadgul besmellah kaybdaw les problèmes wellah yjiw m-mallin d-dariba y-xarbqu kulši d-dwaša dyalek
- 123 D:had š-ši dyal les affaires maxeddamš ga° les services administratifs °endna m-xarbbqin dik n-nhar hadak dyal err... DAWOO kan h-der m°a sa majesté gallu j'espère belli dorénavant les procédures administratives gaywelliw plus souples
- 124 A:daba l- problème makayxelliwš had š-ši dyal les investissements yetmešša mezyan par rapport m°a l-gwer w ta l-gwer °arfin daba ra wellaw m°ahum šwiya bixir jaw rija:l 'a°ma:l men l-xarej °refti ra kayherbu men s-sbalyun w l-īmarat w l'italie baš y-xaddmu la main d'oeuvre hna
- 125 D:la main d'oeuvre l-yad l-°amila hna rxīša xamsalaf frank lennhar matalan s-sbalyun daba taydiru m°a haduk les contre-maitres d-l-meğrib taygulu l-p-patron hna mağadiš ndiru lihum la teste wala walu ra kayna l-yad l-°amila xaddem hadu telt šhur wella setta w yjiw wehdin xrayn
- 126 C:fexbarek daba l-p-patronat f-l-meğrib baš kattaleb kattaleb b-l'assouplissement ta° le code ta° t-travail le code ta° le travail le code dyal le travail l'assouplissement dyal lli kayen f-l-meğrib ha huwwa mam-ṭebbeqš gallek a sidi lla ra ħagga m-zayyer bezzaf bgaw ydiru daba bhal dak š-ši del-ħayħa lli waq°a f-kuria c'est-à-dire le droit de licencier temma tay°tiwk une fiche de documentation normalement °adatan tat°mmerha qbel matsuf le patron tadgul lik les droits dyalek
- 127 B:eh eh gallik daba tu peux un directeur hna f-l-meğrib un directeur peut facilement divorcer de sa femme que de licencier sa sa secretaire yeqder y-telleq mertu b-suhula ze°ma il est plus facile pour lui de divorcer sa femme que de congédier sa secretaire....
- 128 C:maymkenllihš y-licencier xeddam °endu
- 129 B:licenciemment abusif ra f-škel
- 130 C:waxa hadak š-ši rah gaf-lewrak gaf-lewrak
- 131 D:wa ila bga yejri °liha yejri °liha škun gayħebsu ra yejri °la dawla
- 132 C:wella ila škun yeħebsu
- 133 D:w n-nhar lli mul l-xmira sedd luzine w gal lihum ana mabqitš bagi nexdem ga°
- 134 A:n-nas galsin ħda waheed luzine dayrin °tišam wa taytsennaw šħrayn wellah maddawha fihum ja l-m°allem hezz l-matériel dyalu w mša w huma baqyin waqfin
- 135 B:šetti f-l-qniṭra waheed luzine uzin dyal luqten rah sadda daba daru waheed n-nhar idrab
- 136 C:dyal karim l-°emrani had luzine hada

- 137 A: daru idrab w daru ihraq
- 138 B: hada bga y-warreqni hada ana ma'endi mandir b-l-bergaga makan rbeh menhum walu gal-mašakil
- 139 C: manwarrqek mawalu axuja haduk n-nas ga° ila daru 'idrab ma'endhum maydiru li'annahu ila hayhu mezyane kaddaxel s-sulta b-ħukm l-mihna kayn wahed t-tawatu' mabayn 'arbab l-°amal w rijal s-sulta fhemti huma bjuj s-sulta plus rab l-°amal dedd l-°amil makayn gir then
- 140 B: refti kayn f-ši šarikat xra wahed s-système jdid katexdem xams šhur taygul lik sir a sidi xud šhar congé w melli katerje° kay°awdu m°ak m-l-luwel
- 141 C: bħal had š-šarika hahya kayna l-teht liha šurutatha
- 142 B: ah dyal l-yajur
- 143 C: refti aš dayr ssystème dyal l-xddam hnaya
- 144 B: dak l-xeddam continu mais chaque katkemmél cinq wella six mois kayjib contrat jdida tsiniha
- 145 C: rah katsini m°ah l-contrat belli rak xeddam dima
- 146 B: contrat déléguetaire
- 147 C: ah °andek xams šhur men be°d xams šhur katebda xassek err.. xassek donc il est obligé baš y-déclarer w y-xalles la CNSS w hada donc dima kaybeddel lek w hiya gada
- 148 A: refti haduk m-mallin la companie aš dayrin °endhum šhal men p-park dyal t-tobisat °endhum xamsa w °ešrin tobis wella xamsin tobis dayrin l'assurance l-reb°a
- 149 B: la plus grave erreur dayrinha f-l-kirane f-l-kirane dayrinha
- 150 C: bħal z-zahrawi z-zahrawi rah kayn dayrha
- 151 B: f-l-kirane dayrinha maši ga° t-tobisat plus grave kay wqe° un accident mazal t-tobisat les accidents qlil °el aqal la société souvent tat°ewed °l les accidents de travail
- 152 C: walakin škun lli gadi yfiq lik b-had š-ši kulši kaygušš l-ħaja kaybgiw y-meššiwha b-'aqal maxsur w makayhum t-tawahed w hiya gada
- 153 B: wa ħna rah xassna l-contrôle des contrôles la police des polices hiyya lli xassna hnaya
- 154 A: wa daba bħal had la situation kayn lli kay-profitter menha w kayn lli meskin ma°ummru makayhezz r-ras fiha wa had l-wed°iya bħalhadak lli gelna gbila men t-talyan kayn lli kayhezz r-ras fiha kaykunu °endu l-°adalat
- 155 C: laš tangul lek ana had š-ši li'annahu škun lli responsable men had š-ši kulši huma n-nas d-l-qanun n-nas d-l-qanun f-l-meğrib xellina men dik l-hadra l-xawya dyal hada dar w laxur dar w tta l-qanun °endek °ayyan hnaya °endek mnin dduz lih w °endek mnin ddxul waš 'a-šaħbi l-code pénal makay ħtarmuħš l-code commercial makayħtarmuħš tahuwa
- 156 D: safi safi bedlulna axuya had s-sujet škun d-xel m°ah remdan j-ju° ah
- 157 C: refti baš kayftter Ahmed b-l-lben w leħrur kayfiq m°a hadik l-xamsa wella ma°reft gallik kandir qhwa ħlib w kanefter °adi w nerje° n-n°es
- 158 D: wa mezyana wellahila mezyana
- 159 C: š-šarqawi l-bareħ tšaħer b-l-ben ašmn tšaħer maçraftek t°aššiti wella ašnu huwwa hadak
- 160 D: l-ben w l-ħarša
- 161 E: hadak huwa l-°ša hadak f-rasek l-lben w l-ħarša l-lben w -lħarša le°ša hadak xallina nferksu le°ša aji asmit l-lben b-l-français
- 162 D: petit lait

- 163 E:lla maši huwa petit lait petit lait huwa dak laxur p-tit lait maši huwa l-ben huwwa dak l-fromage w taybqa dik l-ma lli lfuq w ma l-lbn smmitu l'ébéne wa sir šri l-lben dyal centrale laitière šuf ašnu mktub fih katbin l'ébéne gallik le petit lait café anta wa ana
- 164 D:wa ši fromage f-hadak marjane a-šahbi kaydir trois cents dirhams l-kilu
- 165 C:huwa hadak dyal Holanda
- 166 D:kaydir trois cents dirhams hadak ra xanez kenti l-bareh nta wiyah fi marjane
- 167 E:ah kayn wahed l-fromage axur nsit lih 'la smiytu
- 168 D:ah 'reftu hadak zwin hadak
- 169 E:asmit waldih ga' nsit ašnu hadak a Naširi asmit dak l-fromage lli kaye'tiwna f-l MES
- 170 C:l-camembert hadak
- 171 E:Camembert
- 172 C:arxiš hadak
- 173 E:waxa rxiš l-gout dyalu zwin kayjini bhal s-smen ana
- 174 C:wa hadak a sidi taydir dix dirhams l-c-cent grammes
- 175 E:šetti hadak lli gelti dyal telmiyat derhem tayxelliwh legwer takay duwed 'ad tayakluh
- 176 C:walakin hadak ra fromage fromage troué ah troué w kbira la boule dyalu
- 177 E:šetti hadak mšhal kaydir bhal matalan aji hanta cent grammes txayyel cent grammes b-quarante cinq dirhams tse'mya deryal idan šhal jat l-kilu mile grammes
- 178 C:reb'miya w xemsin quat-cent cinquante
- 179 E:reb'miya w xemsin derhem tes'alaf ryal
- 180 B:tes'miya deryal
- 181 E:wa tes'alaf ryal a lem'alem aš men wellah ila cent grammes b-xamsa w reb'in derhem wa tangul anaya had l-fromage aš fih
- 182 B:fih aš fih plein de .. riche en vitamine
- 183 E:walakin tani ra kayn l-fromage kayn dyal l-ğnem dyal les brebies taykun gali
- 184 B:l-fromage dyal les brebis
- 185 E:ahah l-ħlib dyal n-n'aj maši dyal l-bger
- 186 B:ana lli kane'ref l-fromage dyal les brebis taykun rxiš
- 187 C:šetti dak lli taywerriwk wenta ġadi men xribga taykun m-zawweq tayzidu lek fih wahed juj kilu dyal zzebda men š-škiwa w taygulu lek aywak aywak
- 188 E:l-fromage dyal l-mika hadak huwa dyal les brebis kaydiruh f-l-mika
- 189 B:ayeh w l-fromage dyal l-ħlib d-š-chameau kifaš kaysawbuh
- 190 E:fin 'umrek šetti l-ħlib d-jmel kaysawbu bih l-fromage
- 191 C:wa bellati be'da d-dromadaire wella š-chameau
- 192 E:ġadi ysawbu bih hadak j-jmula sgiwrin ġir huwa l-ħlib dyal j-jmel maši dyal n-naga
- 193 C:l-ħlib d-n-naga ra kayšurbuh n-nas lli merad bessah l-bareh f-l-ida'a f-titwan gallek a sidi wahed r-rajel tayehtafel b-l'anniversaire dyalu kulla merra f-reb' snin ašnu s-sabab
- 194 D:l-vinght neuf février
- 195 E:ah hadi déjà dayza kayjih l'anniversaire kaytiħ merra weħda kulla r-be' snin
- 196 C:weħda men duk les auditrices gatlih baxil 'la taħlil ki dayr
- 197 E:seqram seqram 'refti ba'd l-mgarba melli tayjawbu ġa šed keršek w bqa tedħak
- 198 C:lla ana ġa sme't s-su'al 'reftha 'raft la réponse walakin j'arrive pas á téléphoner

- 199 E:wata °refti f-hadak questions pour un champion galliha un philosophe de mille huit cent trente galet lih Jean Paul Sartre w gulliha m-muk jean Paul Sartre huwa ga l-bareh w huwwa hay huwwa ga weld l-bareh w hiyya tatgullih °rafti bdit kansebb fiha gawriya ze°ma w
- 200 C:Jean Paul Sartre ga weld l-bareh
- 201 E:w mašettiš nta lli gallih la deuxième guerre mondiale kemlat fi reb°a w xamsin karita hada
- 202 D:d-drari ra xesni nduz nšuf jamal f-bitu dert m°ah s-setta
- 203 C:fin saken huwwa daba baqi f-nefs l-blaša wella thawel
- 204 D:l-la thawel men temma mša kra chambre wehda sgira m°a waheed d-deri axur m°ah f-s-service nnit mšarkin huwa wiyah
- 205 B:šku:n ši waheed asmu °abdessamad rah waheed d-deri de grande taille taygulu lih s-selum
- 206 D:šitan yaxuya šitan nta bgit gir ne°raf mnin tatjib had les informations huwa hadak ah walakin makaynš huwa hnaya daba mša l-z-zawya congé
- 207 B:aji yak saknin f-waheed dwira f-bab l-had n-numéro dixneuf
- 208 D:ayyeh baš °raftiha ga talek f-duk les antennes w katcapter
- 209 B:°raftha sme°t °abdssamad taygul gadi yethawel m°ah ši had walakin ma°raftš belli Jamal
- 210 D:hiya hadik
- 211 C:l'essentiel yak Jamal kayn l-yum mağadi t-xurju fin
- 212 D:lla la ganbqaw gir f-ddar
- 213 C:iwa gullih rah ganduzu nšufuh daba šwiya
- 214 D:d'accord yak °arfin l'adresse
- 215 A:Aħmed gal °arefha
- 216 C:ih ih °arefha
- 218 D:Jamal ça va kidayr axuya
- 219 F:l-ħamdu llah ça va ašahbi t-°attelti °liya gelti six heures wadaba rah il est passé sept heures
- 220 D:rak kat°ref les rendez- vous dyal l-mğarba dima sa°a zayda non non bessah šedduni d-drari bqina °el l-hedra
- 221 F:kidayrin huma ça va
- 222 D:ça va ra šwiya w yelaħqu °lina
- 223 F:twehhešnahum qu'est c-tu prends qehwa atay
- 224 D:walu yallah kenna fel-qahwa nnit °endi šuf šuf m°ak a jamal had l-micro je dois le connecter quelque part li'annah waxa xeddami comme ça ça ne va pas
- 225 F:tu peux le connecter là où .. f-hadi tu peux le connecter f-hadi f-l'unité f-ṛasek
- 226 D:f-hadi yak gelti
- 227 F:lla f-had luxra
- 228 D:men had la tête hadi
- 229 F:voilà men hadik la tête temmaya
- 230 D:fin kenti f-sbah sewwelt °lik galu liya makaynš
- 231 F:mšit °end l-colonel °imran l-la sécurité mšit rendet les comptes °rafti l-qadiya wellat hamda
- 232 D:gelt lik la question ta° l-commandant d-hadik l'affaire c'est tout á fait logique bi'annah mağadiš y°ejbu l-ħal
- 233 F:lla l-commandant il a explosé l-commandant hett la question
- 234 D:lla ana mafhemtš saddin °lihum f-l-bureau w galsin kayhedru w bda l-commandant kayrmi f-les insultes á tort et á travers ma°refthum aš kaydiru

- 235 F:rak ʿrefti daba kayduz waḥed n-niqaš binathum zeʿma llaḥ yeḥsen ʿwan haduk asmitu waḥeq llaḥ l-ʿadim zeʿma rah xirrij l-maʿhad l-ʿali walakin il est impossible de travailler avec lui il n'a pas de principe il n'a pa d' principe wa ṣaḥbi taygul lik ana je ne fais que pianoter ʿla l'ordinateur et j'ai besoin de l'ordinateur lli fih mes gestions personnelles
- 236 D:w ydir un ordre de mega w y-newwed s-sdaʿ
- 237 F:ki dayra had p-personelles ašnu ġadi ngullik llaḥumma inna hada munkar lanta men n-nas lli ġay-xedmu f-l'ordinateur wala n-ta men n-nas lli taycerfu y-xedmu f-l'ordinateur wala kay-ʿerfu ḥetta yévaluw ašnu huwa ḥtta ašnu huwa un PC
- 238 D:bḥal haduk mezyane l-waḥed ytelleʿhum l-tteyara w ysifetuhum ysadderhum l-ši coin f-l-ard huwa w les gestions personnelles dyalu
- 239 F:deq ši ḥad f-l-bab yak
- 240 D:may kunu ġir d-drari hadu
- 241 F:huma aḥlan aḥlan ʿa va
- 242 A:bixir Naṣiri tribucha f-waḥed la marche
- 243 D:voilà quelqu'un qui a bouzillé sa cheville
- 244 C:hadik la marche ʿummerhum mabġaw ysawbuha kul merra neʿter fiha
- 245 F:gles gles beʿda waš c'est grave n'jib lik la glace tkemmedha biha
- 246 C:waxa axuya merci
- 247 E:dir dir la glace mezyane
- 248 F:ġa temšiw l-z-zawya
- 249 E:l-ʿid s-sġir nemšiw l-z-zawya Naṣiri kaydir s-ski
- 250 C:ḡhak ḡhak aweld l-ḥram llaḥ a rebbi rejli
- 251 F:aji n-feršu lih ʿla berra w n-xelliwh yeḥdi les étoiles ah aš getti a Naṣiri ʿala daw'i l-qamar w nujumi s-saḥar ya lili ya ʿini
- 252 D:šetti hadik n-nejma ḥdi hadik rahiya rahiya ʿrafti asmiyetha
- 253 F:maši hiya hadik lli taygulu liha z-zuhra wella maʿreft ašna hiya
- 254 D:walla katbqa tebri tebri mezyane w katemši
- 255 F:ahah waqila rahiya had l-qadiya lli taygulu la difference mabin mabin étoile w mabin planéte
- 256 E:lla biensûr planéte raha tout á fait asmitu noire maši s-source de lumière
- 257 F:iyyeh walakin ta hiya tayban d-duw dyalha
- 258 E:iyyeh walakin elle ne fait pas reflechir la lumière
- 259 F:d'accord walakin ʿlaš katebqa temši w tji
- 260 E:wa hadi hanta ḥdi tšuf katban b-waḥed l'intensité kbira w tatbhat
- 261 F:šuf la couleur bḥalla tatbeddel tatwelli sefra w men beʿd bida sefra bida
- 262 E:wa l-ʿjeb aṣaḥbi ramaʿrefthaš ašna hiya beʿda ana zeʿma vraiment extraordinaire
- 263 F:ih šuf la couleur šuf la coulour dyalha
- 264 E:šuf ašnu zeʿma l-qamar s-stina:ʿi impossible
- 265 F:lla aš men qamar 's-stina:ʿi wayli aš katgul
- 266 E:šuf hadik tani hadik raha juste á coté w ra šaʿla fiha waḥed la couleur ḥemra šettiha
- 267 F:ayyeh ḥamra šeftha ḥamra wellaḥ ila kayna une difference šetti les deux maši bḥal bḥal šuf hadik lli l-hih ʿla ḥqaš hadik hiya l-volant d'Ampère ah
- 268 C:rah kulhum bḥal bḥal b-juj
- 269 F:ah ašnu huma lli b-juj bḥal bḥal
- 269 C:n-njum l-ḥemra w z-zerqa
- 270 F:ah ah lla lla aji aji l-hna tšuf hadu b-juj
- 271 E:aji tšuf hadi kif kat-briller w temši w tji

- 272 F:aji tšuf hadik raha vers la droite
273 E:šuf dik la brillante katetfa w teš[°]al
274 C:hadik ra l'étoile d- berger hadik
275 F:finahiyya l'étoile de berger
276 C:hadik lli tat-briller hadi asmitha l'étoile d- berger
277 F:bessaḥ
278 C:w hadik luxra šetti l-hemra hadik
279 F:ah l-hamra
280 C:hadik Beterjus hadik
281 F:Beterjus
282 C:w hahiya ḥda hadik z-zerqa šettiha lli men had j-jih šettiha kayna waḥed s-symetrie binathum
283 E:iyyeh kayn ce qu'on appelle le volant d'Ampère
284 C:ha llayḥefdek kayn l-volant d' Ampère binathum b-juj
285 F:°rafti aṣaḥbi hadi kifaš kaddir waḥed d-daw
286 C:tahiyya hiyya d-dawya f-njum kamlin tahiyya elle permet dak asmitu la rotation ah l'étoile polaire
287 F:lla mateqderš dduḥ biha w venus ttahiyya
288 E:walakin had d-duw ra dyal l'étoile polaire daba bellati n-werrikum la grande casserole bellati la p-tite ourse taysmmiwaha la Petite Ourse
289 C:hahiyya t-turiya šeftiha
290 6:ašnahiyya t-turiya
291 E:ra Omega šetti Omega wella mašeftihaš
292 C:wra t-turiya
293 E:waš šeftu Omega be[°]da wella la ra Omega a Naṣiri raha bḥal d-double Vé
294 C:kaysemmiwaha kasiupe kasiupe
295 E:kasiupe w la cass-role p-tite cass-role grande cass-role baqi mabanetš baqi mabanetš
296 C:šetti hadi šetti hadi a Jamal
297 E:šetti n-njum rahum l-hiha mejmu[°]in rahum l-hih
298 C:šuf daba a Jamal šuf daba šuf šetti daba hadi a jamal tat[°]ref Venus Venus taddir bḥal Venus
299 F:Venus tayban huwa lluwel
300 C:f-š-ši:f_ parfois tatebqa tban hiya l-luwla
301 F:Venus z-zohra asmitha z-zohra b-l-[°]arbiya hiyya awwal planète tatban
302 C:°rafti ḥafid aš taydir l-had š-ši
303 F:ḥafdu par coeur
304 C:rah °ref[°]ti ma[°]ref[°]t bši myat alf frank baš ṣawb duk t-tṣawer dyal l-majarrat °rafti rah kayṭhen had š-ši hanta šuf les éclats šuf les éclats huwwa ywerri lik had š-ši mezyane men A tal Zed °endu aṣaḥbi l-hiwaya dyalu huwa tayqra l'astronomie wa ra daba hadi mšḥal men année lumière baš b[°]ida ila kanet l'étoile nnit hadik hiyya l'étoile
305 F:tta ra šetti dak l-ktab lli °andek dyal les records
306 C:dak l-ktab dyal les reccords Guinness
307 F:Guinness ah ra fih l'étoile la plus proche šḥal l'étoile la plus proche à l'oeuil nu
308 C:man[°]eref deux...wella en fait quatre annnés lumières
309 F:wa ktar plus que ça aṣaḥbi
310 C:huit années lumières je crois

- 311 F:wa ktar gallik l'étoile la plus proche à l'oeuil nu kaddir mane[°]ref mešhal b[°]ida wa [°]essak lli b[°]ad sebhan llah ašahbi elles forment un trou noir ašnu huwwa un trou un trou noir f-l'espace ašnu huwwa un trou noir f-l'éspace un trou noir rah normalement c'est une grande densité de matière la matière très dense lli [°]endha waheed l-jadibiyya très très forte yak ay corps daz men hdaha elle absorbe kaytsemma un trou noir laḥqaš hiyya la densité dyalha c' est le matériau lli kayn f-l-'ard [°]endha une densité chaque type de materiel [°]endu: une densité specipique w l-katafa amma un trou noir ra dji tšuf ra c'est pas un trou noir t-imaginih bhal un p-tit trou wella ši ħaja ra c-cent fois l-volume dyal l-'ard taytsemma un trou noir w [°]endu waheed l-jadibiyya très puissante
- 312 C:šuf n-mšiw ensemble nšufu Lhusin
- 313 E:a lla mabqaš l-weqt ġadi negles m[°]a jamal šwiya w men be[°]d nmšiw net[°]ešsaw f-l-cantine yemken nemšiw šwiyya l-qehwa
- 314 C:ina qehwa waš hadik lli f-j-jenb lli kenna fiha gbila
- 315 E:lla Filistine fethat finalement
- 316 C:awwah crions victoire a drari l-qehwa fethat ana ġanemši netlaqaw
- 317 E:ah gelt lik ay majarra ay constellation ay ħaja dazet men hdaha elle l'absorbe au fur et à mesure w tat augmenter l-volume dyalha tatwelli plus puissante qu'aupparavant fhemti [°]la qawlet llahukbar
- 318 F:ra kayhedru [°]la hadš-ši f-r-radio asmitu hadak asmitu
- 319 E:Albert Pilau
- 320 F:ah Albert Pilau
- 321 C:l-muhim ana xašni nemši [°]endi la garde
- 322 F:[°]endek la garde wa lla y[°]awn sir axuya a[°]a:nak llah ġaterje[°] hnaya masme[°]niš
- 323 E:had š-ši dyal l'espace ra vrainment ši ħaja xaṭar katšiu f had š-ši d-l-majarrat d-les galaxies w les constellations l-majmu[°]a:t l-mejmu[°]a š-šamsiya qadha qeddaš
- 324 F:les galaxies w le système solaire
- 325 E:šefti f-dak l-film dyal Appolo treize la faṣon baš xassu ydur dar un huit mša l-qamar w dar bhal haqqa w rje[°] w tqada lih l-gaz w huwwa f-waheed le point w mayemkenlihš yerje[°] wlad l-ħram xaṭar kifaš kayétudyiw dak š-ši xes dak š--ši ykun bien détaillé
- 326 F:w hadak š-ši rah ġir šwiya men l'univers
- 327 E:ššetti dik l-laqta melli bgaw ystabiliziw dik l-vaisseau bgaw ystabiliziw ġi manuellement sans ordinateur [°]ad bqa dak laxur tayħawel tayaxud une bonne visée bqa tayšuf tta yaxud les bonnes mesures [°]ad baš gallih bloque huwwa ybloqui
- 328 F:ġedda ġadi nemšiw netferju f-dak l-film dyal asmitu
- 329 E:l'ultime décision
- 330 F:l'ultime décision dyal Steven Seagull ġadi nemši neft[°]er [°]end Ahmed w men be[°]d nelheq [°]likum nemšiw l-c-cinema w njiw [°]refti d-drari lli f-l'appartement á côté šaryin une télé grand écran w hattinha sur waheed t-twibla sġi:wra melli kayt[°]fiw d-duw kayħsab lek rak vraiment f-c-cinéma
- 331 E:aš tay gulu [°]endkum hna d-drari en general les civilistes
- 332 F:[°]laš
- 333 E:l'affectation ze[°]ma waš ġadi yebqaw hna f-la base wella ymšiw l-R-baṭ f-les forces kulla w l-'afkar dyalu yak
- 334 F:iwa aš ġadi ngul lik kayn lli tay gullik xesni nchanger xesni nbeddel le lieu daba kayn des avantages et des inconvenients
- 335 E:voilà

- 336 F:ka:yn daba ila glesti hnaya voilà l'avantage haħna saknin hnaya tanxellsu: cent dirhams f-š-šher kayn ħaja xra tadgul xessni n-évoluer šwiyya f-l-xedma ndir ši ħaja lli tatmaša m^a la branche dyali donc xassek d-dxul l-la défence
- 337 E:tkun à jour ze^ama
- 338 F:wila mšiti l-hih taykun un chef de service dyalek w-kayn waħed l'avantage annahu men trois mois l-trois mois taykun ši déplacement
- 339 E:had š-ši f-défence
- 340 F:ih f-l-personel dyal l'administration
- 341 E:tay ^aawnuk li'anna la solde dyal échelle dix f-la défence naqsa šwiyya m^a dayrin ši assurance wella man^aref
- 342 F:tayqeṭ^au lina settalaf teltalaf teltalaf f-l'assurance de vie idan gallik rah échelle dix djik
- 343 E:soit disons trois milles dirhams
- 344 F:wa l-muhim trois milles dirhams soit daba ila kanet trois milles dirhams tadgul daba ila kanet l-hih voilà les déplacements tadjik ši trois milles dirhams par trimestre
- 345 E:kifaš f-d-déplacement wah mezyana bħal ila gelti milles dirhams par mois zayda bħal ila gelti had t-trimestre trimestre laxur may^aeṭiwkš w trimestre axur y^aṭiwk fhemti taynawbu w hiya ġadya
- 346 F:donc par semestre bħal ila gelti cinq cents dirhams f-l-mois
- 347 E:bħal cinq cents dirhams ṣafi l-muhim ħa va arranger les choses maši bħal ila bqina hna tta ħed maye^arefna li'annahu ġankunu tab^ain l-hadu w hadu: mam^aahum tta ši ħaja
- 348 F:walakin ntuma tab^ain l-les forces maši tab^ain l-hadu
- 349 E:ahah tab^ain l-la défence walakin škun š-chef d'service dyalna hadu d-dossier dyalna rah ^aendhum
- 350 F:walakin bħal les avantages dyal les déplacements w dak š-ši matayjikumš ntuma waxa tkunu xeddamin hna
- 351 E:normalement hadu l-li xesshum ydiru
- 352 F:bon voilà une fois tkunu ntuma xeddamin hna de temps en temps tebdaw tantuma d-diru des missions fictives yebdaw yšifṭu les ordres de mission dyalkum w ytsnaw
- 353 E:wa l-muhim kif makan l-ħal ra la situation hna mabihaš les temps ont changé nħemdu llah w nšukruh had š-ši ra ma kennaš ga^a ta kanħelmu bih
- 354 F:iyyeh
- 355 E:wa ra ze^ama hada amal makunnaš ga^a kanimaginiw ġadi nweṣlu lih
- 356 F:bon il tout á fait normal baš l-waħed ykun ^aendu un sentiment pareil vu que hadi awwel merra jiti fiha l-R-ḥaṭ w bġaḍ n-naḍar ^ala dak š-ši lli kenti katgul dyal annani xašni nebqa msayer l-weqt w nkun á jour f-l-xedma dyali matensaš bi'anna R-ḥaṭ ra muškila d-R-ḥaṭ ah ra maġay^aerfuk la f-ḥur la ġda la mulay b-bih w maġadiš y^aerfuk f-l-logement le plus important f-R-ḥaṭ w soyez sūr ġatemši tekri b-milles dirhams m^a ṣaħbek waħed d-demi chambre w tebqa mjelweq ra maši bħal saken hnaya mhenni w raħet l-bal ^arefti had l-^aiša hadi ra mille dirhams t-évaluyiha b-l-flus
- 357 E:rah mansitš rah milles dirhams taqriban
- 358 F:w mertaħ m^a rasek w na^aes w mduwweš mezyane
- 359 E:ga^a matalan ga^a ana ila mabġitš neskun fe l-blad mabġitš w nji nekri hna ta newqef ^ala rejliya
- 360 F:yemken lik tekri hna l-daxel

- 361 E:n-duwez waħed s-six ans wella huit ans hnaya
- 362 F:ayeh tat- économiser mezya:n voila hada huwwa l'avantage amma ila kenti f-R-
baṭ ga tekri tekri llaħumma tġib m'ak mertek men hna
- 363 E:nebqa ana petit á petit tta nqad dak d-dar
- 364 F:voilà ne te précipites pas après tout d-dar xesu ykun muri:h w txelli fih mertek
tebda temši l-temma merra merra
- 365 E:ra n-nas kaymšiw l-xarij w l-t-talyane w kayxelliw leur femmes hnaya
- 366 F:iyyeh n-na:s 'ammatan tay-mšiw l-temma f-s-si:f ġir f-s-si:f hahuma b-dyurhum
w ġir f-s-si:f
- 367 E:w mma hna ra ga f-Rbaṭ tout prés
- 368 F:šuf w mma hna šhal ġat'ettel 'liha quinze jours maximum un mois huwa lli
ġat'ettel 'liha c'est tout
- 369 E:bħal li gelti aucun problème inša'llah
- 370 F:lla daba lli tanšuf ana huwa le début b-n-nisba likum ntuma surtout f-le debut le
debut ana je vois wellah l'adim haduk lli ġadi yebqaw hna ġadi ykunu trés
avantagés li'anna le debut dima taykun fih
- 371 E:ra kulši taygulha f-le début dima xassek
- 372 F:xass dak le coup d'envoi w 'la mayjikum l-rappel xass tebqa hna
- 373 E:bien sur
- 374 F:une fois yexrej lik r-rapel dik ssa'a l'insan yemken lih yemši ydir ši ħaja lli tnefcu
ya'imma yemši l-waħed nišan yetzewwej w yekri nnit bon ila mša l-rbat ġadi
yetkerfes šwiya 'layn ma yelqa lekra munasib wila kan kayfekker yebqa hnaya
- 375 E:'refti a jamal kantsenna ġal- bulletin officiel tuxruj
- 376 F:wa hadik ašħbi dans l'espace d'un mois texruj hada l-maximum normalement f-
had Février maġadiš d-dépasser ga° Février ga° ha:d š-ši rah b-r-retard dyal
l'administration marocaine sachant bi'annahu ġayt'etlu w had l-mes'ala walakin
maġay depassiwš waħed d-delai mu'ayyan quand même
- 377 E:li'annahu ana had l-qadiya dyal l'assurance ana j'arrive pas á comprendre la
chose ze'ma ma'jebniš l-ħal kayħaydu lina cinq cents dirhams
- 378 F:l-qadiya dyal l'assurance ra maši ġir ntuma hna taħna ra tayqet'u lina trois cents
dirhams
- 379 E:wa kun ġay qet'u lina trois cents dirhams hnaya
- 380 F:trois cent dirhams had š-ši lli tayqt'u lina
- 381 E:wa bħal li gelt lik kun ġay diru lina bħalkum après tout maġaymken linaš nħuttu
rašna á part w ydiru lina bħal échelle onze 'refti walakin ašħbi ra échelle dix
kayšed seb'in alf ryal
- 382 F:ahah normalement échelle dix tayšedd seb'in alf ryal ra professeur dyal d-
deuxième cycle tayšedd seb'in alf ryal tta huwa w bel aqdamiya kaywšel tal tes'in
alf ryal bħal waħed tayšedd seb'in alf ryal ra mezyane ašħbi tant que célibataire
ra ça va ze'ma katšiyet l-flus 'ayš bixir l-ħamdu llaħ makateħremš rašek men
bezzaf d-l-ħwayj
- 383 E:tšawwer wellah axuya jamal ze'ma f-l-ħaqiqa makentš kantsewwerha w
kanebqa nfekker fiha bezzaf kangul vraiment le bon Dieu existe hadi
maneddakruš 'liha
- 384 F:wa l-ħamdullah ra r-reħma maky'refha l-waħed mnin ġatji ga l-'insan ykun
šwiyya imanu maši ykun imanu puissant walakin ra reħmet reħmet ka tji ka tji
- 385 E:'refti baqi tane'qel melli yallah kemmet leqraya w ma'reft mandir bdit tangul
vraiment je suis perdu je suis perdu
- 386 F:l-waħed tayšedduh les soucis dyal l-xedma w l-mašakil

- 387 E:fin aṣaḥbi ra waḥed l-jaw xayeb
- 388 F:l'emploi makaynš
- 389 E:a walu ʿrefti ašna hiyya tlata w tesʿin wella tnin w tesʿin ra sadda m-ṭerrqa d-deniya ṣafi
- 390 F:n-nas lli ʿandhum les mentions ḥaṣlin ʿad katšuf ṛasek nta
- 391 E:w kanu kaysiftu l-ʿibad l-lah d-dégagement tatbqa gales tta kayjik d-dégagemnt d'office men ʿendhum yaʿni s-service civil nsah mabaqiš t-feker fih ah šhal men waḥed jah w ana mʿa rasi bqit kangul wayli w rana je comptais sur ça w bqit je ne fouttais rien du tout w bdat l-walida tatgul l-ʿyalat maʿreft imta ġadi ydaxluhum y-xedmu ġa maybqaš ydur liya hna bla šġul w elle priait en disant ya rebbi mayeġber wejhi ta nšifu xdem w dak š-ši nnit men beʿd šhar w nuṣ jat l-xedma et par la suite effectivement l-walida tweffat wa hada c'est la sorte d'événements étranges de miracles ila bġiti lli ṣʿib l-waḥed y-conceviha w lli ana kanʿišha
- 392 F:ʿrefti aṣaḥbi ašna huwwa s-service civil ra gaʿ hadu lli mʿana dyal s-service civil ʿad l-bareḥ tlaqit mʿa waḥed l'ingénieur f-DAT asmitu r-risani ṣaḥeb ḥamid wa gal liya ra telt snin wana gales gal liya ra hetta debbert ʿla waḥed ʿṭawh un mois w mšat hakkak
- 393 E:šuf men beʿd dekkerni nwerrik waḥed la lettre ʿṭaha liya Meṣṭafa kan ʿṭani waḥed deux lettres kan werrahum liya faš mšina ana wiyyah l-z-zawiya dyal la traduction hada waḥed ṣifet l-weldu men Fransa w kateb lih b-l-français w aji tšuf terjama men l-ʿarbiya l-français ʿrefti wa tmut b-dḍaḥk
- 394 F:rah maʿreft škun lli qra liya ši ḥaja comme ça qbel yak men l-ʿarbiya l-français yak lli b-d-darija
- 395 E:d-darija m-tarjma l-français
- 396 F:bellati ra maʿreft škun lli qraha liya je ne me rapelle plus
- 397 E:wa na ʿṭaha liya Meṣṭafa ʿṭani juj weḥda xra waʿra l-luwlaniya maġadi yefhemha ġir merroki li'annaha d-darija f-l-megrib w t-taniya nimporte qui yeqraha ymut bedḍaḥk li'annaha mafihaš had t-traduction bḥal hakda fiha waḥed t-traduction b-škel axur li'anna lli kayhder mša ġalet fhemti zwiwna ce qu'on apelle un quiproquo
- 398 F:yyeh, yyeh ʿendek hna
- 399 E:non maʿendiš ra gelt lih ysewwerhum liyya f-z-zawya w nsit
- 400 F:aš had d-décor hada kay wqeʿ un malentendu
- 401 E:non maši vraiment un malentendu daba gallih gallih mšat daba hadi c'est une anglaise mšat l-manʿref aš men pays hadak waš Fransa je pense w ka manʿref bon mšaw l-la cōte w kraw waḥed d-dar yak ils ont loué waḥed la maison fhemti waš rejʿat nsat bi'annaha dak d-dar ma maʿerfatš fin il y avait des toilettes ou plutôt salle de bain maʿerfatš je ne suis pas sûre t-toilette fin kayna hiyya tsift une lettre l-mul š-chalet lli kan kra lihum galt lih “ s'il te plait ... dis-moi où se trouvent les ... les toilettes la où se trouvent les doublevé sé (WC)” ketbat lih où se trouvent
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- 402 F:les double
- 403 E:les doublevé sé (WC) ve se
- 404 F:oui oui va-z-y
- 405 E:galt lih où se trouve l-vé sé (VC) dak l' anglais huwwa comment il l'a traduit doublevé sé ʿendha waḥed l-meʿna axur b-l'anglais dik doublevé (W) tateʿni waḥed un autre mot tatecni waḥed l-mot axur yak lli totalement different ʿla le sens dyal l-kabina ši ḥaja qui se trouve très très loin ʿla d-dar gaʿ huwwa yjawbha gallihha bon dak š-ši lli tatsewwelini ra il se trouve presque à douze kilomètres de la

- maison là où il y a des vitrines il a commencé à lui décrire dak š-ši lli telbat menu il y a des vitrines tout le monde peut voir donc hiyya imaginez kabina b-hal hakdak fhemti des toilettes dans des vitrines où on peut contempler les gens °refi wa tmut b-ddehk wahed la scène vraiment extrêmement comique
- 406 F:ih un malentendu le genre de quiproquo
- 407 E:š-šerh dyal l-kalimat melli taykun mextalef peut induire les gens en erreur voilà hiyya telbat wahed l-me°na w huwwa jawbha °la škel axur w dak š-ši lli jawb °lih taytšabeh m°a l-kabina nnit fhemti taygulliha on s'assoit correctement avec des gens kifaš tegles m°a n-nas fhemti w tout le monde peut sentir ton odeur ši txerbiq bhal hakda °refi dik xeyyati taygulu waš kabina hadi wella ašnu
- 408 F:xerbeqha mezyane hada
- 409 E:ma°refiš l-me°na dyal double vé sé ma°qeltš kifaš šrehha liya Mestafa
- 410 F:tay ji souvent l-megrib
- 411 E:pas très souvent daba ça fait quatre ans qu'il est en Angleterre promo dyali huwwa tnayn w ts°in jab la licence dyalu f-l'Anglais
- 412 F:waš xda l-baccalauréat dyalu w mša
- 413 E:lla šedd l-licence °ad mša
- 414 F:šedd la licence mnin
- 415 E:l-promo dyali ašahbi xda la licence men Benimellal f-l'Anglais
- 416 F:hakak °ad baš en suite mša l-n-negliz
- 417 E:á présent il prépare son doctorat d'état
- 418 F:mezyane
- 419 E:ra: baqi jeune ašahbi ze°ma makbirš ra promo dyali ašahbi ra weld soixante neuf
- 420 F:hna wlad soixante six kun kemmelna tanqraw kurra hna....
- 421 E:iwa c'est comme ça dak š-ši ra makatib w safi
- 422 F:walakin ra tahuwwa il a chillé ah ra f-l-lewwel ra šiftu lu m-malin daru l-flus hetta l-had les deux dernières années °ad baš wella metmekken men nefsu wella tayexdem w yeqra f-l-lewwel surtout wahed les deux premières années ra šhal šiftu lih muškila ze°ma ra d-décision lli xad ze°ma n'est pas facile x-da le risque w emballa rašu l-l'angleterre jatu l'inscription huwa yz°em zad amma wahed axur ray-hésiter wella lli ma°enduš l-flus may-mšiš
- 423 E:b-d-doctorat ra yji ra yxdem hnaya
- 424 F:rah f-Manchester daba huwa li'anna Manchester est plus ou moins šwiyya rxiša par contre Londres galiya ze°ma rah il a fait une démarche kbira
- 424 E:walakin ra yxdem ze°ma d-diplôme dyalu matandenš ykun muškil
- 425 F:dak š-ši lli gelt lih anaya gelt lu šuf fin tgerreb tsali la thèse dyalek šifet des demandes écrites f-n-negliz wella f-marican °ad melli tšuf makayn walu walu °ad dji hnaya temma l-hih hsen tahuwa °eqlytu fši škel meskin huwa maši b-hal hnaya maši marroki dans le sens du mot w °endu wahed le genre de principes fši škel tahuwa wa imagines taygullik huwaya hšuma t-šed kessal f-l-hemam yhekk lik l-wsex yallah naqešha nta m°ah hadi
- 426 E:wa gul lih rah gat xellsu maši un service gratuit wella ra l-kessal bga wella krah obligé yhek lik maši l'esclavage et en plus hadak rah l-gagne pain dyalu wella la wa mayhekš lih huwwa w mayhekš l-laxur baš bga y°iš had s-siyed yexruj yes°a
- 427 F:wa ga bellati la meilleure hiya taygul lek hšuma temši °end l-qhab t-xllešhum rak tat-hinha gelt lih ra hiyya lli bgat maši tatforciha
- 428 E:gullu ra dak š-ši baš tat°iš ratat°awnha

- 429 F:taygul lek l-la mataybgiš huwa ymši °end l-qeħba t-xelleħha w tħwiha w te°tiha l-flus tatjih incroyable maši ħetta incroyable ħšuma tan gul lih aweddi rahiya lli bġat
- 430 E:wa šetti ana ra kent kan°iš ana hna w katjini dik l-qaddiyya f-ši škel
- 431 F:lla meskin huwwa meskin fhemti de bon coeur fhemti derri llay °emmerha dar
- 432 E:gullu ra l-meġrib c'est officiel hadi men l-°adat dyalna w naturel
- 433 F:maši ġir f-l-meġrib ra t-tqeħbin partout il était depuis l'existence de l'humanité tat gul liyya nta l-meġrib wa tout le monde tay°taref tu sais aš kay semmiw la prostitution a s-si taygulu c'est le plus vieux métier du monde sme°tini
- 434 E:et c'est vrai dans un sense makayn t-ta ši °ahd lli x̄tatu la prostitution w je crois que f-l'étranger ġadi ykun had l-phénoméne mutafašši: ktar bon walakin bħal ši ħwayj matalan l-kessal w dak š-ši rah men l-°ada dyal l-ħammam ħa fait partie de l'ensemble qui distingue le bain publique f-l-meġrib
- 435 F:ayyeh coutume hadik jari biha l-°amal wa ra matadderbuš °la ġfah ra huwwa tayji ygul lik aji nħuk lik w txelsu a ra jbedna des discussions ana wiyyah w dak waħed l-vétérinaire waħed l-medecin vétérinaire jbedna ši mawadi° f-dak remdan dernier ra xaħar °refti jbedna ši hedra bħal ħakdak
- 436 E:wa il a bien fait ze°ma baš yemši l-l'étranger wellah ila bixir
- 437 F:ah c'est vrai wa doctorat d'état maši bħal licence axay
- 438 E:wayli evidement
- 439 F:w bħal lli gelt lik qbel akkedt °lih ydir des demandes ysifeħ des demandes temma °endhum f-les universités f-n-negliz
- 440 E:imta y-naqeš d-doctorat ydir la soutenance dyalu
- 441 F:l-°am j-jay
- 442 E:iwa ra x̄essu yebda y- préparer raħu
- 443 F:had š-ši lli gelt lih ana men daba yettasel b-les universités gelt lih ra walabudda telqa ši ħaja walabudda
- 444 E:temma les cadres les cadres un cadre il est bien payé temma
- 445 F:te°ref melli kent f-l-première année w d-deuxième année tangul nedrub la licence f-ħbe° snin ndir ħit kayna f-Beljika waħed la branche dyal l-criminologie w ndir l-criminologie f-Beljika bixir w ttaxud d-DES dyalek wa fin wellina tangulu ha l-°ar ġa nħerju men hna b-ši diplôme šetti ana škun kan tay-qdi °liyya huwwa ħadak lli tay-xruj men t-troisième année ma-bqalu walu °la la licence w xda d-dipôme dyal d-DEUG futta le tout en l'air w xrej mša dar apprenti °end neħjar waš aħaħbi l-waħed kun bġa s-sen°a ġa° mayeħtaj yeħra
- 446 E:wa mazal ħadak ra fiddu mša dar s-sen°a waxxa apprenti ma°liš c'est toujours un emploi wa waħed d-deri licencier il n'a jamais connu ašnu huwwa l'échec wa imaginez a-ħaħbi d-deri malgré les moyens meskin malgré l'environement fin t-treħba kanet d-duruf qaħħa ġab š-šahada ta-huwwa njeħ décrocha l-Bac dyalu mša l-merrakeš ja l-la fac l-°am l-lewwel l-°am t-tani ġab la licence
- 447 F:mezyane iwa aš tay-dir daba
- 448 E:fellaħ rah fellaħ bħalu bħal xuh lli ma°umru maħezz l-ktab wellah daba ħa fait cinq ans, cinq ans licencier en BG w °aħiħa l-tafellaħt be°da au moins qader y-felleħ w ġa:b ma yfelleħ ara lik lli malqaš wa daba huwwa w xuh même pied d'égalité xuh maħariš ġa° bħal bħal
- 449 F:wa šefti bħal ħadak malgré le fait bi'annahu finalement waxa qra waxa t°eddeb rje° xdem m°a xuh il n'a rien perdu
- 450 E:aš men ħadak lli qra rah il a perdu des efforts il a perdu du temps le temps et l'argent ce qui n'est pas facile á ignorer a s-si

- 451 F:waḥed l-weld axur bḥal hakka ʿendu la licence f-s-sbelyuniyya meskin ʿrefti daba fin f-l-qehwa xeddām garçon tayserbi ʿla n-nas lli rubbama maʿummerhum maḥellu l-ktab wa la ʿerfu ašnu fih zeʿma c'est l'emmerde had l-qadiyya d-l-qraya w d-diplôme f-l-megrib zeʿma ra ḍahira elle a bouversé zeʿma les choses waṣaḥbi l'insan kayḍrub di:k n-nhar kent kanesmeʿ l-dik rukn l-mufti w ši ḥed ṣifet gallek qra taʿya w f-l-xer gallek lam yabqa ladayh siwa l-qiyam bijarima huwa dak l-fqih tay gul lih fiʿlan maši meʿqul tusa:dif tammara men segrek w f-l-lexer ygulu lek la natawaffar ʿala l-mizaniyya litašgi:l š-šaba:b walakin a weldi tašabbat bi ṣ-ṣabr gelt lih f-xatri nta ḥattinek temma aš crefti cla tammara c'est pas juste ...w daba le coup de grace zadu ḥeyydu s-service civil gaʿ qawduha zeʿma mezyan
- 452 E:aš ja mayfukhum mʿa had tesʿalaf w la liste t-taniya mazala fiha xemsa w ʿešrin alef wat-ta ra haduk les responsables ḍarbin ḥsabhum raḥum maṣaxit aw la politique dyal d-dula taygulu llaḥumma nefukku had tesʿalaf n-ṭulqu had m-maliha y-ferḥu mziyya hadik wala yebqa tabeʿna had s-service civil nkubbu fih l-flus w nous seront obligés baš ndexlu xamsa w ʿešrin alf xra
- 453 F:aji šefti dak l'officier j-jdid lli dxel f-blast jamil
- 454 E:yak maši dak Siraj
- 456 F:ah hadak waḥed s-salopard mais vraiment ṣemṣar belmeʿqul matanlḥemluš aṣaḥbi
- 457 E:hadak t-tawaḥed makayḥemlu waḥed l-mešya ʿendu w waḥed la f-façon de parler w gaʿ kullu ʿamer snasel yex w š-šar ʿamer b g-gel w taybda yšuf f-ʿibad llaḥ men l-fuq je me demande ana pour qui il se prend fdiḥa hadi
- 458 F:ra weld ši qebtan wella ši ajuḍan wella maʿreft l-gensu ʿendu waḥed t-tasaruf répréhensible
- 459 E:men l-qniṭra huwwa yak
- 460 F:wa men hna aš men qniṭra
- 461 E: kanet ʿendu waḥed l'ér-quatre
- 462 F:lla la wa saḥbi ʿla men kateḥder nta wa l'officier j-jdid qui a remplacé Jamil kayn waḥed ra ḥemrani šwiyya ma ʿenduš le teint clair ḥemrani f wejhu šwiyya bḥal walu ykun kayḍur f-ši qunt hnaya telqah ḡakayḍur men coin l-coin mxalli šuḡlu w gales ʿel d-ḍurane
- 463 E:wa ra yʿiqu bih la sécurité les supérieurs yqezbuh ga gullih continue
- 464 F:hadak ra déshonneur l-militaire yaḥesra c'est un officier...w ʿendu une responsabilité quand est ce que had xiyna ḡayfhem rasu je n'sais pas
- 465 E:iwa aš ḡaddir ktar huma maši gir hadak
- 466 F:aji ra l-ʿešra hadi nmšiw ntʿeššaw
- 467 E:yallah
- 468 F:ah ah ʿla l-cantine ʿamra
- 469 E:sir sir ra d-drari banu liya temma
- 470 F:s-salamu ʿalaykum
- 471 D:wa ʿalaykum s-salam
- 472 E:šed šed mʿak l-plateau aš dayrin l-p-poulet
- 473 D:ah ʿrefti fin mšaw hadu gbila
- 474 C:mšina nqelbu ʿel l-ḥwa
- 475 E:maši ḥšuma aṣaḥbi f-remḍan w dgul bḥal had l-ḥedra hadi
- 476 C:ašnu bḡiti la vérité hadi n-kedbu ʿla nta honnêtement zeʿma ça n' tai pas passé par la tête w dailleurs l-ḥwa mal had l-kelma ʿla nta baš xlaḡiti aš kan qbel aš kan qbel
- 477 E:šuf ʿla question šḥal bête

- 478 C:baš xlaqiti kan acte sexuel
479 E:ana mageltlekš l-la ġir huwwa f-had l-mejem° majatš
480 C:c'est la preuve biannahu kulši kaybda men l'acte sexuel daba melli gelti lik l'acte sexuel °ejbatek w melli gelt lik l-ħwa b-d-darija din m-muk katjik ħarša aay š-chevilla wellah ila š-chevilla
481 E:ašuf quddamek amesxuṭ bešwiyya yak °ad ġbila ketti derti liha la glace °end Jamal tu devais te reposer as-si alli taygul xrej y-qalleb °el l-ħwa
482 C:wa š-chevilla din m-mħa ṡafi yak bqa bbak hurayra °la xaṭru:
483 E:šetti daba nnit ra ġadi twelli lik enflée xassek l-repos wa ila ra maġa tebqa °endek chevilla
484 F:ġatwelli trés faible tta madertiš liha tta l-bandage ašahbi dir liha l-bandage w reposes toi bien jab llah be°da ġedda ra weekend
485 C:w zadni ġbila Aħmed drebni liha
486 E:°laħqaš hiya faible °endek déjá zad huwa ztem °lik
487 C:wa maztemš °liya gul °ṭani coup de pied rkelni maħmelniš
488 B:maši derba hadik lli °ṭitek
489 C:wellah ila daba bešsaħ l-ħriq šedni fiha drebti liya l-point faible dyali
490 F:wa kulši kaytšekka a°ibad llah nta drebtini nta derti liya nudu axuya dépoziw plainte ana be°da meskin kanakul l-°sa mataneħderš
491 C:d-deq mabin drari mataneħdruš °lih ġa° kulna kanakluh w kane°ṭiwh walakin yemši yet-telwa lik ši muscle wella tewqe° lik déchirure hadik ra c'est pas facile ana derratni bezzaf li'annaha déjá j'ai toujours eu des problèmes m°aha w zid ġbila f-la marche f-d-druj
492 E:iwa hiya gul liya makayna kura la ġedda wa la l-weekend jJay wa ġlebnakum l-merra lli fatet w menin bqitu fina gelna ħegga match nul
493 C:lla ġlebnakum smeħ liya quatre zéro f-l-xer l-bit l-lxrani maħsebtihš l-bit l-lexer lli merkit maħsebtihš
494 D:wa tlata tlata derna t-ta°adul
495 C:lla lla non monsieur je n' suis pas d'accord
496 D:aji °refti be°da Naširi be°da aš kaydir
497 C:weld l-ħram wellah ila ħraymi
498 D:kay°zel duk l-xemsa les meilleurs
499 C:šuf šuf neqsem lek bellah neqsem lek bellah wellahi ma °umri dertha lla °endak kanu meqssmin t-terrain et dailleurs men d-départ tanšufhum huma tangul huma ħsen menna
500 D:eh eh
501 C:aji šuf škun d-drari lli kanu la°bin il y avait ana w l-qebtane °Adel Miftaħ ħammuda lla maši
502 D:aš men ħammuda
503 C:maši ħammuda lla bellati bellati matxafš w waħed juj xrayn ma°refhumš kan hada L-ġwasli w kanu juj drari xrayn kayle°bu mezyane waħed l-ġlid jay °ewwal °la la guerre de troie
504 D:la soif de la vengeance hadik wa huma šħaħ °likum
505 C:wa šħaħ šetti men d-départ wellah ita °refthum šħaħ °lina w bien entraînés
506 F:wa kan p-possible bi'annakum tle°bu ħsen
507 C:wa n°el š-šitan a Jamal
508 F:wa tantuma kanu °endkum drari zwinin
509 C:škun be°da l'équipe adverse kan m°ahum Lħemdani kayeqtul bel°sa °essani ana be°da L-ħemdani wellah ila fractura l-ġesba L-ġaslawi dik n-nħar

- 510 B:allez lla y[°]awn á demain
- 511 C:šafi mšiti wa tfekker hbibek
- 512 F:kayn waħed xur dak l-merrakši
- 513 C:Moħammed Nuqra m[°]ahum m[°]ahum wa rah m[°]ahum kayl[°]eb qaseħ tahuwwa
- 514 F:tayl[°]eb qaseħ w ġmayqi
- 515 C:iih wellah ana men d-départ gelt hadu ġadi ydegguna walakin gelt m[°]a rasi xellini njri baš n[°]reg
- 516 F:walakin yaxuya ra dak xayna kayel[°]eb xatar kifaš kay dribli
- 517 C:wa tatgul šafi il a perdu le ballon w šwiya tayban lik rah ġadi b-l-kura direct l-š-šebka w tmarka bit
- 518 F:[°]refiti dik n-nħar ana jrit jrit tta ħssit belli sedri teqqal [°]liya jrit mezyane f-dak t-terrain
- 519 C:huwwa nnit dak tterrain kayšeħħef tayšeħħef l-waħed mezyane
- 520 F:wellina tantaya daba ħnaya msuflin [°]lih
- 521 C:xdina la cadence
- 522 F:w zad dak s-šebbat dberni jreħni hna w lfuq
- 523 C:m[°]a wase[°] xassek telbes t-tqašer bezzaf [°]refiti ana tanelbes reb[°]a d- les chaussettes m[°]a šebbatı dak š-ši baš wsa[°] walakin [°]refiti ra tayhezzu d-darb [°]la les orteils dyalek
- 524 D:axuya ana matanqderš njri kaydurni rasi
- 525 C:waxa ydurrek rasek nud tejri
- 526 F:c'est vrai had š-ši d-la circulation sanguine wellah asidi ra bħal š-škel dyal Aspegic aš kaydiru kayzerbu la circulation ta[°] le s-sang de manière á ce que le corps se réchauffe
- 527 C:be[°]d l-merrat ra kaybqa l-waħed ndir mandirš n[°]el š-šitan w dir tu te sens mieux après ħsen ma tebqa gales kat ferrej fe t-télévision wella ši ħaja wella mexši fel fraš
- 528 D:bon d-drari ana ġadi nemši ġedda xassni n-nud de très bonheur
- 529 C:ana ġedda
- 530 E:nta ġedda [°]ti r-raħa l-la cheville dyalek yallah nemšiw

APPENDIX 3
DATA SET 3A

- 1 A:tta malna a ṣaḥbi mkelxine waxxa nkunu °em-merna maṣefna radio f-ḥayatna kulha
- 2 B:wa ḥna gir gelna lik kanwessiwek subḥane llaḥ li'anna:hu rah r-radio maṣi dyali rah xuk gir msellefu w dima ḥajet nnas katewqe° fiha l-maṣakil
- 3 A:ṣuf neddiha f-l-weekend n-'enregistrer fiha w nreje°ha lik ana ḡadi naxudha li'anna fiha l-blasa dyal zuj dyal l-casṣetat w had ṣṣi lli bḡit baṣ yemken liya nxeddem l-casṣeta f-jiha w n-enregistrer f-wehda xra f-jjiha luxra
- 4 B:wa l-muhim ana ngul lek gir ḥafed °liha mafiyya ma yethazz m°a mulaha fhemtini
- 5 A:ṣuf daba ḥetta lhad l-masa'il hadi w xellina nḥedru aji ḥeqqa ḡadi tjiw ḡeda ldik l-ḥfila lli dayrin f- l-pparc b-munasabat °id l°erṣ wella ḡatemṣiw l-leblad
- 6 C:lla lla le trois Mars ana ḡadi nkun ḥna maḡadiṣ nemṣi fin
- 7 A:°laṣ
- 8 C:ḡadi nemṣi walakin maḡadiṣ nṭewwel ḡanemṣi w nji f-llil maḡadiṣ n-bat
- 9 A:wayyeli kiderti liha
- 10 B:malek axuya °la had l-°adab w ttriq ṭwila ṣi qadiyya hadi al°efrit ṣi rendez vous hada °a:ji:l wa la yestaḥmi:l t-ta'axxu:r
- 11 C:la la mṣitu ḡalti:n daba kifaṣ ḥit ḡanemṣi m°a waḥed d-deri kan°erfu ḡadi nemṣiw ana wiyyah
- 12 B:iwa
- 13 C:ḡadi yjibni xassu huwwa le trois Mars ykun ḥna wana maxesniṣ ndiyye° l-weqt nebqa gales waṣ ḡadi rrbeḥ ila glest tal nhar letnin nebqa gales tal °eṣra w ntem xarej men temma ma°endi mandir ḥsen liya nerje° nemṣi nṣuf gir l-walida kidayra w nerje°
- 14 B:ah wadaba ḡay jibek ṣiwaḥed felli:l
- 15 C:ah ḡadi yjibni f-ttunubil dak ṣṣi °laṣ bḡit neḡta:nem l-furṣa sinon ḡadi yxesni nemṣi w nji f-l-kar w °refi ttriq ṭwila wana kandux f-l-kiran wellah m°a s-sahd makanqderṣ anaya °la s-safar ttwil f-l-kiran w s-siyed qta:reḥ °liya yeddini m°ah gelt lih waxxa
- 16 B:ana axuya dak n-nḥar ḡadi nṣiytu waxxa negles waxxa necref nji f-lkar bellil w nertaḥ m°a ḡasi bla zerba °liya
- 17 C:ḡadi tegles lhih bezzaf ketti f-Merrakech nnit had l-'ayya:m lli dazet wella lla
- 18 B:imta f-ḡas l-°am
- 19 C:lla f-merrakṣ daba ḡa récemment waḥed l-quinze jours hadi taqriban wella ṣi ṣi simana maṣi bezzaf
- 20 B:ah kent temma w ḡanemṣi: nṣa°llah ila yesser llaḥ ṣixetra xra
- 21 A:iwa ha l-me°qul
- 22 B:wa makayn walu aṣaḥbi xassni nemṣi nṣuf l-qadiyya ki dayra ra melli ma katebqa tji xbar kane°ref l-qadiyya ḥamda
- 24 C:kifaṣ bḡi:ti ddir teqfez
- 25 B:ḡanemṣi: w n-ḥanqez maṣi gir neqfez maṣi l-xaṭri
- 26 C:wah °awettani yakemma mweklak ṣi sberdila aḡidas hadi wella l-qadiyya f- l-ḥrira dyal remdane
- 27 B:waxuya aṣ ḡan gul lek sberdila aḡidas wella n-naike l-muhim °yina manetsennaw w ṣafi
- 28 C:aji waṣ l-me°luma nnit wella weḥda xra
- 29 B:l-me°luma axuya l-me°luma raha dayra mabḡat bien sur

- 30 C:bien sur
- 31 B:kayn ši ʿšira men gir hadi
- 32 C:walu axuya walu llah yeħsen l-ʿawn rak šahi:d l-ħub w l-ğara:m
- 33: B:kayn ši ħubbinu men gir hadik ašahbi l'insane kayħebb merra weħda f-ħyatu t-ratter l'occasion gul yamina beslamma l-l'amour a s-si flane
- 34 C:waxxa a gays zamanu
- 35 A:iwa asidi ašnu ngulu lik llah yweffeq
- 36 B:amin axuya amine men sami:m l-qalb
- 37 C:mezyane kulši mezyane kemmel axuya nuš dinek maši bħalna ħna baqyin ġa kan qelbu cla bent l-ħlal mazal ġa ma bğat tji
- 38 A:baği tzewwej nta
- 39 C:makrehnaš axuya ʿlaš lla ila lqit bent l-ħlal
- 40 B:ayyeh w ġadi n-erdu ʿlikum f-sayf l-ʿers baš thezzu liya d-drapeau adwiw ze ma quddam n-nsab
- 41 A:ah oui ana nji ana ġir ʿlemni
- 42 C:ana nemši ʿla iddiya w rejliya waxxa ne-ref nbat šad t-triq ħtta newsej l-ʿendek ah w rah l-mbata ʿendek w l-makla ʿendek w kulši ʿendak dgul liya sir l-l'hotel mam anaš
- 43 B:merħba merħba b-xuya ʿla r-ras w l-ʿin ġa ji w matkun ġir ʿla xatrek
- 44 A:ašuf Amine ana dir fiyya plaisir waħed ʿafa xuya ana ġama tħutniš ħda Said rah makansteħmluš
- 45 C:ʿlaš axuya mali wakel lek ħaqkek aš dert lik w škun bğa yegles ħdak nta be da nta rah ġadi yelqaw problème ygelsu f-ši blaša tta waħed mağadi yebği yeqerreb ħdak
- 46 A:kateħder ʿla rasek daba safi daba kate taref
- 47 C:kaneħder ʿlik galak ʿlaš ze ma kateħder ʿliyya bħal ħakka malek xefti nħešsem bik
- 48 B:malkum ašahbi ʿla had l-hedra d-l-ʿgayzat ze ma rakum b-ʿqelkum maši drari sğar wella ngulu šrefu w t-teħreq likum l-fusible
- 49 C:iwa hiyya hadi ma tħettniš ħda f-lan iwa ašna hiyya hadi kayqelleb ʿla s-sda ʿdaba t-ʿejbek nta ygul lek ši waħed bħal ħakka
- 50 A:mayħettniš ħdak w safi ašbğit ndir bik xessni tuta qeddami aš ġandir bik ntaya malek ʿtawk xbari beddelt t-tawajju:h l-jinsi:
- 51 C:ašnu ġan gul lek llah yemesxek nta waxxa tbeddel t-tawajju:h l-jinsi: dyalek w tgul lihum ħakuni ygulu lek smeħ lna axuya maxessnaš w gallek daba bğa tuta
- 52 B:baraka baraka ʿlina men l-hedra n-naqsa daba tjiw l-ʿers merħba bikum bzuj w bzuj bikum ʿendi bħal bħal
- 53 A:ana xuya bğit nemši l-merrakš nšuf d-deriyat kidayrin
- 54 C:wa nud llah ye tiki l-mrar šuf lek ši blasa t-caza fiha tay ħen ʿlik llah gallek bğa yšuf d-deriyat
- 55 B:wa ġagulu nša llah b-zuj bikum baš tsawbu d-dosi m a llah w t-t-erfu ʿla lebnat ašahbi tzuwju temma nnit
- 56 C:wellaħ ʿlaš l-la
- 57 B:ma reftu ašnu kayn kulši mumkin
- 58 A:gulha l-had raš t-taru hada men s-sbaħ w huwwa y ayr
- 59 C:ma reft škun l-li bda ana wella nta waxxa waxxa ana ħebbi:tek l-mariage wa lakin c'est damage kif l-fromage w t-tara w t-tonage
- 60 B:wa t-ta ra l'occasion hadik tšufu l-bniwtat kayn d-dwişrat l-ħassat b-ryushum w kaynat t-tabtat lli daxlat suq rashum wa šnu taygulu lħadi asmitu min kulli fannin tarab w l-funun kayna

- 61 C:me[°]qula rah l-[°]ers kay jme[°] n-nas men kul škel w kaylaqi n-nas b-n-nas awella la hadik hiya l'occasion baš l-waħed y-mette[°] [°]winatu
- 62 B:l-[°]ers kay jme[°] n-nas f-škel tani hadik hiyya l'occasion baš l-'insa:n
- 63 C:kayjme[°] ga[°] anwa[°] l-bašariyya l-[°]ers lli mezyane w lli maši mezyane l-li yestahel welli mayestahelš ga[°] l-kmamer
- 64 B:wa l-'insa:n kayemken lih yšuf b-[°]aynu s-sel[°]a wella ħna njibu lih l-xbar iwa kayn ši ħaja kter men had š-ši ygul liya taq taq [°]tini les coordonnées nemši [°]end mqaddem lhuma
- 65 A:aš ddir [°]endu mqaddem lhuma huwwa mendub [°]la bnat d-derb
- 66 B:wa kter hadak taykun mendu:b ta [°]la l-ħašara:t dyal d-derb mendu:b hadak taykun [°]endu les informations ga[°] [°]la [°]ibad llah kulhum bħal ši radar [°]endu r-rejlin ga kay capter f-lkbira w s-sgi:ra [°]essak mayku:nš ħadi bnat d-derb
- 67 A:aš gad gul lih hanta [°]endu
- 68 B:gangul lih hadik fin kateskun
- 69 A:wayli [°]la fin kateskun hadik ranjibuha bla mqaddem [°]la s-sukna muški:l ašaħbi ħna bgina ħwayj xra waš mšaħba waš mextu:ba wella mzewja wella mtelqa kateqra xeddama ši ħwayj bħal hakka bgina d-détails ašaħbi
- 70 C:hagga šebt lek waħed l-bent a Amine kaddir waħed s-stage f-l-'idara baqiya jdida yallah jat gaši simana hadi
- 71 B:bessaħ wa[°]ra ze[°]ma dak š-ši la classe
- 72 C:[°]refiti ngul lek aħsen weħda lli šeft men ga[°] haduk lli xeddamat f-l-'idara šeft bezzaf dyal l-kmamer f-had l-blasa walakin yaxuya l-ħeq yedgal 'aħsen w 'ajmel weħda fihum kulhum hiyya hadi
- 73 B:ħayd [°]lina ašaħbi daba ma[°]refnaqš ašnu bgiti tgul 'ajmal wella 'aħsen kayn l-ferq mabin 'aħsen w 'ajmel
- 74 C:'ajmel [°]refiti zwina ašaħbi kidayra w ra ktebt smiyyetha f-waħed l-werqa daba nwerriha lik rubbama tkun kate[°]refha f-wejeha
- 75 B:mnin hiyya
- 76 C:men merrakš ašaħbi men Giliz
- 77 B:wayli [°]la men Giliz weld l-ħram msewweq l-xbar
- 78 C:waħna laš kan[°]awdu lik w dayrin had l-ħayħa hadi kamla
- 79 B:šħal f-[°]merha kbira sgira
- 80 C:baqya sgira tkun ši tmentaş wella tse[°]tašer [°]am
- 81 B:llah yerħem lik l-walidin waš kaddir f-l-'idara ħderti m[°]aha
- 82 C:ħdert m[°]aha kaddir gaši stage dyal s-secrétariat kateqra hiyya f-l'ITEA kaddir s-sana l-luwla gatebqa ħna gaši šħar ħnaya w šafi
- 83 B:xdat l-bac dyalha l-[°]am lli fat w daret l'ITEA
- 84 C:maxdat la bac wa la yaħzanun manejħatš wellah promotion xemsa w tes[°]in hiyya iwa w [°]iwad t[°]awed mšat daret had l-formation hadi dyal [°]amayn kayn fiha bezzaf dyal š-šu[°]ab dik l-medrasa l- les littéraires w l-šħab l[°]ulu:m
- 85 B:hakkak fina lycée qrat hiyya
- 86 C:Mulay Sma[°]il walakin [°]refiti kidayra ašaħbi
- 87 B:qadiyya hadi
- 88 A:[°]laš kathedru fatetni ši ħaja
- 89 C:ila fatteq l-ħedra gul sme[°]t wila fatteq l-makla gul šbe[°]t
- 90 A:tta malek ašaħbi baqi mqelleq
- 91 B:kenna kanhedru [°]la waħed t-tuta
- 92 A:zwina
- 93 B:waylli wa zwina hiya z-zi:na ga[°] f-had l-bnat dyal l-lycée kulhum 'ašaħbi d-deriya ra:'i[°]a f-[°]qelha w f-menderha asmiyyetha Meriyem galetha liya dik n-nhar

- w ketbat smiyyetha f-werqa w t-téléphone dyalha w °reftha fin sakna hna w mnin °a'iletha hit huma men merrakš darhum walakin hiyya kateqra hna
- 94 A:sakna whedha bixir
- 95 C:wa nud t-ge°ed galak sakna whedha sakna m°a xuha
- 96 B:wa °reftu wellah w temšiw m°aya l-°ers wellah l-°adim f-l-°ers temma tneqbu
- 97 A:nji wellah tanji
- 98 B:temma xuya yenqeb
- 99 A:nemši m°ak d-denya hanya maxaser walu
- 100 B:bel°aks rak rabeñ gatkun saken wakel šareb w quddamek l-maja:l wa:se° twil °rid l-t-tesyad
- 101 C:makrehnaš axuya makrehnaš
- 102 A:yallah netherku men hna
- 103 B:yallah °endak °endak a Samir šuf qeddamek ašahbi
- 104 C:xud balak min nafsi:ka al ART huna axba:r at-tasi°a šabañan
- 105 A:tsellefni gedda sberdiltek a Said °endi match dyal l-kura nel°ab biha s-sebt w l-ħedd gate°tiha liya s-sebt w l-ħedd neddiha nel°eb biha
- 106 C:wa rahiyya lli ġanemši labes l-blad maġadiš nelbes s-sebat
- 107 A:lawah nud galak ġatemši l-bliyda
- 108 C:smeñ liya smeñ liya ġabqa tejbed fiya
- 109 A:kikan l-match dyal l-bareñ m°a wlad Ben Yacine a Amine ġlebtuhum wella ġelbukum
- 110 B:n°am
- 111 A:kan zwin l-match dyal l-bareñ m°a d-drari dyal Ben Yassine
- 112 B:ah zwin l-match dyal l-bareñ °la maġalu likš d-drari ra ġlebnahum w kun mašebbatš š-šta kenna ne°tiwhum l-°ša mezyane
- 113 A:ġal°eb m°akum s-simana j-jayya w Said ġadi ye°tini sberdiltu yak a Said mettafqin
- 114 C:wa ġanemši: labesha l-blad hit ġanemši labes d-dji:n m°a s-sberdi:la
- 115 A:lla lla safi wellah ila baš netrini mezyane m°a daba rebbi lekriša ġanemši nejri mezyane
- 116 C:l-kriša rebbiti l-kriša w bġiti thiyyedha °la kerri ana wella ze°ma ma°jebtekš ana banet lik ġa l-kriša lli bġiti thiyyed wa ila bġiti thiyed l-kriša nqes men l-makla nqes men l-°elf
- 117 A:gallek karri ašmen karrek dyalek ši qelwa
- 118 C: dyali ši qelwa mali šareqha wella waxed lek dyalek yah °la bñadem kidayr
- 119 A:gallek °la karri nta °endek l-karr be°da mnin jak xasshum ydiriu lek waħed ština°i baš tsib tegles °lih
- 120 B:šufu ntuma bzuj dayrin liya bħal drayrat hnaya yak ġa s-sberdila nta telbes fiha telt snin w huwwa yelbes fiha telt snin
- 121 A:šafi mettafeq m°ak
- 122 C:aš men telt snin malha dyalu wella kan dafe° n-nuš dyal tamanha
- 123 A:w malha dyalek ntaya
- 124 C:ahah dyali ana malek dyalek nta wrettihha °liya wa na baqi f-l-ħayat
- 125 A:ah wretha wretha šafi
- 126 B:dik llecba dyal nta cendek had l-milkiya nta makatešri: mawa:lu w katgul cendek l-milkiya
- 127 C:makanšri:š axuya ana ġakay seddqu °liya l-milkiya raha f-l'institution jdida f-l-qanu:n a s-si lli °ayš f-t-telt l-xali
- 128 A:hadi dyalek nta a Amine

- 129 C:kayna amlak l-jumu:c w amlak l-mexzen w kayna amak l-herf w hiyya lli baġi ddir liya daba nta baġi tehref liya °la sberdilti
- 130 B:hadi men dyal l-herf a Samir Said °endu l-ħeq
- 131 A:l-herf daba nta m°ah wella m°aya gallek l-herf °la huwwa mnin jabha rah href °liha wella l-la
- 132 C:lla mahrefš °liha wellat dyali qa:nu:nyan bġiti wella krahti makaynš fiha l-munaqaša
- 133 A:wellaħ aweldi ila xassek ras raha dyal l-herf w jme° rasek w gul l-rasek yejme° rasu makayn fiha la qanu:nyan wala ma qanu:nyan
- 134 B:šuf bġitih yħellelha hahuwa ħellelha
- 135 A:safi lla gul lih yemši °end l-muħami ydir lih °eqd wella yekkeb °liha smiytu wa hadi mansuba ila Said baš n-nas ygulu wellaħ ila dak s-siyed °endu s-sberdila
- 136 C:ana be°da °endi mašettiš nta lli makatksabhaš w baġi taxudha bel quwwa baġi ddir naz° l-milkiya
- 137 A:smeħ liya smeħ liya a weldi
- 138 C:mesmu:ħ li:k axuya ġatleq
- 139 A:naz° l-milkiya min ajl l-menfa°a l-°amma
- 140 C:malek baġi ddir lina š-štirakiya: welliti Marx ntaya galek naz° l-milkiya men ajl l-menfa°a l-°amma šu:f l-qbaħa ma°endekš °laš teħsem yak
- 141 A:šuf ngul lek waħed l-ħaja kun kanet hadi telt snin wana °endi had s-sberdila kurra tqeġ°at xemsin merra w mabqat la dyal mši wa la walu
- 142 C:w nta tame° fiha lla yeter lla yester
- 143 B:ra qdamet cla dyal kura hadik be°da
- 144 A:ra qdamet °la dyal kura daba w gallek baġi yemši biha l-blad darhum mašafuhš rbe° šhur hadi w f-l-lexxer ġadi yemši lihum b-sberdila mqeġ°a yeshabuk ġa tllab ġadi texle°hum yeshabuk makatakulš n-ne°ma
- 145 C:wa šuf mujmal l-qawl hanta tame° fiha w zaydun s-sberdila dyali qdamet °la kura wella maqdametš axuya hadik sberdilti wana ħur fiha
- 146 A:šuf ne°tik fiha
- 147 C:w ziyada °la had š-ši kullu ila kanet °endkum qdima hnaya axuya hadi raha jdida °endna f-l-blad
- 148 A:šuf Said ne°tik fiha tlatin derhem
- 149 C:gallek qdima °endkum jdida f-l-blad
- 150 A:sme°tini ne°tik tlatin derhem
- 151 C:wa ħeġt s-sberdila ra hiyya baš ġadi nsafer ašaħbi l-blad
- 152 A:ra rebbeħtek ašaħbi °refti ašnahiyya sett miya f sberdi:la ġaç msaliya bħal hadi ra matjib lik ta mya deryal
- 153 C:wa nuġ tge°ed rabeħ tlatin derhem mali la°eb s-swi:rti gales kan qemmer ana wa sberdilti a°ibad llaħ baġiha tebqa °endi wa la mafia hadi welliti nta
- 154 B:°refti aš ġandiru lik had l-lila hadi nxelliwk ta ten°es w nħiyyedha lek men l-placard bla mathess
- 155 C:wa maħaħħaš ana ġa° f- l-placard ġa°ma tmeħnu raškum ana ġa layeħħa f- š-šerjem bġitu taxduha raha quddamkum walakin ħdiw raškum tantuma
- 156 B:wa š ġangul lek axuya xelli liya ħwayji t-tranquile ana maġadi nhez lek ħwayj mabġit sberdila dyalek
- 157 C:ana °aġikum t-tiqar b-zu:j ntuma lli baġyin taxdu liya s-sberdila bezzez wa wellaħ a sidi la °refti tanemši °refti tanemši tanemši labes d-dji:n
- 158 A:ġir xelli °endek sberdiltek ġir kandeħku m°ak šeddina fik mezyane yak šeddina fih a Amine

- 159 C:wa wellah ila kanemši labes d-djin w kanuwsel l-zhiliga kanerkeb f- l-pikupaš bgiti nemši labes l-complet wa taterkeb ašahbi f-l-pickup ra mayemkenš temši labes mezyane yetkerfeš l-wahed
- 160 A:malek bađi temši labes c-complet John Ray
- 161 C: dak š-ši lli bqa John Ray l-la lawah Paco Rabane
- 162 B:mabqa l-din m-muk ga l-complet gallek c-complet
- 163 C:wa wellah ila dik s-sberdila la katenfe° mezyane kantem ġadi xfif ka nelbesha a šahbi kanerkeb f -l-pickup w bi:xir wahed l-merra wellah manekdeb °likum ila kent ġadi men zhiliga l-blad w rakeb f -l- pickup
- 164 B:°refti huwwa ra makayerkebš l-quddam kayerkeb ġir l-lur mšit m°ah ana dik n-nhar haššemni kan gullih r-rekbu l-quddam gallek l-la walu nerkeb l-lur yaweddi llayehdik walu sdeqna f-l-lexxer rakbin kul wahed wehdu huwwa l-lur wana l-quddam
- 165 C:ih kanerkeb ġir l-lur wa mrekbın m°ak ħmar l-daxel fin terkeb m°ah mxelles l-flus baš terkeb m°a ħmar
- 166 B:wa tahuwwa rah ra:ki:b men r-rukka:b mxelles blaša r-rukkab dyal l-p-pickupat rahuma haduk ga° kulhum ħmir
- 167 C:l-me°yur l-me°yur hada kat°ayer daba gelte ga° n-nas lli katerkeb f-l-p-pickupat ħmir yak
- 168 B:haša axay w ga° ila °ayert rana wahed menhum °lah faš kansafer f-t-ťayara kanemšiw m°a l-ħmir w d-denya zwina w bixir
- 169 A:yallah ġattel°u l-fuq
- 170 B:agles llard maġadyinš l-fuq mazal bađi tetle° nta
- 167 C:kaynin duk l-kwayfiyya ašahbi xanzin ga° yxennzuk twelli ga° kullek xanez b-rihet casa
- 169 B:tegles temma f-d-delma mexnuq temmaya makayn la oxygi:ne la berd wa la walu mateqder hetta tneffes
- 170 C:huwwa ra kaye°jbu dak š-škel hit tahuwa kwayfi makrehš daba yetle° yaxud lih ši qniyyet w yetteka °la ši berrad datay w ši garru w ykun bixir watta rakaynin ši qhawi wellah kenna kanemšiw lihim ašahbi w rah mateglesš fiha daba maneqderš ana negles fihum °lahqaš ila glest temma kanħess b-rasi kanettexneq w huwa rah gales kayekmi w yet°awed w bixir ga°ma f-had l-°alam
- 171 B:w bixir m°a řasu nta lli ġa gales ħdah katekmi kter mennu huwwa lli taykmi w d-denya hanya šetthum ana ra makayn ma°da °endi melli kaykmi f-l-qehwa surtout ila kan s-sehd wella f-l-kar wella f-t-tunubil wella f-d-dar ze°ma nkun ana ħda ši ħed hakkak řafi maneqderš netneffes
- 172 C:ze°ma ana twelli °endi dari wellah manesmeħ l-tawaħed yekmi liya fiha makanestehmelš ze°ma
- 173 B:l-merd mafhemtš ana aš men plaisir tayħessu biħ
- 174 A:ġa bqaw t-tfelsfu b-zuj ta tkunu hakmin l-blad w men°u l-garru baš te bqaw °la xaterkum w t-tnefsu
- 175 C:s-sala:mu °alykum
- 176 B:malawi l-mehdi smiyya zwina hadi katšehhi ġa f-ši tebsil dyal l-mlawi wella l-mesemmen baqi sxun f-s-sbaħ m°a ši kas dyal atay
- 177 A:l-mlawi w l-fermaj w l-qehwa
- 178 C:kate°qel a Amine melli maqđertiš teħzem s-sir dyal sebbatek
- 179 B:wa b-s-seħa
- 180 A:llah ye°tik s-seħa axuya
- 181 C:rtahiti daba xaffeti t-tqul xwiti ma t°emmer
- 182 A:wa sir ten°es mali aš dert ra ġa l-bul belnah ši haja xra mane°ref

- 183 B:tsetṭitu ntuma wellah wellitu ġir kadduxlu w txeṛju f-l-hedra ḷlahumma inni bari:'un minkum
- 184 C:ši kas datay ḷlayxellik a l-m'alleṃ
- 185 B:aš ġaddir men be'ḍ a Said
- 186 C:f-l-mustaqba:l l-qari:b wella l-ba'i:d
- 187 B:men hna sa'a a l-kanbu
- 188 C:aš ġandir ġadi ngenni aš jaydir jabu l-hwa f-t-tlata d-l-lil ġanemši nšuf nabil f-d-dar gal liya duz 'endi ywerrini duk l-masa'il w men be'ḍ ġanerje' lehna ndir liya ši omeletta wella ši ħaja 'refti ra fra'ni j-juc waqila ġadi nemši netġedda huwwa l-luwel 'ad nemši 'end Nabil bdit kanħess b-j-ju'
- 189 B:Lehsen ara xuya waħed l-fermaja m'ak daba maġatemiš m'ana l-hih
- 190 C:l-la la dert ana m'a Nabil
- 191 A:ayallah m'ana ašahbi
- 192 C:l-la xuya wantuma malkum wellitu tatbanu bħal la mġuwdinni bħal ši caniche anaya wellit tabe'kum ġir fin mamšitu hana tabe' men l-lur
- 193 B:ara waħed l-fermaja a Lehsen malu malu ašnu gelti caniche
- 194 A:gallek bħal ši caniche wella siamois laseq fina
- 195 B:laseq fina
- 196 C:maġeltš laseq fikum w maġeltš siamois gelt wellitu ntuma mġuwdinni wellitu wa'rin ntuma b-zuj axuya ana maqaderš 'likum
- 197 B:aš had l-hedra ḷlayehdik malna kanbi' u la drogue wella kanqetlu 'ibad ḷlah
- 198 A:waħed t-tnin w 'ešrin ara
- 199 C:wa l-muhim ana ġanemši 'end Nabil
- 200 A:ara waħed t-tnin w 'ešrin a Amine
- 201 B:ma'endi t-taryal f-jibi sewwel Said
- 202 C:ma'endiš s-šerf'endi reb'alaf ryal
- 203 A:iwa ara tnin w 'ešrin ašahbi baš nqessi tanrejje'hum lik
- 204 B:'tiħ tnin w 'ešrin
- 205 C:ma'endiš tnin w 'ešrin wellah ma'endi
- 206 A:ara lna baš nemšiw nqessiw ašahbi w nrejje' lik l-flus l-yum f-l-'šiyja šħal 'endek gelti šħal reb'alaf ryal
- 207 C:aw maši: reb'alaf kulha dyali xessni nrejje'ha l-d-deri k kan sellefha liya ši šħar hadi daba ana 'endi menha ġir rbe' mya deryal dyali w xemsin derhem baš ġadi nešri ši masa'il wessatni 'lihum l-walida neddihum m'aya l-blad
- 208 A:šuf din l-kelb 'endek xemsin derhem
- 209 C:'endi rbe' miya maši xemsin derhem ra šraħna likum laš baġi dik xemsin derhem w nta baġi tnin w 'ešrin derhem amma sġer 'ešrin wella tnin w 'ešrin lli baġi nta
- 210 A:baš nqessi ašahbi
- 211 C:ašber ašber
- 212 A:w baš nqessi ana
- 213 C:wa šber amma sġer gal liya tayqelleb 'la tnin w 'ešrin derhem amma sġer ngulu tatqelleb ġir 'la les victimes yaxuya bħal ši nser malek nta ma'endekš l-flus wella ga' kulhum xsertihum l-bareħ 'la s-sahba f-l-qehwa w s-sinima adwi
- 214 A:daba tlebek bġiti huwwa hadak mabġitiš huwwa hadak ḷlah y'awn yallah ara ġir 'ešra d-drahem
- 215 C:wili wili al-mzawweq men berra aš xbarek men l-daxel lli šaf d-deri g-gel f-š-š'ar w t-tferkis ygul ma'reft škun huwwa aji gul l-sahebtek tselfek wella tahiya ħazqa

- 216 A:maši ṣaḥḥbi hadik yallah ara ʿešra d-drahem ara aṣaḥbi kun makent wahel gaʿma neṭlub men ʿendek
- 217 C:ṭlub men ʿend Amine malu huwwa maʿenduš
- 218 A:maʿendiš wellahi maʿendi
- 219 C:yah ʿla bna dem kidayr wa neḥya daba ʿlaš gelna lik rbeʿ miya wa hanta taḥna ra ġir mselfin gelt lek ʿendi rebʿalaf xessni nrejjeʿ l-d-deri l-flus lli kaytsalni ḥšuma ra mnimta w huwwa msellefhum liya w dak š-ši lli bqa ra gelna lek laš bġinah w kun bġit nekdeb ʿlik ngul lek maʿendi walu w dik s-saʿa aji qallebni
- 220 B:kun kan ʿendi ana neʿtiḥ walakin l-ġaleb llaḥ maʿendiš šḥal ʿendi f-jibi hantuma rebʿa d-drahem baš nxelles fermaja nuss p-pariziana w kas dyaḥ atay daba [to the waiter] wahed l-fermaja axay la vache kiri
- 221 Waiter: makaynš la vache kiri kayn kiri
- 222 B:ara kiri t-ta kiri zwin
- 223 C:ašnu bġiti ntaya
- 224 A:ana bġit l-flus bġit rbeʿ mya deryal wella ʿrefti aš ġaddir sellefni hadik alf ryal w nrejjeʿha lik had l-ʿšiyya
- 225 C:waš makatefhemš nta mnin bġiti trejjeʿha liya had l-ʿšiyya smeḥ liya ṣafi
- 226 A:nta maġaddir biha walu ġa kadġul heġga rah xessni neddi l-walida l-masa'il katebqa tzid fih
- 227 C:ġandir biha ġalak maġandirš w makanzidš f-l-ḥedra w zaydun ana mali wledtek w nsitek kul wahed yemši ʿla qedru wana daba qedri mayesmeḥš liya baš neʿtik had l-flus mayemekenš
- 228 B:yallah mšina nta maġatešri walu
- 229 A:baš ġanešri
- 230 B:ʿtak l-flus wella la
- 231 A:maʿtani flus mabġaš
- 232 C:šuf šetti l-flus maneʿtiḥumš lik yallah nemšiw ana wiyyak w šuf
- 233 A:maġadiš mʿak anaya
- 234 B:wa yallah ila bġitu ntherku
- 235 C:šuf nemšiw ana wiyyak xud nta lli bġiti ana nduz nakul ši ḥaja ḥetta ana wana nxelles
- 236 A:lla maši qadiyyet lli bġiti ġateʿtini l-flus w nthekkem f-rasi matebqaš dayer liya bḥal l-bulisi tabeʿni nemši weḥdi w ʿla xatiri manemši mʿak matemši mʿaya manemšiwš bzuj
- 237 C:šuf ana ġadi newqef mʿak xud lli bġiti lli ʿejbek w ana nxelles had š-ši lli neqder ndir mʿak bġiti tabarak llaḥ mabġitiš šuġlek hadak mali ana nta mešrut ʿliya ra ġir plaisir ġandiruh fik w manta a weld leḥram kun ana nṭulbek kurrak tebqa tettferrej fiyya
- 238 A:had š-ši lli mabġinaš daba tebqa t-tjemmel ʿliya bḥal ḥakka zeʿma bḥal maʿreft ašnu ġadi teʿtini
- 239 C:maġadi neʿtik walu lli ġandir wahuwwa nta textar wana nxelles maʿa l-ʿilm dir f-ḥsabek belli ʿendna ana wiyyak ġir ʿešrin derhem ʿešra d-drahem l-wahed tfut ʿešra d-drahem debber l-rašek
- 240 B:wah malek aṣaḥbi tanta yak jatu f-heqqu ʿešra d-drahem ʿtiḥum lih gullih hanta jatek qedda wa qedda llaḥ yʿawn ṣafi w huwa ġadi yešri wella ydir lli bġa bihum l-muḥim ġa mayjiš ysedʿek tani
- 241 C:laš yeʿedeʿni tani mali ana bank l-megrib w zaydun ana maʿendiš s-ṣarf aš neʿtiḥ aṣaḥbi wa rah ila ʿtitu l-flus ġadi nuwqef ʿlih tayxelles w yrudd liya s-ṣarf li'annahu ana makandirš fih t-tiqa bḥal walu neʿtiḥ l-flus w ygul liya sir tenʿes ʿtitini ši ḥaja

- 242 B:la la ana šahed
- 243 C:la la matenfe[°]ni lanta wala waħed axur ila mšaw liya l-flus flusi fi jibi
damenhum wella f-'idd waħed axur madamenhumš
- 244 B:iwa ašgandiru daba neḅqaw waqfin kanetqabħu hnaya ma[°]endna šgul
- 245 C:gulha lih huwwa lli ma[°]ajbu ħal yallah nemšiw yaxud ašnu bga gadi nxelles
°la we[°]di w se[°]di w naxud s-sarf dyali safi
- 246 B:aš kayn daba a Samir gatebqa bħal hakka wella safi mettafqine
- 247 A:yallah yallah zidu
- 248 B:yallah axuya
- 249 C:šuf had š-ši lli gelt lik ze[°]ma ra mafih t-ta ħaja t-ta ši[°]ayb ra llah °alem °liyya t-
ta dik cešra d-drahem zayda fiyya
- 250 B:yallah yallah

APPENDIX 4

DATA SET 3B

- 1 A: tout premièrement xessna nemšiw l-les écoles à travers des tests lli me^orufin kayn bezzaf dyal les tests kayn des tests de morphologie n^oerfu l'athlète quel est le devenir dyalu waš gaykun un athlete wella gayemši l-ši sport axer taywelli tayji l-la salle u tayddreb xams snin w set snin w tanelqaw ^oendu une malformation quelconque
- 2 B: exactement exactement la formation physique dyalna n'est pas à la hauteur et ça explique les raisons pour lesquelles d-drari laissent tomber l'athlétisme tayemšiw bħalhum tout court on ne les encourage pas assez
- 3 A: had š-ši se produit à l'échelle intérieure ara lna ^oad daba l-'umur á l'échelle extérieure xesna un avant-projet ašnu fih le staff médical maxešuš yebqa mrayyeħ f-l-bureau dyalu w nta mitlu xesu yji yexdem f-s-saħa le staff technique maxešuš yebqa mreyyeħ comment on va procéder xessna nemšiw l-les écoles li'anna des techniciens lli kay^oerfu had l-masa'il gaymšiw ydiru des tests ils vont sélectionner selon la demande des clubs w y-sélectioniw men xemsa tal setta d-les athletes ^ola ħasab la capacité... lli gayqder yaxed l-mudarreb de la section ye^otani bihum had d-drari lli ġadi nkunu sélection-ina
- 4 C: alors justement ġandiru lihum une fiche technique selon laquelle un programme doit être établi sur l'échelon national le programme maši xassu kulla waħed fin yšerreq walla yġarreb ila kunna tanxedmu sur le plan en temps que groupe xesna net^oawnu baš ta d-derri ila dxel l-l'équipe nationale ykun bien prêt mešħal men waħed mataybqaš yeqder yetla^o f-d-druj dyal Borgoun tayetrini nħar taydir les series dyal huit cents mètres tayeṭle^o lih l'acide men keršu mataybqa. yeqder ydi:r walu
- 5 A: oui en outre xesna une stratégie générale lli ġatmešši ta les clubs qui doivent subir et suivre les mêmes méthodes partout
- 6 B: donc je voudrai que vous le fassiez aussi llay xellik même pour l'équipe nationale je voudrai que cette cellule se penche.... bħal daba kan^oenddu l'équipe nationale elle est en concentration elle part elle fait des competitions elle va chez elle quand on la rappelle un mois après il faut absolument avant qu'elle ne rentre que cette cellule de detection aille test par test pour savoir si le gars s'est entraîné et s'il est en forme ou pas en forme pour entrer maši taneṛje^o likum l-la ^oawtani xasek tebda men ^oam jdidd pour imposer des têtes baš ila s'il est rappelé il doit satisfaire les conditons mais s'il ne va pas en tête il n'entre pas et c'est à vous de faire ça
- 7 A: rah baqi mawedaħtš l'i-fikra dyali mezyan ila xdina drari dyal l-medrasa dyal rbe^otašer ^oam w nkunu watqin anna mennehna rbe^o snin w ġaytriniw f-le-club w l'appartenance dyalhum ġatkun f-le-club w lli tayxdem ġi tayelqah w l-mudarrib ila kanet l-xedma dyalu mezyana ra ġatban ašnu had la cellule lli ġat ^oawen le-club ġadi dji w ddir l-muraqaba fin wsel d-derri waš ġadi b-les pedagogies huwwa hadak le staff medical doit assurer un suivi médical lli men š-šħar l-š-šħar yjiw l-le-club en plus le staff ... maši on manque d'enseignement théorique xesna la pratique rah taygulu l'un des critères importants l-l'athlète huwwa la participation f-l'entraînement dyalu hiyya une préparation théorique lli makaynaš f-l'équipe nationale wana tangulha w tanthemmel aš tangul rah il n'y a pas une préparation théorique

- 8 B:l-muškil qui restes huwwa la théorie je ne sais pas quand tu me parles d'évaluation médicale et de tests médicaux qui va prendre en charge ça tu sais que l'évaluation médicale je vais te dire ... ce que l-medecin peut faire..est ce que ça c'est une évaluation médicale
- 9 D: non non
- 10 B:ce n'est pas une évaluation médicale maši gadi nkedbu 'la ryuṣna une évaluation médicale ça se fait à la fois avec une éco-cardiographie c'est un examen très minutieux et ça ne se fait pas n'importe comment il faut du matériel fhemti avec quoi on va le faire ici il faut être réaliste had š-ši taybgi ykun 'aslan 'endna jiha:z ma ši comme ça ay haĵa parlez moi du pratique tout ça je le connais qui va financer ça tout ça je le sais on n'a pas les moyens ...l-ʿuṣab ont besoin de plus de formateurs et de financement je vie le problème combien de fois j'ai été obligé de prendre les gars pour leur faire un scannaire qui a payé ses scannaïres pendant des années et tout ça j'ai du les prendre pour faire des radios qui a payé waš 'ummer ši hed xalles ši radio wella ši scannaire personne n'a jamais payé pendant des années c'est des millionsmais je le fais moi avec plaisir mais c'est les moyens qui manquent il faut des moyens nous n'avons pas ces moyens je suis parti les voire au sujet du budget ce qu'on m'a donné c'est une misère alors faisons qelque chose avec notre misère et sortons quelque chose avec notre misère d'accord faisons travailler notre génie
- 11 D: malgré ça on est arrivé
- 12 A: je vous fêlicite parceque avec rien vous avez bien donné ..
- 13 D: šefti duk les moyens hna nxelquhum
- 14 B: bravo wellah ila chapeau lli b-had l-wasa'il kulha w mazal dertu mulakimin ... ça ne vous defit pas en fait vous avez fait face et tenu le défi
- 15 E: sa'adat ar-ra'is ana ramatangul c'est pas possible walakin quand même on ne vas pas commencer à puiser dans nos poches
- 16 A: ana ra tant'atef a-weldi billa tangullik à moi ça me fait mal au coeur parceque je vis le problème je ne vais pas vous mentir w nebda ngullik oui oui oui 'aref l-muškil ana 'ayšu rah l'évaluation médicale et tout ça je le sais
- 17 E: ana j'insiste sur la détection et la selection ..
- 18 B: mais pour ça la détection xasek des critères d'évaluation pour la detection des critètres externes de perfomance physique mais si tu n'a pas les critères internes quand je te parle et pour qu'on puisse travailler sur l'endurance il faut avoir des traits précis dès le depart si on travaille en résistance du départ il faut qu'il y ait une cavité comme ça gadi y-développer sa paroi tout ça je le connais tous ça je le connais gir a weldi tout ça je le connais alors que ça demande et ça commence par un bon encadrement
- 19 E: eh voilà
- 20 A: un bon encadrement prenez des jeunes le maximum des jeunes et évitez les erreurs ašnu huma les erreurs les erreurs bhal daba le travail de l'endurance et de resistance il faut savoir l'acquérir restons très proches de la réalité et essayons d'améliorer hit déjà votre presence c'est formidable déjà t'awnuna f-had n-niṭaq
- 21 E: l-'iqtiraḥ dyali 'la had l-'uṭur kif xeṣha tkun xess matkunš 'endhum tta 'alaqa b-l-mektab bzzaf d-n-nas lli mayemkenlinaš nestetniw lihum lli 'ṭaw bzzaf tbarkllah w lli yemken testa'melhum l-jami'a
- 22 A: bellati had l-mes'ala dyal l-jani: b ṭ-ṭibi attention rah c'est grave d-derri law kan 'endu ši haĵa llah yehfed aw ši 'aṭab f-le cerveau dyalu wella ši haĵa wella 'endu un trouble du champs visuel donc c'est très dangereux sme'ti donc une

- visite médicale est obligatoire ila lqina lli ydirha likum fabor huwa hadak malqinašay rah vous êtes obligés de faire les premiers efforts au départ parceque le gars c' est sa santé alors pour cinquante dirhams ma[°]endnaš l-ħaq baš n-riskiw l-ħayat dyal l-'insan l-qadiya t-tanya hiya dik lexra hiya dyal les medecins qui sont conventionés had l-la'iħa hiya lli xessha tkun [°]endkum kul waħed [°]la ħasab ši ħaja ħna gan ne[°]tiwkum les borderaux baš melli tkun ši accident hadak huwa l-medecin lli xesskum temšiw [°]endu á titre d' exemple s-si l[°]ezouzi dawa ħa:la:t mu[°]siya
- 23 B:ayeh autre chose à ne pas faire interdit interdit pourquoi parceque neuf fois sur dix mumkin ykun t-t-bel dyal l-mulakim mfarge[°] te[°]tiħ dik n-nuqta [°]refti ġatsamak lih l-wden définitivement yeqe[°] nazif parexample un saignement du nez kayji mamnuš baš tšed ši ħaja txelliha lih f-l-menxer w men be[°]d ymši yakul biha ydir nff une inhalation tmši l-blasa dyal l-hawa ytiħ lik temma des p'tites choses de rien du tout bon alors kayn ši hwayj b-ħal haka lli ġadi nddakruu [°]lihum nša'llah biħawli llah avec plaisir
- 24 A:iwa [°]tina l-lawai:ħ dyal les medecins...
- 25 C:ana šaxsiyane kent dert waħed la liste
- 26 A:ħadi ħahiyya ħahiyya kayna [°]awttani
- 27 C:ħanta a s-si Brahim ħak les listes [°]endna d-docteur Belxisi
- 28 A:eh
- 29 C:taysa[°]edna bezzaf u huwwa kan tleb menna [°]la 'asa:s belli ġa[°] had les visites médicales
- 30 A:eh
- 31 C:dyal d-docteur baš ġadi ykunu [°]endu
- 32 A:eh
- 33 C:ġir huwa lli kan men l-mutaħallaba:t dyal d-docteur annahu: kaytleb f-l-weqt li'annahu tayħder m[°]ana f-les galas
- 34 A:eh
- 35 C:Dr Belxisi kaytleb f-l-weqt l-ħadi:r...li'anahu: kayeħder m[°]ana f-les galas kayeħder m[°]ana f-la pesée kayeħder m[°]ana f-la visite w kayeħder m[°]ana ħetta f-les galas w huwa lli kay[°]ref [°]el les galas taytleb puisque tahuwa f-dik la commission qu'il sera désigné matalan bħal un arbitre lli kadji lah la désignation men ħnaya baš tahuwa ykun assuré w tahuwa ykun [°]endu la carte menħna kaykun désigné w huwa rahn l-'išara dyalna
- 36 A:bon alors nexberkum b-ħad l-qadiyya effectivement d-docteur Belxissi škun lli ġiftu l-tunes pour être formé c'est moi qui l'ai envoyé pour être formé à Tuness ana lli ġifeħtu parceque [°]laš ħit derna un séminaire daba xess l-medecin d'urine xesu ykun [°]endu un diplôme s-sana l-'u:la w s-sana 't-ta:niya mšit kane[°]ti duru:s tmmak baš kane[°]tiwhum les diplômes bon men be[°]d ana je ne peux plus le faire tout le temps donc xdina kanaxdu kul merra kansiftu un medecin kul sana nšiftu waħed wella juj baš dans chaque région ywelli [°]endna un medecin bħal ħukka w d-duktu:r Belxissi automatiquement il fait partie d-la commission médicale ġir daba on va le faire entrer de façon officielle
- 37 C: ħada huwa 'š-ši ħadak lli kaytleb
- 38 A:il est le bienvenu il sera dans la commission officielle
- 39 B:ahh dak š-ši lli derna m[°]a d-docteur L-qadiri
- 40 D:waħed l-musa:ħama a duktu:r huwa dak ben š-šix
- 41 A:ħadak s-siyed
- 42 D:Ben š-šix
- 43 A:ħadak s-secourisme ħadak ayeh

- 44 D:xdinah men l-medrasa
- 45 B:asmu ben š-šix yak
- 46 D:ben š-šix tšiku
- 47 A:t-šiku tan[°]erfu hadak tšiku
- 48 D:tšiku huwa lli dda l-midalia 'd-dahabia
- 49 A:eh
- 50 D:m[°]ana f-l-[°]uṣba
- 51 A:exactement cours de secourisme
- 52 D:ah exactement
- 53 A:exactement exactement ndiruh hetta huwa membre correspondant pour le secourisme gādiruh hetta huwatrés bien donc alors nzidu f-l-[°]amal dyalna exactement il faut que l- commission soit établie au niveau national régional [°]laš xesna daba hetta dak l-mubarat lli kan diru manbqawš kandiruhum gr mhamšin siḥḥu lna t-ṣawer siḥḥu lna des écrits baš nbdaw nxarjuhum f-l-jara'id ṣafi siḥḥuhum lna merra merra tadahura hna tadahura hna ṣafi l-mes'uli:n kulhum yjiw l-l ja:mi[°]a li [°]endu l-'imkaniya:t baš yduwzha yduwzha lli ma[°]enduš ysifet lina taḥna mesta[°]eddi:ne nweqfu b-jani:b l-'asdiqa' lli [°]endna ne[°]tiwhum baš nbdaw nduwzu baš yban had l-mulakim yban had l-[°]uṣba yban les articles w kulši hit kayna lajna dyal l-'i[°]lam w lajna d-l-'i[°]la:m xasha tkun [°]al ṣ-ṣaci:d l-waṭani w[°] tkun ta [°]el ṣ-ṣaci:d dyal dyal l-maḥalli
- 54 B:[°]la ṣ-ṣa[°]i:d dyal l-[°]uṣa:b w gadi nṭulbu menkum baš tkuwnu baš ykun hunak daraja min 't-tansiq m[°]aha donc hada huwa l-muškil dyal on ne peut pas appliquer t-taclima:t dyal l-jami[°]a á la lettre
- 55 D:kul ši kan had š-ši daba xasna... daba [°]ad bdina kan tharku w kan ktbu šwiya w kan diru šwiya w kaybanu šwiya dyal t-ṣawer w kaysm[°]u b-had l-mula:kama
- 56 A:ayyeh daba bqat l-quatrième point la restructuration administrative des ligues et l'étude de leurs besoins de leurs problèmes rescencement des rings et des salles de compétition à travers le royaume had n-nuqta hadi r-rab[°]a hadi ana šaxsiyane kanṭlub men kul [°]uṣba [°]uṣba ddir waḥed j-jtima[°] dayer bḥal huka ddir un p'tit briefing lli derna bḥal huka w tšuf tta hiya kifaš l-mašaki:l dyalha kifaš yemken liha w kifaš kaybanliha kifaš t-ṭawer l-qadiya dyalha baš tsifet lina muqtaraḥat muqtaraḥat lli gadi yemken lina n-daxluhum f-waḥed l-i[°]ta:r 'd-daxili: dyalna baš ndi:fuhum l-qanu:n 'd-daxili dyalna donc les sujets sont mayemkelnaš nḥedru [°]la l-mašaki:l kulha dyal l-[°]uṣa:b kulši walakin men daba tmšiw b-fikrat billa xaskum twejdu lina diru binatkum l-mašaki:l dyal l-[°]u[°]a:b lli kat[°]i:šuha bon hna [°]refna l-muškil dyal le ring ṣafi huwa w waxdin bzima:m l-'amr hada xasna nrégluh
- 57 D:hada gadi yetrigel daba xasu ytrigla mada bina l-muškil dyal les compétitions xasna l-'ihša' dyal les compétions nta xasek tewqaf f-kul [°]uṣba tgul yaweddi rah [°]endi had..[°]endi une salle hna w [°]endi hada rah yemken liya nḥedam fiha b-la muškil melli gadi n-[°]erfu šhal dyal les salles kaynin w les rings lli gan diru gadi nbdaw n-šufu kifaš gādiru l-barna:maj dyalna baš ykun l-'ihtika:k d'accord, l-mašaki:l lli katetraḥ [°]likum melli katnedmu ašnu huwa n-naw[°] dyal l-mašaki:l formation des délégués formation des chronomateurs baš ndiru lihum un stage baš ykun un stage de délégués un stage de chronomateurs baš ykun kul waḥed mwafar [°]endek l-blayṣ lli mafihumš les arbitres baš ykunu en priorité gedda wella be[°]d gedda kayn un stage dyal les arbitres on doit avoir chaque an un stage l-lmudarrebin f-lmeḡrib kullu wa nsiḥḥu n-nas lli gadi yemken lihum ymšiw men had 'n-naḥiya w men had 'n-naḥiya baš had 'n-naḥiya n[°]amruha ywelli tahiya

°endha l'arbitre dyalha baš manbqawš njibu ši waħed men hna yddéplaça ħetta lhih

58 C: bħal š-šamal š-šamal daba ma°endhhumš

59 A:š-šamal ma°endhumš rah galha liya

60 C:kayddéplaça men hna

61 A:maši ma°qul ymši lih le ring xas ymši lih le ring c'est trop

62 E:ħaja xra rah makayxalssuš les arbitres l-'ixwa:n llah y-xellihum ha huma ħadrin hna rah men l-yum mabaqiš yxaleš ši arbitre rah les arbitres ytxalssu men l-jami°a txaseš lihum mizaniythum awla seb°in alef frank awla tmanin alef frank ila kan ši 'uṭu:r wella ši mulakimi:n f-l-mustawa hna nformiwhum ila kan bga wella yjihum n-n°ass wella šiħaja wala kin maddian rah l-Jami°a lazem tqum b-lwajib

63 A:šukrane ...alors fima yaxuss n-nuqta l-xamsa hiya la restructuration administrative des de la fédération mise à jour des statuts et des règlements internes, °endna waħed n-nuqta kenna šerna liha f-l-jam° l-°am °endna l-qanu:n 'd-daxili dyalna w l-qanu:n 'l-'asasi dyalna rah xasu naxdu fih n°awdu fih wijha:t n-nađar c'est à dire xasna njeddu °la ħasab l-qanun 'jdid l-qanu:n lli dħar f-d-dahir dyal hadi dyal hadi sanatayn w xasna njedduħ baš ykun baš ykun šwiya °asri ħit hada lli °endna kanxdmu bih qdim dyal xamsa w seb°in wella ma°reft dyal tlata w seb°in fih ba°d l-ħwayj fima yaxuš bħal daba l-maktab 'l-fidirali la yu°qal ana l-maktab 'l-fidirali yebqaw fih tnaš dyal n-nas xassna nwess°u yduxlu m°ana °ibad llah mada bina l-quda:ma' dyal l-mula:kama lli waxa ykun m°aya f-l-maktab baš yešraf rasu rah mas'ul lhih f-l-bureau de fédération waxa ma ġadiš yqad yji dima kayji merra f-šhar wella merra f-šħrayn walakin be°da rah f-l-bureau fédéral baš les conditions ykunu yzidu ytwez°u w ykunu yzidu yt°amqu donc hna tnaš d-n-nas maymkelhaš ddir l-xedma rah s°iba °liha l-xedma tanian l-qanun 'd-daxili dyalna °endna waħed l-qanu:n d-daxili walakin fih ba°d ši ħwayj...des modications des amendements des arrangements lli kayttawru m°a had š-ši lli bgina n-diru jdid donc ħna hadu m°a l-lajna lli ġadi tkun nša°ella biħawli llah

64 B:ġadi qbel ga° ma ykuwnu la fédération l-mekteb dyal la fédération ytwesse° ġadi naxdu men l-lijan men °la berra ykunu l-prolongement w-ne°tiwhum ta ħna w ydarsu m°ana hadak š-ši baš y°tiwna l-'iqtiraħat dyalhum bon kul °ušba ġadi te°tina baš un compte rendu baš nxurju b-ši ħaja positive donc mise en place des conditions de travail had le sixième point c'est ce qu'on vient de discuter donc les commisions l-lija:ne kulhum donc alors waħed l-ħaja lli bgit nšir liha ttahiya fima yaxus l-lija:ne xashum t°erfu hadu lli mqaydin daba ħit qanuniyan m-°a l-ministre qaydena ġir l-lijane lli daba non-fédéraux walakin hadu huma l-munassiqi:ne l-werqa t-taniya lli ġadi tuxruj doit citer l'ensemble des commissions lli ġadi ykunu fiha w ġadi texruj dik la liste complète dyal l-lijane b-l-'asma' dyalhum

65 E: mettafqine par exemple ne°tiw ġir °la ħasab l-mita:l bħal daba n-nas dyal l-professionalisme hna dertu °abdurabbih kayn s-si Driss w s-si Lwafi walakin hadu ašnu huma ašnu hiya la fonction dyalhum ħna ġadi nšeddu d-dossier dyal l-professionalisme ġadi nšufu les moyens administratifs qui manquent ašnu huma les documents lli xassina ašnu huwwa l-qanu:n lli xassna ndiru melli ġan wejdu w nšawbu kulši °ad nšufu m°a la commission qui s'occupera du dossier maši ħna lli ġan diru l-professionnalisme surtout ħna °arfin bi'anna l-l°ab l-muħtarif tayxessu taka:li:f bahi:da on n'est pas censé organiser l-professionalisme c'est trop cher á ce stade dailleurs on n'a pas le droit ħna daba tangulu bi'annahu ykunu °endna

- le^oaba dyalna ma^oši ndiru bhal haduk lli mšaw jabu l^oa:b men s-senegal li'annahum ma^oendhum tta professionnel wahed
- 66 A:on n'a pas le droit et en temps que président je n'ai pas le droit non plus
- 67 E:en temps que président lla
- 68 A:ma^oendnaš l-ħaq tamamen huma lli ġadi yqumu b-had š-ši baš tkun l-qadiya wadħa
- 69 F:tamaman kayedher li l-iħtiraf a duktu:r
- 70 A:iyyeh baš tkun l-qadiya wadħa ma^oši ze^oma lli inscrit f-l-lejna rahuma lli mes'ulin l-lejna
- 71 F:w xasehum yetkelfu b-d-dossier dyal liħtiraf
- 72 G:lla walakin llah yexallik had n-nas lli ma^oa ħtiramati waš had n-nas ^ola ^oilm b-l-qanu:n concernant l-qadiya dyal l-professionalisme lli ġadi y-sahru ^olih ħna macenfnaš l-'mkaniyat baš tebqa l-'andiyya tatšri la:^oibin muħtarifin
- 73 A: bien sur
- 74 B:sûrement
- 75 A: xdina ba^od n-nas bhal daba bon bhal daba ^oendna un statut ^oendna ^oendna un statut réglementaire fih kulš i wadeh noir sur blanc ana personnellement j'ai été ...
- 76 H:l-la šuf had s-su'al
- 77 A:allez y allez y mezyane had t-tadaxul
- 78 H:baš nwedħu l-masa'il..
- 79 A:sir sir
- 80 H:baš nwedħu et que l'on mette les points sur les is lli ġadi tqum bih l-jami^oa ngulu daba anaya je suis comme ça j'aime bien que l'on soit clair avec moi..
- 81 I:a s-si L^oarbi rah ġir lujayna ġir lujayna lujayna
- 82 A:ahah alors on discutait la boxe professionnelle ana mšit šaxsiyan l-Toulon mšit l-fransa b-l-muna:saba dyal duk j-juj hi:t xasni ne^olem n-nas lli ma^oši f-xbarhum ma ^oendna tta mani^o kter ši had n-nas ra mabqawš f-l-muntaxab l-waṭani w xesna nweqfu m^oahum ja s-si Lekbir b-rašu w ja Ayt baba ħedu lli ka:n..
- 83 J:djali dyali..
- 84 A:lli kan t-telmid dyalek w ja m^oahum ..s-si Lkettani
- 85 J:l-kettani ja tta l-ddar l-bida kan gal liya
- 86 A:effectivement ja l-casablanca w gal liya aweddi xesna nšufu ši nas lli bgaw ydiru l-iħtiraf je lui ai assuré que ma coopération est garantie surtout que comme mentionné auparavant had n-nas mabqawš f-l-muntaxab l-waṭani w xesna nweqfu m^oahum
- 87 J: ayyeh weqftu m^oahum
- 88 A:wqefna m^oahum rahum ygulu lik w mšina w mšit ħdert m^oahum temmak w mšina l-Toulon šefthum fin ^oayšin w kifaš dayri:n w n-nas lli kanu: mehtammin bihum w derna m^oahum wahed la convention w duk n-nas mesta^oeddin yet^oawnu m^oana akbar ta^oawun fhemti lihada lihada ħna daba safi ġadi nuwqfu ġir f-l-haykal lli ġadi nsiftu men be^od bhal daba ^oala s-sa^oi:d l-waṭani ġadi dik la commission dyal l-professionnalisme tkun xes ykun fiha n-nas qui ont de l'expérience dans le domaine du professionalisme et qui ont les moyens qui leur permettrons de nous joindre l-'abwab dyalna ma^oši meqfula b-l-^oaks l-'abwab dyalna maftuħa l-^oa:mat n-nas w n-nas l-mextašine ydiru lina wahed l-programme ydiru lina wahed kul ši rah ma^oši ana ma^oši t-tbib Bu^oid ma^oši s-si Lebxisi ll: ġadi ynedmu non monsieur
- 89 J: iyyeh walakin n'empêche que nous sommes toujours concernés par le dossier d'une manière ou une autre que ce soit direct ou pas a duktu:r
- 90 A:iyyeh ħna f-l-haykal l-'idari:..

- 91 J:iyyeh a sidi
- 92 K:aha ah ašnu ašnu huwwa škun f-l-mektab l-°amm dyal l-jami°a lli dxel f-l-mes'ala dyal l-'ihtiraf
- 93 B:mais bien sūr ne°tik ismu w lli huwwa Wisam
- 94 A:Ali Wisam rah effectivement f-l-'ihtiraf kimma gelt lih ana wa lakin f-l-haykal l-'idari ma °endu laš ykun mektub hna fhemti comme ça il n'est pas membre fédéral
- 95 K:il n'est pas membre fédéral walakin ha huwa f-l-lajna dyal l-'ihtiraf ..
- 96 A:gelt lih nuḍ a s-si Wisam zid axuya qum b-l-°amal dyalek škun lli ġadi yetqabel m°ak Abdu rabbih negles negles m°ak anaya gelt lih jib la commission dyalek l-°ibad llah lli ġayelqiw n-nadra jibu lina un programme dyalkum w hahuma les régulations dyalna
- 97 K:s-si Wisam xaṣu yjib n-nas lli ġadi yxedmu m°ah w yjib d-dukto:r w ygul lina ašnu nawi ydir w ṣ-ṣalatu °la n-nabi wella had la fédération rah ġadi teħbes
- 98 L:voilà ha les papiers ha les conditions ara l-bernama:j ara hadi c'est tout voilà
- 99 K:had l-'ittifaqiya dyalek a dukto:r ma binek w bin s-si Wisam waḍḍha b-had š-škel hada °ala annahu huwwa °aref ses droits et ses devoirs
- 100 A:ahah hakka ttafeqt m°ah hakka ttafeqt m°ah w gelt lih xuya Wisam w glest m°ah face á face w gelt lih lla yxellik f-l-huwa:t lla yxellik a s-si Wisam f-l-huwat xelli ma kayn muškil f-l-huwat xellina nemšiw °el l-mebde' dyal l-professionalisme
- 101 K:pas de problèmes donc..
- 102 L:walakin had š-ši nécessite une personne qui a largement de l'expérience w lli kay dir baš ydir liya l-htiraf d'accord nuḍ lla yxellik xud ši lejna w men be°d hna les documents dyalna ġadi nṣuwbuhum jebna l-wraq kulhum men franṣa hahuma ġadi nḥettuhum w naxdu en fonction des régulations dyalna w ġandiru qanu:n w ġangelsu m°a dik l-lejna w ġandiru m°aha les points sur les is bħal waħed la convention
- 103 A:binatna
- 104 K:binna w binhum pourquoi tout simplement pour nous protéger la fédération melli kayneddmu kayḥettu l-na l-wa:jibat dyalna baġi tenedemm aji xes tkun b-l-medecin dyalek ça veut dire baġi ddir la licence professionnelle ġadi ceci et cela et comme ça l'argent va commencer á couler et l'entraîneur l'entraîneur may dir ttahaja taykun °endu un contrat w °endu un pourcentage
- 105 C:me°qula ta l-mudarri:b xes yesatfed tout naturellement li annahu °endu un rôle très important sinon fondamental dans la formation du boxeur
- 106 D:ah en fait ra l-mes'ala dyal l-mudarri:b ra baqi ma derna fiha walu
- 107 B:°endu °endu ġelna bianna ra xes ykun °endu un pourcentage w dailleurs ra fessert lik nta m°a haduk fessert lik ašnu kayn
- 108 C:hderna f-had l-ħwayj
- 109 A:l'entraîneur xes yestafed
- 110 B:l-mudarri:b kaystafed baš kayaxud ḥeqqu qanu:niyan l-mudarri:b maġadiš yebqa marginalisé comme avant
- 111 A:tamaman kaytsenna dik c-cents dirhams deux cents dirhams men °end la fédération °la ḥsab les ..l-huwat ġa yebda daba yaxudha b°arq ktafu w bdra°u dar un boxeur dar un professionnel maydir tta ħaja ça c'est autre chose par contre ila dar hadak yaxud w hadak yaxud c'est clair xaṣ had l-mes'ala tkun waḍḍha c'est définitif
- 112 C:on est d'accord la dessus l-masa'il waḍḍha on peut passer á autre chose
- 113 A:idan l'entraîneur tahuwwa bénéficié

- 114 M: ana ra wahed l-qadiyya bgit ngulha..
- 115 A: tfeddel
- 116 M: hetta l-boxeur hetta l-boxeur a'ixwani ila daz l-professionalisme men l-masa'il les conditions lli gadi ykunu annahu yendem f-l-blad dyalu obligatoirement si jamais il a l'intention de se faire une carrière professionnelle sans ça on n'approuve pas tout simplement li'anna on va faire l'effort on forme had le jeune boxeur en herbe et comme ça bêtement on le perd 'laš li'annahu: on n'a pas pris les précautions nécessaires pour éviter une telle situation et croyez moi rah c'est comme ça partout hna rah bdina tanfiq
- 117 N: il est temps
- 118 M: c'est une obligation ngul lek c'est une obligation et c'est capital dans la formation du boxeur professionnel
- 119 D: 'endek s-seh effectivement vous avez raison c'est une obligation kif ma gelt l - Ghazi w luxrin gelt lihum la première des choses que vous allez faire gelt lihum aji llay xellikum had l-galas šhal kaytqam 'likum galu liya ra 'endna tel w 'endna tel gulna lihum waš kayn ši mani' baš had l-galas nafs l-galas 'nhezzuh w ndiruh f-l-megrib galli la aucun problème w belferhat 'li:na w hna ça nous fait ça nous revient moins cher kaytqam 'arxas on paie ça et on paie ça hna donc on est gagnants parceque l'organisation de tels événements nous permet d'attirer des sponsors et vous aussi gult lih vous êtes gagnants vu que ça coûte moins cher que les dépenses seront réduites par la moitié
- 120 N: non seulement ça hna gadi nneqsu nneqsu 'lihum hadi w nneqsu 'lina hadi dyal l-médical nneqsu les frais médicaux et dailleurs il faut l'admettre au début je crois que visite wehda chez le medecin suffit pour faire un bilan de santé après biensûr chaque boxeur aura droit á un encadrement médical constant bon bref mağadi yhesbu 'la rašhum tta frank kif ma dern m'a Acarias et dailleurs c'est notre commision qui s'est chargée qui était responsable ...
- 121 A: on s'est mis d'accord ba'd l-'acda' l-lmu'arida galu lla hna mandeħħiwš b-had š-ši gulna lihum aweddi 'tiwna d'autres alternatives et nous les accepterons avec plaisir sans le moidre problème
- 122 B: en fait gir baš 'endna des boxeurs internationaux c'est déjà un grand pas vers l'avant hadak li'annahu le Maroc dik s-sa'a sera situé f-la carte ta' le ring en temps qu'organisateur d'événements mondiaux ce qui par la suite ménera au fait que nos boxeurs les boxeurs dyalna gadi ttahuma ybanu hnaya bhal r-rumaniyin bhal l-fransawiyyin yebdaw yetlaqaw m'a des boxeurs men hna w men l-hih w taħna w huma nous recevront des invitations baš nemšiw lle'bu: temma et ainsi de suite
- 123 O: a duku:r wahed l-merra h-dert m'ak 'la had d-dossier dyal l-'ihtiraf lemma kenna kaneddakru cla l-mutafarrigi:n w gulna belli l'ihitiraf dyal la boxe va bien se lancer b-n-nesba l-les boxeurs marocains w 'la anna hadi sinin melli kan l-merħum tayddaker 'liha fi setta w seb'in w huwwa baği ydir l-'ihtiraf walakin malheureusement ma'umru mawjed l-'i'tilaf w wjed t-triq lli gadi yetebbe' donc si jamais on travaille sérieusement 'la had l-mes'ala dyal l-'ihtiraf une première chose be'da ala wa hiyya ganthennaw men had l-mulakimi:n lli dexelnahum l-stage aji nta dxul a wella baš tsed lih fummu tgul lih rak baqi daxel s-stage baqi fik mayddar ajai mabq fik mayeddar sir maši yebqa laseq w huwwa rah msali complètement w lli mezyane kate'ih haq yduz l-'ihtiraf w il est possible que m'a l-'ihtiraf had s-siyed yetwefteq kter
- 124 A: oui oui oui comme ça gadi ywelli men l-mustaṭa' dyalna nnuqdu had r-ryada w baš had l-mulakimi:n dyal l-huwat kulhum yetem'u ygulu ana gadi n dir w

- ndir et avec l'ambition yeqder waheed men d-drari qui a du talent ywelli lek muhammed °Ali ma fihaš w ġadi tedxel flisat w ġaykun maširi w le gagne pain dyali hiyya la boxe w biensûr hada ġaja mefru:ġ menha xesu qbel mane°tiw laqab mulakim muħtrif xesu y'eddi l-waji:b dyalu l-bladu huwa l-lewwel
- 125 O: iyyeh li'annahu: autrement maġaydiš ykun °endek muntaxa:b
- 126 B: donc maintenant il faut arrêter ila fteħna l-bab °la had š-škel ma°umru maykun °endna muntaxa:b niha'iyen kul waheed ġadi yebġi ġir ydir juj combat w yriyyeh m°a rašu
- 127 F:exactement exactement w kaywelli °endna f-n-nafi une forme de concurrence entre les professionnels et les amateurs bhaytu: anna hadak l-professionel ġadi yenzel men dak l-piédestal dyalu melli ġayji huwwa lli meħta:ref meħta:ref déjà w tayšuf l-huwat luxrin tel°u w wellaw muħtarifin déjà muħtarifin ġadi il va redoubler ses efforts
- 128 O: tamamen tamamen soyons surs l-weqt lli faš teddar fih la commission w ttetleq w temši et les journeaux les médias yebdaw kayhedru w kada had r-ryada ġadi temši w les boxeurs ġadi ykunu °endek b-katra w ġadi nneqdu had rriyada men l-'inditar
- 129 I: nša 'llah safi mettafqin °la had le principe rah hadi hiyya l-'intilaqa nebdaw biha safi daba rah ġetta t-twil t-twil aš tay gulu lih ġit fransa ttaslu bih tta huwwa w kulši daba tahuwwa w kulši ttahuwwa baġi et il a aussi fait montre de beaucoup de volonté donc ce qui reste dépend de nous de notre volonté
- 130 A:mettafqine daba ġa suffit il faut arrêter nheddu les critères dyawelna llah yeje°el ši baraka
- 131 I: walakin ra t-twill meħtaj l-jami°a te°ih authorisation baš yemken lu yduz wa 'illa ida l-jami°a refdt ra ġšuma w matebqaš l-jami°a jami°a
- 132 A:rak šefti f-n-nuqať lli dewwezna
- 133 O:daba ġna ašnu l-ġarađ huwwa anna:hu nderbu °el l-lancement dyal l-huwat w r-rya dyal l-meġrib teťle° w en plus ne°tiw l-kul mulaki:m mulaki:m l-ħed dyalu f-r-ring w baš tkun °endu ttahuwa l-furša ykuwen mustaqbalu w y°iyyeš wlidatu w yewsel l-l-'umniya dyalu hada huwa lli kayn
- 134 A:alors lihada derna f-n-nuqať t-talta bħal daba l-weqt lli ġandiru fih l-'iħša bħal daba kul °ušba ġaddir l'iħša' dyalha
- 135 B:w ġatšuf škunahuma les boxeurs lli °endhum šwiyya dyal l-palmarés w lli yemken lihum ydiru l-ħtiraf baš hadak la liste w l-milef dyalhum ġayji l-jami°a w ġadi ddersu w ġadi ykun bħal daba °endna un statut laš baš ġadi nebdaw ndiru un championnat du Maroc professionnel daxil l-waťan...
- 136 J:un championnat amateur et un championnat professionnel pourquoi pas on va organiser á l'intérieur du pays baš yemken lihum yetħekku ġna yetħakku ġna w yaxdu t-tajriba w kulši pour les préparer á participer á l'extérieur du pays plus tard d'accord xesna nhedru °el l- classement des boxeurs professionnels ils sont classés en quatre catégories
- 137 A:quatre catégories catégorie D w catégorie C w catégorie B et catégorie A..
- 138 J: w les modalités d-passage kaynin ttahuma ttahuma kaynin waheed l-qawani:n dyalha xesha ttebeq w teddar bon l-weqt lli ġay kun °endna un championnat professionnel bon les premiers débutants taykun °endhum taykun °endhum bon šħal taykunu quatre deux trois w men be°d six deux trois fħemti taykunu maraħil baš yemken lihum yduzu men merħala l-merħala
- 139 A: hadi kulha l-lejna ġatkellef biha ġna lli ġanťulbu men °endkum wa hiyya men daba ġatšufu lna n-nas lli yemken lihum yet'ahlu l-professionel f-nadarkum baš yjiwna l-mileffat dyalhum

- 140 J:šhal men °am a docteur
- 141 A:ah šhal men °am huwa ça dépend parceque il y a même des.. des.. hiyya en fait il vaut mieux que ce soit des boxeurs qui aient vinght-trois ans vinght- quatre ans maximum expérimentés et tout ça fhemti mais il y en a qui ont vinght cinq ans vinght six ans vinght sept ans et qui sont très bien lli huwa ça dépend aussi °refti rah xεškum t°erfu wahed l-qadiyya xra °awttani hit °refti °laš hit kayn wahed l-qadiyya w hadi kadduz f-l-professionel w šeftha w hđert m°a n-nas dyal l-professionel rah kayn des combats lli taykunu bien arrangés ayyeh ayyeh
- 142 I: justement li'annahu taykun des managers spéciaux taygullih llah yxellik bađi neddem l-professionel f-bladi °endi wahed les boxeurs lli bađi l-mustawa dyalhum °eyyan šifeđ liya des boxeurs lli ykun capables ygelbu
- 143 J:voilà °tini kat gullih nas d'un certain niveau
- 144 I: w kaddir m°ah wahed t-taman kaykun šwiyya naqes hna daba °endna ši mulakimin ila kan f-l-ħed dyalu w kulši f-l-mustawa baš yemken lih ydir un combat w qader ydir il peut rentrer dans ce cadre c'est pour ça que la limite n'est pas un problème
- 145 B: °tini ne°tik voilà un échange d'intêrets kayna une sorte de réprocité f-l-mašalih w kulši l-kul yebqa °la xatru donc maši muškil gir ykun ze°ma °endna mulaki:m baš maši kulla merra mulaki:m yuxrej w yakul le°sa hit °endna f-l-qanu:n dyalna ila mša deux fois KO temma xass y-signalier l'arbitre yerje° fhalatu l-leblad dyalu ila mša deux combats suivis KO xessu yerje° l-l-blad
- 146 G:le point laxur qui suit huwa les conventions de partenariat avec les organisations professionnelles étrangêres bon f-had n-nitaq bon melli mšina l-Toulon j' ai proposé un très bon projet lihum w ddar °la 'asa:su wahed l-°aqd daru l-'ixwan wahed la convention m°a les gens dyal Toulon bađi ma weqqe°na:h hit bđina mazal nzidu fih ši hwayj w had n-nas kayttafqu mcana baš en premier lieu ysiftu lna des entraineurs professionnels ila bđaw yestafdu menhum nnas yewrriwhum kifaš kayku:nu: l-ħwayj ysiftuL lna des encadreur professionnels kaytelbu menna ttahuma taygulu lna baš nsiftu lihum des personnes ila bđaw yemšiw candhum ydi:ru des p'tits stages gallek asidi merħba bikum donc mettafqi:n mca nnas dyal Toulon mettafqi:n baš ydiru mcana ttabadul j-jumelage ttaw'ama w kulši w kulši w kulši
- 147 O: et le sponsoring il faut voire m°a la commission des professionnels hiyya lli xεšha tkellef b-had l-mes'ala hadi dyal sponsoring ydiru lina wahed l-programme hit hna ra ma°endna dexl f-had š-ši hna lli xεsna ntelbu huwa huwa ndiru l-masa'il dyalna baš šwiyya dyal l-flus ydexlu men l-iħtiraf lel-huwat baš y°awnu la men l-matériel la men hadi w men hadi un peu de tout baš nneqsu °lina ma nbqawš gir m°ewli:n °el l-ministêre
- 148 P: il faut contacter s-si Wisam en ce qui concerne had š-ši
- 149 A:mais je lui ai parlé personnellement personnellement est ce que je suis président ou pas
- 150 P:ah docteur ah docteur maši had š-ši Wisam s-sara:ħa ana makaye°jebniš w smeħu liya ila gultu li:kum bi'anna hadak s-siyed hadak 'aqbaħ bñadem °ala wajhi l-'ard weq°u lih m°ah tajari:b qbi:ħa
- 151 A:mais bellati est ce que je suis président ou pas daba wana wana kaneħder quddam had l-wjah l-°zaz l-ħemdullah je n'ai rien á cacher je dis la vérité c'est á dire ttafeqna m°a s-si Wisam l'amateur non l-professionel oui c'est tout c'est clair
- 152 P: wahed l-mes'ala lli kunt ana bađi ngul katxεs les entraineurs et les boxeurs en herbe had les entraineurs ra fihum nas lli men la génération l-luwla lli °endhum tajari:b w °endhum ħinka w °endhum un savoir faire fa hna bđina nestafdu men

- had n-nas w mada bina law tkun une sorte de coopération entre les jeunes et les anciens entraîneurs li-'i[°]ta' wa fath l-majal lil-mudarribi:n al-'axarin aššuba:n gallek lli mša lu kbiru l-hemm tedbiru hna l-kbar manefertuš fihum
- 153 A:m[°]ak s-saħ ayyeh ayyeh
- 154 H: kayen un autre point a l'ixwan wa huwwa xalq tanafus ma bi:n l-fari:q l-watani wa fari:q al-[°]uṣba had t-tanafus [°]laš li'anna ila la série A bdat katnafes ma[°]a la série B aw m[°]a l-fariq l-watani par exemple magadiš tensa ṛasha w tegles l-lard w maddir hetta haja had š-ši taykun haḥi:z
- 155 E: mansawš bi'anna les membres de la série A ou B peuvent passer á l'équipe nationale donc il faut les préparer á savoir s'entraider w hada hebbada law ykun [°]endna un programme d'entraînement dyalna baš ila kanhadak men l-fari:q l-jihawi dxul l-fariq l-watani ġadi yendamej b-sur[°]a [°]laš li'annahu kayn dak l-programme d'entraînement lli kaysa[°]du: had š-ši lli [°]endi: mangul w nxelli l-majal lel-'ixwa voilà
- 156 A:merci merci merci voilà hna daba f-qelb f-qelb au coeur du problème ce sont des choses constructives bien hahuma hwayj des suggestions venant de tout le monde c'est bien c'est très bien ne[°]tiw l-kalima l- s-si Lgezwan rah mazal meskin magal tta kelma depuis l-commencement alors
- 157 Q:merci l-'ixwane s-salamu [°]alaykum neddakru f-n-nuqta d-l-butula sayid rra'is maqabla kulli šay' hna meħtajine l-n-nuxba l-wataniya walakin nadaran l-had t-ta[°]aqud dyal l-mubaraya:t w l-hed l-'an mazal mabdinašay kif ġadi yu[°]qal hna ġadi nelqaw waħed l'équipe nationale baš nwajhu t-twansa w l-jaza'iriyin lli haqiqa jaw men wrana w wella [°]endhum waħed l-fari:q lli kayettedreb bihum l-mital daba lli kanetlub men l-jami[°]a huwa annahu nexedmu [°]el l'intilaqa le lancement pour qu'on puisse trouver des athlètes aptes qui formeront l'équipe nationale rah l-fariq ma[°]enduš 'imkaniyat ma:ddiya et on en a vraiment besoin pourquoi baš yekun lina il bġina nšarku f-l -butula l-[°]arabiyya w l-butula l-'ifriqiyya w menha tatku:n l-'iḡsa'yyat raġatkun s[°]iba [°]lina w s[°]iba bezzaf [°]el l-meġrib et ce serait vraiment insensé baš nemšiw l-un pays voisin w netteqsaw w nijiw bredouille 'amalna ze[°]ma huwa nwejdu l-[°]aba dyalna [°]ala: 'al-mustawa: 'al-qa:rri wa l-[°]a:lami
- 158 A: merci a s-si Lgezwan had l-mes'ala dyal les championnats nationaux ne s'effectue pas ġir au niveau des clubs hetta l-[°]uṣab katħemmel mes'uliya f-l-ma:di jarat l-[°]ada w tan[°]erfu belli tatteffel l-[°]uṣab [°]la l-furuq lla maxesš had š-ši yebqa
- 159 G:d'accord mais le problème devant reste le même dans la mesure où on a toujours des difficultés pour recruter les meilleurs boxeurs comment on va faire á mon avis l'organisation des combats de boxes au sein des clubs daxil l-[°]uṣa:b premièrement kayxeshum yduzu men waħed l-merħala sous forme de ce qu'on appelle le sparring men be[°]d yšufu le programme kifaš ġadi yemken lna nnedmu un programme l-programme kayji s[°]ib fhemtini li'anna il y a toujours des obstacles soit au niveau du matériel aw r-ring la salle hadu kayxelqu des problèmes f-wejh l'organisation d'un programme pour le championnat rah kanšuf daba hna kayxes des compétitions des compétitions régionales
- 160 I: bellati waš régionales wella dyal les ligues hna bġina waš régionales wella dyal les ligues hit hna bġinah daxil les régionales et les ligues
- 161 H:lla hna bġina tout premièrement au niveau des ligues la ligue organise des compétitions w katšuf baš l-mustawa dyal les boxeurs yetle[°] baš kaytle[°] tout simplement b- les compétitions law makanuš les compétitions kayban l-boxeur il joue bien d-la salle w f- les compétitions il devient incapable de mener le jeu baš

- nderṣu l-mustawa dyalu et les capacités dyalu le seul moyen huwwa les compétitions soit katkun °el le plan d-la ligue aw sur le plan national alors kanšuf bi'anna had le point mérite notre attention
- 162 I:mefrug menha la yumkin 'an naḥkum 'anna l-la:°ib mezyan min xila muqabala wa:ḥida xesna nnedmu muqabala:t °adida walakin mansawš 'anna ndiru had š-ši lli neḥtaju huwa l-mu°idda:t 't-tiqniyya kayn 'andiyya lli mayemken lhumš °endhum une paire wella deux paires ašnu ḡadi ydir bihum soyons réalistes
- 163 A:non bellati un peu de sérieux ila ma°endekš ḥetta les trucs de base baš ḡatkewwen un club ašnu huwwa un club lli ma°enduš ḥetta les cordes du ring
- 164 I:had l-muškil huwwa dyal la fédération l'association lli ma°endhaš des moyens mayemken lhaš tmares maši ḡedda tgul a heqa c'est la faute dyal l-wizara w lil-'asaf had š-ši huwa l-l-i waqe° ḥaliyan huna:ka l- kati:r mina l-'andiya l-lati tabqa bidu:n tamwi:l fatuṣbiḥ ḡayr qa:dira °ala l-'istimrar...waḥed l-ḥaja daruriya qbel mande°mu ši club xasna net'akdu men les capacités dyalu li'annahu kif ma katcerfu les sponsors dima ta-yessay-iw waḥed qbel mayšriw kayqelbu s-selca qbel ma-y-financiw
- 165 G: astasmiḥ ḡadi nqaṭ°ek ḡir huwa kayn nuqta talita l-'iqtiraḥ dyali w dyal l-'ixwane m°aya wa huwa yuna:di bitaḡyi:r xaritat al-jami° wa xaritat l-cusab rah l-cusab ne respectent pas t-taclimat dyal l-jamica lidalika yajibu 'iḥdat ma yusamma nbi 'l-lamarkaziya fataku:n hunak °iddat makatib jihawiya ḥetta twessecc ruqcat l-mulakama ila kanu cendna plusieurs départements ḡadi yemken ttwessecc ruqcat l-mulakama maḡadiš tebqa matalan meḥsura f-blasa w blasa mafiha walu:wa kadalik ha š-ši ḡadi yemkenna men l-baḥt can mulakimin wa ḥukkam fi ciffat mudun wa manatiq li anna men l-masa'il lli kanciybu cel l-jami°a huwa qtisareha cla des arbitres basés f- la régin de la Chawiya aw Casablanca et l'absence d'un bon nombre d'autres villes al-ḡayr mumattala w kantalbu: kadalik b'idxal ḥtta les directeurs techniques f mes'alat l'arbitrage pourquoi pas
- 166 H:maši ḡir had šši kayn ši masawi' qui lil-'asaf š-šadi:d tat°eleq b-'a°da' l-jami°a b-rashum samaḥahum llaḥ šḥal dyal les promesses w šḥal dyal les paroles en l'air qui n'ont jamais vu le jour et je vous donne l'exemple des rings šḥal w ḥna kantalbu °afakum xesna des rings non pas une fois non pas deux fois mais á plusieurs w wa°datna la fédération b'iḥdar l-ḥalaba l-Agadir le plus vite possible walakin mašefna walu jusqu' au point ou a commencé á mentir á nos boxeurs w rahum xdaw °lina nedra xayba wellina des menteurs et nous nous sommes contentés d'organiser les compétitions f-daxel n-nadi fa °afakum w had n-nida' muwajjah l-l-°usab ttahuma l-andiyya lli l-°usba tat muelha aḥyanan xila:la mudahara:t l-mulakama tšed f-l-kelma dyalha matebqaš tel°eb °la n-nas
- 167 A:bon men had n-naḥiya llaḥ yexellik b-xussuṣ le ring on a établi une liste la voici ḥit baš yemken lina ndiru had s-siyasa dyalna dyal l-mulakama f-kul jiha derna waḥed l-xari:ta dyal l-megrib w derna bḥal daba ḥna ring disponible haḥiya c'est écrit la dessus w derna l-blays qui manquent de rings w fin xesna ndiru les rings w °la ḥasab les clubs w kanšufu les point chauds lli daruri ykunu fiḥum w derna bella Agadir xes ykun fiha belli Tanja xes ykun fiha hahuwa s-spécialiste men Casablanca ḡadi yedrus had l-mes'ala baš et on va commencer la construction des rings baš nšewbuhum likum
- 168 G:f-ḥal lli gelt ṣabiqan °laš ḡadi nqelbu °la s-staff men l'étranger non °endna s-staff dyalna w °laš njibu les rings men Fransa ra °endna l-ḥdid °endna les cordes °endna les soudeurs ttaman lli ḡanemšiw njibu biḥ un seul ring de l'étranger ḡadi

- yemken lina nṣawbu bih hna reb[°]a had š-ši kulši naxdu b-[°]ayn l-'i[°]tibar donc had
šši rah men parmi les priorités baš ykun l-'iḥtikak ma bin l-'andiyya
- 169 A: bon l-'an faḍel lina nuqat [°]adi:da daba nt-terqu liha biḥawl llah li'annahu daba
mša l-ḥal ah...
- 170 B:t-tes[°]ud hadi
- 171 A:eh eh gedda nša'llah nutabi[°] n-niqaš wa šukran

APPENDIX 5

DATA SET 3C

- 1 A: °endna waheed n-nuqta manaqeshnahaš wahuwa dawr wasa'il l-i°lam w dawr maša:hi:r l-mujtama:° ma°a l-'asa:f yemken hada ra'yi anna maša:hi:r l-mujtama° f-l-megri:b makatqu:mš b-š-šay' l-katir fi:ma yaxuss l-°amal l-jtima°i ila qarrena l-mes'ala b-d-du:wal l-'uxra wa xassatan l-ji:ra:n dyalna f-'u:ropa waš katšatru:ni had r-ra'y wella lla
- 2 B: tab°an ha:da men bin l-mawadi° lli jadida f-s-sah lakin 'ana gir bgitek llah yxallik .
- 3 A: daba jawbni °la t-tarh a s-si Abdeslam
- 4 B: lla gadi njawbek °la s-su'al maši gadi njawbek gadi n°ti wi:jhat nadari w ma l-jawab nisbi gir b-n-nisba li ana mqtane° f- jam°iyat šu'un t-tarbiya: w t-taqafa w kadalik f-l-'ixwan f-l-jam°iya:t t-tarbawiya: anna l-'awlawiya l-'an l-quswa ta°di:l wa tagyi:r l-'itar al-qanu:ni baš yemken yttefteh ufuq jdida l-ħaraka l-jam°awiya f-bladna hada janib janib tani lemma kenna kanddakru °la l-mutafarrigi:n l-mutafarrigi:n lli ħna kanqtarhu:hum lli huma trebbaw f-l-jam°iyya w mes'u:line
- 5 A:w ya°ni w l-'uxrine uhh
- 6 B:w tmerrsu w ya°ni w treqqaw fiha daraja:t w dabtın l-mikanizmat li'anna:hu ħna l-°amal ħna °an qana:°a w °an xtiya:r kama kayqtarhu l-'ixwane w kayn šwiya d-l-misdaqiyya w kayn l-jidiyya w kayn l-mes'uliyya hadu huma n-nas lli °endna l-lawa'ih dyalhum kanqtarhuhum w kantmennaw 'anna l-mes'uline l-'an kaysm°u w kayšufu li'anna:hu hada rihan sbaħ metru:h °la l-megrib kama qeltu al-yum f-l-°a:lam l-kul kaybgi yt°amel m°a l-megri:b walakin men xilal l-muneddama:t innama muneddama:t muhaykala mu'attara 'amma had l-mes'ala dyal uhh ħaqiqatan wasa'il l-i°lam °endha dawr kbir
- 7 A:w mašahi:r l-mujtama° tahuma
- 8 B: hana gadi nji l..(Unclear)
- 9 A:wasa'il l-i°lam °endha dawr kbir maši hir l-mujtama:° makaynš gir n-nass lli °endHum l-flus
- 10 A:lla l-mašahi:r ya°ni q-edt
- 11 B: ya°ni kayn l-muteqqafi:ne
- 12 A:l-mutaqqafin r-riyadiyyin makayšarkuš.
- 13 C: kayn r-ryyadiyyine kayn zu°ama' l-'ahzab had n-nass kulhum kay xesshum awwalan fihum lli kay°mel had l-°amal walakin had š-ši xassu tatwi:r awwalan xassu qana°a b-l-merdurdiya d-l-°ama:l l-jem°awi w qana:°a maši li tawdifha faqat fi muna:saba:t mu°ayyana kama šertu gbila l-had l-°amalia walakin l-qana°a men 'ajl an-na:s tku:n mertabta b-l-haya:ki:l d-l-mujtama:° tsa:hem f-tetwiru f-'ibra:z wajh 'axar li-l-magrib wajh lli kat-wjed fih l-muwatana l-ħaqiqiyya w fih š-šafa:fiyya bin kul l-mu'assasa:t w lli fih gadi y'eddi l-l-muma:raša d-dimuqra:tiyya lli kathkiw °liha f-l-bida:ya dyalkum li'anna anaya mazal kan'amen wa huwa annahu juj d-r-rihanat metruħa °el-megri:b ta°miq el-moumarasa d-dimuqra:tiyya al-ħaqiqiya wa al-ħimaya lijtima°iya
- 14 A: ila smehtiw s-si abdelmeqsud kayn kayruj l-ħadi:t ya°ni w sbeħ moda rubbama had l-mujtama:° l-mada:ni l-mujtama° l-madani mafiha bass ila tsennetna l nrej°u merra xra l-'ustada Zoulikha nnassiri katibat d-dawla f-ta°awun l-watani w nšufu wijhat nadarha f-l-mujtama:° l-mada:ni
- 15 D:al-°ama:l l-jam°awi xesu ykun mertakez °la nass lli °andhum l-kafa'a w °andhum t-ta'hil baš yqu:mu b-had l-°amal li'nna rubbama n-naqs gadi yexleq

- xalal walakin maxesnaš ntxawfu mennu š-ša[°]b l-mağribi na:dej bima fih l-kifaya walaw 'annani: kanrekez °la anna taqafu l-'ijtima[°]iyya xasha t-qawwa w xesha t-kber w kima qal sa:hib l-jalala huna:ka nuqtatayne mouhimmatayne fa'ida kunna naxdu b-ħurriyat l-'ixtiya:r w hada ja:'a ya[°]ni biquwwa fi xuṭab saħib l-jalala fa hunaka kadalika l-mujtama[°] l-madani an ya'xuda bi[°]ayn l-'i[°]tibar 'usus l-mas'uliyya we š-šafa:fiyya wa nudu:m l-[°]amal wa l-mura:qaba xasha texda[°] ṭab[°]an lil..mardudiyya tania xesha l-t-taqyi:m fa 'ida kenna naxdu b-ħuriyyat l-ixtiyar °ala annaha 'asa:s d-dimuqra:ṭiyya f-l-megri:b kadalika °ala l-mujtama:° l-madani 'an ya'xuda b-[°]ayni l-[°]tiba:r men hada xasu ywazi:h bi aktar mina l-mes'uliyya wa aktar mina š-šafafiyya fi ta[°]amulu
- 16 C:b-n-nesba l-š-šafa:fiyya l-jam[°]iyya:t kulhum °endhum š-šafa:fiyya
- 17 A:semħi liyya a 'ustada l-jam[°]iyya:t kulhum °endhum š-šafa:fiya
- 18 C:yemken maši kulhum °endhum š-šafa:fiya walakin l-ğala:ba °endhum š-šafafiya w kaymken ytraqbu yak tayddar l-mekteb kaydjedded kul °amayn kaylqaw kaydiru l-rapport w l-rapport doît être bien rédigé
- 19 A:ila hettemna l-maw[°]id ila hettemna l-maw[°]id
- 20 C:ila hettemna l-maw[°]id walakin da'iman w yeqder yetraqeb maši s[°]ib baš yetraqeb šuf l-muškil lli wqe[°] l l-lwidadiyya dyal l-mu[°]aqi:ne wqe[°] lihum mašaki:l walakin kan fteħ l-bab l-l-muraqaba w ya[°]ni 'anna makayn t-taħaja men dik l-ħadra men dik l.. n-nas katqder tehder n-nas katqder tehder walakin bla ši mubarrir šiħ ila kanet ši jam[°]iyya lli hiya katsreq hna d-dawla mes'ula kay xesha tweqqef hadak lli kaysreq yak hiya katšed lli kayserqu
- 21 A:l-'ustda °iša ila smeħti baqi waħed l n-qul baqi daqa:'iq ma[°]duda:tine annana n-tqa:smuha w n-jawbu °la s-su'a:l lli kan °endi hnaya mubarma:j w huwa s-su'al l-'axi:r wa huwa kayfa sanajidu: un compromis ardiya muštaraka bayna ad-dawla wa l-mujtama[°] al-mada:ni hada s-su'al lli yemken ya[°]ni li'anna d-dawla ṭara:f w l-mujtama:° l-mada:ni ṭara:f ašna hiyya l-'ardiyya l-muštaraka
- 22 D:t-taħa:wu:r
- 23 B: ana bğit gir nerje[°] l s-su'al laxur w bğit nħeyyi nħeyyi 2M w ba[°]d wasa'il l-i[°]lam lli sa:hamat bišaklin 'ija:bi:y w weqfat m[°]a l-jam[°]iyya dyalna w m[°]a jam[°]iyya:t 'uxra w qeddina fi[°]lan nweşlu l-message dyalna
- 24 A:katkeltu °la le Téléthon
- 25 B:kantkelmu °la le Téléthon m[°]a 2M wa kadalik barami:j 'uxra lli ddaret fi 'iṭar t-taħsi:s w f-'iṭa:r w kadalik wasa'il l-i[°]lam weħda xra w hadi šahada b-ṭabi[°]at l-ħal ma xesnaš nsawha
- 26 A:ṭayyeb ṭfedel
- 27 E:d-dawr dyal d-dawla fi[°]lan at-ta'kid °ala 'anna dawr d-dawla mayemkenš abadan yettemħa li'anna maxesnaš ntweħmu tani bi'anna l-[°]amal l-ijtima:°i aw l-jem[°]awi: ila baš yelgi dawr d-dawla taħadi n-nas l-l-mes'uline bi'anna kan[°]niw ya[°]ni lla
- 28 A:lla lla ana kan[°]ni ašni hiyya l-'ardiya l-muštaraka
- 29 E:lli gelti had š-ši lli gelt ana
- 30 A:waxa ṭayyeb
- 31 E:mayemkenš walidalik la yumkin walidalik ana kangul bi'anna b-n-nisba l-l-[°]amal l-ijtima:°i tatwir l-mujtama[°] muwa:jahat ħa:jiya:t l-mujtama[°] llati qulna:ha l-faqr l-mutazayid w mašaki:l s-šihħa w l-'iskane w t-ta[°]lim w girha had l-muwa:jaha dyalha taħta:j 'ila muba:dara:t muhimma men qibal d-dawla °an ṭari:q s-siyassa:t š-ša[°]biyya °an ṭari:q 'iqrar °ada:la jtima[°]iyya w gir mita:l waħed newqef °lih mita:l dyal l-'uju:r matala:n la yumkin abadan 'an nasi:ra b-nidam l-'uju:r l-ħa:li

- 32 A:huna:ka tafa:wut
- 33 E:tafa:wut xatir mayemkenš had t-tafawut mayemkenš n-bqaw hakka ba[°]d l-
'ih[°]sa'iiyyat matalan [°]en l-muwadaffi:ne matalan temnmiyat alef muwada:f
[°]umu:mi menhum tmanin f-lmya mabin sullam wahed w tes[°]u:d menhum
xemsine f-lmya qel men telmtiya w xemsi:ne alf frank f-š-šhar ya[°]ni ya[°]ni d-
dawla xasha thawel ma 'amkan ddir n-nida:m l-jadid f-t-tawazuna:te l-
'ijtima[°]iyya f-l-[°]adala l-'ijtima[°]iyya lli f-l-mustawa [°]an tari:q 'idxal f-nidam l-
'uju:r ila 'a:xirih taniane musa:[°]adat l-[°]amal l-jtima[°]i t-tabi[°]I
- 34 A:nweqfu walakin b-xtiṣa:r llah yjazik bixir l-mawdu[°] wa huwa 'annahu: d-
dawla aw l-mujtama[°] l-magribi: fi ha:ja ila haraka jam[°]awiiyya aSila
mutatawwi:ra likay tataṭawa:r yajib tamkinha men haq l-manfa[°]a l-[°]a:mma
bimusa:wa:t l-jami[°]
- 35 C:litawdiḥ had l-menfa[°]a l-[°]a:mma l-'ita:r l-qanu:ni huwa lli kenna kanddakru
[°]lih li'annahu kayj[°]el l-jam[°]iyya: t-šu:f wahed l-fada' lli yemken fiha t-tawer l-
mada:xi:l dyalha w l-muba:dara:t dyalha w telqa taja:wub fiha w tab[°]an hna kif
ma kanqulu f-l-haraka l-jam[°]awiiyya lli kayštaḥ ma kay derreg wejhu
- 36 A: d-dawla wella l-haraka l-jam[°]awiiyya
- 37 C:kulši daba hna kan ddakru b-'ism l-haraka: l-jam[°]a:wiyya l-jem[°]iyya tqu:m b-
xedmetha w d-dawla ddir šgulha kulla wahed kay[°]ref ydir šuglu ila bga ydiru
- 38 A:s-si Rudani ašnu hiyya wejhet nadarek fiha
- 39 B:lla ana kan a[°]u:d marratan 'uxra 'ila ma qultuh fil-bida:ya 'anna l-[°]amal
lijtima:[°]I huwa masuliyate l-ja:mi[°] ad-dawla taqu:m binaṣi:biha wa l-jam[°]iyya
taqu:m binaṣi:biha walakin nta da'iman t-taraf t-talit lli 'aham šiy' f-had l-'i:ta:r
mejmu:[°] huwa l-muqawala:te we l-mu'assasa:te
- 40 A:melli tanqu:lu d-dawla rah htta l-jama[°]a:t l-mahaliyya katkun mas'ula
- 41 B:lla la iyeh iyeh bi bi biṣifa [°]a:mma biṣifa [°]a:mma [°]ala 'anna hatta tadaxu:l d-
dawla f-l-ha:qi:qa lamma kantkelmu [°]an l-huku:ma natakallamu: [°]an ji:ha:z
munba:tiq [°]an l-jiha:z l-madani: w l-'a:n gadi ntkelmu [°]ani l-jama:[°]a:t kadalik ila
'axirih
- 42 A:w l-'a:n gadi yku:n l-hadi:t kter [°]el [°]el ma[°]a 'ihda:t settašer mintaqā w settašer
jiha
- 43 B:tab[°]an tab[°]an rah maši sa[°]b 'ija:d wasa:'il li- taḥsin 'ata'l-jam[°]iyat l-xayriyya
- 44 A:ya[°]ni kayn l-'aryad daba gat[°]eded
- 45 C:w [°]ela hada ya[°]ni 'a[°]u:d 'ila 'anna had l-[°]ama:l l-jtima:[°]i walakin fi šiqqihi l-
[°]a:m laysa fi šiqqihi l-'iṣhani: faqaṭ ana a[°]u:d wa 'uliḥ ya[°]ni [°]ala had l-mawdu:[°] li
'anna l-[°]amal l-jtima:[°]I: huwa kul laysa juz' fahuwa mes'uliyat l-jami[°] f-l-'a:n ila
hed l-'a:n matanšu:fu:š matalan l-muqa:wala l-megri:biyya taqu:m tataḥammalu:
mas'uliyataha: fi al-ja:nib l-jtima:[°]i: li'anna tahiya mes'u:liyyetha mes'u:liyyetha
anna l-fard ykun fard ya[°]ni munsajim ma[°]a l-muna:x l-[°]a:m lladi huwa muna:x
hadik l-muqa:wala aw muna:x matalan al-majlis l-baladi aw l-majmu:[°]a l-
hadariya aw girha
- 46 A:ila smeḥti a s-si Rutani yuši:ru:na biharaka:t dyal l-miqaṣ anna l-weqt mabqaš
kay l-hadi:t ktir w 'umsya wehda makafiaš n-[°]tiw l-kalima: l-s-si hajji qbel
man[°]tiw l
- 47 F:melli kanqul lli bgiṭ n-qsed ana huwa anna kayn d-dula kayn l-mašaki:l dyalha
w [°]endha l-mawadi[°] dyalha lli katexdem fihum walakin dawr l-jam[°]iya:t hna
huwa hadak taḥsi:s d-dula b-ba[°]d l-jem[°]iya:t kayḥessesu d-dawla lakin xaš l-
'usu:s tkun mula'ima baš l-mašakil llati: ugfila [°]anha hada huwa had l-janib l-
jam[°]iya:t katqu:m b-hadak kathewel duk l-mašaki:l lli 'aḥya:nan tgeflat [°]liha hiya
lli katmši liha l-jam[°]iyya:t w katj[°]el d-dula katgulliha rak gfelti had l-muški:l f-

- jami:° l-maya:di:n la f-l-maydan r-riyađi la f-l-maydan l-jtima°I: la fi: mayda:ne t-tufu:la ya°ni jami:° idan xeš l-jam°iyya tkun hiya l-ha:fi:z hiya le stimulus de certains problèmes
- 48 A: a s-si l-khabiri
- 49 G:huwa fi°lan d-dawla °endha 'awlawiyya:t ya°ni hada huwa l-xiṭa:b lli hna °endha 'awlawiyya:t t-ta°li:m s-siḥa ila axiri:h
- 50 A:t-tarqiya l-jtima°iya baš
- 51 G:hada huwa marbiṭ l-fara:s a-t-tarqiya: lijtima°iya ya°ni fi mujtama° gayba fih t-tarqiya: lijtima°iya li'anna °la ḥassab l-'iḥs'iyya:t lli °endna w rubbama tatkun matabtaš kayn men ḥdaš l rbe°taš f-l-mya f-n-nas n-našiti:n les personnes actives lli °andhum tarqiya jtima°iya fa l-'insa:n ila hebtt °lih 'aqal 'aqal karita taylqa raṣu safi dak š-ši li qudammu w lli murah kaymši lih fa had l-muškil dyal t-tarqiya: muškil muhim jidda:n w mennu tatenta:teq l-l-l-le développement dyal uh uh l-l-l-l-masa'il t-tanmiya
- 52 A:wa ida samaḥa r-rijal nectiw l-l-'usta:da ašnu baš n-xtmu daba a-'usta:da b-xtiṣa:r
- 53 D:b-xtiṣa:r
- 54 A:b-xtiṣa:r baš nxetmu laki šaraf kalimat l-xita:m f-had l-ḥalqa
- 55 D:lli kan ḥess bih °la ḥasa:b l-waqi° lli kan°išu kulla nhar ana kanbgI hetta ana melli kanemši °end d-dula w n-duq °la l-mekteb dyalha testeqlbelni: hadik d-dula hadak luwkil dyal d-dula w yetṣennet liya
- 56 A:hada waji:b
- 57 D:w w hada wajeb °li:h walakin maši da da'iman kaysteqblu:na ma°a l-'asaf š-šadi:d kayn be°d n-nas kayn be°d l-'idarāt lli kanmšiw w nelqaw suhu:la w kaysteqblu:na w y-sa°du:na walakin kayn luxrine °refti kayxellik awella may°tikš ga° aw ygullik iwa ketbi wa siri tsennay ketbi dik ketbi ra fiha šḥal dyal l-ḥajat w hna kayt°etel °lina
- 58 A:šukra:ne šukra:ne lid-duyu:f šukra:ne lil-ḥudu:r l-ladi ra:faqana walaw ḥudu:rane qali:lane °ala ayyine šukra:ne