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“Had Sh‘er Haute Gamme, High Technology”:
An Application of the MLF and 4-M Models to French-Arabic Codeswitching in Algerian
Hip Hop

by
Samuel Nickilaus McLain-Jespersen

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Masters of Arts
in
Teaching English To Speakers of Other Languages

Thesis Committee:
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Portland State University
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ABSTRACT

The historical nature of language contact between French and Arabic in Algeria has created a sociolinguistic situation in which French is permeated throughout Algerian society. The prevalence and use of spoken French in Algeria by native speakers of Spoken Algerian Arabic has been a topic of interest to researchers of codeswitching since the 1970s. Studies have been conducted on codeswitching in Algerian media such as television, radio, and music.

The hip hop scene has been active in Algeria since the 1980s. Algerian hip hop lyrics contain a multitude of switches into French. This study explores the structural makeup of the codeswitching between French and Spoken Algerian Arabic in Algerian hip hop. These are patterns that have gone heretofore unstudied.

The purpose of this study was to utilize Myers-Scotton's MLF and 4-M models in order to analyze the codeswitching between Spoken Algerian Arabic and French found in the lyrics to the hip hop album *Kobay* by popular Algerian hip hop artist *Lotfi Double Kanon*. This study had two goals: the first was to document the structural patterns of the codeswitching found in the data. The second goal was to test Myers-Scotton's models and determine whether the patterns found in the data could be predicted by the MLF and 4-M models.

In order to accomplish these goals, the lyrics to the album were transcribed, translated, coded and analyzed at the level of the complementizer phrase. The principles of the MLF and 4-M models were used as central tool for analysis.

This study demonstrates that the codeswitching found in the lyrics to *Kobay*

follow the principles of the MLF and 4-M models to a great extent. However, three examples of problematic data are presented. This is followed by a discussion on the social and structural implications of these findings.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- 1 – first person
- 2 – second person
- 3 – third person
- 4-M – Four Morpheme
- BLSM – bridge late system morpheme
- CP – complementizer phrase
- CS – codeswitching
- DEF – definite
- EL – embedded language
- ESM – early system morpheme
- F, FEM – feminine
- FUT – future
- GEN – genitive
- INDEF – indefinite
- INF – infinitive
- IMP – imperative
- IMPF – imperfect
- M, MASC – masculine
- ML – matrix language
- MLF – Matrix Language Frame
- NEG – negative

NP – noun phrase

OBJ – object

OLSM – outside late system morpheme

PARTIC – participle

PERF – perfect

PL – plural

POS – possessive

PRES – present

PRO – pronoun

PROG – progressive

SAA – Spoken Algerian Arabic

SG – singular

VP – verb phrase

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This study examines the use of the French language in the Algerian hip hop album *Kobay* (an Arabization of the French word '*cobaye*' 'guinea pig') by the contemporary Algerian rap group *Double Kanon*. The purpose of this study is to better understand the nature of codeswitching between Spoken Algerian Arabic and French, two languages that have a complex history of contact in Algeria.

I discovered Double Kanon in a Spoken Algerian Arabic class here at Portland State University. The instructor at the time, Nawel Krarzia, used some of the group's lyrics as part of one of her lessons. From there my interest in Algerian hip hop expanded, and I discovered more and more artists rapping lyrics that were fast, passionate, and, most interesting to me, filled with French words. I wanted to know if there were any patterns or structure to these lyrics and whether or not they reflected natural language use. This is how I began my study on the nature of codeswitching in this context.

I was eventually led to Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame (MLF) and Four Morpheme (4-M) models as a framework for analyzing these lyrics. While the MLF model is the most used model in the study of codeswitching today, it is not without its major limits. For example, as the model stands now, parts of it rely on circular logic, as discussed on page 50 below. This challenge presented a stumbling block for me more than once. Eventually, I joined in the ranks of the researchers who work around this flaw and continued in my analysis.

My decision to analyze data in Spoken Algerian Arabic and French was not a difficult one. I have been formally studying Arabic for a decade and have been studying North African Arabic since I first went to Morocco as part of the CLS Scholarship in summer of 2009. Since that time, I studied Algerian Arabic for a year in the class mentioned above and spent a year living in Morocco as part of a Fulbright scholarship. I feel comfortable analyzing North African spoken Arabic with the assistance of native speakers. In order to better prepare myself to analyze the French, I attended a year of French here at PSU.

One of the biggest challenges was applying the complicated history of contact between the French and the Algerians to the language of the study. Which French words were codeswitched, and which had already been assimilated sometime in the past 150 years? This question was helped along by the time I spent in Morocco as well as the conversations I have had with my cultural informants.

Another challenge was the nature of rap lyrics. Rap lyrics are supposed to be complex and difficult to decode, even to native speakers of the language in which the lyrics are written. Word play, creative rhyme schemes, and nonstandard linguistic inventions are abundant in most rap lyrics. Needless to say, the most time consuming part of this project for me was transcribing rap lyrics spoken in two languages I do not speak natively and then analyzing them morpheme by morpheme.

I relied on the expertise of four cultural informants over the span of two years to complete the task of transcribing and translating the album. Bouchra and Nawel were my main two cultural informants; they are both from Eastern Algeria. Bouchra was a medical student from Annaba and is approximately 25 years old. She was an active member of the Arabic section of the website www.allthelyrics.com, an online forum devoted to translating songs into English. Nawel was approximately 30 and a graduate student in Tebessa. She was a Foreign Language Teaching Assistant at Portland State University in 2009-2010 with the international Fulbright program and taught Spoken Algerian Arabic here.

Additionally, I received translation and comprehension assistance from Driss Hanafi, a 28-year-old English teacher from Errachidia, Morocco, and Rima Daoud, a speaker of Tunisian Spoken Arabic and French. Without the invaluable help of these four individuals, I simply would not have been able to complete this study as I designed it. I'd like to acknowledge each of their contributions and my gratitude for them.

Research questions

This proposal will seek to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the structural patterns of SAA-French codeswitching found in the lyrics of *Kobay* by Double Kanon?
2. To what extent do the MLF and 4-M models account for these patterns?

Chapter Two provides a review of the literature regarding the languages of Algeria and codeswitching. Chapter Three follows to detail the methodology I used to collect, codify, and analyze the data for this study. Next, Chapter Four provides a summary of the results, including acceptable patterns of CS as well as structural configurations that require further explanation as they present challenges to the models used for this study. Finally, Chapter Five discusses the implications of the study and suggests areas of further research.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this chapter, I discuss the linguistic situation of Algeria, including the social place of Tamazight, Arabic, and French. Next, I give a relatively detailed treatment of the grammars of SAA and French relevant to this study's codeswitching; this information on the respective grammar is necessary for understanding how the data fits with the models used in the analysis of this study. Additionally, I offer a short history of hip hop in Algeria. Finally, I detail the literature pertaining to codeswitching, which will include the MLF and 4-M models.

The Languages of Algeria

The three main languages in Algeria are Tamazight, Arabic, and French. Tamazight is the language of the native inhabitants of North Africa and is spoken by tens of millions of people. While understanding Tamazight's place in Algerian society is essential to understanding the sociolinguistic situation there, it is not especially relevant to this study and will be discussed only briefly.

Arabic is the predominant language in Algeria today. Because of its diglossic nature (Ferguson, 1959), there are two types of Arabic in Algeria: Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Spoken Algerian Arabic. MSA is related to Classical Arabic (CA), the language of the Qur'an. This variety of Arabic has a long literary and liturgical history and has gone through centuries of codification, standardization, and lexical expansion. It has a history of adopting foreign words due to Islam's quick spread through the region. MSA today represents these collective efforts as well as continuing modern efforts of standardization. MSA is not anyone's native language; it must be learned in

school. Modern Standard Arabic today is spoken across the Arabic-speaking world in religious sermons, news broadcasts, and university lectures. While there are some instances of MSA being used in Algerian rap (Davies & Bentahila, 2006), the data for my study do not contain any markedly MSA structures. Therefore, the grammar of MSA will not be discussed.

Spoken Algerian Arabic (SAA) is the language of the majority in Algeria. SAA is a variety of spoken Arabic that is part of the Arabic dialect continuum of North Africa, which contains varieties of spoken Arabic that are markedly divergent from the more influential spoken varieties such as Egyptian, Khaliji (Gulf Arabic), and Levantine. It differs greatly from MSA, so much so that many linguists consider SAA, as well as all other spoken varieties of Arabic, to be distinct languages. By many of its native speakers, SAA is considered to be a deficient dialect of MSA because it is not written and has never undergone standardization (Ennaji, 1991). While there have been analyses of SAA's grammar by Algerians (Keddad, 1986; Bouhadiba, 1988; Souag, 2006) and Western linguists (Bergman, 2005) alike and a working grammar has been constructed, it is important to remember that SAA is highly variable along geographic and socio-economic lines. The SAA of this study is distinct to the large city of Annaba, on the eastern edge of Algeria, and could be described as 'educated'; therefore, it would differ significantly from the SAA spoken by a relatively uneducated rural inhabitant in western Algeria. Using the sources available to me, I will detail the phonology, morphology and basic syntax of SAA in order to inform the discussion of the data in the light of the MLF and 4-M models.

Finally, I will discuss the history and social place of the French language in Algeria. Due to a long history with French colonialism, many Algerians speak French today. It is still the preferred language of science, administration, and business. Codeswitching between SAA and French is an everyday occurrence in a variety of situations, including rap lyrics. No matter the context, the use of French currently holds prestige in Algeria.

Below I discuss the history of Tamazight, SAA, and French in Algeria. I follow this with a treatment of the relevant grammatical sections of SAA and French as needed to comprehend this study's codeswitching data.

Tamazight

The indigenous population of Algeria, and all of North Africa, has been traditionally referred to as "Berbers" by Western and Arab scholars. The Berbers themselves tend to use the term *Amazigh*, meaning "free man," as their identifying marker. The Amazigh speak a group of Afro-Asiatic dialects spanning across North Africa from Morocco to western Egypt as well as throughout the Sahara desert and into the Sahel. Although each one of these dialects has its own name, as a group they are increasingly referred to as *Tamazight*, which is the feminine form of the word *Amazigh*.

Large Tamazight-speaking populations have continuously inhabited Algeria since prehistory and have persisted through several waves of Arabization, starting with the first Muslim conquest of North Africa in the 7th century CE. Tamazight-speakers have been in close contact with Arabic-speakers since, and thus the language contains many Arabic

loans, especially stock phrases and religious vocabulary. Though Tamazight is related to Arabic only very distantly, both are based on a root-and-pattern morphology, which no doubt eased the assimilation of Arabic forms. Varieties of North African spoken Arabic have likewise borrowed many words of Tamazight origin.

Today there are approximately ten major dialects of Tamazight left in North Africa, and at least six of them exist in Algeria, as is shown in Figure 1 below. Taqbaylit of the Kabylie region and Chaoui of the Ares region are the two major Algerian varieties with populations of approximately five million and three million respectively. Overall, it is estimated that 20-25 percent of Algeria's population speak some form of Tamazight to some degree.

Figure A: Berber Dialects in Algeria.

Adapted by the author from <http://geology.com/world/algeria-map.gif> using information found on http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berber_languages

Spoken Algerian Arabic

Spoken Algerian Arabic (SAA) generally refers to Arabic spoken within the borders of Algeria. Algeria has within its borders six major varieties of spoken North African Arabic that fall within the North African Arabic dialect continuum, as shown in Figure 2 below. While Figure 2 above identifies the Arabic spoken in the town of Annaba (from which the artist who provided the data for this study hails) as Tunisian Arabic, it is thought of as Algerian Arabic because it is within the borders of Algeria. What is thought of as Tunisian Arabic is very similar to if not indistinguishable from eastern Algerian Arabic spoken in towns such as Annaba and Constantine. Likewise, the eastern most Moroccan Arabic variety is much like the western Algerian Arabic spoken in towns such as Tlemcen and Oran.

Figure B. Major Spoken Arabic Dialects in Algeria

Adapted by the author from <http://geology.com/world/algeria-map.gif> using information found on http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/North_African_Arabic

SAA is the native language of the majority of Algerians and the second language of those whose first language is a variety of Tamazight. Since it is related to MSA, it is useful to examine how SAA and MSA differ. SAA, like every spoken national variety of Arabic that exists today, differs notably from MSA syntactically, morphologically, phonologically, and lexically. Syntactically it lacks many of the more complex grammatical features of MSA. For example, unlike the VSO word order of MSA, SAA most often exhibits an SVO word order. In addition, SAA does not include a case-marking system like MSA, though speakers will sometimes use case-marked forms in order to elevate their speech. Phonetic distinctions in MSA are often collapsed in SAA (as well as in spoken varieties of MSA). The lexicon available in SAA includes a multitude of words for everyday objects and concepts that MSA lacks, but generally not the academic, scientific, and otherwise learned vocabulary of MSA. Thus, speakers often use such vocabulary from MSA or French when speaking about such topics.

North African varieties of Arabic are highly divergent from the Eastern dialects as well, so much so that a speaker from Algeria and a speaker from Oman speaking their own dialects would have great difficulty understanding one another, especially when discussing the concerns of everyday life. This phenomenon is partially due to SAA's lexicon which is marked by an abundance of words of Tamazight origins, especially in stock phrases and the vocabulary of produce, animals, and other natural features. In order to communicate effectively with one another in these sorts of contact situations, speakers would need to rely on MSA, forms from other dialects, intermediate forms that are neither dialect nor MSA, and European languages.

French

French has been used in Algeria since as early as the 16th century. The coastal region of Algeria was under Ottoman rule from 1525 until France's conquest of Algeria in 1830, at which point French became the language of the colonizer. In 1848, Algeria became a *département* of France, that is, it was officially incorporated into the country. Control over Algeria was hard fought, however, as the mountainous Kabylie region east of Algiers, home to one of the groups of Berber speakers, was not fully captured until 1871. It was then that the French finalized the borders of Algeria that still exist today. Complete French dominion of Algeria was never actually achieved as the Algerian Sahara was never under French control in any real sense.

Prior to the French invasion, a considerable number of Algerians were literate in Arabic. Traditional Islamic education taught male students to read and write Classical Arabic from an early age as part of the memorization of the Qur'an. French speakers came and settled in waves, bringing French culture, language, and institutions. French became the official language of administration, business, and education. Islamic education was actively suppressed, and the Arabic language was pushed to the margins of society. Not only was Arabic far removed from the domain of the new French speakers, but the French educational system that was established began to transform a once Arabic-speaking population into Francophones. Finally, in 1936, Arabic was declared a foreign language in Algeria.

By the time Algeria won its independence in 1962, there were over one million French settlers and their descendants in Algeria. After independence, Algeria had a

population that was largely illiterate in MSA, and many non-Berbers who did not speak SAA fluently; indeed, many Arabs were more comfortable speaking French than they were speaking any variety of Arabic. Despite the policy of Arabization starting in the late 1960's, French remained an unofficial language and was taught as a second language from elementary school on. In Algeria today, French is associated with modernity and urbanity and is widespread throughout Algerian institutions, media, and culture (Kadga & Abdul Latif, 2009). It is especially highly valued among Kabyle speakers and the urban elite. The French that most Algerians use today has undergone phonological and morphological shifts that mark it as uniquely Algerian, though there are some who speak a variety of French that is virtually indistinguishable from the French spoken in major urban centers in France.

The Grammar of SAA

I will now detail the structural elements of SAA that are relevant to the codeswitching data of this study. First, I will describe the phonology of SAA, which will inform the following discussion of the process of assimilation when the definite article /ə/ cliticizes with the noun following it, a rule that applies to codeswitched French nouns as well. I will also cover the behavior of prepositions followed by a cliticized definite article.

Next, I will detail relevant morphological patterns of SAA: verb conjugation, gender and number marking, and suffixed pronouns. These morphemes are essential to the understanding of how the 4-M Model applies to the codeswitching data for this study.

Finally, I will discuss the genitive construction, noun-adjective agreement, adverb placement, and sentence types, all of which are syntactic patterns of SAA that have relevance to how French words and structures are integrated in codeswitched utterances.

Phonology

Below is a treatment of the vowels and consonants of SAA followed by a discussion of the behavior of word-initial sounds on nouns with a definite article.

Vowels

SAA distinguishes between long and short vowels. The short vowels are /a/, /i/, and /u/. These short vowels tend to neutralize to [ə] depending on factors such as the speed and/or formality of the conversation. The long vowels, /ā/, /ī/, and /ū/, directly correspond with the short vowels. Table 1 below summarizes this information.

Table 1 <i>Distribution of Vowels in Spoken Algerian Arabic</i>		
<u>Short vowels</u>	<u>Long vowels</u>	<u>Vowel type</u>
a	ā	Open front unrounded vowel
i	ī	Close front unrounded vowel
u	ū	Close back rounded vowel
ə	⊙	Mid-central vowel

Consonants

Table 1a below shows the consonantal sounds used in SAA adapted from Bergman (2005).

Table 1a									
Distribution of Consonantal Phonemes in Spoken Algerian Arabic									
	<u>Bilabial</u>	<u>Labio-dental</u>	<u>Interdental</u>	<u>Alveolar</u>	<u>Palatal</u>	<u>Velar</u>	<u>Uvular</u>	<u>Pharyngeal</u>	<u>Glottal</u>
<u>Voiceless stop</u>				t, t̤		k	q		ʔ
<u>Voiced stop</u>	b			d, d̤		g			
<u>Voiceless fricative</u>		f	θ	s, s̤	ʃ	x		ħ	h
<u>Voiced fricative</u>			ð	z	ʒ	ɣ		ʕ	
<u>Nasal</u>	m			n					
<u>Lateral</u>				l, l̤					
<u>Trill</u>				r					
<u>Semi-vowel</u>	w				j				

There is some variation with respect to the use of the emphatic alveolar and interdental consonants /t̤/, /d̤/, and /s̤/. Depending on sociolinguistic factors, these consonants are sometimes collapsed into their non-emphatic counterparts /t/, /d/, and /s/ respectively. However, some speakers alternate between the use of both emphatics and non-emphatics, even in the same utterance (Bergman, 2005). The emphatic alveolar lateral consonant /l̤/ is used exclusively in the word /l̤lāh/ 'God,' as is generally the case in varieties of spoken Arabic.

'Sun letters' and 'Moon letters'

Arabic linguistics has long identified two categories of Arabic letters: 'sun letters' and 'moon letters.' Sun letters are those that represent the coronal consonants (i.e. the dental, alveolar and palatal natural classes) of Arabic. The Arabic word for 'sun,' /ʃəms/, starts with the palatal voiceless fricative sound, which is a sun letter. In Table 1 above, sun letters are in boldface. Moon letters represent every other category of sound. The Arabic word for 'moon,' /qamar/, starts with a uvular voiceless stop, which is a moon letter, hence, the logic of the labels.

Sun and moon letters affect the pronunciation of the definite article, which precedes the noun and is cliticized to it. The definite article /əl/ has two allophones, [əl] and [l], the distribution of which is not relevant to this discussion. When the article precedes a sun letter, it is realized at the phonetic equivalent of that sun letter, and those two sounds together form a doubled consonantal sound. When the definite article precedes a moon letter, it does not assimilate; that is, the definite article remains [əl] or [l]. Table 2 below shows sun letter-assimilation with /ʃəms/ ('sun') and /dars/ ('lesson'), moon letter non-assimilation with /qamar/ ('moon') and /iqtisād/ ('economy'), and elision of the initial [ə] of the definite article with /iqtisād/ ('economy') and /dars/ ('lesson').

Table 2

Behavior of the Definite Article when Followed by Sun and Moon Letters

<u>Definite article + noun</u>	<u>Definite noun</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
/əl/ + /qamar/ DEF + moon	[əl-qamar] DEF-moon	the moon
/əl/ + /iqtiṣād/ DEF + economy	[l-iqtiṣād] DEF-economy	the economy
/əl/ + /ʃəms/ DEF + sun	[əʃ-ʃəms] DEF-sun	the sun
/əl/ + /dars/ DEF + lesson	[d-dars] DEF-lesson	the lesson

Prepositions and definite articles

When the preposition /fī/ ('in'), /bi/ ('by,' 'in'), /li/ ('to'), /ʕa/ ('about,' 'to') or /min/ ('from') is followed by the definite article, cliticization occurs between them; thus, a phrase like /fī d-dār/ ('in the house') is realized as the single phonological word, in this case as [fī-d-dār]. In the cases of /min/ and /ʕa/, all but the initial consonant of the preposition is eliminated (along with the pause between the preposition and the definite article.) These transformations happen with both sun and moon letters as is shown in Table 3 below.

Table 3

Behavior between Prepositions and the Definite Article

<u>Preposition + definite article + noun</u>	<u>Phonetic realization</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
/min/ + /əl/ + /qamar/ from + DEF + moon	[mɛ-l-qamar] from-DEF-moon	from the moon
/ʕa/ + /əl/ + /iqtiṣād/ about + DEF + economy	[ʕa-l-iqtiṣād] about-DEF-economy	about the economy
/li/ + /əl/ + /ʃəms/ to + DEF + sun	[li-ʃ-ʃəms] to-DEF-sun	to the sun
/bi/ + /əl/ + /dars/ by + DEF + lesson	[bi-d-dars] by-DEF-lesson	by the lesson
/fī/ + /əl/ + /dār/ in + DEF + house	[fī-d-dār] in-DEF-house	in the house

Morphology

Below are the relevant morphological aspects of SAA that appear in the codeswitching data of this study. First, I will treat Arabic's method of word formation because it is essential in understanding how verbs are conjugated. Next, I will show the conjugation patterns of the most common verb forms as well as 'finally weak' verb forms, the latter of which inform the discussion of French verbs conjugated into SAA held in a later section. Finally, I will detail the rest of the SAA morphemes that appear on French words codeswitched into SAA: gender markers, number markers, and suffixed pronouns.

The trilateral root system

Arabic nouns, adjectives, verbs, and some prepositions are based on a trilateral root system. Each word is built from systematic variation around three letters, most often consonants, in a specific order. The trio of letters usually carries a general meaning, and all the words derived from it will be associated with that meaning. For example, the idea of writing is maintained through all the words based on the root of /k/, /t/, /b/. Some examples of these words are shown in Table 4 below.

Table 4 <i>Examples of Common SAA Words from the Trilateral Root /k/, /t/, /b/</i>	
<u>SAA word</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
ktəb	he wrote
kitāb	book
kutūb	books
maktūb	written (past participle, m., sg.)
maktab	office / library
maktaba	school

Verb conjugation

Arabic verbs are divided into two basic categories: 'sound verbs' and 'non-sound verbs.' A sound verb is one based on a root that does not contain /ā/, /ī/, /ū/, or /ʔ/ as one or more of its radicals. In contrast, a non-sound verb is a verb based on a root that does contain one or more of these sounds. These sounds are considered 'weak' because they take different forms in systematic ways in various contexts (e.g., /ā/ is realized as [ī]) whereas other sounds, all consonants, remain constant.

Verb conjugations of sound and non-sound verbs differ systematically. Below I treat SAA verb conjugation and give examples of conjugation of both verb types. For the purposes of this study, the only non-sound verbs I discuss will be the ones which have a 'weak' final radical (i.e. 'finally weak' verbs). This distinction is important because French verbs codeswitched into SAA are conjugated as if they were finally weak SAA verbs. I will show an example of French verb conjugation into SAA in a later section.

Verbs in SAA are morphologically marked for person and tense. Strictly speaking, there is no infinitive; however, the perfect tense 3rd person masculine singular is the unmarked form. For example, the verb "to write" in its base form in SAA is /ktəb/ which translates as "he/it wrote." Verbs are conjugated for person and tense (perfect/imperfect) via the addition of affixes to the unmarked form. One of the distinctive features of SAA and North African Arabic verb conjugation is a symmetry of prefixes between the singular and plural: the prefixes /nə-/ , /tə-/ , and /jə-/ are used for the first, second, and third person. The plural is then distinguished by the suffix /-ū/. While the addition of this suffix triggers a shift in primary stress, such phonological detail is not

relevant to this discussion.

Table 5 below gives the conjugation for the SAA sound verb /ktəb/ ("he wrote"), which contains the radicals /k/, /t/, and /b/.

Table 5 <i>Conjugation Chart for /ktəb/ ("he wrote")</i>				
	<u>Perfect (past tense)</u>		<u>Imperfect (present tense)</u>	
	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
<u>1st Person</u>	ktəb-t	ktəb-nā	nə-ktəb	nə-ktəb-ū
<u>2nd Person (m)</u>	ktəb-ti	ktəb-tū	tə-ktəb	tə-ktəb-ū
<u>2nd Person (f)</u>			tə-ktəb-i	
<u>3rd Person (m)</u>	ktəb	kətb-ū	jə-ktəb	jə-ktəb-ū
<u>3rd Person (f)</u>	kətb-ət		tə-ktəb	

Table 6 below gives the conjugation for the SAA finally weak verb /mafā/ ("he went"), which is composed of the radicals /m/, /f/, and /ā/.

Table 6 <i>Conjugation Chart for /mafā/ ("he went")</i>				
	<u>Perfect (past tense)</u>		<u>Imperfect (present tense)</u>	
	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
<u>1st Person</u>	mfī-t	mfī-nā	nə-mfī	nə-mfī-w
<u>2nd Person (m)</u>	mfī-tī	mfī-tū	tə-mfī	tə-mfī-w
<u>2nd Person (f)</u>				
<u>3rd Person (m)</u>	mfā	mfā-w	jə-mfī	jə-mfī-w
<u>3rd Person (f)</u>	mfā-t		tə-mfī	

Note that in Table 5 above, the conjugated form of the sound verb /ktəb/ retained each of its radicals (/k/, /t/, /b/) and the short vowels distributed among the consonants were altered systematically. In contrast, Table 6 above shows that the final radical /ā/ of

the weak verb /maʃā/ is realized as either [ī] or [ā], depending on the context.

The imperative voice

The imperative voice in SAA has three forms: the second person masculine singular, the second person feminine singular, and the second person plural. The imperative voice is formed by replacing the prefixes from the second person imperfect forms with null markers. Table 7 below shows the contrast between the forms of the imperative voice and the second person imperfect tense for the SAA sound verb /ktāb/ ('he wrote')

Table 7 <i>Imperative Voice Formation for /ktāb/ ('he wrote')</i>			
	<u>Masculine singular</u>	<u>Feminine singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
<u>Second person imperfect</u>	tā-ktāb 2-write.IMPERF	tā-ktb-i 2-write.IMPERF-FEM	tā-ktb-ū 2-write.IMPERF-PL
<u>Imperative voice</u>	⊙-ktāb IMP-write	⊙-ktb-i IMP-write-FEM	⊙-ktb-ū IMP-write-PL

Gender marking

Like all varieties of Arabic, SAA is characterized by grammatical gender. Nouns are either masculine or feminine (there is no neuter gender) with masculine as the unmarked form. Generally, animate nouns have both masculine and feminine forms, while inanimate nouns will generally be only one or the other. With a few exceptions, a feminine noun is one that ends in /a/, which is expressly used as a feminine marker on nouns. Note the exceptions in Table 8 below: the words /dār/ 'house' and /uxt/ 'sister' do not end in /a/, yet they are grammatically feminine.

Table 8
Gender Marking on Animate and Inanimate Nouns

<u>Type of noun</u>	<u>Masculine and generic</u>	<u>Feminine</u>
Animate nouns	ustād professor	ustād-a professor-FEM
	muhandis engineer	muhandis-a engineer-FEM
	⊗	uxt sister
Inanimate nouns	⊗	madīna city
	dīn religion	⊗
	⊗	dār house

Number marking

Nouns in SAA are marked for both dual and plural through the use of suffixes (the dual is rarely used except for a small variety of things that come in pairs, such as body parts like 'eyes', 'ears', 'feet' and a few other cases.) Suffixed plural forms are called 'sound plurals.' SAA also contains 'broken plurals,' so named because the vowels used in the plural form differ from those in the single. Broken plurals are formed by altering the vowels around the radicals of the noun (cf. /kitāb/ 'book' and /kutūb/ 'books' in Table 4 above.)

Sound plurals

Masculine sound plurals are marked by the suffix /**īn**/. Masculine sound plurals are used primarily for animate nouns referring to professions, such as 'engineers' (/muhandis/ → /muhandis-**īn**/) and 'travelers' (/msāfir/ → /msāfir-**īn**/), and to nationalities, such as 'Algerians' (/dzīrī/ → /dzīrij-**īn**/) or 'Egyptians' (/maṣrī/ → /maṣrīj-**īn**/). These plurals are used to refer to both masculine groups and mixed-gender groups.

Feminine sound plurals are marked by the suffix /**āt**/. The feminine sound plural can be used for both animate and inanimate feminine nouns. With few exceptions, /**āt**/ will replace the /a/ feminine marker on feminine nouns.

Table 9 below shows the masculine and feminine sound plurals on animate and inanimate nouns.

Table 9 <i>Sound Plural Markers on Masculine and Feminine Nouns</i>			
<u>Noun</u>	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Masculine Plural</u>	<u>Feminine Plural</u>
table	ṭabla (f)	⊙	ṭabl- āt table-FEM.PL
odor	rīḥa (f)	⊙	rīḥ- āt odor-FEM.PL
breeder	mrabbī (m) mrabbiya (f)	mrabbiy- īn breeder-MASC.PL	mrabbiy- āt breeder-FEM.PL
engineer	muhandis (m) muhandisa (f)	muhandis- īn engineer-MASC.PL	muhandis- āt engineer-FEM.PL

Broken plurals

Broken plurals are formed by the alteration of the sounds surrounding the radicals of a noun. While there are over a dozen different patterns of broken plural, they are

predictable to the extent that even advanced intermediate nonnative speakers can have strong intuitions about which form a plural will likely take. The following table illustrates a few of the most common broken plural skeletons in SAA. Note that all of the nouns in Table 10 below are masculine except for /xuḍra/ 'vegetable'.

Table 10 <i>Examples of Broken Plural Forms</i>		
<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
vegetable	xuḍra (f)	xuḍārī
bull calf	məṣṣar	mṣāyar
religious scholar	ḡix	ḡyūx
fruit	fākiyah	fwākīh
father	bābā	bābāwāt

Suffixed pronouns

In addition to the independent pronouns, which are used in the subject position or as emphatics, SAA has a set of corresponding suffixed pronouns. Suffixed pronouns are used in three different circumstances. If a noun has a suffixed pronoun, the pronoun indicates the 'owner' of the noun. If a verb has a suffixed pronoun, the pronoun functions as the direct object of the verb. Finally, if the pronoun is suffixed onto a preposition, the pronoun functions as the object of the preposition.

Table 11 <i>Independent and Suffixed Pronouns</i>				
	<u>Independent</u>		<u>Suffixed</u>	
<u>Person</u>	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
<u>1st</u>	ʔanə	hnā	-ī, -yā, -nī	-nā
<u>2nd (m)</u>	ntə	ntūmā	-ək, -k	-kum
<u>2nd (f)</u>	ntī			
<u>3rd (m)</u>	huwa	hum	-h, -ū	-hum
<u>3rd (f)</u>	hiya		-hā, ā	

As Table 11 above shows, the first person singular suffixed pronoun has three different forms. The form /-ī/ is used on words ending with a consonantal sound (/dār/ → /dār-ī/, "my house") while /-ya/ is used on words ending with a vowel sound (/fī/ → /fī-ya/, "in me"). However, /ya/ is not used on feminine marked nouns ending with /a/; these nouns take the /ī/ suffix while the feminine marker changes to /at/ (/ṭabla/ → /ṭabla-tī/, "my table"). Finally, the /-ni/ suffix is used as the direct object of verbs (/ʔaʕṭə/ → /ʔaʕṭī-**ni**/, "give me") and the negative marker (/miʃ/ → /miʃ-**ni**/, "I'm not").

The second and third singular suffixed pronouns both have alternate forms as well. /-ək/, /-ū/, and /-ā/ are used on words ending in a consonant sound while /-k/, /-h/, and /-hā/ are used on words ending in a vowel sound.

Table 12 below illustrates how suffixed pronouns are realized when attached to nouns, verbs and prepositions. Note that the feminine marker /a/ on /ṭabla/ becomes /at/ when it takes a suffixed pronoun.

Table 12
Suffixed Pronouns Attached to Verbs, Nouns and Prepositions

	<u>Isolated form</u>	<u>Suffixed form</u>	<u>Translation</u>
<u>Verbs</u>	suwwəl	suwwəl- ni	he asked me
	ʒā	ʒā- h	he brought him
	nħəbb	/nħəbb- ək /	I love you
<u>Nouns</u>	ṭabla (f)	ṭablat- nā	our table
	ʕṣā	ʕṣā- hā	her stick
	kutūb	kutūb- hum	their books
<u>Prepositions</u>	fī	fī- yā	in me
	maʕə	maʕə- k	with you
	taħt	taħt- nā	under us

Syntax

Below are the syntactic patterns of SAA relevant to this study.

The genitive construction

In SAA, possession and association can be shown either through the use of a genitive particle or via a genitive construction called an /ʔiḍāfa/. The most common method is through the genitive particle, /tāʕ/ in urban speech and /ntāʕ/ in rural dialects (as well as /djāl/, used in the most western parts of Algeria and all of Morocco).

Constructions with the genitive particle take the form of the 'possessed' noun, followed by the genitive particle, followed by the 'possessor.' This last element can either be another noun, as in the first three examples of Table 13 below, or a suffixed pronoun, as in the final three examples.

Table 13

SAA Noun Phrases demonstrating the Genitive Construction Using the Genitive Particle

<u>SAA NP</u>	<u>Translation</u>
ʃ-ʃīx ntāʃ əl-ʒāməʃ DEF-sheik GEN DEF-mosque	the sheik of the mosque
d-drāhəm tāʃ əl-bətrəl DEF-money GEN DEF-oil	the oil money
nās djāl wahrān people GEN Oran	people of Oran (a city in Western Algeria)
l-bīt tāʃ -i DEF-room GEN-1SG.PRO	my room
əl-fīkrə djāl -ū DEF-idea GEN-3SG.PRO	his idea
ʔ-ʔomobīl ntāʃ -nā DEF-car GEN-1PL.PRO	our car

The /ʔiḏāfa/ construction, which is associated with MSA, occurs less frequently than the genitive particle in SAA. This construction is realized as a string of two or more nouns, the last of which is marked for definiteness. However, each noun in the /ʔiḏāfa/ construction is considered definite. Table 14 below contains three examples of the /ʔiḏāfa/. In the second example, the feminine marker /a/ of the word /ħakūma/ 'government' is realized as [ət] when preceding the definite article.

Table 14

SAA Noun Phrases Demonstrating the Genitive Construction Using the /ʔiḏāfa/

<u>SAA NP</u>	<u>Translation</u>
bīt d-dār room DEF-house	the room of the house
ħakūmət əl-bləd government DEF-country	the government of the country
ʃīx əl-ʒāməʃ sheik DEF-mosque	the sheik of the mosque

Noun-adjective agreement

Adjectives in SAA follow the noun they modify and agree in gender, number, and definiteness, as is shown in Table 15 below. In the fourth example, recall that /dār/ is one of the few feminine words in SAA that does not end in /a/.

Table 15 <i>SAA Noun Phrases Demonstrating Noun-Adjective Agreement</i>	
SAA NP	<u>Translation</u>
xedma mlīh-a job.FEM good-FEM	a good job
l-qamar əz-zwīn DEF-moon DEF-pretty	the pretty moon
l-muhandis-āt l-ʒdīd-āt DEF-engineer-FEM.PL DEF-new-FEM.PL	the new engineers (f)
d-dār əl-qadīm-a DEF-house.FEM DEF-old-FEM	the old house
mudun kbār city.PL big.PL	big cities

Sentence types

The three types of basic sentences in SAA that are relevant to this study are the verbal sentence, the equational sentence, and the existential sentence. Additionally, in order to fully comprehend these sentence types, an important distinction must be made between perfect and imperfect tenses.

The perfect tense refers to completed actions, and so it is generally thought of as the past. It is used in some situations that are not considered 'past' by native speakers of English, such as expressing comprehension, as in [fhəm-t] (understand.PERF-1SG) 'I understand.'

The imperfect tense refers to actions not yet completed and so is generally thought

of as the present. Alone it can be used for expressing habitual behaviors, current actions, and near-future events. It is often combined with pre-verbs of time and place to clarify its exact intention.

Verbal sentences

A verbal sentence in SAA is one that has an overtly realized verb following the subject of the sentence. The subject of an SAA sentence can be an NP, a pronoun, or a pro-dropped pronoun. All three subject types are given in Table 16 below; the overt subjects are in boldface in the first two examples.

Table 16 <i>Subject Types in SAA Verbal Sentences</i>		
<u>Subject Type</u>	<u>SAA Sentence</u>	<u>Translation</u>
NP	l-bnāt jə-mʃĩ-w li-l-zāmiʃa DEF-girl.PL 3-go-PL to-DEF-university	The girls go to the university
Pronoun	hum jə-mʃĩ-w li-l-zāmiʃa 3.PL.PRO 3-go-PL to-DEF-university	As for them, they go to the university
Pro-dropped pronoun	jə-mʃĩ-w li-l-zāmiʃa 3-go-PL to-DEF-university	They go to the university

A verbal sentence can be negated with the circumfixed negative particles /mā-...-ʃ/, which is placed before and after the verb (and all of its affixes). An illustration of the negation of verbal sentences is given in Table 17 below.

Table 17 <i>Negation of Verbal Sentences Using the Negative Particles</i>		
<u>Sentence type</u>	<u>SAA sentence</u>	<u>Translation</u>
Verbal sentence	drīs ktāb Driss write.PERF	Driss wrote.
Negative verbal sentence	drīs mā-ktāb-ʃ Driss NEG-write.PERF-NEG	Driss didn't write.
Verbal sentence with affixes	drīs je-ktāb-hā Dirss 3M.IMPER-write-3FEM.OBJ	Driss writes it.
Negative verbal sentence with affixes	drīs mā-je-ktāb-hā-ʃ Driss NEG-3M.IMPER-write-3FEM.OBJ-NEG	Driss doesn't write it.

Equational sentences

The second important type of sentence is the equational sentence. The simplest form of this sentence involves a definite subject followed by an indefinite predicate that agrees with the subject in gender and number and is in the imperfect tense. The predicate can be an adjective, noun, or participle. The equational sentence equates the subject and the predicate, as in 'A is B.' However, in the imperfect equational sentence, the copula 'be' is not overtly realized. In the perfect tense of an equational sentence, the verb /kān/ 'is' (lit. 'was') occurs between the subject and the predicate. In order to negate an imperfect tense equational sentence, the negative particle /māʃī/ 'not' is inserted between the subject and the predicate. To negate a past tense equational sentence, /kān/ must be circumfixed with the negative particles /mā-...-ʃ/. Table 18 below shows equational sentences in present, past and negated forms.

Table 18 <i>Equational Sentences in Present, Negative Present, Past, and Negative Past Tenses</i>	
<u>Tense</u>	<u>SAA equational sentence</u>
<u>Imperfect</u>	əl-makla yāli-a DEF-food.FEM expensive-FEM 'food is expensive'
<u>Negative Imperfect</u>	əl-makla māfī yāli-a DEF-food.FEM NEG expensive-FEM 'food is not expensive'
<u>Perfect</u>	əl-makla kăn-ət yāli-a DEF-food.FEM be.PERF-3F expensive-FEM 'food was expensive'
<u>Negative Perfect</u>	əl-makla mā-kăn-ət-f yāli-a DEF-food.FEM NEG-be.PERF-3F-NEG expensive-FEM 'food was not expensive'

Existential sentences

Existential sentences are a subtype of equational sentence in that the copula is not overtly realized. There are two existential particles that can be used to indicate an existential sentence: /kājən/ and /fih/ 'there is.' The particle /kājən/ agrees in number and gender with the grammatical subject of the existential sentence and thus can take gender and number markers, resulting in /kājn-a/ 'there is' (fs) and /kājn-īn/ 'there are' (pl), respectively. The particle /fih/ is invariable and used in SAA at a much lower frequency than /kājən/.

When an imperfect tense existential sentence is negated, the circumfixed negative particles /mā...f/ surround the existential particle as in /mā-kājən-f/ or /mā-fih-f/ 'there is not'. When the existential sentence is in the perfect tense, /kăn/ 'was' comes before the existential particle and agrees with the grammatical subject. In this case, /fih/ is used at a much higher frequency than /kājən/. The perfect tense existential sentence has /kăn/

surrounded by the circumfixed negative particles. Table 19 below details all of the above existential sentence forms.

<p>Table 19 <i>Existential Sentences in Imperfect, Negative Imperfect, Perfect, and Negative Perfect Tenses</i></p>		
<u>Imperfect</u>	kājən l-ħanūt there.is DEF-store 'there is a store'	fīh l-ħarb təm̄ma there.is DEF-war there 'there is a war there'
<u>Negative Imperfect</u>	mā-kājən-ʃ l-ħanūt NEG-there.is-NEG DEF-store 'there is not a store'	mā-fīh-ʃ l-ħarb təm̄ma NEG-there.is-NEG DEF-war there 'there is not a war there'
<u>Perfect</u>	kān fīh l-ħanūt be.PERF there.is DEF-store 'there was a store'	kān fīh l-ħarb təm̄ma be.PERF there.is DEF-war there 'there was a war there'
<u>Negative Perfect</u>	mā-kān-ʃ fīh l-ħanūt NEG-be.PERF-NEG there.is DEF-store 'there was not a store'	mā-kān-ʃ fīh l-ħarb təm̄ma NEG-be.PERF-NEG there.is DEF-war there 'there was not a war there'

The Grammar of French

The codeswitching in the data of this study is primarily between SAA and French. Below, I give an explanation of how I dealt with the issue of borrowing versus codeswitching. In order to inform the discussion on the French items found in the data, I then discuss the phonological and morphological processes that French words undergo when codeswitched into otherwise SAA utterances. The grammatical section below was informed by Keddad's (1986) study on codeswitching between French and SAA. Her data were from the speech of her friends in Algiers, and, thus, her results are discussed here only as general examples of French use in Algeria.

Borrowing Versus Codeswitching Between French and SAA

Due to the complex history of language contact in Algeria, the French or French-origin forms used by SAA speakers fall all along a continuum between codeswitching and borrowing (cf. Myers-Scotton 1992). According to Myers-Scotton (1992), a borrowed form refers to a single lexeme from the embedded language (EL). She claimed that a borrowed form was once a CS form that had since become a part of the lexicon of the ML and that the primary difference between the two forms is one of predictability: since borrowed forms have been entered into the ML lexicon, they can be predicted to appear routinely and eventually be integrated within the ML's phonology and morphosyntax.

The question of how to differentiate between borrowed and CS forms for the purposes of this study remains. The traditional criterion for teasing the two categories of forms apart was phonological integration. However, Myers-Scotton continuously argued that while the majority of borrowed forms are integrated, phonology does not provide suitable predictability for these forms due to various sociolinguistic circumstances which could effect the pronunciation of a borrowed word. As discussed below, French words in this study's data set, whether codeswitched or borrowed, show at least some degree of phonological integration when used in otherwise SAA utterances. Therefore, as Myers-Scotton stated, frequency is the best way of establishing whether a lexeme has progressed from a CS form to borrowed form.

However, in the present study, it would be foolish to argue for one form over the other based solely on the frequency counts within my limited corpus. The

analysis used in this study recognized that both borrowed and codeswitched forms may show phonological and morphological integration; therefore, sociolinguistic factors are what differentiate the two forms. Thus, French words used in SAA that show phonological or morphological integration cannot be determined to be borrowed or codeswitched forms based on the presence of integration alone. Based on all of the above factors, I have decided to ignore this distinction and refer to cases of French words used in SAA as 'codeswitching,' particularly since I am not making arguments that hinge on this distinction.

Phonological integration

When speakers of SAA use French words in SAA, the words they use often undergo phonological alteration. Keddad (1986) described systematic replacement of French consonants and vowels with SAA consonants and vowels in French words in the data used for her study of CS between French and SAA. The following phonological examples are adapted from Keddad's text (pp. 160-179), with some transcription adjustments.

Due to the influence of the French language, speakers of SAA will occasionally use three borrowed sounds not otherwise found in SAA or other varieties of spoken Arabic: the bilabial voiceless stop /p/, the labio-dental voiced fricative /v/, and the uvular voiced fricative /ʁ/. As will be discussed below, these sounds are rarely used. In fact, speakers of SAA will often replace these sounds with corresponding SAA ones (/b/, /f/, and /r/, respectively) when uttering French words. However, according to Keddad (1986)

there are instances recorded in which these French sounds have been used in SAA words by an SAA native speaker.

Consonants

When French words are used in an otherwise SAA utterance, certain consonants are often replaced with an SAA equivalent. Table 20 below shows some examples adapted from Keddad (1986).

Table 20 <i>Replacement of Consonants in French Words Used in SAA</i>		
<u>French pronunciation</u>	<u>SAA pronunciation</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
[paspoʁ]	[basbur]	passport
[televizjɔ̃]	[tilifizjun]	television
[savɔ̃]	[ʃabun]	soap
[taksi]	[ʔaksi]	taxi
[dam]	[ɖama]	cards
[salɔ̃]	[ʃalun]	sitting room
[fʁʁʃet]	[furʃiʔa]	fork

These consonantal shifts demonstrate the place of French as not just another foreign language in Algeria. Emphatic consonants are a distinctive aspect of the sounds of Arabic. Keddad argued that the transfer of /t/, /d/, and /s/ to /ʔ/, /ɖ/, and /ʃ/ represented "re-nativation" (pg. 169) which served to index the identity of these French words to SAA. Likewise, Keddad also noted the presence of the voiced alveolar trill /r/ of SAA in place of its French counterpart /ʁ/ in monolingual French utterances of SAA speakers; however, SAA does contain a voiced velar fricative which is quite close to the French /ʁ/.

Thus, the use of the SAA /r/ in these cases is likely an effort to avoid sounding French

Vowels

When French words are used in an otherwise SAA utterance, certain vowels not found in SAA are often replaced by SAA equivalents. Nasal vowels are replaced by an SAA equivalent and a nasal consonantal sound. Table 21 below is adapted from Keddad (1986) and shows both cases.

Table 21 <i>Replacement of Vowels in French Words Used in SAA</i>		
<u>French pronunciation</u>	<u>SAA pronunciation</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
lãp	lamba	light bulb
tʁãkil	trankil	peacefully
tʁẽ	tren	train
tẽbʁ	tembr	stamp
balõ	balun	balloon
sinema	sinima	cinema
teʁœʁ	tirur	terror
syʁ	sur	sure

Morphological integration

Keddad (1986) found that three SAA bound morphemes are routinely produced on codeswitched French nouns: the definite article, the gender marker, and the number marker. French verb stems can take SAA affixes in order to become adjectives. In addition, French verb stems are conjugated in SAA as if they were SAA finally weak verbs.

The Definite Article

The definite article in French is marked for gender and number. It agrees with the noun it is modifying. The forms of the definite article are provided in Table 22 below:

Table 22 <i>The Definite Article in French</i>		
	<u>Preceding a consonant</u>	<u>Preceding a vowel</u>
	<u>sound</u>	<u>sound</u>
<u>Masculine singular</u>	lə ʁomaʒ DEF.MSG cheese 'le <i>fromage</i> '	l-usīn DEF.SG-factory 'l' <i>usine</i> '
<u>Feminine singular</u>	la pisin DEF.FSG pool 'la <i>piscine</i> '	
<u>Masculine and feminine plural</u>	le peʒi DEF.PL country.PL 'les <i>pays</i> '	ləz-usīn DEF.PL-factory.PL 'les <i>usines</i> '

When a definite French noun is used in an otherwise SAA utterance, the SAA definite article cliticize to it as if it is an Arabic noun. That is, if the French noun begins with a phonological equivalent of a moon letter as described above, the definite article is realized as either [ə] or [l]. In Figure C from the data of this study below, the SAA definite article is cliticized to the French word *primaire*. Since *primaire* is analyzed as a moon letter, the definite article is realized as [l]. Later in the same line, the SAA definite article is cliticized to the French word *secondaire*, which begins with the phonological equivalent of the sun letter /s/, causing the definite article to be realized as [s].

Figure C: Sun and Moon Letters on Definite Articles Modifying French Nouns
 [ʒāb-ū drāri syār təʃ l-*primer* w s-*sekunder*]
 bring.PERF-PL children small.PL GEN DEF-*elementary* and DEF-*secondary*
 “They brought the small children from *elementary school* and *middle school*”
 (“Blad Miki”)

Gender marking

Like Arabic, French has grammatical gender and are either masculine or feminine. The gender of a noun is not always predictable by its morphological form, and even more difficult to predict based on its spoken realization. However in most cases, the gender of a noun can be determined by the pronunciation of its article, as in Table 22 above.

French nouns codeswitched into otherwise SAA utterances are marked for gender via SAA morphology. Masculine nouns remain unmarked, and the SAA feminine marker /a/ is added to feminine nouns. These changes are the sole way of marking the gender of these codeswitched nouns, since the article they take will be from Arabic and not from French. The difference between how masculine and feminine nouns appear normally and when they are codeswitched into SAA is provided in Table 23 below.

Table 23 <i>French Gender Marking on Nouns Codeswitched into SAA</i>		
<u>French definite noun beginning with “sun letters”</u>	<u>SAA equivalent</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
lə tɾak (m) DEF.M.SG nervousness	ət-trak DEF-nervousness	nerves (Eng.) le trac (Fr.)
la ɾas (f) DEF.F.SG race	ər-ras-a DEF-race-FEM	race (Eng.) la race (Fr.)

Number marking

French nouns are only marked for number orthographically with the suffix '-s' which is not pronounced except in some cases of liaison when the following word begins with a vowel sound. The article attached to the noun agrees in number; thus, the difference between a singular and plural article can be heard in speech and the plurality of a noun is understood.

Plural French nouns used in SAA that take the SAA definite article are marked for plural with the SAA plural markers /ĩn/ and /āt/. Generally, non-human plurals take the /āt/ ending regardless of gender, and human plurals can take both the /ĩn/ and /āt/ ending as is illustrated in Table 24 below.

Table 24 <i>French Definite Plural Nouns Codeswitched into SAA</i>		
<u>French definite plural noun</u>	<u>SAA equivalent</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
le ʃābʁ DEF.PL room.PL	ʃ-ʃambr-āt DEF-room-F.PL	the rooms (Eng.) les chambres (Fr.)
le tabl DEF.PL table.PL	t-ṭabl-āt DEF-table-F.PL	the tables (Eng.) les tables (Fr.)
le zādaʁm DEF.PL policeman.PL	l-zadarmij-in DEF-policeman-MPL	the policemen (Eng.) les gendarmes (Fr.)
le fāʁmasʝen DEF.PL pharmacist.FPL	l-farmasjan-āt DEF-pharmacist-FPL	the pharmacists (Eng.) les pharmaciennes (Fr.)

Participle creation

In SAA, verbs can be made into participles by adding the prefix /m-/ (which is realized as [m] or [mə], depending on the context) and an affix that agrees with the noun it is modifying, either /-i/ (masculine singular), /-a/ (feminine singular), /-ĩn/ (masculine

plural), or /-āt/ (feminine plural). In SAA, French verbs stems are altered in the same way. The tense of the participle depends on the tense of the sentence. Table 25 below shows three examples from the data of this study.

Table 25 <i>SAA Participles Created from French Verb Stems</i>			
<u>French infinitive</u> <u>verb</u>	<u>Verb definition</u>	<u>SAA participle</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
bloquer	<i>to block</i>	m- blok -i PARTIC-block-MSG	blocked / blocking
tracer	<i>to draw</i>	mə- tras -i PARTIC-plan-MSG	planned / planning
stocker	<i>to save</i>	mə- stok -i PARTIC-save-MSG	saved / saving

Verb conjugation

As noted, French verbs that are used in an otherwise SAA utterance are treated as SAA finally weak verbs when conjugated in SAA. That is, the final /e/ sound, represented by '-er' of the infinitive French verb, can be considered the 'weak radical' and is lost in conjugation. All -er verbs in French can be conjugated into SAA regardless of their frequency within the language. The following table shows the conjugation chart for the French verb *forcer* ([fɔʁse]) 'to force,' found in the data of this study. In this case, the /ɔ/ vowel sound is realized as [o] and the /ʁ/ consonant sound is realized as [r]. The result is a verb stem of /forse/, with a functional Arabic root of /f/, /s/, /e/. Table 26 below provides a conjugation chart for this verb.

Table 26

Conjugation Chart for /forsa/ ("he forced")

	<u>Perfect (past tense)</u>		<u>Imperfect (present tense)</u>	
	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
<u>1st Person</u>	forsit	forsīnā	nforsi	nforsīw
<u>2nd Person (m)</u>	forsitī	forsītū	təforsi	təforsīw
<u>2nd Person (f)</u>				
<u>3rd Person (m)</u>	forsi	forsāw	jforsi	jforsīw
<u>3rd Person (f)</u>	forsāt		təforsi	

These patterns of codeswitching French into SAA discussed in the section above represent a variety of strategies native speakers of SAA have that allow them to use French lexical items commonly. Due to the long history of contact between SAA and French, native speakers of SAA see much of the French they use day to day as nativized; that is, the French words they use may not be Arabic, but they are Algerian. This fact presents a roadblock for distinguishing between CS and borrowed forms in SAA, and, as I discuss below, it is one of the reasons I choose to forgo making that distinction for my analysis.

Hip Hop in Algeria

Below is a brief treatment of the history of rap music, the linguistic tendencies of the lyrics of rap songs, and the state of rap in Algeria.

Rap is a style of music that was born in the late 1970's in economically depressed areas of New York City. The culture that surrounds rap music is often referred to as hip hop. While hop hop and rap are often used interchangeably, in this study I use the term 'rap' to refer to the music and the term 'hip hop' to refer to the culture. Rap is

characterized by a spoken word performance over an electronically produced beat. While rappers often use a conversational style in their performance, the lyrics in rap music are highly poetic, often utilizing many different kinds of rhymes and alliterations. Rap artists pride themselves on the complexity and creativity of the wordplay and rhymes in the lyrics they write (Bradley, 2009). Rap lyrics often contain slang, non-standard grammatical forms, and vulgarities, patterns which are seen cross-linguistically and cross-culturally.

There have been numerous studies on the language of rap music. Researchers have analyzed rap lyrics that include socially stigmatized language varieties (such as African American Vernacular English (Smitherman, 1997; Alim, 2002 & 2003; Low, 2007; Magnusson, 2008; Cutler, 2010)), and/or employ stigmatized language practices such as CS in places like Montreal (Sarkar & Winer, 2005), Newfoundland (Clarke & Hiscock, 2009), France (Paine, 2012), Tanzania (Fenn & Perullo, 2000), Burma (Keeler, 2009), and Australia (Warren & Evitt, 2010).

The spread rap to the Arabic-speaking world is a well documented phenomenon (Kahf 2007, Daragahi & Fleishman, 2009). Coming from France into francophone North Africa, it quickly made its way to the eastern edge of the Middle East. It has been documented in almost every Arabic-speaking country from Morocco (Al Arousni, 2007; Belhaj, 2007) and Algeria (Daoudi, 2000; Fariborz, 2005) to Iraq (Joshi, 2009; Lebouachera, 2009) and Saudi Arabia (Ambah, 2008).

Rap in Algeria has been claimed as starting on October 5, 1988, the date of widespread youth protests against the government (Fariborz, 2005). The youth who

experienced violent clashes with police formed a politically active generation. Through the 90's, the violent atmosphere of the Algerian civil war provided a backdrop to the songs of the increasing number of rap groups in Algeria. After the civil war ended in 1999, much of the rap music tended to focus on the disillusionment many feel with the government because of the amnesty made with Islamists, steep unemployment, and problems in the education system (Davies & Bentahila, 2006).

Rap is now widespread in Algeria. It can be found in every town, even in some rural villages in the Tamazight-speaking region of Kabylie (Fariborz, 2005). Daoudi (2000) describes Algeria as the “rap leader” (p. 34) of the Arabic-speaking world. *Intik* and *Le Micro Brise Le Silence* ('The Microphone Breaks the Silence', commonly abbreviated as 'MBS') are named as two pioneering Algerian rap groups, while the rap group *Double Kanon* (the subject of this study) is “considered the best” (p. 35) in Algeria.

Davies and Bentahila (2006) wrote on the discourse patterns of CS in North African rap. They described North African rap as often using a conversational style dominated by codeswitching from a spoken variety of Arabic into a European language (most often French.) Their research, however, only examined the social implications of codeswitching in rap lyrics. While the importance of the social use of language cannot be ignored, the gap in the research on CS in North African hip hop lies in structural analysis of the switching itself. This study aims to better understand the patterns of codeswitching present in the rap lyrics of an artist that has a wide reach across the youth demographic in Algeria.

Codeswitching

Codeswitching (CS) has been defined as "the use of more than one language in the course of a single communicative episode" (Heller, 1998, p. 1). Two main approaches to CS research have been identified (Woolard, 1988; Boumans, 1998; Gardner-Chloros, 2009): that of social description and structural analysis. Gardner-Chloros (2009) stated that the majority of CS research is based in social description, while structural analysis is not a primary focus. The majority of the literature on CS has focused on switching produced in an informal conversational context. However, research has been conducted on CS in poetry (Mendieta-Lombardo, & Cintron, 1995), popular literature (Geider, 2005), stand up comedy (Woolard, 1988), lyrics in popular music (Davies, & Bentahila, 2006; 2008), and literary texts (Myers-Scotton, 1998).

Structural Constraints on CS

Researchers such as Myers-Scotton (1993, 1993b) have focused on the structural constraints of CS since the early 1980s. There are two main approaches to the grammatical study of CS: a linear approach and an insertion approach. The linear approach investigates switches based on surface structure word order, the main focus being word order around the point of the switch. An early and influential contribution to the linear approach was Sankoff and Poplack's (1981) formulations of the Free Morpheme Constraint, which dictates that switching cannot occur between bound morphemes, and the Equivalence Constraint, which dictates that the word order on either side of the switch point must be grammatical in each participating language. Boumans

(1998) outlined some of the general and well known shortcomings of the linear approach and why they underline the need for a insertional approach to the analysis of CS. First, the linear approach's focus on word order is highly uneconomical. Formulating word order constraints would require enumerating all of the various possible word categories that could surround a switch site. Second, in order to explain some problematic data from CS corpora of linguistically dissimilar languages, Poplack and Sankoff (1988) redefined much of the problematic data as either nonce borrowings or inserted constituents rather than reformulating their model. This restricting of what constitutes “actual” CS represents a pattern for Poplack and her associates' work. The final shortcoming Boumans noted was that linear models do not recognize the asymmetrical role that each language plays in CS, which is a central theme in the study of language contact situations.

In contrast, insertion approaches recognize this asymmetrical relationship as an essential facet of CS. Joshi (1985) was the first to suggest that in a stretch of discourse, one language plays a larger role than the other. Joshi termed the language playing the larger role as the 'host' language and the language playing a secondary role as the 'guest' language. This distinction would come to be known as the Matrix Language (ML) and Embedded Language (EL) respectively in the works of Myers-Scotton. Insertion approaches are based on the idea that the ML first creates a frame and lexical items or entire well formed constituents of the EL are then inserted into it. A crucial aspect to understanding this relationship is the distinction between content morphemes and system morphemes (also called content words and function words, or open class words and

closed class words respectively). Content morphemes are generally nouns, verbs, and adjectives. System morphemes include prepositions, determiners, and articles and typically serve to express grammatical relationships between content morphemes.

Insertion approaches generally assume a basic framework based on Garrett's (1976) language production model. In this adaptation of Garrett's model, lemmas from the ML containing semantic information are selected in an early stage of production. The information from these lemmas are fed into what is referred to as the formulator and are used to build a morphosyntactic frame made up of ML system morphemes and based on ML word order rules. Once the frame has been realized, the content morphemes from both the ML and the EL can then be inserted. The content morphemes from the ML are inserted before the ones from the EL. A single EL lexeme can be fully integrated into the ML morphosyntax. It can also appear adjacent to another single EL lexeme and show structural dependency to the it based on EL grammar. These instances are referred to as EL Islands and are discussed below.

In the literature on CS generally, two types of CS have long been identified: intersentential switching and intrasentential switching. Intersentential CS occurs when a switch occurs between sentences. Intrasentential CS occurs when a switch occurs within a sentence. Myers-Scotton and Jake (1995) have since acknowledged a major shortcoming in using the sentence as the basic this unit of analysis: in intrasentential CS, it is possible that the grammars of the two languages do not interact. Figure 1 below is a single sentence, but it is clear that the complementizer phrases (each CP surrounded by curly brackets) in the second sentence involve different languages and their grammars are

kept apart.

Figure 1: An Example of Codeswitching Between CPs

{*ça va rien résoudre*} {*ça va aggraver les problèmes*}
it go.PRES.3SG nothing resolve.INF it go.PRES.3SG aggravate.INF DEF.PL problem.PL,
“It's not going to solve anything. It's only going to make the problems worse”

{*lā xāṭṣi n-nās rāyḥ-īn i-weddr-u nās min ʕāyl-āt-hum*}
 NEG because DEF-people FUT-PL 3M-lose-PL people from family-PL-3PL.POS
“Because people are going to lose members of their families.”

Spoken Algerian Arabic/French (Bergman, 2005, p. 287).

In Figure 1 above, there is a well formed monolingual French CP adjacent to a well formed monolingual SAA CP. Because of data such as Figure 1 above, Myers-Scotton and Jake redefined the proper unit of analysis for structural models of CS as the CP. Therefore, “inter-CP” replaced “intersentential” and “intra-CP” replaced “intrasentential.” Under this new analysis, Figure 1 would no longer be considered intrasentential CS, but inter-CP CS. Inter-CP CS occurs when two monolingual CPs are dominated by the same CP.

In contrast, Intra-CP CS occurs when a single CP contains more than one language. According to Myers-Scotton (2002), a bilingual CP is a CP that “(i) contains one or more constituents (including other CPs) that are mixed constituents or (ii) contains one or more Embedded Language Islands that it dominates” (56). Figure 2 below is an example of intra-CP CS, as it contains a single CP containing both SAA and French (*italics*).

Figure 2: An Example of Intra-CP CS

/la télévision/ [tāṣ d-dzāyr tāṣ l-ḥukūma]
 DEF.FEM television GEN DEF-Algeria GEN DEF-government.
 “Television in Algeria belongs to the government.”
 Spoken Algerian Arabic/French (Bergman, 2005, pg. 138).

The insertion approach to CS would analyze Figure 2 above as a CP made up of a frame of system morphemes from SAA into which both SAA and a French EL Island made of a system morpheme and a content morpheme were inserted. In order to predict the possible patterns of these insertions, Myers-Scotton (1993) constructed a model called the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model.

The MLF model

Myers-Scotton made significant contributions to the insertion approach of codeswitching with a series of papers that eventually yielded the volume *Dueling Languages* (1993). In it, Myers-Scotton proposed and elaborated on the MLF model. Like the insertion approaches it stems from, the MLF Model is based upon two oppositions: the difference between the ML and the EL, on the one hand, and the difference between a content and a system morpheme, on the other. The MLF model posited that a morphosyntactic frame is built of ML system morphemes and that EL and ML content morphemes are then inserted into it. Myers-Scotton (1993) stated that the ML could be determined by a "frequency-based criterion" (pg. 68); that is, the language that contributes more overall morphemes in a discourse passage is the ML. This distinction would later prove problematic and would be refined, which is a discussion that

is held in the subsequent section.

According to the model, the insertion process described above yields two types of constituents: EL Islands and mixed (ML + EL) constituents.

EL islands were defined as constituents made up of multiple EL morphemes which show dependency according to EL grammar, but are otherwise contained within an ML CP. In Figure 3 below, the French NP 'la télé' ('the television') has been inserted into an SAA frame, as was the case in Figure 2 above. The two French morphemes show structural dependency to each other and are contained within their own NP node; while they are also under the PP node associated with the ML preposition /ʒa/ 'about', they do not interact with any ML morphemes in this example.

Figure 3: An Example of a French EL Island Code-switched into an SAA CP

[mā-t-ʒawəl-ʃ ʒa] /la télé/
 NEG-2SG-trust-NEG about DEF television
 "Don't trust *the television*."
 ("Ani Jay")

A mixed constituent, on the other hand, occurs when a *single* EL lexeme is inserted into the ML frame. This rule was codified with the ML Hypothesis:

As an early step in constructing ML + EL constituents, the ML provides the morphosyntactic frame of ML + EL constituents (Myers-Scotton, 1993, pg. 82).

Myers-Scotton provided two testable principles in order to verify the ML Hypothesis.

The Morpheme-Order Principle: In ML + 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.

The System Morpheme Principle: In ML + EL constituents, all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituent (i.e. which

participate in the sentence's thematic role grid) will come from the ML (1993, pg. 83).

In Figure 4 below, a single French lexeme has been inserted into a frame made up of SAA system morphemes.

Figure 4: An Example of a French Lexeme Code-switched into an SAA CP

[tɛ-lga	d-dənya	miʃ]	/normal/
2SG.IMPERF-find	DEF-world	NEG.PART	normal

"You find the world is not *normal*."
 ("Blad Miki")

In Figure 4 above, I have analyzed the ML as being SAA. First, the morpheme order is that of SAA. Secondly, the SAA verb /lga/ 'find' shows agreement with the subject, a pro-dropped second-person singular pronoun, via the SAA system morpheme, a verbal prefix, /tɛ/; therefore /tɛ/ has grammatical relations outside its head constituent. Thus, both the Morpheme-Order Principle and the System-Morpheme Principle are satisfied, and the ML is clearly SAA.

While the previous case of determining the ML was a straightforward one, the process is not always so simple. The question of how to determine just which language is acting as the ML in intra-CP CS has been a hotly debated topic, as well the subject of re-interpretations by Myers-Scotton. As noted, in the original version of the MLF model, Myers-Scotton (1993) wrote that the ML could be identified based on whatever language contributed more morphemes over a stretch of discourse, which was determined to be "more than one sentence" (68). This seemingly arbitrary required length for a discourse sample to be considered appropriate was problematic because texts are created out of sentences and utterances that must be generated CP by CP. The ML being defined based

on morpheme count was problematic because it failed to consider the ramifications of the System Morpheme Principle of the MLF model. That is, if the only morphemes that absolutely must come from the ML are system morphemes with grammatical relations outside their head constituents, then the language providing the greater number of morphemes of any type in a passage may not necessarily be the ML.

In order to try to clarify the definition of the procedure for determining the ML, Myers-Scotton and Jake (1995) stated that: "The first criterion is this: the ML is the language that projects the morphosyntactic frame for the CP that shows intrasentential code switching" (p. 983) and that this criterion is "operationalized as the morpheme order and system morpheme principles of the MLF model" (p. 983). These are the principles I followed above to determine that SAA was the ML of Figure 4. Boumans (1998), among others, outlined the circular nature of this method of defining the ML. He wrote that "it can be no longer presented as a hypothesis that the ML projects the morphosyntactic frame" (p. 39) if in order to determine the ML one must identify which language is projecting the morphosyntactic frame.

To date, there has not been a fully sufficient definition of the ML. In fact, defining the ML based on the morpho-syntactic structure of the sentence inherently runs the risk of being circular. Fledgling neurolinguistic research on bilingualism has indicated that in the future it may be possible to determine the ML of an utterance based on brain scan data (Price, Green & von Studnitz, 1999). However, until that kind of evidence becomes viable, there is no unproblematic way of identifying the ML. That is not to say that the idea of a matrix language should be abandoned, however. It is

currently the most productive model of CS that is available and accounts for a wide swath of CS data.

4-M model

Expanding on Garrett's (1976) model of language production and incorporating conclusions drawn from numerous CS studies since the publication of *Dueling Languages*, Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000) formulated the Four Morpheme (4-M) Model in order to further clarify the content/system morpheme distinction. While the 4-M Model was designed to be considered separate from the MLF Model, it provides clarification of the System Morpheme Principle.

Under the 4-M Model, system morphemes were defined to be of three types: early system morphemes (ESM), outsider late system morphemes (OLSM) and bridge late system morphemes (BLSM). In addition to the system morphemes, there is a single type of content morpheme. These new classifications were distinguished from one another via three axes: thematic role assignment, conceptual activation, and reference to information outside the head. Table 27 below summarizes each new morpheme distinction.

Table 27 <i>Morpheme Types in the 4-M Model</i>			
<u>Morpheme type</u>	<u>Thematic role assignment</u>	<u>Conceptual activation</u>	<u>Reference to information outside of the head</u>
Content	+	+	-
Early System	-	+	-
Bridge Late System	-	-	-
Outside Late System	-	-	+

Content morphemes and early system morphemes are associated in that they are both conceptually activated; that is they are elected early in Garrett's language production process at the lemma level. In contrast, two kinds of late system morphemes are not conceptually activated and must wait until later in the psycholinguistic production process to find their proper form. Bridge late system morphemes reference information within their head constituents and typically serve to “integrate a content morpheme into a larger constituent” (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2001, pg. 99). Outsider late system morphemes reference information outside of their head constituents and thusly, according to the System Morpheme principle, must come from the ML.

Figure 5: An Example of CS with Each Morpheme Type from the 4-M Model

/Les jeune-s/ [li thagr-o w ʕta-w-hom b d-dhār]
 DEF.PL youth-PL DEM demean.PERF-PL and gave.PERF-PL-3PL.OBJ by DEF-back
 "The youth who have been demeaned and ignored"
 ("Sous France")

In Figure 5 above, we can identify every type of morpheme detailed in the 4-M Model. /*Jeune*/ 'youth', [hagr] 'to demean', [ʕta] 'to give', and [dhār] 'back' are the content morphemes. The ESMs in this example are the French plural definite article /*Les*/, the French plural marker /-s/, the SAA preposition [b] 'by', and the SAA definite article, realized as [d], attached to the content morpheme /dhār/ 'back'. The BLSMs are the Arabic demonstrative pronoun [li] and conjunction [w], as they connect phrases together but do not need information outside of their head constituent in order to function. The OLSMs are the morphemes that must reference information outside their head and therefore are predicted to come from the ML. In the example above, the subject-verb

agreement prefixes [-o] and [-w] are referring to an unnamed actor, while pronoun object [-hom] is referring back to */les jeunes/*. As predicted by the MLF and 4-M, the OLSMs come from the ML.

This chapter has given treatments of the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria as well as the phonology, morphology and syntax of SAA. These were followed by a brief explanation of the grammar of French and how French integrates when codeswitched into SAA. A brief discussion of the state of rap music in Algeria was given. Finally, I provided a detailed explanation of codeswitching and how the MLF and 4-M models analyze it. These sections are meant to inform the discussion held in Chapter Four below where I will present the results of my analysis of the data. However, before the discussion of the results, Chapter Three below presents the methodology I followed in order to collect, codify, and analyze the data.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

This chapter begins by giving an overall design for this study. The justifications of the data will then be discussed. Finally, the procedures for collection and analysis of the data that I performed will be outlined.

Overall Design

This study provides a description of the intra-CP code switching found in the 2004 Algerian hip-hop album *Kobay* by contemporary Algerian rap group Double Kanon (commonly referred to as *Lotfi DK*, referring to the name of the rapper in the group, Lotfi Belamri). The lyrics to the 12 songs found on the album served as the data. The data contained CS primarily between SAA and French; however MSA and to a lesser extent English were present as well. Using the principles of the MLF and 4-M models described above, I analyzed the interaction between the grammars of each code in every bilingual sentence. This process yielded information that I used to answer the two research questions of this study:

1. What are the structural patterns of SAA-French codeswitching found in the lyrics of *Kobay* by Double Kanon?
2. To what extent do the MLF and 4-M models account for these patterns?

Materials

The lyrics to 11 songs found on the album *Kobay* served as the data (there is one instrumental song on the album without lyrics). Both of my cultural informants from Eastern Algeria speak the same dialect of SAA that Lotfi raps in. They told me that he is

famous for his rapping because it is a simple, 'spoken' style that is akin to the common speech of their region. Since I am not a native speaker of any variety of Arabic, I had hoped that his lyrics would contain language that would be relatively easy to comprehend considering the word play and non-standard speech that generally proliferates rap lyrics. Additionally, I chose Lotfi's lyrics because, compared to other popular Algerian rappers such as Fada Vex, Intik and MBS, Lotfi utilizes a high percentage of French vocabulary. I chose the album Kobay because it is a representative album from the height of Lotfi's popularity.

Once I started working with the data, I found that Lotfi's lyrics were anything but simple. Lotfi holds an advanced degree in geology, and his lyrics contain quite a bit of academic vocabulary in both Arabic and French. He uses this elevated vocabulary in tandem with the simple and 'spoken' style that my cultural informants had previously praised him for. His subject matter ranges from immigration to dating to political corruption to organized crime. In fact, the majority of the album was highly politically charged and critical towards traditional power structures (except for religion) in Algeria. According to conversations with my cultural informants, Lotfi's combination of political awareness, specific vocabulary, and lucid delivery make him the most popular rapper in Algeria.

Data collection and coding procedures

Collecting and coding the data took four steps. First, I received electronic documents containing transcriptions and approximate translations to each song from

Bouchra. Figure 6 is an example of a line of transcribed lyrics and its translation that Bouchra provided me. She transcribed the Arabic into a version of what is known as the Arabic Chat Alphabet, a way of transliterating Arabic with Roman characters (see Palfreyman & Al-Khalil 2003).

Figure 6: An Example of the First Step of Data Transcription and Translation

(Transcription)	W mba3ed la suite, lmektoub sayé ja
(Translation)	& Here comes your day !

Second, I examined each transcription while listening to its corresponding song in order to ensure that the transcription represents the performance as accurately as possible. I then verified each Arabic and French word to the best of my abilities in order to create a more linguistically accurate translation. When I could not verify a word with relative certainty, I enclosed it in parentheses and included it in the translation as I did below with (ja). I also edited the French to be as standard as possible. For example, *sayé* ("that's it"), a colloquial spelling of *ça y est*, was altered to its standard spelling here. Next, I edited my translations in person with Driss Hanafi in order to catch any glaring errors. Finally, I sent an electronic document for each song to Nawel for further clarification. Figure 7 is an example of the edits Driss and I made to Figure 6 before sending it to Nawel.

Figure 7: An Example of the Second Step of Data Transcription and Translation

(Transcription)	W mba3ed la suite, lmektoub ça y est ja
(Translation)	and after the rest, it is written that's it (ja)

For the third step, Nawel sent me a corrected version of each document I sent her. She corrected any mistranslations of mine and clarified the meanings of words that were unable to be translated by Driss. She also provided clarification on colloquial terms and forms unique to Eastern Algeria. Figure 8 is an example of clarifications that I received from Nawel.

Figure 8: An Example of the Third Step of Data Transcription and Translation

(Transcription)	W mba3ed la suite, lmektoub ça y est ja
(Translation)	And then comes the rest, what was written is finally here/came
(Notes)	Ja --> “جاء”

The final step was to select the data I wished to serve as example in this study and code them. I began by rewriting the transcription using the International Phonetic Alphabet. I then identified and examined each morpheme in order to determine its language or language variety it belongs to.

I used typographic conventions in order to provide a visual differentiation between each code (for example: French in *italics* and English underlined.) I then wrote a gloss translation underneath each transcription. Finally, I revised the translation when needed and put it underneath the gloss. Figure 9 below is how the above piece of data would look like fully coded and ready for analysis.

Figure 9: An Example of the Final Step of Data Transcription and Translation

(IPA Transcription)	w mba3ed la swīt l-mektūb sa j ε 3ā:
(Gloss)	and after DEF.FEM rest DEF-written that there is come.PERF.3MSG
(Final Translation)	“and then the rest, the writing finally came”

Data analysis procedures

In order to answer the first research question, I identified each bilingual CP in the data and then compiled them into a corpus (see Appendix). In order to complete this task, I had to work through some gray areas given the nature of the data. The unit of analysis for codeswitching was traditionally an 'utterance' (i.e. a piece of communication with a pause before and after). For hip hop lyrics, each utterance can be construed to each 'line,' which approximately corresponds with each four beats of the rhythm. However, for this study, the unit of my analysis is the CP. Sometimes in order to find a complete CP, I had to combine data from multiple utterances.

Other times, utterances would consist of 'stranded' NP, PP, and/or AP that could not be analyzed as being a part of any CP. I attempted to not vicariously assign these stranded phrases to neighboring CPs without reasonable cause to do so. I collected a count for these stranded phrases for posterity's sake, but did not include them in the corpus.

Table 28 below summarizes the utterance, CP and stranded phrase counts for each song which contained lyrics on the album.

Table 28 <i>Counts for Utterances, CPs, and Stranded Phrases</i>												
<u>Song number:</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>Total</u>
Utterances	24	56	64	68	53	86	44	52	73	52	54	626
CPs	27	118	113	83	90	138	61	88	120	72	99	1009
SAA ML	25	115	108	76	75	131	59	85	119	70	97	960
SAA only	9	74	82	24	38	74	41	68	84	18	85	597
W/ French CS	15	41	25	48	37	56	18	17	35	46	12	350
W/ English CS	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
W/ Fr. & Eng. CS	0	0	1	4	0	1	0	0	0	5	0	10
French ML	2	3	5	7	15	7	2	3	1	2	2	49
W/ SAA CS	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
“Stranded” phrases	6	5	8	29	4	18	18	13	12	9	9	131
SAA only	1	4	1	2	0	5	9	7	8	2	4	43
French only	3	0	1	16	0	5	4	3	0	0	1	33
English only	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Multilingual	2	1	6	11	4	8	5	3	4	6	4	54

After the above process was complete, I categorized each morpheme in each bilingual CP as one of the four morpheme types identified by the 4-M model: content morphemes, early system morphemes, bridge late-system morphemes and outside late-system morphemes (Myers-Scotton & Jake, 2000).

In order to answer research question two, I analyzed each bilingual CP and determined whether or not it obeyed the principles of the MLF and 4-M models. To do so, I explicitly labeled each CP and every morpheme in accordance to the 4-M model. Next, I determined which language within the bilingual CP was acting as the ML. In order to identify the ML, I had to determine if the data follow the two primary principles of the MLF model. The Morpheme-Order Principle stated the morpheme order of mixed

constituents will be that of the ML. The System Morpheme Principle dictated that all Outside Late System morphemes must come from the ML. Myers-Scotton (2002) stated that applying these two principles is the best way in which to determine the ML. Once I had determined the ML in this manner, the EL(s) were identified as the language(s) of the morpheme(s) not included in the ML.

Unfortunately, the question of the circular nature of defining the ML still remained. As stated above, there was simply no feasible way of determining the ML with absolute certainty. Therefore, other factors were considered for this study. Since Lotfi DK is a native speaker of SAA and the lyrics of *Kobay* that do not contain CS are in SAA, it is not surprising that the ML of the majority of data was in fact SAA.

In this chapter I have outlined the basic procedures I followed in collecting, codifying, and analyzing the data used for this study. The data analysis procedures I described resulted in the following chapter which contains the results of this study.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

This chapter seeks to answer this study's two research questions:

1. What are the structural patterns of SAA-French codeswitching found in the lyrics of Kobay by Double Kanon?
2. Can the MLF and 4-M models account for these patterns?

In order to answer these questions, the following section first presents the types of switching found in the data. These examples will include single lexeme switching as well as EL Islands and will be acceptable and easily explainable by the MLF and 4-M models. This section will serve to answer the first research question.

In the next section, I will present and discuss the few examples from the data that are either indeterminate or clearly violate the assumptions of the models. In general, examples of switches that violate the assumptions of the models are rare. This section will conclude with the answer the second research question.

Patterns of 'acceptable' CS

Of the switches found in the data for this study, the MLF and 4-M models can account for the presence of French content morphemes, specifically nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and verb stems inserted into an SAA frame. The following is a discussion of each one of these 'acceptable' categories of French-SAA CS. For each example, each morpheme, regardless of language, is analyzed as one of the four morpheme categories

given by the 4-M model: Content Morpheme, Early System Morpheme (ESM), Bridge Late System Morpheme (BLSM), or Outsider Late System Morpheme (OLSM). Then the ML is determined based on the presence of OLSMs and the language variety they are a part of. Each item is presented as a phonetic transcription of the example as rapped. The lexemes of French origin, even if they are heavily Arabized, are in *italics*. Items in English are underlined.

French nouns

Figure 10: An SAA CP Containing a French Noun

[kājən bħər ʃyīr fī-h *trezor* kbīr]
 there.is sea small in-3M *treasure* big
 “There is a small sea with a big *treasure*”
 (“Amerika”)

Figure 10 above shows an existential SAA sentence containing a French noun [*trezor*] (French: '*trésor*', English: 'treasure'). The French word [*trezor*] and the SAA words [bħər] ('sea'), [ʃyīr] ('small'), and [kbīr] ('big') are content morphemes. There are two ESMs in [kājən] ('there is'), and [fī] ('in'). Finally, the third person masculine pronoun [-h] needs to refer to [*trezor*] in order to find its final form and is therefore an OLSM.

The ML can be analyzed as SAA and the EL as French due to the presence of the SAA third person masculine suffixed pronoun [-h], an OLSM. Another clue that points to SAA being the ML of Figure 10 is the presence of [kājən], which references information outside of its head in order to find its final form. Since [bħər] is masculine and singular,

[kājən] does not take an OLSM suffix in order to agree; that is, it remains in its masculine singular base form. However, if [bhər] were instead plural ([bhār] 'seas'), [kājən] would take the OLSM [-īn] and become [kājn-īn] in order to agree in number.

French nouns also often appear in the data with an SAA definite article attached. In Figure 11 below, the French singular noun [kozmos] (French: 'cosmos', English: 'cosmos') would normally take the French singular masculine definite article [lə], but instead is preceded by the SAA definite article [l]. This particular SAA definite article is cliticized to the preposition /min/ 'from' (realized here as [mɛ]) and preceding a masculine French noun.

Figure 11: An SAA CP Containing a French Noun Modified by an SAA Definite Article

[kuləʃ ʔān azmos rāp ʒāj mɛ-l-kozmos]
 everything in harmony rap come.PART from-DEF cosmos
 “Everything is in *harmony*, rap comes from the *cosmos*”
 (“High Technology”)

Interestingly, only once in the data did a definite article cliticize to an SAA preposition while preceding a feminine French noun beginning with a consonantal sound (see Figure 24 below). This resulted in an EL Island consisting of the French definite article and the French noun, as in Figure 20 below. Throughout the corpus, the definite article modifying French feminine nouns is normally realized as the French feminine singular definite article [la] and is separate from the SAA preposition.

An ambiguity arises, however, when there is a definite French masculine noun beginning in a vowel sound. While this ambiguity does not have consequences for the models, it is nonetheless an interesting phenomenon. The similarity between the French

[ʒadīkə l-ʔɪstwar mā-n-aʃrɛf-ha-ʃ hətə l-äxər]
that.is.wh why DEF-story NEG-1-know.IMPERF-3FSG.OBJ-NEG until DEF-end
“That's why I don't know *the story* until the end”
 (“Sous France”)

Throughout the data, definite articles are cliticized when preceded by an SAA preposition and are realized as [l]. When preceding a noun that begins with a consonant sound, the origin of the cliticized definite article [l] is clearly SAA, as French definite articles can only be realized this way when preceding words that begin in a vowel sound. When preceding a word that begins with a vowel sound, the cliticized definite article is indeterminate since the realization of the definite article in this context is identical in both languages.

*French adjectives*Figure 13: An SAA CP Containing a French Adjective

[dār-ū ṣāḥ fawḍa *mɛntal*]
 do.PERF-3P INTEN chaos *mental*
 “They really made *mental* chaos”
 (“Kobay”)

Figure 13 above shows a verbal SAA sentence containing a French adjective [*mɛntæl*] (French: '*mental*', English: '*mental*') modifying the Arabic noun [fawḍa] ('chaos'). Note that [fawḍa] is an exception to the gender rule and is masculine noun, and the adjective agrees in gender. The French word [*mɛntæl*] and the SAA words [dār] ('to do'), [ṣāḥ] ('really, truly'), and [fawḍa] are content morphemes. The third person plural suffix [-ū] on the SAA verb [dār] is an OLSM, as it looks outside its head to find its form. It refers to an implicit plural subject, understood in the song to be members of the Algerian government.

Since the only OLSM in Figure 13 is from SAA, we can conclude that its ML is SAA.

*French adverbs*Figure 14: An SAA Sentence Containing a French Adverb

[ʔ-ṣaqsī w ʔ-aqra *biē* wəʃ sār fī-ʔ-ʔərnāl]
 IMP-ask and IMP-read *well* what happen.PERF in-DEF-*newspaper*
 “Ask and read *well* what happened in the *newspaper*”
 (“Ani Jay”)

Figure 14 above is a verbal SAA sentence containing a French adverb [*biē*] (French: '*bien*', English: '*well*') modifying the SAA imperative verbs [ṣaqsī] ('ask') and [ʔaqra] ('read'). The SAA words [ṣaqsī], [ʔaqra], and [sār] ('to happen') are content

morphemes, along with the French words [*biɛ̃*] and [*ʒərnāl*] ('newspaper'). The SAA preposition [*fɪ*] ('in'), the SAA relative pronoun [*wəʃ*] ('what') and the SAA definite article /l/, realized here as [*ʒ*], are ESMs. The SAA conjunction [*w*] ('and') is a classic example of a BLSM. The null prefixes attached to [*⊙-ʃaqsɪ*] and [*⊙-ʔaqla*] are OLSMs.

There are two CPs in Figure 14. In the first CP ([*⊙-ʃaqsɪ w ⊙-ʔaqla biɛ̃*]), the placement of the French adverb [*biɛ̃*], a content morpheme, conforms to both French and SAA word order; that is, it appears after the verb. We can analyze SAA as the ML because there are SAA words that reference information outside their heads in order to find their form. In this case, the imperative verbs [*⊙-ʃaqsɪ*] and [*⊙-ʔaqla*] both contain a null prefix that indicates that they are second person singular imperative. These prefixes look outside of their head to a hidden agent, the listener, for their final form and are therefore OLSMs.

The most common use of French adverbs in the data are ones that appear extra-sententially. Figure 15 below is a typical example of an extra-sentential French adverb used in the data.

Figure 15: A SAA Sentence Containing an Extra-sentential French Adverb

[*ʔǎ plūs*] [*fāq-ət* bī-h ʃand-u *portabl* b-la la *pūs*]
in addition discover.PERF-3F by-3M to-3M *cell.phone* by-NEG DEF.FEM *chip*
 “Additionally, she discovered that he had a *cell phone* without a *SIM card*.”
 (“Elm Kbir”)

In the above example, the French adverbial phrase [*ʔǎ plūs*] (French: '*en plus*', English: 'additionally') is considered to be above the CP beginning with [*fāq-ət*] and is therefore extra-sentential. Because of this, there is no grammatical interaction between the adverb and the rest of the sentence. Sentence initial adverbs are often the site of

codeswitching but cannot play any role in influencing or determining the ML because of their extra-sentential nature.

French verb stems

Below are four examples of French verb stems inserted into SAA frames and taking SAA affixes. Recall from Chapter Two that French verb stems are conjugated as though they are 'finally weak' verbs in Arabic; that is, they have a final vowel that is realized as either [-a] or [-i] depending on the context (see Table 6). Below I discuss examples of French verb stems being conjugated into the perfect and imperfect tenses, the imperative voice, and the present participle form.

The majority of the French verb stems conjugated into SAA found in the data were first conjugation -ER verbs according to French grammar; that is, the non-finite forms of these verb ends with the letters 'er' and with the sound [ē]. For example, [kʁasē] (French: '*croiser*', English: 'to cross') is an -ER verb while [ʃwazīʁ] (French: '*choisir*', English: 'to choose') is an -IR verb and [vādʁə] (French: '*vendre*', English: 'to sell') is an -RE verb. These distinctions are only relevant to French grammar and will not be explored further.

French Verb Stem in the Perfect Tense

Figure 16: An SAA CP Containing a French Verb Stem Conjugated into the SAA Perfect Tense

[kʁasa-w lē mo kīmə skrābəl]
 cross.PERF-3PL DEF.PL word like Scrabble]
 “They crossed the words like Scrabble”
 (“Amerika”)

Figure 16 above shows the French verb stem [*kras-*] (from the French verb /*croiser*/ 'to cross') conjugated into the perfect tense using the SAA third person plural suffix [-w]. The content morphemes in this example are the French verb [*krasa*], the French noun [*mo*] ('French: '*mots*' English: 'words') and the French noun [*skrābəl*] ('Scrabble'), which is used in both French and Arabic as the name of this game. The French plural definite article [*l̥ə*] (French: '*les*') is an ESM as it is conceptually activated along with, and provides definiteness and plurality to, [*mo*]; together they make an EL Island. The SAA word [*kīmə*] ('like, as in') is a BLSM that is integrating the content morpheme [*skrābəl*] into the VP. Finally, the SAA third person plural suffix [-w] is an OLSM because it is referencing information outside its head in order to find its form. There is once again an implied subject here (/ *les fédéraux*/ 'the federal agents') that had been established earlier in the song, similar to Figure 14 and Figure 15 above.

Since the only OLSM in Figure 16 is from SAA, its ML is therefore SAA.

French Verb Stem in the Imperfect Tense

Figure 17: An SAA CP Containing a French Verb Stem Conjugated into the SAA Imperfect Tense

[ɪ-ʃaqsɪ-w-ək fɪ la pāf ʒyst jə-provoki-w-ək]
 3M-ask.IMPERF-PL-2.OBJ in DEF.FEM PAF just 3M-provoke.IMPERF-PL-2.OBJ
 “They ask you in the PAF* just to provoke you”
 *PAF = *Police aux frontières* ('Border control')
 (“Sous France”)

Figure 17 above shows the French verb stem [*provok-*] (from the French verb /*provoquer*/ 'to provoke') conjugated into the imperfect tense using the SAA third

person masculine prefix [jə-] and the third person plural suffix [-w].

The SAA word [ʃaqsɪ] ('ask') and the French word [ʒɪst] ('just, merely'), [provok-] ('to provoke'), and acronym [pāf] ('PAF', 'border control') are content morphemes. The SAA preposition [fɪ] ('in') is an ESM. The French feminine definite article /la/ is also an ESM that is modifying the content morpheme [pāf], and together they make up an EL Island. Finally, each one of the SAA affixes is an OLSM. The segments [ɪ-] and [-w] indicate that [ʃaqsɪ] is in the imperfect plural. The affixes [jə-] and [-w] indicate that [provok-] is in the imperfect plural as well. The subject these OLSMs are referencing in order to find their form is once again implied in this example. (According to the song, there are three candidates that could be performing these actions: /la PAF/, /la police/ ('the police'), or /la douane/ ('customs'). However, each one of those potential subjects is grammatically feminine singular while the two verbs are conjugated into the masculine plural. It can be reasonably inferred that Lotfi DK is referring to the (presumably) majority-male staff of whichever entity is being referred to.) Finally, the SAA second person singular pronoun [-ək], an OLSM referring to the listener, finds its final form from outside its head constituent as well.

Since the OLSMs in Figure 17 are from SAA, we can conclude that its ML is therefore SAA.

French Verb Stem in the Imperative Voice

Figure 18: An SAA CP Containing a French Verb Stem Conjugated into the SAA Imperative Voice

[⊙-gardī lə morāl]
 IMP-maintain DEF.MASC sanity
 “Maintain your sanity”
 (“Sous France”)

Figure 18 above shows the French verb stem [*gard-*] (from the French verb /*garder*/ 'to keep, to maintain') conjugated in the imperative mood. The content morphemes here are the French words [*⊙-gardī*] and [*morāl*]. The French masculine definite article [*lə*] is an ESM that is elected along with [*morāl*]. There are no BLSMs or OLSMs. However, similar to Figure 14 above, the ML can be analyzed as SAA due to the presence of the SAA null prefix, which looks outside its head for its referent, on the imperative verb [*⊙-gardī*].

French Verb Stem as a Present Participle

Figure 19: An SAA CP Containing a French Verb Stem Conjugated into an SAA Participle

[rājəh lhīk ā-k fərḥān w mə-tras-i]
 going.PARTIC there PROG-2SG happy and PARTIC-*plan*-3MSG
 “You're going there happy and *planning*”
 (“Sous France”)

Figure 19 above shows the French verb stem [*tras-*] (from the French verb /*tracer*/, 'to draw, to plan') conjugated into a present participle using the SAA prefix [*mə-*]. There are two CPs in this example. The second one, beginning in [*a-k*], is the focus of the following analysis. The SAA adjective [*fərḥān*] and the French verb stem

[*tras*] are content morphemes. The SAA participle prefix [mə-] and the SAA progressive marker [ā-] (a reduction of [rā]) are both ESMs. The SAA conjunction [w] is a BLSM. Finally, the SAA second person object pronoun [-k] and the SAA masculine singular participle suffix [-i] are OLSMs. Due to the presence of the SAA OLSMs, we can analyze the ML of Figure 19 as SAA.

EL Islands

As explained in Chapter Two, EL Islands involve two or more EL constituents that show internal dependency contained within an otherwise ML frame. In the data for this study, there were multiple kinds of French EL Islands found. Below, I present the most common instances of EL Islands from the data: a definite article preceding a noun, an adjective preceding a noun, two nouns joined by a BLSM, and a prepositional phrase.

Definite Article Preceding a Noun

Figure 20: An SAA CP Containing a French EL Island Consisting of a Definite Article Preceding a Noun

[fī *la* *vwa* ʔā-nī ʕagūn]
 in *DEF.FEM voice* PROG-1SG mute
 “In *the voice* I am mute”
 (“C'est Magique”)

Figure 20 above shows an EL Island consisting of the French feminine singular article [*la*] and the French noun [*vwa*] (French: '*voix*', English: '*voice*'). The French definite article is dependent upon the feminine noun /*voix*/ in order to find its final form. The EL Island is incorporated into the larger CP. The CP also contains the SAA content

morpheme [ʃagūn] ('mute'), the SAA ESMs [fi] ('in') and the progressive marker [ā] (a reduction of [rā]), and the SAA OLSM [nī], which looks outside its head for its final form. Due to the presence of an SAA OLSM, we can analyze the ML of this CP as being SAA.

In the data for this study, EL Islands consisting of a French definite article and a French noun were feminine constructions the majority of the time. Nowhere in the data did I find a masculine French noun modified by the French masculine definite article /le/. Masculine French nouns with a definite article took the SAA definite article the majority of the time (see Figure 11 above).

Adjective Preceding a Noun

Figure 21: An SAA CP Containing Adjective-Noun French and English EL Island Constructions

[had ʃer ʔōt gam haj teknōlozi]
 DEM poetry high range high technology
 “This poetry is *high class*, high technology.”
 (“High Technology”)

Figure 21 above shows two EL Islands, each consisting of a noun-adjective construction. Neither of these word pairs follows the SAA noun-adjective word order rules, instead following those of their language of origin, and are therefore EL Islands. The first EL Island is /*haute gamme*/ ('high class'). Here, the French word [ōt] (French: 'haute', English: 'high, great') is modifying [gam] (French: 'gamme', English: 'scale, range') according to French morphosyntactic word order. The same situation occurs with the English EL Island /high technology/. Here, the English word /high/ modifies /technology/ according to English morphosyntax.

The CP that contains these two EL Islands also contains the SAA content morpheme [ʃɛr] ('poetry') and the SAA demonstrative ESM [had]. The SAA sentence under the CP is an equational sentence in the imperfect tense. Since subject is definite, the predicate is indefinite, and there is no overt verb, there is an implied present tense copula 'is' between the subject and the predicate. Despite the absence of any SAA OLSMs, the ML of the CP can still be analyzed as SAA due to the presence of SAA syntax.

Two Nouns Joined by a BLSM

Figure 22: An SAA CP Containing a French EL Island Consisting of Two Nouns Joined by a BLSM

[dɛr-t la fɥzɔ̃ bə-l-mənoksīd də karbɔ̃]
do.PERF-1SG DEF.FEM fusion by-DEF-monoxide GEN carbon
"I made a *fusion* with *carbon monoxide*"
("Intro")

Figure 22 above shows an EL Island consisting of the French nouns [mənoksīd] (French: 'monoxyde', English: 'monoxide') and [karbɔ̃] (French: 'carbone', English: 'carbon') exhibiting dependency via the French genitive particle /de/, a BLSM. This EL Island is in a CP that also contains the EL Island /la fusion/ along with a number of SAA morphemes. The SAA verb [dɛr] ('to do') is a content morpheme. The SAA preposition [bə-] ('by, with') and definite article [l] are ESMs. The SAA first person singular suffix [-t] is an OLSM; due to its presence, the ML of the CP can be analyzed as SAA.

*Prepositional Phrase*Figure 23: An SAA CP Containing a French EL Island Consisting of a Prepositional Phrase

[bdī-t rāp par hazārd]
 begin.PERF-1SG rap by accident
 “I started rap by accident”
 (“C'est Magique”)

Figure 23 above shows an EL Island consisting of the French preposition [*par*] (French: '*par*', English: 'by') and the noun [*hazārd*] (French: '*hazard*', English: 'accident'), the object of the preposition. The CP in this example also contains the SAA content morpheme [bdī] ('begin') and the French [*rāp*] ('rap'), as well as the SAA OLSM [-t], the first person singular suffix. The presence of the SAA OLSM indicates that the ML of this CP is SAA.

It should be noted that the data include a number of prepositional phrases as EL Islands and that they are most often French set expressions (such as /*par hasard*/ 'by accident' and /*en l'air*/ 'floating') and therefore resist separation of their elements, a fact that encourages their use as EL Islands. Interestingly, these set expressions show more phonological integration into SAA than their EL Island counterparts, which Lotfi tends to pronounce in a fashion closer to that of standard French. For example, Lotfi includes the SAA rolled [r] and pronounces the 'h' at the beginning of the word /*hasard*/ while the French expression /*par hasard*/ is realized approximately as [paʁ ʔazaʁd] in standard French. Similarly, Lotfi raps the French expression /*en l'air*/ ([ã laʁ] in standard French) as [an lēr], using the SAA rolled [r], replacing the nasal vowel [ã] with one acceptable in SAA [a], and pronouncing the 'n' in the word '*en*'.

This section has shown the patterns of acceptable codeswitching between French and SAA. I began by explicating ten representative examples of single lexeme switching between French and SAA. Through these examples, we saw the ways in which French nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs are codeswitched into SAA. Furthermore, by analyzing each morpheme via the 4-M model, I have shown that these examples fall within the parameters of the MLF model. The CS results were followed by four examples of French EL Islands contained with SAA CPs. These examples were representative of the types of EL Islands found in the data and did not diverge from the parameters set by the MLF model. The explication of all of these CS patterns serve as the answer to Research Question 1.

Potentially Problematic Codeswitching Data

The following section details three patterns from the data that the MLF and 4-M models cannot fully account for. First, I will present an instance of definite articles from both SAA and French modifying the same French content morpheme. Next, I go on to detail the unexpected behavior of the French adverb '*jaimas*'. Finally, I will show two examples of ambiguous conjugation on French verb stems. This section will conclude with a discussion on the answer to Research Question 2.

Doubled Definite Articles

In Figure 24 below, there are two sets of doubled definite articles, each modifying an instance of the French content morpheme [*pūsjer*] (French: 'poussière', English: 'dust').

There are two instances of the same EL Island [*la pūsjer*] in this sentence. The first EL Island is preceded by [*mɛ-l*], the SAA definite article cliticized onto the SAA preposition [*min*]. The second EL Island is preceded by [*lɛ-l*], the SAA definite article cliticized onto the SAA preposition [*lī*]. In each case, there is an audible pause between the SAA definite article and the French one. Figure 24 is the only instance of doubled definite articles found in the data.

Figure 24: An SAA CP Containing a French Noun Modified by both French and SAA Definite Articles

[*kīmə gāl* *l-masīhī-n* *mɛ-l* *la* *pūsjer* *lɛ-l* *la* *pūsjer*]
 like say.PERF DEF-Christian-PL from-DEF DEF.FEM dust to-DEF DEF.FEM dust
 “Like the Christians said, from *dust* to *dust*.”
 (“Ani Jay”)

This instance may be similar to the 'double morphology' phenomenon as discussed by Myers-Scotton (1993, pg. 135). In cases of double morphology, a speaker may utter a content morpheme marked with plural markers from both the ML and EL, for example. Myers-Scotton attributed this behavior to a misfiring of the language production process. However, the data for this study is not naturally spoken language, but crafted poetry. Any mistakes made by the language production process could therefore theoretically be corrected.

One possible explanation for this case is that this is an example of what Poplack (2004) termed 'flagged switching.' According to Poplack, flagged switching can be marked by metalinguistic commentary in the switch itself – that is, an explicit comment or a pause – as opposed to 'smooth switching,' which refers to the kinds of switching discussed in the previous section where there is no hesitation or pause at switch points.

In this case, it is possible that the metalinguistic commentary indicating the flagged switch are the elements of the French saying '*de la poussière à la poussière*' ('from dust to dust'), somewhat of a set phrase used in particular situations such as funerals, resisting total separation from one another.

The French Adverb 'Jamais'

There are three separate examples of the French adverb of negation [ʒəme] (French: '*jamais*', English: 'ever, never') used in the data. Below I illustrate one of the occurrences as its structure is demonstrative of the other instances that occur in the data. The following section illustrates how the way Lotfi, and likely Algerians generally, uses /*jamais*/ runs counter to the assumptions of the MLF and 4-M models.

The closest SAA equivalent to /*jamais*/ is [ʕəmr] 'lifespan, age,' a noun which is followed by a proper name (e.g., 'Mahjouba's age') or a possessive suffix (e.g., 'her life') co-indexed with subject markers on a verb or a noun in the sentence. It also occurs immediately before the verb over which it has scope. As is illustrated in Figure 26 below, when [ʕəmr] is used to mean 'never', it co-occurs with the corresponding negative particle [mā]. Together, these elements mean 'I/you/he/she/we/they never'. Significantly, the negative suffix [-j] never appears when [ʕəmr] 'never' is present, an indication that [ʕəmr] is a negative polarity item.

It is important to note that in French, /*jamais*/ can be used to mean 'ever' or 'never,' depending on the context. It means 'ever' in affirmative statements and questions while in negative statements it means 'never.' When used to mean 'never,' /*jamais*/, like [ʕəmr] in

SAA, occurs with a negative particle, in this case /*ne*/.

However, when /*jamais*/ is switched into SAA, an unexpected structure results.

Figure 25 below shows /*jamais*/ being used to negate an SAA verb while Figure 26 shows the same sentence as Figure 25, but constructed with [ʕəmr] in place of /*jamais*/ in order to illustrate the difference between the structures.

Figure 25: An SAA CP Containing an SAA Verb Modified by the French Adverb /*jamais*/

[l-ʕār ʔa-w m-xābī ʒəme jo-xrɛj fī lē fotō]
 DEF-scandal PROG-3MSG PART-hidden *never* 3PL-exit.IMPERF in DEF.PL photo
 “The scandal is hidden, it *never* comes out in *the photos*”
 (“Ani Jay”)

Figure 26: An SAA CP Containing an SAA Verb Modified by the SAA [ʕəmr] and [mā]

[l-ʕār ʔa-w m-xābī ʕəmr-o mā-jo-xrɛj fī le fotō]
 DEF-scandal PROG-3MSG PART-hidden **age-3SG** **NEG-3PL-exit.IMPERF** in DEF.PL photo
 “The scandal is hidden, it never comes out in *the photos*”

In Figure 25 above, [ʒəme] '*jamais*' has scope over the SAA verb [jo-xrɛj] 'he exits'. This instance of /*jamais*/, like the other two in the data, appears where we would expect [ʕəmr] to appear in SAA; it is a single lexeme switch and therefore should fit into the SAA word order rules, according to Myers-Scotton's predictions. However, there is a structural asymmetry between the usage of these two lexemes that cannot be accounted for by the MLF and 4-M models. In the data, when used in SAA, /*jamais*/ does not pattern like [ʕəmr], as the former co-occurs with neither a pronoun suffix nor a negative particle. The absence of the pronoun suffix may or may not be an issue of morphosyntax as the suffix could be analyzed as a unique lexical item associated with [ʕəmr].

The absence of the negative particle, however, presents an irreconcilable problem for Myers-Scotton's models in that */jamais/* patterns neither with SAA nor French in this regard. Indeed, with the absence of a negative particle, */jamais/* is alone in carrying the sense of 'never.' It is worth mentioning that Nawel Krarzia, my main cultural informant, wrote in an e-mail that */jamais/* is used without a negative particle in SAA.

One possible contributing factor for this behavior is the unique sociolinguistic situation between French and SAA which may have resulted in an unpredicted semantic change in the borrowing of */jamais/*. Another possible explanation is that this usage of */jamais/* is restricted to Lotfi's constructed lyrical data. What is clear is that further analysis is needed of the semantics and morphosyntax of */jamais/* when used in SAA, whether as a switch or a borrowed form. Unfortunately, this issue is beyond the scope of this project.

Ambiguous Conjugations of French Verbs

Figure 27 and Figure 28 below contain two instances of French verb stems conjugated into SAA that resulted in ambiguous forms. Lotfi's pronunciation of the French verb stem conjugated into SAA does not correspond with the phonological rules for SAA finally weak verbs. As such, it is indeterminate which form these French verb stems are taking and why.

Figure 27: Example 1 of an SAA Sentence Containing an Ambiguously Conjugated French Verb Stem

[mālə jīb l-ūranīām n-separē ləz atəm]
 so bring.IMP DEF-uranium 1SG-separate.IMPF DEF.PL atom
 “So bring the uranium, I’ll separate the atoms”
 (“Kobay”)

Figure 28: Example 2 of an SAA Sentence Containing an Ambiguously Conjugated French Verb Stem

[wə n-ṣāwən ma patrī wə n-ḥīnāsē dē partī]
 and 1SG-help.IMPF 1SG.POS country and 1SG-finance.IMPF INDEF.PL political.party
 “And I’d help my country and I’d finance some political parties”
 (“Kobay”)

In Figure 27, the item [n-separē] appears to be the French verb stem [sɛpar-] (from the French non-finite verb '*séparer*', English: 'to separate') conjugated into the first person imperfect tense using the SAA prefix [n-]. Similarly, in Figure 28, the item [n-ḥīnāsē] appears to be the French verb stem [ḥīnās-] (from the French non-finite verb '*financer*', English: 'to finance, to fund') conjugated into the first person imperfect tense using the SAA prefix [n-].

The [-ē] vowel ending is a common one used in French morphology. Most notably, it is used with -ER verbs in the '*infinitif*' ('non-finite') form. Recall from Chapter Two that French verb stems are treated as though they are SAA finally weak verbs and therefore must end in either the vowel sound [-ī] or [-a], depending on tense. According to SAA morphosyntax, these two French verb stems must end with [-ī], agreeing with the singular imperfect tense. However, in both of these instances, the French verb stem ends in the vowel sound [-ē]. These items cannot be analyzed as having French '-er' endings without running contrary to the MLF and 4-M models.

It is worth mentioning that my primary cultural informant Nawel Krarzia stated that she heard these two instances as [n-*separ*-ī] and [n-*fīnās*-ī], which would follow the SAA conjugation rules perfectly. As I demonstrated in Chapter Two above, SAA does not contain the vowel [e]. Therefore, Nawel hearing [-i] could potentially be due to an issue of perception in that she is less likely to hear a vowel sound that is not in her native language. Usually, I would defer to her opinion in my analysis; however, the vowels that end these two words are undeniably [-ē]. Whether this unusual pronunciation is due to linguistic, artistic or other factors is indeterminable.

The above section has shown that within the data, there were examples of switching that were difficult to account for using the 4-M and MLF models alone. Therefore, the tentative answer to Research Question 2 is that the MLF and 4-M models cannot account for all of the data. This issue will be explored in Chapter Five below.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

The first section of this chapter presents answers to the two research questions by discussing the principle findings of this study. The relevance of the results of this study to the literature of codeswitching, hip hop, and globalization studies is detailed in the second section. The third section summarizes the limitations of the study. Finally, the fourth section provides suggestions for further research.

Research questions

1. What are the structural patterns of SAA-French codeswitching found in the lyrics of Kobay by Double Kanon?

In Chapter Four above I detailed the ways in which French lexemes are codeswitched into SAA. The examples and their explanations presented in the first section of Chapter Four serve as the answer to the first research question. I will briefly summarize them below.

In the data we find two types of switching between French and SAA: mixed constituents and EL Islands. Recall from Chapter Two above that a mixed constituent is a single EL lexeme inserted into an ML frame. In Chapter Four, I demonstrated that French nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verb stems appeared in the data in mixed constituents inserted into SAA frames. French lexemes also appeared in the data in the form of EL Islands. EL Islands are constituents made up of more than one EL morpheme that show dependency with one another according to the EL grammar. I gave four

examples of the patterns of EL Islands found in the data, namely article-noun constructions, nouns modified by adjectives, two nouns connected by a BLSM, and prepositional phrases.

The explanation for each of these examples classified each morpheme according to the 4-M model. I then analyzed the ML of each CP in each example in order to determine whether or not the switching corresponded with the assumptions of the MLF and 4-M models. This leads us to the answer for Research Question 2.

2. Can the MLF and 4-M models account for these patterns?

In the explanations for each example in Chapter Two, I attempted to determine the ML of each bilingual CP. I checked the morphosyntax of each morpheme against the Morpheme-Order Principle and the System Morpheme Principal and found that in the vast majority of cases, the MLF and 4-M models accounted for the patterns of codeswitching in the data.

There were three categories of examples found in the data that cannot be elucidated fully by analyzing them via the MLF and 4-M models alone. These categories were doubled definite articles, the use of *jamaïs*, and indeterminate French verb stem conjugation. Of these three categories, it is the penultimate that was most difficult the MLF and 4-M models. The structural asymmetry between the use of *jamaïs* and [ʒəmr] in SAA is a heretofore unsolved issue in the English language codeswitching literature.

Contributions of this study

This study contributes to at least two fields of research. First, it provides a unique set of data to analyze using the MLF and 4-M models. To the author's knowledge, this is the first instance of a data set comprised of rap lyrics being structurally evaluated using Myers-Scotton's models. Previous research on codeswitching in rap lyrics focused mainly on the social function of CS instead of the structural constraints of the data. The analysis of rap lyrics in a structural context provides a unique opportunity to test the robustness of Myers-Scotton's models as well as shed valuable insight into this important musical genre using empirical evidence.

Finally, the patterns presented in the data informs the research on the sociolinguistic situation of North Africa, especially considering the influence that musicians have on society. The overtly political messages contained in the lyrics and how they are expressed linguistically are of interest to anyone wishing to understand the discourse of rap music in Algeria and other forms of youth media. These subjects can be seen of great importance in Algeria and all of the Middle East, as the youth demographic is large and becoming increasingly influential, especially after the Arab Spring. Indeed, 46% of Algeria's population is under the age of 25 (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013). This study contributes to the understanding of the language and discourse of this demographic.

Finally, this study contributes to the field of globalization studies, specifically the globalization of both language and music. The corpus for this study contains French items which are both historic and recent and it demonstrates their varied integration into

SAA. Musically, this study should be of interest to researchers interested in the spread of hip hop around the world and the form it takes in specific contexts. In the Algerian context, many hip hop artists use it to express political dissent that they otherwise did not have a venue for previously. This study gives further insight into the form that this dissent might take.

Limitations

This study's major limitation was that I am neither a native speaker of SAA nor French. This proved to be a major hindrance during the transcription and initial analysis of my data. This limitation was a contributing factor to another limitation of this study: its small sample size. Ideally, I would have liked to look at a broader spectrum of North African rap lyrics or even other forms of constructed communication, however the amount of effort that proved necessary to transcribe, translate and analyze just one album was substantial. Obviously, the conclusions I drew would have been better informed given a larger sample size.

However, the small sample size had a certain advantage insofar as it was very much like a case study. While I believe a more exhaustive look at CS data within North African hip hop lyrics is needed, this study's value was in the depth that it explored Lotfi's lyrics. This allowed me to find the patterns of codeswitching more readily and more easily come to my conclusions. Finally, this study serves as an example of a self-contained unit of discourse containing codeswitching, and hopefully can inspire further studies in this field.

Opportunities for further research

There are several opportunities for further research that stem from this study.

The most obvious area in need of investigation is the use of the French adverb *jamais* in SAA. The data from this study suggests that there are undocumented behaviors in the morphosyntax and/or semantics of *jamais* when used in SAA. Whether there are influences from natural changes due to the historical nature of French/SAA contact or simply from the artistic nature of the data needs further explication.

A second major issue for this study is the poetic nature of the data. Rap lyrics such as these are precisely crafted and such linguistic behaviors such as codeswitching are often used for rhetorical purposes. Davies and Bentahila (2008) wrote:

Code-switching, in addition to being a useful resource for the bilingual in everyday interaction with other bilinguals, may also serve a poetic function, contributing to the aesthetic and rhetorical effects of discourse that is not spontaneous, but carefully constructed. (2)

Since the MLF and 4-M models were created with spontaneous codeswitching in mind, I believe that constructed instances of codeswitching present significant difficulties to these models. This is especially applicable to codeswitching found in rap lyrics because poetic aspects of meter, rhyme, and wordplay constantly affect word choice. However, we can expect rap lyrics and other verbal art to bend the rules in predictable ways. Therefore, it should not be beyond possibility to incorporate patterns of codeswitching in verbal art and other forms of constructed communication to the already robust MLF and 4-M models.

Finally, as mentioned in the limitations section above, this study was limited to the lyrics of one album by one artist. Being able to do a similar study with data that spanned across different axes would yield much more compelling evidence. For example, rap has been present in all of North Africa since the late 1980s. Hundreds of artists have released albums and many of them have reached critical acclaim in North Africa and abroad. These albums have contained lyrics in SAA, MSA, French, Spanish, Italian, English and Tamazight. There are many different variables to explore when researching the cross-roads of language, hip hop and globalization.

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APPENDIX: CPS CONTAINING CODESWITCHING

1. INTRO

1. [naʃtə-l-hom la pʊsās¹ təʃ lə-ɦdīd-a]
 describe.PERF-to-3PL.OBJ DEF.FEM power GEN DEF-iron-FEM
 “He described to them *the power* of iron”

2. [kī fhəm-t lə prɛnsīp²]
 when understand.PERF-1SG DEF.MASC principle
 “When I understood *the principle*”

3. [ʒɪb-t le parol³]
 bring.PERF-1SG DEF.PL word
 “I brought *the words*”

4. [dər-t la fʊsō⁴ bɪ-l monoksīd də karbon⁵]
 do.PERF-1SG DEF.FEM fusion by-DEF monoxide GEN carbon
 “I made a *fusion* with *carbon monoxide*”

5. [forʒī-t⁶ de canō⁷ fi le granīt⁸ w-əl ləʒīst⁹]
 forge.PERF-1sg INDEF.PL cannon in DEF.PL granite and-DEF jurist
 “I *forged* some *cannons* from *rocks* and a *jurist*”

6. [wəlī-t ʔarfiməd¹⁰]
 become.PERF-1SG Archimedes
 “I became *Archimedes*”

7. [ʔ-ʃajit-l-ī l-alfimist¹¹]
 IMP-call-to-1SG.OBJ DEF-alchemist
 “Call me *the alchemist*”

8. [n-dɪʃn-ū kimə la mʊraɪ də ʃīn¹³
 1SG-inaugurate.IMP-3M.OBJ like DEF.FEM wall GEN China
 “I’ll inaugurate it like *the wall of China*”

wla la ʃɛn ʔalpīn¹⁴ bɪ le fwīt də niəɡara¹⁵
 or DEF.FEM mountain.PL alpine by DEF.PL waterfall GEN Niagara
 “Or *the Alps* in *Niagara Falls*”

kʃyol le roʃ dʊr¹⁶ taʃ ʒbɪl tōra bōra]
 like DEF.PL rock hard GEN mountain.PL Tora Bora
 “Like *the hard rocks* of the *Tora Bora* mountains”

9. [ʔi-ʒī-w kimə magma¹⁷ ʒyst¹⁸ f-s-sātər¹⁹ taʃ la tər²⁰]
 3M-come.IMPF-PL like magma just in-DEF-center GEN DEF.FEM earth
 “They come *just* like *the magma* in *the center* of *the earth*”

10. [wejn kejn la falūʔ²¹]
 where exist.PERF DEF.FEM heat
 “Where there is *heat*”

11. [ʔənā l-alpinist²²]
 1SG.PRO DEF-mountaineer
 “I am the mountaineer”

12. [le pist²³ humə le koʔ²⁴]
 DEF.PL track 3PL.PRO DEF.PL rope
 “The tracks are the ropes”

13. [lez akoʔ²⁵ wəla-w de koʔ²⁶]
 DEF.PL chord become.PERF-3PL INDEF.PL body
 “The chords became *some bodies*”

14. [le parol²⁷ las9-m fi-l koʔ²⁸]
 DEF.PL lyric stuck-PL in-DEF body
 “The lyrics are stuck in the *body*”

15. [ʔaɪ kəm²⁹ gal-ū-l-i]
 and as say.PERF-3PL-to-1SG.OBJ
 “And as they said to me”

16. [n-mūt kīmə blandi³⁰ wəla marten lüter kīŋ³¹]
 1SG-die.IMPF like Blondie or Martin Luther King
 “I die like Blondie or Martin Luther King”

17. [wəli-t-ıl-hom kafmaʔ³²]
 become.PERF-1SG-to-3PL.OBJ nightmare
 “I became a *nightmare* to them.”

18. [le kəsət³³ nəbʃa-t-hom fi-hom ʃawt-ī w təswīra]
 DEF.PL cassette send.PERF-1SG-3PL.OBJ in-3PL.OBJ voice-1SG.POS and picture.PL
 “I sent them *cassettes* with my voice and pictures”

¹ <i>la puissance</i>	² <i>le principe</i>	³ <i>les paroles</i>	⁴ <i>la fusion</i>
⁵ <i>monoxyde de carbone</i>	⁶ <i>forger</i>	⁷ <i>des canons</i>	⁸ <i>les granits</i>
⁹ <i>légiste</i>	¹⁰ <i>Archimède</i>	¹¹ <i>l'alchimiste</i>	¹² <i>architecte</i>
¹³ <i>la muraille de chine</i>	¹⁴ <i>la chaîne alpine</i>	¹⁵ <i>les chutes de Niagara</i>	¹⁶ <i>les roches durs</i>
¹⁷ <i>magma</i>	¹⁸ <i>juste</i>	¹⁹ <i>centre</i>	²⁰ <i>la Terre</i>
²¹ <i>la chaleur</i>	²² <i>l'alpiniste</i>	²³ <i>les pistes</i>	²⁴ <i>les cordes</i>
²⁵ <i>les accords</i>	²⁶ <i>des corps</i>	²⁷ <i>les paroles</i>	²⁸ <i>corps</i>
²⁹ <i>et comme</i>	³⁰ <u>Blondie</u>	³¹ <u>Martin Luther King</u>	³² <i>cauchemar</i>
³³ <i>les cassette</i>			

2. SOUS FRANCE

- [*le* ¹ *zən* *lī* *t-ħagr-o*]
DEF.PL youth REL demean.PERF-3M.OBJ
“The youth that they demeaned”
- [*l-əspwa* ² *ʔa-w* *lhīhə* *bʕīd* *wrə* *lə-bħar*]
DEF-hope PROG-3M there far behind DEF-sea
“The hope is there far behind the sea”
- [*yə-bʕət* *l-āmbasad* ³ *dosia* ⁴ *wrə* *dosia* ⁴]
3M-send.IMPF DEF-embassy file after file
“He sends the embassy file after file”
- [*kəjn* *lī* *b-ıl-maʕrif-a* *ʔi-pūsia* ⁵]
exist.PERF REL by-DEF-connection 3M-push.IMPF
“There are those with connections they push”
- [*līwal* *ʔi-forsi* ⁶]
someone 3M-force.IMPF
“Someone does his best”
- [*Sərtūt* ⁷ *ki* *ʔi-ʃūf* *ʃhab-u* *fı-ʃ-ʃejf*]
Especially when 3M-see.IMPF friend.PL-3M.POS in summer
“Especially when he sees his friends in the summer”
- [*l-orəp* ⁸ *xarʒ-ət* *ʕalī-h*]
DEF-Europe suit.PERF-3SG to-3M.OBJ
“Europe suits him”
- [*n-gatəʕ* *le* *ven* ⁹]
1SG-cut.IMPF DEF.PL vein
“I cut the veins”

9. [l-*passport*¹⁰ jε-ʕgəd]
 DEF-*passport* 3M-conclude.IMPF
 “The *passport* is finished”

10. [t-*kafa*¹¹]
 3F-*seal*.IMPF
 “It’s sealed”

11. [gəlb-ək t-*laʔa*¹²]
 heart-2SG.POS 3F-relax.IMPF
 “Your heart relaxes”

12. [deʒa¹³ ʃhab-ək mɪn dork rā-k tə-twaħɛʃ-hom]
already friend.PL-2SG.POS from now PROG-2SG 2SG-miss.IMPF-3PL.OBJ
 “Now you’re already missing your friends”

13. [rəh-ək lībərə¹⁴]
 soul-2SG.POS *free*
 “Your soul is free”

14. [a-k fərħān w mə-trāsi¹⁵]
 PROG-2SG happy and PART-*plan*
 “You are happy and *planning*”

15. [gudām-ək l-*fytuħ*¹⁶]
 beside-2SG.OBJ DEF-*future*
 “Beside you is the *future*”

16. [wra-k l-*passé*¹⁷]
 behind-2SG.OBJ DEF-*past*
 “Behind you is *the past*”

17. [ʕ-gardi¹⁸ l-*morāl*¹⁹]
 IMP-*maintain* DEF-*sanity*
 “*Maintain your sanity*”

18. [jε-bdə lə kəʃmār²⁰]
 3M-start.IMPF DEF.MASC *nightmare*
 “*The nightmare* starts”

19. [ʔi-jī-w-ək la dwān²¹]
 3M-come.IMPF-PL-2SG.OBJ DEF.FEM *customs*
 “*Customs* comes for you.”

20. [a-nī na-krə had əɾ-rasa ²²]
 PROG-1SG 1SG-hate.IMPF DEM DEF-*race*
 “I hate this (biological) *race*”
21. [faq məʃ-ək tūrist ²³]
 discover.PERF NEG-2SG *tourist*
 “He discovered you're not a *tourist*”
22. [jədī-k ʃənd la polīs ²⁴]
 take.PERF-2SG.OBJ to DEF.FEM *police*
 “He takes you to *the police*”
23. [t-ʃamr wəhd la līst ²⁵]
 2SG-fill.IMPF one DEF.FEM *list*
 “You fill out some *list*”
24. [ʔi-səksi-w-ək f la paf ²⁶]
 3M-ask.IMPF-PL-2SG.OBJ in DEF.FEM *border.control*
 “They ask you in *the PAF*”
 * *Police Aux Frontières* ('border control')
25. [jyst ²⁷ jɛ-provoki-w-kə ²⁸]
just 3M-provoke.IMPF-PL-2SG.OBJ
 “Just to *provoke* you”
26. [ʔi-rofoli-w-kə ²⁹]
 3M-turn.back-PL-2SG.OBJ
 “They *turn* you *back*”
27. [visə ³⁰ tharg-ət]
visa burn.PERF-2SG
 “The *Visa* expired”
28. [ʃand-ək ʃa la polīs ³¹]
 to-2SG.OBJ for DEF.FEM *police*
 “Watch out for *the police*”
29. [ma-ʃand-ək hatə ha9 mʃə la lwa ³² təʃ sarkozī ³³]
 NEG-to-2SG.OBJ even right with DEF.FEM *law* GEN *Sarkozy*
 “You don't even have a right under *the laws* of *Sarkozy*”
30. [t-rəh lə dipo ³⁴]
 2SG-go.IMPF DEF.FEM *stock.room*
 “You go to a *back room*”

31. [mbaʃəd t-ʃādi ʔeksplusi³⁵]
 after 2SG-return.IMPF *deported*
 “After that you go back *deported*”
32. [lāzəm t-dīr l-azīl³⁶]
 must 2SG-do.IMPF *DEF-asylum*
 “You have to get *asylum*”
33. [ma-t-dor-əʃ fɪ-l blajəs taʃə l-ʔāʃi kīf la gār³⁷]
 NEG-IMP-circle-NEG in-DEF place.PL GEN DEF-public like *DEF.FEM train.station*
 “Don’t hang out in public places like *the train station*”
34. [lazəm t-kasi³⁸]
 must 2SG-break.IMPF
 “You have to break in”
35. [tə-skwati³⁹ dār]
 2SG-squat house
 “You squat in a house”
36. [t-hɪz l-gāzuw-āt⁴⁰ fɪ-l marʃt⁴¹ ʃand si xū-nā]
 2SG-carry.IMPF DEF-crate-PL in-DEF *market* to mister brother-3PL.POS
 “You carry the *crates* at the *market* of Mr. so-and-so”
37. [ma-t-reklam-īʃ⁴²]
 NEG-2SG-ask.IMPF-NEG
 “You don’t *ask*” (*reclaimer*)
38. [ʔi-gūl-u biẽ⁴³]
 3M-say.IMPF-PL *good*
 “They say *good*”
39. [zīd-ɛl-ha ʃwījə hɛf mʃə ʃwījə kamuflāʒ⁴⁴]
 add.PERF-to-3FSG.OBJ little lie.PL with little *camouflage*
 “He added to it some lies with some *camouflage*”
40. [anājə direkt⁴⁵]
 1SG.PRO *direct*
 “I am *direct*”
41. [ʃalədikə l-istwar⁴⁶]
 That.is *DEF-story*
 “That is *the story*”

¹ les jeunes	² l'espoir	³ l'ambassade	⁴ dossier
⁵ pousser	⁶ forcer	⁷ surtout	⁸ l'Europe
⁹ les veines	¹⁰ passeport	¹¹ cacheter	¹² lâcher
¹³ déjà	¹⁴ libre	¹⁵ tracer	¹⁶ futur
¹⁷ passé	¹⁸ garder	¹⁹ moral	²⁰ le cauchemar
²¹ la douane	²² race	²³ touriste	²⁴ la police
²⁵ la liste	²⁶ la PAF	²⁷ juste	²⁸ provoquer
²⁹ refouler	³⁰ visa	³¹ la police	³² la loi
³³ Sarkozy	³⁴ le dépôt	³⁵ expulsé	³⁶ l'asile
³⁷ la gare	³⁸ casser	³⁹ squatter	⁴⁰ cageot
⁴¹ marché	⁴² réclamer	⁴³ bien	⁴⁵ camouflage
⁴⁶ directe	⁴⁷ l'histoire		

3. ELM KBIR

- [lez istwar d-amūr ¹ dimə fi-hūm le problem ²]
DEF.PL story GEN-love always in-3PL.OBJ DEF.PL problem
“Love stories always have problems”
- [kān-ū hakak trākīl ³ mʕi l-ijəm-āt]
be.PERF-3PL like.that peaceful with DEF-day-PL
“They were peaceful for days”
- [ʔ-ʔesmaʕ l-afer ⁴ kifə bda-t]
IMP-listen DEF-matter how start.PERF-3SG
“Listen to how the matter began”
- [jə-lʕab-ha sɛrjū ⁵]
3M-play.IMP-3FSG.OBJ serious
“He plays it serious”
- [ʔi-tajəʃ l-amsō ⁶]
3M-throw.IMP DEF-hook
“He throws the hook.”
- [ja-ħsəb le dimōsjō ⁷]
3SG-count.IMP DEF.PL dimension
“He counts the dimensions”
- [kan la taj ⁸]
exist.PERF DEF.FEM size
“There's the size”

8. [hiǰə ta-ʕti-h bi-s-*skaner* ⁹]
3FSG.PRO 3F-give.IMPF-3MSG.OBJ by-DEF-*scanner*
“She scans him”
9. [kūl *sūpli* ¹⁰ *sūpli* ¹⁰]
everything *smooth smooth*
“Everything is *okay*”
10. [ləkan *s-e* *bō* ¹¹]
if *it-be.PRES.SG good*
“If *it's good*”
11. [ʕand-ək la ʔi-jī-k ət-*trāk* ¹²]
to-2SG.OBJ NEG 3M-come.IMPF-2SG.OBJ DEF-*nerves*
“Be careful not to get nervous”
12. [lez *istwar d-amūr* wələ-w sʕāb kimə l-*bāk* ¹⁴]
DEF.PL *story GEN-love* become.PERF-PL difficult like DEF-*baccalaureat.exam*
“Love stories became difficult like the *baccalaureat exam*”
13. [fi la *duzijem zurne* ¹⁵ hna ʔ-ʔfol a-w seʕī]
in DEF.FEM *second day* here DEF-child PROG-3MSG ready
“On the *second day* here the guy is ready”
14. [ʕab-il-ha *kaʕ a trap* ¹⁶ b le *baro* ¹⁷ taʕ sɪrkeʕi]
bring.PERF-to-3FSG.OBJ *cage to trap* by DEF.PL *bar* GEN Serkadji
“He brought her a *trap cage* with *bars* like Serkadji*”
*Serkadji is a famous prison in Eastern Algeria
15. [sələf ʕi ʔes ʔem *samsūn* ¹⁸ sɛnslə biẽ ¹⁹
borrow.PERF G S M Samsung necklace good
“He borrowed a GSM Samsung, a *good* necklace”
- swīt* li fi-h *desẽ* ²⁰ w serwəl *sẽʔ sãʔ* ʔã ²¹
sweatshirt REL in-3SG *design* and jeans five hundred one
“a *sweatshirt* with a *design* and 501 jeans”
16. [ʕar-ha bi-s-*sɛfwar* ²²]
hair-3FSG.POS by-DEF-*dryer*
“Her hair in a *dryer*”
17. [rōh ʔa *blō* ²³]
IMP-go EVOC *blond*
“Go, you *blond*.”

18. [ʔer *katr*²⁴ ʕaʃq-ət fi *ʔatas*²⁵]
R ⁴ love.PERF-3FSG in *Atos*
 “An *R4* was in love with an *Atos*”

19. [ʔi-*bifi*²⁶]
 3M-be.prideful.IMPF
 “He is prideful”

20. [ʔa-w gaʃd ʔi-*fūrni*²⁷]
 PROG-3MSG continue.PARTIC 3M-give.IMPF
 “He keeps *giving*”

21. [ʔa-j *dīmar-at*²⁸]
 PROG-3FSG *start*.PERF-3FSG
 “She has *started*”

22. [ʔi-rkəb-ha fi *le* *būs*²⁹]
 3M-ride-3FSG.OBJ in *DEF.PL bus*
 “He made her ride on *buses*”

23. [ʔā *plūs*³⁰ faq-ət]
in addition discover.PERF-3F
 “In addition she discovered”

24. [ʕand-u *portabl*³¹ b-la *la* *pūs*³²]
 to-3MSG.OBJ *mobile.phone* by-NEG *DEF.FEM chip*
 “He has a *mobile phone* without the *SIM card*”

25. [*surtū*³³ ki faq]
Especially when discover.PERF
 “Especially when he discovered”

¹ *les histoires d'amour*

⁵ *sérieux*

⁹ *scanner*

¹³ *les histoires d'amour*

¹⁷ *les barreaux*

²¹ *501*

²⁵ *Atos*

²⁹ *les bus*

³³ *surtout*

² *les problèmes*

⁶ *l'hamecon*

¹⁰ *souple*

¹⁴ *bac*

¹⁸ GSM Samsung

²² *séchoir*

²⁶ *bicher*

³⁰ *en plus*

³ *tranquil*

⁷ *les dimensions*

¹¹ *c'est bon*

¹⁵ *la deuxième journée*

¹⁹ *bien*

²³ *blond*

²⁷ *fournir*

³¹ *portable*

⁴ *l'affaire*

⁸ *la taille*

¹² *trac*

¹⁶ *cage à trappe*

²⁰ *dessin*

²⁴ *R4*

²⁸ *démarrer*

³² *la puce*

4. AMERIKA

1. [tə-lʕɛb lə mō¹ kiʃyūl fūg ʔablə taʕ poker²]
3F-play.IMPV DEF.MASC world like above table GEN poker
“It plays the world like on a poker table”
2. [ʔarb-ō-ha fi-s-sātr³]
hit.PERF-PL-3FSG.OBJ in-DEF-center
“They hit in the center”
3. [wəl-ɛt sombr⁴]
become.PERF-3F somber
“They became somber”
4. [ʔəslāh fi-hūm ʔəʃ-fak⁵]
INTENS in-3PL.OBJ DEF-shock
“They were really shocked.”
5. [ʔā plus⁶ lə kerozen⁷ hūwə li dūwəb la ʃarpātər⁸]
in addition DEF.MASC kerosene 3M.PRO REL melt.PARTIC DEF.FEM framework
“Also it was the kerosene that melted the framework”
6. [le tūr zumel⁹ rāb-u kūl brik par brik¹⁰ gūdam le ʃederō¹¹]
DEF.PL tower twin fell.PERF-3PL all brick by brick beside DEF.PL federal
“The twin towers fell all brick by brick in front of the federals”
7. [fi nōsf le flām¹² w nirān lgā-w]
in center DEF.PL flame and fire find.PERF-3PL
“In the middle of flames and fire they found”

paspōr¹³ w kaset ʔodiō¹⁴ fə-ha l-korān]
passport and cassette audio in-3F.PRO DEF Quran
“A passport and an audio cassette with the Quran”
8. [qbəlmə bde-t l-āket¹⁵]
before start.PERF-3SG DEF-investigation
“Before the investigation started”
9. [jāb-u l-kopablə¹⁶]
bring.PERF-3PL DEF-guilty
“They brought the guilty.”

10. [brǎf-āw le kāblə ¹⁷]
connect.PERF-3PL DEF.PL cable
 “They connected the cables.”

11. [kraz-āw ¹⁸ le mō kimə skrāblə ¹⁹]
cross.PERF-3PL DEF.PL word like Scrabble
 “They crossed the words like Scrabble”

12. [lə diabl ²⁰ ʕa-bāl-u mə-l-ūwəl]
DEF.MAC devil to-mind-3M.POS from-DEF-start
 “The devil knew from the start”

13. [lə pōrt parəl ²¹ tiʕ-u mɛ-j-kūn ɣir sɪr ²² kōlɪn pāwəl ²³]
DEF.MASC door word GEN-3M.OBJ 3M-be.IMPF only Sir Colin Pawel
 “His spokesman is none other than Sir Colin Pawel”

14. [t-tsāwər ʒā-w bɪ-s-satɪlɪt ²⁴]
DEF-picture.PL come.PERF-3PL by-DEF-satellite
 “The pictures came by satellite”

15. [nāʕt-u le cā d-ātrēmā ²⁵ taʕ le talebā ²⁶]
describe.PERF-3PL DEF.PL camp GEN-training GEN DEF.PL Taliban
 “They showed the training camps of the Taliban”

16. [ʒɛ-t la rāsō ²⁷]
come.PERF-3F DEF.FEM ransom
 “The ransom came”

17. [ta-bg-u la mɪsjō ²⁸]
2-finish.PERF-PL DEF.FEM mission
 “You all finished the mission”

18. [t-saksi ʕa-l-bilā ²⁹]
2SG-ask.IMPF about-DEF-outcome
 “You ask about the outcome”

19. [vǎʒ-āw le trā mɪl ³⁰]
avenge.PERF-3PL DEF.PL three thousand
 “They avenged the three thousand”

20. [getl-u de mɪljō ³¹]
kill.PERF-3PL INDEF.PL million
 “They killed millions.”

31. [kajn-ə bħar ʃyīr fī-h tɾɛsɔr⁵⁴ kbīr]
 exist.PERF-FEM sea small in-3MSG *treasure* big
 “There’s a small sea with a big *treasure* in it”
32. [⊙-zīd ʔirān li fī lə syd⁵⁵]
 IMP-add Iran REL in DEF.MASC south
 “Additionally, Iran is in *the south*”
33. [t-wīli pō⁵⁶ bin-əl pākistā⁵⁷ w tūrkmēnistā⁵⁸]
 2SG-become.IMPF *bridge* between-DEF *Pakistan* and *Turkmenistan*
 “To make a *bridge* between *Pakistan* and *Turkmenistan*”
34. [ʔā-m tɾas-āw⁵⁹ dərək lə plā⁶⁰]
 PROG-3PL *draw*.PERF-3PL now DEF-MASC *plan*
 “They already *drew the plan*”
35. [⊙-ʒīb le blāf⁶¹]
 IMP-bring DEF.PL white
 “Bring *the whites*”
36. [⊙-ʒīb l-aktūr⁶²]
 IMP-bring DEF-actor
 “Bring *the actor*”
37. [⊙-ʒīb le kō⁶³]
 IMP-bring DEF.PL idiot
 “Bring *the idiots*”
38. [l-ɛspwar⁶⁴ taʃ-ha ʔā-w bīn-əs-smā wə-l-ħsīra]
 DEF-hope GEN-3FSG PROG-3MSG between-DEF-sky and-DEF-prayer.rug
 “Its *hope* is between the sky and the prayer rug”
39. [mɪʃ-o ʃand l-onħ⁶⁵]
 NEG-3M to DEF-United.Nations
 “It’s not in *the United Nations*”
40. [wələ ʔibrīd⁶⁶ w mɛxədər]
 become.PERF *cross-breed* and anesthetized
 “It became a *cross-breed* and anesthetized”
41. [l-istwar⁶⁷ taʃ l-aʃrəb wəla-t kimə yn bɛssɛlə⁶⁸]
 DEF-story GEN DEF-Arab become.PERF-3F like INDEF.MASC *best.seller*
 “*The story* of the Arabs became a *best seller*”

42. [ʔen-nas ʒāme⁶⁹ nse-t]
DEF-people *never* forget.PERF-2FSG
“The people *never* forgot”
43. [ʃarəbsāt jə-ʃəs kɪ-l-miradōr⁷⁰]
ArabSat 3M-watch.IMPf like-DEF-watchtower
“ArabSat watches like a watchtower”
44. [ʃam-bāl-u f həd lə mōd⁷¹ ʃkun hūwə lə prədātōr⁷²]
about-mind-3M.POS in DEM DEF.MASC world who 3M.PRO DEF.MASC predator
“He knows in this *world* who is *the predator*”
45. [lī jə-məd fɪ la mōr⁷³]
REL 3M-give.IMPf in DEF.FEM death
“Who gives death”
46. [ʔi-sījb l-ēʃektisīd⁷⁴]
3M-spread.IMPf DEF-insecticide
“He spreads *the insecticide*”
47. [lī ʃand-u le misīl⁷⁵ w l-arm⁷⁶ distrəksjō masīv⁷⁷]
REL to-3MSG DEF.PL missile and DEF-weapon destruction massive
“Who has *the missiles* and *the weapons of mass destruction*”
48. [l-afēr⁷⁸ ʔa-j mɪf-ha ʁer ʃlə ʃədām]
DEF-matter PROG-3F NEG-3FSG only about Saddam
“*The situation* is not only about Saddam”

¹ le monde	² poker	³ centre	⁴ sombre
⁵ choc	⁶ en plus	⁷ le kérosène	⁸ la charpente
⁹ les tours jumelles	¹⁰ brique par brique	¹¹ les fédéraux	¹² les flammes
¹³ passeport	¹⁴ cassette audio	¹⁵ l'enquête	¹⁶ le coupable
¹⁷ câbles	¹⁸ croiser	¹⁹ Scrabble	²⁰ le diable
²¹ le porte paroles	²² Sir	²³ Colin Pawel	²⁴ satellite
²⁵ les camps d'entraînement	²⁶ les talibans	²⁷ la rançon	²⁸ la mission
²⁹ bilan	³⁰ les trois milles	³¹ des millions	³² dégât
³³ c'est	³⁴ le pouvoir noir	³⁵ l'empire de America	³⁶ l'histoire
³⁷ documentaire	³⁸ euronews	³⁹ CNN	⁴⁰ mise en scène
⁴¹ casting	⁴² scénario	⁴³ les cages	⁴⁴ Guantanamo
⁴⁵ les cerveaux	⁴⁶ la maison blanche	⁴⁷ les soldats	⁴⁸ la guerre
⁴⁹ géo-économique	⁵⁰ la carte	⁵¹ géographique	⁵² l'Asie
⁵³ stratégique	⁵⁴ trésor	⁵⁵ le sud	⁵⁶ pont
⁵⁷ Pakistan	⁵⁸ Turkménistan	⁵⁹ tracer	⁶⁰ le plan
⁶¹ les blanches	⁶² l'acteur	⁶³ les cons	⁶⁴ l'espoir
⁶⁵ l'ONU	⁶⁶ hybride	⁶⁷ l'histoire	⁶⁸ un best seller

⁶⁹ *jamais*

⁷³ *la mort*

⁷⁷ *destruction massif*

⁷⁰ *mirador*

⁷⁴ *l'insecticide*

⁷⁸ *l'affaire*

⁷¹ *le monde*

⁷⁵ *les missiles*

⁷² *le prédateur*

⁷⁶ *l'arme*

5. C'EST MAGIQUE

1. [bdī-t rāp ¹ par hazar ²]
start.PERF-1SG *rap* by *accident*
“I started rap by accident”

2. [kān-ət bizār ³]
be.PERF-3F *bizarre*
“It was *bizarre*.”

3. [s-sistem ⁴ mɪʃ-u sahəl]
DEF-system NEG-3MSG *easy*
“The system isn't easy”

4. [ma-der-t-əʃ solfɛʒ ⁵]
NEG-do.PERF-1SG-NEG *notation*
“I didn't make *notations*”

5. [kūn-t ʃwɪjə sovāʒ ⁶]
be.PERF-1SG *little wild*
“I was a little *wild*”

6. [ɣnā b-la misāʒ ⁷ kiʃʏl fotō ⁸ b-la lə flāʃ ⁹]
singing by-NEG *message* like *photo* by-NEG DEF.MASC *flash*
“Singing without a *message* is like a *photo* without the *flash*”

7. [ʃɪd-ət le pɪst ¹⁰ f həd s-stīl ¹¹]
get.PERF-1SG DEF.PL *track* in DEM DEF-style
“I got the *tracks* in that *style*”

8. [bdī-t nə-riskī ¹²]
start.PERF-1SG 1SG-risk.IMP
“I started to *risk*”

9. [ʃāf-u-ni flu ¹³ ki sēfonī ¹⁴ taʒ tʃajkofski ¹⁵]
see.PERF-3PL-1SG *unfocused* like *symphony* GEN *Tchaikovsky*
“They saw me as *crazy* like a *Tchaikovsky symphony*”

10. [ʔawəl l-*editur*¹⁶ gāl-l-i]
 DEF-first *DEF-editor* say.PERF-to-1SG.OBJ
 “The first *editor* said to me”

11. [ʔi-swisidi¹⁷]
 3M-commit.suicide.IMPF
 “he *commits suicide*”

12. [ma-j-ɛslah fi kaset¹⁸]
 NEG-3M-fit.IMPF in *cassette*
 “It won't work on *tapes*”

13. [ma-j-ɛslah fi le sī dī¹⁹]
 NEG-3M-fit.IMPF in *DEF.PL C D*
 “It won't work on *CDs*”

14. [fi la vwa²⁰ ʔa-ni ʕagūn]
 in *DEF.FEM voice* PROG-1SG mute
 “My *voice* is mute”

15. [ma-sījb-t-əʃ had l-afer²¹]
 NEG-release.PERF-1SG-NEG DEM *DEF-matter*
 “I didn't let this *matter* go”

16. [mem²² ləkān-u trāzik²³]
 even if-3MSG *tragic*
 “Even if it's *tragic*”

17. [s-e²⁴ ma misjō²⁵ ma pasjō²⁶]
 it-be.PRES.SG 1SG.POS *mission* 1SG.POS *passion*
 “It's my *mission*, my *passion*”

 mō fil də koneksjō²⁷ bin-i w bin ma nasjō²⁸]
 1SG.PRO wire GEN connection between-1SG.PRO and between 1SG.POS nation
 “my wire of connection between me and my *nation*”

18. [lə duzijam ʔeditur²⁹ gāl-l-i]
 DEF.MASC second editor say.PERF-to-1SG.OBJ
 “The second *editor* said to me”

19. [sāh ā-k ʔā fors³⁰]
 INTEN PROG-2SG in force
 “Indeed you're *forceful*”

20. [ʔi-dati-w-ək³¹ bɪ-l-karbō katōrz³²]
 3M-date.IMPF-PL-2SG.OBJ by-DEF-carbon fourteen
 “They date you with *Carbon 14*”
21. [ā-k bejn ʔomo səpjē³³ xāləq fi lez anē³⁴ taʕ kretace³⁵ wlə l-aptjē³⁶]
 PROG-2SG clear *homo sapien* created in DEF.PL year GEN Cretaceous or DEF-Aptian
 “You're clearly a *homo sapien* created in the *Cretaceous* or *Aptian* age”
22. [hna ʃātūr³⁷ nə-šhāq-u-h tre rəpid³⁸]
 1PL.PRO *singer* 1-crush.PERF-PL-3MSG.OBJ very fast
 “Us, we crush a *singer* very fast”
23. [jə-ʔəni fi-l-vīd³⁹]
 3M-sing.PERF in-DEF-emptiness
 “He sings *nonsense*”
24. [ʔi-ʒīb-əl-na swārəd vīt⁴⁰ vīt⁴⁰]
 3M-bring.IMPF-to-1PL.OBJ money quick quick
 “He brings us money *quickly*”
25. [nə-plōʒi-w⁴¹ kūl ʕli-h]
 1-jump.IMPF-PL all to-3MSG.OBJ
 “We all *jump* on him”
26. [l-artist⁴² ɡəlb-u-h balō⁴³]
 DEF-artist transform.PERF-3PL-3MSG.OBJ ball
 “They turn *the artist* into a *ball*”
27. [ja-ħsab-u-h dimino⁴⁴]
 3-consider.IMPF-PL-3MSG.OBJ *domino*
 “They consider him a *domino*”
28. [fi rās-u kejn dūbl blā⁴⁵]
 in head-3M.POS exist.PERF *double white*
 “In his head there's a *double white*”
29. [ma-t-kūn-əʃ kã⁴⁶]
 NEG-2SG-be.IMPF-NEG *idiot*
 “Don't be an *idiot*”
30. [ʔənejə sufrī-t⁴⁷ fi-d-domān⁴⁸]
 1SG.PRO *suffer*.PERF-1SG in-DEF-domain
 “I *suffered* in this *field*”

31. [rāp⁴⁹ taʕ-i yedī-ni fi vojāʒ⁵⁰
rap GEN-1SG take.PERF-1SG.OBJ in *voyage*
 “My *rap* takes me on a *journey*”
- mī-l-εpok⁵¹ taʕ ʒūl sezār⁵² w la site dā kartāʒ⁵³]
 from-DEF-age GEN *Julius Cesar* and DEF.FEM city GEN *Carthage*
 “from *the age* of *Julius Cesar* and *the city* of *Carthage*”
32. [ʒīl wrə ʒīl je-ʃf-āw ʕli-jə kimə ʒō d-āk⁵⁴]
 generation behind generation 3M-look.IMPF-PL about-1SG.OBJ like *Joan D'Arc*
 “Generation after generation sees me as *Joan of Arc*”
33. [n-xali atār kimə le rwīn⁵⁵ taʕ bizanʔa]
 1SG-keep.IMPF trace.PL like DEF.PL ruin GEN Byzantium
 “I keep traces like *the ruins* of Byzantium”
34. [n-dīr la finisjō⁵⁶]
 1SG-do.IMPF DEF.FEM *finishing*
 “I do *the finishing touches*”
35. [ʕand-i lə sō de finisjē⁵⁷]
 to-1SG DEF.MASC sense INDEF.PL *Phonecian*
 “I have *the sense* of *the Phonecians*”
36. [krīstof kolōm⁵⁸ daħk-o ʕli-h]
Christopher Columbus laugh.PERF-3PL about-3MSG.OBJ
 “They laughed at *Christopher Columbus*”
37. [ʕ-tajʃ ʕli-k əl-pēsō⁵⁹]
 IMP-give.up to-2SG DEF-brush
 “Give up *the brush*”

¹ <i>rap</i>	² <i>par hasard</i>	³ <i>bizarre</i>	⁴ <i>système</i>
⁵ <i>solfège</i>	⁶ <i>sauvage</i>	⁷ <i>message</i>	⁸ <i>photo</i>
⁹ <i>le flash</i>	¹⁰ <i>les piste</i>	¹¹ <i>style</i>	¹² <i>risquer</i>
¹³ <i>flou</i>	¹⁴ <i>symphonie</i>	¹⁵ <i>Tchaïkovski</i>	¹⁶ <i>l'editeur</i>
¹⁷ <i>suicider</i>	¹⁸ <i>cassette</i>	¹⁹ <i>les CD</i>	²⁰ <i>la voix</i>
²¹ <i>l'affaire</i>	²² <i>même</i>	²³ <i>tragique</i>	²⁴ <i>c'est</i>
²⁵ <i>ma mission</i>	²⁶ <i>ma passion</i>	²⁷ <i>mon fil de connection</i>	²⁸ <i>ma nation</i>
²⁹ <i>le deuxième éditeur</i>	³⁰ <i>en force</i>	³¹ <i>dater</i>	³² <i>carbone quatorze</i>
³³ <i>homo sapien</i>	³⁴ <i>les années</i>	³⁵ <i>crétacé</i>	³⁶ <i>l'aptien</i>
³⁷ <i>chanteur</i>	³⁸ <i>très rapide</i>	³⁹ <i>vide</i>	⁴⁰ <i>vite</i>
⁴¹ <i>plonger</i>	⁴² <i>l'artiste</i>	⁴³ <i>ballon</i>	⁴⁴ <i>domino</i>
⁴⁵ <i>double blanc</i>	⁴⁶ <i>con</i>	⁴⁷ <i>souffrir</i>	⁴⁸ <i>domaine</i>

- ⁴⁹ *rap* ⁵⁰ *voyage* ⁵¹ *époque* ⁵² *Jules César*
⁵³ *la cité de Carthage* ⁵⁴ *Jeanne D'Arc* ⁵⁵ *les ruines* ⁵⁶ *la finition*
⁵⁷ *le sens des phéniciens* ⁵⁸ *Christophe Colomb* ⁵⁹ *pinceau*

6. KOBAY

1. [tlatīn snā mīn hjāt-i ʕad-āw nwar ¹]
 thirty year.PL from life-1SG.POS pass.PERF-3PL *black*
 “Thirty years of my life passed *in the dark*”
2. [jə-ħsəb-ō-nə de kobaj ²]
 3M-consider.IMPF-PL-1PL.OBJ INDEF.PL *guinea.pig*
 “They think we're *guinea pigs*”
3. [lə-bləd wələ-t ləboratwār ³]
 DEF-country become.PERF-3FSG *laboratory*
 “The country became a *laboratory*”
4. [kān-ət fot ⁴ mōnumātāl ⁵]
 be.PERF-3FSG *mistake monumental*
 “It was a *monumental mistake*”
5. [dār-u ʕaħ fāwdə mōtāl ⁶]
 did.PERF-3PL INTEN chaos *mental*
 “They really made *mental chaos*”
6. [zāb-u-nā la civjer ⁷ sirōm ⁸ ʔanestizī ⁹ w mʕə srīr fi-s-simtjer ¹⁰]
 bring.PERF-3PL-1PL.OBJ DEF.FEM *stretcher serum anesthetic* and with bed in-DEF-cemetery
 “They brought us *the stretcher, serum, anesthesia* and with a bed in the *cemetery*”
7. [kūn dxəl-t f həd d-domən ¹¹]
 if enter.PERF-1SG in DEM DEF-domain
 “If I entered this *field*”
8. [n-ʕādi məm ¹² lə nīs ¹³]
 1SG-pass.IMPF *even* DEF.MASC *Nice*
 “I'll *even* go to *Nice*”
9. [nɛ-xdəm mʕə la mafjə rʊs ¹⁴]
 1SG-work.IMPF with DEF.FEM *mafia Russian*
 “I work with *the Russian mafia*”

10. [ja-ʕtī-w-ni la kocajīn ¹⁵]
 3M-give.IMPF-PL-1SG.OBJ DEF.FEM cocaine
 “They'll give me *the cocaine*”
11. [na-ʕtī-hom lə kanəbīs ¹⁶]
 1SG-give.IMPF-3PL.OBJ DEF.MASC cannabis
 “I'll give them *the cannabis*”
12. [ʔa-m ʕand-i le kombīn ¹⁷]
 PROG-3PL to-1SG DEF.PL trick
 “I have all *the tricks*”
13. [n-wili kīf l-aʕbād rīf ¹⁸ fi-l-blād]
 1SG-become.IMPF like DEF-people rich in-DEF-country
 “I'd become like the *rich* people in the country”
14. [ʒāme ¹⁹ ja-ħkm-u-ni]
 never 3M-arrest-PL-1SG.OBJ
 “They'd *never* arrest me”
15. [jə-geɪb-u-ni ər-rakaj ²⁰]
 3M-transform-PL-1SG.OBJ DEF-gangster
 “They turn me into a *gangster*”
16. [ān-i ʕaħ kamikāz ²¹]
 PROG-1SG INTEN kamikaze
 “I am truly a *kamikaze*”
17. [məʃ-ni kobaj ²²]
 NEG-1SG.OBJ guinea.pig
 “I'm not a *guinea pig*”
18. [ʕ-nħasə-l-ha f la sosjete ²³]
 IMP-blame-to-3FSG.OBJ in DEF.FEM society
 “blame it on *the society*”
19. [lī janə publisjete ²⁴]
 REL 1SG.PRO publicity
 “For me it's *publicity*”
20. [mɪʃ-ni sovāz ²⁵]
 NEG-1SG wild
 “I'm not *wild*”

21. [rāh fī vojāz ²⁶]
go.PERF in vacation
“He goes on vacation”
22. [hadəmə dez afer ²⁷ n-xali-hūm lɪ-d-drari ʃ-ʃyār]
DEM.PL INDEF.PL affair 1SG-allow.IMPF-3PL.OBJ to-DEF-children DEF-small.PL
“I let small children have these things”
23. [me proʒe ²⁸ hom kbār]
1SG.POS.PL project 3PL.PRO big.PL
“My projects are big”
24. [ʃəzb-ət-ɪk əs-sərqā bɪ lə cric ²⁹]
pleasure-FEM-2SG.POS DEF-stealing by DEF.MASC jack
“You like stealing with a jack”
25. [tə-rbəh de mljō ³⁰ f aksjō ³¹]
2SG-win.IMPF INDEF.PL million in action
“You win millions in an action”
26. [lāzmi-tɪk de kōplīs ³² f la post ³³ f la bāk ³⁴]
must-2SG INDEF.PL accomplice in DEF.FEM post.office in DEF.FEM bank
“You need some accomplices in the post-office in the bank”
27. [⊙-nāhi ʔalf l-freŋk ³⁵ mɪ la pej ³⁶]
IMP-take thousand DEF-franc from DEF.FEM salary
“Take a thousand francs from the pay”
28. [fī sō mīl salərje ³⁷ ⊙-təlaʃ gdah rbah-t]
in hundred thousand salary IMP-guess how.much won.PERF-2SG
“guess how much you won from 100,000 salaries”
29. [⊙-ʃāwəd dīmə həd l-afer ³⁸]
IMP-repeat always DEM DEF-affair
“Always repeat the affair”
30. [t-wəli ʔarfimljardər ³⁹]
2SG-become.IMPF multimillionaire
“you become a multimillionaire”
31. [dər-t-ɪl-ha brakāz a l-italjān ⁴⁰]
do.PERF-1SG-to-3FSG.OBJ hold-up to DEF-Italian
“I did them like The Italian Job”

32. [n-brāfi⁴¹ mon arʒō⁴²]
1SG-connect.IMPF 1SG.POS.MASC money
“I’ll connect my money”
33. [nɪ-ʃtī ʔajar-āt ʔe de bāk⁴³ kimə l xalīfə]
1SG-buy.IMPF airplane-PL and INDEF.PL bank like Al Khalifa
“I’d buy airplanes and banks like Al Khalifa”
34. [n-γōr-o γer b la⁴⁴ ʒet set⁴⁵]
1SG-mislead.IMPF-3M.OBJ only by DEF.FEM jet set
“I mislead him only with the high life”
35. [n-ʃawən ma patrī⁴⁶]
1SG-help.IMPF 1SG.POS country
“I’d help my country”
36. [n-fināse de partī⁴⁷]
1SG-finance.IMPF INDEF.PL party
“I’d finance some parties”
37. [lə tōp⁴⁸ n-ʃarʒe⁴⁹ le batrī⁵⁰]
DEF.MASC time 1SG-charge.IMPF DEF.PL battery
“While I charge my batteries”
38. [həd l-afer⁵¹ fa-ha rəlasjō⁵²]
DEM DEF-affair in-3FSG relation
“This affair has a relation”
39. [ʔā-ni blōc⁵³ pūr lə momā⁵⁴]
PROG-1SG white for DEF.MASC moment
“I am white for the moment”
40. [pʰrtā⁵⁵ ʔā-ni mēhtāʒ a pʰ pre⁵⁶ twa sã mljō⁵⁷]
however PROG-1SG need to little near three hundred million
“Though I need approximately three hundred million”
41. [lāzəm-ni γer səkretər⁵⁸]
must-1SG only secretary
“I only need a secretary.”
42. [n-dīr mʃa-ha detūrnamā⁵⁹]
1SG-do.IMPF with-3FSG fraud
“I’d commit fraud with her.”

43. [hom fɪ-l-ōrop⁶⁰ ʕajf-īn bʕād]
3PL.PRO in-DEF-*Europe* live.PARTIC-PL far.PL
“they are in *Europe* living well”
44. [kūn-t qādər mɛm⁶¹ n-kāli l-hāj̥t ʔul nhār]
be.PERF-1SG able.PARTIC *even* 1SG-hold.IMP DEF-wall.PL length day
“I *even* could have held up the walls the whole day”
45. [ʕaħ nə-nsə le prəblem⁶² l-kūl bɪ-l-kimja]
INTEN 1SG-forget.IMP DEF.PL *problem* DEF-all by-DEF-smoking
“Of course I'd forget all *the problems* by smoking”
46. [ki n-mūt fɪ la fɛ̃⁶³]
when 1SG-die.IMP in DEF.FEM *end*
“When I die in *the end*”
47. [kun-t qādər sinō⁶⁴]
be.PERF-1SG able.PARTIC *otherwise*
“*Otherwise* I could have”
48. [n-filəg le pumō⁶⁶ bɪ-l-kīf wə djazepā⁶⁶]
1SG-shred DEF.PL *lung* by-DEF-marijuana and *valium*
“I destroy *my lungs* with marijuana and *valium*”
49. [ʔi-soti-w-l-i⁶⁷ hnə le bulō⁶⁸]
3M-blow.up.IMP-PL-to-1SG.OBJ here DEF.PL *bolt*
“Here, *my bolts* would *blow up* on me (go crazy)”
50. [ʔaw fō⁶⁹ t-so-ha bɪ-ha]
to.DEF *bottom* 2SG-dismay.IMP-3FSG.OBJ by-3FSG
“*Basically* you are dismayed by it”
51. [lə corps⁷⁰ jɪ-tfur]
“DEF.MASC *body* 3M-sink.IMP
“*The body* wastes away”
52. [b-nɪsbə li-hūm hnaja ʔeksperijōs⁷¹]
by-opinion to-3PL 1PL.PRO *experiment*
“according to them we're an *experiment*”
53. [ʔi-zɪd-o f la dōs⁷²]
3M-increase.IMP-PL in DEF.FEM *dose*
“They increase *the dose*”

54. [⊙-ʒīb l-urānjəm⁷³]
IMP-bring DEF-uranium
“Bring the uranium”
55. [n-sepāre⁷⁴ lez atō⁷⁵]
1SG-separate.IMP DEF.PL atom
“I’ll separate the atoms”
56. [lə kadō⁷⁶ n-ħəṭ-o fi-l-pāki⁷⁷]
DEF.MASC present 1SG-put.IMP-3MSG.OBJ in-DEF-package
“I put the present in the package”

¹ noire	² des cobayes	³ laboratoire	⁴ faute
⁵ monumentale	⁶ mental	⁷ la civière	⁸ sérum
⁹ anesthésie	¹⁰ cimetière	¹¹ domaine	¹² même
¹³ le Nice	¹⁴ la mafia Russe	¹⁵ la cocaïne	¹⁶ le cannabis
¹⁷ les combines	¹⁸ riche	¹⁹ jamais	²⁰ racaille
²¹ kamikaze	²² cobaye	²³ la société	²⁴ publicité
²⁵ sauvage	²⁶ voyage	²⁷ des affaires	²⁸ mes projets
²⁹ cric	³⁰ des millions	³¹ action	³² des complices
³³ la poste	³⁴ la banque	³⁵ francs	³⁶ la paie
³⁷ cent milles salariés	³⁸ l'affaire	³⁹ archimilliardaire	⁴⁰ braquage à l'italienne
⁴¹ brancher	⁴² mon argent	⁴³ et des banques	⁴⁴ la
⁴⁵ jet set	⁴⁶ ma patrie	⁴⁷ des parties	⁴⁸ le temps
⁴⁹ charger	⁵⁰ les batteries	⁵¹ l'affaire	⁵² relation
⁵³ blanc	⁵⁴ pour le moment	⁵⁵ pourtant	⁵⁶ à peu près
⁵⁷ trois cents millions	⁵⁸ secrétaire	⁵⁹ détournement	⁶⁰ l'europe
⁶¹ même	⁶² les problèmes	⁶³ la fin	⁶⁴ sinon
⁶⁵ les poumons	⁶⁶ diazepam	⁶⁷ sauter	⁶⁸ les boulons
⁶⁹ au fond	⁷⁰ le corps	⁷¹ expérience	⁷² la dose
⁷³ l'uranium	⁷⁴ séparer	⁷⁵ les atomes	⁷⁶ le cadeau
⁷⁷ paquet			

7. GA3DA FEBLED

1. [frāsə¹ t-qədm-u]
France 3F-develop.IMP-PL
“France is developed”
2. [ʔā- jə-sufri-w²]
PROG-3PL 3M-suffer.IMP-PL
“They are suffering”

3. [le jən³ taʃ-həm yīr la mōd⁴ li rāj t-həm-u]
 DEF.PL youth GEN-3PL only DEF.FEM fashion REL opinion 3F-matter.IMPF-PL
 “Their young people are only interested in fashion”
4. [gəlb-u-h stupīd⁵ ʔā plus⁶ ʔēbisīl⁷
 transform.PERF-3PL-3MSG.OBJ stupid in addition fool
 “They made him stupid as well as a fool”
 b stār akadīmī⁸ w lowanə⁹ fī la pisīn¹⁰]
 by Star Academy and Loana in DEF.FEM pool
 “By Star Academy and Loana in the pool”
5. [hkəm-hum strēs¹¹]
 control.PERF-3PL stress
 “Stress controls them”
6. [wəl-āw smān b la grēs¹²]
 become.PERF-3PL fat by DEF-FEM grease
 “They became fat from the grease”
7. [nsā taʃ-həm ʃand-hom la-hbəl taʃ le rīf¹³]
 woman.PL GEN-3PL to-3PL DEF-insanity GEN DEF.PL rich
 “Their women have the insanity of the rich”
8. [ma-j-wəld-ū-ʃ le bebe¹⁴]
 NEG-3M-birth.IMPF-PL-NEG DEF.PL baby
 “They don't have babies”
9. [jə-rabī-w le kanīf¹⁵]
 3M-raise.IMPF-PL DEF.FEM poodle
 “They raise poodles”
10. [brōzāz¹⁶ kul-o kdəb b le rajō¹⁷ ʔultrə vijolē¹⁸]
 tan all-3MSG lie by DEF.PL ray ultra violet
 “Their tans are all fake from the ultra violet rays”
11. [ma-j-okl-ū-ʃ le pat¹⁹]
 NEG-3M-eat.IMPF-PL-NEG DEF.PL pasta
 “They don't eat pasta”

12. [ʔi-xāf-u mɛ-r-rizim²⁰]
3M-scare.IMPF-PL from-DEF-dieting
“they are scared of *dieting*”
13. [twahəf-t l-alʒiri²¹ bɪ-l-burāk w tazīn]
miss.PERF-1SG DEF-Algeria by-DEF-bourak and tagine
“I miss *Algeria* with its Bourak and Tagine”
14. [hiʒə l-imāʒ²² mʃa wāld-i-k fūg t-ṭablə]
3FSG.PRO DEF-image with parent-PL-2SG.POS above DEF-table
“It’s *the image* of your parents at the table”
15. [mɛm²³ ləkān fi-l-orōp²⁴ le terɛ²⁵ kul-hum gazō²⁶]
even if in-DEF-Europe DEF.PL field all-3PL grass
“Even if in *Europe* the playgrounds are all *grass*”
16. [twəhɛf-t le matʃ²⁷ taʃ l-karti fug lə gūdrō²⁸]
miss.PERF-1SG DEF.PL match GEN DEF-neighborhood above DEF.MASC asphalt
“I miss *the games* of the neighborhood on *the asphalt*”
17. [l-arbītr²⁹ dīmə həjāl]
DEF-referee always unjust
“*The referee* is always unjust”
18. [twəhɛf-t ʔər-rāhə taʃ ramḍān surtū³⁰ fi wəqt l-mayrəb]
miss.PERF-2SG DEF-smell GEN Ramadan especially in time DEF-sunset
“I miss the smell of Ramadan *especially* during sunset”

¹ <i>frança</i>	² <i>souffrir</i>	³ <i>les jeunes</i>	⁴ <i>la mode</i>
⁵ <i>stupide</i>	⁶ <i>en plus</i>	⁷ <i>imbécile</i>	⁸ <i>Star Académie</i>
⁹ <i>Loana</i>	¹⁰ <i>la piscine</i>	¹¹ <i>stress</i>	¹² <i>la graisse</i>
¹³ <i>les riches</i>	¹⁴ <i>les bébés</i>	¹⁵ <i>les caniches</i>	¹⁶ <i>bronzage</i>
¹⁷ <i>les rayons</i>	¹⁸ <i>ultra violet</i>	¹⁹ <i>les pâtes</i>	²⁰ <i>régime</i>
²¹ <i>l'Algérie</i>	²² <i>l'image</i>	²³ <i>même</i>	²⁴ <i>l'Europe</i>
²⁵ <i>les terrains</i>	²⁶ <i>gazon</i>	²⁷ <i>les matchs</i>	²⁸ <i>le goudron</i>
²⁹ <i>l'arbitre</i>	³⁰ <i>surtout</i>		

8. KLAB

1. [ʃaml-u le degā¹]
made.PERF-3PL DEF.PL damage
“They made *the damage*”

2. [⊙-ʕti-ni pī ja ²]
 IMP-give-1SG.OBJ *PA*
 “Give me a *PA*”
 *PA = *pistolet automatique* ('automatic pistol')

3. [gdah jornaḷist ³ həz-u-h]
 how.many *journalist* lift.PERF-3PL-3MSG.OBJ
 “How many *journalists* lifted it”

4. [le jən ⁴ ʔi-sizi-w-əl-hum ⁵ fī-d-duxān mə le kāba ⁶]
 DEF.PL youth 3F-seize.IMPF-PL-to-3PL.OBJ in-DEF-smoke from DEF.PL bag
 “They seized cigarettes from *the bags* of *the youth*”

5. [lə-mʕalīm gaʕdə dīr fē-l-komers ⁷ taht ʔ-ṭabla]
 DEF-important.people continue.PARTIC do.PERF in-DEF-*business* under DEF-table
 “Important people keep doing under the table *business*”

6. [ʔā-m gaʕr-o d-dīnjə b le kōtnēr ⁸]
 PROG-3PL bottomed.out.PERF-3PL DEF-world by DEF.PL *containers*
 “They bottomed the world out in *shipping containers*”

7. [ʕaʕb gəlb-u-h kō ⁹]
 people transform.PERF-3PL-3MSG.OBJ *idiot*
 “They turned the people into *idiots*”

8. [jə-ʕabi-w bi-h ʔəl-kōp bāker ¹⁰]
 3M-fill.IMPF-PL by-3MSG DEF-*account banking*
 “They fill the *bank account*”

9. [l-āket ¹¹ mə-kān-ʃ]
 DEF-*investigation* NEG-exist.PERF-NEG
 “There's no investigation”

10. [l-usīn-āt ¹² gaʕdə t-ħal li-jūm waħdə wrə lo-xra]
 DEF-*factory*-PL continue.PARTIC 3F-open.IMPF DEF-day one behind DEF-other
 “The factories are opening today one after another”

11. [l-māklə la pijes ¹³ w dwə kul tqəʕʕ-wə]
 DEF-food DEF.FEM *piece* and medicine all run.out.PERF-3PL
 “The food, *the peice* and all the medicine has run out”

12. [dār-o l-fajdə de mīljō ¹⁴ w de mīljār ¹⁵]
 do.PERF-3PL DEF-profit INDEF.PL *million* and INDEF.PL *billion*
 “They make *millions* and *billions* in profit”

13. [ʃand-hom *de* *kadrə*¹⁶ *dez* *avokā*¹⁷ w *de* *kompablə*¹⁸]
to-3PL INDEF.PL organization INDEF.PL lawyer and INDEF.PL accountant
“They have *organizations, lawyers* and *accountants*”
14. [ma-jə-ʒarf-ū-ʃ *la* *prisō*¹⁹]
NEG-3M-know.IMPF-PL-NEG DEF.FEM prison
“They don't know *prison*”
15. [la-ʧramə dimə t-ʒi-hum *ziro*²⁰ *virgʊl*²¹ *ziro*²⁰ *ziro*²⁰ *pʊr sã*²²]
DEF-penalty always 3F-come.IMPF-3PL.OBJ zero comma zero zero per hundred
“The penalty always comes to them at *0,00 percent*”
16. [t-ʃādi *fɪ-ʒ-zurnāl*²³]
3F-pass.IMPF in-DEF-newspaper
“It passes in the *newspaper*”
17. [māt-u *kūl bɪ-s-sīda*²⁴ wə-l-kōsɛr²⁵]
die.PERF-3PL all by-DEF-AIDS and-DEF cancer
“They all died of *AIDS* and *cancer*”

¹ <i>les dégâts</i>	² <i>PA</i>	³ <i>journaliste</i>	⁴ <i>les jeunes</i>
⁵ <i>saisir</i>	⁶ <i>les cabas</i>	⁷ <i>commerce</i>	⁸ <i>les conteneurs</i>
⁹ <i>cons</i>	¹⁰ <i>compte bancaire</i>	¹¹ <i>l'enquête</i>	¹² <i>l'usine</i>
¹³ <i>la pièce</i>	¹⁴ <i>des millions</i>	¹⁵ <i>des milliards</i>	¹⁶ <i>des cadres</i>
¹⁷ <i>des avocats</i>	¹⁸ <i>des comptables</i>	¹⁹ <i>la prison</i>	²⁰ <i>zéro</i>
²¹ <i>virgule</i>	²² <i>pour cent</i>	²³ <i>journal</i>	²⁴ <i>SIDA</i>
²⁵ <i>cancer</i>			

9. BLED MIKI

1. [kuləʃ *fō*¹]
everything *fake*
“Everything is *fake*”
2. [kuləʃ *fa-ha* *m-fabrīki*²]
everything in-3FSG PARTIC-fabricate
“Everything in it is *fabricated*”

3. [tɪ-lgə dɪnjə mɪʃ *normāl*³]
2SG-find.IMPF world NEG *normal*
“You find the world is not *normal*”
4. [səby-o le *trotwār*⁴]
paint.PERF-3PL DEF.PL *curb*
“They painted *the curbs*”
5. [wagf-ɪn msākən mɛ-l-*ajropor*⁵ hātən la vij⁶]
poor-PL live.PARTIC from-DEF-*airport* until DEF.FEM *city*
“The poor are living from *the airport* to *the city*”
6. [ʔā-w syr⁷ rāh ʔi-kūli]
PROG-3MSG *surely* FUT 3M-drown.IMPF
“He is *surely* going to drown”
7. [naʰi-w-l-o la paj⁸ w la prīm⁹ taʃ zūrni¹⁰]
take.PERF-3PL-to-3SG.OBJ DEF.FEM *pay* and DEF.FEM *bonus* GEN *day*
“They took from him his *salary* and *the bonus* of the *day*”
8. [zāb-u drāri ʃyār taʃ l-*primer*¹¹ wə-s-*sekōder*¹²]
bring.PERF-3PL children small.PL GEN DEF-*elementary* and-DEF-*secondary*
“They brought the little kids from elementary school and middle school”
9. [fi-3-zamiʃa le *profusər*¹³ ā-m daʃ-u b-ʃ-ʃər]
in-DEF-university DEF.PL *professor* PROG-3PL lose.PERF-3PL by-DEF-evil
“In the university, *the professors* are starving (lit. 'lost to evil')”
10. [la paj¹⁴ taʃ-hum fət]
DEF.FEM *pay* GEN-3PL pass.PERF
“Their *pay* passed”
11. [j-dīr le kūr¹⁵ le¹⁶ drāri ʃyār taʃ sanə sads-ə]
3M-do.IMPF DEF.PL *lesson* DEF.PL children small.PL GEN year sixth-FEM
“He made *the lessons* for the young kids of the sixth grade”
12. [lez *etudjā*¹⁷ hātɪn-o]
DEF *student* demean.PARTIC.PL-3MSG.OBJ
“The students are demeaning him”
13. [jə-zdm-o lə *parlemā*¹⁹]
3M-invade.IMPF-PL DEF *parlement*
“They invade *the Parliament*”

14. [ja-ħki-w ʕa le mljō²⁰ fi la prəmjer rɛjunjō²¹]
 3M-speak.IMPF-PL about DEF.PL million in DEF.FEM first meeting
 “They talk about *the millions in the first meeting*”
15. [n-ħab surtɬ²² swarəd-kom]
 1SG-love.IMPF especially money-2PL.POS
 “I love your money especially”
16. [le ʃɪnwa²³ ʒab-u-l-na vɛ̃ dū mɪl²⁴]
 DEF.PL Chinese bring.PERF-3PL-to-1PL.OBJ twenty two thousand
 “They brought us 22,000 Chinese”
17. [ħnayə fi-ʃ-fomāʒ²⁵]
 1PL.PRO in-DEF-unemployment
 “We are jobless”
18. [daʃwə ʔa-j fi-d-dāʒi²⁶]
 situation PROG-3F in-DEF-danger
 “The meeting is in *danger*”
19. [ʃaʃb ʔa-w rāh jɛ-plōʒi²⁷]
 people PROG-3MSG FUT 3M-sink.IMPF
 “the people are going to *sink*”
20. [l-mʕaləm jə-vojāʒi²⁸]
 DEF-boss 3M-travel.IMPF
 “The boss travels”
21. [t-mōʒi²⁹]
 3F-eat.IMPF
 “She eats”
22. [fi bləd mīki kūləʃ fa-ha vrɛj³⁰]
 in country weak everything in-3FSG real
 “In a weak country, everything in it is *real*”
23. [ʒāb-u-l-na lham ħmār fre³¹]
 bring.PERF-3PL-to-1PL.OBJ meat donkey fresh
 “They brought us *fresh* donkey meat”
24. [xsārə ʒā māləh ʃwɪjə sali³²]
 unfortunately come.PERF salted.PARTIC little salty
 “Unfortunately it came salted, a little salty”

25. [bejn kejn matʃ³³]
clearly exist.PERF *match*
“Clearly there is a *match*”
26. [l-mūhim fi le gradā³⁴ gədeh gətɫ-u]
DEF-important in DEF.PL *bleacher* how.many kill.PERF-3PL
“The important thing in *the bleachers* is how many they killed”
27. [wejn-o l-arbitrə³⁵]
where-3MSG DEF-referee
“Where’s *the referee*?”
28. [ʃəbə-u-h bɪ-s-sebān wə-l-bzāq bi le litrə³⁶]
fill.PERF-3PL-3MSG.OBJ by insult.PL and-DEF-spit by DEF.PL *liter*
“They filled him with insults and *liters* of spit”
29. [t-ʃuf-u kul yūm bɪ le dūlur³⁷]
2SG-see.IMPF-3MSG.OBJ all day by DEF.PL *pain*
“You see him every day in *pain*”
30. [la ma-ɖarb-ū-h-ʃ le spektatʊr³⁸]
NEG NEG-hit.PERF-3PL-3MSG.OBJ-NEG DEF.PL *spectator*
“If *the spectators* didn’t beat him”
31. [jo-ɖrb-ū-h le zuwʊr³⁹]
3M-hit.IMPF-PL-3MSG.OBJ DEF.PL *player*
“The players beat him”
32. [xatək fi lez ʊrʒās⁴⁰ ʔəd-daxlə rā-j hbāl]
because in DEF.PL *emergency.room* DEF-entrance PROG-3FSG crazy
“Because in *the emergency room*, the entrance is crazy”
33. [jə-hōt-o le vidur⁴¹]
3M-put.IMPF-PL DEF.PL *gaurd*
“They put *security guards*”
34. [sirom⁴² mə-kān-ʃ]
serum NEG-exist.PERF-NEG
“There’s no *serum*”

¹ faux	² fabriquer	³ normal	⁴ les trottoirs
⁵ l'aéroport	⁶ la ville	⁷ sur	⁸ la paie
⁹ la prime	¹⁰ journée	¹¹ primaire	¹² secondaire
¹³ les professeurs	¹⁴ la paie	¹⁵ les cours	¹⁶ les
¹⁷ les étudiants	¹⁸ le parlement	¹⁹ les millions	²⁰ la première réunion
²¹ surtout	²² les chinois	²³ vingt-deux mille	²⁴ chômage
²⁵ danger	²⁶ plonger	²⁷ voyager	²⁸ manger
²⁹ vrai	³⁰ frais	³¹ salé	³² match
³³ les gradins	³⁴ l'arbitre	³⁵ les litres	³⁶ les douleurs
³⁷ les spectateurs	³⁸ les joueurs	³⁹ les urgences	⁴⁰ les videurs
⁴¹ sérum			

10. HIGH TECHNOLOGY

- [lāzəm t-ləsq-o kimə l-patʃ¹]
must 2SG-stick.IMP-3MSG.OBJ like DEF patch
“You have to stick it on like a patch”
- [⊙-ʕāmər le pārol² ki-l-mikənizm³ taʕ swatʃ⁴]
IMP-fill DEF.PL word like-DEF-mechanism GEN Swatch
“Fill the lyrics like the mechanism of a Swatch”
- [le text⁵ ⊙-ʔəktb-hom bi le cristo⁶ taʕ lə kwarts⁷]
DEF.PL text IMP-write-3PL.OBJ by DEF.PL crystal GEN DEF.MASC quartz
“Write the texts with the crystals of the quartz”
- [⊙-kasər le frāz⁸ fi le frekōs⁹ ʔen mɛgahertəz¹⁰]
IMP-break DEF.PL sentence in DEF.PL frequency in megahertz
“Break the sentences in the megahertz frequencies”
- [⊙-ʔəhkəm le suʒe¹¹ kif le vɛrtəbər¹²]
IMP-control DEF.MASC subject like DEF.PL vertebrae
“Control the topic like vertebrae”
- [ħatān tɛ-bni l-maʕnə ki la-hrām li fi-l-iʒīpt¹³]
until 2SG-build.IMP DEF-meaning like DEF-pyramid.PL REL in-DEF-Egypt
“Until you build the meaning like the pyramids in Egypt”
- [⊙-ʒīb la sijōs¹⁴ taʕ indijānə ʒōns¹⁵]
IMP-bring DEF.FEM science GEN Indiana Jones
“Bring the science of Indiana Jones”

8. [⊙-ʔektəb ʃ-ʃərət¹⁶ bi la lūp¹⁷ taʃ ʃɛrlək hōms¹⁸]
IMP-write DEF-*plan* by DEF.FEM *magnifying.glass* GEN Sherlock Holmes
“Write the *plan* with the *magnifying glass* of Sherlock Holmes”

9. [xətak le kō¹⁹ taʃ ʔɛms fi-l-ārd]
because DEF.PL *idiot* GEN yesterday in-DEF-earth
“Because *the idiots* of yesterday are in the earth”

10. [nə-plāni²⁰ fūg-hum kimə jūri gagarīn]
1SG-*plane*.IMPF above-3PL like Youri Gagarin
“I am *soaring* above them like Yuri Gagarin”

11. [fi rāp²¹ m-bloki-jīn²²]
in *rap* PARTIC-block-PL
“*They are blocked* in *rap*”

12. [pɛrda-w²³ l-kōd pīn²⁴]
lost.PERF-3PL DEF-*code pin*
“*They lost* the *password*”

13. [məlgrɛ²⁵ ʔa-m m-dōpj-in²⁶]
despite PROG-3PL PARTIC-*dope*-PL
“*Despite* them *doping*”

14. [mə-zāl-u kəm²⁷ de gamīn²⁸]
NEG-still-3MSG *like INDEF.PL girl*
“*They are still like girls*”

15. [ʃand-i tro²⁹ d-adrenalīn³⁰]
to-1SG *much INDEF.SG-adrenaline*
“I have *a lot of adrenaline*”

16. [l-mʃāni fi le rīm³¹]
DEF-meaning.PL in DEF.PL *rhyme*
“*The meanings* are in *the rhymes*”

17. [hadejə ʃɛr ōt gam³²]
DEM poetry *high class*
“*This is high quality* poetry”

18. [rāp³³ zāj bīn lʒābr w la bjoloʒī³⁴]
rap come.PARTIC between algebra and DEF.FEM *biology*
“*Rap* comes between algebra and *biology*”

19. [⊙-plōʒi³⁵ s-sō³⁶ fɪ la sas³⁷ taʃ la sijōs³⁸ hādi]
IMP-dip DEF-sound in DEF.FEM sauce GEN DEF.FEM science DEM
“Dip the sound into the sauce of this science”
20. [tō stīl³⁹ ji-wili ʔāsīklopədī⁴⁰]
2SG.POS style 3M-become.IMPF encyclopedia
“Your style will become an encyclopedia”
21. [rāp⁴¹ ʔa-w spor⁴² fɪ-h la kōdisjō fīzīk⁴³]
rap PROG-3MSG sport in-3MSG DEF.FEM condition physical
“Rap is a sport with physical conditioning”
22. [s-stīlu⁴⁴ jə-wili sūpl⁴⁵ zaʃmə l-kīk boksīŋ⁴⁶]
DEF-pen 3M-become.IMPF flexible like DEF-kick boxing
“The pen becomes flexible like kick boxing”
23. [b-ʃə3r ʒīb ʃalāʒ⁴⁷ kimə le⁴⁸ ʃikagu bŭlz⁴⁹]
by-poetry bring.PERF challenge like DEF.PL Chicago Bulls
“With poetry comes challenges like the Chicago Bulls”
24. [t-wili ʔər-rwa⁵⁰ fɪ la kŭrs⁵¹]
2-become.IMPF DEF-king in DEF.FEM race
“You become the king in the race”
25. [⊙-dūbli⁵² l-həmās]
IMP-double DEF-enthusiasm
“Double the enthusiasm”
26. [jə-staʃrf-o bi-k ʔən-nās kimə star⁵³ ʒesi ʔōwəns⁵⁴]
3M-acknowledge-PL by-2SG DEF-people like star Jesse Owens
“People will acknowledge you like the star Jesse Owens”
27. [⊙-ʒīb rekōr⁵⁵]
IMP-bring record
“Bring a record”
28. [la mēdaj⁵⁶ hījə dɪbka]
DEF.FEM medal 3FSG.PRO Debka
“The medal is the Debka”
29. [⊙-ʔalaʃ la bār⁵⁷ l-fūg]
IMP-raise DEF.FEM bar DEF-above
“Raise the bar high”

30. [mədam la kūr^s 58 bʕīd-ə]
 since DEF.FEM race far-FEM
 “Since *the* race is far”
31. [⊙-ʔalaʕ par etāp⁵⁹]
 IMP-raise by step
 “Go up *by* steps”
32. [rītəm⁶⁰ taʕ rāp⁶¹ ʔa-w kimə rītəm kardijāk⁶²]
 rythme GEN rap PROG-3MSG like rythme cardiac
 “The *rhythm* of the *rap* is like the *cardiac rhythm*”
33. [⊙-bdə-ha ʔā ptīt fūle⁶³]
 IMP-start-3FSG.OBJ in small stride
 “Start it *with* small strides”
34. [⊙-rāmi⁶⁴]
 IMP-row
 “Row”
35. [⊙-rūli⁶⁵]
 IMP-roll
 “Roll”
36. [rāp⁶⁶ mɪʃ-o rāli⁶⁷ wlə kat sō metr⁶⁸ rūlej⁶⁹]
 rap NEG-3MSG rally or four hundred meter relay
 “Rap is not a rally nor 400 meters relay”
37. [jə-ɡɪʕ-ō-ni le pavər⁷⁰]
 3M-cut.IMPF-PL-1SG.OBJ DEF.PL poor
 “The poor will cut me”
38. [n-əstaʕməl fī-hum kəm de lijəvrə⁷¹]
 1SG-use.IMPF in-3PL like INDEF.PL rabbit
 “I’m using them *as* rabbits”
39. [la ʕimī⁷² taʕ rāp⁷³ fī-ha l-asīd⁷⁴ w baz⁷⁵ w ʔester⁷⁶]
 DEF.FEM chemistry GEN rap in-3FSG DEF-acid and base and ester
 “The chemistry of rap contains acid, base and ester”
40. [⊙-əsməʕ mō text⁷⁷]
 IMP-listen 1SG.POS text
 “Listen to my text”

41. [n-ħot-o fī miksħ⁷⁸]
1SG-put-3MSG.OBJ in *blender*
“I put it in a *blender*”
42. [t-gūl ʕlɛ-h ʔekrã plazma⁷⁹ mʕābi bi le piksɛl⁸⁰]
2SG-say.IMPF about-3MSG *screen plasma* full.PL by DEF.PL *pixel*
“You think it's like a *plasma screen* full of *pixels*”
43. [la cəlūl⁸¹ ki t-dīr mitos⁸²]
DEF.FEM *cell* when 3F-do.IMPF *mitosis*
“When *the cell* does *mitosis*”
44. [ʕand-o dez ẽzīm⁸³]
to-3MSG INDEF.PL *enzyme*
“It has *some enzymes*”
45. [ʔi-zigzagi-w⁸⁴ kif la bī ʔɛm⁸⁵]
3M-zigzag.IMPF-PL like DEF.MASC *B M*
“It *zigzags* like a *BMW*”
46. [la ʕɛn⁸⁶ dəstirbjuʃjō⁸⁷ wəl-ət la ʕɛn d-a dī ʔɛn⁸⁸]
DEF.FEM *chain distribution* become.PERF-3FSG DEF.FEM *chain* GEN-A D N
“The *valve train* became the *DNA chain*”
47. [kuləʃ ʔan asmōz⁸⁹]
everything in *osmosis*
“Everything is in *osmosis*”
48. [rāp⁹⁰ ʔāj mǝ-l-kosmōs⁹¹]
rap come.PARTIC from-DEF-*cosmos*
“*Rap* comes from the *cosmos*”
49. [ʕand-u kōsijōs⁹²]
to-3MSG *consciousness*
“It has a *consciousness*”
50. [kalsjəm⁹³ ʔi-jī fī nəs l-os⁹⁴]
calcium 3M-come.IMPF in 1SG.POS DEF-*bone*
“*Calcium* comes from *our bones*”
51. [mɪʃ-ni kobaj⁹⁵]
NEG-1SG *guinea.pig*
“I'm not a *guinea pig*”

52. [fug ʔər-ring ⁹⁶ taʃ rāp ⁹⁷ ʔ-ʃajet-l-i mohamed klaj ⁹⁸]
 above DEF-ring GEN rap IMP-call-to-1SG.OBJ Mohammed Clay
 “Above the rap ring call me Mohammed Clay”

¹ patch	² les paroles	³ mécanisme	⁴ swatch
⁵ les textes	⁶ les cristaux	⁷ le quartz	⁸ les phrases
⁹ les fréquences	¹⁰ en mégahertz	¹¹ le sujet	¹² les vertèbres
¹³ l’Egypte	¹⁴ la science	¹⁵ <u>Indiana Jones</u>	¹⁶ charrette
¹⁷ la loupe	¹⁸ <u>Sherlok Holmes</u>	¹⁹ les cons	²⁰ planer
²¹ rap	²² bloquer	²³ perdre	²⁴ code pin
²⁵ malgré	²⁶ doper	²⁷ comme	²⁸ des gamines
²⁹ trop	³⁰ d’adrénaline	³¹ les rimes	³² haute gamme
³³ rap	³⁴ la biologie	³⁵ plonger	³⁶ son
³⁷ la sauce	³⁸ la science	³⁹ ton style	⁴⁰ encyclopédie
⁴¹ rap	⁴² sport	⁴³ la condition physique	⁴⁴ stylo
⁴⁵ souple	⁴⁶ <u>kick boxing</u>	⁴⁷ challenges	⁴⁸ les
⁴⁹ <u>Chicago Bulls</u>	⁵⁰ roi	⁵¹ la course	⁵² doubler
⁵³ <u>star</u>	⁵⁴ <u>Jesse Owens</u>	⁵⁵ record	⁵⁶ la médaille
⁵⁷ la barre	⁵⁸ la course	⁵⁹ par étape	⁶⁰ rythme
⁶¹ rap	⁶² rythme cardiaque	⁶³ en petites foulées	⁶⁴ ramer
⁶⁵ rouler	⁶⁶ rap	⁶⁷ rallye	⁶⁸ 400 mètres
⁶⁹ relais	⁷⁰ les pauvres	⁷¹ comme des lièvres	⁷² la chimie
⁷³ rap	⁷⁴ l’acide	⁷⁵ base	⁷⁶ ester
⁷⁷ mon texte	⁷⁸ mixeur	⁷⁹ écran plasma	⁸⁰ les pixels
⁸¹ la cellule	⁸² mitose	⁸³ des enzymes	⁸⁴ zigzaguer
⁸⁵ la BM	⁸⁶ la chaîne	⁸⁷ distribution	⁸⁸ la chaîne d’ADN
⁸⁹ en osmose	⁹⁰ rap	⁹¹ cosmos	⁹² conscience
⁹³ calcium	⁹⁴ nos l’os	⁹⁵ cobaye	⁹⁶ ring
⁹⁷ rap	⁹⁸ <u>Clay</u>		

11. ANI JAY

1. [kuləʃ mə-blōki ¹]
 everything PARTIC-block
 “Everything is blocked”
2. [kuləʃ mə-stōki ²]
 everything PARTIC-stock
 “Everything is saved”

3. [⊙-ʔaqrə *bijē* ³]
IMP-read *well*
“Ask and read *well*”

4. [wəʃ sār fɪ-j-jurnāl ⁴]
what happen.PERF in-DEF-*newspaper*
“What happened in the *newspaper*”

5. [hāsi mēsʃūd fa-ha gədɛh mɛ-d-*dosjer nwar* ⁵]
Hassi Messaoud in-3FSG how.many from-DEF-*file black*
“How many black folders are in Hassi Messaoud”

6. [ʒāme ⁶ jo-xrəʒ fɪ le foto ⁷]
never 3SG-exit in DEF.FEM *photo*
“It *never* comes out in *photos*”

7. [kimə gāl l-masīhi mɛ-l la *pusijer* ⁸ lɛ-l la *pusijer* ⁸]
like say.PERF DEF-Christian from-DEF DEF.FEM *dust* to-DEF DEF.FEM *dust*
“Like the christians say from the dust to dust”

8. [ʔa-m ʃajx-īn wrə l-buro ⁹]
PROG-3PL old-PL behind DEF-*desk*
“They are the old ones behind the *desk*”

9. [rasə ¹⁰ diʒə ji-ħɛb-o]
race DEM 3M-like.IMPF-PL
“This *race* likes to”

10. [la sirē ¹¹ t-ʃajɛt]
DEF.FEM *siren* 3F-ring.out
“The *siren* rings out”

11. [ma-t-ʃawəl-ʃ ʃa la telē ¹²]
NEG-2SG-rely.IMPF-NEG about DEF.FEM *television*
“Don't rely on the television”

12. [l-afɛr ¹³ tɔɔlb-ət ʃli-hom]
DEF-situation change-3FSG about-3PL
“The *situation* changed on them”

¹ *bloquer*

² *stocker*

³ *bien*

⁴ *journal*

⁵ *dossier noir*

⁶ *jamais*

⁷ *les photos*

⁸ *la poussière*

⁹ *bureau*

¹⁰ *race*

¹¹ *la sirène*

¹² *la télé*

¹³ *l'affaire*