The Phonological Features of Non – Arab Workers' Interlanguage in Iraq

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Received: 8/7/2020 ; Accepted: 14/9/2020

Abstract:
Interlanguage is defined as a type of language used by second or foreign language learners in the process of learning the target language; it is an intermediate phase between first and second language. This study aims at providing a phonological description of the Baghdadi Interlanguage (henceforth BIL ) used by the Bengali workers in Baghdad province, the capital of Iraq. The primary purpose of this study is to substantiate whether this newly emerged variety is an interlanguage or a pidgin, also to solve many tutorial problems in this variety by identifying the errors of the learners of second language in the field of phonology. Data collection was based on some interviews, accompanied by a list of personal questions with four Bengali workers from both genders (males and females), (two males and two females).

It is found that this new variety is an interlanguage not a pidgin since the characteristics of interlanguage are achieved in this study throughout the stages of the developments of this newly emerged variety (interlanguage). The study also finds that the main phonological differences between the Baghdadi dialect and the interlanguage (IL) are in the consonant phonemes rather than the vowel ones.

Key Words: Interlanguage, Baghdadi Dialect, Pidgin.
الخصائص الصوتية للهجة الوسيطة للعمال الفجر يربوع في العراق

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ملخص البحث:
يمكن تعريف اللهجة الوسيطة على أنها نوع من اللغات التي يستعملها معلمي اللغة الثانية أو اللغة الإنجليزية في مرحلة اكتساب اللهجة الهدف، تستطيع وصف هذه اللهجة كمرحلة متوسطة بين اللهجة الأولى والثانية. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تقديم وصف صوتي للهجة OIDGI من جهة وكذلك اللهجة التي يستخدمها العمال البنغاليين في بغداد عاصمة العراق من جهة أخرى. الهدف الرئيس لهذه الدراسة هو لمعرفة فيما إذا هذه اللهجة هي اللهجة الوسيطة أم اللهجة هجينة، كذلك لحل الكثير من المشكلات التعليمية المتعلقة بهذه اللهجة وذلك بتحديد أخطاء تعلم اللهجة الثانية المتعلقة في مجال الصوت لتجنبها في المستقبل. أعتمد الباحث في جمع بياناته على بعض المقابلات المتضمنة اسئلة شرائية تم طرحها على أربعة عملاء بنغاليين من كلا الجنسين ( ذكورا وإناثا )، اثنان منهم كانوا ذكورا وأثنان منهم كانوا أناثا.

وصلت الدراسة إلى بعض النتائج من أهمها، هي أن هذه اللهجة هي اللهجة الوسيطة ولست اللهجة هجينة لأن خصائص اللهجة الوسيطة قد تحقق في هذه الدراسة من خلال مرحلة تطور هذه اللهجة. توصلت الدراسة أيضا إلى أن الفروق الصوتية كانت في الأصول الساكنة لا اللهجة.

الكلمات الرئيسية: اللهجة الوسيطة, اللهجة OIDGI, اللهجة الهجينة.
1. Introduction

The influence of first language (henceforth L1) on the learning of second language (henceforth L2) has witnessed an intense debate during the last years, resulting in the prevalence of Error Analysis (henceforth EA) over Contrastive Analysis (henceforth CA). A great number of imperial studies indicated that neither L1 nor L2 was always responsible for learner's errors (Bailey et al. 1974; Krashen et al. 1978, 2003; Larsen – Freeman, 2002; 2003). CA and EA paved the way for Interlanguage theory (henceforth IL) in describing L2 learners' errors in the acquisition process of L2. IL, which has been in vogue for the last years, has witnessed huge criticism by different researchers and linguists from various aspects of L1 background. They all come to state that there are many points in this theory which are not clear. Therefore, this study aims at investigating how IL can be formed and how the phonological phonemes differ from L1 to their counterparts L2.

2. Statement of the Problem

The problem of the study stems from the fact that interlanguage and pidgin have many linguistic characteristics in common and it is not easy sometimes to differentiate one from another. This can be manifested in the variety used by Bengali workers found in Baghdad. There is no easy way to state that such a newly emerged variety is interlanguage or pidgin. Thus, the present study investigates this problematic area through studying the stages of development of this variety to prove whether it is an interlanguage or a pidgin. To that end, the study tries to find answers for the following questions:

The study tries to find answers for the following research questions:
1. Do workers acquire their BIL in a universal development patterns?
2. Do errors take place systematically?
3. Do workers when acquire their BD move through a series of stages namely, transitional constructions?

2. Aims of the Study

This study aims to investigate the following:
1.- To see how the features of the phonological system of the Baghdadi dialect (BD) differs from that used by the Bengali workers (IL).
2.- To show whether the process of acquiring the phonological system happens systematically or arbitrarily.
3.- To show how the sounds of the BD and those used by Bengali workers are pronounced.
4- To see whether the difference between the two varieties has more to do with vowels or with consonants.

3. Hypotheses of the Study

1. There is a difference in the phonological system between the BD and the variety used by of the Bengali workers, especially in consonant sounds.
2. There are slightly little difference in vowel sounds between the two dialects.

4. Data Collection

The data of the study was collected by recording interviews with Bengalis who work in Baghdad province in Iraq. The researcher used an advanced mobile phone which was tested before conducting each interview to ensure the voice quality. To collect his data, the researcher developed a list of personal questions to be answered by the subjects. The recorded data were about an hour long. Speaking of the ethicality of the project, the selected participants were asked if they would like to participate in the project by making interviews in BIL variety. After receiving their consent, their speeches were recorded.

The sample of the study included 4 participants (2 males and 2 females). The subjects’ ages ranged between twenty-three to forty-four years, while their stays in Iraq ranged between one to nine years.

5. Data Analysis

The researcher based his analysis on the interviews’ recordings. The description of data focuses on the kinds of errors learners make and how these errors change over time, or it may identify developmental stages in the sequence of acquiring the BD. That is, the data collected from the recorded interviews were analyzed and described in terms of the phonological differences between BD and the variety used by the Bengali workers. In writing the data, the researcher used the transcription process to show his data, and to show the committed errors, also to be clear for English readers to know how these errors were committed.

6. Method of Analysis

To analyze the data, the researcher adopts Corder's model (1960), the Error Analysis Approach (EA). Three principal steps are used in this analysis:
1- **Identification**: This step means recognizing erroneous utterances. The researcher found that all errors are overt errors and covert errors, the latter would lead to miscommunication. Corder (1992: 71) makes a distinction between overt and covert errors. “An overt error is easy to identify, because there is a clear deviation in form. A covert error occurs in utterances that are superficially well formed but which do not mean what the learner intended them to mean.”

2- **Description**: Description of errors is a necessary step for analyzing the data. It is essential to distinguish between description of errors and explanation of errors, since the former is concerned with the error itself, whereas the latter is concerned with its origin and causes.

3- **Explanation**: The first two steps are considered linguistic and the third step is psycholinguistic. This step deals with explaining how these errors were committed and how they can be corrected. The ultimate objective of EA theory is explanation of errors. Hence, this stage is considered the most important for EA research. In order to reach some effective remedial measures, Sanal (2007:92) claims that the analyst should be aware of the mechanism that triggers each type of error.

   Explaining the nature of errors is a fundamental issue in SLA. Ellis and Barkhuizen (2005:62) declare that "explaining errors involves determining their sources in order to account for why they were made". In Ellis's words (1994:57), explanation of errors "involves an attempt to establish the processes responsible for L2 acquisition". On the other hand, Ellis explains the psycholinguistic sources of the nature of L2 learners' errors by classifying them as errors of performance and errors of competence.

   According to Ellis (1997:6) there are two ways of acquiring second language, the first one is called 'the naturalistic process', which means to learn the language at the same time as learning to communicate in it. This process occurs outside the classroom and it is our concern. The second way occurs inside the classroom, the learner learns the second language only inside the classroom, not naturally.
7. Characteristics of Interlanguage

Tarone et al. (2001: 23) say that there are four characteristics or observable facts of IL theory. These characteristics are:

1- Stability: Stability is to show consistency for using a certain rule or form over time in the field of IL learning. In other words, stability can be seen in using the same form twice by L2 learners. Also Henderson (1985) argues that it is not clear for us that a new language hypothesis is needed for more explanation about the human propensity to keep making the same errors or mistakes, and to learn things gradually.

2- Systematicity: IL is characterized as being systematic and not a random collection of rules or items. IL follows a particular system of rules which makes it systematic. Although the rules are not essentially the same as the rules of the TL, yet IL has a specific set of rules. Despite the variability of IL, it is probable to detect the rule-based nature of learner's use of an L2/FL (Kasper, 2001; Kasper & Dahl, 1991). Tarone et al. (1976: 97) mention that the L2 speech can be called systematic "when it evidences an internal consistency in the use of forms at a single point in time".

3- Mutual Intelligibility: The need to establish whether the learners of FL can communicate verbally with other languages other than their NL is put into consideration here. If this is found to be so, then the students are found to be able to share an IL and can be considered to be efficient. If the students are found not able to communicate with other languages, then they will be considered to possess the non-native grammar that causes them not to have the ability to make the emergence of an IL native (Bent & Bradlow, 2003).

4- Backsliding: Backsliding is another feature of IL. All FL teachers are familiar with the concept of backsliding. It means the linguistic mastery of certain form in the TL, followed by loss, nonuse or misuse of the form (Butler-Tanaka, 2000). Selinker (1974) argues that backsliding is neither haphazard nor towards the speaker's NL but is towards an IL norm. He states that backsliding may happen when an L2 learner focuses on meaning and makes or produces a formerly learnt IL form. Fossilized forms or structures continue in spite of error correction, explicit grammatical instruction or explanation; and even if they are eradicated, they might occur again in spontaneous production. Such a phenomenon is called backsliding (Ellis, 1994).

In fossilization, no alternative rule of the TL can be available to the learner, whereas in backsliding, there is always an alternative rule, but because of some contextual and emotional factors, the learners fail to use the right alternative rule. Therefore, Adjemian (1976: 317) asserts that: "The speaker should have intuition about the correct rule or form, whereas in the
The Phonological Features of Non

case of fossilization he may not. This seems to me to imply that backsliding is
evidence of a function in IL which has almost lost its permeability. ’’

8. Sequence of Acquisition

According to Ellis , ( 1997 : 23 ) "when learners acquire a grammatical
structure they do so gradually, moving through a series of stages en route to
acquiring the native - speaker rule. The acquisition of a particular
grammatical structure, therefore, must be seen as a process involving
transitional construction. As an example of this process, let us consider how
L2 learners acquire irregular past tense forms (for example, 'got' ).". Learners
are likely to pass through the different stages shown in the following table:

Table( 1) Stages in the Acquisition of the Past Tense of 'eat'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Learners fail to mark the verb for past time.</td>
<td>'eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Learners begin to produce irregular past tense forms.</td>
<td>'ate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Learners overgeneralize the regular past tense form.</td>
<td>'eated'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sometimes learners produce hybrid forms.</td>
<td>'ated'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Learners produce correct irregular past tense forms.</td>
<td>'ate'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also , Long and Doughty ( 2011 : 81 ) say that " during the 1950s and
1960s , many researchers interested in understanding language teaching and
learning set out to compare external differences between a given first
language ( L1 ) and a given target language ( L2 ). The hope was that such a
contrastive analysis approach would help them uncover areas of difficulties
for L2 learners. However , beginning in the 1970s , and influenced by seminal
findings that had begun to accumulate about child L1 acquisition, researchers turned to a different strategy and began analyzing the actual language samples that learners produced when attempt to use their L2 in speaking. A central concept that emerged with the study of actual learner language was interlanguage or the language system that each learner constructs at any given point in development. Interlanguage reflects an interim competence that contains elements from both the L1 and the L2 grammar, but also elements that go beyond both. The new associated methodologies of error analysis and later performance analysis (Long & Sato, 1984) led to an unprecedented wealth of findings about interlanguage. More recent developments in the last 20 years have added detail and explanatory power to the older findings.

Krashen (1982:15) claims that L2 learners approach two ways of internalizing L2 rules. The first is acquisition, a sub-conscious process of constructing an L2 system, similar to that employed by a child in acquiring his L1. The second way is learning, a conscious processing of rules in a deductive or pedagogically oriented setting. The monitor is part of learning; its main functions are edition and correction of L2 learner's errors.

Finally, Ellis (1997:20) mentions that some L2 learners submit to a 'Silent Period' which means that they do not make any attempt to say anything to begin with. Also this period represents a preparation for a subsequent production.

9. Error Analysis Approach

It is common that there are two approaches in second language acquisition, Contrastive analysis hypothesis and error analysis approach. The former concerns with the study of the similarities between two languages, whereas the latter deals with errors that committed only in one language, so that the researcher chose this approach due to its suitability of this study.

The EA approach focuses on errors committed by the second language learners, and neglects the non-errors. Thus, EA is an error and L2–based device which considers errors to be evidence of an L2 learner's system of language, in that they are systematic and reflect the systematicity of an abstract, ideal, and internal piece of knowledge of L2 (Corder, 1967:11). Therefore, EA is used to account for errors produced by L2 learners while acquiring the L2 system. Furthermore, it takes the task of comparing the L2 learner's language with the L2.
On the other hand, it is claimed that L2 learner's errors can help to explain the nature of language learning process, and further, they can furnish pedagogics with significant information which could be enhanced in curriculum design (Dulay et al., 1982: 138). EA is established to account for the underlying, mental process of the linguistic development of L2 learners; it involves the collection of errors, explaining them with reference to learning processes and evaluating them for the purpose of remediation and assessment (Ellis, 1984: 10).

9. Interlanguage VS Pidgin

Interlanguage is central to the wider field of SLA and the generative L2A enterprise in particular. Due to Larry Selinker's seminal publication in 1972, this term describes the linguistic system we can see in learner language when the learner attempts to convey meaning in the target language. The term 'interlanguage' embodies the idea that learner language is not a hodgepodge collection of random errors, but that there is a system to the error. The interlanguage rule system may be different from the target rule system used by its native speakers, and it may be different from the rule system of the learner native language. However, that system is indicative of an internal grammar and describable on its own term (Slabakova, 2016: 171).

'Interlanguage' moves closer and closer to the target language system and contains fewer and fewer errors. However, some errors will probably never disappear entirely. Such errors are often described as fossilized, meaning that they have become permanent features of the learner's speech. (Eisenstein, M. 1989: 33)

On the other hand, the origin of the term pidgin is brought from Chinese version of English word 'business'. (Yule, 2010: 247)

Wardhaugh (1986: 57) mentions that a pidgin is a language with no native speakers: it is no one's first language but is a contact language. That is, it is the product of a multilingual situation in which those who wish to communicate must find or improvise a simple code to enable them to do so.

Yule (2010: 292) defines pidgin as "a variety of language that developed for a particular purpose such as trade, but which has no native speakers, in contrast to creole".

Holmes (2013: 85) defines it as "a language which has no native speaker, and which is developed as a means of communication between people who do not have a common language".

According to Schumann and Stenson (1974: 140), there are three functions of pidgin to serve: (1) the communicative function, through which information is exchanged among persons, (2) the integrative function, which
serves to make one's identity within society, and (3) the expressive function, which is designed to allow the expression of certain psychological needs. Also Todd (1984:11) states that the vocabulary in a pidgin is less extensive than that of standard language, and that a pidgin it can convey similar types of information with fewer words. Finally, the differences between interlanguage and pidgin in several points have been summed up as follows:

1. Interlanguage is a stage between first and second language, this means that interlanguage occurs within two languages only, whereas pidgin formed from more than two languages.
2. Pidgin's grammar is simplified and reduced to its minimum, whereas interlanguage develops throughout the stages of acquisition.
3. The purpose of pidgin is communication, whereas interlanguage has two functions, acquiring second language and communication.
4. Interlanguage's errors are not random, but there is a system for these errors, while pidgin is a process of random collections of vocabularies and grammar from different languages.
5. Interlanguage can be developed and the speaker of this variety may become a native speaker, but pidgin has no native speakers unless it passes from one generation to another and becomes a 'creole'.
6. Errors in interlanguage occur systematically and can be corrected later, while errors of pidgin considers as one of the basics to form this variety.
7. Speakers of interlanguage are from one nationality, whereas pidgin's speakers are from more than one nationality.

8. Data Analysis, Discussion and Findings

The researcher introduces a brief description of the phonological features of the BD along with those of the interlanguage that the Bengali workers are trying to acquire, to see if there are similarities and differences between these two dialects. In addition, the researcher is trying to see how consonant and vowel sounds differ in the two dialects.

It is noticed that there are similarities and differences between the BD and IL of the Bengali workers at the level of phonology. It is found that the pronunciation of some sounds of the IL differs from those of the BD. The following table shows these similarities and differences.
Table 2
( Baghdadi phonetic Symbols and their Counterparts of the IL Phonetic Symbols )

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>BD</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>IL</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
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<td>1</td>
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</table>
The Vowel Sounds of Baghdadi Dialect

According to Abbood, A (2015: 58), the vowel sounds of Baghdadi Arabic are normally characterized by various degrees or gradations of the same property. Thus the oppositions which relate the vowel members of the phonological system are said to be gradual. This can be exemplified by the opposition between |u| and |uː| which is gradual in relevance to the vowel |o| because the latter is a third degree of the same property (vowel height) as it is shown in the following table:

( After Slaot, et.al, 1978: 21 )

Figure 1
( Vowel sounds of Baghdadi Dialect )

The following conversations that the researcher made show the phonological differences between BD and IL of the Bengali workers:

a) Sita talata sana.
   'thirty six years old'
   Context: The participant was asked 'How old are you?'

The researcher noticed that P cannot pronounce the sound 'Ø', he pronounced it as 't'.

b) /ani yuḥob aḥmər/.
   'I like red'
   Context: The participant was asked 'Which color do you like?'
Here, the researcher discovered that P cannot pronounce the Arabic sound /ћ/ as /h/

c) /Yomia kamsa w eshreen alоф/.
'Twenty five thousand Iraqi dinar daily'.
Context: The participant was asked 'how much do you get a day?'

The researcher found that P is unable to pronounce the sound /X/ as /k/, that is listed among the Arabic sounds.

d) /ani yabiːʔ dahab/.
'I sell gold'.
Context: The participant was asked 'What is your job here?'

The researcher also noticed that P cannot pronounce the Baghdadi consonant sound /ð/, he pronounced it (d) instead.

e) /ani asgər wahəd/.
'I am the youngest'
Context: The participant was asked 'How old is your youngest brother?'

The researcher found that P is unable to pronounce the sound 'ṣ', he pronounces it as 's'.

f) /ana yuhəb abiat, asuəd/.
'I like white and black'
Context: The participant was asked 'Which color do you like?'

The researcher discovered that P cannot pronounce the sound 'ð', which is found only in Arabic language among all other languages, he pronounce it as 't'.

g) /ani yəruːh tabiːb/.
'I go to the doctor'
Context: The participant was asked 'Where do you go when you become ill?'
The researcher discovered that P pronounces the Arabic sound ‘ṭ’ as ‘t’.

h) /saʔa sabʔa jugul/

'it starts at seven o’clock'
Context: The participant was asked 'When does your work start?'

The researcher found that P cannot pronounce the sound ‘؟’, he pronounce it as ‘ʔ’.

i) /ani jugul bagdad/

'I work in Baghdad'
Context: The participant was asked 'Where do you work?'

The researcher noticed that P has no ability to pronounce the Arabic sound ‘ɣ’, he pronounce it as ‘g’.

j) /la la, ɡəria ma fi madiːnə/.

'no no, in a village, not a city'
Context: The participant was asked 'Do you live in a village or city?'

The Arabic sound ‘q’, he pronounces it as ‘g’.

Findings
Based on the aforementioned discussion, the researcher concludes that there are only 10 sounds pronounced by Bengalis differently from the BD, namely:

- /ʔ/ pronounced as t,
  Ex- Ḍalatha (three) …../ talata /
- δ/ pronounced as /d/
  Ex- ḏahab (gold) …/ dahab /
- /h/ pronounced as /h/
  Ex- aʔmər (red)…/ahmar/
- /k/ pronounced as /k/
  Ex- Xəmsa (five) …/kəmsa/
Ex- arb{a ( four ) …. /arbʔa/
- /ɣ / pronounced as /g/
Ex- yanam ( lamb ) …/ ganam/  
- /ʃ / as /s/
Ex- Ašfar ( yellow ) … /asfar/  
- /ð / as /t/, /tʃ / as /t/
Ex- abyad ( white ).. /abyat /  
- /tʃ / as /t/
Ex- ı abi:b ( doctor ) …/ tabi:b/  
- /q/ as /g/
Ex- qoria( village )... /garia/  
- /ð / as /t, z /
Ex-/ ma dbo:t / ( perfect ).../ mazbo:t/
Ex - /abiað / ( white ) ../ abiat /

As shown in the table and the examples above, all the other sounds which are not mentioned, are pronounce in the same way in the two dialects.

9.Conclusion
The study has revealed that the phonology in BIL is reduced or simplified, because some consonants are either lost or have shifted to other sounds which differ from the BD. For instance, the sound / Ɵ / is pronounced as / t /, whereas / ḥ / as / h / . In addition, the sound / ḏ / is changed into / d /, while the sound / X / into / k / . Besides, the sound / ḏ / is changed into / d / and the sound  / ʂ / is pronounced as / s / . What is also attested in BIL phonology is the absence of the BD sounds / ð / as / t, z / , then  / tʃ / , which were replaced by / t /, also the sound / ʂ / is changed into / tʃ /, finally, the sounds / ɣ , q / are changed into / g /.

Additionally, the vowels in BIL are reduced in most of the recorded data, but, sometimes, they use the long vowels almost as the same as BD.

Finally, the researcher found that all these variations or characteristics belong to interlanguage rather than pidgin, so this variety is interlanguage acquired by Bengali workers to master the second language ( Arabic).

The researcher has put forward the following points to prove that this variety is an interlanguage not a pidgin. First, many characteristics of interlanguage are achieved such as, stability; which means using the form of language twice by different learners and we mentioned this in the appendix, for instance using the same sound by different learners. Second, ‘systematicity’, which means that there are systematic rules in interlanguage contrary to pidgin, pidgin is random. Third, the constant use of the present
tense even if the tense was in the past, and we mentioned this in participant's speech. Other characteristics also appear in the interlanguage, such as borrowing, code-switching, interference, fossilization, overgeneralization, overextension and so on. These characteristics are also related to the phenomena of IL.

References

Appendix (the recordings)

Some notes about Recordings
- sounds that are in bold contain errors.
- The translation between brackets is a 'Literal Translation'

Males
1. The researcher: /Kam ax wa oxt ḩndak/ ? (how many brothers and sisters do you have?)
   **Word for word Tr**: how many brother and sister you have?
   - Ṣaṣil: ana aktii kamsa, kulo sabʔ, ako wahd, ana wahd, etni:n, kamsa okti. (I have five sisters and one brother)

2. The researcher: /ʃinoʃulak ehina/ ? (what is your job here?)
   **Word for word Tr**: what you work here?
   - Ṣaṣil: /aniʃugul alba:n/ (I work in diary factory)

3. The researcher: /eʃgad ratbak /? (how much is your salary?)
   **Word for word Tr**: how much your salary?
   - Ṣaṣil: /ani yeʃzi ṭrak sita jaraŋa, kasra:n baʔdi:n etni:n sanaʃugul bʔdi:n faida etni:n sanaʃugul bala:j/ (when I come to Iraq, I stay two years without work, after these two years I get a job)
   - **Word for word Tr**: me come Iraq six paper, lost after two year work after benefit two year work free.

4. The researcher: Wi:n juylak /? (where is your work?)
   **Word for word Tr**: where your work?
   - Ṣaṣil: /alʃugul mal ani gari:b mena /. (my workplace is near from here)

5. The researcher: /eʃkam ṣadi:q ḩndak fəl ḩraq/ ? (how many friends do you have in Iraq?)
Word for word Tr: how many friend you have in Iraq?
- Rasil: /sadi:g ma:ku/ (I have no friends)

Word for word Tr: your job?
- Abdulsalam: /ani yabe dahab/ (I sell gold)

Word for word Tr: what is your job?
- Hassan: / bana:t hina hilo, sko:1, ko:lədʒə, madrasa, kulo mazbo:t, kulo dʒeid / (the Iraqi girls are more beautiful than Bengali girls)

Word for word Tr: girls here beautiful, school, college, school, all perfect, all good.

8. The researcher: / wi:n etro:Ћ min titmara δ / ? (where do you go when you become sick?)
- Hassan: / ha:, mari:t, yuro:ħ tabi:b, mustafa, seidalia, hi:l / (I go to the doctor, hospital or pharmacy)

Females

1. The researcher: / fisma /? (what is your name?)
   Word for word Tr: what your name?
- Khadeeja: / kadi:ʒə / (Khadeeja)

Word for word Tr: Khadeejah.

2. The researcher: / egad ʕmrəf /? (how old are you?)
   Word for word Tr: how much your age?
- Khadeeja: / kamsa etnii:n / (twenty five)

Word for word Tr: five two.

3. The researcher: / ejuakat etnami:n /? (when do you sleep?)
   Word for word Tr: when sleep?
- Khadeeja: / Saʔa etnii:n duhur, saʔa ʔfra boli:/ (I sleep at two o'clock in the afternoon, and ten o'clock at night)

Word for word Tr: o'clock two afternoon, o'clock ten at night.

4. The researcher: / fino ta:bxii:n /? (what do you cook?)
   Word for word Tr: what you cook?
- Jana: / kulʃi ani yetbak, laham, dolmah, kulu / (I cook everything like, meat, dolamh).

Word for word Tr: everything me cook, meat, dolmah, all.