

Received 21 April 2020.

Accepted 20 June 2020.

DOI: 10.1344/DIALECTOLOGIA2022.29.2

MORPHO-PHONOLOGICAL ADAPTATION OF FRENCH BORROWING IN THE ALGERIAN ARABIC DIALECT

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Abstract

The present paper aims at describing some forms of French adapted borrowings into the Algerian Arabic dialect. This study deals with French as donor language on the one hand, and Algerian Arabic dialect, as recipient language on the other. The collection of data is based on everyday conversations and Algerian television programs. French borrowings are used in everyday life by all Algerian counterparts. They may be adopted or adapted. The latter undergo the process of adaptation to suit the linguistic patterns of Algerian Arabic dialect. The results reveal several cases of adaptation, at the level of phonology and morphology, such as alteration, gemination, addition, omission, gender and number inflection, which occur in nouns, adjectives, and verbs.

Keywords

French borrowing, Algerian Arabic dialect, morpho-phonological adaptation

ADAPTACIÓN MORFOFONOLÓGICA DE LOS PRÉSTAMOS DEL FRANCÉS AL DIALECTO ÁRABE DE ARGELIA

Resumen

Este artículo tiene como objetivo describir algunos préstamos del francés que se han adaptado al dialecto árabe argelino. Se estudia el francés como lengua de partida, por un lado, y el dialecto árabe argelino, como lengua receptora, por el otro. La recopilación de datos se basa en conversaciones cotidianas y en programas de televisión argelinos. Los préstamos franceses son utilizados en la vida cotidiana por todos los argelinos. Pueden ser adoptados o adaptados. Estos últimos se someten a un proceso de adaptación para acomodarse a los patrones lingüísticos del dialecto árabe argelino. Los resultados revelan

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diversos tipos de adaptación a nivel fonológico y morfológico, como alteraciones, geminaciones, adiciones, omisiones, flexión de género y número, que se aplican en sustantivos, adjetivos y verbos.

Keywords

préstamos del francés, dialecto árabe argelino, adaptación morfofonológica

ADAPTACIÓ MORFOFONOLÒGICA DELS MANLLEUS DEL FRANCÈS AL DIALECTE ÀRAB D'ALGÈRIA

Resum

Aquest article té l'objectiu de descriure alguns manlleus del francès que s'han adaptat al dialecte àrab algerià. S'estudia el francès com a llengua de partida, per una banda, i el dialecte àrab algerià, com a llengua receptora, per una altra. La recopilació de dades es basa en converses quotidianes i en programes de televisió algeriana. Els algerians utilitzen els manlleus francesos en la vida quotidiana. Poden ser adoptats o adaptats. Aquests darrers se sotmeten a un procés d'adaptació per acomodar-se als patrons lingüístics del dialecte àrab algerià. Els resultats mostren diversos tipus d'adaptació a nivell fonològic i morfològic, com ara alteracions, geminacions, addicions, omissions, flexió de gènere i nombre, que s'apliquen en substantius, adjectius i verbs.

Paraules clau

manlleus del francès, dialecte àrab algerià, adaptació morfofonològica

1. Introduction

Borrowing is among the results of language contact. Many languages, in the world, influence and are influenced by other languages. One possible impact refers to words originated from one language and used in another. The process of borrowing involves two elements, the donor language (DL) also called source language (SL) from which words are originated and the recipient language (RL) which receives words. Once in RL, these words are called borrowings. Linguists, however, exceed much this general definition; they investigate in the phenomenon of borrowing from different sides.

Borrowings are classified according to the socio-cultural relation between DL and RL, or according to the level and degree of their adaptation. They are adopted by keeping their original form, without any change, or they may be altered at the level of syntax, morphology, phonetics, phonology, etc.

The topic of borrowing is studied in many standard languages. However, the present study is concerned with Algerian Arabic (AA) dialect as RL, which involves borrowings from different origins: Amazigh, Spanish, Turkish, Italian, English, and French. The latter is the most expanded one, because of the long period of French colonization.

The corpus contains French borrowings used in AA collected from everyday conversations and Algerian television programs. And then, adapted borrowings were identified relying on a comparison between the possible DL model and the RL reproduction. The main interest is to explore the different changes of French borrowings in AA.

Some French words are only adopted; they are used in RL the same way as in DL, many others are adapted, i.e. integrated into the rules of AA. They undergo changes, especially morphological and phonological ones. In this research, the focus will be on the following questions:

- How are the borrowings adapted to the rules of AA?
- What are the different changes they sustain?
- Do all French borrowings which are alike phonologically, morphologically, etc. follow the same rule of AA?

Concerning phonetic transcription, one form cannot represent all the sounds of French language or those of AA, as a consequence, two types are used: French phonemic symbols¹ and Arabic phonemic symbols.²

2. Literature review

The topic of borrowing arouses the interest of many linguists. Some of them use the term 'loanwords', believing that borrowing is a metaphoric term, since the recipient RL will not give back words borrowed from DL. As a result, some linguists as Clyne (1968), and much later, Johanson (2002) use the terms: *transference and code-copying*. Haugen (1950: 212) is considered as the main reference in the topic of borrowing. He defines it as: "The attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another."

However, the word 'pattern' is used in general and seems ambiguous (Treffers-Daller 2010) because he defines the term 'pattern' as the production of borrowing in the RL the same way they are used in DL, without specifying its dimensions.

¹<http://www.wordreference.com/fr/French-Pronunciation.aspx>

²https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Help:IPA_for_Arabic

While Haugen (1950) deals with borrowing in the context of code switching,³ Weinreich (1953), on the other hand, treats the subject within the context of bilingualism, and uses the term ‘interference’ instead of the traditional term ‘interlingual influence’. He considers it as a negative phenomenon, more precisely as: “Those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language” (Weinreich 1953: 1). He also, indicates that interference is a matter of bilingual speakers. Yet, not all cases of interference.

Weinreich (1953) differentiates between two phases: the first occurs in speech, when a bilingual speaker uses a word from DL in an utterance of his mother tongue RL, as a result of his knowledge of DL, and this is called speech interference. Another phase is language interference, which is a consequence of elements establishment. These borrowed elements are first used by a bilingual in his speech, and when they are spread among the speech community, they become habituated and established (Weinreich 1979: 11) Interference appears on all language levels: phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic, and lexical (Weinreich 1979)

Other terms, in fact, are used to cover ‘interference’ which are, ‘substratum influence’ and ‘transfer’ (Winford 2003), but the use of these terms is imprecise, as a consequence, Winford relies on Coetsem’s (1988) approach, which deals with borrowing and imposition. In borrowing, materials are imported from SL⁴ to RL, which is the primary language of the speaker, this is called RL agentivity. In imposition, materials are always transferred from SL to RL, but the first language of the speaker is SL, i.e., SL agentivity (Winford 2003). The latter may be found, especially in cases of second language acquisition (SLA); for instance, an Algerian speaker, whose primary language is French (SL), will certainly introduce French elements, when speaking AA. Among all these concepts, borrowing and loanwords are still the most used. Borrowing has a double function: it is used to refer to the process and to the words as well, whereas loanwords refer to the words only.

³Code-switching (sometimes code-shifting or, within a language, style-shifting), refers to the switch bilingual or bidialectal speakers may make (depending on who they are talking to, or where they are) (Crystal 2008: 83).

⁴Winford (2003) uses the terms ‘source language’ SL, instead of DL.

3. Types of borrowing

Borrowings are classified either in accordance with the kind of socio-cultural relation between DL and RL or in relation with the level and degree of loanwords integration. Concerning the first classification, Bloomfield (1933: 444-476) mentions three types: Cultural, intimate and dialect borrowing. Within the same context, Myers-Scotton (2006) distinguishes two types of borrowings: core and cultural borrowing.

- Core borrowing is a loanword which is adopted, even if the equivalent word exists in RL.

- Cultural borrowing is a loanword which fills the gap in RL, such as the Japanese word: *sushi*, or the Italian word: *pizza*.

Many classifications are outlined within the context of level and degree of borrowing integration. The process of borrowing takes two forms: import and substitution (Haugen 1950). Import means that the borrowed word is used as it is in DL without any adaptation, whereas substitution is when the borrowed word undergoes transformation to be integrated into the rules of RL. This latter may be classified into three categories:

- Loanwords: mean a complete borrowing of items, i.e., it is an import without substitution, such as the French word 'rideau' *curtains* which is used in AA the same way as in the French language.

- Loanblends: they include both import and substitution, the borrowed word undergoes modification at the level of phonetics or phonology, morphology, etc. such as the French word 'veste' *jacket* which can be pronounced /vista/ in AA.

- Loanshifts: consist of substitution without importation, so RL takes only the meaning of the word from DL, such as the word 'gratte-ciel' which is taken from the English word *skyscraper*. Weinreich uses the same classification, yet he employs the terms: hybrid compound for loanblend and semantic extension instead of loanshift.

4. Algerian linguistic context

There are two main Algerian native languages: Tamazight and Arabic. This last is divided into three principal groups: classical written Arabic which is the earliest language used in the Holy Book 'Qur'an' and in the initial Arabic literature, written modern standard Arabic (MSA) is the national academic language of all Arabic countries, and the Arabic spoken dialect, or, rather AA dialect, is known and used by the majority of Algerian speakers.⁵ Many linguistic phenomena result from this language contact, such as, bilingualism, code switching, code mixing, diglossia, and borrowing. AA dialect contains many borrowings from different origins: Tamazight, Turkish, Persian, Spanish, Italian, French, English, and so on. French borrowings are widespread within the Algerian speech community. Most of these borrowings are lexical words, as nouns and verbs. They take two major forms: they can be integral, also called loanwords, as mentioned above, without any modification of the word. They can be hybrid, involving all borrowings that undergo the process of integration. In this respect, Poplack (1980) relies on the morpho-syntactic integration as a measure for distinguishing between borrowing and code switching. She added nonce borrowing which are less frequent than the other types of borrowings. French borrowings are *so adapted* to the rules of MSA that most of the time non-educated people use them without being aware of their origin.

5. General conditions of integration

When introducing the terms *adaptation and integration of loanwords*, Haspelmath & Tadmor (2009: 42) states that a borrowed word in any language is adapted if it has phonological, morphological, syntactic and orthographic properties that do not fit into the system of the recipient language. He also asserts that like other languages, Arabic one is characterized by gender and inflection classes. Each word fits in a gender and inflection class so that it can suit the syntactic patterns which necessitate gender agreement and some inflected forms.

⁵ Except for some regions where Tamazight language is the mother tongue.

However, if the donor language is well-known and/or the borrowed word is recent, recipient-language speakers may choose not to adapt the word in pronunciation, and may borrow certain inflected forms from the donor language, as English which borrowed plural forms from Greek and Latin in the words: phenomenon/phenomena, fungus/fungi, crisis/crises (Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009: 42)

As far as AA is concerned, some French borrowings are almost not adapted, as ‘télé’ *television*, ‘les lunettes’ *glasses* these words are kept as they are in the donor language, not because the donor language is well known or the borrowing is recent, as said above, but because Algerian speakers are accustomed to the use of these words.

The sound /v/ does not exist in Arabic, though it is most of the time, pronounced, as in the French language. While this paper deals with the present period, the topic of borrowing into the Arabic language had been the interest of many ancient philologists like Al-Harīri (1122 AD) and Al-Jawhari (1005 AD). They claimed that borrowing should be modified by the phonological and morphological patterns of Arabic (Bueasa 2015: 8).

6. Methodology

The data was collected through everyday speech and from some Algerian TV shows programs. All the words mentioned in this paper are frequent among the Algerian speech community. Their use in everyday life demonstrates the different forms of integration they sustain. The rule stated by Al-Harīri, and Al-Jawhari at that time, is still applied with most French borrowings which are used now in AA. These French borrowings undergo different types of integration, the most important ones are phonological and morphological.

7. Phonological integration

7.1 Alteration

7.1.1 Consonants alteration

Some phonemes do not exist in Arabic language, so speakers of AA (RL) tend to use the nearest sound to DL sounds. [p] is not included in Arabic phonological patterns. However, it is an allophone of /b/. When using French borrowings containing the phoneme /p/, speakers, generally, shift to /b/ in AA language, such as /llāmba/ from 'lampe', *lamp*, /blas/ from 'place', *place*. The shift is from aspirated phoneme to unaspirated one (Foley 1970). Note, however, that the phoneme /p/ is kept in many other words, such as: /plakār/ from 'placard', *cupboard*, /portābl/ or /portāb/ from 'téléphone portable', *cell phone*.

/v/ is another phoneme not found in Arabic language, so it is, sometimes modified to /f/, this is noticed through some words as /faliza/ meaning 'valise' *luggage*, /ttelefizijǝ/ meaning 'télévision' *television*. In other words, /v/ is replaced by /b/, such in /kab/ for 'cave' *cellar*. Alteration occurs even with phonemes that exist in the Arabic language, some speakers of AA pronounce the word 'foulard': /lfurara/ *neckerchief*; the phoneme /l/ exists in Arabic, however, it can be replaced by /r/ in this case. For the word 'casserole', /l/ is replaced by /n/ in AA: /kasrona/ *saucepan*. These alterations are considered as irregular changes in loanwords because such sounds exist in Arabic (Bueasa 2015: 9)

7.1.2 Vowels alteration

Some French vowels are altered to suit sound patterns of AA. Speakers who do not master the French language, find some difficulties to pronounce French vowel sounds, or perhaps they don't know they exist, especially: /y/, /ə/, /oe/, /ø/.

/y/ in 'sur' *on*, 'tu' *you*, 'pure' *clean/clear*, 'cure' *cure*, 'bureau' *office/desk*, is changed into a sound between /i/ and /y/.

/ə/ in '*repos*' *rest*, /œ/ in '*jeune*' *young*, /ø/ in '*pneu*' *tire*, may be altered to sounds between /e/ and /ɛ/ for '*repos*', /ɛ/ for '*jeune*', and /e/ for '*pneu*'.

Sometimes nasals in last syllables are lessened to vowels, like the words '*bâtiment*' *building*, '*appartement*' *flat*, '*échappement*' *exhaust* which becomes /batima/, /apartəma/ and /ɛʃapma/.

The nasal /ã/ is altered into a simple vowel /a/. The nasal /ǣ/ may be altered into /ɔ̃/, so the word '*vent*' *wind* can be pronounced /vɔ̃/ instead of /vǣ/.

In the same way, as for consonants alteration, some vowels exist in AA and are modified, though, this time not to ease pronunciation, but the speaker, may think that this is the right sound or he, perhaps, wants to emphasize that the word sounds French. This case is really contradictory, since the speaker alters from vowels which exist in his language to vowels which are not present, thus making pronunciation difficult rather than simple, eg.: /u/ in '*double*' *double*, '*coupon*' *cutting*, and /o/ in '*frottoir*' *brush*, '*trottoir*' *pavement*, may be pronounced /ə/.

7.2 Gemination

Gemination is a particular pattern in Standard Arabic and AA as well, following the phonotactic CCVC or CCV. French words which undergo germination are those, whose initial letter corresponds to one of the Arabic sun⁶ letters such as /ddosji/ from '*dossier*' *file*, /sspor/ from '*sport*', /ttablo/ from '*tableau*' *table*, /llāmba/ from '*lampe*' *lamp*, /zzo/ from '*zoo*' *zoo*, /ʃʃokola/ or /ʃʃikula/ from '*chocolat*', *chocolate*. Unlike in AA, initial consonant clusters in Egyptian Arabic is broken by the addition of glottal stop followed by a vowel, therefore transforming the initial syllable from CCV toʔeC..., e.g., /ʔezbort/ from '*sport*', *sport*, these words are not cases of germination, but rather cases of addition (Hafez 1996). Germination also occurs in the middle of the word, e.g., /ssysset/ for '*la sucette*' which means *lollipop* or *pacifier*.

⁶Arabic letters which are always (germinated) doubled at the beginning of words when they are used with definite articles, these are: /t/, /z/, /θ/, /d/, /ð/, /r/, /z/, /s/, /ʃ/, /ʃ/, /t/, /d/, /l/, /n/.

7.3 Addition

A very frequent constraint of AA phonology is the addition of the MSA definite article ‘al’ before French borrowed words (Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009: 738) which start with letters corresponding to Arabic moon⁷ letters. This definite article ‘al’ is reduced to ‘l’ in AA, for instance, /al byro/ or /lbyro/ instead of ‘le bureau’, *the desk*, /lfyzo/ instead of ‘le fuseau’, *peg pants*, /lmirwar/ instead of ‘le miroir’, *the mirror*.

There are other cases when the addition of the definite article of MSA ‘al’ occurs; when French nouns are preceded by demonstratives (*ce, cette, ces*), the demonstrative is replaced by an Arabic one: ‘hada’ which is used for masculine singular form and corresponds to ‘ce’ *this*, whereas ‘hadi’ indicates the feminine and is the equivalent of ‘cette’, and ‘hadu’ is the plural demonstrative replacing ‘ces’, *these*. All these Arabic demonstratives are, frequently, reduced to ‘had’ in AA.

There are many examples which can be cited, /had lbyro/ means ‘ce bureau’, *this desk*, /had lmikro/ means ‘ce micro’, *this computer*,⁸ /had lbys/ means ‘ce bus’, *this bus*. /had lmaġina/ for ‘cette machine’, *this machine*, /had lvista/ for ‘cetteveste’, *this jacket*, /had lvilla/ for ‘cette villa’, *this villa*. The same modification appears with plural nouns and demonstratives; examples: /had lbyrojāt/ for ‘ces bureaux’, *these desks*, /had lmaġināt/ for ‘ces machines’, *these machines*, /had lkartabāt/ for ‘ces catrables’, *these schoolbags*.

When nouns start with vowels: ‘armoire’, *wardrobe*, ‘instabilité’ *instability*, ‘avion’, *plane*, ‘affaire’, *affair*; the definite article, apostrophe *l’* is replaced by the reduced form of the Arabic article ‘l’ after demonstratives. This usage in AA gives the impression that the word begins with the second syllable, i.e. a consonant, for example: ‘cette affaire’ in French Language, *this affair* is pronounced /had lafær/ in AA instead of ‘cette affaire’ as if the word is ‘la ffaire’ and not ‘l’affaire’ *the affair*. The same thing for ‘avion’ which means *the plane*, in AA, it is pronounced /had lavjõ/, ‘cet avion’, *this plane*. However, if the word begins with letters equivalent to sun Arabic letters, there will be no definite article ‘l’ with e.g., /ttenis/ *tennis*.

⁷Arabic letters which are never germinated at the beginning of the word: /ʔ/, /b/, /ğ/, /ħ/, /kh/, /ʕ/, /ʁ/, /f/, /q/, /k/, /m/, /h/, /w/, /j/.

⁸Usually, Micro in AA refers to ‘micro portable’ i.e., the computer.

The basic French loans seem to have been a generalized stem ending in a vowel sound, in the er-conjugation, many forms end in a vowel sound (e.g., *declarer*, *to declare* with *déclaré*, *déclarez*, *déclarais*) in spoken AA, imperfect *y-diklari*, perfect *diklara* (Versteegh 2001).

7.4 Omission

A very frequent omission occurs in AA, is that of definite articles ‘le, la, les’⁹ *the*. Only ‘l’ is used instead; as stated above (§ 6.3), this is not a shortened form of French definite articles, but it is a shortened form of the Arabic definite article ‘al’ which is used before moon letters.

Another phonological restriction of AA is syllabic omission (Hafez 1996), in some French loanwords, syllables are omitted to facilitate pronunciation, these syllables are the vowels at the beginning of the word, such as the verb ‘avancer’, *to advance* which is often pronounced, /vāse/ as a substitute of ‘avancez’: when the bus receiver tells the passengers to leave more space for the others. In words like ‘escaliers’ *stairs*, ‘assurance’ *insurance*, ‘accident’ *accident*, the first syllable, which is a vowel, is also sometimes, removed. Yet, exceptions arise with two syllables words, like: ‘avion’ *plane*, ‘action’ *action*, ‘amour’ *love*, etc.

It is noticed that in some words ending with the syllable ‘le’, this latter is omitted in AA such as ‘cartable’ *schoolbag*, which is sometimes pronounced /lkartab/, /lkab/ for ‘le cable’ which means *the cable*, and /lportab/ for ‘le portable’ *cellphone*.

The syllable ‘ier’ at the end of the word is often reduced to ‘er’ in AA, e.g. /ssome/ instead of /ssomje/ ‘le sommier’ *bedspring*, or /ddose/ as a substitute of /ddosje/ ‘dossier’ *file*.

⁹ There are three definite articles in French; ‘le’ is the definite article for masculine singular, ‘la’ is the definite article for feminine singular, and ‘les’ is the definite article for all plural words.

8. Morphological integration

Borrowings undergo many modifications at the level of morphology as well. Paradigms derivations are very common, in addition to the inflection of gender and number as far as nouns integration is concerned. For verbs, inflection is perceived at the level of conjugation. This assimilation is an old phenomenon used in classical Arabic in earlier times. As happened with Classical Arabic, this change continues till nowadays with various Arabic dialects, so that these loanwords become congruent with morphological patterns of RL. In the following sections, the three main morphological integrations are described.

8.1 Derivation paradigms

After their integration, different paradigms are derived from borrowings following the AA patterns. Either a verb or a noun, the data collected show that the borrowing is used in various situations of speech. The noun ‘connexion’ with from which is derived from the verb /konnekte/, the imperfective verb /jetkonnekta/ ‘il seconnecte’ *he connects*, and the passive participle /mkonnekte/ ‘connecté’ *connected*.

Other paradigms are extracted from ‘connexion’, they represent conjugation of all persons in both tenses: present and past, such as /netkonnekta/ ‘je me connecte’ *I connect*, /tetkonnekta/ ‘elle se connecte’ *she connects*, etc. The verb ‘connecter’ is, generally, used as the intransitive verb. Other borrowings, on the other hand, may engender two forms of verbs: transitive and intransitive (Hafez 1996), such as the word ‘stress’ from which are created the transitive forms as /stressaha/ ‘il l’astressée’ *he stressed her*, /jestressini/ ‘il mestresse’ *it stresses me*. In addition to the intransitive: /mstressi/ ‘il est stressé’ *he is stressed*, /mstressia/ ‘je suis stressé’ *I am stressed*.

Some paradigms seem to be integral loanwords, though they do not exist in the French language, such as the verb ‘camérer’, and the noun ‘dégoutage’. The former is a paradigm of the noun ‘caméra’ *camera*, it follows the 1st group verbs ending with ‘-er’. And the second is used instead of the noun ‘dégout’ *disgust*. So ‘dégoutage’ submits to the rules of nouns ending with the suffix *-age* with like: ‘gonflage’ *pumping*, ‘lavage’

washing, 'gommage' scrub. Those paradigms, however, submit to the French language rule, and not to the rule of AA.

8.2. Inflection

8.2.1 Gender

One particular characteristic in gender is the addition of the suffix /a/ at the end of the word indicating the feminine form; e.g. /ttabla/ 'la table' *the table*, /lmaʃina/ 'la machine' *the machine*, /lkuppa/ 'la coupe' *the haircut*, /bisklita/ from 'bicyclette' *bicycle*. Such examples are abundant following the patterns: CCVCCa, CVCVCa, CVCa, and even words with three consonants clusters CVCCCVCa.

In Arabic, feminine words with one syllable CCāC, such as /ddār/ *house*, /nnār/ *fire*, /ʔarḍ/ *soil*, do not take the suffix /a/ at the end. French feminine loanwords with one syllable order are very rare, but when found, they submit to the same condition of AA. They do not take the suffix '-a' like: 'la mer', *the sea* which is pronounced the same way as in its original language.

There is no rule to determine whether the feminine French borrowing takes the suffix /a/ or not. It is, generally, a matter of speech habits. Some Algerian speakers use the feminine form for masculine words, such as the word 'le foulard' which is pronounced by some Algerian speakers /fūlara/ thinking that it is a feminine word.

A feminine passive participle is always suffixed with /a/ in AA, e.g., /mderãʒja/ from 'dérangée' *disturbed*, /mdekonnektja/ from 'déconnectée' *disconnected*.

However not present in all the feminine words of standard Arabic, in AA, it is crucial for differentiating between feminine and masculine words, the adjective /khādim/¹⁰ in Standard Arabic turns into /khddama/ *worker* or *servant* in AA following the CCCaCaCa phonotactic order.

The suffix -a is added to some adjectives referring to jobs or fields of study. Such words go through two steps: they are first taken from the original masculine form, and

¹⁰ /khādim/ is used for feminine and masculine form.

then they are inflected with the suffix *-a*, e.g., /kwafera/ means ‘coiffeuse’ *hairdresser*, it is taken from the masculine form ‘coiffeur’ and then /a/ is added.

The same way as for the word /ʒenjora/, this is taken from French ‘ingénieur’ *engineer*. Another example: /fermlijja/ ‘infirmière’ *nurse* is taken from ‘fermli’ ‘infirmier’ *male nurse* after phonological adaptation and suffixed with /a/ with others are taken from the original feminine form, e.g. /farmasjena/ from ‘pharmacienne’ *pharmacist*.

Abbreviated words indicating functions, may also be inflected with /a/ in the feminine form, e.g. /proffa/ from ‘professeur’.

8.2.2 Number

In addition to the different changes which singular loanwords undertake, there are other modifications which occur on plural words; feminine loanwords take the same form as feminine Arabic words ending, the suffix *-āt* is the marker of the feminine plural in Arabic. For instance: /lkokotāt/ from ‘les cocottes’, it is the plural of ‘la cocotte’ *stewpan*, another example is /lkamirāt/ from ‘les caméras’, the plural of ‘la caméra’ *camera*, or /lmotoyāt/ from ‘les motos’, the plural of ‘la moto’ *motorcycle*.

Plural masculine, on the other hand, do not follow the plural masculine form of Arabic, but they follow the Arabic plural feminine adaptation. As stated by Smeaton (1973: 36), “feminine plural *-āt* endings functions as a general device for the pluralization of nouns of foreign origin which have not been assimilated into Arabic beyond the phonological stage.” For him, the feminine plural *-āt* endings serves also to determinate the degree of integration, e.g. /ttelifunāt/ from ‘les téléphones’ *telephones*, its singular form is ‘le téléphone’, /lbiruyāt/ ‘les bureaux’ *the desks*, /ʃʃikulāt/ ‘les chocolats’ *the chocolates*. Other words, either masculine or feminine may have two plural varieties: the first is always the Arabic feminine plural *-āt*, the second variety is the broken plural which is used for some Arabic plural words. As stated above, the feminine plural *-āt* endings specifies the level of adaptation.

Smeaton (1973: 61) mentions that the switch from plurals *-āt* to broken plural is an indication of naturalization of the loanwords into the Arabic morphological system.

French loanwords submit to the same rule of broken plurals in Arabic, examples: 'les tables' which becomes in AA /ttwabel/ or /ttablāt/ *tables*, 'les dossiers' is either /ddosijāt/ or /ddwassa/ *files*, 'les factures' becomes /lfaturāt/ or /lfwater/ *bills*.

Yet, plural endings with *-āt* are so common that they seem like a kind of default plural marker which can be used for nouns which are masculine as well as feminine in the singular (Gadelii 2015: 27).

9. Conclusion and perspectives

Arabic Algerian dialect is very complex, it contains borrowings from different origins, but the most expanded ones are French ones due to the long period of French colonization in Algeria.

The current study starts by mentioning the different definitions and classifications of borrowings. The corpus of this research reveals several cases of adaptation: at the phonological level, consonant and vowel alterations are very frequent, especially for sounds not existing in AA. Germination, addition, and omission are far from being excluded. At the level of morphology, French borrowings witness cases of derivation paradigms and inflection. Yet the rule is not applied to all these words. It is rather a matter of speech habits.

This study demonstrates some possible forms of phonological and morphological adaptation of French words into AA. However, integration at the semantic level is still unstudied. The field of loanwords is too wide that many issues remain unclear or not investigated. As far as AA is concerned, other research on loanwords from Tamazight, Spanish, Persian, Turkish... or a more detailed study on French borrowings will be of great interest.

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