

Morphological Adaptation of English Verb Roots among Algerian EFL Learners: Towards a Contact-Induced Language Change

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To cite this paper:

Alouache, A. (2019). Morphological Adaptation of English Verb Roots among Algerian EFL Learners: Towards a Contact-Induced Language Change. *Revue Traduction et Langues* 18(2), 80-91.

Received: 29/ 01/ 2019; Accepted: 29/12/2019, Published: 31/12/2019

Abstract: *With English becoming the lingua franca of the globalized world, students are avidly eager to learn it virtually regardless of the field of study they are enrolled in; the current generation of Algerian students constitutes no exception. Indeed, their interest in learning English is undoubtedly leaving remarkably visible traces in their daily conversations. As a consequence, their Algerian Arabic is becoming, in the course of learning a new language -English in this case-, subject to change not only in terms of using Anglicism and code switching but also in terms of using adapted borrowing. By way of example, it is becoming increasingly common to hear infiltrations similar in principle to /laɪk:tu/ as an affirmative reply to: 'Do you like -something masculine-? or /mæ-laɪkɪtu:-f/ in case of a negative reply. In an attempt to identify the various patterns of such embedded words in Algerian Arabic, a survey has been carried out with EFL learners at Mentouri University. The results revealed that English verb roots are inflected by the same tense, subject, object, gender, number, command and negation denoting markers, inherent in Algerian Arabic.*

Keywords: *Adapted borrowing, Algerian Arabic, English verb roots, morphological processes.*

الملخص: مع تحول اللغة الإنجليزية إلى لغة مشتركة في العالم المعولم، نرى أن الطلاب يتوقون إلى تعلمها بغض النظر عن مجال الدراسة الذي التحقوا به. إن هذا الجيل من الطلاب الجزائريين ليس استثناءً. إذ أنّ اهتمامهم في الواقع بتحصيل اللغة الإنجليزية أصبح بلا شك يترك آثاراً في محادثاتهم اليومية. ونتيجة لذلك، أصبحت لغتهم العامية الجزائرية، تزامناً مع تعلم لغة جديدة - اللغة الإنجليزية في هذه الحالة - عرضة للتغيير، ليس فقط من حيث استخدام المصطلحات اللغوية الإنجليزية والتناوب اللغوي ولكن أيضاً من حيث الاقتراض اللغوي المضمّن. على سبيل المثال، أصبح من الشائع جداً سماع تداخل لفظي يماثل من حيث المبدأ كلمة /laɪk:tu/ التي توظف كرد إيجابي على: "هل تحب - شيء مذكر -؟" أو كلمة /mæ-laɪkɪtu:-f/ في حالة ما إذا كان الردّ سلبياً. لذلك، في محاولة لتحديد الأنماط المختلفة لهته الكلمات المضمّنة في اللغة العربية الجزائرية، تم إجراء دراسة استقصائية مع متعلمي اللغة الإنجليزية كلغة أجنبية في جامعة منتوري. وأوضحت النتائج أنّ بنية الفعل

الإنجليزي تسند إلى نفس ضوابط الصرف اللغوي لزمان الفعل، الفاعل، المفعول به، النوع، العدد، صيغة الامر وصيغة النفي، التي تعتبر علامات متأصلة في اللغة العربية الجزائرية. الكلمات المفتاحية: آليات فونولوجية، بنية الفعل الانجليزي، الاقتراض اللغوي المضمن، اللغة العربية الجزائرية، الانجليزية.

1. Introduction

Algeria by all means is considered a multilingual society given the number of languages used by its inhabitants. Indeed, much ink has been spilled on the matter, notably the different publications of Benrabah (2013), Bouhadiba (2002), Negadi (2015), etc. They all distinguished four main languages that the Algerian speech community employs: Arabic (standard and dialects), Berber (with all its varieties of Tamazight), French and English. When languages come into contact in one society owing to colonization, globalization and cultural openness, among a host of other reasons, different sociolinguistic phenomena would inevitably take place. This should include, but not be limited to, code-switching, borrowing, language mix, etc.

In the matrix language/ embedded language hierarchy framework put forth by Myers-Scotton (1993), Arabic, in the Algerian context, would be identified as the matrix language (i.e. the dominant language) comprising some loan materials (of any length, including single words, phrases, clauses and even sentences) imported from an embedded language, usually French (Ouahmiche, 2011) and more recently English. This direction could indubitably be the other way round depending on the social role of the language often defined in terms of political, economic or public dominance and the intellectual class of the speaker per se (Matras, 2007). French has always been a source of codeswitching and borrowing in Algeria owing to the prestigious status it has been occupying since 1962 (Harig, 2011; Belazreg, 2016). However, French is no longer the only language that has visible traces in the Algerian dialect; English has made many inroads on the latter as well (Benmoussat, 2015; Beddief & BenSafi, 2018). Therefore, the present paper is an attempt to identify the morphological influence of English on the Algerian Arabic (henceforth AA) of EFL students reading for a Bachelor Degree at Mentouri University.

2. Review of Literature

2.1. Code-Switching vs. Borrowing

A number of researchers have put forward different accounts on how to distinguish between the identity of a given contact-induced change, which is signalled, according to Thomason (2006, p. 341), by “the presence of foreign material incorporated into the receiving language”. Reyes (1974), Poplack and Dion (2012) among others who share the same line of thinking based their distinction on how long the stretch of words incorporated into the recipient language. If what is embedded is one word, the phenomenon is referred to as ‘borrowing’; if longer stretches of language are used, it is called ‘codeswitching’. Haugen (1956) and Hasselmo (1970) did not consider the length of the embedded material; they believed that codeswitching involves no adaptation mechanism i.e. the transferred materials preserve the grammatical and phonological patterns of the language they come from, whereas borrowing refers to integrating a foreign material, taken from the donor

language, into the morphological, syntactic or phonological norms of the recipient language, generally as the outcome of an imperfect command of the donor language.

Projecting those two definitions on the contact-induced change that takes place in Algeria, one would certify that both types do exist, wherein either French or English serve as the embedded language. Since French is unarguably dubbed the *de facto* language of Algeria, its use would be commensurate with the prestigious position it occupies. Therefore, its integration into Algerians’ daily speech springs from a partial or full mastery of French (= codeswitching) as it can be a complete or partial replication of the grammatical and phonological rules of AA (= borrowing) (Ouahmiche, 2013, 2014; Negadi, 2015; Bouchiba, 2015). The instances listed in Table 1 exemplify both types:

	Type	Integrated material	French origin	English translation
Borrowing	Complete	/fæliʒa/-/fæliʒæ:t/	valise/valises	suitcase/suitcases
	Partial	/virændæ/-/virændæ:t/	vérande/vérandas	awning/awnings
Code switching	Complete	/mæʃliʃnætʃawnu: puʒplaselaverūda /	مطيش نتعاونو pour placer la véranda	Is it possible to place the awning together?
	Partial	/lapʁɛmidinjɑ:llah janiɔkypedoɔka /	بشاء الله راني occupé درك	In the afternoon, God willing, I’m busy right now.

Table1. Borrowing and Codeswitching in Algerian Arabic

Meillet (as cited in Labov, 1966) once claimed that linguistic variations are only consequences of social change. His perspective has been proved over time to be correct given the outcomes resulting from languages getting into contact (the work of Ouahmiche, 2008, is a case in point in an Algerian setting). What happens nowadays in Algeria with regard to the status of English, once again, piggybacks Meillet’s postulation that language changes in accordance with the role it plays in society. In the last few years and owing to the ubiquity of technological resources that facilitate access to global communication media, English is making, by and large, linguistic inroads into the Algerian dialect, especially among those EFL learners who are learning English with gusto. Indeed, the Algerian society is witnessing a change in the linguistic construction of the students’ talk, who draw on their repertoire in English, however small it might be, as an attempt to attain their diverse communication goals.

The first incorporation of English words into the Algerian dialect has been virtually exclusively confined to those technical terms, *Anglicisms*, such as **windows, word, power-point, week-end, scan, skype, viber**, etc. that are mostly indirectly imported via French as they are used even by lay people (while they are bound to preserve their original pronunciation when used by EFL learners). However, not until recently the influence of AA, the matrix language in the present study, on English, the embedded language, has become increasingly remarkable. Lexical insertions are, in effect, becoming lexical borrowings as they, more or less, feature in the lexicon of EFL learners’ talk¹.

¹ This is widely spread among Algerian immigrants to English speaking countries (Arfi, 2008 as a case study). However, once immigrants begin to gain a good command of English, which becomes then the

2.2 Lexical Borrowing among Algerian EFL Students

The impetus of the present research dates back to two years ago when I overheard a student of mine replying to whether or not she liked the new pair of shoes of her friend using /laɪk:tu/ instead of the proper English sentence ‘I liked it’ or even preserving the dominant code of the conversation, i.e. AA.

It is worth mentioning that some researchers, when attempting to identify the morphological adaptation processes, tend to include, among others, the zero transmorphemisation or what is known as direct insertion (Wichmann & Wohlgemuth, 2007; Muysken, 2000). However, in the present analysis, such a process is not considered as we believe its outcome should be dubbed *codeswitching*, which is different from borrowing. The infinitive form of the verb in Arabic, be it standard or dialectal, undergoes different affixation processes, wherein the ‘prefix’ designates the doer of the action; it can equally be a present or future tense denoting marker while the ‘suffix’ can mark grammatical functions and inflections: object, gender and/or number (of either the subject or the object), past tense marker, imperative (command) or negation. These morphological mechanisms tend to be transferred to the embedded language verbs (Caubet, 1998).

Before identifying the incorporation strategies to accommodate English borrowed verbs, it is imperative to point out that the base form of the lexicalized verb, namely the English verb root adopts the morphological process of the matrix language to be imported into. Indeed, it becomes a verb with a compromised infinitive suffix /æ/ that seems to correspond to the base form of Standard Arabic infinitives (regardless of the pattern of the verb in AA whether it ends in a consonant or a vowel). Table 2 shows the transformation of the base form of English verbs:

DAA verb base form	Lexicalized verb base form	Standard Arabic verb base form
ends in a consonant	qfəl	cləʊzæ
	ʃɪab	drɪŋkæ
ends in a vowel	klæ	itæ
	mʃæ	wɔ:kæ

Table2. Affixation of Lexicalized English Stem

It is, in the same vein, important to highlight the fact that all words are marked for gender in AA. Therefore, subjective personal pronouns reveal the gender of the doer, too. 2nd and 3rd personal pronouns differentiate gender in the singular form, and so is the verb conjugation, both in the perfect (past) and the imperfect (present/future) tenses. Table 3 shows the difference between AA personal pronouns subject and their counterparts in English (bolded are the pronouns marking gender differentiation):

matrix language, the borrowing from the embedded language, i.e. Arabic, becomes limited to morphology i.e. morphological borrowing.

Person	Algerian Arabic		English		
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.	
1 st	/ænaʕ/	/hna/	I	we	
2 nd	Mas. /nta/	/ntu.ma/	you	you	
	Fem. /nti/		No gender/number differentiation		
3 rd	Mas. /huwwa/	/hu.ma/	he	she	it
	Fem. /hijja/		they		

Table3. Personal Pronouns in English vs. Algerian Arabic

3. The Survey

3.1. Participants

In an attempt to identify the accommodating patterns of those lexicalized borrowings, a survey was conducted involving 90 second-year EFL students reading for an LMD (Licence-Master-Doctorat) Bachelor Degree, during the academic year 2016-2017, at the Department of English, Mentouri University, Constantine.

3.2. Data Collection Procedure

First, the informants were asked to answer the following question: “what does the notion of ‘morphological borrowing’ represent to them?” At first, they seemed to be puzzled but once they were introduced to some examples, they answered positively and even went further to say: “Oh, we use it all the time”.

Second, the informants were requested to answer a series of 3 structured questions that would allow the researcher to identify the patterns of the borrowed items as well as the reasons that lead the informants to use borrowed items in the first place:

1. How would you assess your level in English?
2. Would you, please, give examples of the lexicalized items you are accustomed to use in your daily conversations?
3. What is/are the reason(s) that push you to use such a type of borrowing?

It is worth mentioning that, prior to data collection, the students were first asked to give an overall self-assessment of their English proficiency in order to eventually see whether using borrowing is limited/not limited to a given category of students. Their answers are grouped in Table 4:

Option	Number	Percentage
Good	36	40%
Average	54	60%
Bad	0	0%

Table4. Students’ Level in English

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. Patterns of Lexicalized Items

The survey has revealed a range of requisite Arabic markers used to denote tense, subject, object, gender, number, command and negation in the borrowed items, which are mostly verbs (99%).

4.1.1. Subject and Tense Denoting Markers

Unlike English that uses pronouns as separate entities, AA embeds them in the verb through affixation processes, though it can exhibit the former case, too². Whether it is a prefix or a suffix appears to depend largely on the tense of the verb, which is, in turn, inherent in the verb as well. Prefixes are used to refer to either the present or the future whereas suffixes are used to refer to the past tense. Students, when incorporating English verb base forms, make use of the same inflectional affixation processes that are inherent in their language.

o Perfect Tense

With the perfect tense, the lexicalized verb is merely inflected by suffixes, exactly as it is the case in the AA. It also agrees in gender and number with the subject. However, unlike what has been stated earlier in this section, the lexicalized verb base form changes its last vowel depending on its Algerian verb base form counterpart. If the latter ends in a vowel, generally /a/ or /æ/ (/qia/= read –the stem-), the lexicalized verb base form becomes compromised by /i/ instead (see the highlighted parts in Table 5) except for when it is conjugated with the 3rd personal pronoun, be it in the singular or in the plural. Table 5 shows the morphological mechanisms adopted to conjugate the lexicalized verb /ri:dæ/ (to read) in the past tense:

Tense	English Lexicalized verb	DAA counterpart	Verb conjugation		
			Prefix	Root	Suffix
Past	I	qi:t	-	ri:di	t
	You (m)	qi:t	-	ri:di	t
	You (f)	qi:ti	-	ri:di	ti
	He	qja	-	ri:dæ	-
	She	qiat	-	ri:dæ	t
	We	qina	-	ri:di	næ
	You (plur.)	qitu	-	ri:di	tu
	They	qraw	-	ri:dæ	w

Table5. Lexicalized Verb Conjugation in Perfect Tense

As shown in Table 5, the perfect tense inflectional suffixes are a replica to their counterparts in AA. They all designate the identity of the embedded subject. The conjugation of the lexicalized verb with the first personal pronoun is inflected by the suffix /t/ in the singular form (/ænæ/-I) or by the addition of the suffix /næ/ to denote the plurality of the speaker (/hna/- we). As for the addressee, it can be inflected by three different suffixes; /t/ is attached to the lexicalized verb to refer to the singular masculine addressee (/nta/- you Mas.), the suffix /i/ is added to /t/ to refer to its feminine counterpart (/nti/- you Fem.) while /tu/ refers to the plural form of the addressee, either the masculine or feminine gender (/ntu:ma/- you Neutral). The third personal pronoun singular, however, appears to take the same base form of the lexicalized verb if it is masculine (/huwwa/- he) and is inflected by /t/ if the subject is feminine (/hijja/- she). To designate the plurality of a third

² In emphasis or with verbless (equational) sentences denoting a state of being or dispositions. Some particles as well might be added to give further information to the tense: actuality, anticipation, etc.

party, the suffix /w/ is added to the lexicalized verb regardless of its gender (/hu:ma/-they).

o **Imperfect Tense**

To designate the imperfect tense, prefixes are used for the singular personal pronoun subjects while the suffix /w/ is added along with the same prefixes used for singular subjects to denote the plurality of the subject. Table 6 shows how the lexicalized verb /ri:dæ/ is conjugated in the present/future tenses:

Tense	English Lexicalized verb	AA counterpart	Verb conjugation			
			Prefix	Root	Suffix	
Present	I	nri:di	næqɹa	n	ri:di	-
	You (m)	tri:di	tæqɹa	t	ri:di	-
	You (f)	tri:di	tæqɹaj	t	ri:di	-
Future	He	yri:di	jæqɹa	j	ri:di	-
	She	tri:di	tæqɹa	t	ri:di	-
	We	nri:diw	næqɹaw	n	ri:di	w
	You	tri:diw	tæqɹaw	t	ri:di	w
	They	yri:diw	jæqɹaw	j	ri:di	w

Table6. Lexicalized Verb Conjugation in Imperfect Tense

The conjugation of lexicalized English verbs in the imperfect tense matches the AA verb affixation, starting with the verb root that is compromised by /i/ with all the personal pronouns. However, this matching is not always complete. Indeed, in cases where the lexicalized verb is inflected by the same prefix, context is used to identify the gender and number of the person in question. For example, the second personal pronoun singular drops its gender-differentiation marker /j/ and keeps only the suffix /t/. By contrast, it is coupled with the prefix /j/ in AA to denote the feminine addressee.

4.1.2. Object-Denoting Markers

The object in AA can also be embedded in the verb (For example, the object in /ditti:h/ (You took **it**) does not stand alone; the suffix ‘h’ substitutes it instead). Likewise, to signal the direct object status of a nominal, Algerian learners of English add object pronouns (particles) as suffixes to the English root following, thereby, the morphological norms of their daily spoken Algerian variety.

Tense	Lexicalized transcription	Spelling counterpart	Verb conjugation			Object
			Prefix	Root	Suffix	
Present	/nranti:h(æ)/	I write it (Mas.)	n	writi:	-	h
		I write it (Fem.)				hæ
Future	/nratiwhom/	We write them	n	writi	W	hom
		I kill you	n	killi	-	k
Past	/tlaki:nɪ/	She likes me	t	laʔki:	-	nɪ
	/rati:tʊ/	I wrote it	-	writi:	T	ʊ
	/ratinæhum/	We wrote them	-	writi	Næ	hum
	/rati:thæ/	You/I wrote it	-	writi	T	hæ
	/kili:tæk/	I killed you	-	killi	t(ə)	k
/laikætnæ/	She liked us	-	laikæ	t	næ	

Table7. Object-Denoting Markers

It is worth mentioning that the object-denoting marker attached to the lexicalized verb in English corroborates how object pronouns are connected to verbs in AA. /k/ (or /kom/ in the plural) is used with the 2nd person i.e. the addressee (al-mokhateb), /h/ and its derivatives showing the femininity and gender-neutral plurality of the object (/hæ/ and /hum/) stand for the 3rd person i.e. the absent (al-ghā'ib), and /ni/ and /næ/ are used to refer to the 1st person i.e. the speaker (al-motakallim). Furthermore, with the 2nd person, /ə/ is added to the compromised root of the verb as the would-be resulting cluster /tk/ is not a permissible coda both in Arabic and in English.

4.1.3. Negation-Denoting Markers

Negation is formed in AA by enclosing the verb –with all its tense and object denoting affixes– with the circumfix /mæ...f/. Once again, the same principle is adopted when it comes to negating those English verbs lexicalized into the Algerian dialect of EFL learners. Table 8 shows some examples:

Tense	Lexicalized transcription	Spelling counterpart	Object	Negation	
				Prefix	Suffix
Present	/mænrati:h(æ)f/	I do/will not write <u>it</u> (Mas.)	h	mæ	f
		I do/will not write <u>it</u> (Fem.)			
Future	/mænrati:whumf/	We do/will not write them	hæ	mæ	f
		I do/will not kill you			
Past	/mænkili:kf/	I did not write it	hum	mæ	f
	/mæraiti:tof/	I did not write it	k	mæ	f
	/mæraiti:hæf/	We did not write them	u	mæ	f
	/mæraiti:thæf/	You/I did not write it	hum	mæ	f
	/mækili:tækf/	I did not kill you	hæ	mæ	f

Table 8. Negation Denoting Marker

4.1.4. Command-Denoting Markers

Command concerns only the second personal pronoun, both in the singular and the plural form. No tense-denoting affixes are added to form the command in the affirmative; rather, it is formed by keeping the compromised infinitive, while object markers are attached when necessary (the first six examples in Table 9). Furthermore, as part of the verb conjugation, the stem must be suffixed by /w/ in order to differentiate between the singular ‘you’ and the plural ‘you’. However, in the negative form of the command – enclosed by the negation circumfix /mæ...f/–, the verb is further inflected by the prefix that, generally speaking, refers to the addressee i.e. /t/ (the last six examples in Table 9).

Form	Implied pron.	Lexicalized transcription	Spelling	Verb conjugation		
				Prefix	Root	Suffix
Affirmative	You (sing.)	/rati:h/	write <u>it</u> (Mas.)	-	rati:	-
	Mas./Fem.	/rati:hæ/	write <u>it</u> (Fem.)			
		/rati:hum/	write <u>them</u> (Plur.)			
Negative	You (sing.)	/rati:wəh/	write <u>it</u> (Mas.)	-	rati:	w
	Mas./Fem.	/rati:whæf/	write <u>it</u> (Fem.)			
		/rati:whumf/	write <u>them</u> (Plur.)			
Negative	You (sing.)	/mætrati:h/	do not write <u>it</u>	t	rati:	-
	Mas./Fem.	/mætrati:hæf/	do not write <u>it</u>			
		/mætrati:humf/	do not write <u>them</u>			
Negative	You (sing.)	/mætrati:wəh/	do not write <u>it</u>	t	rati:	w
	Mas./Fem.	/mætrati:whæf/	do not write <u>it</u>			
		/mætrati:whumf/	do not write <u>them</u>			

Table 9. Command Formation

4.2. Other Word Categories

The survey has revealed a scant borrowing of word categories other than the verb. As a matter of fact, no examples were given by the informants except for two words: /smɑ:rtæ/ (describing a smart girl) and /pramæ:t/ (referring to the plural of ‘prime’, a word commonly used in ‘Star Academy show’).

The former word is derived from the adjective ‘smart’ as it is inflected with the suffix /æ/ to denote that the person being described is of a feminine gender displaying the exact inflectional procedure adopted with its AA counterpart: /hædqæ/. The latter word, by contrast, does not refer to the traditional singular English noun ‘prime’. It rather refers to the time when the contestants enrolled in ‘Star Academy show’ would perform their auditions in front of the public waiting for their votes. Since this ‘prime time show’ takes place once a week over a period of time, Algerian people tend to automatically pluralize the noun ‘prime’ (exactly as would be done with all plural nouns). Therefore, the noun ‘prime’ is inflected by the AA regular plural feminine marker /æ:t/.

4.3 Code Mixing

In addition to morphologically adapting borrowed words, the survey has also revealed instances wherein the three codes known to the informants, namely AA, French and English were mixed up in a single sentence. This is no surprise as the Algerian society is deemed to be multilingual. Indeed, Algerians, especially the intellectual ones, tend to frequently change the code of conversation to/from French. Comparatively recently, many of them have got into the linguistic ritual of adding English to their repertoire. The following are some authentic examples of code mixing among Algerian EFL learners. The first example is a response to ‘What did you do yesterday?’

French	English lexicalized	AA	French	English lexicalized	AA
alɔʁ	wɔʃi:t	ləmaʃən w	a.pʁɛ	ri:di:t	ʃwiʒæ
Well,	I washed	the ditches and	then	I read	a little bit

Table10. Code Mixing: Example 1

In the second example, all what is in French abides by its phonological, morphological and syntactic rules, showing, thereby, the degree of literacy of the speaker as far as academic French is concerned. The borrowed word from English bears the morphological rules of AA as it is suffixed by the speaker’s past tense marker /t/.

AA	English lexicalized	French	English
lbærəh	laiki:t	\sta.ty\kə\l't'a\mi\syʁ\	\'feis, buk\
Yesterday,	I liked	the post that you posted on	facebook

Table11. Code Mixing: Example 2

It is worth noting that the English words displayed in the examples are instances of lexicalization as they have all undergone morphological-structure changes. However, this does not entail that the imported English words into the AA lexicon may also be free of any adaptation mechanism, such as the noun ‘Facebook’, which is rather an Anglicism.

4.3. Reasons for Loanwords Adaptation

In addition to identifying the patterns of lexicalized words in English used by EFL students, the survey intended also to collect data about the students' views on using borrowed words from English in AA. It seems that those instances of adaptation are not arbitrary, but driven, more or less, by a communicative purpose. Accordingly, three main reasons were extracted from the informants' answers:

- Some students claim that they resort to 'borrowing' when the other linguistic systems are completely shut off and the repertoire of English words is still functioning. In this case, students would extract 'the word' from their accessible short-term memory and fill in the semantic gap they are facing.
- Some students claim that this phenomenon has no direct bearing on the language per se; they use 'borrowing' because they merely want to add a 'funny touch' to their conversations.
- However, some students claim that they use it out of sheer custom as it runs in their blood or DNA (if I am to report the exact word used by one of the informants). Those students should be referring to the many French words embedded in AA.

5. Conclusion

This paper has examined the morphological adaptation of borrowed English words into AA. Adapted borrowing has always existed in the Algerian society as it is deemed to be multilingual. However, projecting it onto English is relatively specific to EFL learners. The study unveiled that English loanwords are inflected with the requisite matrix language morphological mechanisms, namely *tense, subject, object, gender, number, command and negation* denoting markers. Furthermore, the phenomenon of lexicalization seems to be driven by both communicative purposes and requisite linguistic mechanisms inherent in the multilingual nature of the society as such.

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