

Borrowing Routines in Berber

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In this paper we intend to analyse some cases of borrowing routines Berber as a minority variety spoken in Oran. This will be dealt with from different angles. The process of borrowing has already been observed and analysed in a previous paper. The analysis was conducted at two levels: the morpho-syntactic and the semantic levels. The lexical level was left aside because of its importance in the borrowing process in general and a whole paper should therefore be devoted lexical borrowing as it represents for us one of the most productive types of borrowing in Berber¹. We shall thus concentrate in the present paper on the processes of lexical borrowing applying to nouns and verbs. These two classes are the ones in which the highest borrowing rates have been noticed². The informants on which the present study is based are Mzabi

¹ .Chaker(1996: 117) found that in a list of 200 basic vocabulary items(the Swadesh list) borrowings to Arabic reached 38 in Kabyle 25 in Chleuh and 5 in Tergui.

² .Chaker (1996 : 125) found in a study that the highest rates of borrowing were noticed in verbs and nouns. Similarly, we made a small calculation of borrowed verbs our corpus and we found that out of 202 verbs, 89 were borrowed from Algerian Arabic. This gives us a percentage of 44 per cent which is relatively high.

and Kabyle speakers living in Oran. The corpus is composed of several recorded interactions between them.

- Processes of Lexical Borrowing

Adaptation is considered as one of the processes of lexical borrowing. The degree of adaptation depends on the amount of loans from the same source and on the degree of bilingualism of the community in question. When there is a small number of loans, they are well adapted to the linguistic system of the recipient language. But sometimes, the loans are so numerous that the recipient language may not adapt all of them to its system. This is the case of the Berber language during a period of its contact with the Arabic varieties. There has been so much pressure from words from Arabic (because of their tremendous number) that Berber did not adapt all of them at all levels. Kahlouche (1996 : 99) states :

‘à un moment donné de l’histoire du contact, principalement avec l’Arabe, la pression des mots de cette langue a été telle qu’ il [le Berbère] n’ arrivait pas à les soumettre tous et totalement à sa base articulatoire et à son système morpho-syntaxique’.

This is translated as: ‘At a given time in the history of the contact, mainly with the Arabic language, the pressure of the words of this language was such that Berber was not able to assimilate / adapt them all and

fully to its articulatory base and its morpho-syntactic system'

The degree of adaptation depends also on the degree of bilingualism in the host community. The more bilingual the speakers are the less they will make use of adaptation. The reason for this is that when they have a good knowledge of the donor language they avoid applying rules of their native language on borrowed items. They use them in their original forms (by keeping their phonological and morpho-syntactic features).

Thomason and Kaufman (1988)³ carried out a study on the Eskimos of Russia. They found that the degree of adaptation was different in two generations of this community. The first generation was studied in the pre-soviet period when there was very little bilingualism. The second generation was studied during the soviet period when Russian was a second language of the Eskimos who went to Russian schools. Thomason and Kaufman found that the degree of adaptation varied considerably between the two generations. This means that the adaptation is higher in the first generation.

They attributed this to the degree of bilingualism of the two generations. To relate this to our study, we have noticed in our corpus that M'zabi speakers make much more use of adaptation than Kabyle speakers. This may be due to the fact that the Kabyle minority came to Oran

³. In Mc Mahon (1999:320)

earlier than the M'zabi minority. A fact which makes Kabyle speakers more bilingual than M'zabi speakers⁴.

- Adaptation Strategies

When adapted to a language, borrowed items follow patterns of adaptation. These patterns may either be individual or social. They are individual for cases of innovations which are introduced in the language by individual speakers. They are social when there is a tacit agreement among the speakers of a speech community for one common pattern of conversion for whole classes of words. This means,

'they will all adhere to particular methods of borrowing'

(J. Heath, 1989: 372)

Heath calls these processes '*borrowing routines*' which are '*productive processes applied by bilingual speakers to adapt whole classes of words*' (Ibid, 372).

These processes are also called conversion rules.

Therefore, the same process is used to adapt any borrowed item which belongs to a given class. Loan nouns, for example, follow the same pattern of adaptation in the receipt language. They receive the same marking for number and gender. An example of this phenomenon would be:

⁴. Many M'zabi speakers are traders or commercial workers who came to Oran a few decades ago whereas Kabyle speakers have been living in Oran for three or four generations.

/◆ⵓⵎⵓⵔⵉ◆/ (A house)

We see in this example that it is taken from Algerian Arabic /ⵓⵎⵓⵔⵉ/ which acquires the discontinuous affix {◆ⵓ...◆}, which represents the feminine singular marker in M'zabi.

The same process is applied to verbs. These generally receive a native affix representing tense or aspect (past or present, accomplished or unaccomplished). We may take the example of Algerian Arabic borrowed verbs which are adapted to the Berber morpho-syntactic system via borrowing routines i.e., through the affixation of affixes which represent aspect, gender and number. An example of this would be

/◆◆ⵓⵎⵓⵔⵉⵏⵓ/ (You came back)

Here, we notice that this form comes from Algerian Arabic /◆ⵓⵎⵓⵔⵉ/ (he came back) which acquires the discontinuous {t ...ⵏ} which represents the marker for second person singular masculine in the accomplished aspect in Kabyle.

Borrowing routines are also referred to as generalization in the sense that when borrowed items enter the receipt language, only the regular and systematic rules of the language are applied to them. Heath (1989: 161) states:

‘when verbs are adapted following borrowing routines, they follow the general rules applied in the host language i.e. the regular rules’.

He further argues :

‘the same is applied to nouns which generally fit into the regular rules of the receiving system’. (Ibid, 161)

Borrowing routines operate in analogy. This means that when new loans are introduced in a language, they automatically follow the same borrowing routines as the previously borrowed forms. The adaptation process which applies to them is not a new one but it is derived from analogy with earlier loans.

-Borrowing Routines in Verbs

Many borrowed verbs that have been adapted to the Berber morphosyntactic system through the addition of cyclical affixes representing number, gender, and aspect. The general structure in Berber is as follows:

Personal affix – derivational prefix + stem + personal affix (Chaker 1996:227).

To illustrate this paradigm, two verbs are conjugated below in the unaccomplished aspect, one in M'zabi Berber, the other in Kabyle. The personal affixes precede the conjugated verbs in the table.

The selected M'zabi verbal stem is /ⵜⵓⵎⵓⵙⵏ/ (he wrote)

The selected Kabyle verbal stem is /ⵎⵓⵏⵏⵉⵔ/ (to enter)

Number and	M'zabi verb	Kabyle verb
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gender		
1 st person singular	/◆...☞/ /◆□☞/ (I wrote)	/...★☞/ /☞★◆○☞☞/ (I entered)
2 nd person singular	/◆...☞/ /◆◆□☞/ (you ...)	/◆...☞/ /☞☞★◆○☞☞/ (you entered)
3 rd person sing (mas)	/er.../ /er◆□☞/ (he wrote)	/er★.../ /er★☞★◆○/ (he entered)
3 rd person sing (fem)	/◆.../ /◆◆□☞/ (she wrote)	/◆.../ /◆★☞★◆○/ (she entered)
1 st person plural	/■.../ /■◆□☞/ (we wrote)	/■...★☞/ /■☞★◆○☞☞/ (we entered)
2 nd person plural (mas)	/◆...○//◆◆□☞○/ (you wrote)	/◆...○/ /☞☞★◆○★○/ (you entered)
2 nd person plural (fem)	/◆...○◆/ /◆◆□☞○◆/ (you wrote)	/◆...○◆/ /☞☞★◆○★○◆/ (you entered)
3 rd person plural (mas)	/...■//◆□☞■/ (they wrote)	/...★■/ /☞★◆○★■/ (they entered)
3 rd person plural (fem)	/...■◆/ /◆□☞■◆/ (they wrote)	/...★■◆/ /☞★◆○★■◆/ (they entered)

Most borrowed verbs from Algerian Arabic keep their stem only⁵. Apart from the stem all the cyclical affixes are taken from Berber. Most loan verbs follow this regular pattern. We may refer here to borrowing routines which are applied to the class of verbs. Below are some examples taken from our corpus :

⁵ A stem in Arabic is composed of a consonantal root in which vowels are inserted, e.g. /kataba/.

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Berber loan	Variety	Source in Arabic (the verbal root)	English translation of the loan
/ħʕ⬢♦◊★■/	Kabyle	/♦ʕ⬢★♦★◊/	They got married
/er★⊠⊡uɔ/	Kabyle	/⊠⊡⊡⊡⊡/	He got engaged
/□♦⇒★■/	kabyle	/□⊡⇒/	They went
/⊡⊡⊡⊡⊡⊡□★⊡/	kabyle	/⊡⊡⊡⊡⊡□/	You talked
/ɔ★⊡●★■/	kabyle	/ɔ★⊡⊡★●/	They changed
/♦◊⊡●ħ⊡/	kabyle	/♦★●●⊡/	You came back You give back
/♦★□●ħ⊡/	M'zabi	/□●⊡/	You fried
/⇒⊡⊡⊡⊡ħ⊡/	M'zabi	/⇒★⊡⊡⊡/	I boiled
/♦✓⊡●ħ⊡/	M'zabi	/▪⊡●●⊡/	You prayed
/♦✓♦⊡⊡⊡/	M'zabi	/▪⊡⊡⊡/	You fasted
/♦⇒★♦ɔ⊡♦★♦/	M'zabi	/⇒♦★ɔ/	You counted / you thought
/♦⊡⊡⊡●⊡★⊡/	M'zabi	/⊡●⊡⊡/	You were mistaken
/⊡★⊡●★■/	M'zabi	/⊡⊡⊡●/	They did
/⊡★⊡⊡⊡⊡/	M'zabi	/⊡⊡⊡⊡⊡/	They switched off
/♦ɔ⊡⊡⊡ħ⊡/	M'zabi	/ɔ⊡⊡⊡⊡/	You stopped

-Borrowing Routines in Nouns

Borrowing routines in Berber operate on nouns in the same way as they do for verbs. Most loan nouns are adapted to the morphosyntactic system of Berber following a regular rule application. Nouns in Berber are made from the combination of a nominal stem and cyclical affixes representing gender and number. These affixes are:

- The vowels /a, i, u / at the beginning of a nominal stem represent the masculine singular, as in: / ⵜⵓⵎⴰⵏ / (*a cat*); / ⵏⵉⵎⴰ / (blood); / ⵜⵉⵔ / (tiger)

- The cyclical affix { $\text{ⵉ} \dots \text{ⵏ}$ } is added to the masculine noun to form the feminine, as in / ⵜⵉⵔⵏ / (*a dog*), / ⵉⵔⵏ / (*a bitch*)

- The vowel alternation /A – I/ and /A – U/ plus the suffixation of {an} to form the plural masculine, as in / ⵏⵉⵎⴰⵏ / (*a boy*), / ⵏⵉⵎⴰⵏⵏ / (*boys*). As for the alternation /A – U/, we can give the example of /*ass*/ (day), / ⵏⵉⵎⴰⵏⵏ / (days).

- The same type of vowel alternation and suffixation takes place for the plural feminine, as in / ⵉⵔⵏⵏ / (*a room*); / ⵉⵔⵏⵏⵏ / (*rooms*).

Most borrowed nouns found in our corpus follow these regular rules in the process of their adaptation. We may also talk here about borrowing routines that are applied to the class of nouns. Here are some examples.

The loan noun	The plural	Source in Algerian Arabic	English translation
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/ṭⵜⵙⴰⵏⵏⴰⴱ/ (M'zabi)	/ⵏⵜⵙⴰⵏⵏⴰⴱⵏ/	/★●ⵜⵙⴰⵏⵏⴰⴱ/	The atheist
/◆ṭⵙ★□◆/ (M'zabi)	/◆ⵏⵜⵙ□ⵏ◆/	/ṭⵙ□/	A house
/◆ṭⵙ✓ṭ●ⵏⴱ/ (M'zabi)	/◆ⵏⵜ✓ṭ●ⵏⴱⵏ/	/■ṭ●ṭ◆/	A prayer
/ṭ○★◆◆ṭ□ⵏ/ (M'zabi)	/ⵏ○★◆◆ṭ□ⵏⵎ★■/	/○★◆◆ṭ□ⵏ/	A customer
/◆ṭ⇒■◆◆/ (M'zabi)	/◆ⵏ⇒◆◆ṭ/	/⇒ṭ■◆◆/	A store
/ṭ○★●★○/ (Kabyle)	/ⵏ○★●★○★■/	/○★●★○/	A Muslim
/ṭ○ṭ■/ (Kabyle)	/	/★●○ṭ/	Water
/◆ṭ★ⵙⵏṭⵏ◆/ (M'zabi)	/◆ⵏ★ⵙⵏⵏṭ★■/	/★ⵙⵏṭⵏṭ/	A prayer carpet
/◆ṭⵏⵎ◆◆/ (M'zabi)	/◆ⵏⵏⵎ◆◆ⵏ/	/ⵏⵏ◆/	A room
/ṭ★□◆ṭ○ṭ/ (Kabyle)	/ⵏ★□ṭ◆★■/	/★□◆ṭ○/	A pair of trousers
/◆ṭⵓ□ṭ❖◆/ (Kabyle)	/◆ⵏⵓ□ṭ❖★■/	/ⵓ□ṭ□ⵏ/	An arab
/◆ṭ✓◆○ṭⵏ/ (M'zabi)	/	/■ṭ○/	Fasting
/□ṭⵏⵏ/ (Kabyle)	/	/□ṭⵏⵏ/	God

Conclusion

The Berber language is integrating a huge number of borrowings to its lexical inventory. Many of these loans are adapted to the Berber linguistic system via borrowing strategies or routines. We tried to analyse these routines in verb and noun classes. We noticed that regular morpho-syntactic rules apply systematically to most adapted loans belonging to these two classes. The irregular morpho-syntactic rules of Berber do not seem to apply in this case, as in:

Loan verbs receive Berber cyclical affixes representing aspect, number, and gender. Loan nouns receive cyclical affixes representing gender and number. This analysis gave us a small hint on the huge amount of borrowings that are penetrating Berber. Borrowing is enriching tremendously the Berber varieties but it is also impoverishing their internal derivational processes. These processes are the only guarantee to the perenity and regeneration of the Berber language. So what would be healthier for Berber: borrowing or internal processes? This will be the object of future papers concerned with the motivations of borrowing and its influence on Berber.

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