

FALLOU NGOM

## **Loanwords in the Senegalese Speech Community: Their Linguistics Features and Sociolinguistic Significance**

**Abstrakt.** Senegal jest francuskojęzycznym państwem zachodnioafrykańskim. Oficjalnie w kraju tym występuje 6 głównych języków narodowych i etnicznych: wolof, pular, mandingo, diola, serer i soninke. 70% populacji posługuje się językiem ponadnarodowym wolof. Senegal to była kolonia francuska i francuski jest językiem oficjalnym, używanym w tym kraju zarówno przez administrację, jak i system edukacji publicznej. Ponieważ ponad 90% społeczeństwa Senegalczyków to muzułmanie, bardzo wyraźne są wpływy arabskie. Ponadto globalny wpływ amerykańskiej kultury młodzieżowej, mass mediów, Internetu oraz znacząca liczba Senegalczyków-immigrantów żyjących w USA doprowadziły do zwiększającego się wpływu języka angielskiego w jego odmianie amerykańskiej. Badanie zapożyczeń w języku senegalskim (w przypadku gdy zjawiska kontaktu pomiędzy językami afrykańskimi i nieafrykańskimi są normą) wykazuje, że proces zapożyczania nie zachodzi w sposób arbitralny. W tak wielojęzycznym środowisku zapożyczenia są często rezultatem różnych czynników kulturowych, politycznych, religijnych czy też społecznych, które funkcjonują lub kiedyś funkcjonowały w ramach społeczności posługującej się danym językiem w mowie. W rezultacie, badanie zapożyczeń dostarcza wyjątkowej okazji do lepszego zrozumienia zarówno dawnych, jak i obecnych socjokulturowych zmian zachodzących w kraju. Autor przedstawia wybrane zapożyczenia z języka francuskiego, arabskiego i angielskiego w języku wolof, bada ich cechy językowe oraz socjolingwistyczne znaczenie.

**Abstract.** Senegal is a West African French-speaking country. Officially, the country has 6 major national languages: Wolof, Pulaar, Mandinka, Joola, Seereer, and Soninke. Of these 6 languages, Wolof is the major lingua franca used by over 70% of the population. As a former French colony, French remains the official language of the country used in the administration and in the public education system. Because over 90% of the Senegalese people are Muslim, the Arabic influence in the country is considerable. Furthermore, the global impact of American youth culture, mass media, the Internet, and the significant number of Senegalese immigrants living in the United States have resulted in the growing influence of American English in the country. The study of loanwords in Senegal (where language contact phenomena between African and non-African languages is the norm) shows that loanwords do not occur arbitrarily. In such a multilingual speech community, loanwords are often triggered and constrained by various cultural, political, religious and social forces that operate or have once operated in the speech community. Consequently,

the study of loanwords provides a unique opportunity for a better understanding of the past and current socio-cultural dynamics in the country. This paper provides an overview of French, Arabic and English loanwords in Wolof and examines their general linguistic traits and their sociolinguistic significance in the country.

## 1. Introduction

Loanwords reflect in many ways the impact of French colonization, Islamization, globalization (or Americanization) and the synchronic social structure of the Senegalese speech community. While some loanwords are understood and used by the entire speech community regardless of people's social group, or religion, not all loanwords are used by all members of the speech community. In fact, some loanwords are restricted to particular social groups in the country due to the social value, prestige or stigma associated with them. Consequently, Wolof speakers are often selective in their use of loanwords.

Moreover, linguistic incorporation processes (phonological, morphological, and semantic) of loanwords into Wolof also reflect the social stratification of the Senegalese speech community. Because Senegal is a country where Arabic, European and African cultures, religions and ideologies regularly interact, some groups are more exposed to certain foreign influences than others for particular social or religious reasons. For instance, Arabic words are equated with the knowledge of Islam and are used by some people to display their religious knowledge, which is highly respected in the country. In contrast, English words are considered to be features of the language of the 'wanna-be American' urban youth who use them to display their so-called 'modernity'.

The lexical repertoire of the urban youth is more complex than that of any other social group in the speech community due to young people's exposure to many languages and cultures, including Wolof, French, Arabic, and English. The main reasons why young people are exposed to these languages are: 1) Wolof is the major lingua franca in urban areas, 2) French is the language of instruction in public schools, 3) children generally attend Koranic school prior to public school, and 5) the growing influence of American youth culture (especially rap and hip-hop) and movie industry which have generated a 'love' for English words among younger people in urban areas across the country.

Loanwords shared by the entire speech community are usually those that are fully incorporated into the Wolof linguistic system. In other words, foreign words that are used by all social groups in the speech community are those that native Wolof speakers cannot distinguish from actual Wolof words, because they have been in Wolof for so long that they have lost their original foreign linguistic traits and prestige. While some foreign words are borrowed primarily because Wolof speakers do not have equivalent words, others are borrowed despite the existence of Wolof synonyms, because of the social prestige associated with them.

The types of linguistic (phonological, morphological, or semantic) processes involved in borrowings are generally different from one social group or age group to another. For example, while the use of the French uvular [ʁ], the labiodental consonant [v], the postalveolar consonants [ʃ] and [ʒ] and the nasal vowels [ã], [ɛ̃], [ẽ] and [õ] are commonly found in the speech of the urban youth, these linguistic patterns are uncommon in the speech of uneducated people, particularly older people. Loanwords in Senegal generally fall in the following categories: 1) unintegrated, partially integrated, and fully integrated loans, 2) hybrid and monolingual lexicalized loans.

## 2. Unincorporated, partially incorporated and fully incorporated loans

Loanwords typically undergo three phases: 1) Initial borrowing of the new word, 2) partial integration of the loanword in the borrowing language, and 3) full integration in the borrowing language. Durand-Deska and Durand (1994) used the German terms *Fremdwörter* to refer to the beginning of the borrowing process (phase 1) and *Lehnwörter* to refer to the result of the process (phase 3). Weinreich (1968: 47) referred to the initial phase of lexical borrowing as *nonce borrowing*. Loanwords and the linguistic incorporation processes that accompany them also reflect the social stratification of the Senegalese speech community because of their particular historical, religious, social or cultural meanings. Thus, some social groups use new loanwords, while others use partially integrated loans or fully integrated loans for different reasons. The following examples illustrate the social stratification of the Senegalese speech community reflected by such loanwords.

	Unincorporated	Partially incorporated	Fully incorporated
French	[lāga:ʒ] (language) → [mysylmā] (Muslim) → [kɔwaze] (to cross) → [gɔã] (big) →	[laŋgaʒ] → [misilmā] → [krwaze] → [grã] →	[laŋgas] [misilma(ŋ)] [korose] [gara(ŋ)]
Arabic	[ʃariʕa] (Islamic law) → [al-awwal] (first) → [faɖlu] (the chosen) → [inʃaallah] (God willing) →	[ʃarija] → [al-ɛwɛl] → [faɖlu] → [insallah] →	[sarija] [lɛwɛl] [fal(l)u] [sallaw]
English	[blæk] (black) → [klin] (clean) → [daʊn] (down) → [taʊn] (town) →	[blak] → [klin] → [dawn] → [tawn] →	[balak] [kilin] [dawun] [tawun]

The long contact between French, Arabic and English and Wolof has created two major varieties of Wolof in Senegal: *urban Wolof*, especially used in cities and *rural Wolof* mostly used in the countryside. While both urban and rural Wolof have been

influenced by Arabic (as the majority of the population are Muslim), urban Wolof significantly diverged from the more conservative rural variety by incorporating massive French loanwords (McLaughlin, 2001: 161). This is consistent with Swigart's (1994) claim that urban Wolof refers to a wide range of linguistic forms that are commonly used in major urban areas in Senegal, and that it is primarily characterized by extensive borrowings from French. With respect to English loanwords, their presence is generally limited in Wolof, and they are primarily found in the speech of urban youngsters.

Unincorporated French and Arabic loanwords are typically used by people exposed to standard French and Arabic. These words are generally used by those who want to mark themselves as members of the educated elite. Consequently, Wolof speakers who use unincorporated French loanwords with the metropolitan French uvular fricative [ʁ] are often attempting to underscore their educated status and 'modernism', and thus to differentiate themselves from their so-called 'less modern' fellow countrymen. Because French is the official language of the country, it has always had a prestigious status because it is perceived as the language of socioeconomic mobility. Thus, some urban Wolof speakers and Senegalese expatriates from France often overuse the French uvular fricative [ʁ] in their loanwords in order to highlight their so-called 'modernity' and to have access to the social prestige associated with standard French. Interestingly, members of other social groups generally consider such speakers to be victims of 'French assimilation and acculturation' and to have lost their traditional African cultural and moral values.

Wolof speakers who generally use unincorporated Arabic loanwords are people who have some formal education in standard Arabic or Islamic studies. Thus, the regular use of unincorporated Arabic loanwords often highlights the speaker's special education in Arabic which is equated with the knowledge of Islam. Because Islam is the religion of over 90% of the population of Senegal, using unincorporated Arabic loanwords is highly respected in the speech community. Consequently, the more one uses the standard Arabic phonological features, the more one acquires the respect and prestige granted to religious scholars.

Unincorporated English loanwords in Wolof are generally used by the 'wannabe American' urban youngsters exposed to American youth culture, rap, movies and mass media. The limited formal education in English through the public education system that most urban youngsters have and the overwhelming presence of Internet cyber-café's across the country have accelerated the diffusion of English loanwords among urban youngsters. The use of unincorporated English loans among urban youngsters has become a marker of being 'in-fashion, modern and sophisticated'.

However, the use of such English loanwords is stigmatized outside the social group of urban youngsters, particularly among older people. Older people consider the use of such English words to be evidence of the ongoing degradation of the traditional cultural values of urban youngsters. Thus, to many older people in Senegal, the regular use of such English loanwords may signal 'untrustworthiness' and loss of the long-established values such as the respect of elders, honoring and taking

care of one's parents in their old ages etc. This is because, older people associate English loanwords used with 'gangster and raper speech' which they consider to be disrespectful and inconsistent with the expected linguistic and cultural behaviors of decent Senegalese youngsters. Consequently, the less a younger person uses English loanwords in his/her Wolof, the more s/he will be accepted in the social group of older people, and the more s/he uses English loanwords, the more likely s/he will be rejected from their group. Because of the religious prestige associated with Arabic loanwords, using Arabic loans is often the best way to gain trust and acceptance into the social group of the older people, particularly in rural areas.

The majority of Wolof speakers regularly use partially incorporated and incorporated French loans in their speech regularly. Those who use more partially incorporated loans (less influence of Wolof) are often more educated than those who only use fully incorporated loans which have completely lost their standard French features. Wolof does not accept consonant clusters (such as 'gr', 'kr', 'pl' etc.) at syllable onset positions. Consequently, onsets with such clusters are typically simplified (broken) by uneducated speakers to respect Wolof preferred CV syllable structure. Similarly, all standard French vowels and consonants which do not exist in Wolof (such as [y], [ ], nasal vowels etc.) are generally replaced by their closest Wolof counterparts in the speech of people with limited or no education in French. Paradis & Lacharité (1997: 9) refer to these incorporation processes as *repair strategies*. Unlike unincorporated loans, fully incorporated French loanwords have generally no social prestige. This is because the initial critical standard French features in the loanwords are typically replaced by the phonological traits of Wolof as the words continue to be used by uneducated people.

Similarly, partially incorporated Arabic loans are used by people with limited education in Arabic and Islamic studies and fully incorporated loans are used by most Wolof speakers. While partly incorporated loans do carry some limited religious prestige because of the few standard Arabic features they contain, fully incorporated Arabic loans into Wolof do not exhibit such prestige. This is because they have lost all the noticeable standard Arabic features. In the long run, most French and Arabic loanwords become *lehnwörter* (fully incorporated loans) into Wolof to the extent that most monolingual Wolof speakers cannot tell whether they are French, Arabic or Wolof words. This is consistent with McLaughlin's (2001: 162) claim that speakers of urban Wolof vary in their ability to recognize French influences in their language, and that speakers who are fluent in French recognize and even joke about French loans in Wolof, but those who know no French are frequently oblivious to its influences in their own speech. This is consonant with Sankoff's (2001: 9) claim that the longer the loanword has been introduced into the borrowing language, the more likely the pronunciation is to have been nativized.

With respect to English loanwords, it is important to note that they are mostly restricted to the social group of younger people. Partially incorporated English loans are used by younger people with some degree of exposure to the global American youth culture influence in the country through movies, television, music and the In-

ternet. In contrast, those who use fully incorporated English loans are generally the so-called 'less modern rural youngsters' who attempt to be 'cool' (in-fashioned and modern), but who clearly lack the exposure to American English typically found in urban areas. Because English loans are generally used by younger people, when older people purposely use them to sound younger, they trigger humor or being ridiculed. This is because such a usage violates the tacit sociolinguistic norms of loanwords in the speech community. It is particularly for this reason that many Senegalese comedians regularly use these linguistic variables to produce humor.

### 3. Monolingual and hybrid lexicalized loans

Hybrid and monolingual lexicalized forms typically consist of the fusion of several different lexical units to form one new lexical item. This process is common in Wolof. While some of these lexicalized forms result from the normal incorporation processes of foreign loans into the Wolof linguistic system, others are constructed by speakers for particular social reasons. Posner (1997: 193) indicated that such lexicalizations represent efforts of a culture to give a name to a concept, which it deems necessary. The following items exemplify these types of lexicalized items commonly found in Wolof.

#### A. Monolingual lexicalized items

1. Wolof: '(i)fok'	←	(one has to/must)	from French 'il faut que'
2. Wolof: 'potusambur'	←	(peeing pot)	from French 'pot de chambre'
3. Wolof: 'ampagaay'	←	(a lot)	from French 'en pagaille'
4. Wolof: 'garampalas'	←	(meeting place)	from French 'grande place'
5. Wolof: 'diwlin'	←	(cooking oil)	from French 'de l'huile'
6. Wolof: 'lakare'	←	(chalk)	from French 'la craie'
7. Wolof: 'surtuma'	←	(above all)	from French 'surtout' + '-ment'
8. Wolof: 'pertema'	←	(loss)	from French 'perte' + '-ment'
9. Wolof: 'commeque'	←	(like/as)	from French 'comme' + 'que'
10. Wolof: 'ilimam'	←	(imam)	from Arabic 'al-imam'
11. Wolof: 'lislam'	←	(Islam)	from Arabic 'al-islam'
12. Wolof: 'ajuma'	←	(Friday)	from Arabic 'al-ḡumḡa'
13. Wolof: 'asaka'	←	(charity)	from Arabic 'al-zakaat'

These monolingual lexicalized items are usually the oldest loanwords that have entered the Wolof language. As such, they are regarded as Wolof words by most monolingual Wolof speakers. Examples 1 through 6 are fusions of several normally used structures in French. The structures 'il faut que', 'pot de chambre', 'en pagaille', 'grande place', 'de l'huile' et 'la craie' in examples 1 through 6 are all grammatical structures in standard French. In contrast, examples 7 and 8 result from the merger of two elements that cannot be combined in French. The adverb 'surtout' and the noun 'perte' do not take the French adverbial suffix '-ment' which is the equivalent of the

English morpheme ‘-ly’ in ‘nicely’ (normally pronounced as [mã] in standard French and [ma] by uneducated Wolof speakers).

Similarly, the example 9 consists of the combination of two French elements ‘comme’ (as/like) and the relative pronoun ‘que’ (that). This combination is ungrammatical in standard French. While examples 1 through 9 are mostly used by Wolof speakers who are uneducated in French, they also occur in the speech of educated people. The lexicalized Arabic loans are all based on grammatical Arabic structures and are equally used by all Wolof speakers in the country. The diffusion of these monolingual lexicalized Arabic loans across social groups in Senegal is likely due to the combination of several factors: 1) These Arabic loans fall within the religious register, 2) they have been in Wolof long before the French loans (because Islamization preceded colonization in the country), and 3) because of their frequency in Wolof. These monolingual lexicalized loans contrast with hybrid lexicalized loans.

### B. Hybrid lexicalized items

1. ‘lirando’	←	(travel together)	from French (read) + Wolof ‘-ando’
2. ‘organisewu’	←	(organize oneself)	from French (organize) + Wolof ‘-u’
3. ‘liraat’	←	(read again)	from French (read) + Wolof ‘-aat’
4. ‘geunman’	←	(name of a raper)	from Wolof ‘geun’ + English ‘-man’
5. ‘xuman’	←	(name of a raper)	from Wolof ‘(ma)xu’ + English ‘-man’
6. ‘toojeranguman’	←	(thief)	from Wolof ‘tooje’ + English ‘-man’
7. ‘tempsboy’	←	(childhood)	from French ‘temps’ + English ‘boy’
8. ‘ikstime’	←	(any time)	from French ‘x’ + English ‘time’
9. ‘nicement’	←	(nicely)	from English ‘nice’ + French ‘-ment’
10. ‘coolment’	←	(In a cool manner)	from English ‘cool’ + French ‘-ment’
11. ‘nicesal’	←	(make nice)	from English ‘nice’ + Wolof ‘-al’
12. ‘dekaawe’	←	(to steal)	from French ‘dé-’ + Wolof ‘-kaawe’
13. ‘queni’	←	(that)	from French ‘que’ + Wolof ‘ne/i’
14. ‘nique’	←	(that)	from Wolof ‘ni/e’ + French ‘que’ 15.

These hybrid lexicalized structures are regularly used in Senegal. The hybrid structures in example 1, 2 and 3 are found in the speech of most Wolof speakers, regardless of their social group or education level. They represent some of the most common hybrid lexical constructions that French loans undergo in Senegal, which typically consist of the suffixation of a Wolof morpheme such as ‘-ando’ (to do something together), ‘-u’ (oneself), ‘-aat’ (to do something again) to a French verb stem.

Similarly, the use of the double hybrid relative pronoun ‘queni’ or ‘nique’ (which consist of the French relative pronoun ‘que’ + the Wolof relative pronoun ‘ni’ also pronounced as ‘ne’) is commonly found in the country, particularly in urban areas. In rural areas, the Wolof relative pronoun ‘ni’ or ‘ne’ is normally used. This is because urban areas are naturally more influenced by French. As the examples show, some hybrid structures are constructed by adding the English morphemes ‘-man’ to Wolof nouns, others are formed by adding the French adverbial suffix ‘-ment’ to English adjectives or by adding a Wolof suffix to a French or English word. It is worth no-

ting that all the lexicalized structures involving English are exclusively found in the speech of the ‘wanna-be American’ urban youngsters. In sum, despite their different sociolinguistic implications, lexicalization (monolingual and hybrid lexicalizations) is one way that Wolof accommodates foreign words, constructs, and artifacts so that they can function effectively in the language and the speech community.

#### **4. Semantic & grammatical changes, syllable truncations and calques**

Loanwords in the Senegalese speech community undergo various transformations such as semantic and grammatical changes, deletion of syllables, calques etc. While some of these patterns are part of loanwords’ incorporation processes in Wolof, others are used as sociolinguistic tools to indicate group membership. The following examples illustrate these types of changes and their sociolinguistic implications in the Senegalese speech community.

##### **A. Semantic extensions & specializations**

- |   |                           |
|---|---------------------------|
| 1. French ‘fils’ : ‘son’ and ‘guy’ in Wolof             | → semantic extension      |
| 2. English ‘boy’ : ‘boy’ and ‘girl’ in Wolof            | → semantic extension      |
| 3. English ‘town’ : ‘town’ and ‘Dakar city’ in Wolof    | → semantic extension      |
| 4. English ‘mind’ : ‘mind’ and ‘to be afraid’ in Wolof  | → semantic extension      |
| 5. French ‘(pa)papa’ : ‘father’ and ‘old man’ in Wolof  | → semantic extension      |
| 6. English ‘truck’ : ‘cars in general’ in Wolof         | → semantic extension      |
| 7. French ‘science’ : ‘idea’ and ‘something’ in Wolof   | → semantic extension      |
| 8. English ‘change’ : (pronounced as [tʃentʃ]); ‘money’ | → semantic specialization |
| 9. French ‘artiste’ : ‘trendy person’ in Wolof          | → semantic specialization |
| 10. French ‘guerrier’ : ‘bold guy’ in Wolof             | → semantic specialization |

These loanwords show that the meaning of some loans in Wolof undergoes two main semantic changes: 1) Semantic extension, and 2) Semantic restriction or specialization (Weinreich, 1968). The semantic extensions are loanwords whose original meanings are expanded to cover new constructs as in examples 1 through 7. In contrast, loanwords with semantic specializations are those whose original meanings are reduced or restricted to refer to a specific semantic aspect of the original word as illustrated in examples 8 through 10. However, it is important to note that, while there are many French, Arabic, and English loans that have undergone such semantic changes in Wolof, these examples above are generally found in the speech of urban youngsters.

These facts are consistent with Choi’s (2001: 1) claim that loanwords contribute to semantic change. Choi also argues that using a word in a novel way (as in these examples) instead of using it in its ‘conventional way’ is not innocent from the cognitive point of view, because while the communicative need felt by speakers may come from the changing environment; the linguistic reaction of speakers to this ‘changing environment’ has internal (cognitive) causes.

## B. Grammatical changes

Loanwords	Nouns	Verbs
1. 'job' : (work, to work)	'sama job' (my job)	'damay job' (I am working)
2. 'sport' : (sport, to exercise)	'sama sport' (my sport)	'damay sport' (I am exercising)
3. 'fan' : (fan, to like someone)	'Falu sama fan la' (Falu is my fan)	'moo fan Fulu' (he likes Falu)
4. 'photo' : (photo, to take a picture)	'am naa benn photo Falu' (I have a picture of Falu)	'damay photo' (I am taking a picture)
5. 'science' : (idea, to think)	'sa science bi baax na' (your idea is good)	'damay science' (I am thinking)

These loanwords can undergo change in their grammatical category. In other words, although nouns such as 'job', 'sport', 'fan', 'photo' and 'science' cannot be used as verbs in their respective languages, they function as both nouns and verbs in Wolof. It is worth noting that, although the words 'sport' and 'photo' are regularly attested in the speech of many Wolof speakers, the use of the two grammatical functions of words 'job', 'fan' and 'science' (which can serve as nouns and verbs) is idiosyncratic of the speech of urban youngsters.

## C. Truncations, calques and transitory loans

1. 'amina'	(female name)	←	from Arabic 'Aminata'
2. 'ibu'	(male name)	←	from Arabic 'Ibrahima'
3. 'pro'	(professional)	←	from French 'professionnel'
4. 'clando'	(clandestine)	←	from French 'clandestin'
5. 'pa'	(father, old person)	←	from French 'papa'
6. 'pep'	(paper)	←	from English 'paper'
7. 'am inté rê t'	(have interest)	←	from French 'avoir intérêt'
8. 'am tort'	(to be wrong)	←	from French 'avoir tort'
9. 'am raison'	(to be right)	←	from French 'avoir raison'
10. 'vikend'	(weekend)	←	from English 'weekend'
11. 'aadcor'	(hardcore)	←	from English 'hardcore'

In example 1 through 6, some syllables have been truncated. These types of syllable deletions of loanwords in Wolof are also typical of the speech of urban youngsters. The structures in examples 7, 8 and 9 are referred to as calques or loan translations. These examples are based on the French verb phrases 'avoir intérêt' (to have interest), 'avoir tort' (to be wrong) and 'avoir raison' (to be right). The French auxiliary verb 'avoir' (to have) is simply replaced by its Wolof equivalent 'am' (to have). These words are also commonly found in the speech of urban Wolof speakers, particularly those with some education in French. Examples 10 and 11 are what I refer to as *transitory*

*loans*. Durand-Deska and Durand (1994: 82) used the construct of *emprunt relais* to refer to such borrowings that have transited from an intermediary language before arriving to the borrowing language. Wolof has the semi-vowel [w], but does not have the voiced labiodental fricative [v]. Thus, most Wolof speakers should have no problem pronouncing the English word 'weekend' with [w]. Consequently, the pronunciation of the English word '[w]ikend' as '[vi]kend' by some Wolof speakers shows that the word has likely transited through French (which has the consonant [v]) before entering into Wolof. Similarly, the pronunciation of the English word '[h]ardcore' as [aadkor] without the glottal fricative [h] (which exists in Wolof) also shows that the word has likely transited through French (where [h] is typically not pronounced) before entering into Wolof. Because of their English origin, these two transitory loans are also indexical of the speech of urban youngsters.

### Conclusion

The analysis of the interactions between Wolof, French, Arabic and English and their linguistic implications provides a typology of borrowings as linguistic facts analyzable at the phonological, lexical, morphological, and semantic levels. However, most of previous studies (Haugen 1956; Meillet 1958; Gingras 1974; Pfaff 1979; Poplack 1988; Eliasson 1990, to name only a few) are based upon Western speech communities, and assume that loanwords are generally borrowed to fill a lexical gap, and that they are equally used by the entire speech community. Thus, the studies seem to neglect the fact that words are also borrowed by specific groups due to their particular social significance or prestige.

By using a speech community-based approach, this study has attempted to show that loanwords and the linguistic incorporation processes that go along with them reflect the social stratification of the Senegalese speech community, and that urban youngsters are linguistically the most innovative and productive group in the country. While it is impossible to do justice to the broad topic of linguistic borrowing in this paper, I hope that this work contributes to a better understanding of the mechanism of social reproduction, spreading and maintenance of loanwords in the world's speech communities in general, and sub-Saharan African communities in particular (where multilingualism is the norm).

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