SOCIOLINGUISTIC MOTIVATIONS OF LEXICAL BORROWINGS IN SENEGAL

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Although lexical borrowing has always been a central topic in linguistic research, its study has suffered from three major limitations: (1) it has failed to consider social variations in patterns of borrowings; (2) it has assumed a model of two languages in contact; (3) researchers collect data mostly from communities regardless of the social strata, the political and cultural motivations of the subjects, and conclusions are generalized to the whole community (Deroy 1956, Haugen 1956, Calvet 1974, Benthahila & Davis 1983, etc.). Thus, these studies on lexical borrowing miss the fact that loanwords also reflect the unbalanced distribution of power and prestige in speech communities, especially in multilingual communities. This study challenges these assumptions by showing that lexical borrowing acts as social-group and class indices in Senegal, a socially diverse multilingual community in which lexical borrowings and phonological processes that accompany them are often socially conditioned. In so doing, this paper shows that linguistic patterns used to define social groups or classes generally referred to as sociolinguistic variables in the variationist framework (Labov 1978) are not exclusively limited to phonological patterns, but include larger segmental units, such as lexical units. This study is based on 145 loanwords collected from the Senegalese audiovisual website 'www.homeviewsenegal.com' over a period of three hours, of which 66 words were borrowed from French, 57 from Arabic, 17 from English into Wolof, and 5 from Wolof into French.

1. Introduction

One of the main reasons why the concept of linguistic borrowing itself has been controversial in linguistics is that it is not often the case that borrowed linguistic items are returned to the lender-language as supported by Calvet (1974:87-8). However, whether the linguistic items are returned or not, it is obvious that they originate from a different linguistic system or variety, and their introduction in the receiver-language or variety is often socially motivated. Thus for practical reasons, it seems reasonable to adopt the concept of linguistic borrowing to characterize such linguistic phenomena in which a given language or linguistic variety uses items from another code in situations of contact. Two types of linguistic borrowings are generally identified: those considered de facto to be foreign words

by speakers (known also as peregrinisms, xenisms, spontaneous borrowings, mo-
mentary borrowings or nonce borrowings) and those completely naturalized in
the borrowing language (referred to as integrated borrowings, established loans,
nativized or naturalized loans).

With respect to the social motivation of lexical borrowing, Deroy 1956 ar-
gued that lexical borrowings are generally motivated by practical needs (*raison
pratique*) or by prestigious or luxurious reasons (*raison du coeur*). In other
words, lexical items may be borrowed to fill a lexical gap, i.e., to express a concept
or thought that is not available in the borrowing language, or linguistic items may
be borrowed simply for the sake of the prestige they carry even though an
equivalent exists in the borrowing language. Although the distinction between
words borrowed for prestige and those borrowed for practical reasons is arbitrary
in that a word may be borrowed for both reasons (Deroy 1956), it is argued that
lexical borrowing between languages, similar to the linguistic differentiation be-
tween languages and dialects, standards and nonstandard dialects, are generally
socially, culturally, ideologically or politically triggered (Bourdieu 1982; Collins
1999; Calvet 1974).

Four criteria are generally used for the identification of lexical borrowings in
linguistics: historical, phonetic and phonological, morphological, and semantic
(Dème 1994:16). Two major processes are generally involved in lexical borrow-
ings: modification of the borrowed elements and ultimately the modification of
the borrowing language (Brochard 1992:556-7). These studies have also exam-
ined the various linguistic processes involved in lexical borrowings, ranging from
phonology, morphology, semantics to syntax. In most of these studies (Deroy
1956; Haugen 1956; Pfaff 1979; Calvet 1974; Benthahila & Davis 1988, etc.),
lexical borrowings are considered to be used equally by all social groups in the
borrowing communities, and thus linguistic processes involved in lexical bor-
rowings are assumed to be shared by the entire community.

Although such research has many strengths in that it has shown the types
of lexical borrowings found in human languages in general, and has shown the
various linguistic processes involved in lexical borrowing (phonological adapta-
tion, loan translation, semantic specification, synonym displacement, etc.), it has
not shown how lexical borrowings and linguistic processes involved in linguistic
borrowings reflect the social stratification of speech communities, the power and
prestige relations between individuals, social classes, social groups, the cultural
and ideological forces that shape human interactions. Thus, most studies con-
ducted on lexical borrowing miss the fact that loanwords reflect the synchronic
social structure characterized by an unbalanced distribution of power and pres-
tige, and ideological constructions based on crystallized linguistic, social, or cul-
tural differences of speech communities. As such, lexical borrowing (whether fully
integrated, semi-integrated or newly introduced) provide a good window for un-
derstanding the social, political, cultural, and ideological forces that shape and
govern speech communities. Consequently, a meticulous analysis of loanwords
would demonstrate how individual differences are socially and ideologically con-

structed, and reproduced to create boundaries between social classes, social groups, speech communities, and nations.

Thus, although linguists are right in saying that all languages are linguistically equal, they would be certainly wrong to claim that all linguistic varieties are socially equal (Bourdieu 1982: 653). In fact, history shows that a language or linguistic variety is worth what those who speak it are worth, i.e., their economic, political, social, or cultural power, prestige, and authority. Following this line of thought, Bourdieu 1982 observes that language is not only an instrument of communication or knowledge, but also an instrument for an individual or a group to assert one's power, prestige, or dominance over another.

Furthermore, Bourdieu (1982:656) argued that linguistic production is governed by the structure of the 'linguistic market'. The 'linguistic market' is defined by high or low acceptability level and hence by a high or low pressure towards correctness as in formal education, administration, and in the high stratum of society, where situations require or impose a formal use of language. In fact, the search for linguistic correctness, which characterizes the petty bourgeoisie, is the recognition of the value of a dominant usage in the linguistic market, particularly in educational situations (Bourdieu 1982:656). Thus, depending on the political, economic, or social changes and power relationships between individuals or social groups, or nations in the market, linguistic devaluation may occur suddenly (as a result of political revolution) or gradually (as a result of a slow transformation of material and symbolic power relations), as is the case of the steady devaluation of French on the world market, relative to English (Bourdieu 1982:649).

Following this line of thought, lexical borrowings between communities reflect the power relationships that have shaped their interactions. In fact, lexical borrowings may be evidence of the types of relationship that have existed between two communities (Calvet 1974:90). Contrary to the commonly used colonial or neo-colonial argument according to which African languages are incapable of expressing modern products, and therefore need to borrow words from French, loanwords do not signal inherent difficulties of African languages, but indicate the state of domination that resulted from French *glottophagia*, a planned agenda for the destruction of African languages and cultures (Calvet 1974:210). However, despite this apparent importance of the political, ideological, historical, and social factors involved in lexical borrowings, there has been little research dealing with such social issues of lexical borrowings.

2. Historical background

Senegal is a multilingual West-African French-speaking country. Over 80% of its population is Muslim. The country has officially recognized the following six national languages beside French (the official language): Wolof, Pulaar, Seereer, Joola, Soninke and Mandinka. Today lexical borrowing from French, Arabic, English, and Pulaar (to a small degree) into Wolof is common in the Senegalese speech community. Lexical borrowings from French are due to the fact that

Senegal occupied a central place in the colonization of West Africa, as the capital of *Afrique Occidentale Française* (A.O.F) 'French West Africa' was established in Saint-Louis.

Although some lexical units were coined in Wolof and other local languages to cover new concepts brought into the country by the French, many lexical items were borrowed from French to account for constructs that came along with the advent of French culture, political system, and religion in Senegal, or for purely prestige reasons. The Arabic influence in Senegal dates back to the Islamization of West Africa between the 11th and the 16th century. By the 14th century, Koranic schools (Islamic schools) were established in Senegal, and most Senegalese Muslims (especially in the region of Saint-Louis) were already able to use classical Arabic scripts to write their own languages by the first half of the twentieth century, especially Wolof and Pulaar (Diop 1989). The English influence is conveyed through American youth culture, the media, TV, and the American movie industry. Lexical borrowings from Pulaar (the only local language in competition with Wolof) are mainly found among the youth. These lexical borrowings are due to the rising prestige of Pulaar in the 1990s. Pulaar lexical borrowings in Wolof are the result of the Haal-Pulaar (Pulaar speakers) cultural movement for the revitalization of Pulaar culture, language, and customs in Senegal (especially in the region of Saint-Louis, the hometown of most Pulaar speakers in the country). The Pulaar linguist Yero Sylla, Pulaar cultural associations (such as Kawral and Gandal e Pinal), and the Pulaar musician Baaba Maal, helped spread the movement. The primary goal of this movement was to resist the Wolof expansion in Senegal and assert a Pulaar identity, language, and culture.

3.   Borrowing as evidence of the unequal distribution of power and prestige

The unequal distribution of power and prestige in speech communities is generally reflected through the rate of loans that one language gives to the other. For instance, in former French colonies of West Africa, the high rate of lexical borrowings from French into local languages represents the surface trace of the French linguistic superstructure imposed in the local communities as the result of French glottophagia (Calvet 1974:92). In contrast, the relative statistical equilibrium of borrowings between English and French (despite the ongoing French linguistic protectionism against American English) shows the extent to which the two languages (therefore the two communities) are 'equal', i.e., they do not entertain relationships of domination (Calvet 1974:91). In contrast, in the former French colonies in Africa such as Senegal, French borrows almost nothing from the local languages, whereas those languages borrow extensively from French. This statistical disequilibrium is evidence of the domination of the local communities by France (Calvet 1974: 91). This is partly due to the fact that colonization did not introduce French in former colonies so that the colonized people speak French, but rather it created a minority French-speaking group to govern and impose the law on the non-Francophone majority (Calvet 1974:118).

Thus, as the result of colonization, most African languages whose people were dominated borrowed quantum words from languages of the dominant Europeans, either to fill a lexical gap, or in an attempt to acquire the prestige associated with them, or both. For this reason, Wolof has borrowed copiously from French, while French has only borrowed a few words from Wolof. Similarly, due to the high number of Muslims in Senegal as the result of the early Islamization of the country, Wolof has borrowed many words from Arabic. In contrast, unlike what would be expected due to the role of the United States in the world today, the English influence in Senegal is minor. This is partly due to the fact that the American influence in Senegal is very recent. Figure 1, based on loanwords collected from the Senegalese audiovisual website, illustrates the unequal distribution of power and prestige expressed through lexical borrowing, as it shows that all three languages (French, Arabic, English) lend more words to Wolof than they borrow from it.
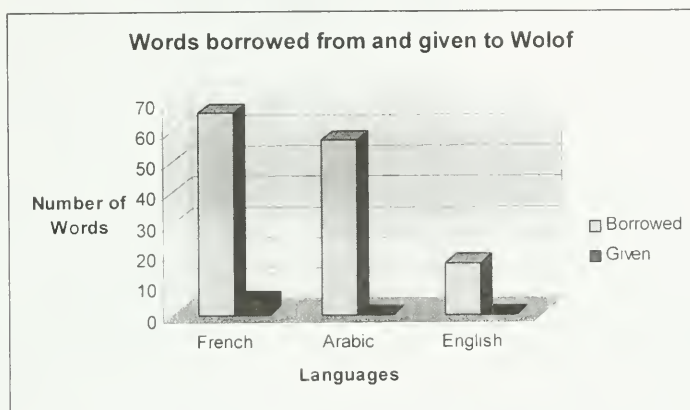
Figure 1: Words borrowed into and from Wolof

In addition, the same way the statistical comparison of borrowings between languages reveals the nature of the power relationships between communities, the examination of the semantic fields of the lexical borrowings shows the zones or domains of contacts between communities. For example, borrowings from French into Wolof generally fall in the fields of politics, media, institutions, and culture, while those from Arabic are mostly found in religious settings. The English influence is almost exclusively limited to the youth exposed to American youth culture, music, TV, and movie industry, and who dream of traveling to the United States. For these reasons, English words used in this study were exclusively found among urban youth. It is important to note that, although English has been introduced in the educational system as a foreign language since the 1960s (as the result of the growing cooperation between Senegal, the United Kingdom, the United States, and other English speaking countries of the world), its influence in the country is still minimal, compared to French and Arabic.

As for Arabic, it is promoted by Koranic schools and modern Arabic schools. These two types of schools differ in terms of goals in that while the objective of the former is Islamic instruction through the study of the Koran (written in classical Arabic), the latter focuses on language instruction and are generally sponsored by Arabic speaking countries (especially Saudi Arabia). Figure 2 (based upon the data collected from www.homeviewsenegal.com) shows the major domains of influence of French, Arabic and English.
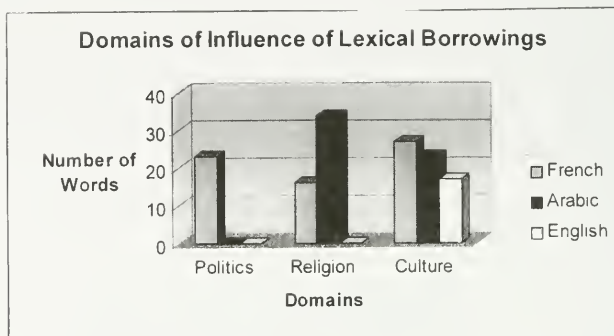
Figure 2: Domains of influence of lexical borrowings into Wolof

From this graph, it is clear that lexical borrowings in Senegal are reproduced by political, academic, and religious institutions and everyday activities that result in the creation of (a) prestigious social group(s) or class(es) and (b) dominated group(s) with less prestige. Consequently, the use of French, Arabic, or English loanwords in one's Wolof gives one a special status or stigma depending on the social context. Thus, the use of unassimilated French lexical borrowings marks one as literate, hence part of the Senegalese elite. Similarly, the use of Arabic words (especially unassimilated loans) marks one as part of the religious elite, those endowed with the esoteric and mystic knowledge of Islam. In contrast, using English words (whether naturalized or unassimilated) in one's Wolof stigmatizes one as part of the urban youth who regard themselves as trendy and in-fashion.

4.   Lexical borrowings used by all social groups in Senegal

Although all social groups in Senegal equally understand naturalized, semi-naturalized, and newly introduced loans, speakers use them differently due to the distinct social status associated with each language. The only types of lexical borrowings equally used by all Wolof speakers (irrespective of their social class) are fully naturalized loans. This is partly due to the fact these integrated loans have existed in Wolof for so long that they can be considered to be part of monolingual Wolof speakers' linguistic competence as supported by Pfaff 1979, since most monolingual Wolof speakers are not aware that such words are foreign. Such lexical borrowings are generally devoid of social prestige due to their total

integration into the Wolof system. The integration or naturalization process of such lexical borrowings mainly consists of: (1) the substitution of the closest Wolof sounds for foreign sound units that do not exist in the Wolof phonological repertoire, (2) the conversion of foreign syllable structures (nonexistent in Wolof) to Wolof syllable structure, (3) the breaking up of unacceptable foreign clusters to meet Wolof phonotactic constraints, (4) the lexicalization of foreign morphemes (merger of two independent morphemes into one), and (5) the construction of hybrid lexical units referred to as lexical hybridation (Lafage 1997), which consists of the fusion of Wolof and foreign linguistic units. The examples in Table 1 illustrate such naturalization processes of lexical borrowings into Wolof.

(a) [faɟar] ← [faʒr] 'dawn'
Vowel copying: ø → Vi / Vi C__ [+liquid]
(b) [alxuraan] ← [alqurʔaan] 'the Koran'
Consonant substitution: q→ x /____
(c) [malaaka] ← [malaaʔika] 'Angel'
Glottal stop deletion: ʔ → ø /__
Triphtong simplification: i → ø/ VV___
(d) [aduna] ← [aldunja:] 'world'
[aɟana](← [aʒan:a] 'heaven'
[aɟuma]← [alʒumʕa] 'Friday'
Cluster simplification: l → ø/__ [+Cons], j → ø/n___, ʕ → ø/___,
ʒ → ɟ/ ___
(e) [jalla] ← [jaaʔalla] 'oh, God' (Lexicalization)
(f) [doomaadama] ← *doom* Wolof 'son'+*aadama* Arabic 'Adam'
'human being'

Table 1: Arabic loans fully incorporated into Wolof, mostly in religious settings

NB: Although the Arabic uvular consonant [q] in (b) is also considered to be part of the Wolof consonantal system in most Wolof grammars, its frequent replacement by the Wolof voiced uvular fricative [x] in naturalized Arabic loans suggests that it may have been introduced into Wolof through the extensive Arabic loans in the language, and that it was not originally part of the Wolof consonantal system.

Although the French borrowings that have undergone the changes indicated in Table 2 are fully integrated into the Wolof linguistic system, and they may be part of monolingual Wolof speakers' competence in Senegal, when these words are pronounced by bilingual speakers with the sound patterns of the given language, they become prestigious and act as indices of high social status.

(a) [watir] ← [vwatyr] (French 'car') Wolof 'horse cart'
   [alimɛt] ← [alymɛt] 'matches'
     Consonant and vowel substitutions:
     1. [v]→ [w]/__[w], 2. [w] → ∅/ __[w], 3.[y] → [i] /___
(b) [sandɛl] ← [ʃādɛl] 'candle'
   [marse] ← [maʁʃe] 'market'
     Consonant substitutions: 1. [ʃ] → [s] / ___,   2.[ʁ] → [r]/__
     Nasal vowel unpacking (Paradis & Prunet 2000)
     3.[-Cons, +Nasal] → V [+Cons, +Nasal]/ __[+cons]
(c) [fe:bar] ← [fjɛ:vʁ] 'fever'
     1. Onset simplification: j → ∅/ C____
     2. [ɛ:] → [e:]/__
     3. [ʁ] → [r]
     4. [V] → [b]/ __[+Cons]

Table 2: French loans fully incorporated into Wolof, used mostly in daily life

5.   Denaturalization of established loans as markers of high social status

The restitution of the phonological patterns of established lexical borrowings from Arabic or French constitutes sociolinguistic variables in Senegal, as it enables speakers to recover the social prestige of lexical units. In other words, the denaturalization of lexical borrowings through the restitution of the native phonological patterns enables some speakers to differentiate themselves from less-prestigious groups. This is due to the fact that such a phonological restitution brings speakers closer to the native speakers of the prestigious variety, and thus sets them apart from other social groups. Thus, the use of Arabic lexical units in Wolof with a Saudi Arabian pronunciation is a source of social prestige in informal and religious settings, as it is a marker of religious erudition. In other words, such Arabic lexical borrowings mark speakers as endowed with the mystic and spiritual knowledge of Islam, the religion of the overwhelming majority of the country. The prestige associated with the Saudi Arabian pronunciation results from two major factors: (1) Saudi Arabia is regarded in Senegal as the birthplace of Islam, the place that every Senegalese Muslim hopes to go to for pilgrimage at least once in his/her lifetime (as recommended by Islam). (2) The Arabic variety taught as a foreign language in the Senegalese educational system is mainly the classical variety with a Saudi Arabian pronunciation, due to the long history of friendship and cooperation between the two nations. The examples in Table 3 illustrate the denaturalization process of established Arabic loans as a way of acquiring social prestige in Senegal.

Similar to the phonological restitution of Arabic sound units, the use of French words with a Parisian accent (the standard variety of French) marks one as part of the Senegalese elite, educated and modern. The examples in Table 4 illustrate the denaturalization of some established French words in Wolof as a means of acquiring social prestige in Senegal, especially in urban cities.

a) [faʒr]	←	[faɹar]	'dawn'
(b) [malaaʔika]	←	[malaaka]	'angel'
(c) [aldunja:]	←	[aduna]	'the world'
(d) [alʒan:a]	←	[aɹana]	'heaven'
(e) [alʒumʔa]	←	[aɹuma]	'Friday'
(f) [jaaʔalla]	←	[jalla]	'oh, God'
(g) [baniʔaadama]	←	[doomaadama]	'human being'

Table 3: The denaturalization of established Arabic loans

These examples show that the denaturalization of fully incorporated loans is socially triggered. These denaturalized loans exemplify the fact that pronunciation (phonology) is pivotal in displaying, acquiring, or erasing the social prestige of a word. In this respect, the phonological rules of the denaturalization of established lexical units can be regarded as sociolinguistic variables (Labov 1978), since they enable speakers to acquire some form of social prestige in the Senegalese speech community.

(h)	[vwatyʁ]	←	[watir] 'car'
(i)	[alymɛt]	←	[almɛt] 'matches'
(j)	[ʃãdɛl]	←	[sandɛl] 'candle'
(k)	[maʁʃe]	←	[marse] 'market'
(l)	[fjɛ:vʁ]	←	[fe:bar] 'fever'

Table 4: The denaturalization of some established French loans

6. Phonological processes as indices of low social status

Just as the phonological restitution of sound patterns of established loans indicates the social status of speakers, certain phonological patterns, such as vowel copying, denasalization, and lexicalization of French loans, represent markers of a low social status in Senegal. Such linguistic patterns in one's Wolof indicate that the speaker is illiterate and lacks education. These phonological processes are triggered by the Wolof linguistic system. The vowel-copying phenomena is triggered by the fact that Wolof does not allow clusters consisting of a stop consonant followed by a liquid. In such cases, the vowel that follows the liquid is generally copied between the two segments of the cluster as shown in the examples in Table 5.

(a) [peresida]	←	[pʁezidã]	'president'
(b) [palas]	←	[plas]	'place'
(c) [karawat]	←	[kʁavat]	'tie'
(d) [perepare]	←	[pʁepare]	'prepare'
(e) [torop]	←	[tʁo]	'a lot'
(f) [montor]	←	[mõtʁ]	'watch'
(g) [kontor]	←	[kõtʁ]	'against'
(h) [gara]	←	[gʁã]	'big'
Rule: ø → Vx / [+cons]____[+liquid] Vx			

Table 5: Vowel copying and cluster simplification

Similarly, due to the fact that Wolof does not have nasal vowels, all French nasal vowels in lexical borrowings are denasalized (by illiterate speakers) as shown in the examples in Table 6.

(i) [gara]	←	[gʁã]	'big'
(j) [depas]	←	[depãs]	'expense'
(k) [moje]	←	[mwajẽ]	'means'
(l) [silwisasijo]	←	[sivilizasjõ]	'civilization'
(m) [abiyo]	←	[avjõ]	'plane'
[-Cons, +Nasal]	→ V/ ___		

Table 6: Denasalization

Furthermore, lexicalization (the merger of several independent French lexical units to form one lexical unit) is also a key characteristic of the uneducated social group. The examples in Table 7 illustrate this phenomenon.

These lexical borrowings and linguistic processes represent indices of the social group of the illiterates. This is due to the fact that speakers who use such lexical borrowings and linguistic processes are those with minimal or no exposure to French. This group encompasses old people and young people of rural areas who have not attended the French school, but who nevertheless interact with French literate and urban people.

(n) lempo	←	*l'impôt*	'the tax'
(o) alaterete	←	*à la retraite*	'to the retirement'
(p) lekol	←	*l'école*	'the school'
(q) labe	←	*l'abbé*	'the bishop'

Table 7: Lexicalization

7.   Nasal vowel unpacking as a means of prestige acquisition

Although Wolof has the velar nasal [ŋ] and the prenasals [ŋg] and [ŋk] in its consonantal system, the occurrence of the phoneme [ŋ] at word final position is very limited in the language. In contrast, the velar nasal [ŋ] is commonly found word-finally in French loanwords in Wolof as the result of the unpacking of French nasal vowels. The unpacking consists of the creation of two sound segments out of French nasal vowels: an oral vowel followed by the velar nasal [ŋ].

This unpacking of the nasal vowels of French loanwords in Wolof is both linguistically and socially motivated. Given that Wolof does not have nasal vowels, and that nasality constitutes a key characteristic of standard French (the prestigious variety), uneducated people (in French) use the velar [ŋ] word-finally in an attempt to acquire the social prestige associated with standard French. Thus, this unpacking phenomenon of French nasal vowels can be regarded as a means of borrowing standard French's social prestige (Labov 1978), used by speakers with low social status (those with minimal or no formal exposure to standard French). The examples in Table 8 illustrate such unpacking phenomena of French nasal vowels in this social category.

(a)	[abiyoŋ]	←	[avjõ]	'plane'
(b)	[baŋ]	←	[bã]	'bench'
(b)	[garaŋ]	←	[gʁã]	'big'
(c)	[gornomaŋ]	←	[guvɛʁnmã]	'government'
(d)	[silwisasjoŋ]	←	[sivilizasjõ]	'civilization'
(e)	[taŋ]	←	[tã]	'time'

Table 8: Unpacking of French nasal vowels

8. Lexical borrowings as markers of modernity and fashion among urban youth

Urban youth in Senegal have the most complex linguistic repertoire in the country. This is due to their exposure to French influence (through education), Arabic (through Koranic or Arabic language instruction), and English (through music, TV, and movies). In opposition to other social groups in the country, this social group is the only one that borrows words from Pulaar (the second major national language) and English. However, lexical borrowings from Pulaar are minimal in comparison to those borrowed from French, Arabic, and English respectively. The borrowings from Pulaar result from the growing prestige of Pulaar in Senegal promoted by Pulaar musicians, cultural organizations, and scholars in the 1990s. This group is characterized by particular lexical borrowings (from French, Arabic, and English) and linguistic patterns that act as markers of the group membership. In other words, the use of such lexical borrowings and linguistic patterns marks one as 'trendy, modern, and in-fashion' and thus sets the speaker apart from the 'hicks' (i.e., the rural youngsters with little or no exposure to the urban youth culture, models, ideals, and way of life). The most common linguistic patterns of this group are the following: (1) syllable truncation (deletion) of French loans, (2) overuse of the French filler *quoi* at the end of syntactic units, (3) phonological hypercorrection, and (4) semantic shifts and specifications. The examples in Table 9 illustrate these characteristics of this social group.

It is important to note that, the French words *guerrier* 'warrior' and *artiste* 'artist' and the Arabic lexical borrowing *saaba* are interchangeably used to refer to someone trendy and admirable in this social group. As it can be seen, this social group has the most complex linguistic repertoire in Senegal (which involves Wolof, French, English, Arabic and Pulaar words). Using one of these loans or linguistic processes marks one as being part of the 'cool urban, trendy, and in-fashion youth'. In contrast, using Pure Wolof words without such lexical units and linguistic processes excludes one from this social group, and consequently marks one as an 'old-fashioned person' or a 'hick'.

9. Arabic lexical borrowings as markers of group identity in the Murid community

The resistance to Western assimilation and influence (from the colonial period onward) is a key characteristics of the Murid religious brotherhood in Senegal.

French Loans

(a) [tons] ← French [tõtõ] 'uncle' ← truncation

(b) [presi] ← French [presidã] 'president' ← truncation

(c) [kwa] ← French [kwa], called *quoi ponctuant* ← a filler with no semantic meaning in French

(d) Biddiwudakar ← calque from French *l'étoile de Dakar* 'the star of Dakar'

(e) Guerrier 'cool guy' ← French *guerrier* 'warrior' (semantic shift)

(f) Artiste 'cool guy' ← French *artiste* 'artist' (semantic shift)

English Loans

(g) [gajn] 'guy' ← English [gaj] 'guy', {o→n} (hypercorrection)

(h) [gel] 'girlfriend'← English [gɛːl] {ɛː → e} (Wolof influence+semantic specification)

(i) [čajn] (Chinese tea) ← [čajn] (hypercorrection+semantic specification) (English pronunciation of the French word *Chine* 'China')

(j) [trok] 'car' ← English [trʌk] 'truck', {ʌ→ o} (Wolof influence+semantic specification)

Arabic Loans

(k) [saaba] '"cool" guy' ← Arabic [saha:ba] 'apostle', {h → o} (Wolof influence+ Semantic shift)

Pulaar Loans

(l) [ɟaaraama] ← Pulaar [ɟaaraama] 'thank you'

(m) [galle] ← Pulaar [galle] 'house'

Table 9: Markers of 'trendiness' among urban youth

This is partly due to the fact that the teachings of Sheikh Ahmadou (the founder of Muridism, an Islamic Sufi religious denomination) opposed the colonial assimilation agenda as he strongly emphasized the need to preserve the African culture (subjected to the French colonial assimilation program), the belief in God as the sole being worthy of worship and fear, and the total rejection of secular powers (whether local or foreign). For these reasons, Touba (the holy city of the Murids) is the only city in Senegal where French is not at all prestigious. In fact, speaking French, code-switching, code-mixing, or borrowing words from French are undesirable, as they mark one as a supporter of the colonial or neo-colonial assimilation agenda. In contrast, speaking Arabic, code-switching, code-mixing, or borrowing Arabic lexical units into Wolof is highly regarded, and marks one as an Islamic religious scholar. Moreover, unlike other urban cities in Senegal where Pure Wolof may be an index of lack of modernity and 'old-fashionness', in Touba speaking Pure Wolof is highly regarded, as it marks one as a proud African and a resister against the growing influence of the West in Senegal. These anti-Western assimilation attitudes are reflected in the Murids' use of language today. For instance, Murids are characterized by a particular use of lexical borrowings from Arabic. Although the Arabic influence is pervasive in Senegal as discussed earlier, some Arabic lexical borrowings are specific to the Murid community (whether in Senegal or abroad). These lexical borrowings set Murids apart from other religious denominations and nondenominational speakers in the country. Thus, such lexical borrowings represent indices of Murid identity and religious membership. Table

10 contains some lexical borrowings from Arabic used in the Murid community as markers of religious identity and membership.

This Arabic influence results from the Murid's constant recitation of Sheikh Ahmadou Bamba's spiritual poems (written in classical Arabic) as a way of glorifying God and seeking his help and protection. For these reasons, the domain of influence of these lexical borrowings is primarily the religious field. Most of these lexical borrowings have been fully incorporated into the Wolof linguistic system, and are understood by all social groups. However, although these words are specifically used by all Murids (regardless of social class), the restitution of Arabic phonological patterns is used as a marker of high social status in the Murid speech community. In other words, when speakers pronounce these words with an Arabic accent, they acquire a higher social status in the Murid community, since such words indicate speakers' allegiance to Islam, their loyalty to the Brotherhood, their resistance to Western culture and religion (Christianity), and above all their religious erudition.

(a)	[saayir]	←	[ðaahir]	'visible world'
(b)	[baatiin]	←	[baatiin]	'invisible world'
(c)	[adija]	←	[hadij:a]	'gift'
(d)	[xaadimurasul]	←	[xaadimur:asu:l]	'the servant of the prophet'
(e)	[tuba]	←	[θawba]	'to redeem'
(f)	[xasida]	←	[qasida]	'poem'
(g)	[xasaayid]	←	[qasaaʕid]	'poems'
(h)	[sikər]	←	[ðikr]	'glorification of God'
(i)	[akasa]	←	[hakaða]	'this (right) way'

Table 10: Markers of religious identity and membership in the Murid community

10. Conclusion

This study has shown that strong relationships exist between lexical borrowings, religious beliefs, and social stratification of communities. It also shows that linguistic processes that accompany lexical borrowings also reflect social stratification patterns. Thus, based on this study, it is clear that sociolinguistic variables do not consist only of phonological patterns of variations with no semantic differences (Labov 1978), but include lexical units (with semantic shifts, specifications, etc.). For this reason, this study has underscored that although phonology is important in displaying social-status differences, it is not the sole realm that reflects social differences, the prestige, and power inequalities expressed through language use. This results from the fact that the social and linguistic heterogeneity that is the source of language variation and change (Labov 1978) is not exclusively limited to phonology, but is also attested at the lexical level. For this reason, this study contributes to our understanding of how linguistic systems around the world co-articulate with one another through phonological variations of language use and lexical borrowing in both pragmatic and theoretical ways. As such, this study sheds light on the linguistic nature and the social, cultural, historical, and ideological importance of lexical borrowing in the modern multilingual Sene-

galese speech community, in particular, and sub-Saharan African communities in general, where multilingualism is the norm.

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