

The Socio-cultural Impact of the Spanish Borrowings on the Algerian Western Coast

The Socio-cultural Impact of the Spanish Borrowings on the Algerian Western Coast (Cultural borrowings VS Core Borrowings)

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Abstract

Much has been said about the linguistic aspect of the Spanish borrowing in the speech of Algeria, but few studies dealt with the socio economic and socio cultural impact of these borrowing on the Algerians' life. The Spanish-Algerian relations are deeply rooted in history and researchers in this field have recorded more than 1200 loan words still in use. Our aim in this article is to attempt to evaluate the socio-cultural impact of these loan-words on the Algerian Western Coast. We will try to demonstrate the degree of importance of the borrowings by selecting only four linguistic aspects: neologisms, blends, toponyms, and epithets. Since the tension between these two linguistic systems is at the heart of a competition: borrowings and the Arabic words that may replace them, is there a way to replace these loan-words by their Arabic equivalents? Do the borrowings have a socio-cultural scope? Does the use of these words reflect a socio-cultural status as it is the case with French? Finally, we will put forward a certain number of remarks and suggestions.

Keywords: Algerian West Coast; core borrowing; cultural borrowing; social influence; Spanish loan words

الملخص:

قد قيل الكثير عن الكلمات الإسبانية الدخيلة، والمستعملة في المنطوق الجزائري، لكن الدراسات التي تطرقت لهذا الجانب تبدو قليلة، لا سيما مدى التأثير الاجتماعي، الاقتصادي، الاجتماعي والثقافي لذلك الموروث الدخيل

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على حياة الجزائريين. ويرجع ذلك إلى العلاقات الإسبانية الجزائرية الضاربة أطناها في جذور التاريخ. وقد سجل الباحثون في هذا المجال أكثر من 1200 كلمة دخيلة من اللغة الاسبانية، والتي ما زالت تستعمل في كلامنا منذ حقبة قديمة من الزمن، توارثها جيل عن جيل شفاهيا. وهدفنا من خلال هذا المقال هو محاولة تقييم الأثر الاجتماعي والثقافي لهذه الكلمات في الساحل الجزائري الغربي. وسنحاول من خلال ذلك توضيح درجة أهمية الاقتراض من خلال اختيار أربعة جوانب فقط: الكلمات المستحدثة، الكلمات الممزوجة (النحت)، أسماء الأماكن والنوعت. فكون التوتر بين هذين النظامين اللغويين يكمن في صميم التنافس بين الاقتراض والكلمات العربية التي قد تحمل محلها، فهل يمكن استبدال الكلمات الدخيلة بما يقابلها في اللغة العربية؟ أخيراً، سنطرح عدداً معيناً من الملاحظات والاقتراحات. هل للألفاظ الدخيلة بُعد اجتماعي وثقافي؟ وهل استعمال الألفاظ الدخيلة يعبر عن انتماء اجتماعي ثقافي كما هو الحال بالنسبة للفرنسية؟ أخيراً، سنطرح عدداً من الملاحظات والاقتراحات.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الساحل الغربي الجزائري؛ الاقتراض الجوهري؛ اقتراض ثقافي؛ التأثير الاجتماعي؛ الكلمات الإسبانية الدخيلة

Introduction

Nearly all the Algerians use a wide range of words which are not Arabic. This is mostly due to the influence of different people who conquered this land, but what is noticeable is that those of the west coast of Algeria, specifically, make use (voluntarily or involuntarily) of Spanish borrowings in their daily speech. The Spanish have exerted a considerable influence, leaving many traces in the lexicon of the Algerian contemporary language as well as in the socio-cultural life; therefore, the use of Spanish words is recurrent among the speakers who cannot get rid of them. In this research we will try to demonstrate in which ways the Spanish borrowings, and

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possibly Spanish culture, are present in their speech today and how they manifest themselves on the semantic and syntactic levels to affect the socio-cultural aspect of their lives. What are their main areas of influence? Do the borrowings have a socio-cultural scope? Does the use of these words reflect a socio-cultural status as it is the case with French? Does Arabic lack words and push the speakers to maintain the use of borrowings? In order to understand the extent of the influence of Spanish on the speech of the Algerian west coast today. We have first recorded conversations and proceeded to participant observation, analyzed lists of words in Spanish, classified them in terms of sectors of interest (kitchen, fishing, agriculture, fashion, animals, toponyms...), and finally we saw if there is any possibility to replace these loan words by their Arabic equivalents.

1. A historical background

The first Spanish-Arabic contacts began with the presence of the Muslims in Spain in AD 711, whose traces are mainly present in the Spanish language in different domains: agriculture, fishing, administration, industry, architecture, literature, war, navy, commerce, animals, mining (بن حمودة 1991)، بوعلام،. However, the year 1492 marked a turning point in the history of Spain as well as the Arabs and the Muslims. The Spanish drove out the Andalusians from Spain toward Northern Africa.

The Spanish crown's politics shifted toward North Africa, as a way to achieve Isabella's will¹. In fact, at that time, the Zianidestate weakened and split into small states. Expeditions that began their advance through the lands of North Africa and its most strategic locations with the purpose of founding defensive points on the other shore of the Mediterranean Sea, thus the occupation of the Algerian lands, Mers El Kébir² in 1505, Oran in 1509, Béjaïa and Algiers in 1510 (Terki Hassaine I., 2004, 197-222).

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1.1. The Algerian Western Coast under Spanish military rule from 1505 until 1792

The Spanish occupation lasted almost three centuries in western Algeria. The process of expansion towards Oran began on September 13, 1505 (Abadie L., 2002: 17) when Don Diego Fernández de Córdoba occupied Mers El Kébir. Later, in 1509, Pedro Navarro³ and Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros⁴ arrived in command of a large fleet and occupied Oran. At its beginning, the Spanish presence in the region of Oran represented a military base, as reported by the Spanish Ministry of the Army: "*On May 16, 1509 the Cardinal left Cartagena with an armada of 80 ships and 10 galleys, disembarked the next day in Mers El Kébir, and on the same afternoon Pedro Navarro [...] defeated the numerous enemy army, which closed the way to Oran [...]. Navarro himself seized Béjaïa (January 6, 1510), forcing the sovereigns of Algiers, Tunisia and Tlemcen to declare themselves vassals of the Catholic King, finishing his exploits on the African coast with the assault of Tripoli (July 26, 1510)*" (Kaddour, A., 2013: 14).

The Spanish built a military garrison that helped the Spanish armies against the Ottomans and their tribal allies (Ruff P., 1900: 18-19), as they have built castles and fortifications of strategic defense, some of which remain to this day (the most important one being the castle of Santa Cruz and its underground fortifications (Metair, K., 2010: 221).

Finally, in 1792 Spain definitively withdrew from the Oranian territory. The representatives of King Charles IV signed with the Dey of Algiers the convention of September 12, 1791, which stipulated the evacuation of the Spanish troops from Oran, which became effective on February 12, 1792 (1995. احمد توفيق، المدني) and marked the end of the first Spanish-Arabic language contact.

1.2. The Spanish emigration to the Algerian Western Coast from 1831 to 1936

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Among the main driving forces that keep people moving, emigration is a phenomenon based on the need to seek better human conditions of life. The Spanish emigration to Algeria began several centuries ago when the Vandals allied themselves with the Visigoths (Yanoski, J., 1844: 10). Centuries later, the migratory movements began to operate in Algiers and Oran reflecting the socio-political reality of the 'Spaniards' in Algeria. Cencillo Pineda (1959) said "*The truth is that the Muslims extended their dominion throughout the Peninsula, which gave rise to a migratory current in both directions*" (in Kaddour, A., 2013: 23).

By the end of the XIXth century the Western Coast of Algeria witnessed a flow of Spanish (seeking better living conditions) encouraged by both the French colonization policy which opened the doors to the Europeans who wished to establish in Algeria, mainly the Spanish (Vilar, P., 1994: 55-56), and the floods -- the rural exodus due to the decadence of the Spanish agricultural sector (Jordi, J.-J., 1996: 67-68). The flow of migrants was composed of farmers, beggars, low class workers, and political refugees. According to Jordi, J.-J and Benallou, L. (2010, in Zimmermann, B., 2010), the Spanish migration went through three phases:

- 1830/1856 → the adventurers era
- 1856/1906 → the land cleaners and farmers era
- 1906/1920 → the naturalized era

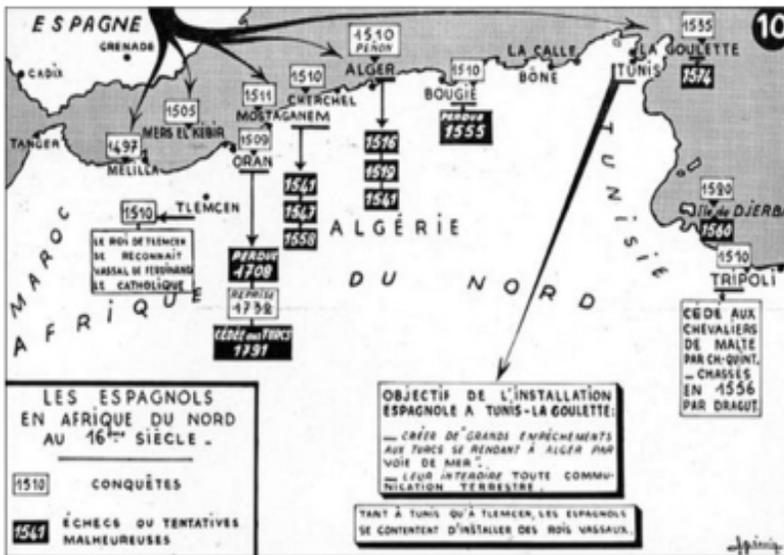
Following 1931 Algeria knew a last migration movement because of the Spanish high drought, the loss of hope, the bad socio-economic situation under the Republican system, and the Spanish Civil War (58 :2011، ح، قنون).

To conclude, one can say that the relationship of Spain with northern Africa goes back to ancient times, but it is notably from the first half of the 20th century that Spanish words are borrowed more importantly thanks to the direct political, economic, cultural and even personal links between Spain and

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Algeria, reinforced by the cultural domination of the colonial French policy (Zimmermann, B., 2010).

It is worth mentioning that the contact between west Algeria and Spain is still topical because of the different commercial contacts between the fishermen who repair their fishing boats in the Spanish shipyard or the youngsters⁵ who travel to Spain for commercial purposes (black market) as well as the Spanish building companies which established in Algeria during the last decade.



Spanish occupation of North Africa⁶

2. Literature review

Our study concerns dialectal Arabic of Northern Algeria. In this part we will define certain terms in relation with our topic, mainly dialect, core/cultural borrowing, and loan-words.

A dialect is one of the different ways to express itself in a given language, it is also the language under which we grew up; it is therefore, the categories of a language which are

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mutually intelligible (Lehman, W. P., 1973: 33). It is a social behaviour rather than a linguistic fact (Trudgill, P., 1978: 15). A dialect is also in concordance with a region or a group of persons; therefore, it is "*a variety of language, spoken in one part of the country (regional dialect), or by people belonging to a particular social class (social dialect, sociolect), which is different in some words, grammar, and/or pronunciation from another form of the same language*" (Richard, J., et al., 1989: 80). On his part, Marçais-Phillipe (1977: 45) claims that a dialect is just a speech habit.

A borrowing is any word "*which has been taken from one language and used in another language.*" (Richard, J., et al., 1989: 30). If the borrowing is a single word, then it is called a '*loan-word*' (Richard, J., et al., 1989: 30). The borrowings can appear as toponyms, anthroponyms, acronyms, blends, compound words, euphemisms, or hybrids; however, the vast majority of the examples that we will cite come from the class of nouns, verbs and adjectives. Borrowings can be divided into two categories: the core borrowings and the cultural borrowings. The former refers to "*words that duplicate elements that the recipient language already has in its word store.*" (Myers-Scotton, C., 2006: 215). This sort of borrowings occurs due to some socio-cultural pressure resulting from the prestige language (One may prefer to say bentura from the Spanish 'pintura' than to say /تلاء>'/ -- طلاء) or the source language imposed them on the host language because the borrowing came first (the word 'pareja' came before /safinatseyd'esamak/ -- سفينة صيد السمك); the latter "*stand for objects or concepts that are new to the recipient culture and they are much more frequent than core borrowings.*" (Myers-Scotton, C., 2006: 215). Many of the words having a relationship with fishing, mining, industry, agriculture, wine manufacturing, clothing, administration... are considered as cultural borrowings.

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The imitation of some 'foreign' traditions or celebrations (Christmas, for example) or administrative, or cultural or economic events leads systematically to the introduction of new words within the field that is concerned (Morton, W., Bloomfield, 1965: 93). So whatever the language contact is, there is always a relation of 'take and give' between the donor language and the host language, in some cases a modification of "*the meaning of existing words or phrases by means of loan-words [...] that involves changes in the lexical structure of the language system.*" (Lyons, J., 1986: 310) is required hence, the establishment of a socio-cultural relationship. Culture on its parts refers to the integrated pattern of human knowledge, belief, and behaviour. It is the integrated pattern of human knowledge, belief and behaviour; it consists of language, ideas, beliefs, customs, taboos, codes, institutions, tools, techniques, works of art, rituals, ceremonies, and other related components (Sufra, J. E. and Aguilar-Cauz, J. 2007: 784). Moreover, culture is a part of the development of the human personality that is why there is no people without culture, because it is "*the overall, dynamic and more or less adapted set of responses of a people to its condition*" (Memmi, A., 1969: 262).

3. The impact of the Spanish borrowings

3.1. The classification of lexical loans

We have classified the lexical loans that constitute our corpus into: nouns, verbs, adjectives, proper names, blends, toponyms, anthroponyms, hybrids, xenisms, epithets, and neologisms. The corpus was collected through physical proximity and the recording of the informants who provided the data. The work was conducted anonymously, and since "*consent is the cornerstone of ethical research practice*" (Podessa, R.J. and Sharma, D., 2016: 14) it's worth mentioning that some participants preferred to participate anonymously. We have selected and sampled our participants according to the following hometowns (from west to east): Ghazaouet, Honâine, BeniSaf, Oran, Mostaganem, and Ténès, making sure

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that our study should be "*generalizable, reliable, and valid.*" (Moyer, G. and Wei, L., 2010: 29). Finally, due to the large number of Spanish borrowings used in the daily speech of the inhabitants of the Western Coast of Algeria, we will content our study to a study of the toponyms, blends, neologisms, and epithets.

3.1.1. Toponyms

Toponymy refers to "*the place names of a country or district as subject of a study.*" (Little William et al., 1980: 2328) it is also the scientific study of place names (toponyms) which deals with their origins, significations, employ, and topology, topographic study of a history of particular region⁷. Toponyms show the value of the spatial structure of our planet, because knowing a place name can greatly help to understand history; they reveal facts related to the part concerning the history, religion, and civilization of the first occupants of the places concerned (Naftali, K., 2002: 4).

Among the Spanish toponyms we can cite:

- /bañaborro/ (A beach located on the east of BeniSaf far for about 4 miles)
- /farora/ (for farora, literally the lighthouse. It is used to refer to a place in BeniSaf's port.)
- /gambeta/ (an area in Oran)
- /gargeta/ (for 'Plateau of Carguenta' an area in Oran, formerly a shopping center)
- /gliziya/ (Literally the 'church'. It is used to refer to a public library in certain towns and to a mosque in others, because all the churches were transformed into libraries or mosques.)
- /kabonegro/ (It is a Cape located in the east of BeniSaf seashore, used by the fishermen as landmark.)

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- /kalaganiya/ (from calagallina, it is a place formerly used to upload ships with mineral core; even if the crane no longer exists, people still use the same toponym.)
- /krištel/ (from the Spanish Cristal – a city in the north east of Oran)
- /kurba/ (literally the curve, it is given to the wall surrounding the port of BeniSaf in its curved place, where youngsters gather to swim and fish.)
- /lakampara/ (literally the bell, it refers to an area in Oran)
- /la playa/ (the principal beach of BeniSaf, called ‘La plage du Puits, literally ‘The beach of the well’.)
- /layella/ (A small island 6 miles north west of BeniSaf)
- /lilanegra/ (A small rock far for about 2 miles north east BeniSaf, characterized by the black colour of its rock.)
- /madrid/ (A beach 8 kilometers on the west of BeniSaf)
- /marina/ (for the port of BeniSaf)
- /palomera/ (a Spanish fortification, now a ruin)
- /pedrapilou/ (a rock found in the beach of SidiBoucif in BeniSaf)
- /pedraplata/ (Literally the Shining Rock, it is located next to the main beach of BeniSaf)
- /playaboliḡī/ (A beach located on the east of BeniSaf far for about 3 miles)

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- /playacinda/ [also pronounced Playa sinda] (From Playa senda – a beach next to BeniSaf)
- /pwertɔ/ (A small port on the east side of the Isle called Lailla – La Isla)
- /riyosalado/ (El Malah – a district next to AinTémouchent)
- /šantakruz/ (It is a Spanish castle located in Oran)
- /šeka/ (It is an immersed rock with its top appearing at the surface of the water – sea – Est of BeniSaf.)
- /skalera/ (literally ‘the stairs’, it is an area in Oran)
- /ʃoro/ (referring to an area neighbouring a bull fighting arena in Oran.)
- /valero/ (Pronounced with /V/ and not with /B/ as in the Spanish language – It is an area in Oran.)
- /kubaniya/ (‘company’ used to refer to a sardine cannery in BeniSaf)

Nearly all the persons interviewed replied that they prefer to use the Spanish toponyms. This is due (still according to the informants) to the fact that they grew up with these place names and they feel more ‘Oranese’ or ‘Benisafian’ when using these place names, even if for most of them having Arabic place names would be better.

3.1.2. Blends

Blending is another sort of word formation, which consists in lexicography in forming a new word through abbreviations (Crystal D., 2003: 54). Among the blend words, we can cite:

- /kalaganya/ (composed of calla + gallina, literally the boat hold + chicken formerly a crane used to upload mine’s core)

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- /matipo/ (composed of mala + tiempo, literally bad weather, but used to refer to Mohammed Larbi, an inhabitant of BeniSaf.)
- /plasinda/ (composed of playa + senda, literally the narrow beach, used to refer to an unguarded beach next to BeniSaf)
- /şapedro/ (composed of San + Pedro, literally Saint Peter, name of a fish : John Dory, St Pierre or Peter's Fish)

3.1.3. Neologisms

A neologism is a “*newly come lexical or existing units that acquire a new sense*” (Newmark, P. 1988: 140). This word formation is a playful way of creating new words from nothing. It is necessary when no equivalent exists in the host language or as a euphemism⁸.

- /balala/ (goat)
- /fitura/ (meaning a trident harpoon used for underwater fishing)
- /lurifa/ (a sort of wooden platform mounted on three ball bearings used to carry heavy things or as a plaything used by boys only.)
- /mistu/ (a bird resulting from the crossbreeding of a canary with a goldfinch)
- /nueblos/ (Meaning testicles, it is used as a euphemism to avoid using the Arabic or French equivalents)
- /penaga/ (meaning a marble made of glass, the equivalent word exists, it is ‘carambola’)
- /piliwa/ (a large hairy brown crab)

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- /rikina/ (a name given to a baker in BeniSaf, he died but his bakery still bears the nickname.)
- /sbaylo/ (a sort of rough light brown string used to make traditional shoes and sandals or to tie up parcels.)
- /šenkuka/ (a girl with untidy hair or simply used as a form of intimacy)
- /tʃipa/ (bribe – corruption or simply to mean money)
- /tricila/ (mountain)
- /vinga/ (wine, probably this word is a phonetic distortion of the Spanish word 'viña' meaning vine or vineyard.)

In this precise case, we are confronted to what we may call "false borrowing" or 'pseudo-borrowings', created with formal elements from the Spanish language that do not refer to a direct model in the language from which the elements come.

3.1.4. Epithets

An epithet is a word which characterizes a noun and which is regularly associated with it (Crystal, D., 2003: 163). Many Spanish borrowings are used as epithets, or one may say as nicknames and appear in different circumstances taking most of the time "*pejorative connotations*" (Fromkin, V. et al., 2003, 481).

We have registered no hypocorisms⁹ or diminutives on the part of the borrowings used as epithets. For a non-native, these words mean what they mean, but for the natives who share mutual intelligibility where "*speakers can understand each other*" (Serir-Mortad, I., 2012, 60), these loan-words refer most of the time to persons living in the same society relying on a "*shared audience common sense*." (McGilvray, J., 2000: 17-18). The following list illustrates the borrowings used as epithets:

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- /'amigo/ (a young man working as taxi driver in BeniSaf C.)
- /'embra/ (a nickname given to a young engineer living in BeniSaf D.M.)
- /baʔaʔa/ (a nickname given to a barkeeper M.L.)
- /bossoko/ (a nickname given to a man in BeniSaf R.Z.)
- /bufu/ (a nickname given to a young fat boy in Oran L.S.)
- /falso/ (is used for a person who is not true in his words – a hypocrite B.S.A.)
- /gorda/ (A large, fat woman G.M.)
- /gordo/ (a large man B.R.)
- /koĥo/ (a lame old man living in Ghazaouet L.K.)
- /lengila/ (a young fisherman living in BeniSaf:HadjBoucifHmimed)
- /mariyu/ (a goal keeper for a football team M.L.)
- /manko/ (any maimed person – one armed/armless man – one eyed man)
- /marora/ (a nickname given to HadjBoucifHmida)
- /marroki/ (an unreliable person)
- /meru/ (any dishonest merchant)
- /muĥer/ (a nickname given to a young fisherman in BeniSaf O.M.A.)
- /negriʔa/ (a black girl B.S.)
- /nigru/ (a black young man F.B.)
- /pulpu/ (a rich manwhois supposed to have gathered his wealth dishonestly L.M.)
- /roĥa/ (used for a red haired woman B.F.Z.)

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- /roho/ (an albino living in BeniSaf: C.B. – also used for a red haired man B.M.)
- /ronko/ (a young man with a rasping voice H.K.)
- /rubyu/ (a young man with a fair hair named Hadji A.)
- /safiko/ (a young man working as bouncer in a bar in BeniSaf M.Y.S.)
- /sepya/ (a young man living in BeniSaf R. Belkacem)
- /şordo/ (a seller of traditional cakes in BeniSaf)
- /speṭon/ (A young man living in BeniSafSidiYakoub N.)
- /tfaṭo/ (is said about a young man having a flat nose Z.M.)

What is certainly attention-grabbing about the above borrowings is that only one word was found in Oran and another in Ghazaouet, while all the rest belong to BeniSaf. This is probably due to the fact that Oran is a melting pot metropolis where ‘internal cohesion’¹⁰ is affected because *"the dominant language spreads and gradually invades the domains, functions and forms of the subordinate language [...] when the family domain is invaded and parents cease to transmit their language to their children, and the latter are no longer motivated to learn it, language shift is almost complete"* (Hamers, J.F. and Blanc, M.H.A., 2000: 297 in Dendane Z., 2013: 2); whereas BeniSaf remains a landlocked town. Second, most of these epithets are attributed to youngsters who did not live with the Spaniards.

Indeed, it may be useful to mention that some of the above words are used in metaphorical senses, example, the word maraju /marahu/ which means ‘shark’, used to refer to a dangerous, unreliable person, or the word pulpo /puplu/ which means ‘octopus’ used to refer to a multi-facets person, however, the above words are used as nicknames referring to

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specific person. One may say Belkacem, but only R. Belkacem is known as /sipya/, you may hear Hmida, but only HadjBoucifHmida is referred to as /marora/ and so on. The case of epithets clearly runs counter to the principle acknowledged in many sociolinguistic studies "*those minority speakers tend to adapt their speech to make it resemble that of the majority.*" (Dendane, Z., 2013: 9)

3.1.5. Hybridization

It may be useful to mention that there is a category apart which deserves to be mentioned, that of hybrid words which are "*composed of elements from different languages*" (crystal, D., 2003: 221), in our case, 'hybrid loans', with a partial borrowing of the form. Indeed, the Algerian speech has become so deeply characterized by the combination of a Spanish radical and an Arabic or French suffix and vice versa.

- Plinthe + suffix 'a' → /plința/ (from French –Plinthe which means baseboard)
- Trabendo + suffix 'iste' → Trabendiste (From Spanish 'Contrabendo')

The list is very long.

3.1.6. Anthroponyms

Anthroponyms refers to the persons' names. Some families bear Spanish names either as a family name or as a given name, such as:

- /'elmoro/ (from 'morro' meaning Arabic, now a family name in Oran and Tlemcen)
- /garsya/ (said about a fat policeman in Oran with reference to Sergeant Garcia found in the movie of Zorro)
- /roberto/ (a given name of one of the families living in BeniSaf)
- /sordo/ (meaning the deaf, a family surname in Oran)
- /ɥwirto/(from the Spanish 'tuerto' meaning one eyed one of the families in Ghazaouet, now named Benmoulay C., but people still call them /ɥwirto/)

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3.2. Results, analysis and recommendations

The influence of the culture of the Spanish language seems to motivate speakers to manipulate the loan-words as part of the cultural heritage depositary. Such words are so completely adapted to French and even Arabic phonology and morphology that third-generation speakers have no idea about the fact that they come from Spanish. We suggest three reasons for such borrowings: "*one reason for adding such words to one's conversation would be just to claim some understanding of the local culture. A second reason is that words from a culture very different from one's own have always smacked of the exotic; that is, they have a magic quality about them.*" (Myers-Scotton, C., 2006: 217); and third the degree of assimilation to the host language, "*thus, a well-assimilated loan will no longer be recognizable as such by an average speaker.*" (Hruškar, Đ. et Gadelii, K., 2015: 267). Despite this remarkable influence, the Spanish culture culminated in favoring lexical borrowing during the period from 1831 to 1936 and even on. Fishing, agriculture, kitchen, fashion and mining are the most affected sectors. A large number of words come from the direct contact with the Spaniards through personal contacts. Spanish culture continues to influence the fishing field hence; the language serves as a great means of communication between the different actors in this domain. In addition, neologisms are created according to rules of word formation on the model of borrowed vocabulary. Contrary to French which is the language of the prestige, or that of the elite, the Spanish loan-words were introduced among the vocabulary of all classes; therefore, "*the informal use of the vernacular in the activities hitherto inaccessible to it enables it to gain prestige, at least on a local scale.*" (Benrabah, M., 2009: 275). At the present time, in spite of the noticeable influence of French and English¹¹, the impact of the Spanish culture through the lexical borrowing seems to continue but to a lesser extent in

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metropolises like Oran and Mostaganem where they are confined to fashion, travelling, football and fishing.

We suggest two elements that may explain the phenomenon of epithets. First, the power of the oral tradition by which young people are still connected to their cultural heritage and perpetuate tradition of using Spanish words, thus the speech of the majority which prevails over language shift. The speakers have no idea about the Spanish borrowings, but they *"took them using a traditional method based on an adapted model for societies where knowledge is acquired through learning"* (Benrabah, M., 1999: 115). Second most of the inhabitants of BeniSaf are fishermen.

In the context of our research on lexical borrowing, we found words like 'penaga' (marble made of glass), or 'potéra' (a fishhook) or 'futura' (a trident arrow), which may be either borrowed, neological or inherited words¹².

No form of the borrowed words is translated more or less literally to the host language, but the words keep their form and most of the time their meaning – xenisms¹³; this corroborates our hypothesis that the borrowed words are maintained because Arabic lacks such vocabulary.

Moreover, the understanding, using, and manipulating these loan-words within the school discourse, home discourse, or workplace discourse do not require any expertise on the part of the audience because they rely on a *"shared common sense"* (McGilvray, J., 1999: 18)

The transcoding or retransmission of the borrowing obeys the speakers who proceed to a sort of 'destruction' or even 'appropriation' (Zemb, J.-M., 1972, in Moussaoui, Meriem, 2004) of both the form and/or the meaning of the loan-words, either cultural or core borrowings.

All the anthroponyms are used as connotations or a comic mode. Then, while among all the languages there is a limit to the historical variation of the meaning of the borrowings, the

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majority of the words composing our corpus remain exact correspondent shaving the same social reality.

Finally, we recommend the elaboration of a thesaurus totally devoted to the Spanish borrowings and arranged by subjects, because as "*society changes, discourses from one area of life may 'colonize' other areas*" (Breeze, R., 2013: 46) resulting in partial or even total loss of this cultural heritage.

Conclusion

Despite all the treatments that the Spanish borrowings underwent (blending, vowel change, phonetic distortion...) they still keep their sociolinguistic function within the speech habits of the Western Algerian Coast. Certain borrowings tend to disappear leaving their communication function to other words, like the word /trabendo/ which is now replaced by the word /beznes/. Others moved from denotative meanings to connotative notions like the word /boṭe/ which means a small boat in the Spanish language and now connotes in the youngsters' jargon the illegal immigration /lherga/ - لحرقة. It is also important to mention that the use, frequent or not, of these borrowings does not link the users to any kind of social-status hierarchy. Even if the host language lacks certain words; in reality, a borrowing hardly replaces its native equivalent. Logically, borrowing and neology complement each other hence any language can enrich itself by taking advantage of the resources of the lexical creativity they offer, but our study reveals that Spanish borrowings occupy an important place in the social, cultural, and even economic life of the Algerian speakers. Even if the purists are totally against the introduction of new words into the Arabic language, but borrowing remains a universal linguistic phenomenon that constitutes a normal form of lexical and 'cultural enrichment' to achieve social interests. Finally, if KatebYacine considers the French language as a "war tribute"(Kateb, Y., 1956), I consider the Spanish borrowings as a cultural heritage.

Notes

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1. In her testament Isabella, queen of Spain, said: "*I beg and send the Princess, my daughter, and the Prince, her husband, to be very obedient to the commandments [...]; not to stop conquering Africa.*" (14: 1972، ابن اشنهو عبد الحميد ابيزيان،
2. Mers El Kébir ('The Great Harbor') is a port on the Mediterranean Sea, near Oran. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mers_El_K%C3%A9bir
3. Don Pedro Navarro was a Spanish military engineer and general he took part in Jimenez's expeditions to North Africa. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pedro_Navarro,_Count_of_Oliveira
4. Cardinal Cisneros' was the promoter of the Crusades in North Africa. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francisco_Jiménez_de_Cisneros
5. Also called /beznasi/ or / beznassiya / (meaning 'businessman' and 'businesswoman', respectively) or trabendiste (from the Spanish contrabando meaning 'smuggler')
6. Source: <http://oranbel-air.over-blog.com/article-l-algerie-et-son-passe-espagnol-orani97164402.html>
7. cf. <https://www.princeton.edu/~achaney/tmve/wiki100k/docs/Toponymy.html>
8. A term used to describe the desire to avoid certain words because of a feeling that they may either cause something unpleasant to come about or may indicate disrespect toward the person or thing named (Bloomfield, M. W., and Newmark L., 1965: 358).
9. A hypocorism is a diminutive form of a name (Crystal, 2013, 222). The extent of within-group communication ties that moderate external networking opportunities.

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10. Cf. <https://www.igi-global.com/dictionary/internal-cohesion/48099>

11. The influence of English on the vocabulary of other languages is growing (Crystal, D., 2004: 19).

12. It is the passing of words or information from one part of a structural representation to another (Crystal D., 2003: 235).

13. In linguistics, a xenism is a type of lexical borrowing that consists of taking a foreign term as it is (form + meaning). Cf. <https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/X%C3%A9nisme>

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