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LOTFI SAYAHI

1 Introduction

Spanish and Arabic have been in contact for long periods and in different regions. While this is largely due to the geographical proximity of the Iberian Peninsula to western North Africa, a set of historical, political and social developments helped bring both languages into close contact. Of remarkable significance was the presence of Arabic in Iberia from 711 to 1492 and, at least, for several more decades after the *Reconquista* was completed. This fact, as is often mentioned, led to heavy lexical borrowing from Arabic into Spanish and other Ibero-Romance languages. Also important was the introduction of Spanish into North Africa in the late fifteenth century and its continuing presence in the region since then. This presence was the result of conquest, settlement of Sephardic Jews and *Moriscos*, and, more recently, colonialism and the effect of mass media. Furthermore, since the last quarter of the twentieth century, Maghrebi immigration to Spain, Moroccan in its majority, has re-introduced Arabic into the Peninsula as an immigrant language and brought about yet another context of Spanish in contact with Arabic. Similarly, in the Americas, Spanish has been in contact with Arabic through the arrival of Arabic-speaking immigrants to many Latin American countries, mainly in the late nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries.

All these different contexts make the contact between Spanish and Arabic an interesting case to explore. Indeed, Spanish has been in contact with Arabic since the early years of its development and for longer than any other non-Iberian linguistic variety. This enduring contact has had implications for both languages through cases of bilingualism and language variation, as we will see below.

The next section of this chapter surveys the socio-historical background that has provided the context for the contact between these two languages across time. In Section 3, I will analyze current situations of Spanish/Arabic bilingualism with a

special focus on North Africa. In Section 4, I will look into the linguistic features that distinguish the varieties of Spanish in contact with Arabic from other varieties of Spanish. Finally, in the conclusion, I will describe prospects for the future of the contact between Spanish and Arabic, its implications for the spread of Spanish in North Africa, and the status of Arabic as a heritage language in Spain and Latin America.

2 Socio-historical background

Long before the full materialization of Spanish as a linguistic system clearly distinguishable from Vulgar Latin and fellow Ibero-Romance varieties, a development usually traced to the second half of the tenth century and well into the eleventh (Lapesa 1981), different linguistic continua had previously linked Iberia and North Africa, including Punic and Latin. The Muslim conquest of Iberia in 711 meant centuries of domination by the Arabic language in the Peninsula. As a result, for almost eight centuries, an Arabic linguistic continuum existed across both regions. The development of Mozarabic as a contact variety between Romance and Arabic attests to the intensity of this contact and to the existence of bilingualism involving those varieties from early on.

With the fall of the last caliphate in Iberia in 1492, thousands of Sephardic Jews made their way to North Africa, especially to northern Morocco. They managed to maintain the Judeo-Spanish variety for centuries until the introduction of modern Spanish in northern Morocco during the Protectorate, which led to the disappearance of Judeo-Spanish from the area during the twentieth century.¹ In addition, between 1609 and 1614, *Moriscos* were expelled from Spain, with the majority settling in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia. For many of them, Spanish was more dominant than Arabic, although with the second generation a rapid shift towards Arabic began (Epalza 1992).

From early on, and prior to reaching the high point of the Latin American colonial enterprise, Spain's colonial aspirations were directed toward what they called *La Berbería*. The Spanish occupied Melilla in 1497, only five years after Granada had been re-conquered, and later on annexed Ceuta from the Portuguese in 1668. Today both towns remain part of Spain and they both enjoy the status of *ciudad autónoma*, which implies determined self-governance without belonging to any other autonomous community. While Ceuta is only 15 miles away from mainland Spain, Melilla is much further east and is closer to some Moroccan cities than to any Spanish ones. In addition to Ceuta and Melilla, Spain still maintains control over three other enclaves, frequently referred to as *presidios menores*, which are practically uninhabited but for the military forces deployed there: Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera, las Islas de Alhucemas, and las Islas de Chafarinas.

In addition to having longstanding control over these areas, Spain established its control over northern Morocco from 1912 to 1956. Soon after what became known as "the War of Africa" (La Guerra de África 1859–1860), the notion of *afri-canismo* started to take shape, and negotiations began between Spain and France

that, after the Conference of Algeciras in 1906, led to a Spanish-French Protectorate in Morocco. Spain gained colonial right to the north, while the French extended their domination over the rest of the country. At its highest point, the Spanish presence in Spanish Morocco consisted of approximately 200,000 people (Salafranca 2001), divided evenly between military and civil population, with Tetouan as its capital. New cities with a majority Spanish population emerged, such as Río Martín, Villa Nador or Villa Sanjurjo (García Figueras 1947: 10).

Although the same treaty that followed the War of Africa guaranteed for Spain the right to re-occupy a small part of the Atlantic Saharan coast, it was not until 1934, well after the declaration of the Protectorate in northern Morocco, that the Spanish occupied Ifni. The same year, Spain occupied Río de Oro and Smara, which are known today as the Western Sahara. Although Ifni was abandoned in 1969, the decolonization of the Sahara would be delayed until 1975.

As for the other North African countries, the presence of the Spanish military in Algeria started during the first decade of the sixteenth century and lasted as late as the last decade of the eighteenth century. Some of the presidios that Spain conquered in Algeria such as Algiers (1510–1529) and Béjaïa (1510–1555) were soon lost. Oran, on the other hand, was first occupied in 1509 and stayed under Spanish control until 1708. After only 24 years of Algerian control, it was occupied again by Spain until 1791. When Algeria became a French colony, about 150,000 Spanish immigrants settled there between 1831 and 1963 with higher numbers of Spaniards than French in many regions including Oran (Bonmati Antón 1992). After Algerian Independence, thousands of *pieds-noirs* settled back in Spain, especially in and around the region of Alicante.

In addition to Morocco and Algeria, the Spanish had also maintained a presence in Tunisia and Libya. In Libya, this presence was limited to the capital, Tripoli (1510–1530). In Tunisia there were brief periods of presence in several cities but a longer presence was established by Charles V in La Goulette (1535–1547) and Tunis (1535–1569 and 1573–1574).

With regard to Latin America, significant immigration from Arabic-speaking countries started around the end of the nineteenth century, when these countries were under Ottoman control. Major waves of immigrants, mostly Christians, from Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine settled in Argentina, Chile, and Brazil, and to a lesser extent in Colombia, Mexico, and the other Latin American countries, especially during the first half of the twentieth century (Bestene 1988). Immigration to Argentina was particularly significant, with some 61,470 Arabic-speaking immigrants entering the country in the 1910s (Bestene 1998: 17). This immigration continued after WWI, but with the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of colonial mandates over the Arabic speaking countries, the numbers went down considerably. Bestene (1998) reports that in the 1960 Argentinean census a total of 50,000 foreign-born Arabic speakers were recorded as *turcos*, *sirios*, and *libaneses*. A large number of institutions, such as el Club Sirio Libanés, el Hospital Sirio Libanés, and el Colegio Sirio Libanés, and bilingual publications such as *El Diario Sirio Libanés*, catered to this community since the 1920s, and some of them are still active today.

More recently, since the entry of Spain into the European Community, North African immigration has increased considerably. According to the National Immigrant Survey carried out in Spain in 2007, Moroccan immigrants were the most numerous group in the country with 539,773 people (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2009).

3 Spanish-Arabic bilingualism

There are different levels of bilingualism and degrees of competence in each of these two languages, depending on both the region and a wide array of sociolinguistic factors. In what follows, I will review cases of Spanish/Arabic bilingualism in Ceuta and Melilla, northern Morocco, the Western Sahara, northern Algeria, Spain, and finally Argentina.

3.1 *Ceuta and Melilla*

In spite of its small size, around 12 square miles in total, Ceuta represents the most dynamic case of Spanish/Arabic bilingualism today. The fact that its population, currently estimated at 72,600 inhabitants (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2009), is divided evenly between the population of Peninsular origin and that of Moroccan origin allows for a close contact between both languages in a relatively contained geographical context. The urban character of Ceuta, its geopolitical situation and ethno-religious division make an excellent context for sociolinguistic investigation. Bilingualism, however, concerns primarily the population of Moroccan origin, as the population of Peninsular origin remains monolingual in Spanish. The linguistic situation of this city, and in particular its implications for education, seems to have attracted some attention recently (Vicente 2005; Antón 2006).

In general terms, speakers of Spanish can be divided into three groups: the first group consists of native speakers of Spanish of Peninsular origin; the second group is represented by the speakers of Moroccan origin who were born in the city; the third group is composed of Moroccan immigrants. The population of Moroccan origin, especially those born in the city, is usually competent in both languages, except for older speakers, who tend to be monolingual speakers of Arabic although some have competence in the northern variety of Berber. Given the monolingual school system, children of Moroccan origin have to pursue their studies exclusively in Spanish since Arabic does not have an official status in Ceuta. In her study of students of Moroccan origin at high schools in Ceuta, Antón (2006) found that 67% of the students stated Arabic was their first language while 18% stated Spanish to be their first language and 15% claimed to have acquired both languages simultaneously. All participants declared they had competence in both languages which gives the younger generation of the population of Moroccan origin a high bilingual profile. She also found that only 27% believe they speak Arabic better than Spanish.

In Melilla, which extends for 7.5 square miles and has a population of 70,447 people (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2009), the percentage of residents of Peninsular origin is about 60% while Berbers make up the rest of the population (Ruiz Domínguez 2001; Fernández Smith et al. 2006). Ceuta is different because Spanish in Melilla is in contact primarily with Berber, given its proximity to the more dominantly Berber-speaking areas. It has to be mentioned, however, that Berber-Arabic-Spanish trilingualism is not uncommon both in Melilla and in the neighboring areas. I interviewed an educated Moroccan speaker from Nador, the closest Moroccan city to Melilla, who was fluent in these three languages and French. The population of Peninsular origin, on the other hand, remains monolingual in Spanish (González Las 1991; Ruiz Domínguez 1997). As in Ceuta, education in Melilla is exclusively in Spanish, while Berber does not enjoy any type of official recognition in spite of some recent revendication efforts (Talimatine 2009).

In both Ceuta and Melilla, Spanish has the upper hand, and efforts are often directed to its exclusive teaching to the population of Moroccan origin as opposed to encouraging the bilingual character of both cities. Bilingualism in this case, then, concerns only part of the population which, in spite of institutional pressure to shift to Spanish, manages to maintain knowledge of its ethnic languages mainly because of continuing immigration and socioeconomic contact with neighboring Moroccan cities. As the population of Moroccan origin increases, a more positive linguistic consciousness of bilingualism may develop and allow for the introduction of the teaching of Arabic and Berber in the public school system.

3.2 Northern Morocco, Western Sahara, and Northern Algeria

Today, with some 6 million residents (Cembrero 2006), former Spanish Morocco is the largest area where Spanish is maintained in North Africa. This presence remains, however, limited to the cities, as the rest of the area is very rural and with high rates of illiteracy. As in the rest of Morocco, Spanish does not have an official status in this region and its maintenance is a result of the population's interest, the presence of Spanish cultural and economic institutions, and the catalyzing role of Ceuta and Melilla.

In the early twentieth century, Spanish gained momentum with the establishment of the Protectorate but Spain's colonial language policies failed to root its language in the native population as France did. The law defining colonial education in Spanish Morocco set up a sectarian education that catered to what they perceived as the needs of the different ethno-religious groups: *las escuelas españolas*, *las escuelas hispano-israelitas*, and *las escuelas hispano-musulmanes*. With Arabic being the only language of instruction, the purpose of the Muslim schools and the whole system was, according to Cordero Torres (1942: 225), "to endow Morocco with good peasants."²

In Ifni and the Western Sahara, the educational system was very basic and was limited to elementary school. The small size of the population, both Spanish and local, led to the installment of an exclusive Spanish system, with only two Muslim schools (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas 1971). For example, in

1955 in the elementary school of Ifni there were 227 Spaniards and 250 natives while in 1957 in the Western Sahara there were only 53 Saharawi students and as many as 185 Spanish students. Overall, very few people attended Spanish schools in Ifni and the Western Sahara but those who did, unlike those in northern Morocco, had to do it in Spanish, which partly explains the status of Spanish as second language among the Saharawis today.

An argument can be made, then, that Spanish lost official status immediately after the independence of Morocco, not only because the Spanish zone was significantly smaller than the French one, but also because of the nature of Spain's educational system and language policies. While France saw its language as an assimilating tool that was to be systematically employed in forming the local elite, Spain's fragmented policies did not allow the locals to go beyond the basic levels of education with limited, and at times non-existent, knowledge of its language. Indeed, when Spain left, there were more centers of traditional schooling than in 1912, the year the Protectorate was declared (Valderrama Martínez 1956).

Today, although in northern Morocco Spanish is sometimes perceived as a sign of regional identity distinguishing the north from the rest of the country (Sayahi 2005b), its value in the linguistic market is unofficial and often associated with possibilities of immigration to Spain for higher education or work. In my fieldwork in Morocco, the majority of the informants I interviewed perceived knowledge of Spanish as valuable only if accompanied by knowledge of French, and the educated ones often insisted that their competence in French was much higher than in Spanish.

Speakers of Spanish in northern Morocco can be divided in two groups. First, there are native speakers of Spanish. These are the few remaining Spanish immigrants and second and third generation immigrants who maintain language, nationality, religion, and other identity indices (Sayahi 2005b). Given that the majority settled back in Spain as soon as they retire or when they leave for university, their numbers have decreased dramatically since the independence of Morocco. At the present moment there are 2,826 Moroccan-born Spaniards still living in Morocco, which is about 49% of all Spaniards residing in the country. This is an aging population in that one-third of them are above the age of 60. The fact that they maintained their Spanish identity and language has facilitated their insertion into Spanish society. For those who decide to stay in Morocco, there are still Spanish hospitals, schools, and other institutions that cater to them. With some exceptions, especially in the case of those who grew up in French Morocco and who learned French, this group remains predominantly monolingual.

The second group of speakers is composed of non-native speakers who show a high degree of variation in their competence. Non-native speakers can be divided into two sub-groups, those who have a formal instruction in Spanish and those who have learned the language through naturalistic exposure. With regard to the first group, formal instruction in Spanish is accessible both through Moroccan and Spanish institutions. Spanish is offered in about 42% of Moroccan high schools while Spain maintains 11 educational centers with 293 teachers catering for 4,316 students, 81% of whom are Moroccan (Muñoz Sánchez-Brunete 2003). In the case of a naturalistic acquisition of Spanish, through intense exposure to Spanish media

and interaction with Spanish speakers living in the area, some Moroccans have also developed an advanced competence.

Tarkki (1995) conducted a study of Spanish as spoken in the Saharawi refugee camps in Tinduf (Algeria). With a population estimated at 200,000, the type of bilingualism that can be found there is that of educational bilingualism in the case of younger generations while the older male generation acquired the language by serving in the Spanish military during the colonial rule (Goicoechea Gaona 1998). Schooling is in Standard Arabic, but Spanish is also taught starting from fourth grade, mostly by teachers educated in Cuba (Tarkki 1995; Goicoechea Gaona 1998). Support from Spain and Cuba allowed competence in Spanish to spread through programs such as teacher-training in Cuba and summer stays with Spanish families for Saharawi children.

Finally, Moreno-Fernández's research on vestigial Spanish in Oran (Algeria) constitutes the only data-based study we have from this context (Moreno-Fernández 1992, 1994). He found that competence in Spanish is limited to aging speakers who lived alongside Spanish speakers under French colonialism and whose number is rapidly decreasing.

3.3 *The Peninsula*

With increasing immigration from North Africa, Spanish/Arabic bilingualism is on the rise in the Peninsula. Moroccans alone account for 12% of all immigrants and they have been in Spain long enough for the third generation to be in the school system already. As a matter of fact, 15.36% of the students of foreign origin in Spanish schools are from a Moroccan origin (Ministerio de Educación 2009). As a result, Spain and Morocco initiated in 1985 a program aimed at introducing the teaching of Arabic and Moroccan culture at Spanish schools: *Programa de Lengua Árabe y Cultura Marroquí*. Today, this program is implemented in 13 Spanish autonomous communities, with the centers that have fewer Moroccan students offering it as an after-school program, while in those with a higher number of Moroccan students the classes are integrated into the curriculum. As of February 2009, there are 52 teachers working with 4,843 students spread among 211 educational centers. While the initiative is a way to foster Spanish/Arabic bilingualism, its effect is still very limited, given that only 4.55% of the Moroccan students in the Spanish system are taking part in it (4,853 out of 106,578). At the moment, Spanish/Arabic bilingualism in Spain remains at the margin of the educational system (Martín Rojo and Mijares 2007). Even non-governmental organizations do not seem to be effective in teaching Arabic to the younger generations nor Spanish to adult immigrants (El-Madkouri 1995).

3.4 *Argentina*

Biondi Assali (1989b) conducted a detailed study of Arabic-speaking immigrants in the provinces of Tucumán, Santiago del Estero, Buenos Aires, and Río Negro. She argues that while in La Plata the shift to Spanish is complete, with the use of

Arabic reserved to a symbolic function, other areas such as Tucumán still have speakers who are competent in Arabic, including members of the third generation (Biondi Assali 1989a). The main reason for the maintenance of Arabic in Argentina appears to be for religious purposes among members of the Muslim community, which in itself is much smaller than the Arab Christian community. In a questionnaire that she administered to 100 informants and based on interviews with 36 participants in different areas of the province of Tucumán, the area with more Spanish/Arabic bilingualism, Biondi Assali (1990) found that, in addition to its religious function, speakers from the second generation, and to a lesser degree speakers from the third generation, continue to use Arabic sporadically, as an in-group language with frequent cases of code-switching.

4 Language variation and change

As mentioned above, in North Africa there are two groups of speakers of Spanish: monolingual native speakers, usually of Peninsular origin, and bilingual speakers whose first language is Arabic and/or Berber and who acquired Spanish either simultaneously with their first language or as a second language.

4.1 *Monolingual Spanish speakers*

Native Spanish varieties used in Ceuta, Melilla, and northern Morocco have been shown to have little variation from Andalusian varieties (González Las 1991; Moreno-Fernández 1995; Ruiz Domínguez 1997; Sayahi 2005c). A study of native speakers of Spanish from the Moroccan cities of Tangier and Tetouan did not yield any significant distinguishing features of this variety (Sayahi 2006). Speakers showed similar variation from Standard Spanish to those present in eastern Andalusia from where a large part of the immigrants originated.

At the phonological level, and with regard to the presence of the interdental fricative phoneme, informants interviewed in Tangier and Tetouan showed more tendency towards *seseo* although, in a few cases, some of them used *distinción* and *alternación*.³ In Melilla, Ruiz Domínguez (1999) found that /s/ is articulated as predorsal in 64% of the cases and as apical in the rest, if the speakers distinguish between /s/ and /θ/. She also found that, among speakers of Peninsular origin, *seseo* is produced more by older female informants while male speakers tended towards the use of either *distinción* or *alternación*. In the same study, *seseo* also proved to be present among groups with a lower educational level, which indicates that this is a change in progress where the younger and educated native population is slowly abandoning the *seseo*. As in many parts of Andalusia, final /s/ is also weakened and deleted in North Africa. In the case of northern Morocco, speakers tend to delete it in the majority of the cases, about 87.02% (Sayahi 2005a). Other phonetic features in native northern Moroccan Spanish also include intervocalic and word-final /d/ deletion, especially in past participle forms leading to the formation of a falling diphthong,

yeísmo, deaffrication of /tʃ/ into a fricative pre-palatal, the velarization of final /n/, and aspiration of /x/.

At the lexical level, very few Arabic words have entered native varieties of Spanish that are in contact with Arabic. These include words that represent mostly cases of nonce-borrowing as opposed to more established items. In some cases, speakers use common Arabic interjections as discourse markers while speaking Spanish: *walou* 'nothing,' *inchalá* 'god willing,' and *safi* 'OK.' More established borrowings include words that refer to the region and Moroccan cultural items in general: *Yebala* and *Rif* (referring to northern Morocco); *dariya* 'the Arabic dialect'; *chelja/cherja* 'Berber'; '*bakkal*' 'convenience store'; *quif* and *hachís* 'hashish'; *tajín* 'tagine'; *harira* 'soup'; *cabila* 'tribe.' Some of these words are already part of Peninsular Spanish and are accepted by the Real Academia, as in the case of *cabila* or *quif*, which the RAE dictionary indicates are from Moroccan Arabic as opposed to Classical Arabic.

So far, and given such a limited inventory of lexical borrowing, no morphosyntactic variation in native North African Spanish has been identified as a result of contact with Arabic. Although the majority of the population of Peninsular origin remains monolingual in Spanish, a few speakers are competent in Arabic and/or French, as illustrated in the following example of trilingual code-switching collected in Morocco:

(1) Native speaker from Casablanca:

[il wa:lid zawiz ihna, fi ka:za zawiz za esy:ir za mʃa walidih]. Quince años tenía mi padre cuando vino aquí con su padre. Ils ne travaillaient que les carrières [xaddami:n ʔir fil laħzar], des types de carrières. Ils travaillaient dans les carrières et des trucs.

My father got married here, in Casablanca he got married. He came while still young with his parents. My father was 15 years old when he came here with his father. They worked in rock quarries. They only worked in rocks, some type of quarries. They worked in rock quarries and stuff.

4.2 Bilingual speakers of Spanish

The most salient characteristic of Spanish, as spoken by Arabic-dominant speakers at the phonetic level, is the instability of the vowel system in articulatory terms (Moreno-Fernández 1992; Sayahi 2006; Tarkki 1995). This is due mainly to the limited vowel inventory in Arabic which allows for free allophonic variation between /o/ and /u/ on the one hand and /e/ and /i/ on the other depending on whether the flanking consonant is emphatic or not (tangerino > tang[i]rino). Raising /e/ to [i] is more common in unstressed syllables, while instances of /o/ raising to [u] are particularly common in word-final position (amigo > amig[u]). Another important feature regarding vowel articulation by non-native speakers is initial vowel deletion, which is prompted primarily by the preference of Maghrebi Arabic dialects for complex initial clusters (esponja > sponja). This phenomenon is

particularly consistent in the processes of adaptation of Spanish loanwords in northern Moroccan Arabic (Sayahi 2005d). Non-stressed vowels can also be shortened (español > esp[ə]ñol), as happens in Moroccan Arabic (Dell and Elmedlaoui 2003; Heath 1997). Finally, there are also cases of diphthong reduction, both internally and across word boundaries, especially [ie] > [e] (entiendo > ent[e]ndo). A similar phenomenon is observed by Moreno-Fernández (1992) and Biondi Assali (1989b) in the communities they studied.

At the consonant level, a common phenomenon across the area is the predominance of *seseo*. In Melilla, Ruiz Domínguez (1999: 132) found that it is much more common among the bilingual population as it reaches 85.51%, while monolingual Spanish speakers show a rate of 53.51%. Also, unlike what happens in the case of the population from a Peninsular origin, male speakers of Moroccan origin tend to use more *seseo* while female informants used *seseo* but with a considerable percentage of *alternancia* as well. In addition, in the bilingual population the rates for *seseo* do not seem to descend with higher levels of education (Ruiz Domínguez 1999). This is not the case in northern Morocco where, although *seseo* is the common behavior among uneducated speakers, *distinción* and *alternancia* are more common among the younger educated generation: 58.41% of the cases were realized as [θ] and the rest as [s] (Sayahi 2006).

With regard to the behavior of /s/ in postnuclear position, there is general agreement that aspiration is not a common behavior in any of these areas, except in the Western Sahara, where Tarkki (1995) included it as one of the possibilities although without exact rates. In Oran, Moreno-Fernández (1992) found that the majority of the cases were either of maintenance or deletion, with only very few instances of aspiration. Syllable-final /s/ was deleted more frequently in word-final position, stressed syllable-final position, and before a voiced consonant. In northern Morocco, Ghailani (1997) studied the behavior of /s/ in Tangier, Tetouan, and Larache and found that in absolute final position retention is more common than deletion or aspiration. He does, however, recognize that there is seemingly free variation between retention and deletion that causes both inter- and intra-speaker variation. In Sayahi (2005a), it was argued that younger educated Moroccan speakers tend to maintain final /s/ in the majority of the cases with the possibility of strengthening when the previous vowel is shortened.

Unsurprisingly, all speakers of Spanish in North Africa are *yeístas*. However, Arabic-dominant speakers weaken the articulation of /y/ to produce it as a glide instead of a palatal fricative (Sayahi 2006; Moreno-Fernández 1992). With regard to /x/, it usually acquires a [+STRIDENT] feature that is more common in central-northern Peninsular varieties, as opposed to Andalusian Spanish, where it tends to be weakened. The voiceless post-velar /x/ is not present in native speakers of Spanish in northern Morocco yet it does present a distinguishing feature of non-native Spanish, probably as a result of its articulatory nature in Arabic. In La Angelita in Argentina, Biondi Assali (1990) showed that, even among second, generation Arab immigrants, /x/ is frequently produced in a similar way to what is found among the first generation. Regarding the articulation of the unvoiced bilabial stop by Arabic-speaking immigrants in Argentina, Biondi

Assali (1992) found that the voicing of /p/ is not conditioned by the phonetic context and that it is slightly more common in informal contexts. She also found that in the case of literate speakers, /b/ is less likely to replace /p/ at a rate of 32.99%, as compared to 66.66% for illiterate speakers. In her study, the voicing of the bilabial stop is also conditioned by the age of arrival and area of residence. This is not the case in North Africa where, except for aging illiterate speakers, /p/ is not voiced. This is due both to the early exposure of the speakers to the sounds of Spanish and to the existence of Spanish and French loanwords in colloquial Arabic that maintain this sound, even though it does not form part of the Arabic phonetic inventory. As a matter of fact, it is interesting to note the devoicing of /b/ in some established Spanish loanwords in northern Moroccan (bolígrafo > [p]olígrafo, bocadillo > [p]ocadillo). It may be argued, then, that /p/ is in fact part of the phonetic inventory of Moroccan Arabic although its usage is still limited to Spanish and French loanwords (Ghailani 1997; Heath 1989; Sayahi 2005d). The affricate sound does not constitute a problem either for North African speakers of Spanish who maintain it, although it may be deaffricated by native speakers in the area.

A more challenging sound is the palatal nasal. Even though Tarkki (1995) found that /ɲ/ is articulated similarly to native speaker production, other studies have shown that it is frequently altered. Moreno-Fernández (1992) observed the depalatalization of this sound in his data, similar to what was found in northern Morocco (Scipione and Sayahi 2005; Ghailani 1997). Even in more advanced speakers, the nasal palatal is articulated as an apico-alveolar nasal + a palatal glide [ɲ] (España > Espa[nj]a). The fricative allophones for the voiced stops also cause some difficulty for non-native speakers. Both [ð] and [ɣ] exist in Standard Arabic, although [ð] does not exist in Moroccan Arabic anymore. Their distribution is phonemic and thus may be behind the maintenance of the stops in Spanish, even in contexts where native varieties weaken them (cerrado > cerra[d]o, amigos > ami[g]os).

Some Arabic speakers of Spanish reduce the trill to a tap, especially when it is not marked graphemically, and given that in Arabic the more common form is the dental tap (reconquista > [r]econquista, carrera > 'ca[r]era'). While Tarkki (1995: 55) stated that the liquids are not a problem for Saharwi speakers of Spanish, Moreno-Fernández (1992: 18) found instances of [l] to [r] and vice versa, which he attributed to the speakers, contact with Andalusian speakers who may have shown the same phenomenon.

At the suprasegmental level, Tarkki (1995) claimed that his informants were successful in assigning stress, and that the few errors he found were not systematic. Moreno-Fernández (1992: 29), on the other hand, observed that his speakers show similarity between intonation patterns in French and their intonation of Spanish, although no laboratory analysis was carried out. In the case of the less competent speakers, both in North Africa and immigrants in Spain, Sayahi (2006) found that with vowel reduction stress may shift to the penultimate syllable. This could be explained by the fact that in Moroccan Arabic, stress falls on the penultimate syllable if the final syllable is not a heavy one.

4.3 *Morphology and syntax*

Moreno-Fernández (1992) identified instances of morphosyntactic variation in his Oran data that can be found in groups of lower socioeconomic groups in Spain. He attributes this to the fact that his informants developed Spanish competence by contact with immigrant speakers who lived amongst them before Algerian Independence. Among these features, he mentions changes in pronominal order (*se me > me se*), misuse of mood morphemes (*somos > semos*), confusion of the morphology of the imperfect indicative (*decía > decíe*), and morphological alteration of some adverbial forms (*así > asín, asina*). Some of the cases of irregular usage of Spanish forms have been identified by Moreno-Fernández (1992) as being interference from French, including confusion of mood, prepositions, copulative verbs, and lack of nominal and verbal agreement.

Tarkki (1995), on the other hand, did not find significant grammatical features that would distinguish Saharawi Spanish as intrinsically different from other varieties but listed some features that are attributable to their acquisition of Spanish as a second language. He also found that his subjects had difficulty with nominal and verbal agreement, the subjunctive, and other errors in verb morphology including regularization of irregular paradigms. In the case of relative subordinate clauses in particular, he noticed that the preposition, the article, and/or the relative pronoun may be omitted. Finally, while Tarkki observed an overall limited usage of diminutives (1995: 65), Moreno-Fernández (1992: 19) found that his Oranian informants made higher usage of the form *-ico*.

In Argentina, Biondi Assali (1995) studied the use of the simple present and imperfect indicative by first- and second generation Arab immigrants. She showed that older immigrants (arriving after the age of 15) tend to delete the simple present and imperfect indicative with *ser/estar/haber* since what could be considered the equivalent form of a copulative verb in Arabic is not required with the present tense. She also identified usage of the simple present to express past imperfective durative action in subordinate clauses and other cases of a lack of verbal agreement due in many cases to divergence from Arabic (Biondi Assali 1995).

Several of the features mentioned for Oran, the Sahara, and Argentina were found in northern Moroccan Spanish as well (Sayahi 2005c; Ghailani 1997). In addition, speakers showed the tendency to use the analytic future form more frequently than the synthetic future, also described for Moroccan immigrants in Spain (El-Madkouri 1995). The younger generations made systematic usage of the *vosotros* form in a similar way to northern-central Spanish varieties, while the older generation did not. There was also more usage of the present perfect to compensate for a lack of usage of the preterit, which is a common strategy by L2 speakers exposed to Peninsular varieties of Spanish. In the case of lower-competence illiterate speakers, more simplification took place, as in (2), which is extracted from a natural transactional interaction between a native Spanish speaker and a non-native speaker recorded in Tangier.

- (2) Moroccan speaker from Tangier:

¿Qué va a llevar aquí si no llevar zapato, novela?

(¿Qué me llevaré de aquí si no me llevo los zapatos, la novela?)

What will I take from here if I don't take the shoes, the novel?

All of the morphosyntactic features that have been identified in Spanish/ Arabic bilingualism studies should be attributed to varying degrees of competence in Spanish and the process of acquisition, as opposed to the formation of a North African variety of Spanish. Speakers' usage of a non-standard form at a certain time does not imply their inability to use the standard form even within the same conversation, depending on their level.

4.4 *Lexicon*

Studies on the vocabulary related to fishing in particular have confirmed the argument made, based on phonological and syntactic features, that the varieties spoken by older North African speakers is closest to Andalusian varieties (Moreno-Fernández 1992; El-Harrak 1998; Ghailani 1997). In the case of bilingual speakers or immigrant speakers in Spain and Latin America, there are several culture-bound Arabic words that may be used. These words do not usually penetrate into general Spanish, although they may be used by non-Arabic speakers familiar with aspects of the Arabic culture. Many of these words are within the domain of religion: *hayy* (pilgrimage); *iftar* (breaking the fast). A few of them are recognized by the Real Academia as older borrowings, with their usage limited to Muslims (e.g. *azalá* (prayer), *azaque* (almsgiving)). In Argentina, Biondi Assali (1990) observed that Arabic terms describing kinship relations were also maintained among second and third generations. In the case of Oran, Moreno-Fernández (1992) also found some adapted French words in the speech of his trilingual informants: *patesería* (pastelería); *carrotas* (zanahorias).

Nevertheless, given the history of Spanish in western North Africa and the prestige it has enjoyed, the results of the contact remain more significant in the influence that Spanish has exercised on northern Moroccan Arabic. There are about 2000 established loanwords in use in former Spanish Morocco that cover a wide range of domains, including very common words such as *playa*, *camarero*, or *cocina* (Sayahi 2005d; Ghailani 1997). In Oran, Moreno-Fernández identified some 300 loanwords from Spanish into the local Arabic variety, as well. Borrowing from the earlier contact between Spanish and Arabic is less evident in Tunisia and is limited to a few items (e.g. *lápiz*, *duro*, *escoba*) and family names (Epalza and Gafsi Slama 1999).

Bilingual and trilingual code-switching involving Spanish, often as an embedded language, is frequent among speakers of Arabic and Spanish in North Africa (Sayahi 2005c; Vicente 2005, 2007; Antón 2006). Some of the examples I collected in northern Morocco include switching between Arabic and Spanish or Spanish and French:

- (3) Moroccan speaker from Tangier (Sayahi 2005c)
 - a. Son ellos mismos que vuelven ahora con [ʃumla saʕba] así que con un emigrante primeramente [itfak il muʃkil]. Un [bitali] menos.

They are the same ones who return now with foreign currency, so with an immigrant firstly a problem is solved. One unemployed less.

- b. Yo me considero un poco estúpido porque être bien c'est un défaut aujourd'hui.

I consider myself a little stupid because to be good these days is a defect.

5 Conclusion

At the sociolinguistic level, the major outcome of the contact between Spanish and Arabic in recent times is the partly Hispanic nature of northern Morocco, extensive Spanish/Arabic bilingualism in Ceuta and Spanish/Berber in Melilla, and the increasing status of Arabic as a heritage language in Spain. In the Maghreb as a whole, Spanish is starting to spread as a foreign language and it is becoming increasingly popular at the high school level. There is also a recognizable, albeit small, Moroccan literary production written in Spanish (Chakor and Macías 1996). Nevertheless, in northern Morocco, the role of mass media as the transmitter of Spanish has been shrinking dramatically since the emergence of Arabic-speaking satellite channels. In 2004, only 15% of the residents of northern Morocco stated they watched Spanish television channels, as opposed to 40% in the 1990s (Cembrero 2006). With interest in immigration and the role of Ceuta and Melilla, it appears that Spanish will continue more as a border language in northern Morocco and as a formally acquired foreign language elsewhere in the region. The overall number of speakers should be increasing, but the type of competence and the medium of acquisition are the ones that are changing.

On the other hand, Spanish/Arabic bilinguals in Spanish-speaking areas constitute a transitional group. With the third generation, Arabic seems to survive only as a liturgical language and, in some cases, as an identity marker although without real communicative value.⁴ Nevertheless, in Ceuta and Melilla, the increase of the population of Moroccan origin may facilitate a more positive attitude towards bilingualism and may lead to the creation of bilingual programs that foster the co-existence of these two languages.

At the structural level, Spanish in contact with Arabic does not show any variation in the case of native speakers, those in Ceuta, Melilla and northern Morocco. These varieties of Spanish share features of Andalusian varieties, and do not present any feature that could be attributed to contact with Arabic, especially since the population of Peninsular descent remains monolingual in Spanish in the majority of the cases. As for bilingual speakers, they often present features that characterize second language learners of Spanish in general. The prestige that the Peninsular variety enjoys makes it the target variety in educational contexts and limits the possibilities for the development of a North African dialect of Spanish. This prestige led to extensive Arabic/Spanish code-switching and a large number of loanwords from Spanish into northern Moroccan Arabic, instead of Spanish receiving more stable interference from Arabic, as happened centuries ago.

NOTES

- 1 The situation of Judeo-Spanish has been addressed in several studies (Benoliel 1926; Alvar 1996; among many others) and, as a separate variety, is beyond the scope of this chapter.
- 2 My translation.
- 3 *Alternación* refers to the use of both *seseo* and *distinción* by the same speaker.
- 4 The situation of the maintenance of Arabic in Spanish-speaking areas and elsewhere is further complicated by the diglossic situation of Arabic. While immigrant children acquire the dialect of their parents naturally, they are then taught the standard form in formal contexts even though varieties diverge considerably from each other.

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