

# Ghanaian and Nigerian linguistic transfer in the Spanish and Pichi of Equatorial Guinea

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## Abstract

This paper discusses lexical evidence of Ghanaian and Nigerian language contact in Spanish and Pichi (an English-lexifier creole), two languages spoken in Equatorial Guinea. Existing research on the lexicon of Equatoguinean Spanish and Pichi has centered primarily on the European and Bantu origins of *guineanismos* that are loanwords and neologisms in Equatoguinean vocabulary. Despite the geographical proximity between Ghana, Nigeria, and Equatorial Guinea, research on cross-cultural and linguistic connections between these three multilingual countries is scant. This study seeks to fill the gap with an analysis of lexical borrowings gathered from fieldwork and secondary online sources. The objective of this paper is to increase visibility on the linguistic, historical, and cultural connections between two Anglophone countries and a Hispanophone country in sub-Saharan Africa. Findings on these connections can further inspire the design of authentic pedagogical materials for the language and culture classroom.

**Keywords:** lexicon, linguistic transfer, cross-cultural connections, Spanish, Africa

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## **Introduction: Shared histories of Ghana, Nigeria, and Equatorial Guinea**

From geographical and linguistic perspectives, Ghana, Nigeria, and Equatorial Guinea have several commonalities. All three are countries in sub-Saharan Africa, they each have Francophone neighboring countries, and by extension, French is learned as a postcolonial European language in each country. In addition, Ghana and Nigeria are West African countries that were formerly colonized by the British (Asare, 1982; Ezeogidi, 2020; Kessinger, 2000). However, although Equatorial Guinea is a former Spanish colony, it was briefly colonized by the British in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Vilar, 1970). In fact, the island of Fernando Po (present-day Bioko) was known as Port Clarence while the British occupied the area and used the Bight of Biafra to facilitate their enslavement enterprise (Fryer, 2000; Johnston, 1969).

Another facet of the shared history between Ghana, Nigeria, and Equatorial Guinea is linked to cocoa and labor migration during the colonial era. The cocoa enterprise in Fernando Po is pivotal in understanding the connection between the three countries. Ghanaian oral history as well as other historical records indicate that Tetteh Quarshie (1842-1892), journeyed to Fernando Po to work as a laborer on the island's cocoa plantations, and on his return, he brought with him some cocoa seeds (Kuusaana et al., 2021; Sumberg 2011). Similarly, cocoa was first introduced in Nigeria by a native chief who also transported it from Fernando Po (Howes, 1946). In Fernando Po, Britain's cocoa production venture required migrant farmhands from neighboring countries in the West African region, many of whom came from Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Ghana, and Liberia (Fryer, 2000). These migrant farmhands later settled on the island and became known as Fernandinos. Historical accounts confirm that the work of touts who were recruiters of contract labor across the Gulf of Guinea from the 1860s to the 1920s, led to the influx of Nigerian and Ghanaian migrants in Fernando

Po (Martino, 2016). These migrants, recruited to work on the cocoa plantations in Fernando Po, included Igbos and Ibibios from Nigeria, and natives from Elmina in Ghana (Martino, 2016). Women, mostly from southeastern Nigeria, also migrated to Fernando Po as wives seeking to join their husbands, as traders, and as sex workers (Chapdelaine, 2020). Consequently, the cocoa enterprise in Fernando Po led to the settlement of Nigerians and Ghanaians in the area, creating the conditions for language contact between these two Anglophone countries and Equatorial Guinea.

Despite the historical connections between these three countries, currently, there is still much that remains unknown about features of language contact. This paper therefore seeks to fill the gap in research on linguistic transfer of Ghanaian and Nigerian origins in Equatoguinean Spanish and Pichi. The paper is organized as follows: the next section is a review of pertinent literature on linguistic transfer as well as the sociolinguistic profile of the two languages, followed by a section on the discussion on the material and methods for the present study. After, we present the research findings, a discussion of the findings, and the concluding remarks which also include the pedagogical relevance and limitations of the current research study.

### **Literature review**

In what follows, we discuss pertinent literature on linguistic transfer in global language contact situations. We will then narrow down to our research context.

#### **On linguistic transfer**

Linguistic transfer is a phenomenon in which forms and their corresponding meanings are carried across language systems and cultures (Lado, 1957). Linguistic transfer is a pivotal aspect of languages in contact (Arabski, 2006). It reflects the shared history of the languages involved, as is typical with pidgins and creoles. By definition, pidgins are variations or new forms of

languages that emerge in language contact situations in order to meet a communicative need, and they develop across generations as creoles (Muysken & Smith, 1995; Siegel, 2002). Historically, pidgins and creoles were created and used by speakers of different languages who were present in new territories, as is the case of enslavement (Jourdan, 2008). There is a generational difference between pidgins and creoles. A pidgin is typically used as a second language by adults, while a creole is learned and used as a mother tongue by their children (Siegel, 2002). The lexicon of pidgins and creoles usually comes from a lexifier or one major language, nonetheless, other languages also contribute to it. An example is Sranan, a creole spoken in Suriname. Sranan is an English lexifier creole with substrates from Gbe languages (Bruyn, 2007). Some French lexifier creoles are spoken in Grenada, Trinidad, and Louisiana (Ferreira, 2002). Fa d'ambo, which is spoken in the Annobón island of Equatorial Guinea, is a Portuguese lexifier creole (Brookshaw, 2013; Post, 1998). In the case of Spanish pidgins and creoles, a notable mention is *bozal* Spanish, or the earliest form of Afro-Spanish spoken by enslaved Africans in Latin America and the Caribbean (Lipski, 2000; McWhorter, 2000; Schwegler, 1999).

Evidence of linguistic transfer is the presence of loanwords in languages. Loanwords are lexical borrowings adopted from one language to another (Haspelmath, 2009; Poplack et al., 1988). There are two main groups of factors that favor loanwords—social and attitudinal factors such as the prestige of a donor language, as well as grammatical factors in the case of verbs which prove to be more difficult to adapt into a target language after borrowing has occurred (Haspelmath, 2009). Nouns rank highest on borrowability scales (Haugen, 1950; Van Hout & Muysken, 1994). These nouns include basic vocabulary for living things, everyday items, as well as commonly occurring nouns and actions. For instance, in Istro-Romanian, an endangered Eastern Romance language, the presence of linguistic transfer is seen in Croatian loanwords for

body parts adopted into this language (Vrzić & Doričić, 2014). The Croatian words for ‘Adam’s apple/throat’ *grkljan*, ‘back’ *hrbat*, *lopatica*, *život*, ‘belly’ *trbuh*, ‘body’ *telo*, *telino*, as well as ‘brain’ *možljen* replaced their Istro-Romanian equivalents between the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (Vrzić & Doričić, 2014, p. 114).

Dictionaries also convey crucial information on loanwords by indicating any linguistic transfer of such vocabulary in apparent time. A preliminary investigation of lexical borrowing in present-day English using the *Oxford English Dictionary* as a corpus revealed that loanwords borrowed within the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries belong to several donor languages including Latin, French, German, Spanish, Sanskrit, and Zulu, among others (Durkin, 2006). A quantitative analysis of loanwords in the Spanish dictionary *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (2014) and the OBNEO glossary of neologisms also shows a breakdown of multiple donor languages such as English (38%), French (15%), Latin (15%), and borrowings from other languages constituting less than (32%) (Degerstedt, 2013).

Existing research on the linguistic transfer of African loanwords in various languages reveal that its impact is evident within and beyond the African continent. Loanwords of Yoruba origin present in Hausa, a Chadic language spoken predominantly in West Africa, include *agogo* ‘clock,’ *kpeno* ‘pan,’ and *ireke* ‘sugar cane’ among others (Awagana et al., 2009, p. 151). African loanwords in Chichewa, a Bantu language spoken in Malawi, Zambia, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe include *buluku* ‘trousers’ from South Africa’s Afrikaans, and *khuza* ‘to discipline’ from Zulu (Matiki, 2016, p. 83). Additionally, in Ouessa and Hamile, two border communities in Burkina Faso and Ghana, evidence of lexical borrowings from the Akan language includes *ntokuro* ‘holes,’ *nkurasi* ‘villages,’ *abrofo* ‘white people,’ and *kwasiada* ‘Sunday’ (Beyogle, 2015, p. 140).

Similarly, beyond the African continent, Akan loanwords retained in Limonese Creole spoken in Costa Rica include not

only nouns (such as *Abba* ‘female born on Thursday,’ *Anancy* ‘spider,’ and *wari* ‘board game with small balls moved into holes’) but also adjectives (*brey-brey* ‘plentiful’ and *poto-poto* ‘muddy’) as well as adverbs and verbs (*brubru* ‘disorderly’ and *fene* ‘to vomit’) (Winkler & Gyasi Obeng, 2000, pp. 167-168). Calques like *anieden* ‘strong eye’ (meaning ‘brave’) and *aninsuo* ‘eye water’ (or tears) are also of Akan origin in Limonese Creole. Additionally, Akan ideophones are present in this creole, with *pla-pla-pla-pla-pla-pla* as an example of the Akan equivalent of *pra-pra-pra-pra-pra-pra* or *pre-pre-pre-pre-pre-pre* which denotes the sound of fingers typing (Winkler & Gyasi Obeng, 2000, p. 163).

African loanwords in Panamanian Spanish include vocabulary for parts of the body as well as cultural concepts. Examples of these loanwords are *bemba* ‘lips’ and *cuscú* ‘hair’ (Jamieson, 1992, p. 15). Other examples of African loanwords denote cultural elements such as food, drinks, music, dance, and folklore. Food-related loanwords in Afro-Panamanian Spanish include *fufú*, *burundanga*, *cafongo*, and *guarapo*, among others (Jamieson, 1992, p. 17). African loanwords related to entertainment include *chucuchucu*, *sucusucu*, and *cumbia* (Jamieson, 1992, pp. 17-18). The legend of the witty spider *Ananse* is a cultural transfer in this dialect, as seen in Limonese Creole (Jamieson, 1992, p. 19).

In the subsequent section, we provide a panoramic view of Pichi and Equatoguinean Spanish.

## **A sociolinguistic overview of Pichi and Equatoguinean Spanish**

According to Ethnologue (Eberhard et al., 2022), the linguistic profile of Equatorial Guinea includes 16 languages spoken not only in the continental region of Río Muni but also in the five insular regions namely Bioko (formerly, Fernando Po), Corisco, Annobón, Elobey Grande, and Elobey Chico. These languages include Spanish, French, Portuguese, English, Pichi, Fang,

Bubi, Fa d'Ambo, Combe, Kwasio, Seki, Bapuku, Benga, Iyasa, Molengue, and Gyele. Of particular interest to this paper are Spanish and Pichi, two of the most widely spoken languages in the country. Spanish is spoken by 1,223,000 Equatoguineans (Eberhard et al., 2022). Pichi is an English lexifier creole spoken predominantly by at least 100,000 Equatoguineans in Bioko (Yakpo, 2013). It originated from Sierra Leonean Krio and developed through contact with other West African Pidgins spoken by the migrant farmhands and formerly enslaved Africans (Fyfe, 1963; Lipski, 2002). Thus, Equatoguinean Spanish is lingua franca of Equatorial Guinea, while Pichi is lingua franca of Bioko, the largest insular territory of the nation (Yakpo, 2009).

There is limited research on the linguistic features of Equatoguinean Spanish. Existing studies have focused on its lexicon, morphosyntax, phonetics, phonology, as well as the dynamics of language use and the attitudes towards it (Chirilă, 2015; Lipski, 1985; Mohamadou, 2008; Padilla, 2020; Schlumpf, 2016). In order to examine lexical borrowings in Equatoguinean Spanish and Pichi, it is imperative that we review previous research on the lexicon of these two languages of Equatorial Guinea.

A seminal paper on the lexicon of Equatoguinean Spanish highlights lexical transfer from Indo-European and Bantu languages spoken in Equatorial Guinea (Mohamadou, 2008). Examples of English and French lexical borrowings in Equatoguinean Spanish are *grombif* (< Eng., 'ground beef'), *boy* (< Eng., 'male servant'), *gendarmería* (< Fr. *gendarmerie*, 'police station'), and *haricot* (< Fr. *haricot*, 'bean') (Mohamadou, 2008, pp. 222-223). Bantu lexical borrowings in Equatoguinean Spanish originate from local dialects such as Fang, Bubi, Annobonese, Benga, and Ndowne. Some examples of Bantu lexical borrowings in Equatoguinean Spanish include *balele* 'a traditional dance,' *nkué* 'a basket' and *morimó* 'spirit' (Mohamadou, 2008, pp. 221-222).

Similarly, Pichi reflects years of languages in contact. These languages include Sierra Leonean Krio, English, and Spanish (Yakpo, 2010). Research on the sociohistorical overview of Pichi shows that it has lexical similarities between Sierra Leonean Krio, Nigerian Pidgin, Cameroonian Pidgin, and Ghanaian Pidgin (Yakpo, 2009). Pichi lexical items, thus, show great similarity to their equivalents in its sister pidgins, particularly with tonal configurations as shown in example 1 below (Yakpo, 2019, p. 7).

Example 1:

Pichi	Krio	Gloss
<i>pósin</i>	<i>pósin</i>	‘person’
<i>belé</i>	<i>belé</i>	‘belly, foetus’
<i>fɔdón</i>	<i>fɔdóm</i>	‘fall’

Spanish nouns in Pichi lexicon are borrowings. A distinct feature of Pichi syntax is Spanish-English codeswitching, with Spanish nouns and adjectives being the most frequent insertions. Examples of Spanish lexical borrowings in Pichi are italicized in Example 2 (Yakpo, 2010, p. 6).

Example 2:

- a. Mek    yu    no    se    yu    don    get  
 SBJV   2SG   know   QUOT   2SG   PRF   get  
*novio*   na    *pueblo*   na    kontri  
 fiancé   LOC   village   LOC   hometown

‘You should know that you already have a fiancé in the village, in the home-town’

- b. [...] lek   se    e    de   *crudo*   o    son  
 Like   QUOT   3SG.SBJ   COP   raw   or   some  
 tin.  
 thing

‘[...] as if it were raw or something.’

Whereas some research has been conducted on both European and Bantu lexicon in Equatoguinean Spanish and Pichi, there is still much that remains unknown about vocabulary of West African (Ghanaian and Nigerian) origin in these languages. Indeed, extensive research has been carried out on African linguistic transfer in various cross-cultural contexts, however, the author of the present study found no detailed analysis of the scope of loanwords of West African origin in the languages spoken in Equatorial Guinea. Thus, this study pioneers sociolinguistic research on lexical borrowings in this area. The paper explores linguistic connections between three sub-Saharan African countries—specifically, two Anglophone countries (Ghana and Nigeria) and an African Hispanophone country (Equatorial Guinea). It seeks to provide insights on linguistic transfer from Ghana and Nigeria in Pichi and Equatoguinean Spanish. The objectives are to:

1. Identify examples of Ghanaian and Nigerian lexical borrowings present in Equatoguinean Spanish and Pichi.
2. Examine pertinent linguistic components of Ghanaian and Nigerian lexical borrowings in Equatoguinean Spanish and Pichi.

### **Materials and methods**

The data for this study is a compilation of 20 Ghanaian and Nigerian lexical borrowings identified from two sources. These include an Equatoguinean Spanish glossary received from an executive member of the Equatoguinean Academy of the Spanish Language during fieldwork in the summer of 2023, as well as a Pichi-English glossary in *A Grammar of Pichi* (Yakpo, 2019). The Equatoguinean Spanish glossary was compiled from naturalistic observation done by the Academy for the purposes of identifying *guineanismos* or loanwords and neologisms used predominantly in Equatorial Guinea. Permission was sought from the executive member of the Academy prior to commencing

this study as the glossary was obtained through this individual. The Pichi-English glossary was compiled from a corpus of dialogues, narratives, procedural texts, and elicitations totaling 46,060 words (Yakpo, 2019, p. 12).

After perusing both sources, 20 words of Ghanaian and Nigerian origin were identified as the corpus for this study. Their corresponding meanings were adopted from what was originally provided in both sources, with few revisions. Two speakers of Ghanaian and Nigerian Pidgin reviewed the lexical borrowings for accuracy. These borrowings were then tabulated and analyzed on the bases of origin, word class, and semantic labels.

### Findings

In this section, we examine the selected lexical borrowings (Example 3) in the corpus and the linguistic components of the Ghanaian and Nigerian borrowings in Equatoguinean Spanish and Pichi. The lexical borrowings are:

Example 3:

- a. *bangasup* – palm nut soup
- b. *bitacola* – a type of kolanut
- c. *bitalif* – bitter leaf
- d. *butú* – to stoop over
- e. *chachá* – a board game
- f. *chinchin* – a fried crunchy snack
- g. *ewooo* – an exclamation denoting surprise
- h. *fufú* – a pounded starchy side dish
- i. *garí* – cassava flakes
- j. *kaba* – a dress made of African print
- k. *kongonsá* – gossip
- l. *lapá* – African print cloth used by women
- m. *nawá* – an expression of exasperation and (self) pity
- n. *papa djudjú* – to be devilish
- o. *pepesup* – pepper soup
- p. *pof pof* – fried balls of dough

- q. *patapátó* – mud, any mushy substance  
 r. *sabi* – to know, or to know how to  
 s. *wahala* – trouble or problem  
 t. *wɔwɔ* - ugly, messy or in disorder

In terms of origin (Table 1), 50% (n=10) of the lexical borrowings are Nigerian. Those of Ghanaian origin were 25% (n=5). Another 25% (n=5) of the words were of both Ghanaian and Nigerian origins.

Table 1: Ghanaian and Nigerian lexical borrowings in Equatoguinean Spanish and Pichi

<b>Word</b>	<b>Donor language/ Associated origin</b>	<b>Word class</b>	<b>Semantic labels</b>
bangasup	Nigeria	Noun	Food and drink
bitacola	Nigeria	Noun	Food and drink
bitalif	Nigeria	Noun	Food and drink
butú	Ghana	Verb	Actions
chachá	Ghana	Noun	Leisure
chinchin	Nigeria	Noun	Food and drink
ewooo	Nigeria	Interjection	Emotion
fufú	Ghana, Nigeria	Noun	Food and drink
garí	Ghana, Nigeria	Noun	Food and drink
kaba	Ghana	Noun	Clothing
kongonsá	Ghana	Noun	Actions
lapá	Nigeria	Noun	Clothing

nawá	Nigeria	Interjection	Emotion
papa djudjú	Ghana, Nigeria	Noun	Religion and belief
pepesup	Nigeria	Noun	Food and drink
pof pof	Nigeria	Noun	Food and drink
pɔtɔpɔtɔ	Ghana	Noun	Nature
sabi	Ghana, Nigeria	Verb	Actions
wahala	Ghana, Nigeria	Noun	Actions
wɔwɔ	Nigeria	Adjective	Appearance

Table 1 also presents the word classes and semantic labels for the lexical borrowings. A total of four word classes of the lexical borrowings were identified for all 20 lexical borrowings. A high 75% (n=15) of the data set was nouns. A low 10% (n=2) of the words were interjections. Another 10% (n=2) were verbs. A small fraction of the words, 5% (n=1) was an adjective. Eight semantic labels were used to tag all 20 lexical borrowings. These labels include Food and drink (n=8), Actions (n=4), Clothing (n=2), Emotion (n=2), Nature (n=1), Religion and belief (n=1), Leisure (n=1), and Appearance (n=1).

### Discussion

From this corpus, Ghanaian lexical borrowings used in Equatoguinean Spanish and Pichi are *butú*, *chachá*, *kaba*, *kongonsá*, and *pɔtɔpɔtɔ*. All five examples are Akan words transferred into Equatoguinean Spanish and Pichi. Nigerian lexical borrowings present in the two languages are *bangasup*, *bitacola*, *bitalif*, *chinchin*, *ewooo*, *lapá*, *nawá*, *pepesup*, *pof pof*, and *wɔwɔ*. These borrowings belong to the lexicon of Nigerian Pidgin, with *ewooo* as an Igbo transfer into Nigerian English and subsequently into Equatoguinean Spanish and Pichi. Five

loanwords assigned to both countries include *fufú*, *gari*, *papa djudjú*, *sabi*, and *wahala*. The first three, *fufú* and *gari*, are lexicon pertaining to various ethnic origins across both countries. *Sabi* and *wahala*, are used predominantly by speakers of Ghanaian Pidgin English and Nigerian Pidgin English.

In terms of word class, four major types are associated with the corpus. A total of 15 nouns, 2 interjections, 2 verbs, and one adjective were identified. For nouns, various types are present in the corpus. All 15 are common nouns: *bangasup*, *bitacola*, *bitalif*, *chachá*, *chinchin*, *fufú*, *gari*, *kaba*, *kongonsá*, *lapá*, *papa djudjú*, *pepesup*, *pof pof*, *pɔtɔpɔtɔ*, and *wahala*. With the exception of two abstract nouns (*kongonsá* and *wahala*), the remaining 13 (*bangasup*, *bitacola*, *bitalif*, *chachá*, *chinchin*, *fufú*, *gari*, *kaba*, *lapá*, *papa djudjú*, *pepesup*, *pof pof*, and *pɔtɔpɔtɔ*) are concrete nouns. Two collective nouns (*chinchin* and *gari*) were identified in the corpus. The high number of nouns identified in the present corpus confirm Haugen's (1950) as well as Van Hout and Muysken's (1994) observation that this category ranks highest on borrowability scales. For interjections, these are *ewooo* and *nawá*. The two verbs in the corpus are *butú* and *sabi*. The adjective is *wɔwɔ*. It is also worth noting that the corpus contains two ideophones, *pɔtɔpɔtɔ* and *wɔwɔ*. These ideophones, like *pla-pla-pla-pla-pla-pla* in Limonese Creole, describe visual, tactile, auditory, and other sensory experiences or actions. They also contain repetitive sound segments.

Various semantic labels were identified with respect to the lexical borrowings in this corpus. The category with the highest number of words is Food and drink (*bangasup*, *bitacola*, *bitalif*, *chinchin*, *fufú*, *gari*, *pepesup*, and *pof pof*), followed by Actions (*butú*, *kongonsá*, *sabi*, and *wahala*), Clothing (*kaba* and *lapá*), and Emotion (*ewooo* and *nawá*). Nature (*pɔtɔpɔtɔ*), Religion and Belief (*papa djudjú*), Leisure (*chachá*), and Appearance (*wɔwɔ*) each have one lexical borrowing in the respective categories. For food, the examples in the corpus allude to a cross-cultural transfer of ingredients, dishes, and recipes. In fact, research

on the culinary traditions and heritage foods in Africa point to *fufu* as a prime example of a dish common in West and Central Africa (Okech & Timothy, 2023). It is therefore no surprise that *fufu* is present not only in Ghana and Nigeria, two West African countries, but it is also present in their Central African neighbor, Equatorial Guinea. *Gari* is also another food item shared by all three countries. In terms of soups, *bangasup* and *pepesup* are common in the three countries and known by both names in Nigeria and Equatorial Guinea. However, in Ghana *bangasup* is known as *abenkwan*, and *pepesup* is *light soup*. For snacks, *pof pof* is *puff puff* in Nigeria but it is referred to as *bofrot* or *toogbei* in Ghana.

While 19 of the lexical borrowings in the corpus retain their Ghanaian and Nigerian meanings in Equatoguinean Spanish and Pichi, one has a slight adjustment in meaning. In fact, *kaba* in Ghana is the top of a two-piece matching outfit that is made of African wax print. A *kaba* is usually worn with a skirt which is called a *slit* in Ghana. In Equatoguinean Spanish and Pichi, however, *kaba* is a dress made of African cloth. In essence, the meaning of *kaba* in Equatorial Guinea fulfils a metonymical purpose.

Another change observed in the lexical borrowings in the corpus is the reinterpretation of morphological and phonetic segments. “Soup” is rendered as “sup” in *bangasup* and *pepesup*. “Bitter” is “bita” in *bitacola* and *bitalif*. “Puff puff” is *pof pof*. The /tʃ/ initial sound is used in *chacha* although its Ghanaian variant is “kyakya.” The /dʒ/ sound in *papa djudjú* is similar to its Nigerian variant *papa juju*. There is an instance of rhotacism, a change in speech sounds /r/ and /l/, as seen in *lapá* compared to its source equivalent “wrapper” in Nigeria. The voiceless /k/ in the second syllable of “konkonsa” in Ghana is a voiced /g/ in *kongonsa* in Equatoguinean Spanish and Pichi. There is also a tonal adaptation of some of the lexical borrowings in the corpus, as evidenced by the Spanish diacritic in *butú*, *chachá*, *fufú*, *gari*, *kongonsá*, *lapá*, *nawá*, *papa djudjú*, and *pɔtɔpɔtɔ*.

Finally, there are a few overlapping lexical borrowings observed in the corpus for the present study and in the African lexical borrowings in Hispanophone contexts, particularly with Limonese Creole and Panamanian Spanish. The loanwords *fufu* or *fufú* and *pɔtɔ-pɔtɔ* or *pɔtɔpɔtɔ* are used in Equatoguinean Spanish and Pichi, as well as in Limonese Creole (Winkler & Gyasi Obeng, 2000) and Panamanian Spanish (Jamieson, 1992). Thus, this is evidence of Ghanaian and Nigerian linguistic transfer within and beyond the African continent, particularly in the areas of gastronomy and nature.

### Conclusion

In this paper, we have investigated Ghanaian and Nigerian linguistic transfer in Equatoguinean Spanish and Pichi. The research objectives were to identify specific examples of lexical borrowings in the two languages, and to examine pertinent linguistic components of these words. The lexical borrowings identified in this study include 20 words that describe different aspects of the Equatoguinean society, from food to clothing, religion, and leisure, among others. The Ghanaian and Nigerian lexical borrowings that are present in Equatoguinean Spanish and Pichi are evidence of language contact in the region, as affirmed by the shared histories of the three countries. By extension, the loanwords also shed light on a possible cross-cultural transfer in the region. The extent of the Ghanaian and Nigerian lexical borrowings also provides us with another perspective on the lexicon of Equatoguinean Spanish and Pichi, given that existing studies have primarily focused on contact between European and Bantu languages spoken in Equatorial Guinea.

The findings of this study contribute primarily to the fields of African and Afro-Hispanophone linguistics, languages, and cultures. Research on matters related to these fields provide insight on historical and contemporary aspects of the peoples, their languages, and their cultures. Currently, cultural content about Equatorial Guinea is virtually non-existent in commercial

textbooks. There is also an ongoing conversation on the low visibility of Afro-Latinx representation in Spanish textbooks (Padilla & Vana, 2022). Additionally, there have been calls for research on Afro-Hispanic peoples and cultures, and most importantly, the inclusion of research-based findings in general studies courses in African universities (Uchechukwu, 2019). This is crucial for improving visibility on the shared histories and cultures of Hispanophone Africa (Equatorial Guinea, as well as Western Sahara), and increasing student motivation for learning Spanish or for conducting cross-disciplinary research in linguistic anthropology, history, sociolinguistics, as well as food and nutrition. This study, thus, responds to the call with concrete data on Ghanaian and Nigerian linguistic and cultural elements in Equatorial Guinea. It is hoped that aspects of this study, especially the corpus, will inspire the use of authentic texts (and materials in Equatoguinean Spanish and Pichi) and the design of pedagogical materials for content-based instruction in Spanish language classrooms. By introducing these lexical borrowings in language and culture classrooms, students can gain an understanding of the sociolinguistic scope of lexicon from Equatoguinean Spanish and Pichi as used presently in Equatorial Guinea.

This paper has one main strength and a few limitations. It is a preliminary study on Ghanaian and Nigerian influence on the lexicon of Equatoguinean Spanish and Pichi. In terms of limitations, the study has a small corpus. Extensive data will shed more light into other lexical borrowings from Ghana and Nigeria in Equatoguinean Spanish and Pichi. Future research endeavors include fieldwork for identifying more lexical borrowings that will increase the corpus. Sociolinguistic interviews will also be very useful for connecting with local contacts who can share a wealth of oral history or Spanish resources on the West African connections to Equatorial Guinea, as well as Ghanaian and Nigerian lexical borrowings in the Central African country. These borrowings may not be limited to only Equatoguinean

Spanish and Pichi, but may also include other languages spoken in the continental and insular regions of Equatorial Guinea. Further research on this topic will fill an important gap and help us better understand linguistic transfer in Equatoguinean Spanish and Pichi in general. It will also respond to the burning question of how the lexical borrowings were incorporated into the languages of Equatorial Guinea, and how far back the transfer goes.

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