Code-switching and Intersectionality in the Kharajat

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In an important paper on code-switching in the Arabic-Romance *kharjah*, Juan Antonio Thomas and Lofti Sayahi highlight the evidence of extended bilingualism in al-Andalus, where Arabic was the dominant language (Thomas and Sayahi 269). The evidence for code-switching raises also the problem of how to explain the blend of popular and literary traditions in the *kharajat*. The fact that the *kharjah* were mainly used to express a women's woe over their absent lover has led authors like P. F. Ganz to signal a special connection between the *kharjah* and the *canción de albada* a wedding song that was traditionally associated with the *zajal* (Rubiera 228). Ganz suggests an additional relationship with the German *Frauenlieder*, a type of love-song where a woman expresses erotic longing for her male lover (Ganz 1953). But while the *canción de albada* and the *Frauenlieder* were conceived as independent songs, the *kharajat* are inextricably woven into the longer poems to which sometimes they are connected. The fact that *kharajat* are typically written in the Romance intersected with expressions of *Ladino*, Hebrew or Arabic colloquial speech eludes the possibility of extracting a clear meaning. It is our contention that the different situations of bilingualism recreate a plurality of voices that are never meant to be solved, but to reflect a linguist conundrum that the protagonists of the *kharajat* use to their advantage.

As they unveil the complexities of the text, the multiple languages of the *kharajat* highlight a multiple-layered strategy of identity construction through which the women protagonists channel their own ideas of the self, the family and the society in which they live. Just as their personal experience as forlorn lovers exposes them as constructions of social interpellation, their liminal status allows women to present themselves as the outsider within. This position generates in turn a distinctive figuration of the women's own social status and develops a multiplicity of voices that include words from different language and cultural codes. As they employ elements of Classical Arabic, Andalusian dialects, Romance or even Galician (Rubiera 187), the women elude the cultural realities attached to every language and weave in a series of histories and discourses that prevent them from being classified within a specific cultural group.

Drawing on similar developments in Egyptian popular poetry, M. C. Lyons has suggested that the *kharajat* themselves may have constituted an introduction to the *al-muwashshaḥ* (Lyons 277; Zwartjes Love, 275). This echoes the assertion of Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk (1155–1211), who in his book *Dar al-Tirāz* declared that the *kharjah* was the most important part of the poem and that the *al-muwashshaḥ* generated from the *kharjah.* As for the *kharjah*, Ibn Sanā' stated that it had to be "sharp, even caustic, vulgar, and if circumstances allowed, be in thieves' Latin." (Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk 30, 1, Qtd. Abu-Haidar 113). Considered in their musical context (Schoeler 1978), the songs may have been used to convey ideas about sexual behavior and/or difference between women of different social status (Lyons 271), articulating what María Rosa Menocal calls an attempt to "shape the poetry of a society full of dialectically opposed cultural alternatives" (Menocal 100).

The multifarious nature of the *kharjah* is further complicated by the utterance of a poetry that is prominently voiced by women but that also uses their voice as what Stacey L. Parker Aronson calls "unmistakable expressions of sexual violence"(Parker 2009). The fact that many of these *kharajat* are written in Romance, with Hebrew or Arabic script speaks also to a poetry where the endangerment of the body and soul draws on a vast array of roles that are traditionally associated with Muslim, Jewish and Christian women (Rosen 83). More recently, Nicola Rollock has examined the idea of intersection between social class, race and gender as a way of expressing (or simply avoiding) stereotyped representations of self. Rollock's underlying idea is that social representations of class and race offer a wide lens on the personal positioning of the protagonists, while they seek to escape pre-established norms and re-negotiate their own position within the social group. According to Rollock, the perception of difference remains essentially a strategy to marginalize, discredit and devalue the contribution of marginal subjects, allowing for intersecting forms of class and gender discrimination (Rollock 66). Against any monolithic representation of identity, it is important to consider the idea intersectionality as a tool that the women of the *kharajat* might have used to seek non-normative modes of being.

The Ambiguities of Language

Writing in 9th-century, Bishop Albarus of Córdoba complained about Christians' fascination with Arabic culture, and how some young people took more pride in reciting verses in Arabic than in their own language (Schippers 77). As he decried the rift that existed between the use of Classical Arabic and Classical Latin, Albarus unwillingly recognized the that there were different levels of language that Latin was being contaminated by Arabic, and recognized the sacred-like quality of Classical Arabic as a threat against Christian orthodoxy (Penelas 2014). Even though his plea was inscribed within the fight for a Christian orthodoxy in 10th century Córdoba, the anxiety over the use of Classical Arabic highlighted apprehensions over miscegenation that took place not only across languages but also across different cultures and social class. Questions around the legitimacy of voluntary martyrdom in 9th century Córdoba or theological controversies around the use of terms like the *filioque* clause in the different Christian liturgies of al-Andalus, brought the problem of language to the forefront and exposed the idea that in order to think right, one had to speak right.

While it is true that Islamic religion conceived Arabic as the sacred language of revelation, the linguistic reality of al-Andalus was far more complex and involved a series of dialectal variations that were heavily influenced by Berber speakers of the Maghreb. The fluctuation between Classical Arabic and Andalusian dialect allowed in turn to a series of misnomers and ambiguities that are well-reflected in the *kharajat* and that signal the intersectional discourse of a series of women that alternated between Romance, a Berber-influenced Andalusian language and Classical Arabic, thereby refusing to ascribe themselves to any specific linguistic community. Furthermore, their indiscriminate use of different words and borrowings articulated a multi-layered idea of identity where language-mixing and code-switching were used as "a way to gain respect," suggesting that the speakers belonged to a privileged background in terms education and competence (Högskola 2019).

As they transgressed the sociolinguistic boundaries of their social group, the women of the *kharajat* used language to enforce important shifts across discrete categories of language and identity, while transferring the meaning of certain words from one language onto another. Conscious of these complexities, the authors of the *muwashshaḥ* use the *kharajat* not as a mere colophon to their poems, but also as a way of indicating a material shift from masculine to feminine discourses and as polyphony of voices where the poem generates its own rules.

Unwilling to establish which language pertains to what register, the different women invoked multiple identity positions, attending to what Kira Hall and Chad Nilep recognize as an expression of bivalency in which bilingual speakers "can produce multi-functional discourses that can be understood in multiple ways simultaneously."(Hall-Niles 612). The protagonists of the *kharajat* deployed a cross-ethnic radicalization of their representation as something are violent, cheap and vulgar. The mixture of Hebrew, Arabic and Romance invited women to achieve their goals of strength, empowerment and renegotiation (Abu-Haidar 60). The women presented their femininity as a complex product of discursive interaction. But because the women of the *kharajat* associated themselves with hyperbolical masculinity, the bluntness thwarted their own efforts to extract themselves from the patriarchal system, forcing them to uphold and manipulate the differences that coerced them into normative behavior.

This contradiction emerges with clarity in the *kharjah* "¡Yā fātin, a fātin!" In this poem, a woman invites her lover to penetrate her enclosure while the "jealous one" (*ŷilós*) sleeps. The woman's direct appeal to her lover helps recognize this episode as an act of infidelity, leading to a series of *double-entendres* expressed. The humorous undertones of this passage hinge on the custom of placing or using a foreign term (in Arabic, in this case), in the midst of a sentence (Al-Qayrawānī 1988), indicating that the code-switching is not the result of language-mix resulting in an unsophisticated dialect (Monroe 1974: 31). Confirming this idea, Thomas and Sayahi have pointed out how the syntactic structure of the *kharajat* is not randomly constructed but instead relies on a series of intra-sentential code-switches and the existence of word-internal code-switches characterized by the conservation of the Arabic article *al-* (275) (Thomas and Satahi 275). One of the most characteristic examples comes from the *kharjah* "¡Yā fātin, a fātin!" which comes come a *muwashshaḥ* by unknown author (number 9 in García Gómez's account). In this *muwashshaḥ,* a woman addresses her warrior-lover. As García Gómez points out, the *muwashshaḥ* repeats many of the love poetry convention and lacks a prelude (aqra'), indicating that the song plays against a residuum of rhythm and sounds which hand on the auditory's memory (Shaheen 101). After a love protest, the female collects flowers with her gaze on the lover's cheeks, decries his cruelty and finally interpellates him with the word *fātin* on the night he is going to war (García Gómez 1965: 93-97).

> ¡Yā fātin, a fātin!
> oš y entrād
> kandō ŷilós kéded. (Corriente 1997: 273)
>
> [Oh dearest, oh dearest,
> come on in

while the jealous one is asleep]

The interpellation of the woman is telling because it denotes a certain familiarity with the man being called. In a more general way, the word *fātin* functions as a cognate of the Romance *fetén*, meaning "good" or "excellent." However, in the context of this *kharjah* the word *fātin* works as a hinge between the two languages and makes it difficult to distinguish if the woman is speaking in Arabic or Romance. Following this idea, Beatriz Soto Aranda draws attention to the ambiguity (and politics) of the different translations of the *kharajat*, highlighting their failure to produce a single authoritative text (Soto 2019). Along this process, the lack of a consensual linguistic discourse lends itself to a humorous rendition of communication and becomes crucial for expressing the woman's subversive humor.

The ambiguity of meaning in this *kharjah* is increased by the restrictive power of the term *fātin* (dearest), which is usually employed to refer to a woman who is charming, attractive, and beautiful. Alternatively, the term *fātin* can denote the changing resolution of the lover, who hesitates before the woman's call. So much can be inferred from the root **ftn,* which can be used to mean "to melt someone with fire to change their mind," a meaning recorded in the Qu'ran: "verily those who persecute (*fatanoū*) men and women and repent not, this will be indeed the doom of hell and their doom of burning."(Qu'ran 85, 10). Contributing to the ambiguous meaning of the term, Edward Lane records another meaning in which the **ftn* would be a man who desires to commit adultery with a woman (Lane 1, 6, 2336). Substantially, the allusion to the woman's adultery is strengthened by the presence of the *raqib* or *ŷilós* (jealous man) who sleeps while the lovers meet, a figure whom Gerold Hilty recognizes as a common staple in Arabic oral poetry.

As she is exposed to the indecision of a lover that comes and goes at his own behest, the woman is also is dominated by the complex ambiguity of the act of linguistic code-switching that prevents her from discussing "prohibited" topics. Notwithstanding the difference that exists between twentieth century scholarship and normative constructions of feminity in 10th century al-Andalus, the women in the poems use the initial couplet of the *kharajat* to mock their own situation and to expose, albeit in a humorous way, the constraints of their own social role. The woman's intervention challenges the traditional constructions of power that prevent her from resisting the dominant constructions of femininity that present her as a passive recipient of attention (Crawford 2003), and at the same time uncover and radicalize the ludicrousness of power stereotypes and inequalities (Gallivan 1999). Through her autonomy and freedom the woman expresses her desire and oppose social conventions. In doing so, she requires access to a "stage" or a medium through which she can express her own voice. So this hybrid medium of the *kharajat* gives the opportunity for the female voice to interpellate her lover with a feminine term. In that way, the hybridity expressed by her own catcalling comes with a new declared sense of authority and makes possible what Homi Bhabha dubs as the emergence of an *interstitial* agency that refuses the binary representation that coerces women into certain particular roles (Bhabha 212).

A Problem of Space: The Markedness Model

In her book *Codes and Consequences*, Myers-Scotton describes language choice within the framework of *markedness*, a term used to describe certain situations where the individual makes a distinctive rational choice, thereby recognizing the prevalence of one linguistic code over another, and signaling at the same time a normal linguistic unit against other possible irregular forms. As they choose a particular code, the speakers evaluate the *markedness* of their potential choices, which is in turn determined by the social forces at work in their community and decide either to follow or reject the normative model. In order for communication to be effective, the different members of the community must understand the languages that are involved in communication and associate them with specific behaviors, thus becoming producers of "intentional meaning" (Myers-Scotton 63).

Given that the *markedness* model prescribes a careful discrimination between inferior and superior usages of language, the same *markedness* calls for a model in which power ranks are attributed to each and every individual. Rather than addressing social distinction inside medieval society, the linguistic uses in the *kharajat* simply reflected a progressive specialization of language marking the opposition between two members where the usage of one member is perceived to be more common. From the perspective of linguistic hybridity, the *markedness* model is especially significant in the case of the *kharajat*, because it denotes the particular ambiguity of the women who consciously alternate between Arabic dialectal forms and Romance. Placed in a linguistic position of ambiguity, the different women expose the fallacy of the association between gender, race and social class. While existing social constructs have forced woman to adopt specific social roles within their community, the particular choice of language denote different levels of participation and identity inside the social group (Ott 222). No longer willing to play a role as dependent women, the women of the *kharajat* fashion themselves as multiple personalities at the same time: Christian/ Muslim, rich/ poor, elevated/ vulgar, etc.

As it mimics the mechanics of code-switching, the discourse of the *kharajat* unfolds in a liminal space of meaning where language ambiguity become a vehicle of meaning. From this perspective, the all-present motif of door signals the penetration into a new linguistic code characteristic of the new group, but also denotes a separation between the outside and the inside. Along this separation, the *markedness* of the woman's speech signals her special position vis à vis a man that is left outside in waiting for the woman to grant him access into her own world. This is emphasized by a *kharjah* included in a poem by Jusef b. Saddiq, in which a woman calls on her mother to tell her whether her lover is at the door. The markedness of this passage is determined both by the duplicate use of the article *al-* and the marked motif of the door that separates (and unites) the woman from her would-be lover. The dramatics of this song draw attention to the lover's unexpected arrival. In introducing this poem, García Gómez notes that the *muwashshaḥ* lacked an introduction, suggesting that the recipients of the poem where familiar with the song's rhythm. In the *muwashshaḥ,* a woman compares herself to a shy doe and describes the tears that run down her cheeks. She then complains to her mother when the lover knocks at her door (*yana*).

> ¿Ké faré, mamma?
> Meu l-habīb ešt' ad yana (Corriente 1997: 317).

[What can I do, oh mother,
my lover is standing by the door]

The use of the term *yana* is problematic because it denotes a fossilized use of a word that even in the 10th century was perceived as an archaism. Even though it seems that the term was still used in Sardinia and Calabria it that had been lost in the rest of the peninsular languages (García Morejón 41), the term occurs in another poem where a woman complains about all the times her lover has stood her up: "ma yúḥṣa…kam min wfqa li 'índi bábu" [You can't count how many times he stood me up at my door] (Corriente 1997: 60). In both cases, the door of the *kharjah* fucntions as the zealous guardian of poetic tradition (Liu and Monroe 33) and locates the trysting place between the woman and her lover. Morever, through the use of the term *yana*, the protagonist of this song discloses the complex superposition of different levels of meaning, characterized mainly by an archaic flare whereas the woman refuses to be assimilated into normative language (Zwettler, 99). Her ability to manipulate the linguistic code crosses a fine line between language use and cultural identity within an informal domain in which the woman juxtaposes and even opposes different expectations of linguistic compliance.

Writing on the relation between song and door, Mariana Masera has noted how the woman's lament falls within the scope of the *paraklausithyron*, a motif in Classical Greek love elegy where a lover complains about his fate in front of the door of his beloved (Masera 84). Furthermore, Masera cites a testimony by Gonzalo Correas (1571-1631) for whom opening the door was tantamount to sexual penetration (Correas 84). Similarly, the female voice in the *kharjah "¿*Ké faré, mamma?" expresses her grief over the absent lover, but most importantly also echoes fear of losing the lover upon whom the woman maneuvers her power (Masera 93). This fear may explain why the female voice in *"¿*Ké faré, mamma?" is encouraged to resist and renegotiate the social conventions of her entourage and invite the lover to enter her space.

The *markedness* of the relationship between the woman and the *mamma* is predicated on an opposition of meaning, but also to a mode of speech where certain terms carry special semantic weight as they are influenced by the presence or absence of a certain feature that indicates new forms of semantic variation and inflection. The meaning of this *markedness* model can further clarified by the use of the term *mamma* in folkloric traditions from the Maghreb where the mother functions mainly as a guardian of virtue (Monroe 1979: 170). As Corriente rightly points out, the term *mamma* can also be used in Classical Arabic to signify the word "mother" (Moscoso 31). The same term appears as a form of endearment to refer to the grandmother in the communities of Delly in Algeria (Souag 34)[1].

Despite its importance in dialectal Arabic, the term *mamma* appears only in two other *kharajat*: A15 (no še kēdó ni me kiered garire kelm kéradā. No zey (kon) šeno (ma)šūto dormíre, mamma) [I could not get him to stay, mamma, I can't get myself to

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[1] In the region of Casablanca, the term *mwaima* is still used to refer to the mother, but it can also be used to designate an older woman who is having relations with a younger man. We owe this indication to Mohammed Ayman al-Hajjam of Tetuán (Morocco).

sleep with an inflamed heart] and A17 (non dormireyo, mamā a rāyyo dē manyānā, ben abū-l-Qasīmla la faze de matrāna) [I won't sleep, mamma. At the time of the morning ray, abū-l-Qasīmla will be coming in with a resplendent face].

In every *kharjah*, the *markedness* of the term *mamma* evokes the necessary presence of the lover and suggests an act of penetration facilitated by the mother. Almost without exception, the figure of the *mamma* replaces the legal figure of the father and emerges as the only person that can grant the lover access into the woman's world. The implicit consent of the mother disavows any tendencies towards endogamy and empowers the woman to engage with individuals that don't belong to her own social group. Standing in the liminal space of the door, the woman exposes her role both as a legal dependent of their own mother and as the willing master of the every-absent man. The woman's distinctive use of the word *mamma* denotes here a sense of *markedness*, oscillating between what is both a term of endearment term and a proof of the woman's lack of social sophistication. The lover's plea effectively places the woman in what Victor Turner calls "a realm of pure possibility whence novel configurations of ideas and relations may arise" (Turner 97).

Sex-Inciting Language

The intersectional construction of identity is often mediated by gender-stereotypes that define the relationship between the woman and her lover. In every instance, sexual intercourse is perceived as a violent act that can trigger certain dispositions on the person being approached. In the world of the *kharajat*, taking the receptive position requires a certain trust and connection between the woman and her lover, and presupposes a certain gain that triggers the woman's consent. Code-switching here defines the terms of the relationship between the woman and her lover and consequently appears only when the protagonist deals with an outsider. The lover is thus invariably invoked with Arabic words like *fātin* or *habīb,* suggesting that Arabic is the lover's dominant language. For the woman, Arabic language becomes a sign of social distance and engages her in an act of "double voicing" that demonstrates the complexity of her desire. The power-laden connotations of Arabic words are themselves an element of a male system of discourse; given the social extraction of the lover, the same words could not have the same resonance if they were spoken in another language. It is through the relationship between the Romance and the Arabic that the woman challenges linguistic norms and creates violent expectations over a special knowledge that is imbued with the code of the street.

The idea of linguistic violence becomes especially relevant in yet another *kharjah*, where a woman negotiates her submission to the man, provided he can unite her ankle-bracelets (*ajorcas*) with her hoop earrings (*arracadas*), a particular Berber adornment (Zwartjes , Love 210). According to Ignacio Fernando, the *arracada* (*raqqāda*) was a long hoop earring that hung from the ear down to the shoulder and could be seen as a sign of wealth (Fernando 140). The *ajorca* (*aššúrka*) referred to a thick leather strip or anklet that was placed around the ankle. The corresponding *muwashshaḥ* belongs to an unknown author, and has a normal introduction. It starts with an *invitation ad coenam* and a description of wine. It then describes the contours of the garden under thunder and the moon on the dark sky. Stanza 4 addresses the woman and complains about her unrequited love, opening itself to the *kharjah* (García Gómez 1965: 141). The loving tone

of the *muwashshaḥ* offers here a start contrast with the unmodest *kharjah* and stresses the ambivalent nature of the woman who effectively transforms a place of leisure into a place of danger and then leisure again:

> Non t'amarēy
> illā kon aššarṭi
> an taŷma' jaljālī ma'a qurṭī. (Corriente 1965: 141)

> [I won't love you
> Unless you link
> My ankle bracelet with my earrings.]

In his examination of this poem, Federico Corriente recognizes a frequent dynamic in the *kharajat*, along which the woman accedes to the lover's advances. He then signals how the expression which image of the woman is used in Egypt with the meaning of forcefulness, meaning "whether you like it or not"(Corriente 1997: 281). Another proverb in Spanish states that it is better to be submerged in worries up to the ankle than up to the back of the neck: "Más vale hasta el tobillo que hasta el coldrillo." In both cases, the expression denotes a particular situation of sexual difficulty and the possibility of using the lover's own body to facilitate sexual intercourse. Following this idea, DenBoer highlights the non-normative sexual act and raises the possibility that the two women are engaged in a homosexual relationship (DenBoer 2007). The intercourse between the two women would then allow for the development of a particular code that would remain directly comprehensible to those participating in the action.

The forceful sexual position of the song is replicated in a poem by Abu Nuwās where a boy who was been drinking with the poet is buggered by the author himself (Jones 88). Emilio García Gómez documents a parallel with yet another *kharjah* from Ibn Khatib: "*Wa-qum bi- jaljālī ilā aqrātī qai štagal zaujī*" [Go ahead and raise my ankle bracelet up to my earring, while my husband is absent] (CJ11, Qtd. García Gómez 148). The clink of the *ajorca* against *arrocada* reappears in a poem by Ibn Khātimah, in which the protagonist's anklets draw the ire of other women. Finally, Celia del Moral cites a number of examples in which the woman is referred to as *rabbat al qurt* (lady of the anklet) or *rabbat al jaljāl* (lady of the jewels), signifying the close relation between jewelry and sexual desire (Moral 714).

The necessary relation of the *ajorca* with its many literary references situates the reference on a special level of ambiguity of meaning that is enriched by its own semantic possibilities. In considering this idea, it is important to observe how according to Abu-Haidar, the motif of the *ajorca* is totally out of keeping with any lyrical Romance poetry, which could have been known or current at the time in al-Andalus, including the *al-muwashshaḥ* in which it appears (Abu-Haidar 66). The oddity of this reference would then be highlighted by the difficult posture adopted by the woman, a position that involves upper- and lower-body movements that focus on the man's pleasure. As the woman promises to perform her sexual role, the lover is encouraged to perform his sexual duty, demanding particular ability and experience. By facilitating the pleasure of the male lover, writes Abu-Haidar, the woman relinquishes her passivity and renegotiates her role

in the sexual relation, indicating a "deep change in subjectivities and is often correlated with changes in social structures" (Carvalheiro 2010).

Symbolic Domination

As they examine the double process of code-switching and identity-building, Hall and Nilep draw on Bourdieu's ideas about language and social class to explain the strategies of speakers who do not control "the prestige variety" of language, but who manage to take on an authority that is recognized by the speakers of the community (Hall and Niles 605). Drawing on the idea of the symbolic domination of one language over another, Hall and Nilep present code-switching as a way of gauging the historical and local forces that engage in linguistic exchange. From this point of view, the linguistic abilities of the non-elevated speakers become an imposition of the speaker's own cultural background.

One of the most notable examples of this newly acquired identity comes from a *muwashshaḥ* attributed to Yehuda Halevi (c. 1075-c.1140) (García Gómez 1965: 415). As Solá-Solé has noted, the poem is a panegirig in honor of *Ishaq Ibn Qrispin* and tells how the protagonist has fallen for a doe (Solá-Solé 133). The *muwashshaḥ* plays on the motif of the martyr for love, but denotes the incongruency of a sentiment that is in spite of the lovers complaints, is reciprocated. After describing its physical and emotional aspect, the author justifies his loves and offers himself as a propitiatory victim. The poem then indicates a reversal and the voice of the protagonists shifts to the doe/maiden, who confesses her love for the man. In the ending *kharjah*, the woman addresses her little sisters and where she tells them how she cannot live without her lover. She then addresses them in the future tense and asks them how to deal with the absence of the man. Having manipulated the assistance of other women, the woman positions herself as a peer among peers, and makes her sisters complicit in her own longing. Considering that the lover is referred to with an Arabic word (*habīb*) marks once again the preeminence of Arabic language, draws attention to the lover and the transmission of a literary culture where masculine and feminine roles are usually exchanged with erotic flare:

> Garīd boš, ay yermanēllaš, kóm kontenēr-hé mew male, šīn al-habīb non brebrēyo: ¿Ad ob l'iréy demandáre?" (Corriente 1997: 310)[2]

> [Beware, oh sisters, how can I hold back my disgrace, without the bellowed I will not be able to live. Where will I go in his search?]

The use of the future tense in the *kharajat* in Andalusian Arabic (134-249) rests not so much on grammatical constructions but on the symbolic meaning of an action that is invariably seen as a necessary outcome or a consequence of a previous event. The corpus of *kharajat* assembled by Federico Corriente presents different cases in which the future tense denotes a threat to the lover (Ibn al-Arabī, MA II 17, 307; Ibn Zuhr MA II, 8,

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[2] Cf. Corriente's translation: "Decid vosotras, ay companyeras, cómo reprimir mi mal. Sin el amigo no podré vivir y volaré a buscarlo" [Tell oh female companions, how to contain my mischief. Without my lover I will not be able to live and I will flee/fly searching for him] (Corriente Poesía 310).

86; UA 277, 417 and 278, 418; Yunūs Almursī UA 303, 455)[3] ; an invocation of the father (UA 13, 21, Almanīšī I, 2, 132); a promise of a reward (Al'abyaδ, MA I6, 390; UA 84, 129; Ibn Aššabāg, MA II, 7, 404; Aljazzār MA I, 10, 102); a demand for an explanation (Ibn Zuhr MA II, 8, 108; Abulfawl Albalansī UA 38, 155); an invocation of the lover (Ibn Katimah MA II, 2, 437, p. 174); self-praise (Yhuda Hallēvi MS 81, 154); and an inquisition into the fate of animals (UA 295, 442, MA II, 5, 592). Among the *kharajat* in romance (Corriente 1997: 270-323*)*, the future is used to express the consequences of a bad situation (A2, A9, A17, A20, A22, A27); to invoke the mother (A6); as a prediction of a lover's conduct (A8); as a threat (A25, 294, H23); as the answer to a query (H2); as a threat against oneself (H5); and as a rhetorical question (H9, H16, H20, H22).

In every case, the use of the future tense in the *kharajat* normalizes the intention of the speaker. While the the future tense in Arabic is often expressed through periphrastic constructions, the *kharajat* in Romance indentify the speaker's new linguistic matrix as a reaction against his or her former language group. Code-switching and future tense become in this context markers of group solidarity and common identity (Turjoman 95). Within this spectrum, the use of the world "volarei" expresses contingency but also the desire of the lover to go and meet her husband: "A(d) tib m+iréyo boláre" (H26) or to identify herself as a hawk with open wings: "láytani šániq wafer+ aljanaḥayni." (UA 250, 377) Conversely, the bird can represent the lover who is sometimes trapped in the woman's house (UA 91, 140). [4]

The woman's plea to the birds falls within the confinements of an action that has not been completed and that remains largely plausible to arrive. In this setting, the doves are understood to be symbols of bliss and grief or devoted love (Perès 179). Alternatively, they can symbolize the desolation of the lover who is spurned by the person he or she loves (249). When it comes to the "Garīd boš" *kharjah*, the fact that the woman of the *kharjah* addresses a series of sisters (*yermanēllaš*) suggests that she may in fact be addressing a flock of birds whose mission is to deliver her message to the lover. The traditional symbolism of the dove as a sign Along these lines, Perès records a story of how a dove was seized by a bird of prey in the time of Noah the Prophet, and how since that day all doves were said to cry:

En la noche oscura, dice Ibn Zaydun, una paloma demacrada por el dolor, como lo estoy yo mismo, ha mantenido mis ojos insomnes (Perès 249).

[In the dark night, says Ibn Zaydun, a dove comsumed by pain, just as I am, has kept my eyes in wake]

The presence of doves in the literature and culture of al-Andalus is extensive (Carabaza 2001). Starting in the 11th century, doves were used to send news from one

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[3] The references are to Corriente's edition.
[4] Cf. Corriente's translation: "A este pájaro huidizo, le armaré la trampa y será cogido" (Corriente, *ibid.,* 165). Cf. Ibn Allannanah MA I, 1, 207, Qtd. Corriente, *ibid.*, 139 and also Corriente's translation: ¡Si viérais qué julguero se posó en mi casa y se paró a mi lado! Cuando vio la trampa, enderezó sus alas y se marchó con mi corazón! (Corriente, *ibid.,* 139)

place to another, turning them into the most efficient way of communication (Marín Guzmán 34). The numerous examples of the use of the dove as a messenger of love provides a heightened context for the grief of the woman who suffers in the lover's absence. In calling out her sisters, the woman compares herself to the ill-fated birds and transforms the song into a message to her lover. At the same time she uses her own voice to shift agency and to entrust the coves with the delivery of her message.

The unwillingness of the woman to surrender her own voice reflects her power to negotiate conciliate her own fears with the symbolic domination to which she is constantly exposed. Setting in motion the mechanisms of communication, the woman illustrates a localized intersection of class and gender, sailing through the masculine and feminine worlds, or between the affluent and the not-so-affluent echelons of society. But while it is true that the choice of language may lead to self-denigration (Hall and Niles 606), the woman also shows to what extent her linguistic abilities are an essential part of her identity. The prestige granted to speakers of Arabic illustrates that the woman cannot use Romance without disengaging herself from her social entourage.

Language's Third-Space

In studying the relation between linguistic practices and changing subjectivities, Rakesh M. Bhatt recognizes that power that language plays as a gate to a third space "where two systems of identity representation converge and are *co*-modified and commodified in response to the global-local tensions on the one hand, and the dialogically constituted identities, formed through resistance and appropriation, on the other" (Bhatt 179). Within this space of competition, different speakers expose different views of gender identity and cultural competency. In turn, these confronting views tend to trigger new transformations of socio- linguistic and cultural identity. In this context, code-switching becomes as a highly effective way of communicating the multiplicity of being and the altered representation of the self to which the speakers aspire. The ultimate purpose is not to alter the categories of representation, but to question their relevance in such a way as to call attention to a new class-based representation (Bhatt 182).

The specific evidence of neutralization of Arabic inflection is further exemplified by another *muwashshaḥ* attributed to Yehuda Halevy. As Solá-Solé has noted, the ryth beni/zamani (not zamēni) reflects the dialect of al-Andalus (Solá-Solé 125). The corresponding *muwashshaḥ* is again a panegyric of al Hassan ben al Daiyan, who is mentioned in the fourth stanza under the name of David. The poem longs for the presence of a doe/lover who can ramson the protagonist. This will allow to remember past loves, to unveil the oppression of the forgone love and to compare his tears to the water of the red Sea. In the final *kharjah*, the woman exposes her lover publicly and in which her actions are undeniably gendered, classed, and sexualized. Catcalling becomes in this case as an effective tool of categorization that situates the woman in a place of privilege where she defends herself from any possible wrongdoing.

¡Bēn, sīdī bēni! El qerer eš tanto bēni d'ešt az-zamēni, Kon filio de ibn ad-daiyēni.

[Come, milord, come, you who inherited so many good things in this time, the son

of Ibn al Dayeni]. (Corriente 1997: 308)

The problem of transliteration of this poem has led Hand Jörgen Döhla to suppose that the poem may have been vocalized in different ways, depending on the sociolinguistic background of the speakers (Döhla 204). For Federico Corriente, the poem is equally complex because it elicits different levels of meaning. As he observes, the term *zamēni* is usually translated as "time" or "fortune" and in modern Arabic, but can be used as a term of endearment.[5] Here, in an effort to rhyme it with the words "veni" and "beni," the author would have altered the original word (*zamān) and recognized a true etymon in the cognate zemān, meaning "luck" and "feast." Consequently, the lad was not alluded to by his age, but by his good luck and his joyful character (Corriente 2008: 477).

In similar fashion, the woman's catcalling to the young man reflects a hybrid code that is impossible to translate accurately. The specific intervention of the woman serves as a vehicle of cultural memory to convey concepts and ideas that belong both to Romance and Arab-speaking communities. In doing so, she doubles the uses of the word *zamēni* in the popular tradition and uses it to refer both to herself (it is good to love this woman) and also the man (it is good to love this lad). To unfold the meaning of this ambiguity, Corriente draws attention to yet another song in which the woman promises to deliver pleasure to her lover and calls herself a woman of good *zamēn or *zaman:*

Zagal soy de buen zeman
Juro a San
Que quiçá os agradaré (Corriente 2008*: 477)

[I am a lucky lad
Pray tell
I might pleasure you]

The linguistic possibilities of this poem are once again doubled by linguistic incongruencies around this first verse and the possibility that it may refer both to the male and to the female lover. In his translation of this little poem, Federico Corriente renders the first verse as "I am a young lad of the right age" (Corriente 2008*: 477). As grammar has it, the verb in Arabic usually precedes the noun, suggesting a strong hyberbaton in the beginning of the poem. It would be however rare to have two attributes (*Zagal* + *zeman*) in the same verse. An alternative interpretation of this verse would transform the word "zagal" into a vocative interpellation. The first verse then must be rendered with a pause after the invocation, as "Zagal, soy de buen zeman." This possibility is further supported by the fact that the invocation of the lover in the beginning frequent in the Arabic *kharajat* and can be found in expressions like "ya man uĝālibuhū" [o you whom I am trying to conquer] (Corriente 1997: 211), yā man katámtu ĝarāmhū [oh you for whom I have hidden my passion] (Corriente 1997: 133), habíbi abdalláhi [Dear Abdallah], ṣídi ṣáhb[(My lord, the owner of…] (Corriente 1997: 147) etc.

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[5] We owe this information to Ismail al-Yaqubī from Tetouan, Morocco.

But even if invoking can constitute an ambiguous act (I am the person whom I am calling), the woman's invocation of the young man's abilities is nothing but a desperate effort to calm his assure him and calm his fear over possible disillusion and dissatisfaction. As a matter of fact, the woman reassures the man and reminds him that he has the necessary good qualities for which she longs. As the man fails to respond to the call of the woman, he is forced to listen do her and to dodge the unwanted attention he gets after her public complaint. Once again, the woman uses code-switching to invoke the cultural values of her Arab-speaking lover while expressing the nuances of her own position.

In considering the cultural underpinnings of this song, the woman's reversal of typical gender roles questions supports the existing relations of power and dominance, while at the same time suggesting the possibility of a more nuanced sexual approach. The fact that the catcalling occurs through a song, which is eminently a public act, exposes the man to the woman's voice. In this situation, the song itself develops a series of strategies that deal with the threats produced by this shift. The woman's claim that she will reward the young man eroticizes sexual power rather than bodies and serves as a distancing device to diffuse public guilt. It is not her, but the man, who in answering her call becomes the initiator of the illicit encounter.

As the woman immerses herself into the world of the *kharjah*, code-switching enhances the potential for meaning in the *kharjah* and dismantles the simple, binary oppositions of gender between the woman and her lover. It is within this perspective of code-switching and multifaceted *personae* that the *kharjah* itself becomes a site of sociolinguistic transgression, and as an instrument to exploit the division between the Classical Arabic language and its vernacular manifestations in common Arabic dialect and Romance. As she takes advantage of her lover's knowledge of these languages, the woman reflects the richness of her linguistic experience. Instead of producing a formalized text, she reveals the fluid nature of language and reuses the codes she already knows. Besides displaying multiple linguistic identities, the woman draws from their own hybrid repertory to "play with and negotiate identities through language" (Ostjuji and Pennycock, 246).

The resulting hybrid identity contributes to the lover's ability to adapt to the multifaceted meanings of female code-switching. Through their use of mixed speech, the women of the *kharajat* establish linguistic boundaries but express also societal and cultural restraints, identifying Andalusian Arabic both as a dominant and as a subservient language through which she can effectively tame her lower's attention. Placed thus in the midst of a linguistic grey-zone, the text of the *kharjah* itself emerges not only as a form of poetry but also as a liminal space comparable to that of the *kharāj* or brothels that existed in 10th century al-Andalus (Arié 327). Whether these *kharāj* referred to the levy that prostitutes had to pay (Semerdjian 100) or the liberty with which they existed in their enclosure, their natural subjugation to female contrasts with the freedom and personal affirmation they constantly seek. Code-switching emerges here as a fundamental tool, as a space of in-betweenness where the woman transcends mere linguistic exchange. Being a faithful representation of the woman's unwillingness to conform to existing norms, code-switching allows to nuance and to reconsider the cultural and psychological factors that regulate linguistic behavior (Toribio 89), abiding to what Guadalupe Valdés Fallis calls a form of "socially indexed meaning"(Valdés 877). Against the normative efforts

towards the proper use of Arabic and Latin languages in 10th century al-Andalus, the woman's deliberate use of Romance and dialectal Arabic suggests to what extent code-switching plays a larger role as a viable strategy to include in and exclude herself from the system of norms that regulate her own linguistic experience.

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