

Language contact phenomena in three Aljamiado texts: Religion as a sociolinguistic factor

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1. Introduction

Aljamiado literature, composed in Romance and recorded in Arabic script by Moriscos before their final expulsion from Spain, represents a valuable resource for the linguistic study of the contact situations between Arabic and Romance varieties in the Iberian Peninsula. By examining Arabic insertions in Romance texts, we are able to probe the degree of bilingualism that these communities exhibited and the factors that led to a continued use of the Arabic language in the face of religious and linguistic persecution between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries. In a previous work (Thomas 2015), occurrences of lexical insertions and instances of code-switching were extracted from 31 Aljamiado works collected in three different volumes: Menéndez Pidal's study of *El poema de Yúçuf* (1952), Manuscript 4953 from the Biblioteca Nacional de España analyzed by Hegyi in *Cinco leyendas y otros relatos moriscos* (1981), and a collection of stories about biblical characters compiled by Vespertino Rodríguez in *Leyendas aljamiadas y moriscas sobre personajes bíblicos* (1983). In the great majority of the cases, it was shown that the use of Arabic was formulaic and consisted in the repetition of certain religious quotes and terms.

The present study will argue that in these Aljamiado texts, religion can indeed be considered a sociolinguistic factor driving the occurrence of lexical insertions and code-switching. In many studies, it has been shown that external factors that shape the speakers social and ethnic identity play a role in lexical borrowing and code-switching even in cases of rapid language shift (Haugen 1985; Thomason and Kaufman 1988; Winford 2003). Specifically, Weinreich (1963) showed that the need for expressing certain concepts is an important factor in lexical transfer across languages. In this case, both the need for religious terms which when translated lose their Islamic jurisprudential meaning,¹ and the need to conserve, albeit covertly, a strong ethnic and religious identity are reasons to insert Arabic terms and phrases. We will also look at the process of adaptation of the inserted terms to argue that given the significant morpho-phonological changes that these words show, the authors of the Aljamiado texts, as well as their readers, show a rapid language shift in progress at the time. In fact, the need for religious terms was only momentarily delaying the complete disappearance of Arabic in the Iberian Peninsula as its erosion was progressing very quickly.

The analysis carried out for this study is based on three texts that show a greater concentration of Arabic insertions than the other twenty-eight works in the corpus studied in Thomas (2015). These three stories come from Manuscript 4953 and have been dated to the late sixteenth century. They are “Annušra,” “Addu‘a puesto en raḥ,” and “Los cinco preceptos fundamentales del islam.” Furthermore, these three texts were chosen because their distinctive styles offer an opportunity to study and compare the outcome of language contact between Arabic and Romance in unique ways. Although all three are focused on Islamic themes, “Los cinco

¹ This fact is proven by the use of Arabic religious terms in many non-Arabic speaking Islamic communities even today and the presence of words such as *nabí* ‘prophet’, *azalá* ‘prayer’, *alquibla* ‘Qibla, direction Muslims face to pray’, etc. in the *Diccionario de la lengua española* (2001).

preceptos fundamentales del islam (henceforward Los preceptos)” directly deals with how Muslims must practice their religion and it contains many Arabic insertions related to Islam, which would lose their specific meaning if translated into any other language. In turn, the “Annušra” text has the longest uninterrupted chunk of Arabic in the entire manuscript as it contains a full text that has to be included in preparing a potion. The “Addu‘a puesto en raḥ (henceforward Addu‘a)”, on the other hand, is a bilingual text in which Arabic words are immediately followed by their translation into Romance allowing for a comparison between the lexicon and the structure of both languages. Based on the linguistic analysis of these texts, the current study offers a view on how the Moriscos continued to practice Islam and how their linguistic practices in this body of “Crypto-Islamic literature” (Barletta 2005) were conditioned by the need to use religious terms and excerpts in Arabic. It is important to highlight here that, in the Islamic faith, the language of the Koran is a central part in performing religious rites. For example, the five prayers that Muslims are required to perform daily can only be performed in Arabic regardless of the native language of the community. For our analysis, all cases of Arabic insertions are extracted from the texts and their morpho-phonological forms are examined for adaptation from Arabic into Romance. The role of religion as a determining factor in language contact and language change will be demonstrated.

2. Methodology

In this section, we first summarize the content of the three texts selected for analysis, and then we describe the process of data extraction and analysis.

2.1. Summaries

The “Annušra” is a short piece that gives a magic potion capable of curing and preventing all sorts of ailments. The first 223 words are in Romance with 16 Arabic insertions. The last 144 words (not counting the final mystery words/letters) are in Arabic. The beginning tells what drinking the potion will do for the person, the origin of the potion, and who is responsible for the potion’s power. Conspicuously absent are instructions on how the potion is to be prepared. Unlike talismans, the power of the potion was realized by ingestion (Roza 2014, 10). Normally, the words of the prayer were written in a water-soluble ink inside of a container (Hegyí 1981, 268). Sometimes other ingredients such as incense, herbs or honey were added to the water.

The piece focuses on language and its power to heal as well as from where this special language originates. The first sentence prescribes the potion for seven days (Hegyí 1981, 207), *Kĩ'en beberá esta annušra sĩ'ete dĩ'as sigui'entes, kitará Al.lah d-él toda malauti'a ke tenga en su ku'erro* ‘Whoever drinks this potion seven successive days, Allah will remove all sickness from him that he might have in his body.’ In the following lines, it is explained that the *annušra* was taken from the *al-Lauḥi il-Maḥāfuz*, or the Guarded Tablet kept in heaven. This Tablet is mentioned in Sura 85: 22 of the Koran, therefore providing legitimacy to the magic potion's power. The third paragraph of the text begins with a quote from the prophet Muhammed, who in turn quotes from the Archangel Gabriel, telling how the *annušra* also can convert nonbelievers into believers: *I dixo el-annabi: Dixome Jjibril, 'lm, ke si un deskreyente la bebiese, kitaría Allah de su koraçon mala kreencia* ‘And the prophet said: “Gabriel ‘may peace be on him’ said that if a nonbeliever drinks it, Allah will take any false belief from his heart” (Hegyí 1981, 207-208).’ Additionally, the potion

will heal the drinker from bad thoughts and emotions including the devil's influence. Although the potion was intended to be drunk, the Archangel reports that Allah will pardon the sins of anyone whoever reads the text 100 times during his lifetime. The actual Arabic text that should be written in the *annušra* is included at the end of the piece. Written in first person, the text is a supplication for protection from Allah for the person's health, family, belongings and all aspects of material and spiritual life in general. The phrase “In the name of Allah”, the one with which all chapters in the Koran except one start, is repeated with every item for which protection is sought. For example, the phrase *b-içmi-illahi 'alā qalbi wa 'aqlī* means literally ‘In the name of Allah upon my heart and mind.’ The Arabic text ends with the statement that Allah will realize the wishes of whoever drinks this potion. The text also includes some common formulaic sentences that are common in Islamic supplications even today.

The “Addu‘a” (literally ‘supplication’ in Arabic) is a bilingual supplication that comprises 14 folios in the original manuscript. In the Muslim faith supplications can be made before, during and after the required five prayers, but also at other moments whenever the believers engage in a specific action that may require a specific supplication. Supplications usually take the form of praise for Allah and requests that the believers make for help, protection, and pardon. In this case, the text has a similar format. It is written in Arabic but after every two or three words a translation into Romance is offered, and the text continues that way throughout. Like many Aljamiado works, the supplication starts with the common phrase *B-içmi-il.lahi i'r.raḥmāni i'r.raḥīmi* ‘In the name of Allah the clement and the merciful’ which is not translated in the text. The text then continues praising Allah, his greatness and power over everything. The Koranic verse 20: 7 is given and translated into Romance and the various names of Allah are mentioned. Toward the end of the text, the voice changes to first person. The supplicant asks for forgiveness, protection from the temptations of the world and from scares on Judgement Day. The supplication also asks for *arrizqe* ‘material sustenance’.

The third text, “Los cinco preceptos,” is a longer 10-page text that discusses the tenets of Islam and the major sins. It also opens with the phrase *B-içmi-il.lahi i'r.raḥmāni i'r.raḥīmi* but takes the form of traditional Hadiths. Hadiths are a second source of Islamic jurisprudence after the Koran. They consist of sayings and deeds of the prophet Muhammad that have been narrated from those who witnessed them. The piece is a conversation narrated by Malik ibnu Anasar ibnu Ça'id ibnu al-muççayab, a famous jurisconsult who died in Madina in 795. The prophet Muhammad explains the five pillars of Islam and the seven major sins to an unidentified rabbi. The first precept is that there is no Lord but Allah and Muhammed is his messenger. Allah is the *palabra enxalçada* ‘enlighted word’ and He will pardon whoever utters *lā illaha illa Allah* ‘there is no God but Allah’. The prophet said that the recitation of *lā illaha illa Allah* plus the realization of the second pillar of Islam, five *aşşalaes* ‘required daily prayers’, would allow the reciter to enter heaven with the prophets and messengers. Those who do not complete the ritual prayers will encounter the wrath of Allah and will be thrown into the fire of *jahannam* ‘hell’. The third precept of Islam is to pay the *azzake* ‘religious tribute’ and the *aşşadaqqa* ‘alms’. The rewards for doing so are the same as those for obeying the second precept. The fourth precept is fasting during the month of Ramadan, the month of repentance. Obeying this precept ensures similar

rewards as obeying the first three. At the end of Ramadan, a special alms *alfitra* should be given. The last precept is to participate in *alj̄ihād* ‘striving/holy war’. The Hajj (pilgrimage to Mecca) is a way to participate in *alj̄ihād*. At this point the rabbi intervenes and expresses gratitude to the prophet for showing him the way to salvation but then he asks what the major sins are. There are seven: not believing in Allah, murder, false accusation, disobedience to parents, the practice of usury, adultery, and drinking wine. The prophet summarizes to the rabbi that he has clarified the way to paradise and the way to hell. The rabbi took heart and obeyed Allah for the rest of his days. The prophet concludes by invoking the prophet Šu'aybi and the piece ends with a supplication in Arabic for blessing from Allah to the prophet Muhammed and his family.

2.2. Token extraction and transliteration

We extracted the Arabic words that are present in the three pieces based on the transcription by Hegyi (1981). The system of transliteration is that used for the *Colección de literatura española Aljamiado-morisca (CLEAM)* (Hegyi 1981, 23). This system permits the reconstruction of the word in its original Arabic script as each letter in Aljamiado is transliterated by one symbol, adopted by all the volumes in the CLEAM series. A first note regarding transcription is that the same word may be transcribed differently in different places, because the scribes were not always consistent. For example, Table 1 below shows the different forms how the noun phrase ‘the prayer’ can appear in the Aljamiado texts and how each version is transliterated. The transcription of the assimilation of the Arabic article is particularly variable in the case of this word. This is an indication that the writing is based on the phonological shape of the word as opposed to the rules of written Arabic which do not indicate the assimilation of the article. A second note is that Hegyi interprets the use of the Arabic diacritic symbol for emphasis (*shadda*) in Aljamiado writing in two ways. He will use the geminated letter (for example rr, ll, etc) if he considers it a Romance word. If he considers the word in question an Arabic word, he will instead use r.r, l.l, etc.

Table 1. Variation in the Arabic script and in the transliteration of the noun phrase ‘the prayer’

Arabic Aljamiado	Trasliteration
الصلاة	alşşala
الصلاة	a'şşala
أصلاة	alşala
أصلاة	a'şala
أصلاة	aşşala
أصلاة	aşala

أصلاة	aṣṣala
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It is important to note at this point that in this study we use the term ‘Romance’ to refer to the language the Moriscos used. However, manuscript 4953 can be traced to Aragon and has characteristics of Aragonese (Hegyí 1981, 10-11; Saavedra 1878, 119-120). Therefore, most likely the Romance represented is Aragonese rather than Castilian. Castilian Spanish is used as a point of reference, to see the fate of Arabisms in a modern-day variety of Iberian Romance. Although only a few of the words listed passed into modern Spanish (*alguacil*, *azalá*, *yihad* and perhaps *guay* if we consider the etymon offered by Corriente (1999, 336)), it is more than likely that Aljamiado literature did not provide the etyma, because of the limited circulation of these works. Although classical Arabic does not provide reliable etyma for the Arabisms in many languages, it was taken as the source in this study because the words in Table 2 are concepts which are found in religious texts.

3. Results

3.1. Types of Arabic insertions in Aljamiado texts

While all three texts are of obvious religious nature, the objective of each one is different, as mentioned above, leading to diverse types of language contact phenomena. In the case of “Los preceptos” we find numerous insertions of nouns and noun phrases with varying degrees of adaptation into Romance. These words are needed to convey the exact concepts in a document that is a detailed exposition of the principles of the religion. Arabic insertions in los “Los preceptos” include vocabulary associated intimately with the five pillars of Islam: prayer (*aṣṣala*), almsgiving (*alfitra*, *aṣṣadaqa*, *azzake*), and the pilgrimage to Mecca (*alj̄jihād*²). Others deal with the sins of Islam (*ḥarrāmó*, *azzīnā*), the devil (*aššāiṭṭan*), as well as the name of the religion (*aliḥlām*) and the community of believers (*alumma*). Many of the insertions in “Los preceptos” are discussed in the section below on the double determiner.

In the case of the “Addu‘a,” we have a sophisticated translation that provides us information about both languages used by the Moriscos. At the beginning there is a slight confusion after the second repetition of *b-iḥmihi* ‘in his name’ because the Romance reads *es el kostunb^ere* ‘it is the custom’. It is not clear what the latter means. Hegyí (1981, 209) proposed that the phrase might refer to a customary practice of repeating twice that what is to follow is said in Allah's name. This particular detail is of interest because the translation from Arabic to Romance must be explained in some way. Perhaps the author believed that a literal word-for-word translation, in which the same phrase is repeated twice, would confuse Romance dominant readers. However, the phrase *es el kostunb^ere* might explain that this repetition is normal usage

² See section 2.1. for the connection between the word *jihad* and the Hajj.

by Arabic speaking Muslims.

The next point in question is Sura 20:7 from the Koran. The translation into Romance is *I se publika kon-el dezir pu^wes él sabe el sekreto i lo eskondido* ‘and it is manifested by speech since he knows the secret and the hidden.’ In the quote, *publika* is a verb, but Ben Jemia (1987, 91) explains how the Moriscos used the noun *publiko* to translate *’alaniyyatun* ‘that which is manifested, spread, or seen and understood’. *Publikar el islam* is a calque for ‘to declare Islam.’ Later on in the story, the word *al-’lāniyati* is used with the translation *i lo publiko*.

Another interesting translation is that of the phrase *qāçimu il-arzaqi* ‘*partidor de los (arrāzke)*’. The *arrāzke* refers to an item of divine provenance, and by extension private property (Ben Jemia 1987, 79). It is also rendered into English as ‘sustenance, bread, wealth or Allah’s gift.’ The word, or a close variant is used five times in the “Addu‘a”: *birizquihi* ‘*kon su arrizke/ with his sustenance*’, *wa rāziqū il-arzāqi* ‘*y el dante de las arrizkes/ the giver of gifts*’, *rāziqū* ‘*el ke ða d’rrizqe/ the one who gives sustenance*’, *antarzuqunī* ‘*dame ar.rizque/ give me sustenance*’, *qāçimu il arzaqi* ‘*partidor de los arrāzkes/ sharer/ distributor of sustenance*’. The form *arrāzkes* in the last example is a different version of the plural of *arrizke*, which is usually *arrizkes*. The alternate form takes the consonant structure of the Romance plural but with the vowel *ā* of the Arabic plural. The normative Arabic plural form is *ar.zāq*.

The form for the prophet is given as *el-annabī* with the plural *los alnabī’es*, showing that the Romance has integrated the singular form into its lexicon and forms the plural by regular morphology. The Arabic plural form is *il-anibiyāi*, faithful to the classical Arabic *al-anbiyā*. Similar pairs where Romance plural inflection is applied on Arabic nouns are found with *almalak/ almalakes* ‘angel/s’ and *al-haççana/ al-haççanas* ‘alm/s’ making it clear that these words are behaving as adapted lexical borrowings and not as cases of code-switching.

Finally, in the “Annušra” text, we have single word insertions that in the majority of the cases are nouns in addition to a larger uninterrupted quoted text in Arabic. Inserted forms include these examples: *annabī*, *annabīyes*, *annušra* and *al-Lauhi il-Maḥāfuz*. Here again we note the fact that Arabic insertions are inflected with Romance morphology as is the case for plural marking and verb ending.

Table 2 gives examples of twenty-six insertions from Arabic in the three pieces of Aljamiado literature studied here. All examples are taken from passages in Romance. They all show some type of integration into Romance: the infinitive morpheme, the plural morpheme, and in the majority of the cases with the nouns, the use of a double determinant, usually the Romance and Arabic definite articles. Section 3.2. analyzes the use of the article in particular. Most are nouns except for the two verbs *harrāmar* ‘to prohibit’ and *haleqar* ‘to create’. The Arabic verb *to create* is adapted into Romance as *haleqar*, a regular *-ar* verb, with the same meaning. It is used in the full verbal paradigm. *Los haleqados* are all Allah’s creation. The noun is never seen with the double determinant. At times it appears with /ç h/ instead of /ç ḥ/. Similarly, another Arabic verb *to prohibit* is adapted as *harrāmar*, this verb is not as productive as *haleqar*; and was not used as a noun in the three pieces studied here, although the related noun/ adjective *haram* ‘sinful deed, unlawful, prohibited’ is very frequent.

While it is true that the very nature of these texts is religious, the fact that no other words from other semantic fields are inserted from Arabic in Romance and that all common vocabulary comes from Romance strongly indicates a native competence in the corresponding Romance variety of the authors and some familiarity with the Arabic language only as the language of the Islamic religion. Speakers who code-switch between languages require higher levels of competence in both languages while those who insert mainly lone words and adapt them to the base language usually do not possess balanced bilingual competence in both languages (Poplack 1980). This is a clear proof that the authors of these texts and their readers have limited knowledge of the Arabic language as the inserted words follow the rules of Romance.

Table 2 Borrowings from the three Aljamiado Pieces

Borrowing	Context	Classical Arabic	Equivalent	Aljamiado piece
addu'a	el-addu'a	الدعاء	supplication	Addu'a
al'arši	ḍel-al'arši	العرش	the throne	Addu'a
alfitra	su alfitra	القطرة	alms given at the end of Ramadan	Los preceptos
al-ḥaḥḥanas	ḍe al-ḥaḥḥanas	الحسنات	charitable acts	Los preceptos
aliḥlām	el aliḥlām	الإسلام	Islam	Los preceptos
alḥanna	en el alḥanna	الجنة	heaven/paradise	Addu'a
alḥjihād	el-alḥjihād	الجهاد	religious war	Los preceptos
al-Lauḥi il-Maḥāfuz	ḍel al-Lauḥi il-Maḥāfuz	اللوح المحفوظ	the preserved/guarded Tablet	Annušra
almalakes	dos almalakes	الملائكة	angels	Los preceptos
a'ššala	el a'ššala	الصلاة	ritual prayer	Los preceptos
a'ššales	ḥinco a'ššales	الصلوات	ritual prayers	Los preceptos
alumma	ḍel-alumma	الأمة	Islamic community	Los preceptos
alwazir	no ai alwazir	الوزير	minister	Addu'a
annabī	el-annabī	النبي	the prophet	Annušra
annabi'es	los alnabi'es	الأنبياء	the prophets	Annušra
annušra	esta annušra	النشرة	bulletin, pamphlet	Annušra
ar-rizke	su ar-rizke	الرزق	sustenance/Allah's gift	Addu'a
ar-rizkes	los ar-rizkes	الأرزاق	Allah's gifts	Addu'a
aššadaqa	el-aššadaqa	الصدقة	alms	Los preceptos
aššaiṭṭan	ḍel-aššaiṭṭan	الشيطان	satan	Los preceptos
azzake	paga el-azzake	الزكاة	alms	Los preceptos
azzīnā	fazer azzīnā	الزنا	adultery/fornication	Los preceptos
ḥaleqados	los ḥaleqados	خلق	the created ones	Addu'a
ḥarrāmó	ḥarrāmó	حرم	to prohibit	Los preceptos
t ^u ruḥamán	sin t ^u ruḥamán	ترجمان	interpreter	Addu'a
way	ḍel way	الويل	affliction	Addu'a

3.2. The case of the Arabic definite article as proof of adaptation

In this section we show how the maintenance of the Arabic article in the inserted Arabic words in these texts is an additional proof that these words should be treated as borrowings and not as instances of code-switching to Arabic. Arabic has only one article, the definite *al-* that is present in many Arabic loanwords in Spanish (Sayahi 2003). The sound /ʔ l/ in the article assimilates to the following consonant if it is one of the coronal consonants, known as sun letters, and it does not assimilate and retains the /ʔ l/ sound if it is followed by non-coronal consonants, known as moon letters.

Table 2 shows that almost all of the 24 noun entries show double determinants. The Romance determinants include the possessive adjective (for example, *su ar.rizke*, *su alfitra*), a number (*çinco așșales*; *dos almalakes*), the demonstrative (*esta annușra/ est-annușra*), but most frequently, the Romance definite article (*el-annabī*, *đel al-Lauhi*, *el-addu'a*, etc.).

The only exceptions to the use of double determinants are six examples: *đel way*, *sin t^urujámán*, *no ai alwazir*, *đe jahannam*, *al-ħaççanas*, and *fazer azzīnā*. In fact, *t^urujámán* and *jahannam* are bare nouns, they have no determinant whatsoever, just as the latter is used in Arabic. *T^urujámán* is faithful to the segmental structure and meaning of its Arabic etymon, interpreter. It is used once in the three pieces studied, without a Romance or an Arabic determinant. It was accompanied by a negative preposition, *sin* ‘without’, and, therefore, does not need to be determined. The only sign of adaptation of the word is stress on the last syllable of the word. *Jahannam*, however, appears five times in “Los preceptos” but has no signs of adaptation into Romance. It appears consistently five times with the same spelling. Although its equivalent is ‘hell,’ it is an Islamic concept which contains different elements than does the Christian hell. It is discussed here as the opposite of *aljanna* but it does not appear in Table 2 because there is no evidence that it is integrated into Romance.

Although not used with the Arabic definite article, *way* is used with the Romance definite article. It is a noun that Hegyi (1981, 360) defines as affliction, anguish, or trouble, from the Arabic *wayl*. Hegyi distinguishes *way* from the interjection *guay*, derived from Gothic, although he recognizes that the meaning used in “Addu’a” coincides with that of *guay*. “Addu’a” translates the Arabic *wa al-wayli* as *del way* ‘from the pain’ in a sentence where Allah is beseeched to save the narrator from pain. The sequence shows that the Romance form has been adapted from the original Arabic by deletion of the last consonant. Corriente (1999, 336) accepts that the Spanish *guay*, an interjection expressing lament *¡Ay!*, might also originate from the same Arabic etymon. *Way* has been attested since the early kharjas, also used as a bare noun in those compositions (Thomas and Sayahi 2012, 273).

Alwazir and *azzīnā* have the Arabic definite article but no Romance determinant. *Alwazir*, also from “Addu’a,” is used in the Romance phrase *no ai alwazir*, in turn translated

from the Arabic *wa lā wazīran* ‘there is no minister (like Allah)’. The comparison between the Arabic *wazīran* and *alwazīr* shows no definite article in the Arabic phrase because of the Arabic rule of nunation (*tanween* or adding /ن/ to the end of a noun) that can function as an indefinite article, but curiously, the Arabic definite article in the Romance translation. Given the absence of the case ending in the Romance version, the word is considered integrated into Romance. This supposition is justified on considering the modern day *alguacil* ‘sheriff/ law officer’, one of the few words in Table 2 which is an established borrowing in Spanish. *Azzīnā* did not make its way into modern Spanish, nor into Corriente’s dictionary. Ben Jemia (1987, 79) translates it as ‘adultery’, as does Hegyi (1981, 277) along with ‘fornication’. *Azzīnā* appears three times in “Los preceptos” with the definite article. It never appears with a Romance determinant. The classical Arabic version ends in a glottal stop, which is not available in Romance. *Al-ḥaṣṣanas/al-ḥaṣṣanas* are ‘good deeds’. Variation is not on the moon letter /ح h/, but rather in the /س s/. This term does not appear with a double determinant in the works studied, although it is pluralized with the Romance morpheme.

The vast majority of nouns, though, are used with both a Romance and an Arabic determinant. *Annušra* is bulletin, pamphlet or advertisement, although in the context of the works studied here, it refers to the magic potion. It is used with the demonstrative, *esta* ‘this’ and the Arabic definite article. In Arabic, this type of construction is grammatical and *hādīhi annušra* would mean ‘this pamphlet.’ That sense fits into the meaning in the piece. Without the article, the phrase would mean “this is a pamphlet.”

Many nouns are faithfully represented in Aljamiado with geminated sun letters, i.e. coronal consonants that cause the definite Arabic article to assimilate. These nouns are almost always accompanied by a Romance determinant, usually the definite article. *Aʿššala* is explained above in the summary of “Los preceptos.” It is translated as prayer but refers to the five daily ritual prayers. The Aljamiado representation of this word, sometimes shows /ل l/, hence *aʿššala*, and other times without /ل l/ but with a geminated /ص š/, thus *aššala*. In manuscript 4953, it is always represented with /ص š/, although in other works with /س s/, transliterated with ç. Its plural is always represented with Romance morphology. *Azalá*, derived from *aššala* with the same meaning as its etymon, is an established loanword in Spanish and is recorded in the *Diccionario de la lengua española*. *Addu‘a* is a supplication ‘a prayer which asks for something’. It also appears systematically with a geminated /د d/. *Annabī/alnabī‘es* are ‘prophets’. As mentioned above, its Arabic plural is irregular, however, as with *aššala*, its Romance plural is regular. The representation of its geminated /ن n/ is not consistent throughout the text. The geminated /ر r/ of *ar.rizke/s* is consistently shown. The word forms part of Islamic spiritual vocabulary and refers to all that is needed to nourish humans, whose ultimate source is Allah, hence, ‘Allah’s gift’s’. The representation of /ق q/ in the term is not consistent, *ar.rizke* or *ar.rizqe*. These two letters often are confused, suggesting loss of distinction between the two separate Arabic sounds /ق q/ and /ك k/. *Azzake* is the religious tribute that the third pillar of Islam describes. It is used with the Romance definite article in *paga el-azzake* and the possessive in *su azzake*. *Aššāiṭṭan/aššāiṭan* is Satan which ultimately stems from the same

Biblical word that gave the Spanish *satanás*, most likely present in Iberian Romance independent of its use in Aljamiado literature. Just as there is variation in the gemination of the / ط t/ of *aššāiṭan/ aššāiṭtan*, so is there variation in the gemination of the /ق q/ in *aššadaqa/ aššadaqqa*, which are alms. At first glance, *al-Lauḥi il-Maḥāfuḥ* might appear as an intersentential code-switch, however, it is prefaced by the Romance contraction *del*, and hence, considered to be integrated into the Romance.

Nouns beginning with moon letters, consonants that do not cause the Arabic article to assimilate, also appear with the double determinant. *Al'arš* in Islamic theology is the throne created by Allah. In the pieces here, it always ends in *i* (*Del-al'arši* 'of the throne') because it is in the genitive case. *Almalakes* are angels, although not those of Christian theology (Hegy 1981: 262). In the works studied here, the word is not used in the singular, however, its use of the Romance plural morpheme, rather than the Arabic, suggests integration into Romance. *Aliḡlām* 'the surrender to Allah' is the name of the religion, which is used with the Romance definite article in *el aliḡlām*. *Alumma*, or the Islamic community, also is used with a Romance determinant, *Del-alumma*. *Alfitra* is the alms that are given to the poor when the month of Ramadan ends. This term can be a shortened version of *šadaqat alfitra* which means the alms of *alfitra*. The '*aidu'l Fitri* is the first day of the month of Shawal which is a feast day before which the alms must be given.

/ح ħ/ is not a sun letter in classical Arabic. However, it is a coronal consonant and in the three pieces studied here, the words *aljḡihād* and *aljḡanna* appear with the geminated letters unlike what would be accepted in Arabic, suggesting that in this dialect, /ح ħ/ might be treated as a sun letter. *Aljḡihād* is some type of striving. It is the fifth pillar of Islam. One way to fulfill this precept is to make a pilgrimage to Mecca during Ramadan. The term *yihad* forms part of the Spanish lexicon and refers to a holy war. This is a productive root in Spanish, forming other words such as *yihadista* and *yihadismo*, although these words differ in meaning from the *aljḡihād* in the Aljamiado pieces. *Aljḡanna* is paradise or heaven, although once again, it is heaven in Islamic spirituality. There is some variation. The word appears both as *aljḡanna* and *Aljḡana*. In the three works considered here, its /ح ħ/ is not doubled although it is in an earlier work in the same manuscript.

4. Discussion

Much of the Arabic presented in these Aljamiado texts allows for a glimpse on the Arabic spoken by the scribes and/or authors of the pieces analyzed. There are spellings present in these stories which diverge significantly from classical Arabic. The vocalized Aljamiado texts allow for distinguishing key linguistic elements such as vowels and geminate consonants. Given the variation in the use of /ك k/ and /ق q/ in words such as *ar.rizke/ ar.rizqe*, it is possible that the voiceless velar stop and voiceless uvular stop lost phonemic distinction in the Arabic dialect used in these pieces. This is not unusual, as the use of /ق q/ is reduced in many modern Arabic dialects. Another observation is that by the Middle Ages, the only phonemic double

consonants still in Iberorromance dialects were *rr*. The lack of double consonants most likely explains variation in pairs such as *aṣṣaḍaḡqa/aṣṣaḍaḡa*; *al-ḥaḡḡanas/al-ḥaḡḡanas*; *azzīnā/azīnā*; *alumma/ aluma* rather than change in Arabic. Some geminates consistently appear without variation, such as *Al.lah*. Variation in the representation of geminate consonants was taken as evidence for adaptation into Romance.

The selection of the pieces studied here helps to see what content the scribes or compilers of these stories considered important for their communities. The “*Annušra*” is an homage to the Arabic language, its association with the Islamic community and Allah, and its ability to prevent and cure illnesses, both spiritual and physical. The piece starts in Romance but ends in Arabic, and it is in Arabic that the powerful, curing words were written. Given the century in which it was written and the lack of knowledge of the source of physical disease, it isn’t surprising that individuals turned toward superior powers for solace. Because of the prohibition of their language, religion and culture, forced exile within Spain and then in the early seventeenth century, banishment, the Moriscos would need the power of the *annušra* even more in order to keep alive the traditions and religion of their ancestors. As a bilingual prayer, the “*Addu‘a*” implicitly recognizes that the language of the Moriscos is no longer Arabic even if it continues to be the sacred language. This is an important point that shows the continuing use of Arabic as a liturgical language while competence was diminishing quickly. The content is relevant to all Muslims, but it seems to voice the concerns of a persecuted people, the Moriscos in particular, who implore Allah for forgiveness and salvation. “*Los cinco preceptos*” gives the basic tenets of Islam and the seven major sins. Its content is also relevant for any practicing Muslim. Its mere existence and the fact that it is the text with less passages in Arabic shows the need for Romance to pass on the tenets of Islam to the community in a language that they understood fully. At the same time, words that are keys to the religion are not forgone and used to anchor these texts in Islamic jurisprudence.

The *kharjas* (the closing verses of the *muwashshahat* poems) date from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries and like the *Aljamiado* pieces studied here were written in Romance and Arabic in Arabic script. In many ways, one can consider *Aljamiado* literature to be a continuation of the *kharjas*. A quantitative study of code-switching behavior in the *Kharjas* showed a majority of intrasentential code-switches and word internal code-switching (Thomas and Sayahi 2012). The latter bears some similarity to what was found herein with Romance morphemes, although here it is considered to be evidence of loanword integration into Romance. The code-switching study strongly suggested that if the syntactic structure allowed for expression of the Arabic article, it was carried along. Of the 104 code switches, only five had double determinants.

Nevertheless, much changed between the eleventh and the sixteenth centuries. In the current study, only two of the 25 nouns and one of the two verbs used as a noun, did not show double determinants. All the terms in table two showed some type of adaptation into Romance. Code-switching was present in the three pieces, but it was formulaic, with fixed expressions such as *B-iḡmi-il.lahi i‘r.raḥmāni i‘r.raḥīmi* and *lā illaha illa Allah*, intercalated in a Romance

matrix language. Unlike the bilingual *kharja* authors, who wrote about love and romance, the authors of *Aljamiado* were dominant in Romance, and wrote about religious topics and how to practice Islam, at least in the manuscript discussed here. The Arabisms dealt with here are part of basic Islamic concepts and although they were adapted from Arabic and their meanings can be glossed by other languages, the forms themselves are able to carry along Islamic spiritual content. In these texts, religion acts as a sociolinguistic factor in motivating language contact and lexical transfer.

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