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A thousand years of translanguaging in the multilingual Maghreb

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Abstract: In this paper we explore the interaction between Maghrebi Darijas and Romance languages from the perspective of both historical and contemporary evidence. As Caubet 2002, following Lahlou 1991 argues, among contemporary educated populations in urban centres across the Maghreb, bilingual/multilingual interaction is the norm not the exception. Historical evidence tells us this was also the case in 11th century al-Andalus, though it is of course impossible down the centuries to reconstruct the actual interaction. We will however argue that certain surviving texts can provide an indication when analysed in terms of the constraints on conversational codeswitching such as is provided by Aabi. We start from the position that Maghrebi Darija is a special case of linguistic permeability due to its politico-geographic location on the frontier and given its thousand year history of close contact with Romance. To investigate this phenomenon in both its historical and contemporary manifestations we draw on the current construct of translanguaging, an alternative perspective on multilingual interaction to code switching as expounded in Baynham & Lee (2018) and the notion of convivencia as elaborated by Bossong in his study of linguistic conviviality and coexistence in mediaeval Andalusian poetry (Bossong 2010). We then go on to analyze this in two time slices: examining evidence of the productive convivencia/coexistence of romance and dialectal Arabic i) in the kharjas of 11th century al-Andalus as discussed by Bossong and others and ii) in the modern Maghreb music and performance scene (cf. Caubet 2002; Baynham & Gintsburg 2022). We do this here through analysis of a song by the Algerian singer Talyani and a performance of the Moroccan comedian Hanane el-Fadhili, using in both time slices translanguaging and Bossong's notion of convivencia in our analysis. We then conclude by arguing as Heath (2020) does that for effective research into such varieties as Maghrebi Arabic, both currently and historically, it is necessary for cross disciplinary work between researchers in Arabic and its Romance contact languages, in order to fully address its sociolinguistics. We understand this as a form of disciplinary translanguaging to be undertaken in order to establish the dynamics of the convivencia/coexistence of Arabic and Romance elements in this type of data.

Keywords: Maghrebi Arabic, Andalusi Arabic, performance, translanguaging, periphery, linguistic hybridity, linguistic permeability, recognizability, convivencia

1. Introduction

1.1. Situating Maghrebi Arabic in Performance

Maghrebi Arabic and especially Moroccan Arabic has long enjoyed the reputation of being "different" from other varieties of Arabic language. As early as in the 10th century A.D. Arabic spoken in the Maghreb was described by the Syrian geographer al-Muqaddasi as distant and incomprehensible compared to the Arabic spoken in Iraq, Syria, Egypt and Arabia (Zavadovskiy 1962: 7). Five centuries later, Ibn Khaldoun characterized people from the Maghreb as "incapable of mastering the linguistic habit" (Ibn Khaldûn 2015: 616).

Today Maghrebi Arabic continues to enjoy the reputation of being non-conformist" and even "deviant" (cf. Lafkioui, in this issue). So what are these characteristics that make Maghrebi Arabic and, in a broader sense, the local linguistic landscape so special even in the eyes of their Arabic-speaking neighbours?

The most obvious explanation would be its peripheral status together with characteristics of the arrival of Arabic to Maghreb. Arabic was initially brought to North Africa by the natives of the Arabian Peninsula quite early (between 7th-8th centuries). However, this wave of Arabisation was somewhat patchy and affected only some territories (mainly some cities, such as Tunis, Kairouan, Sfax, Fes). A full-scale Arabisation of the Maghreb and, consequently, the Iberian Peninsular, took place already in the 11th century. However the variety of Arabic brought in was not enough to cover local communication needs. Moreover, the linguistic and cultural centre of the Arab world was too far and, consequently, the linguistic substrate began to play an important role in the elaboration of the day to day ways of speaking in Maghreb. In addition, this shift to Arabic caused phonetic and morphological changes. Another important factor to take into consideration is its sociolinguistic situation: Morocco is often described by linguists as a "linguistic palette", a "plurilingual culture". Indeed, in Morocco, the following languages are spoken: Moroccan Arabic (one dialect with numerous sub-dialects), Standard Arabic, Amazigh (and its three dialects – Tachelhit, Tamazight and Tarifit), and also French, Spanish (in the north), and more recently, English. Some researchers even use the term "pentaglossia" to describe the linguistic diversity of this country (cf. Moscoso 2010). It can be said, then, that in the case of the Maghreb (or especially Morocco), the development of the Arabic language has always depended on foreign borrowings – either in the form of substrate lexemes or in the form of borrowed lexemes from neighbouring languages.

This "otherness" of Maghrebi Arabic, based on its peripheral status, was also reflected in local literary tradition. Written literature in dialectal Arabic existed in Morocco from at least the 16th century when Sufi mystic Abderrahman el-Mejdoub produced his famous quatrains in that variety (de Prémare 1985). Majdoub's quatrains very soon became popular not only in Morocco but also in Algeria and Tunisia and are often considered as the basis for many local performance arts. This happened much earlier than in the cultural centre of the Arab world. From the 17th century, el-Mejdoub's written quatrains were circulating not only in Morocco, but also throughout the Maghreb. This is

radically different from the situation in Egypt, where for example, the Egyptian writer Yūsuf al-Širbīnī published his satirical work *Hazz al-kuhūf* (1686), written in Egyptian Arabic, just to show to his readers the impossibility of using Arabic dialect, the Arabic of the streets, in literature.

Like anywhere else, performance arts of Maghreb played and continue playing an important role in shaping local artistic language (Darija). Of special importance is the role of the audience, as any author – real, or anonymous, or collective – must always think of their audience. In the case of peripheral and plurilingual societies of Maghreb and especially Morocco, the audience will be mixed, that is culturally diverse and plurilingual. Since the performer will have in mind such a mixed audience, their audience will play an important role in shaping and transforming already existing performance canons. This is, for example, the case in the contemporary tradition of the Jbala, an ethnic group in the northwest of Morocco and another excellent example of the peripherality of Maghrebi culture. There local poets produce their poetry trying to satisfy mixed audiences by integrating elements that belong to other genres – the *malhoun*, *chaâbi*, but also *rai* and *charki* (Gintsburg 2020). As Lahlou points out, multilingual language production, both everyday and artistic, is the norm rather than the exception in this context:

> Code-switching is their "default mode" of conversation, a mode which is in the middle of their linguistic continuum, with Moroccan Arabic at one end of the continuum and French at the other. ... It is when they do NOT code-switch that the question as to why should be raised, not when they code-switch. (Lahlou 1991: 182).

Such linguistic permeability and generic hybridity are not recent in origin. The discovery of the kharjas with their bilingual texts shows us that about a thousand years ago Andalusi Arabic demonstrated an impressive capacity to incorporate elements of Romance, such as its phonetic system, first and foremost its stress system, that led to changes in the rhythmical structure of Andalusi Arabic, as well as its morphological and syntactic structure (Vicente 2020: 232-234). Importantly, Andalusi Arabic was also known for incorporating lexical elements from the vernacular Romance language[1]. Similarly, contemporary Maghrebi Arabic (first and foremost, Moroccan Arabic) is known for its exceptional ability to absorb elements from contact languages at phonetic, lexical and morphological levels (Heath 2020: 213-224).

1.2. Translanguaging

As will be clear from the words of Lahlou above, the study of bilingual/multilingual interaction in Maghrebi Arabic has so far been addressed through the construct of code-switching (cf. Bossong 2003, Caubet 2002, Aabi 2020 etc). Here we adopt the perspective of translanguaging, which takes a rather different focus. While code-switching as the name suggests focuses on the linguistic code or system, translanguaging is speak-

[1] Another important source of lexical borrowings was Berber language. However, due to scarcity of information on the subject (see, for instance, Ferrando 1997 and Vicente 2020) and space considerations we will focus only on borrowings from Romance

er-oriented and focuses on the resources deployed by the speaker, their repertoire and linguistic creativity. First of all, the notion of translanguaging reflects a dynamic approach to language: as it uses the *languaging* not *language*. The element *trans* also implies language that does not respect linguistic borders and can contains a rather transgressive meaning. As defined by Baynham & Lee:

> Translanguaging is the creative selection and combination of communication modes (verbal, visual, gestural and embodied) available in a speaker's repertoire. Translanguaging practices are locally occasioned, thus influenced and shaped by context but also by the affordances of particular communication modes or combinations thereof in context. Translanguaging practices are typically language from below and are liable to be seen as infringing purist monolingual or regulated bilingual language ideologies and hence can be understood as implicitly speaking back to those ideologies (Baynham & Lee 2019: 24-25).

As such translanguaging is a contribution to the theory of the speaker not the linguistic code or system. For this reason, in our view code-switching exists in a relationship of theoretical complementarity with translanguaging and we will throughout this chapter draw on the insights of the code switching literature, while re-interpreting them where necessary through the translanguaging lens with its focus on the speaker and their repertoire. Canagarajah for example writes of "the ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system (Canagarajah 2011: 401). Translanguaging is thus a dynamic, processual, performative alternative to the reification of linguistic codes (Baynham & Lee 2019: 35-36). Translanguaging always involves a selection from available resources in a speaker/writer's repertoire, indeed this is how we can define translanguaging. Translanguaging, playfully or seriously, involves the mixing, and blending of communicative resources and the crossing and transgressing of boundaries. This approach, with the emphasis on the creativity of the individual speaker in performance is particularly suited to the focus on artistic and comedic performance in this paper, though it must be emphasized that as Baynham & Lee (2019) show, the approach is also applicable to understanding the ordinary everyday linguistic creativity of speakers who routinely shuttle between two or more languages. It can be further argued that the impact of the performances we analyze lies precisely in their connection to and play with everyday language behaviour. The audience responds because they see themselves and others in the verbal play of the performer. We would therefore argue that the language use we examine is not just an artefact of the performance itself, but draws on recognizable sociolinguistic norms and usage. Translanguaging can also be seen as an enactment in language of the convivencia [2] that Bossong identifies in the multilingual environment of 11th century al-Andalus and as we and others do in the contemporary Maghreb.

[2] As Aabi points out however (personal communication), the notion of convivencia has to be understood in the context of the marked inequalities that can be reconstructed in Andalusi society. Indeed our analysis below, which proposes an interaction between a fluent Arabic speaking male poet and a Romance speaking girl not fluent in Arabic confirms this. Convivencia is co-existence that does not imply equality of all parties.

2. Approach

It might seem rather eccentric to want to compare and contrast languaging practices with a thousand years in between them, but here we note Ferrando's paper "On some parallels between Andalusi and Maghrebi Arabic" (1998) in which he does just that. In our case we are interested in the incidence of switching/translanguaging in artful texts from the Andalusi and contemporary Maghreb time/space. In his later work Ferrando reviews the conflicting theories concerning the sociolinguistic situation in al-Andalus proposing that no single one of them fits all circumstances and different contexts, periods, regions and social classes which would throw up different language ecologies:

> One theory claims that Arabic quickly and completely replaced Latin and Romance, and a second postulates that the use of Arabic was restricted, and Romance continued to be used on a large scale. A third theory points to the coexistence of the two languages without real bilingualism. Finally, a fourth theory maintains widespread Arabic/Romance bilingualism everywhere in the country. Nevertheless, rather than such global approaches, it seems necessary to distinguish between the very different periods, regions and social classes which are the basis and context of the claims formulated, as it is evident that situations of bilingualism in al-Andalus clearly differed from each other according to the time, place and society concerned. (Ferrando 2000: 45)

Following Ferrando we would not claim of course that we can generalize across all the dimensions of al-Andalus any more than we would in the contemporary Maghreb. Transposing Lahlou's (1991) argument that among contemporary educated populations in urban centres across the Maghreb, bilingual/multilingual interaction is the norm not the exception, we can note historical evidence that tells us this was also the case in 11th century al-Andalus, though it is of course hard down the centuries to reconstruct the interaction or the variety of contexts in which interaction occurred. Bossong and others explicitly warn against reading the sociolinguistic environment from the poetic text:

> *Evidentemente, debemos evitar el error de tomar estos poemas como testimonios sociolinguísticos directos*.
> Clearly, we should avoid the mistake of taking these poems as direct sociolinguistic evidence. (Bossong 2010: 296)

Yet in our view it is possible to undertake a certain amount of reconstruction of the sociolinguistic environment, while taking into account the essential dimension of aesthetic transformation. It is incontrovertible that the kharjas and certain parts of Ibn Quzman's poetry seem to provide evidence that they were produced in sociolinguistic environments where bilingualism was a feature:

> *...no sería justificado tomar estos textos como documentos primarios; la lengua hablada está transformada al haber sido integrada, injertada al texto literario. Pero lo que se nos ha conservado no puede ser totalmente ajeno a la vida lingüística cotidiana, no es completamente*

> *estilizado; algo deben reflejar estos poemas de lo que realmente se hablaba en las calles de Granada, Sevilla y Córdoba en los siglos XI y XII.*
> ...it would not be justifiable to take these texts as primary documents; the spoken language has been transformed by being integrated and inserted into the literary text. But what has been preserved cannot be totally alien to everyday linguistic life; it is not completely stylised. These poems must reflect something of what was actually spoken on the streets of Granada, Seville and Cordoba in the 11th and 12th centuries. (Bossong 2010: 282)

So how far does the switching in the kharjas conform to what is known about conversational switching? In the absence of access to the spoken varieties of 11th century al-Andalus, we draw on the work of Aabi, who synthesizes previous work on the syntax of code switching, to formulate a functional constraint which he argues holds both within and across languages. Working within a version of principles and parameters theory[3], he posits a very general principle that selectional properties (i.e. what elements can combine in an utterance) must be met in code switching and monolingual constructions alike. If properties are parametric (i.e., cannot be satisfied from the other language), code switching will be blocked. Here we use this approach as a test or proxy of the extent that the switching observed in the kharjas and zajals conforms to the expectations of conversational switching. If we observe conformity with Aabi's principle, this is at least an indication that the utterance is oriented to general principles of conversational switching and is not simply an artefact of the poet.

In our analysis of contemporary data we will also be alluding from time to time to insights from Caubet's "*Jeux de langues*: humour and codeswitching in the Maghreb" (2002). In her analysis of codeswitching in comical production from Algeria and Morocco, Caubet distinguishes six major uses of codeswitching to create comical/humorous effect: phonological games, calque translations, playing with the separate elements of idiomatic expressions by using their literal and not figurative meaning, playing with different meanings of separate lexemes, making *translinguistic* puns, and using elements from foreign languages out of place (p. 234). It is important to remember that due to numerous well documented difficulties associated with reading and deciphering the kharjas and zajals, it is impossible to identify some of the translanguaging artistic devices described by Caubet. This is the case, for instance, with translinguistic puns: words written in a "wrong" way might be nothing more than the poet's attempt to create a comical effect by imitating someone's pronunciation, changing morphological structure by mixing together Arabic and Romance elements, or playing on the similarity of sounds. An example of this might be the phrase *mio habibi*, discussed below, hard to explain in terms of Aabi's constraints on switching since the first person is marked twice. Given that the kharja composer is by definition fluent in Arabic, we suggest that this might be evidence of a comic treatment of a Romance speaker who is not fluent in Arabic, but has picked up and uses the pervasive formula *habibi*.

[3] Simply stated, in this approach principles refer to characteristics shared by all languages, parameters are features that make them different. The feature PRO DROP is a parameter: Spanish and Arabic permit subject pronoun dropping, French and English do not.

3. Analysis

3.1. Historical data

In our discussion we will present data from the kharjas and Ibn Quzman's zajals. In both cases whatever we can reconstruct as corresponding to everyday language usage is shaped aesthetically through incorporation into the verse form. In our discussion of the kharjas and the zajal poetry of Ibn Quzman, we will discuss in more detail the connection that can be identified between translanguaging data and everyday language use. In the discussion of extracts from Ibn Quzman the focus is more on its aesthetic incorporation. This provides a transition to our consideration of contemporary data such as Talyani's song.

3.1.1. Translanguaging in the kharjas

The kharjas, that were discovered in the 1940s, caused a lively controversy, during the following decades about the origin of lyrical romance and the opposing Romanist theories with those of the Arabists, which should not concern us here[4]. To develop our arguments we cite without prejudice both Arabist and Romance authorities. With less controversy but in a no less interesting way from the sociolinguistic point of view, the kharjas offer us an insight into the texture of this Andalusian Arabic of yesteryear and the Romance vernacular of the time, a theme addressed by Bossong (2003, 2010). Given the paleographic difficulty of arriving at precise versions of the original manuscripts without diacritics, which have exercised scholars over the years, in our analysis we will use versions of the kharjas from Corriente's "The kharjas: An updated survey of theories, texts, and their interpretation" (2009), as well as evidence from the zajals from the Diwan of Ibn Quzman edited and translated by James Monroe (2017). As discussed above, in order to test the correspondence between this artful language use and the everyday, albeit indirectly, we will check the instances of translanguaging against the constraints on switching identified by Aabi (2020).

3.1.2. Situating the kharjas textually

As a generically hybrid form, the muwaššaḥs as is well known are composed of a central section of stanzas in fuṣḥa with a kharja or 'envoi', defined by Corriente as follows:

> *kharja* (pl. *kharjāt*), is literally on 'outing', that is a technical term in Arabic literature, that is, synchronically speaking, the last *qufl* of a *muwaššaḥ* (pl. *muwaššaḥāt*), namely, a kind of stanzaic poem in which the stanzas begin with segments (*simṭ*, pl. *asmāṭ*) in a rhyming sequence that is different for each stanza, and end with segments (*qufl*, pl. *aqfāl*) sharing the same rhyming sequence in ever. (Corriente 2009: 110)

[4] Although we fully realise the importance of the rhyme pattern of kharjas and zajals, this will not be of our concern in this paper.

The muwaššah also sometimes has a preface – *maṭla'*, sometimes defined as refrain, that introduces the rhyme. The *muwaššaḥ* with its *maṭla'* (optional) and *kharja* (obligatory) constitute a characteristic mix of Standard Arabic, vernacular Arabic and the vernacular Romance language. In the sociolinguistic whole of al-Andalus of the 11th or 12th century, for example, one can therefore postulate a dialectal variety of Arabic (Andalusi Arabic) that is deeply influenced by the Romance and the vernacular language that in turn are profoundly influenced by its counterpart (Andalusi Arabic), with a whole set of distinctive varieties and idiolects.

3.1.3. Translanguaging in kharjas as a mirror of everyday speech

Of course, as already noted, one must be careful of simplistic assumption that there is a necessary correspondence between everyday street bilingualism and its representation in different artistic forms. Fortunately, our point of comparison is not Andalusi Arabic vs Darija as it is spoken on the streets and in the markets, or in Cordoba in the eleventh century, or indeed in Tangiers in the twenty-first century, but in the texts of popular literature, abundant in the digital spaces of contemporary Maghreb: a song by Reda Talyani (Algeria), a comic show by Hanane el-Fadhili (Morocco). Of course, there are stylistic exaggerations that make up their artfulness. One must of course work on the assumption that their connection to the language spoken on the streets of eleventh-century Cordoba as in the port at Tangiers today would have been more indirect. But we reject the notion that there was a strong division between the language that was spoken on the streets and the literary language, even including the literary representations of the so called "vulgar" languages. The literary effect produced by the kharjas on the one hand and the Talyani's song, as well as the comic sketch by Hanane el-Fadhili (Morocco), must depend in some measure on the echoes which will be recognized by its listeners from the language of the street. Through the centuries we recognize that voice that says[5]:

> *Gare*[6] *sos devina y devinas* ***bi-l haqq****, garme cuand me vernad mio* ***habibi ishaq***
> Since you are a fortune teller and your predictions are true, tell me when my friend Ishaq will come to me.[7]

This kharja obviously belongs to the Romance kharja since the matrix sentence is Romance with Arabic insertions. Its entire grammatical structure is in the vernacular

[5] In this article, in order to illustrate examples of translanguaging, we used bold italic to highlight instances of using the language different from the main language of the text. For instance, if the main language is Romance, then Andalusi Arabic will be in bold, if the main language is French, then Moroccan /Algerian Arabic will be in bold. If Moroccan Arabic is the main language, then instances of using French will be in bold. The same is applied to mixing different registers of Arabic in one text. Finally, Moroccan/Algerian Arabic-influenced pronunciation of French is also given in bold italic.

[6] In this article, we decided to keep the original transcription used in the sources we cite.

[7] Although this kharja by Yehuda Halevi belongs to the Jewish branch of Andalusian poetry, our position is in line with the following view, expressed by Samuel Stern: "Hebrew poets, when they wrote muwasššaḥs, doubtless merely imitated their Arabic models now lost" (1974: 129).

Romance style. Embedded in it, like jewels, are two Arabic formulae, the first the simpler *bi-l-haqq*, the second more complex *mio habibi Ishaq*. Why do we include the Romance mio in the sentence? Simply because it is connected to it by a grammatical logic that is difficult to dissolve. But we can clearly see that the possessive adjective is already marked in the Arabic first person morpheme *-i*, which suggests that *habibi* is an unanalysed formula.

In terms of Aabi's constraints on switching, if we treat *habibi* as a formula, both observe the constraints on switching identified by Aabi. An intriguing possibility, mentioned above, is that the poet is animating the voice of the speaker addressing the fortune teller as a non fluent Romance speaker of Arabic, who uses the formula *habibi* combined with *mio* in a way that flouts the selectional constraints of fluent switching. Could it be, as we suggested above, that the poet wanted to mimic the switches from Romance to Andalusi Arabic and back and amuse his audience? Such similar examples suggest to us that the linguistic choices of the kharjas, without conforming in every detail to the spoken language of al-Andalus, would offer a mirror, perhaps artistically heightened or exaggerated, which would resonate with its listeners and it is exactly in this resonance that the artistic effect would reside. Now let us take a closer look at several kharjas as they were read and decoded by Corriente:

> Al. *Vén* ***sídi abráhim****, / **ya+ndá min thálj**e, / vént+ a(d)míb de nókhte, // o nón, śi non kéres, / virém+ a(d)tíb, / garré(d)me ób liqárte*
> Come, my lord Ibrahim, oh you who are fresher than the snow, come to me at night or else, if you do not want to, I shall come to you; tell me where I shall find you (Corriente 2009: 120)

This kharja like the others below, contains Arabic phrases that on the one hand go beyond the formula (***ya+ndá min thálj**e*), on the other towards complete integration within the verb phrase through a creative fusing of the Arabic root (***liqá***) in a romance structure (***liqár**te*). Again these structures correspond to data analysed by Aabi, for example in the switch between the Romance imperative verb vén and the Arabic vocative, ***sídi abráhim***

> A6. ***assaʕáma min kháli / múdhi ḫáli*** *qerbáre: // ké faréyo,* ***yámmi****, / ya non pódo lebáre!*
> My darling's ennui hurts me to the point of shattering me: what shall I do, mother? I cannot bear it any longer. (Corriente 2009: 121)

Here the kharja begins in Arabic and ends in Romance. There is a balance between the phraseology of Arabic origin and that of Romance origin, both are seemingly evidence of a creative and unformulated use, although ***yámmi*** seems formulaic to us. Once again "ké faréyo, yámmi" observes Aabi's constraints on switching.

> A9. *Non temptarév* ***illá*** *kon+* ***ashshárṭi // an tijammáʕ khalkháli maʕ qúrṭi***
> I shall not even try it unless you [make love to me and] raise my anklets up to my earrings. (Corriente 2009: 120)

In this example there is also a certain balance between Romance/Arabic phraseology, and this kharja that starts in Romance and then shifts to Arabic. The combination of (***illá***

kon+ ***ashshárṭi***) shows a structure that is typically Arabic (la… illa). Here the switching is interestingly divergent from Aabi's approach as he would discount a switching across discontinuous negatives (Non…. Illá), which would not be predicted in his model.

A13. *Non kéro bóno* ***ḥall****éllo // **illá assamré**llo*
I want no handsome little thief [of hearts] but the little dark-skinned one. (Corriente 2009: 121)

Just like A9, kharja A13 is also built using the *Non… illá* structure we just discussed. Further, we also see the interesting combination of Arabic roots with the Romance diminutive, that is linguistically intricate, and which in our opinion demonstrates the creativity of a poet, plausibly plundering sentences from the street and reanimating them in his poem to dazzle his listeners. Again the evidence as to contemporary sociolinguistic use is indirect, but Farida Abu Haidar in her study of the use of diminutives in Ibn Quzman's zajals (1989), concludes that in the 10th-12th centuries the diminutives were a distinctive feature of Romance and were obviously a part of Mozarabic speech. While in Eastern Arabic poetry, according to Abu Haidar, the use of diminutives was scarce, and were typically used pejoratively, this was not the case in Andalusian poetry, where, just like in Romance, diminutive suffix gives the noun an affectionate hue.

Today extensive use of diminutive forms is one of the highlights of the Arabic dialects spoken in Maghreb, something which exists but is considerably less current in the Eastern Arabic dialects. We can therefore assume that the use of the Romance diminutive suffix *ello*/*ella*, which we find in both kharjas and zajals, reflects the norm of the everyday speech of that epoch, which then passed into Maghebi dialects, where Arabic and sometimes Berber suffixes are used to give the affectionate hue to the word. It can again be pointed out here that this switching within the word is in accordance with constraints on switching identified by Aabi.

A24. ***qúltu ásḥ taḥyíni****, bokélla /* ***ḥúlwa mithl+ ásh!***
I said: how exciting you are for me, little mouth, what! (Corriente 2009: 122-123)

This example is entirely in Arabic except for one word – *bokélla* – 'little mouth', which regularly appears in the kharjas in its diminutive form (A11, A14, A20, A25, etc.) and seems to be charged with a specific meaning associated with romantic poetry and therefore can be classified as a formula. Our observation can also be supported by this example from Ibn Quzman (zajal 67), where Romance lexemes are used to increase the romantic context of the poem. Another interesting characteristic of this example is that the poet here also used Arabic lexeme *ḥajal* (partridge) in its diminutive form, thus echoing Abu-Haidar's observations:

ya<u>dd</u>a *collo <u>d</u>e* ***l-ġazālah***
'i bukillah <u>d</u>e ***ḥujaylah***
The one with a neck like a gazelle
And a mouth like a little partridge (Monroe 2017: 398-399)[8]

[8] In Ibn Quzman's *Diwan* the Romance *collo* and *bukillah* are used only once, in other instances the Arabic lexemes ʿunq and fumaymah are preferred.

Again the switching here seems to observe the constraints on conversational switching identified by Aabi.

A38. *Mamm+ eśt+* ***alghulám // la bud kullu líyya, / halál aw ḥárám***
Mother, this boy has to be mine alone, lawfully or unlawfully (Corriente 2009: 124)

This kharja starts with the Romance *Mamm+eśt* and shifts to Arabic. As we demonstrated in A6, Romance *mámma*/*mamm* is interchangeable with Arabic *yimma*, so we can suggest the decision to start the line in Romance in this case is deliberate and can be explained as poetic creativity perhaps again animating a voice that habitually blends Romance and non fluent Arabic. Consider however the following examples of using Romance demonstrative pronoun *eśte*/*eśt* followed by an Arabic noun with definite article: *eśt* ***arraqí*** (A10), *eśt* ***alḥarakí*** (A10), *eśt+* ***az- zaméne*** (H1), *eśte* ***alkhalláq*** (H6), *eśt* ***alḥabíb*** (H15). In contrast, in the only instance we found when eśt is followed by the word in Romance, no article is used: *eśta díya* (A22). Of interest here is that these forms all incorporate the double subject as identified by Aabi, characteristic of Arabic, but not of Romance.

A40. *Ké faréyo o ké+n śerád de míbe, //* ***ḥabíbi*** */ non te+ mṭálya de míbe*
What shall I do or what will become of me, my darling? Do not break up with me! (Corriente 2009: 124)

Here we see the case identical to A24 with the difference that the text of the kharja is entirely in Romance with the exception of one word in Arabic, the formulaic ***ḥabíbi***. Just as I the case of A24, in A40 one foreign lexeme is inserted into the text decorating it and highlighting/accentuating its romantic essence. Again the switching at the vocative corresponds with the constraints on switching identified by Aabi.

In conclusion we can say that, since almost all the instances of switching we have identified in the kharjas quoted observe Aabi's constraints on conversational switching, it is plausible to argue that this is not simply a question of literary invention, but a conscious echoing for artistic purposes of the translanguaging characteristic in the speech of the time.

3.1.4. Translanguaging as aesthetic device in the *zajals* of Ibn Quzman

Before we start analyzing our contemporary data, let us further discuss translanguaging for aesthetic purposes. In order to do it, we turn to zajals from the famous *Diwan* of Ibn Quzman, the poet, who, according to Corriente, was bilingual, although his first and main language was Arabic (2008: 82), and look at several instances of shifting from Andalusi Arabic to Romance. The language of the *Diwan* is predominantly Arabic, but it also contains various instances of using Romance vocabulary. These uses are mimicking and reproducing the language of Christians and slaves, as well as bilingualism of Andalusi women (Corriente 2008: 81). This observation further supports our analysis of "mio habibi" and the analysis of diminutives above.

Zajal 84 is also of special interest to us because of the double meaning that also allows for its satirical reading. The text of this zajal classified as panegyric is built based on the principle of ring composition and its main theme is introduced by the refrain *fī ḍamānī ʾin tuʿṭà ʾal-ẖiyār lam tarā mā rayt [yaḏḏa] min al-asfār* (I guarantee that, even if you were given cucumbers,You would not see the travels I have seen), where the lexeme *ẖiyār* is a deliberate pun as it can be interpreted both as 'cucumbers' and 'choice'. If 'choice' implies the serious meaning, where life events are dictated by fate, 'cucumbers', give the poem a comical effect, as the entire idea of travelling, even if imposed by fate, discussed in the poem is then nothing more than an involuntary trip to the bathroom provoked by the laxative effect of cucumbers[9]. This zajal is made of three parts and its main protagonist and narrator is the poet-trickster. In the first part of the poem the poet promises the readers to tell them an exceptionally interesting story from his life but then decides not to do it. In the second part, the poet describes his encounter with his neighbour, a woman, who, as we understand from the context, is also a trickster and who reads his palm and predicts that he will become famous and rich if he goes to a certain Abu-l-Ala. This is the part that contains switching from Arabic to Romance in the interactions between a fluent and non-fluent speaker of Arabic. Finally, in the third part of the zajal the poet decides to travel but fails to do so because the mule he had previously rented turned out to be epileptic. Below are the three strophes, where the poet uses both Arabic and Romance. In the first strophe, the only Romance lexeme used by the poet is the adjective ***ya***.

The next two strophes contain the dialogue between the poet and his neighbour, a fortune-teller, for whom, as we know from Bossong's study from 2010, it is typical to speak Romance or a mix of Romance and Andalusi Arabic (2010: 296-298). Indeed, Ibn Quzman's fortune-teller also uses in her replies Romance with Arabic, which contributes to creating comic effect (zajal 84):

anā ʾay kunt naẓartu mā taʿmal
min fulān sīr w-abṣir fulān muqbal
wa-l-ḥubūb kulli marrah tatbaddal
aš naqul lak ***yā*** *lam naʿud ẖummār*
Wherever I was, I observed what she was up to:
"So-and-so, get lost!—Look, here comes So-and-so!"
For she was constantly changing her lovers.
What can I say? I'll not be made a laughing stock again

qultu lah ba-llah anẓur ṯamm aš yakūn
naẓarat kafff[ayya] wa-qālat lī ***bōn***
fāṭaš albaš *narāk bi-ḥāl al-quṭūn*
*[aww]aḏā l-jāh [*eš de*]* ***nōn akabbār***
I asked her: "By God, look here. What do you see?"
She gazed at [my] palm and said: "Good!
Propitious fairies! I see you [white] as cotton:
Such glory [is] unending."

[9] See Monroe's detailed analysis of this poem, its ring structure and several levels of reading it in Monroe (2017: 1140-1170).

qult aš al-ḥīlah innamā ḏā ġalā
las narà [f]a-d-dunyā [li]-man ḏāb malā
ʾillā law kān mawlā-nā ʾabū l-ʿalā
qālat ***ešte keriya ew nom[n]ār***
I said: "What shall I devise? Prices are high these days;
I see no one in the world who is prosperous now,
Unless it be our lord Abū l-ʿAlāʾ."
She replied: "Just the one I wanted to name!" (Monroe 2017: 516-519)

We have established that there is a comic trope in the al-Andalusi period of interactions between Arab speakers, typically male and Romance speaking women. This gives further support to our argument, suggesting that there is some element of sociolinguistic appropriacy here and in the kharjas in the rendering of mixed speech, the recognizability of which, as we will see in the contemporary data, must inform the comedy.

3.2. Contemporary data

Let us now turn to the *Al-Kamira lakum* (2016), a show produced by Hanane el-Fadhili, a professional Moroccan comedian actress and her brother Adil el-Fadhili, a screenwriter. Each episode of the show which lasts about fifteen minutes, is framed by a title: a proverb or a popular saying. The episode we are going to analyse is titled *Qaṭrān blādi wulla ʕasal əl-buldān*, and is focused on the subject of emigration, a subject of great importance in the Moroccan/Maghreb context. The choice of this proverb introduces another genre into the textual hybridity we are exploring – the proverb is a very important and widespread genre in the popular literature of the Maghreb. This title frames what is to come, much as Ibn al-Mulk characterized the function of the *kharja* in the *muwaššsaḥ*: it expresses in an anticipatory manner the essence of what is to come, its salt, its sugar, its musk. There is a second element that shapes the entire episode – the song by Algerian singer Reda Talyani *Partir loin*. *Partir loin* was released in 2007 and immediately became popular not only in Algeria but also in Morocco and France.

This song becomes central for the *Qatrān blādi wulla ʕasal əl-buldān*: its first, opening part of the episode starts and ends with the first lines from *Partir loin*. This quotation of others' poetic text, indeed, reminds us of Ibn Quzman's quotation of fragments of earlier poetry, sometimes with unidentified authorship, in the form of *kharja*, as described by Monroe (2017: 37, footnote IV). We will therefore start our analysis with the song and then focus on each of the three parts of the episode.

3.2.1. *Partir loin*

This song represents a mix of genres that became typical of the Maghreb music scene in the mid 1990s – here we clearly define a few fragments of the rai – such as the first lines: *Yal babour ya mon amour*/ *Kharejni mel la misère* (*partir loin*), next to some elements of hip-hop, and, through all the songs, the traditional Algerian dance melody. At the genre level, *Partir loin* is a hybrid that consists of various elements and traditions.

To be clear, however, we are not going to draw a straight line of descent between the kharjas and the popular songs of the Maghreb of today. The connection must be more indirect, but analytically we will consider the two influences that we have already noted in the kharjas: the influence of the spoken language and that of the shaping processes of poetic composition. Here is the first verse of the song sung by Talyani:

Yal babour ya [Oh, boat, oh,] *mon amour*
Kharejni mel [take me out of] *la misère (partir loin)*
Fi bladi rani mahgoure [in my country I am lost]
3yit 3yit [I'm tired, tired] *tout j'en ai marre (c'est bon)*
Ma nratich [I won't miss] *l'occasion (on est là)*
Fi bali [It's on my mind] *ça fait longtemps*
Hada nessetni [It made me forget] *qui je suis*
Nkhdem aliha [I work on it] *jour et nuit*
Yal babour ya [Oh, boat, oh,] *mon amour*
Kharejni mel [take me out of] *la misère*

We first see a strange balance between the lines (from the third line), each line starts in Arabic and ends in French[10]. This seems to us to be attributable to the poetic shaping rather than an echo of the spoken language. If we turn to the kharjas we analyzed in the previous section, we will notice that structurally this stanza echoes A38, where we guessed that the choice to start the line with the Romance *Mamm+eśt* and continue it in Arabic was deliberate and not spontaneous. But nowadays there is nothing easier than to explore the link between poetic expressions and spoken language, using corpus linguistics, an option that was obviously not open in the eleventh-century in al-Andalus[11]. Here, then, we see an exemplification of the creative tension between poetic formation and spoken language.

As noted above in the discussion of translanguaging, the key concept in sociolinguistics is the sociolinguistic or communicative repertoire. A recent definition of sociolinguistic repertoire is:

> [people] performing repertoires of identities through linguistic-semiotic resources acquired over the course of their life trajectories through membership or participation in various sociocultural spaces in which their identities are measured against normative centres of practice (Blommaert & Spotti 2017: 171).

What is the repertoire that Talyani's song exhibits? In the first stanza we encountered that linguistic coexistence that goes under the name of translanguaging, while noting the contribution of its poetic formation, where the tropes of parallelism and repertoire are

[10] Bossong (2010) similarly identifies a tendency for translanguaging in the kharjas to start in Romance and end in Arabic and in Ibn Quzman for it to start in Arabic and end in Romance.

[11] While there are of course corpora of contemporary language use, such as Aabi draws on, there can be none for the 11th century data. For this reason we draw on Aabi's principles and parameters approach which expressly formalizes the characteristics of conversational switching. We are not aware that it has been used so far in the kind of historical reconstruction we are attempting here.

important (remember the repetition in the kharjas, for example the words in Arabic with Romance diminutive suffixes, such as:

Non kéro bóno ***ḥall****éllo // **illá assamré**llo* (A13).

In the second stanza we note, as sung by Rim-K, leaving aside certain sentences – ***habsini maalich*** or ***ya hmar*** – very little Arabic but a lot of cultural references on the one hand to the culture of Maghreb or on the other to the European culture (Robinson Crusoe and his sheep), European and global culture in the sense that *Alf Laila wa Laila* is global. The line is used to introduce the identity of the protagonist of this song and it is done with the help of what Caubet termed *translinguistic* pun: he (the protagonist) is from *Kabyle Fornie*, a clearly playful allusion to Californie:

Moi, je suis de Kabyle Fornie
On fumait 350 benji
Sur les bords de la corniche
Habsini maalich [you can arrest me, I don't care]
Rien à perdre, Rim-K le malade mentale
Plus connu que le Haj Mamba, je mens pas
Je voudrais passé le henné à ma bien aimée
Avant que je taille
Comme Cheb Hasni je suis sentimental
Partir loin, rien à perdre
Fih [to] *Boston,* ***wulla*** [or] *je n'sais pas*
Laissez moi de toi
Comme Robinson sur une île
Mon mouton, je l'appellerai Mercredi
Dès que l'avion atterrit j'applaudis
Comme les ***chibanie****s* [old immigrants]*, je vous rends la carte de résidence*
Un moment d'évasion, ***ya hmar*** [you, idiot]*, lève-toi et danse*

The first stanza repeats as a chorus, sung by Talyani, then the song resumes, sung again by Rim-K in a French more or less full of cultural references. The name *blédard* is a derogatory term in origin (derived from the Arabic *bled*, a term dating from the colonial era that was more recently adopted by diasporic youth as of term of identity as seen here:)

Je reste blédard, débrouillard, j't'annonce
Amène moi loin de la misère
Mon plus fidèle compagnon
En route pour l'eldorado
Tellement plein, c'est quoi? ***Dirou*** [take]*, le sac à dos*
Partir loin, sans les cousins
Le plein toujours les carages, c'est dur
Je me considère chanceux d'être en vie
Pourvu que ça dure
J'ai grandis qu'avec des voleurs

J'aurais toujours les youyous qui résonne
Dans ma tête être à la quête du bonheur

A life dominated by the extended family, seeking a life away from the cousins (leaving far, without the cousins) a life of fantasy where he is brought away from the misery, the backpack.

This largely French stanza is followed by a short stanza that is entirely in Algerian Darija:

Yal bledi nti fik el khir
Yediha elli andou zhar
Y3ich li 3Andou lktef
watzidilou mel lebhar
My country, you have treasures in you,
But only those who have luck will have them
Those who have connections, live well,
And you help the rich to get even wealthier[12]

The song *Partir Loin* shows our theme of linguistic permeability that is generic: shared between Talyani, who sings the refrain in the style of rai and Rim-K, who sings the rap, here one finds a generic hybridity that indexes the cultural practices that are at the same time local/global. This is precisely the phenomenon of Jbala (Gintsburg 2020). Obviously there is also the practice of translanguaging: the song's composition and performance is a translinguistic practice.

This practice plays out in an interesting way, when it comes to transcribing this song. It is assumed that this is not a composed song, written and then sung. There is a lot of improvisation there. So the "lyrics" found on the internet are at times very variable, with this lack of some of the variants favouring a French version and others an Arabic version:

Version 1: *C'est Boston, nous lâché pas*
Version 2: ***Fih*** [to] *Boston,* ***wulla*** [or] *je n'sais pas*

The first version erases the Arabic element of the sentence which is revealed in the second version as being translinguistic. This is possibly the result of an automatic translation, but we also noted these dilemmas in our manual translation of Hanane's video. Translinguistic practices seem to produce a certain significant fluidity. The lack of norms in the lyrics is saying something, especially when compared to the counter-normativity that was noted in the discussion of translanguaging. These lyrics are aimed at young people who consider themselves to be "outside the norm" or on the margins of the norm. They do not adhere to transcription standards, nor those of writing in the dominant language (French or Arabic).

[12] In this article, only texts in Arabic language are accompanied by their translation into English. Texts in French are given without English translation. Although in our English translation we tried to be as close to the Arabic original as possible, we decided not to resort to literal translation.

3.2.2. The *beau gosse*

Turning to Hanane's monologue, the first part represents the direct continuation with the song of Reda Talyani, indeed this part represents a development or a variation of the subject of Partir loin. The scene opens with a young man singing the first lines of this song and telling his story. This character, who introduces himself as "handsome" is yet another incarnation of the picaresque hero – his dream is to emigrate to Italy, no matter what, even if it means marrying an old woman, or, as our hero puts it, an expired woman (pirīmi). But why Italy? –because he is tired of his life in Morocco, because he feels very connected to Italian culture through some films with de Niro and Al Pachino and because there are many Moroccans in Italy[13].

> *w kēyn wāḥəd əl-fiʔa waḥəd eṭ-ṭabaqa dyāl š-šabāb ktār bḥāli dīprīsyō w-tfīq mʕa ṣ-ṣabāḥ tsanna n-nhār yəṭīr bāš bāš yəji l-līl w-l-līl ja tsannā yəṭīr bāš yəji n-nhār… **ainsi de suite et ainsi de suite**… rā f škəl. ana l-ḥulm dyāli huwa nəmši l-Ṭalyā ā nəmši l-Ṭalyā.. bəzzāf də-nnās ki-ygūlu ʕalāš Ṭalyā ʕalāš Ṭalyā..Ṭalyā fī ṣ-ṣarf a ṣaḥbi w-zād waḥəd lli ka-yəhbaṭ f **tirīṭwār** dyāl Ṭalyān ka-təlqa wlād əl-blād fhəmti ka-yəməddū lək īd əl-musāʕada..*
> There is a group, a numerous class of young men like me, who are depressed: they wake up in the morning and [can't] wait for the day to fly away, so, so that the night could come. When the night comes, they wait for the day to come … ainsi de suite et ainsi de suite … This is hard! My dream is to go to Italy, yep, to go to Italy.. lots of people tell me: Why Italy? Why Italy? Italy has money, my friends, plus if you 'fall' on the Italian territory, you will meet people from your country, you know what I mean, and then they will help you … (Baynham & Gintsburg 2022: 163).

However the handsome young man's adventures end where they started – in Morocco but we see that he is already preparing his next trick. Linguistic analysis reveals that this text is a typical example of translanguaging. There are regular shifts from Arabic to French and vice versa, something that is typical as we have seen of everyday discourse in urban areas of the Maghreb. Insertions in French can serve as examples of what Caubet described as *phonological games* – they are pronounced with an exaggerated Moroccan accent, so that, for instance, the French ***territoire*** becomes ***tirīṭwār*** – a foreign land that is, however, full of Moroccans who are going to help out.

There are, in addition, more multilingual incorporations, cleverly inserted fragments in Italian – *prōnto la māma* – or in English when the character writes his message to Barbara towards the end of his story. Here Hanane resorts to quotational switching, the linguistic device that was also used by Yehuda Halevi in the kharja we discussed in the beginning of our analysis and by Ibn Quzman in zajal 84 – to imitate the direct speech, with the difference that Halevi and Ibn Quzman used Romance and Hanane produces a cocktail of French and English, accompanied by its translation into Darija along with commentaries:

> *Chère and Barbara how are you?*
> ***kī dāyra ma thəmmnī š ġīr awrāqi*** (I don't care about you, I only care about my papers)

[13] For a more profound discussion of the episode, please see our earlier work Tar or honey? Space and time of Moroccan migration in a video sketch comedy 'l-kāmīra la-kum' (2022).

I am very well
ana ṣāfā w-ṣāfi ma bġītš nbəyyen lha rāni ṣāfi gāʕ nkərha
(I'm fine. And that's all, I didn't want to show her I hated her)
But my situation very difficult
l-waḍʕīya fə š-škəl
(This situation is a problem)
no gārrō..wālū… ma kēyn la gārrō w-la wālū
(I don't [even] have cigarettes… no cigarettes, no nothing)
But my God looks my brave heart Barbara
zaʕma rabbi rā ʕāləm qalbi š-šujjāʕ
(that is God knows that I have a brave heart)
a Barbara

3.2.3. The French mother

We saw in the first part of the halqa the desire to leave/emigrate as a fundamental aspect of the migratory narrative. In the second part we see other dimensions: that of living *là-ba*s and the return. In addition, we also see how living abroad can change one. In this part Hanane turns into a mother with eight children, of Moroccan origin living in France. This part is not really structured as a story of emigration, here the character is giving an opinion, maybe a little naïvely on the subject of emigration, on preserving Moroccan culture abroad, making sure that her eight children, who live under the constant threat of the American culture of MacDonald's, rap and hip hop (50 cents, Eminem), will remain Moroccans. The mother therefore encourages them to stick with the tajine and not the hamburger, to listen to traditional, even slightly outdated Moroccan musicians, such Snaji, Daoudi and Jedwane. As if she was addressing the camera and her future audience, she ends up with some kind of generalized advice for future immigrants.

Most of this monologue is in French, but this variety of French is explicitly influenced by Arabic at all levels – phonetics, morphology and grammar. This, we conclude, is in itself a translinguistic influence. In conformity with Aabi's constraints, the first phrase starts with the Arabic preposition ***ʕind***, an equivalent of the European auxiliary verb that transmits the meaning of possession (English have, French avoir, etc.). This beginning conditions the rest of the phrase, which, although it is mostly made of French words, is essentially Arabic in its structure – the mother differentiates between her female and male children by producing the female form *enfante*, although in French *enfant* is an gender neutral noun. In contrary, in Arabic language (in this case, in Moroccan Arabic) the difference between a girl (*bent*) and a boy (weld) is always emphasized in a conversation. The mother then goes on and explains *that* her children receive a 'very progressive' education (*éducation developpée*), another calque from Arabic (i.e., according to Caubet, switching used to create a comical effect) that prepares the audience to the idea that everything that will be said about the education after that won't have much sense. Indeed, we soon learn that this education makes children open up towards the outer world and, continues the French mother, at home her children are not allowed to speak French:

> ***ʕindi*** *(I have) huit enfants* ***u-ʕindi*** *(and I have) sept enfantes, garçons et filles. l'éducation qu'on a donné à nos enfants* ***l-ḥamdilla*** *(all praise be to God), l'éducation très développée – ouverture le monde, les enfants défendés, j'ai dis défendés parler français à la maison – 'parle français avec la* ***mitrēz*** *parle français avec tes copains, la maison tu parles arabe! Voilà* ***répondī*** *en arabe, c'est tout hein? Moi défendé les enfants: écoute music de 50 cent ou écoute la music* ***dī*** *Eminem* ***wulla*** *(or) écoute la music* ***dī*** *113'… oui défendé' J'ai dis: écoute moi très bien, t'écoute SNaji, t'écoute Daoudi, t'écoute Jedwane, écoute Najat Aâtabou, écoute la musique* ***marocān****, c'est tout'.*

We notice the same cross-linguistic combination, already noted in the kharja and the song of Talyani (***ʕindi*** *8 enfants* ***u-ʕindi*** *7 enfantes, garçons et filles)*, with the Arabic formulas (***lḥamdilla***). Her speech similarly positions her, in the way we have suggested is evident in the verse of Ibn Quzman and the kharjas.

The monologue of the French mother reminds us of the period of more organized migration, when one left as a migrant, regulated by inter-governmental agreements, not as ḥarraga without papers. This is then contrasted with the current migration chaos:

> *maintenant quand tu vois* ***š-šubbān*** *(these young folks), tu vois les gens hein?* ***Rīskē, rīskē*** *ça* ***vait*** *comme ça, dans la mer et la plage, c'est pas bien, il faut pas faire ça, attendez mariage, attendez quelque chose, de.. de bien hein? C'est pas, c'est pas comme ça, les gens n'est partent… Moi je suis pas d'accord, je pas du tout d'accord* (Baynham & Gintsburg 2022: 166).

She then tells a little story to support her opinion. A young Moroccan girl wants to run away her country, and our mother of eight tries to dissuade her of doing this illegally. However, the young girl still decides to do that but has to make the trip to Paris in a washing machine, perhaps alluding to the dangers of the boat crossing. Confronted by the customs officer, she just explains that she arrived in that washing machine. As the mother end the story, she repeats her disapproval ("I was really angry when I was told the story"):

> *La pauvre, elle a foutue dans le car, comme le car était bien remplis, elle a mise dans une machine à laver.. les gens, c'est même pas que j'raconte la misère, la misère: quelqu'un appuie sur le bouton* ***da*** *marche et la fille məskīna (the poor thing) tournait, tournait, passait par l'essorage, par le lavage, par le rinçage et elle été arrivée à la douane française məskīna tout essorée, le douanier demande: 'Madame d'ou vous* ***sortē****?' et elle luis dit 'monsieur dans une machine à laver' et il lui dit retournisez elle n'as pas bien* ***répondē****.* ***Ma ʕarfat š tjāwbu ma.. u-kūn kunt ana kunt nqūl lu*** *(*she didn't know how to reply properly [to him], but if it was me I would have said to him): *monsieur retournisez vous, toi-même* ***tī****, toi pour que tu t'apprends! J'étais vraiment énervée quand on m'a raconté l'histoire* (Baynham & Gintsburg 2022: 166-167).

Just as the *beau gosse* glosses his letter to Barbara with his thoughts and comments in Arabic, here the mother glosses her story with her comment in Arabic on what the girl should have done. We note how the transition between the thought in Arabic and the quoted words in French addressed to the customs officer is again in accord with Aabi's constraints on switching. In contrast the phrase *la fille* ***məskīna*** the adjective ***məskīna*** agrees in gender with the noun *la fille*, again in accord with Aabi's constraints on switching.

3.2.4. Yūmmu ʕAbdərraḥīmu

In the third and the last part of the episode Hanane plays an elderly, most probably Berber (as it suggests her tattooed chin) mother, whose son has supposedly gone to Italy and the poor mother continues to wait for him. At some point, we start to realize that she is most likely the mother of our *beau gosse* from the first part. In this manner, the last part of Hanane's three-part episode is tightly related to its first part through the figure of *beau gosse* echoing the ring composition used by Ibn Quzman in his zajals. Just like the Andalusian poet from zajal 84, the *beau gosse* didn't go anywhere.

Although entirely in darija, this humorous text represents what Baynham & Lee defined as intralingual translanguaging (2019: 93), where the actress brings together two different registers of Moroccan Arabic – everyday language and vernacular poetry. The first register is intended to mimic the speech of an illiterate woman from a rural area. This is achieved by using two tools: linguistic and stylistic choices. In terms of the former, Register 1, the variety of Moroccan Arabic used by *Yūmmu ʕAbdərraḥīmu* which is almost free from lexical borrowings (there are exceptions – borrowings that are already considered by speakers of Moroccan Arabic as words in Arabic – *kartōna*, *kāmīra*, etc) and, similarly to the borrowings from Romance in the zajals of Ibn Quzman that became completely assimilated by Arabic and therefore can't be treated as cases of switching (Corriente 2008: 80). In terms of the latter, Register 2, the text is built stylistically on numerous repetitions: chunks of everyday speech are artfully mixed with lines of vernacular poetry exhibiting traces of different rhythm and elements of rhyme[14]. The result of this artistic languaging reminds us of a kind of *chaâbi* song – it has the structure of a song, where stanzas are made of non-rhymed text (Register 1) and are followed by more or less the same refrain (Register 2), as shown in the excerpt below:

> *s-salām ana yūmmu ʕAbdərraḥīmu ʕarəftu ʕAbdərraḥimu* ***ma ʕarəftu š ʕAbdərraḥimu a wīli ʕAbdərraḥimu ṭ-ṭwīl z-zīn w-l-ḥəjbu məgrūnīn w-ʕaynīnu mbəllgīn*** *a tšūfū howa tšūfūni anāya yəšbuh līya wlīdi wlīdi ḥnīn wlīdi kbīdti twaḥḥaštu bəzzāf wlīdi wlīdi mhājər aw wāš ngūl l-kum huwa lli bġa yəhājer ayya mʕāya mmi ana bāġi nhājər bāġi nhājər mšīt xtībṭ lu Hājar bənt si Smāʕīl wālu ma bġā š yeglis līya w-ma bqa līya wlīdi w-nəbqa nətfakkər f wlīdi ngūl wlīdi wāš wākəl wlīdi wāš ma wākəl š wlīdi wāš nāʕəs fōg n-nāmūsīya wulla fōg kartōna alla ya wlīdi alla* ***ma ʕarəftū š ʕAbdərrḥimu a wildi ʕAbdərrḥim ṭ-ṭalyānu ṭ-ṭwīl z-zīn w-l-ḥəjba məgrūnīn w-l-ʕaynīn mbəllgīn*** *ʕAbdərraḥimu wlīdi ya wlīdi alla w-aš ġādi ndīr aš ġādi ndīr jbədt lli quddāmi w-lli mrāya rākum ʕAbdərrḥimu bāš nseyfṭu l-Ṭalyān beʕt l-ḥaṭṭa w-d-dahab w-beʕt ṣ-ṣəddari.*
>
> Hello, I am Abderrahimu's mother, do you know Abderrahimu? [What?] **You don't know Abderrahimu? Aw, Abderrahimu is tall and handsome, with arched eyebrows and bright eyes**. Look, he, no look at me, he looks like me a lot, oh, my son, my son, I long for him so much, he is my heartbeat, I miss him so much! My son left the country, what can I tell you – he was the one who wanted to emigrate. He said: mother, I want to emigrate, I want to emigrate, I want to emigrate. So I went and found for him Hajar, the daughter of Si Smail, however, he didn't

[14] Compare this refrain to the following lines from Ibn Quzman's zajal 87: *[raqbatan] šaṭṭah bayḍa miṯla l-quṭūn / ʿaynan akḥal wa-ḥājiban maqrūn* (I beheld a slender neck, white as cotton; / A collyrium-dark eye, and an eyebrow joined to its twin) (Monroe 2017: 538-539).

> want to stay. And so I had no child anymore and I started thinking about him, I was saying: my son, has he eaten or not? Or my son, does he sleep in bed or on some cardboard? Oh, my son, don't you know Abderrahimu? **Oh, my son Abderrahimu, the Italian, is tall and handsome, with arched eyebrows and bright eyes**. My son Abderrahimu, my son, what should I do, what should I do? I collected everything I had to send Abderrahimu to Italy, I even sold my gold and the sofa (El-Fadhili 2016).

The way Hanane weaves into the mother's monologue these repetitions reminds us of the stylistic differentiation from the rest of the text of refrains from strophic Andalusi poetry, meant to bring the audience's attention to a particular theme (Monroe 2017: 1047--1048). Just like the poetic texts created by Andalusian poets in vulgar Arabic, Hanane's text is artistic creation, based on exaggeration, with sociolinguistic recognizability as a key factor in its artfulness.

4. Discussion

Our starting point for this paper was a sense of Morocco and its Darija as being in some way peripheral in the Arab world over a thousand year span through its geographical positioning between Africa and Europe and on the frontier of the Arab world. Using insights derived from both linguistics and literary studies we have examined the interaction of Maghrebi Arabic and Romance languages in artful texts from the perspective of both historical and contemporary evidence using the notion of translanguaging. The language features we have been examining can be seen in one sense as an enactment of this peripheral, border crossing positioning. We can see this intimate linguistic and cultural engagement, which Bossong describes as *convivencia*, crossing linguistic borders within utterances, phrases, within words even. To do so, we have drawn on two sets of data, historical and contemporary. While focusing on translanguaging as our theoretical framing we have not ignored the important insights from studies of code-switching, indeed Aabi's analysis has been able to confirm for us that the switches we observe in the kharjas and the zajal of Ibn Quzman, as well as in the song of Talyani and the monologue of Hanane are not some arbitrary literary invention as has sometimes been argued, but grounded in everyday language usage. Translanguaging, with its emphasis on the speaker and their creativity is particularly apt as an approach to the analysis of artful language use, poems, songs, dramatic monologue, but we would also want to assert, as others have, the creativity of everyday language. What we have tried to demonstrate in our analysis is the crossover between artful language use and the everyday. This is of course not to reduce the artful to the everyday. What we encounter in the texts we have examined is a synergy between both, the artfulness of the text drawing energy and strength from its engagement with everyday language use. Of course we have no way of knowing how the actual language of the street played out in 11th century al-Andalus, but we believe that applying Aabi's analysis suggests that the 11th century audiences would have found the multilingual language use in the kharjas and zajals recognizable and that the artfulness of the poets known and unknown would have been in part to draw on that recognizability.

In addition to finding similarities in the multilingual language use, we also identified some evidence of literary continuity between the two sets of data we used. This is particularly convincing when comparing the legacy of Ibn Quzman and contemporary data. Thus, in Quzman's zajals, as well as in the Talyani's lyrics and Hanane el-Fadhili's monologues, there emerge the common features of the main protagonist – a trickster and a rogue. It is around this protagonist that the plot is built. While comparing the data from two time slices, we also found structural similarities: to start her monologue, Hanane uses a small fragment from Talyani's *Partir loin*. By doing this, Hanane sets the theme for the whole episode, so, in literary terms, the role of *Partir loin* in Hanane's text is comparable to the role the kharja had in the Andalusian muwaššaḥ. Finally, as if confirming the assumption made by James Monroe about the continuity between Ibn Quzman's zajals and the oral poetry of North Africa (2017: 1102-1103), we also spotted a certain parallel between stock phrases used to describe a handsome young man in Ibn Quzman's Diwan and Hanane's comical sketch.

5. Conclusion

In this paper we have explored the interaction between Maghrebi Arabic and Romance languages from the perspective of both historical and contemporary evidence. For our analysis we applied the notion of translanguaging understood as an enactment in language of *convivencia*, to artful texts from two time slices – kharjas and zajals from the 11th-13th century al-Andalus, a song by the Algerian singer Reda Talyani and a comical sketch by the Moroccan actress Hanane el-Fadhili. While framing our analysis in the translanguaging approach, we drew on insights from earlier research on code-switching in both Andalusi Arabic and Maghrebi Arabic as well as relevant data from literary studies and demonstrated that the artfulness of the texts we examined was informed by everyday language use. In addition, we were able to demonstrate that there exists a certain continuity over the centuries that links literary production from al-Andalus to the literary production of contemporary Maghreb.

Finally, we would endorse from our perspective Heath's argument on the need for interdisciplinary work between Arabic and Romance scholars, a kind of intellectual translanguaging, itself represented in this paper, written by two authors whose backgrounds embody the Arabist (Gintsburg) and the Romanist (Baynham) perspective. Future research might potentially involve further cross disciplinary work between researchers in Arabic and its Romance contact languages to will enable us to fully address the sociolinguistics of Moroccan/Algerian Darija.

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