LENITION IN THE MOZARABIC DIALECTS: A REAPPRAISAL

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Description of the varieties of Romance formerly spoken in al-Andalus is complicated by the documentation of the greater part of the extant textual evidence in an alphabet which had been contrived to represent the sound system and syllabic structure of an unrelated language, and by the lack of any appreciable attempt on the part of the alphabet's users to adapt it to this new task. Lenition provides a measure of the difficulties this poses: whereas it has been possible to speculate on why the intervocalic plosives of Latin voiced in other varieties of Hispano-Romance, students of the Mozarabic dialects have sought to establish whether such lenition took place at all. Opinion remains divided between those, like Meyer-Lübke [1], who believe that it did not occur, and those, like Menéndez Pidal [2], who believe that it did.

Meyer-Lübke affirms that the voicing of the intervocalic plosives in the Peninsula did not take place until after the Germanic invasions [3]. He concludes from an acritical examination of the material that continuations of Latin /-t-/ and /-k-/ remained voiceless in the Mozarabic dialects at the time of the Islamic invasions [4], a view shared by Hall [5]. Griffin observes that Latin /-t-/ and /-k-/ are transcribed as (voiceless) ṭāʼ and qāf respectively in the Vocabulista in arabico. He argues that the former was identified with Romance /-t-/, a dental plosive that had lost some its articulatory force but remained voiceless [6], and that the latter

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[1] Meyer-Lübke, W., «La sonorización de las sordas intervocálicas latinas en español», Revista de Filología Española 11 (1924), 1-32.

[2] Menéndez Pidal, R., Orígenes del español (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1968), 253-259.

[3] Meyer-Lübke, «La sonorización», 3-5.

[4] Meyer-Lübke, «La sonorización», 32.

[5] Hall, R., A., «La non-lenizione nella Romània occidentale», Romance Philology 28 (1974-75), 533.

[6] Griffin, D., A., Los mozarabismos del «Vocabulista» atribuido a Ramón Martí (Madrid: Offprint from Al-Andalus XXIII-XXV, 1961), 57.

was identified with Romance /-k-/, preferred to *kāf* which was felt to be too palatal [7]. In further support of his case he cites continuations of Latin /-t-/ and /-k-/ that remained voiceless in Hispanisms of fifteenth and sixteenth century Granadan Arabic (*ruta, rucata, xucr,* etc.), and likewise toponyms and Mozarabisms of modern Spanish (*cornato, borchata, marchito, Játiva, caroca, cernícalo, Júcar,* etc.) [8].

To counter the claims of Meyer-Lübke, Menéndez Pidal adduces evidence that the first documented examples of voicing in the Peninsula are from the south: IMUDAVIT < IMMUTAVIT of the second century AD and LEBRA < LEPRA, IUBENTUDIS < IUVENTUTIS and EGLESIE < ECCLESIA of the seventh century [9]. He observes that from the eighth to the eleventh centuries continuations of Latin /-t-/ and /-k-/ are consistently spelt with *ṭā'* and *qāf,* and only occasionally by graphs for voiced phonemes such as *dāl* and *gayn.* He concludes that voiced and voiceless pronunciations coexisted in al-Andalus, but that the voiceles pronunciation, under the guise of *ṭā'* and *qāf,* predominated because of Arab linguistic conservatism. To support this assertion, he cites *Qurṭuba* < CORDUBA and *Saraqusṭa* < CAESAR AUGUSTA, in which *ṭā'* and *qāf* are transcriptions of etymological /d/ and /g/ respectively [10]. Conservatism of this kind, as a result of the prestige of a literary standard, has been and remains a powerful force in Arabic-speaking communities. However, there is no evidence of a strong trend towards voicing in Andalusian Arabic (there are a handful of examples of /t/ > /d/ in final position, and one in intervocalic position [11], as well as evidence of /ṭ/ > /d/ [12]), and therefore the voiced pronunciation of intervocalic stops would not have been considered a deviation from any received pronunciation among speakers of Arabic. It is unlikely that Latin is the prestige variety in this instance, since it enjoyed little standing among speakers of Romance (witness the *Indiculus luminosus* of Alvarus), let alone speakers of Arabic. Galmés de Fuentes overcomes this difficulty without making explicit reference to it. He argues that the eighth-century grammarian Sībawayhi classifies *ṭā'* and *qāf* as «voiced consonants» (*ḥurūf majhūra*),

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[7] Griffin, *Los mozarabismos,* 60.
[8] Griffin, *Los mozarabismos,* 60-61.
[9] Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes,* 254.
[10] Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes,* 254-255.
[11] Corriente, F., *A Grammatical Sketch of the Spanish-Arabic Dialect Bundle* (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1977), 37.
[12] Corriente, *A Grammatical Sketch,* 39-40.

and that they were, therefore, originally graphs for voiced consonants in Arabic [13]. He observes that continuations of Latin /-t-/ and /-k-/ are habitually transcribed as *ṭā'* and *qāf*, and occasionally as *ṭā'* and *kāf* in other positions; therefore they represent voiced dental and velar plosives respectively [14]. According to this view, *Qurṭuba* < COR-DUBA and *Saraqusṭa* < CAESAR AUGUSTA are no longer examples of hypercorrection. Toponyms and Mozarabisms in later Granadan Arabic and the lexis of modern Spanish that evince no voicing are at-tributed to a trend towards devoicing in Andalusian Arabic [15]. This is also the view adopted by Peñarroja [16], but one slightly modified by Hilty in an independent survey of the material [17]. He concludes that at the time of the Islamic invasions, there existed three groups of pho-nemes resulting from the Latin intervocalic dentals and velars: /-ð-/ < /-d-/ (transcribed as *ḏāl*) and /-ɣ-/ < /-g-/ (transcribed as *gayn*); /-d-/ < /-t-/ (transcribed as *ṭā'*) and /-g-/ < /-k-/ (transcribed as *qāf*); /-t-/ < /-t:-/ (transcribed as *ṭā'*) and /-k-/ < /-k:-/ (transcribed as *kāf*). In a further development, continues Hilty, the results of Latin /-d-/ and /-t-/ on the one hand, and Latin /-g-/ and /-k-/ on the ot-her, merged into voiced dental and velar phonemes respectively with alternative plosive and fricative allophones [18].

The main argument of this paper is not to show that the Mozara-bic dialects are characterized either by voicing of Latin /-t-/ and /-k-/, or by the retention of a voiceless pronunciation, but to demonstrate that the use of *ṭā'* and *qāf* cannot, by itself, be adduced as proof for either possibility, and that previous arguments have assumed, mista-kenly, that the Arabic used in al-Andalus was a stable linguistic va-riety whose sound system may be fixed diachronically and synchroni-cally.

If the Arabic alphabet was used to write down Romance, it must be assumed that it followed the conventions of Arabic and not those of La-

[13] Galmés de Fuentes, A., *Dialectología mozárabe* (Madrid: Gredos, 1983), 61-62.

[14] Galmés de Fuentes, *Dialectología mozárabe*, 92-96.

[15] Galmés de Fuentes, *Dialectología mozárabe*, 92, 177, 202.

[16] Peñarroja Torrejón, L., *El mozárabe de Valencia* (Madrid: Gredos, 1990), 339-348.

[17] Hilty, G., «Das Schicksal der lateinischen intervokalischen Verschßlaute -p-, -t-, -k- im Mozarabischen», *Festschrift Kurt Baldinger zum 60. Geburtstag*, eds. Manfred Höfler, Herni Vernay and Lothar Wolf (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1979) 1, 145-160.

[18] Hilty, «Das Schicksal», 158-160.

tin. Therefore, Galmés de Fuentes is right to seek to discover the phonological value of *ṭā'* and *qāf.* However, his study limits itself to the literary language but paradoxically appeals to evidence for the spoken language to account for anomalous voiceless Mozarabisms and toponyms that survived the extinction of the Mozarabic dialects. This procedure relies on three assumptions that may be challenged: first, that an eighth-century Persian grammarian is an authoritative source for the Arabic used for written purposes in al-Andalus; second, that such a written language was widely known in all epochs during which any loans are likely to have been made; and third, that consequently it was the dominating factor when the Arabic alphabet was used to write down vernacular Romance.

To my knowledge, *ṭā'* is universally realized in Classical Arabic as a voiceless plosive. However, Sībawayhi, an early and respected authority, appears to prescribe a voiced pronunciation; he states that if were not for the velar contour, *ṭā'* would become *dāl* (*lawlā l-iṭbāqu la-ṣārati l-ṭā'u dālan*) [19]. This is an unequivocal statement; the controversy over whether the distinction *mahmūs* («whispered») and *majhūr* («clearly used»), to which Galmés de Fuentes appeals, corresponds to the voice vs. voiceless distinction made by modern phonology need not detain us [20]. However, Sībawayhi also documents a voiceless pronunciation which he describes as «infrequent and unacceptable» [21]. It appears that despite the prescription of Sībawayhi, the literary standard throughout the Arabic-speaking world favoured the voiceless pronunciation which established itself rapidly [22]. It would seem that al-Andalus was no exception to this norm on the evidence of the censorship of a voiced realization of *ṭā'* in the *laḥn al-'āmma* literature: *qubbayd* < *qubbayṭ* [23];

[19] Quoted from Maṭar, 'A., *Laḥn al-'āmma fī ḍaw' al-dirāsāt al-lugawiyya al-ḥadītha* (Cairo: Al-dār al-qawmiyya li-l-ṭibā'a wa-l-nashr, 1966), 224.

[20] See Blanc, H., «The "Sonorous" vs. "Mufled" Distinction in Old Arabic Phonology», *To Honour Roman Jakobson* (Mouton: The Hague, 1967) I, 295-308; Garbell, I., «Remarks on the Historical Phonology of an Eastern Mediterranean Arabic Dialect», *Word* 14 (1958), 303-337; al-Nassir, A. A., *Sibawayh the Phonologist* (London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1993), 35-38.

[21] Al-Nassir, *Sibawayh*, 19.

[22] Cantineau, J., *Etudes de linguistique arabe* (París: Klincksieck, 1960), 32, 171.

[23] Al-Zubaydī, *Laḥn al-'āmma*, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz Maṭar (Cairo: Dār al-ma'ārif, 1981), 112.

qubbayḍ < qubbayṭ [24]; *muliddun < muliṭṭun* [25]; *dābid < ḍābiṭ* [26]. In the case of *qāf,* the pedagogic tradition, in particular that of Quranic recitation, universally favours the voiceless pronunciation, again despite the prescription of Sībawayhi. Cantineau suggests that this is because of the predominance of the voiceles pronunciation in urban communities where schoolmen were educated [27]. It is difficult to know whether the written Arabic of al-Andalus was characterized in the same way since there is no explicit censure of a voiced pronunciation in the *lahn al-ʿāmma* literature. However, grammarians do comment on the confusion of *qāf* and *kāf,* which appear to have suffered a phonemic merger, at least partially, since they were distinguished only by a narrow difference in point of articulation [28]: *hakk < huqq* [29]; *tarkawa < tarquwa* [30]; *maqqās < makkās* [31]; *qub < kūb* [32]; *istaktala < istaqtala* [33]; *Washka < Washqa* [34]. Educated speakers were particularly careful when reciting the Quran to give *qāf* an uvular pronunciation, but would disregard the uvular/velar distinction in speech, on the evidence of the following remark by al-Ṣafadī concerning the grammarian Abū Ḥayyān (1256-1344): *«His pronunciation is correct [in] the speech of al-Andalus, he articulates the qāf close to kāf,* although in [recitation] of the Quran his pronunciation [of *qāf*] is correct» [35]. This indicates a voiceless pronunciation in the written language and upper registers of the spoken languages.

It would seem that, despite his authority as a codifier of the written language, Sībawayhi's prescriptions regarding the realization of *ṭāʾ* and *qāf* were largely ignored by many educated speakers of Arabic in al-Andalus.

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[24] Ibn Hishām al-Lakhmī, *Al-madkhal ilà taqwīm al-lisān wa-taʿlīm al-bayān,* ed. José Pérez Lázaro (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1990) 2, 56.

[25] Ibn Hishām, *Al-madkhal* 2, 190.

[26] Ibn Hishām, *Al-madkhal* 2, 260.

[27] Cantineau, *Études,* 67.

[28] Corriente, *A Grammatical Sketch,* 54; for later periods see Barceló Torres, M. C., *Minorías islámicas en el País Valenciano. Historia y dialecto* (Valencia: Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1984), 175.

[29] Al-Zubaydī, *Lahn al-ʿāmma,* 80.

[30] Al-Zubaydī, *Lahn al-ʿāmma,* 122.

[31] Al-Zubaydī, *Lahn al-ʿāmma,* 143.

[32] Al-Zubaydī, *Lahn al-ʿāmma,* 152.

[33] Al-Zubaydī, *Lahn al-ʿāmma,* 200.

[34] Ibn Hishām, *Al-madkhal* 2, 287.

[35] Quoted from al-Ṭayyār, R. ʿA., *Al-dirāsāt al-lugawiyya fī l-Andalus* (Baghdad: Dār al-Rashīd li-l-nashr, 1980), 223.

A good deal of the evidence for the Mozarabic dialects consists of Romance items borrowed by Arabic. Loans of this kind are typically made during a period of cultural clash; the invading language is forced to borrow since it does not have the lexical resources to denote the referents (flora, fauna, etc.) of its new environment. In the context of al-Andalus, this period is likely to comprise the three centuries between the invasion of the Peninsula and the political zenith of the Umayyad caliphate. Assuming for a moment that the prescriptions of Sībawayhi are relevant, was the written language, for which he is regarded an authority, well known throughout this period to the extent that it could influence the orthography of Romance borrowings?

During the period immediately following the invasion, written Arabic is unlikely to have been well known. The conquerors of the Peninsula where a mixture of Berbers and Arabs, of which the former appear to have been the larger group. Linguistically little is known about them [36]. Presumably they spoke Berber, but they had recently been subdued by Arabic-speaking forces and converted to Islam. We would assume that as a speech group they were characterized by an incipient Berber/Arabic bilingualism whose exact nature is impossible to ascertain. The Arabs comprised Yemeni tribesmen who entered the Peninsula under the command of Mūsà [37], and Syrian forces commanded by Balŷ b. Bišr who arrived in 741 under caliphal orders to calm Berber unrest [38]. The vast majority of this Arabic-speaking body of men is unlikely to have known the literary dialect well. It is likely that the speakers who were responsible for borrowing Romance items in this period comprised the invading troops and their immediate descendants, who were possibly a poorly educated and, in some cases, illiterate group. Even if *ṭā'* and *qāf* were voiced consonants in written Arabic, speakers would probably have given them the values of their native phonemic systems if they could write. Since the Arabic spoken in the Peninsula during this period was necessarily characterized by imported dialectal divergence, the geographical back-ground of the invaders and early settlers determined its major constituents, that is to say, Yemeni and

[36] Wasserstein, D. J., «The Language Situation in al-Andalus», *Studies on the* Muwaššaḥ *and the* Kharja, eds. Richard Hitchcock and Alan Jones (Reading: Ithaca Press, 1991), 4, 12-13.

[37] Ṭāhā, 'A. D., *The Muslim Conquest and Settlement of North Africa and Spain* (London: Routledge, 1989), 94, 118-128.

[38] Ṭāhā, *The Muslim Conquest*, 132.

Syrian tribesmen and their clients who dominated the political stage of the nascent Andalusian state and whose dialects would have enjoyed widest currency. Orthographic vagaries would have occurred because of this dialectal divergence: a modern example would be English /g/ transcribed as *jīm* in Egypt and *qāf* in the Gulf region. Residual Yemeni features have been detected in Andalusian Arabic [39]. Indeed, Yemeni linguistic features have clearly influenced the orthography of Romance loans in Peninsular Arabic, for example the plosive *jīm* in *Tājuh* < TAGUS and *Jallīqiyya* < GALLAECIA [40]. Another Yemeni feature is the voiced pronunciation of *ṭā'* [41]. Therefore, during this period, for speakers of Arabic in the Peninsula *ṭā'* was likely to have been a graph for voiced and voiceless dental stops. The voiced pronunciation of *qāf* is widely distributed among the rural varieties of spoken Arabic: the north of the Arabian Peninsula, the Yemen, Oman, Iraq, Upper Egypt, the Ḥawrān, Jordan, Algeria, Morocco and southern Tunisia [42]. The voiceless pronunciation is characteristic of the settled urban areas of Syria, Iraq, North Africa, Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria and Oran [43]. Whether the same rural/urban distribution was characteristic of al-Andalus immediately following the Islamic invasions is not known, but it is almost certainly true that both pronunciations existed. Therefore, the written language is unlikely to have influenced the orthography of Romance loans made during this period, and furthermore it is impossible to identify with any degree of accuracy what values *ṭā'* and *qāf* may have had.

There are two valuable sources for determining the extent of the knowledge of the written language in al-Andalus from the post-invasionary period to the fourth century AH. The first is the *Tārīkh 'ulamā' al-Andalus* whose author, Ibn al-Faraḍī, was born in Córdoba in 351/962 [44]. He achieved renown as a jurist and *ḥadīṯ* scholar, was appointed *qāḍī* of the great mosque of Valencia, and died in the Berber sack of

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[39]   Corriente, F., «South Arabian Features in Andalusī Arabic», *Studia Linguistica et Orientalia Memoriae Haim Blanc dedicata,* eds. Paul Wexler, Alexander Borg and Sasson Somekh (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1989), 94-103.

[40]   Corriente, «South Arabian Features», 98.

[41]   Cantineau, *Études,* 32.

[42]   Cantineau, *Études,* 69-70; al-Nassir, *Sibawayhi,* 37.

[43]   Cantineau, *Études,* 68-69; al-Nasssir, *Sibawayhi,* 37.

[44]   Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Tārīkh 'ulamā' al-Andalus,* ed. Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, 2 vols. (Cairo and Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-islāmiyya, 1983), henceforth known as IF for the sake of convenience.

Córdoba led by al-Mustaʿīn in 403/1013 [45]. The work is among the older and more complete of the Andalusian biographical dictionaries [46], whose chronological scope ranges from the date of the invasion to the end of the fourth century AH. The second is the *Ṭabaqāt al-naḥwiyyīn wa-l-lugawiyyīn*, whose author, Abū Bakr al-Zubaydī, was born in Seville in 316/982 [47]. He studied in Córdoba under Abū ʿAlī l-Qālī and became judge of the great mosque and *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* in Seville, where he died in 379/989 [48]. The chronological scope of the *Ṭabaqāt* ranges from Abū l-Aswad al-Duʾalī (d. 69/688), to al-Zubaydī's teacher Muḥammad b. Yaḥyà al-Rabāḥī (d. 358/968). The two sources yield sufficient data to construct a sample of one hundred and fifty-one individuals said to be grammarians or interested in grammar and lexicography who lived during the period circumscribed by the Islamic invasions and the zenith of the Umayyad Caliphate. The sources mention a further thirty-nine individuals whose date of birth/and or death are not given either independently of or relative to contemporary political events. I have omitted twenty-nine from the final sample but have included ten by supplementing the data of the sources with extensive biographical research carried out by Marín [49]; it should be noted, however, that the quality of the sample has been compromised which qualifies the conclusions reached in this study

[45] Pons Poigues, F., *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico sobre los historiadores y geógrafos arábigo-españoles* (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de San Francisco de Sales, 1898), 105-108.

[46] Ávila, M. L. and Marín, M., «Le *Taʾrīḫ ʿUlamāʾ al-Andalus* d'Ibn al-Faraḍī: étude et informatisation», *Cahiers d'Onomastique Arabe* 1985-87, (París: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1989), 41-42.

[47] Al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt al-naḥwiyyīn wa-l-lugawiyyīn,* ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo: Muḥammad Sāmī Amīn al-Khanji, 1954), henceforth know as AZ for the sake of convenience.

[48] IF no. 1355, pp. 786-789; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 90-93.

[49] Marín, M., «Nómina de sabios de al-Andalus (93-350/711-961)», *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus* I, ed. M. Marín (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1988), 23-182. The twenty-nine scholars omitted are (note that in cases where I am unsure of the proper vocalization of names, I have omitted the short vowels): Ibrāhīm b. Wahb (IF no. 44, p. 52); Bakr b. Khaṭib al-Murādī l-Makfūf al-Naḥwī (IF no. 290, p. 174; AZ, p. 297); Sulaymān b. Yūsuf al-Qaysī (IF no. 562, p. 329); Ṣāʿid al-Muqriʾ (IF no. 612, p. 356); Ḍiyāʾ b. Abī l-Ḍawʾ (IF no. 616, p. 357; AZ, p. 317); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān al-Khawlānī (IF no. 792, p. 447); ʿUthmān b. Shann (IF no. 893, p. 515); Abū l-Fatḥ Saʿdà (AZ, p. 308); Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm (AZ, p. 313); Muḥammad b. Aṣbag b. Nāṣiḥ al-Murādī l-Mujaddir (Az, p. 313); Abū l-ʿAbbās Bajwam (AZ, p. 314); Ibn Waqqāṣ al-Quraŝī (AZ, p. 315); Mudhaj al-Muʾaddib (AZ, p. 315); Muḥammad b. Ganim al-Uḍaynī (AZ, p. 315); ʿAbd

(the blame for this lack of detail is usually to be laid at the door of al-Zubaydī whose standards of scholarship fall short of those set by Ibn al-Faraḍī).

Towards the end of the first century of Islamic administration, and the beginning of the second, we see the first signs of an attempt to establish Arabo-Islamic cultural supremacy, and to foster a knowledge of the literary *koinē* of the Islamic world. Only two scholars are mentioned who are reputed to have known the literary dialect well: the Cordoban al-Gāzī b. Qays (d. 199/814), who was a student of Mālik b. Anas and also met al-Aṣmaʿī and other linguists (IF no. 1013, p. 578; AZ, pp. 276-278); and Jūdī b. ʿUthmān (d. 198/813) from Morón, but who later settled in Córdoba. He met al-Kisāʾī, al-Farrāʾ and others, was said to have introduced a work by al-Kisāʾī to al-Andalus (*wa-huwa awwalu man adkhala kitāba l-Kisāʾī*), and to have written a work on grammar (AZ, pp. 278-279).

Towards the end of the second century AH and throughout the third, a knowledge of written Arabic spread further through the population. Thirty-one scholars are mentioned by Ibn al-Faraḍī and al-Zubaydī who achieved fame for their knowledge of the written standard and who died in the third century AH. Although the majority (seventeen) are from Córdoba, there is evidence of a wider geographical spread of expertise, with scholars from Saragossa, Jaén, Carmona, Niebla, Elvira, Ecija, Tākurunna, Morón and Algeciras. There are several figures of importance. The polymath and author of a universal history (*Kitāb al-tārīkh*), ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb (d. 238/853), was also considered a grammarian by his contemporaries (IF no. 814, p. 459; AZ, pp. 282-283) [50]. ʿUthmān b. al-Muthannà (d. 273/886) from Córdoba travelled to the East, met various scholars of grammar and studied under Abū Tammām whose *dīwān* he brought to al-Andalus (IF no. 889, p.

Allāh b. Muʾmin b. ʿUdāfir al-Tujībī l-Marwakī (AZ, p. 316); ʿĪsā b. Abī Jurthūmat al-Khawlānī (AZ, p. 316); Bahlūl al-Jaʿthamī (AZ, p. 317); Ṭāhir (AZ, p. 317); ʿAbd al-Ṣamad (AZ, p. 317); ʿUthmān b. ʿAmr al-Mawrūrī (AZ, p. 318); Yūsuf b. Sulaymān al-Kātib (AZ, p. 322); Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Mklfkhī (AZ, p. 329); Aḥmad b. Maḍaʾ Ibn al-Ḥiṣār (AZ, p. 331); Idrīs b. Mytm (AZ, p. 332); Faraj b. Fzlmān (AZ, p. 334); ʿUthmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Brshqīrī (AZ, p. 334); Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad (AZ, p. 334); ʿĀfī b. Saʿīd al-Makfūf (AZ, p. 334); Muḥammad b. Fatḥ (IF no. 1296, p. 738).

  [50] See also Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 29-38; Aguadé, J. in Ibn Ḥabīb, ʿAbd al-Malik, *Kitāb al-taʾrīj*, ed. Jorge Aguadé (Madrid: 1991), 15-56.

513; AZ, p. 288) [51]. The Cordoban traditionist Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Sallām al-Khushanī (d. 286/899) travelled to the East where he met grammarians of the school of al-Aṣmaʿī, and introduced works of grammar to al-Andalus (IF no. 1132, p. 648; AZ, p. 290) [52]. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mūsà from Ecija travelled to the East and studied under Mālik b. Anas and al-Aṣmaʿī (IF no. 776, p. 439; AZ, pp. 275-276). ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Sallām (d. 209/824), was a famed teacher of grammar and author of a work on grammar (IF no. 856, p. 494; AZ, p. 279). ʿAbbās b. Firnās (d. 274/887), a polymath and inventor who pioneered the production of rock crystal and made a half-successful attempt at flight [53], was also famed for his knowledge of the literary standard (AZ, pp. 291-292) [54]. ʿAbbās b. Nāṣiḥ al-Thaqafī of Algeciras, famed for his panegyrics of al-Ḥakam b. Hishām (180/796-206/822), travelled to the East with his father and met Abū Nuwās and al-Aṣmaʿī (IF no. 879, pp. 504-505; AZ, p. 284). Other authors of works on grammar include Mufarrij b. Mālik al-Naḥwī from Córdoba (IF no. 1446, p. 843; AZ, p. 297), and Yaḥyà b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 263/876) of Saragossa (IF no. 1559, p. 902).

In this as in other periods of Andalusian history, state intervention in education was non-existent [55]. For this reason, mosques assumed importance as centres of education; they did duty as public libraries and were the only exposure to learning and the literary standard for those who wished to better themselves but did not have the means to provide for private tuition. Scholars and clerics would establish a circle (*ḥalqa*) and give lectures on matters religious, linguistic and literary. For the common believer, mosques brought familiarity with the received pronunciation used in common prayer and liturgy. In the major provincial centres great mosques were founded throughout the ninth century: Seville (214/829); Jaén (218/833); and Lérida (289/901).

Sponsorship of the literary standard reached its fruition in the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (300/912-350/961), which saw the political unification and apogee of the Andalusan state. The indigenous popula-

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[51] See also Ibn Saʿīd al-Magribī, *Al-mugrib fī ḥulà l-magrib,* ed. Shawqī Ḍayf (Cairo: Dār al-maʿārif, 1953) 1, 112.

[52] See also Pons Boigues, *Ensayo,* 48.

[53] Ibn Saʿīd, *Al-mugrib* 1, 333; Vernet, Juan, *La cultura hispanoárabe en Oriente y Occidente* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1978), 28.

[54] Date of death given in Ibn Saʿīd, *Al-mugrib* 1, 333.

[55] Ribera y Tarragó, J., *La enseñanza entre los musulmanes españoles* (Córdoba: Publicaciones de la Real Academia de Córdoba, 1925), 15-25.

tion began to participate in Arabic and Islamic culture in large numbers; they assumed administrative posts and conversion became commonplace. Accordingly, the figures given by Ibn al-Faraḍī and al-Zubaydī increase dramatically. There are one hundred and twenty-eight scholars in total reputed to know written Arabic well who died in the fourth century AH. Again, nearly half are from Córdoba (fifty-eight), but the geographical distribution is much greater with representatives from Beja, Seville, Sidonia, Elvira, Ecija, Jaén, Saragossa, Faḥṣ al-Ballūṭ, Carmona, Algeciras, Osuna, Tortosa, Badajoz, Morón, Calatayud, Toledo, Pechina, Guadalajara and Malaga. This period witnessed one of the most important events in the history of grammatical studies in al-Andalus: the arrival of Abū ‘Alī Ismā‘īl b. al-Qāsim al-Qālī (288/900-356/966) from Baghdad in 330/941 to dictate his *al-Amālī* (IF no. 221, p. 138) [56]. He exerted considerable influence because of his teaching activities. Those who studied under him include al-Zubaydī himself (IF no. 1355, p. 768), Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Tanasī (d. 387/997) of Córdoba (IF no. 47, p. 53), ‘Abd Allāh b. Aṣbag (d. 373/983) of Córdoba (IF no. 726, p. 407), ‘Abd Allāh b. Shu‘ayb b. Abī Shu‘ayb (d. 389/998) of Osuna (IF no. 753, p. 421), Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu‘āwiya b. al-Mundir (d. 373/983) of Córdoba (IF no. 1340, p. 761), Muḥammad b. Aflaḥ (d. 385/995) of Pechina (IF no. 1369, p. 781), and Hishām b. Ḥubaysh of Toledo (IF no. 1540, p. 891). Another outstanding figure is Ibn al-Qūṭiyya (d. 367/977), remembered to posterity principally for his historical writings, but who was also famous to contemporaries as a grammarian and author of such works as *Kitāb taṣārīf al-afʿāl* and *Kitāb al-maqṣūr wa-l-mamdūd* (IF no. 1316, p. 747). Makkī has documented the spectacular rise in the importation of eastern grammatical and lexicographical works in this period, which further stimulated the cultivation of home-grown scholarship [57]. It is unsurprising, therefore, to note that many scholars from the sample are reported to have made trips to learn directly from scholars in the heartlands of Islam. A number of Andalu-

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[56] See Rashīd, B. Y., «Abū ‘Alī al-Qālī: Vida y obra. Estudio de sus transmisiones lingüístico-literarias», *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* XXXI (1982), 17-45; XXXII (1983-1984), 37-54; XXXIV-XXXV (1985-1986), 271-286; XXXVII (1988), 211-225.

[57] Makkī, M. ‘A., *Ensayo sobre las aportaciones orientales en la España musulmana* (Madrid: Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos, 1968), 256-268.

sians studied under the Egyptian Abū Jaʻfar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʻīl al-Naḥḥās (d. 338/950), for example: Khaṭṭāb b. Maslama (d. 372/982) of Carmona (IF no. 402, pp. 243-244); ʻAbd al-Salām b. al-Samḥ of Morón (IF no. 855, p. 492); Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Mundir (d. 367/977) of Córdoba (IF no. 1317, p. 749); Ḥusayn b. Fath of Seville (IF no. 352, p. 207); and Muḥammad b. Mufarrij b. ʻAbd Allāh (d. 371/981) of Córdoba, who is reported to be the first individual to bring to al-Andalus the *Kitāb iʻrāb al-Qurʼān, Kitāb maʻānī l-Qurʼān* and *Kitāb al-nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh* of al-Naḥḥās (IF no. 1329, p. 756). Two further students of Abū Jaʻfar al-Naḥḥās also studied under the Egyptian scholar Ibn Wallād (d. 332/943): Muḥammad b. Yaḥyà b. ʻAbd al-Salām al-Rabāḥī (d. 358/968), who imported a copy of Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* into the Peninsula (IF no. 1290, p. 736; AZ, p. 336); and Mundir b. Saʻīd (d. 355/965) of Córdoba (IF no. 1452, p. 845; AZ, pp. 319-320). One Mūsa b. Aṣbag al-Murādī of Córdoba also studied under the Basran scholar Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933) (IF no. 1462, p. 853). Lastly, Qāsim b. Thābit b. Ḥazm (d. 302/914) of Saragossa travelled to the East with his father and brought to the Peninsula a copy of the *Kitāb al-ʻayn* (IF no. 1060, pp. 605-606; AZ, p. 309).

In sum, the knowledge of written Arabic was limited to a small élite towards the end of the first century of Islamic administration. It was not to become widespread until the end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth centuries when it was possible for it to exert a levelling influence on the spoken languages and the orthography of borrowings from Romance. For long periods, therefore, it remains impossible to predict the phonological values of *ṭāʼ* and *qāf* when used to write down vernacular Romance. In later periods, it is possible that the prestige of the written language, on the evidence of the *laḥn al-ʻāmma* literature, favoured voiceless pronunciations that were inevitably used in upper registers of the spoken language. It is doubtful, however, whether the lower registers of the spoken language can be ignored, which brings me to my third point.

Was the written language the dominating influence when the Arabic alphabet was used to write down vernacular Romance? The dichotomy established between H(igh) and L(ow) varieties of Arabic by Ferguson [58] has been questioned by Kaye [59]. A linguist who has spent any

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[58] Ferguson, Ch. A., «Diglossia», *Word* 15 (1959), 325-340.
[59] Kaye, Alan S., «Remarks on Diglossia in Arabic: Well-defined vs. Ill-defined», *Linguistics* 18 (1972), 32-48.

length of time in an Arabic-speaking country cannot have failed to noti-
ce the myriad gradations that exist along the social and stylistic axes of
Arabic, which depend on the education, background and sex of the
speaker, as well as the topic of conversation and the interlocuter. Any
decision as to where H begins and L ends will inevitably seem arbitrary;
this would suggest a continuum rather than a discrete H/L distinc-
tion [60]. For example, in Egypt *thā'* may be realized as /θ/, /s/ or /t/.
Therefore, we must take into acount the values of *ṭā'* and *qāf* in lower
registers of Arabic.

An urban spoken standard seems to have emerged in the tenth cen-
tury, the result of the merger of the native dialecte of the early settlers,
the influence of the Romance substrate, and the levelling influence of
the written superstrate [61]. In this and subsequent periods, *ṭā'* had two
possible realizations: voiceless and voiced. The former was the prestige
norm and the latter suppressed as substandard [62]. The real reason for
this may be particular to the language attitudes of al-Andalus (and, the-
refore, beyond our discovery), but one obvious possibility is that the re-
alization of *ṭā'* in written Arabic was voiceless. In the ninth and tenth
centuries, *qāf* was consistently unvoiced and merged in many areas with
/-k-/, but a voiced pronunciation remained which was substandard and
possibly rural [63]. Since before this period spoken Arabic was characte-
rized by a dialectal divergence that has already been commented on, at
no time from the invasion to the establishment of the caliphate can *qāf*
and *ṭā'* in spoken Arabic be identified with fixed phonological values.

Throughout the entire period under review, the phonological values
of *ṭā'* and *qāf* when used to transcribe reflexes of Latin /-t-/ and /-k-/
cannot be predicted, for different reasons over different periods of ti-
me: from the invasion to the eighth/ninth centuries because of the exis-
tence of imported dialectal divergence, and the negligible to uneven re-
gulating influence of a literary superstrate; and from the eighth/ninth
centuries onwards because, despite the existence of a widely-known li-

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[60] Cf. Blanc, H., «Style Variations in Spoken Arabic: A Sample of Interdialectal
Educated Conversation», *Contributions to Arabic Linguistics,* ed. Charles A. Ferguson
(Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard Middle Eastern Monograph Series, 1960), 81-
156; El-Hassan, S. A., «Educated Spoken Arabic in Egypt and the Levant: A Critical Re-
view of Diglossia and Related Concepts», *Archivum Linguisticum* 8, no. 1 (1977), 112-
132.
[61] Corriente, *A Grammatical Sketch,* 7.
[62] Corriente, *A Grammatical Sketch,* 39-40.
[63] Corriente, *A Grammatical Sketch,* 53-54.

terary superstrate, voiced and voiceless realizations of these sounds coexisted in the spoken language, and the social and stylistic variables that determined the use of one rather than the other are possibly beyond our investigation. Corriente may be right that the voiced realizations characterized those communities who prided themselves on their Romance heritage or were stigmatized because of it [64]. But the assertion, on the one hand by an Arabist, that *ṭā'* was voiced because it was a graph for Romance /d/ continuing Latin /-t-/ [65], coupled with the assertion, on the other hand by a Romance scholar, that Latin /-t-/ voiced because *ṭā'* was voiced in Arabic [66], produces a circular argument.

The problem is compounded by the commonly-held assumption that the Mozarabic dialects are a single linguistic variety. Given the linguistic diversity that existed in the area north of the Andalusian border, which for most of the period under review existed within narrower geographical confines, we are probably dealing with several typologically distinguishable linguistic varieties at least as diverse as those to the north (the adoption of a working hypothesis of diversity has been the great contribution to this field of study by Galmés de Fuentes). If this is the case, and given the evidence of voicing of /-t-/ and /-k-/ in non-liturgical Latin texts written in al-Andalus in the ninth and tenth centuries [67], it is very likely that one or more of the Mozarabic dialects were characterized by voicing of /-t-/ and /-k-/. The task facing those who wish to identify successfully such examples of lenition is to adopt a structuralist approach similar to that used by Hilty [68], and match reflexes of /-t-/ and /-k-/ transcribed by *ṭā'* and *qāf* with examples of frication or deletion of /-d-/ and/or degemination of /-t:-/ from the same time and place. Because their phonological values cannot be predicted, the use of the graphs *ṭā'* and *qāf* is not sufficient evidence of such lenition [69].

[64]   Corriente, *A Grammatical Sketch*, 40.

[65]   Corriente, *A Grammatical Sketch*, 40.

[66]   Galmés de Fuentes, *Dialectología mozárabe,* 61-62 *et passim.*

[67]   For example, *didissimas* < DITISSIMAS, *repedat* < REPETAT, Hludouicus < Germanic *Hlutowigch, instripidu* < INSTRIPITU, *eglesia* < ECCLESIA, *Gregi* < GRECI, *diguntur* < DICUNTUR in Vespertino Rodríguez, A., «La sonorización de las consonantes sordas intervocálicas en el latín de los mozárabes», *Homenaje a Alvaro Galmés de Fuentes* (Madrid: Gredos, 1985) 1, 348-349.

[68]   Hilty, «Das Schicksal».

[69]   I wish to record my gratitude to my colleague Professor Roger Walker, and Dr Richard Hitchcock and Dr Lynn Williams of the University of Exeter, who generously gave their time and expertise to comment on earlier drafts of this paper.

RESUMEN

El propósito de este estudio no es defender ni negar la sonorización de las /-t-/ y /-k-/ latinas en los dialectos mozárabes, sino proponer que, siendo difícil fijar el valor fonológico de las grafías *ṭā'* y *qāf* en los varios registros del árabe andalusí, su uso no prueba la sonorización de dichas consonantes ni su conservación como sordas.

ABSTRACT

The main argument of this paper is not to show that the Mozarabic dialects were characterized either by voicing of Latin /-t-/ and /-k-/, or by the retention of a voiceless pronunciation, but to demonstrate that, because their phonological values in the various registers of Andalusian Arabic cannot be fixed, the use of *ṭā'* and *qāf* cannot be adduced as proof for either possibility.