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THE LANGUAGES OF THE INVADERS OF 711

INVASION AND LANGUAGE CONTACT IN EIGHTH-CENTURY NORTHWESTERN IBERIA*

Summary: A number of disparate onomastic phenomena occurring in northwestern Iberia have long puzzled scholars: the abundance of Arabic personal names in early medieval Christian communities, often fossilised as place-names; the extraordinarily profuse Romance toponym *Quintana*; and a surprisingly high number of hypothetical Amazigh (i.e. Berber) demonyms. In this paper we argue that these seemingly disparate onomastic phenomena can all be explained if it is accepted that following the Islamic invasion of Iberia in 711, the Amazigh settlers of the Northwest were at least partially latinophone. The internal history of the Maghreb suggests this would have been the case at least in the sense of Latin as a lingua franca, a situation which the speed and superficiality of the Islamic conquest of said region would have been unlikely to have altered significantly. In this context, all of the puzzling onomastic elements encountered in the Northwest fall into place as the result of the conquest and settlement of a Romance-speaking region by Romance-speaking incomers bearing Arabic personal names but retaining their indigenous tribal affiliations and logically choosing to interact with the autochthonous population in the language they all shared.

Key words: Islamic conquest, Iberia, Berber, Amazigh, North African Romance, Onomastics

The social and linguistic consequences of invasion and conquest have been much discussed in the context of early medieval Britain. Many variables determine the linguistic legacy of such events: the size and nature of the invading force, the dynamics of conquest, the possibility of successive phases of colonisation, and the degree of mutual intelligibility between the language of the immigrants and that of the host population. Nonetheless, despite the debate that necessarily results from such com-

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plexity,¹ careful interpretation of the linguistic evidence can help us to understand these processes. For example, focussing on the Viking/Anglo-Saxon interface, names of Norse influence are restricted to certain areas, and within these settlers of different origins (Norwegian or Danish) can be distinguished, hybrid forms suggest occupation of existing settlements perhaps by a military caste, while more important centres retain their names though often they are phonetically modified, and settlements with exclusively immigrant names are generally restricted to marginal areas suggesting a second wave of farmer colonists.

The objective of this paper is to attempt to apply this methodology to the study of the early eighth-century Islamic invasion of the Iberian Peninsula.² This is particularly desirable given that this is a scenario in which the invasion and colonisation processes have until recently proved archaeologically almost invisible,³ and tremendously opaque in the retrospective, politicised and frequently contradictory written sources. More specifically, I intend to focus on northwestern Iberia, a region that was under effective Muslim control for a period of at most forty years, and which consequently has all too frequently been marginalised in Andalusí historiography. This is a pity since it is precisely that subsequent exclusion from al-Andalus, and thus from the waves of Arabisation that the rest of the Peninsula was exposed to starting with an influx of Syrians after 741, that makes northwestern Iberia a privileged scenario for studying the very first generation of Islamic presence in the Peninsula.

Northwestern Iberia presents a singularly problematical linguistic profile, with a number of disparate phenomena that have long puzzled scholars. For, in contrast to a paucity of topographically descriptive Arabic place-names,⁴ seemingly compatible with such a brief period of direct Islamic control, we encounter a series of phenomena that suggest a surprisingly profound Islamic semantic influence on Romance toponyms. Roger Wright talked about a series of what seem to be North African Latin influences on Iberian Romance at the Lyon *LVL*T Conference back in 2009,

¹ “The evidence of place-names is plentiful, but its application to historical questions that it can plausibly hope to illuminate has proved challenging. It seems clear that the place-name distribution map is not a straightforward index of Scandinavian settlement”; HADLEY, D.: *The Vikings in England*. Manchester 2006, 103.

² “It is not unreasonable that migrants in various early medieval societies might behave in similar ways in tackling the problems implicit in relocation and in establishing and maintaining their position amidst native society, or that the indigenous inhabitants of different conquered or colonized cultures might employ similar tactics to each other in constructing a *modus vivendi* with the strangers in their midst”; TRAFFORD, S.: Ethnicity, Migration Theory, and the Historiography of the Scandinavian Settlement of England. In HADLEY, D. – RICHARDS, J. (eds): *Cultures in Contact*. Turnhout 2000, 17–39, here 22.

³ Among recent advances we can cite the identification of eighth-century Islamic cemeteries, coins and seals as detailed in, respectively, DE MIGUEL-IBÁÑEZ, M. P.: *Mortui viventes docent. La maqbara de Pamplona*. In *De Mahoma a Carlomagno: los primeros tiempos (siglos VII–IX). XXXIX Semana de Estudios Medievales, Estella, 17-20 de julio de 2012*. Estella 2013, 351–376; MARTÍN ESCUDERO, F.: *Monedas que van, monedas que vienen... circulación monetaria en época de cambios*. In *De Mahoma a Carlomagno 311–350*; and SÉNAC, P. – IBRAHIM, T.: *Los precintos de la conquista omeya y la formación de al-Andalus (711–756)*. Granada 2017.

⁴ OLIVER, J.: *En torno a los orígenes de Castilla. Su toponimia en relación con los árabes y los beréberes*. Madrid 1974.

and my paper, concentrating on four different onomastic phenomena (both personal & place-names), complements Wright's observations.⁵

The first phenomenon to be examined is the abundance of Arabic personal names in a region only ever briefly under direct Islamic control. As soon as the documentary record for northwestern Iberia recommences in the mid-ninth century a profusion of Arabic personal names is observed in use in Christian communities throughout the region.⁶ They have never been satisfactorily explained, the traditional Simonet theory of Christian refugees from al-Andalus⁷ proving entirely inadequate despite its surprising historiographical traction.⁸ There are thousands of such names in the documentation of the late-ninth and early-tenth centuries, perhaps 10–15% of the total amongst Christian peasant communities in tenth-century Castile and León, and they tend to die out by the year 1000. The precise figures depend on the methodology of each study (the sources mined, the dates set, the names regarded as Arabic), but around Burgos I have observed a proportion of 15% amongst the peasantry, while Reglero (with a more restrictive definition of what constitutes an Arabic name) calculates approximately 6%. Further West, in León province, the figures are generally higher: over 10% for Reglero, 15% according to Martínez Sopena.⁹ Two points are worth emphasizing: that these names are particularly common amongst peasants, which complicates the hypothesis of a cultural fashion imported from a more prestigious neighbouring culture; and furthermore, that they abound far from the Andalusí frontier

⁵ WRIGHT, R.: Late and Vulgar Latin in Muslim Spain: The African Connection. In BIVILLE, F. – LHOMMÉ, M.-K. – VALLAT, D. (eds): *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif IX. Actes du IX^e Colloque International sur le Latin vulgaire et tardif*. Lyon 2012, 35–54. By way of example, alongside lexical and syntactical features, Wright cites two phonetic examples. Firstly, what is known as *betacism*, i.e. “the confusion, particularly in word-initial position, of the written letters *b* and *v*”. Isidore of Seville, in the early seventh century, had denounced this confusion as an African vice, rare though not unheard of in Iberia, but by the mid-ninth century it is found in the prose of a conservative author such as Álvaro of Córdoba, as indeed it is in the diplomatics that start being produced from then on in the north. The other example of possible North African phonetic influence on Iberian Romance offered by Wright is the evidence that many Latin words containing a short -u- vowel were pronounced with a long vowel at that time in Iberia. Long before 711 it had been regarded as characteristic of African Latin, at least according to Augustine of Hippo (*De doctrina christiana* IV 10. 24): *Afrae aures de correptione uocalium uel productione non iudicant* “African ears can't tell the difference between short and long vowels”.

⁶ HITCHCOCK, R.: Arabic Proper Names in the Becerro de Celanova. In *Cultures in Contact in Medieval Spain*. London 1990, 111–126. AGUILAR, V. – RODRÍGUEZ, F.: Antroponimia de origen árabe en la documentación leonesa (siglos VIII–XIII). In LUCAS ALVAREZ, M.: *El reino de León en la Alta Edad Media VI*. León 1994, 497–633. REGLERO, C.: Onomástica arabizante y migraciones en el Reino de León (siglos IX–X). In BOURIN M. – MARTÍNEZ P. (eds): *Anthroponymie et migrations dans la chrétienté médiévale*. Madrid 2010, 89–104.

⁷ SIMONET, F. J.: *Historia de los Mozárabes de España*. Madrid 1897–1903.

⁸ PETERSON, D.: The Men of Wavering Faith: On the Origins of Arabic Personal and Place Names in the Duero Basin. *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 3 (2011) 219–246.

⁹ REGLERO (n. 6) 94–96. MARTÍNEZ SOPENA, P.: La antroponimia leonesa. Un estudio del Arquivo de la Catedral de León (876–1200). In *Antroponimia y Sociedad. Sistemas de identificación hispanocristianos del siglo IX al XIII*. Valladolid 1995, 155–180, here 159. PETERSON, D.: Aculturación, inmigración o invasión: sobre los orígenes de la onomástica árabe en el noroeste peninsular. In PRIETO, C. E. (ed.): *Arabes in patria Asturiensium*. Oviedo 2011, 143–156, here 150.

(some 200 km from León to the frontier) which is problematical for the hypothesis of cross-border acculturation.¹⁰

Secondly, we observe that many of these Arabic personal names are fossilised into hybrid place-names, the Castilian village name of *Mahamud* (i.e. *Mohammed*) being the most striking example. These place-names are hybrid in the sense that they combine a Romance element such as *villa* with an Arabic personal name, for example *Villa Mahomat* (Burgos 27, 1075). Generally occupying prime agricultural sites, this type of hybrid place-name has in England (where they are known as *Grimston hybrids*) been associated with the appropriation and renaming of existing communities by conquering forces.

Our third phenomenon is *Quintana*, an extraordinarily profuse toponymic generic that is, nonetheless, almost entirely confined to northwestern Iberia,¹¹ a distribution that makes a straightforward evolution from Latin rather problematical. Moreover, its easternmost limit, coming abruptly to a halt near the village of Sajazarra in the Rioja region, starkly and exactly replicates the limits of the area beyond Andalusí control after 741. This generic place-name has been interpreted as semantically Arabic, a calque meaning a 'fifth', obviously, but modelled on either the Arabic *jums*, the fifth part of post-conquest booty that is retained by the Islamic community,¹² or of the similarly Arabic term *jimasa*, which denotes a share-cropping formula characteristic of the Maghreb.¹³ Recent research into Portuguese examples, demonstrates that its distribution coincides remarkably well with the area described by al-Ghassani as delimited by Coimbra and the unidentified *Sayya* and as having been divided up into fifths, shared out between and settled on by the overwhelmingly North African participants in the 711 conquest, thus reinforcing the *jums* etymology, in other words that the *Quintana* generic records the sharing of the post-conquest lands.

After the conquest by the Muslims, Musa b. Nusayr al-Bakri *al-tabi* *i* divided it up between the conquering troops, in the same way as he shared out captives, livestock and other booty. He then set aside one fifth of the agricultural and grazing lands, and did likewise with the captives and livestock. Of the regions conquered by the sword and expropriated by the Muslims, no land was left unshared amongst them by Musa b. Nusayr, except for Santarem and Coimbra in the West and *Sayya* in the East. All

¹⁰ MARTÍN, I.: Una frontera casi invisible los territorios al norte del Sistema Central en la Alta Edad Media (siglos VIII–XI). *Studia Historica, Historia Medieval* 23 (2005) 89–114. AILLET, C.: Anthroponymie, migrations, frontières: notes sur la «situation mozarabe» dans le nord-ouest ibérique (IX^e–XI^e siècle). *Annales du Midi* 261 (2008) 5–32.

¹¹ PETERSON, D.: *Frontera y lengua en el Alto Ebro (siglos VIII–XI). Las consecuencias e implicaciones de la invasión musulmana*. Logroño 2009, 110.

¹² SERRANO-PIEDecasas, L. M.: El *mal al-hums* como factor de reordenación espacial y social tras la conquista. In MÍNGUEZ, J. M. – DEL SER, G. (eds): *La Península en la Edad Media: treinta años después: estudios dedicados a José-Luis Martín*. Salamanca 2006, 323–346. ZOZAYA, J.: 771–856: Los primeros años del Islam andalusí o una hipótesis de trabajo. *Cuadernos emeritenses* 15 (1998) 83–142.

¹³ OLIVER (n. 4) 47 and LAGARDÈRE, V.: *Campagnes et paysans d'Al-Andalus, VIII–XV^e s.* Paris 1993, 137.

the rest was split up into fifths and shared out in the presence of Musa b. Nusayr and the *tabi'ies* who accompanied him.¹⁴

Similarly significant, though without the geographical context, is this further description of the conquest aftermath by al-Ghassani, and explicitly how the lands divided into fifths were settled upon by the indigenous population who became defined by their relation to such a partition:

Once the conquest of Spain had been concluded, Muza divided the territory of the Peninsula between the troops who had taken part in the conquest, deducting a fifth [*quinto*] of the cultivated lands, left the captives of those lands tied to them, especially the children and the peasants, in order that they should cultivate them and pay a third of their produce to the public treasury. These were the people of the lowlands, and they were referred to as the *Quinteros*, and their children as the children of the *Quinteros*.¹⁵

Fourthly and finally, we should contemplate a disparate selection of otherwise opaque place-names interpreted by Oliver as recording Amazigh demonyms.¹⁶ Note they are often in seemingly Romance forms (i.e. with plurals in -s). The most suggestive example is *Maragatos*, associated as it is with an anthropologically distinctive group,¹⁷ which is also an outlier in genetic studies as having a strikingly high concentration of haplogroup U6, characteristic of North Africa.¹⁸ While potentially the most direct evidence of Amazigh settlement, this set of place-names poses a fundamental methodological problem: are they really demonyms? In their favour we have their opacity and the plural forms, but each place-name requires analysis, impossible in the absence of early documentation; and moreover, while most of them are in northwestern Iberia, here there is less geographical coherence to the group as, for example, Catalán and Basque examples are included. Nonetheless, the rejection of one or more

¹⁴ My translation of Chalmeta's rendering of al-Ghassani, though reinstating *Sayya* for *Ejea* since the latter's identification is far from certain. CHALMETA, P.: *Invasión e islamización*. Madrid 1994, here 204.

¹⁵ My translation of RIBERA, J.: *Historia de la Conquista de España de Abenalcotía el Cordobés*. Madrid 1926, here 172.

¹⁶ Ailanes (Burgos) < Aylana; Benamarias (León) < *Mariya*; Cebrones (León) < *Sabrun*; Maragatos (León) < *Baragatwa*; Mazagatos (Segovia) < *Wasagatta*; Mececes (Valladolid) < *Meyasa*; Mecerreyes (Burgos) < *Meseray*; Mena (Burgos) < *Mena'a*; Orba etc. (Navarra) < *Awraba*; Quejana (Álava) < *Kesana*; Saneja (Girona) < *Sanhaya*, OLIVER (n. 4) 29–42. In this paper the term *Amazigh* is preferred over the more familiar *Berber* for two reasons: because *Berber* is an intrinsically pejorative exonym, meaning 'barbarian'; and because consequently *Berber* at least subliminally suggests linguistic 'barbarity' when the hypothesis the article explores is precisely that Arab medieval authors intentionally exaggerated the 'barbarity' of the North Africans, minimising their prior exposure to Latin language and culture. By continuing to call them *Berbers* we are contributing to the same error, and thus obscuring the potential Latinity of these people.

¹⁷ RIESCO, P.: De nuevo sobre el nombre de los Maragatos: una revisión. *Argutorio* 33 (2015) 59–67.

¹⁸ LARRUGA, J. M. ET AL.: Mitochondrial DNA characterisation of European isolates: The Maragatos from Spain. *European Journal of Human Genetics* 9 (2001) 708–716.

of the proposed etymologies does not fatally undermine the premise that demonyms can and do fossilize as toponyms, as has been noted in other cases of early-medieval conquest and settlement, such as the *-ingas* names in Anglo-Saxon England.¹⁹

Each of these four phenomena has been interpreted as being a legacy of the 711 Islamic conquest, the *Quintana* toponyms, for example, putatively originating in the sharing of the conquest spoils into fifths. But of course, what also characterises north-western Iberia, as we said at the beginning, is the scarcity of Arabic topographical or phytonymical place-names, the types that tend to dominate in a rural area densely settled by speakers of a language, and this paucity of topographical Arabic place-names has to a large extent driven the hypothesis that the cultural and linguistic influence of the eighth-century Islamic hiatus on northwestern Iberia was negligible, given that the region was subject to Islamic control for barely 40 years and the demographic imprint of the invaders would have been relatively light. Scholars who downplay the Islamic linguistic influence, and that is the current orthodoxy, also question why *Quintana* is only preserved in Romance rather than in Arabic forms. These genuine problems allow other hypotheses to prosper, such as that of cross-border acculturation,²⁰ or even Simonet's nineteenth-century Mozarabic migration theory, recently revisited by Reglero.²¹ Although these theories don't seem to me convincing as explanations for what we have observed,²² the critiques they make of the hypothesis that these phenomena are a direct legacy of the eighth-century invasion are nonetheless usefully thought-provoking, obliging us to formulate a series of questions. Is, indeed, 40 years of Islamic dominance long enough to effect significant onomastic change? Why the contrast between Arab personal names, when topographical toponyms are exclusively in Romance? Why so little evidence of the Amazigh (i.e. Berber) language?

I suggest that the explanation for this singular linguistic legacy is to be found in the ethnic and linguistic make-up of the invading force of 711, in so far as we can recreate it from the patchy records available to us. Although often presented as an Arab invasion, it is generally accepted that the ethnic Arab contingent among the invaders constituted but a small minority (dozens or a few hundred, at most, out of maybe ten thousand). What of those thousands of North Africans who accompanied

¹⁹ CAMERON, K.: *English Place Names*. London 1996, 68.

²⁰ MARTÍN (n. 10) and AILLET (n. 10).

²¹ SIMONET (n. 7) and REGLERO (n. 6).

²² As regards the first theory, I believe some cross-border acculturation did take place, and that many prestige Arabic loan words were absorbed into the Romance dialects of the North, particularly in reference to commerce, weights and measures, luxury goods, and most obviously in the use of Arabic *madina* to denominate a series of seemingly twelfth-century urban foundations (Medina de Pomar, Medina de Rioseco and Medina de Campo, all important towns with no evidence of pre-twelfth-century existence, which is highly unusual for such centres), but struggle to see why this dynamic would leave such a hefty imprint on peasant anthroponyms far from the frontier, or explain the extraordinary *Quintana* distribution. Likewise, with regards to Simonet's theory, there is evidence of some migration from al-Andalus to the North, though *Mozarabic*, literally meaning 'Arabicised', is probably not the best term for denoting people actively resisting Arabisation, and who in all the documented cases retained their Christian names.

them and furthermore settled principally in the Northwest? What languages did they speak?

Well, as we know, alongside the different Amazigh dialects, the main language of post-Roman North Africa was a post-Latin vernacular which we will call North African Romance.²³ This would of course have been more prevalent in the more heavily Romanised areas, such as the coast,²⁴ but it also penetrated inland as the main language in Romanised parts of the interior. Moreover, the cultural prestige and geographical spread of the language made it ideal as a *lingua franca* for communication with less Romanised groups.

Such a role was important if we take into account the nature of the post-Roman polities of the Maghreb, which seem to have been confederacies, combining less Romanised tribes from the interior and more Romanised settlers from the coast. Masuna's early sixth-century epigraphic self-identification as *rex gent(ium) Maur(orum) et Romanor(um)*²⁵ states as much, in Latin note, and by the late seventh-century North African Romance would have been the linguistic glue that held such confederacies together. A second example, more pertinent to the invasion period, is of the anthroponymically Romanised Julian of Ceuta: a Goth in Iberian tradition, but presented in Arabic sources as prince of the Ghomara confederacy.²⁶

The role of more Romanised contingents in the invasion has perhaps been downplayed by subsequent Arab historiography, on which we are so dependent but which is frequently hostile to the 'Berbers' as they call them, an intentionally pejorative designation stressing their supposed 'barbarity'. Even so the Arab sources admit the presence of more Romanised groups, the *Rum* they designate them, and even if we accept, for example, the *Fath al-Andalus* version of a mainly *Berber* invasion force incorporating some *Rum*,²⁷ the key is the ethnic mixture of these confederacies, and the likely vehicular language needed to bind the invasion force together: neither Arabic nor Amazigh, but North African Romance, intelligible to all, conquerors and conquered alike.

²³ ADAMS, J.: *The Regional Diversification of Latin, 200 BC – AD 600*. Cambridge 2007; and WRIGHT (n. 5).

²⁴ "On sait que le latin restait la langue dominante de ces populations [la majorité des Africains romanisés des villes et des campagnes], mais un latin populaire, qui évoluait vers une forme 'romane'" – MODERAN, Y.: *Les Maures et l'Afrique romaine*. Rome 2003, 697–98. Also WRIGHT (n. 5), "[it seems likely] that the general language of communication, even among those of partly Berber descent, all along the Western half of the Mediterranean African seaboard from Carthage to the Atlantic was Latin, which we call African Latin".

²⁵ RUSHWORTH, A.: From Arzuges to Rustamids: State Formation and Regional Identity in the Pre-Saharan Zone. In MERRILLS, A. (ed.): *Vandals, Romans & Berbers*. London 2004, 77–98, here 86–88, where he elaborates, below the heading *Dual States: Regnum gentium maurorum et romanorum*, "The citizenry of the former Roman provinces would have provided the fiscal resources of the new state ... the tribes beyond the frontier provided the military manpower."

²⁶ IBN KHALDÛN: *Kitab al-Ibar*. In BARON DE SLANE (transl.): *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale*. Paris 1925, vol. II 135–136.

²⁷ "Trece mil hombres entre árabes y bereberes, al tiempo que ordenaba a Bulyan que fuera con él, con su gente, pues se le había unido un numeroso grupo de voluntarios"; PENELAS, M. (ed.): *Fath al-Andalus*. Madrid 2002, 10.

Moreover, the invasion of Iberia took place almost immediately after the conquest of the western Maghreb, between 698 and 710,²⁸ and thus after a necessarily brief period of Islamic instruction. Most authors agree that any resulting Islamisation would have been only superficial,²⁹ as indeed suggests al-Bukhari's ninth-century slight that "the faith of 'al-Barbarī' does not go beyond his throat".³⁰ Note that in such a context, of superficial islamisation, the first phase is often the adoption of Islamic personal-names.

As a result, we contemplate an ethnically mixed invading force many of whom would likely have been Amazigh-Romance bilinguals, with recently acquired Islamic personal-names, and favouring Romance as a vehicular language, but who still identified with their Amazigh tribal units around which the invading force was structured. If they had any command of Romance at all, and its role as a lingua franca cutting across ethnic divisions in North Africa indicates they would, African settlers in northwestern Iberia would naturally have favoured it in their interactions with the indigenous population, whether by coining hybrid place-names such as *villa-Mahomat*, or using the *Quintana* calque to refer to the post-conquest partition of estates. What we would not expect is evidence of Arabic linguistic influence in the construction of descriptive place-names, and accordingly there is little, since neither conquerors nor conquered spoke Arabic. But nor do we encounter "direct evidence that anybody spoke Berber in the Peninsula after the invasion", a point used until now to deny any demographic and linguistic relevance to the in-comers, but which we can and indeed should turn round to consolidate the Afro-Romance hypothesis.³¹

If then we accept that the North African settlers of the Northwest were at least partially latinophone, suddenly a seemingly heterogeneous range of characteristics becomes a coherent linguistic profile: North African Romance incorporating some Islamic cultural phenomena, but little evidence of the Arabic language itself (nor indeed of Amazigh). Thus, in consonance with the absence of linguistically Arabic place-names, we observe how Islamo-Arabic anthroponymic elements incorporated into place-names in the Northwest appear almost exclusively in linguistically Romance structures (most commonly, *villa* + anthroponym). Similarly *Quintana* is, if our hypothesis holds, a Romance calque of an Arabo-Islamic concept. Even the demonyms identified by Oliver, if not a complete mirage, tend to be in Romance forms (with plurals in -s), rather than the *beni*- forms found in the Levant.

To conclude, the linguistic heterogeneity of the different strands outlined (Arabic personal-names, hybrid place-names, Romance calques, Amazigh folk-names, and North African Latin phonetic influence) has undermined the development of a satisfactory explanation for the linguistic cocktail we observe in northwestern Iberia, and yet it is a heterogeneity which in fact perfectly characterises the probable

²⁸ ROUIHGI, R.: The Berbers of the Arabs. *Studia Islamica, nouvelle édition* 1 (2011) 67–101, here 74.

²⁹ RUSHWORTH (n. 25) 94; MANZANO, E.: Beréberes de al-Andalus: los factores de una evolución histórica. *Al-Qantara* 11 (1990) 397–428, here 399 and 425.

³⁰ As quoted by ROUIHGI (n. 28) 97.

³¹ WRIGHT (n. 5).

linguistic profile and sociolinguistic situation of the invaders of 711: a conquering minority of superficially Islamicised Amazigh-Romance bilinguals interacting with a majority of Romance speaking indigenous population.

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