Fact and Fiction: a re-evaluation of Lingua Franca

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Abstract

The thesis presents a comprehensive analysis of Lingua Franca, the eponymous language spoken across the Mediterranean and in North Africa in the 16th-19th centuries. Through an exploration of the complex ethnographic background and multilingual ecology of the region, it shows that Lingua Franca resulted directly from the specific context of its use, and can be seen as an early instance of 'hyperdiversity', usually assumed to be a 21st century phenomenon.

This thesis demonstrates the extent to which Lingua Franca, despite its origins as a mercantile and master-slave language, became the primary means of communication across a large range of domains – from the domestic to the diplomatic – in the three Barbary Regencies of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli. It highlights how the particular political, social and linguistic conditions in these city-states fostered the spread of Lingua Franca.

The thesis incorporates and analyses new material from three archives that have hereto been largely unexplored in terms of Lingua Franca – catalogues from the National Archives at Kew, the Cremona Archive at Oxford University and the Schuchardt Archive at the University of Graz, Austria. Correspondence and notes in these archives shed new light on Lingua Franca and its incidence in written documents, despite the widely-held view that it was exclusively an oral language.

The thesis identifies the key characteristics of the language, and demonstrates how much of the corpus, dismissed for its fictional character, evidences such features and enhances our understanding of the language, and the historical period in which it thrived. There are several new sources of Lingua Franca introduced, as well as additional data from previously analysed sources to add to the corpus. Additionally, the thesis charts the demise of Lingua Franca, far more gradual than previously suggested, and reveals the many linguistic and lexical legacies it left in the region and beyond.

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Introduction

This thesis examines the original and eponymous Lingua Franca, a language spoken across the Mediterranean, through much of the Levant and in Barbary, the North African region comprising Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli. Lingua Franca straddled multiple domains. It was the language of international diplomacy but also of domestic life, spoken according to Haedo (1612) by man, woman and child. Equally, it was the language of pirates, slaves and merchants and, as such, is the subject of legend and myth. Fact is hard to discern from fiction, not solely in accounts and examples of the language, but also in terms of the numbers and nature of its speakers, and its origins and eventual disappearance. As Hilary Mantel says in her Reith Lecture (2017), however, 'a myth is not a falsehood – it is a truth, cast into symbol and metaphor' (Mantel 2017: Reith Lecture 2, BBC Radio 4.)

One of my intentions, consequently, is to rehabilitate many of the discounted dramatic sources, such as Molière and Goldoni, and re-evaluate them. Indubitably, they do not offer examples of authentic Lingua Franca, and yet it is hard to establish exactly which sources do. Travel writing, memoirs and captivity narratives, all termed factual, exhibit exaggeration and, even, invention. Memoirs of years spent as a slave lend themselves to embellishment. As one former captive writes, his years of hard slavery were not without benefit:

> *desquels je confesserai ingénument avoir tiré autant ou peut-être plus de profit en peu de temps que de mes etudes de plusieurs années*
> 'from which I will candidly confess to have derived as much or perhaps more profit in a short time than from my many years of study' (D'Aranda 1662: 23; my translation).

What the dramatic sources do contribute to a limited corpus is a sense of the widespread and recognized nature of Lingua Franca, and a reinforcement of its lexical character and key grammatical features. They also offer insights into the world they portray and illustrate – particularly valuable to the modern

reader who struggles to imagine the people, their houses and cities – their social interactions, their daily lives. To quote Mantel again:

> 'The past sees and hears differently. It measures differently, counts differently. In the medieval world, a thing doesn't happen in 15 seconds, it happens in what they call 'the space of a Pater Noster', the time it takes to say a prayer' (Mantel 2017: Reith Lecture 2, BBC Radio 4).

The principal loci of Lingua Franca, Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, have been inaccessible due to political security, and the majority of my "fieldwork" and primary source research has consequently been based at the National Archives at Kew. The archives contain thousands of very loosely-catalogued documents from English Consulates in Tripoli and Tunis (see photo Appendix ll). I have read, transliterated and translated more than 300 documents written to the English consuls between the 17th and 19th centuries. I have also researched exhaustively the Schuchardt archive in Graz, available online. Schuchardt, regarded as the father of pidgins and creoles, wrote an article on Lingua Franca in 1909 that has served as a seminal text for scholars for over a century. Both resources have provided me with significant original content relating to Lingua Franca and allowed me to pursue new lines of research. My exploration of Schuchardt's archive has highlighted his partial use of the information he had acquired regarding Lingua Franca, and indeed excerpts thereof in his influential article (1909, trans. 1980). This sheds new light on the endurance of Lingua Franca into the 19th century, discussed in chapters 2 and 10. The use of correspondence from both archives seems appropriate given it was through a network of correspondents that Schuchardt acquired all his data for his analysis of Lingua Franca, and it was, evidently, the primary means of information exchange in the 17th-19th centuries for Europeans in Barbary. The Consuls in Tunis and Tripoli were key players in the politics and society of Barbary, and would have been speakers of Lingua Franca themselves.

The documentary corpus is limited but even within those sources already identified by erudite Lingua Franca scholars such as Cifoletti, Venier, Dakhlia and Minervini, there are excerpts and references they have not discovered, or at least have not mentioned. I have tried particularly to expand the number of English-language sources within the corpus, in part because I feel these have been under-represented to date, but also predominantly because I believe these sources are valuable for their lack of authorial Romance-language bias. By this I mean that the authors of these sources are not overly influenced in their record of Lingua Franca by their native tongue. In theory, thus, their account should be more objective and, as such, provide a different perspective on the language. This, however, adds an important dimension to the profile of Lingua Franca, and perhaps its very existence: to a non-Romance speaker, the linguistic and lexical variation may have been immaterial – different L2 versions of Italian may all have been perceived as Lingua Franca. Thus Lingua Franca may well have existed in the mind of a non-Romance speaker, where an Italian or Spanish, or even Portuguese, speaker saw it as an impoverished, corrupt or simply 'bad' version of their own language. The question of Lingua Franca's very existence was, and remains, subjective.

This thesis is an attempt to demonstrate how Lingua Franca evolved, survived and thrived as a result of the particular historic, political, economic and social conditions of Barbary. Its fortunes depended on the cosmopolitan plurilingualism of the Regencies of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, and, as such, was a language ahead of its time. Its lexical mix and idiolectal fluidity are features more familiar in today's urban metropolises. Therein lies much of its fascination.

Chapter 1 – Background and Methodology

1.1 Definition of the term

Today, a lingua franca is a term describing a language used by two or more linguistic groups as a means of communication, often for economic motives. None of the groups speak the chosen language as their native tongue. Largely as a result of colonialism, the three European languages that most often serve as lingua francas are English, French and Spanish. In addition, languages such as Swahili and Hindi are used as regional lingua francas. However, the original and eponymous Lingua Franca was a trading language, used among and between Europeans and Arabs across the Mediterranean.

1.2 Suggested etymologies

The etymology of the term, lingua franca, is much debated. Kahane and Kahane (1976) offer a comprehensive history and analysis in their article, Lingua Franca: story of a term, outlining the contending theories. Some (including Wartburg 2002) offer a definition of 'free' (Wartburg 2002: 163). As such, lingua franca was a free language which could be spoken (and understood – to some degree) anywhere, and escaped the linguistic regulation to which other languages were subject. This would account, in part, for Lingua Franca's high level of variation, as will be discussed in chapters 5 and 6. Equally the franca meaning free could refer to the duty-free ports in which commerce may have been conducted in a language that was consequently franca/o (Schuchardt 1909, trans. 1980: 74). Other linguists interpret Franca as Franc, meaning French (Hall 1966: 3). He claims that the term derives from the era of the Crusades. The French played a significant role in the religious conflicts of the medieval era, and their language(s), particularly Provençal, was adopted across the Mediterranean in much of the Levant and into North Africa. Hall maintains that much of the commerce across the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages came from South Eastern France, stretching from the port of Marseille as far North as Genoa. Provençal, according to Hall (and much disputed by many others), was a key linguistic constituent in the original Lingua Franca (Hall 1966: 4).

In their etymological study of Lingua Franca, Kahane and Kahane (1976: 25) assert that the name Lingua Franca is rooted in the East and the Byzantine tradition. An alternative derivation for Lingua Franca, espoused by Schuchardt (1909, trans. 1980: 74) among others, is from the Arabic, *lisān al-faranğ*. *Al-faranğī* initially referred to Latin and then to describe a trading language employed largely by Jews across the Mediterranean. It later came to encompass the languages of all Europeans, but particularly Italians (Kahane & Kahane 1976: 26).

The word *phrangika*, from the Greek, was a term used in the Byzantine region to denote the West, Occidentals and their language. The early language of communication between the Byzantine Empire and Rome was Latin, which the former termed Latinum or Francum. The vernacular, which emerged and spread in commerce and diplomacy, from the early thirteenth century, was given the same name (Kahane & Kahane 1976: 27-8). Venice was, for much of the Middle Ages, the commercial and political centre of Western Europe, up until the late eighteenth century (Norwich 1982). Venetian was spoken from Dalmatia (in the South and East) across much of the Mediterranean basin as far as the Levant, and colonial Venetian, spoken in the various outposts of the maritime empire, was most likely a colloquial, basic form of Venetian (Cremona 2001: 289-290). *Phrangika* came to mean Venetian as much as Italian, or indeed, as any Western language (Kahane & Kahane 1976: 31). This is significant because, as will become evident throughout the thesis, the term Lingua Franca did not denote a single language. It came to define various pidgins, in more or less evolved states, over a substantial geographic and diachronic spread, and the diversity this implies extended further still. There was variation and an inherent acknowledgment of idiolectal adaptation in all the Lingua Franca varieties.

1.3 Introduction to the corpus

References to Lingua Franca are widespread in terms of history and geography. The earliest record of Lingua Franca dates from the late twelfth

century on an island, Djerba, off the coast of Tunisia (Kahane & Kahane 1976:33). Three thousand kilometres east of Djerba, an Italian diplomat and traveller, Ambrogio Contarini, recalled meeting a speaker in Tblisi, Georgia. He wrote*, eravamo abbondonati da tutti, salva che da un vecchio che sapeva poco Franco* 'We were abandoned by everybody, other than an old man who spoke a bit of [Lingua] Franca' (Ramusio 1583; 119; my translation). Descriptions of Lingua Franca detailing its lexifiers and, in some cases, its salient features, come mostly from the North African Barbary Regencies and from the Levant. While their writers often identify Italian and Spanish as lexifiers, there are also, if fewer, mentions of Portuguese, French, Provençal, Arabic, Turkish and Greek. This speaks to the hypothesis that there were multiple Lingua Francas, or perhaps more appropriately lingua francas. It also raises the frequent subjectivity of the source's writer and his (or her) consequent interpretation of Lingua Franca. His (or her) native language appears to have a bearing on the makeup of the Lingua Franca recorded. It may influence the lexicon he (or she) hears, as well as the orthography he (or she) employs in his (or her) account. Equally, there is the subjectivity of the researcher to bear in mind. The assumption that a French source, for example, has represented Lingua Franca in a particular manner overlooks the fact that the European residents, particularly of port cities across the Mediterranean, most likely would have been multilingual, with an ability to adapt their lexicon to maximize understanding and communication with their interlocutor.

The most widespread documentation of Lingua Franca comes from the Levant and into North West Africa. Algiers, and to a lesser extent, Tunis and Tripoli, had long been the crucible of Mediterranean piracy, and as the slave trade of Barbary pirates increased – with over a million European slaves held there between the 16th and 19th century (Davis 2004: 23)- so too did the domains and usage of Lingua Franca. The 16th-17th century Spanish Abbott Diego del Haedo described it as follows:

> *La que los Moros e Turcos llaman Franca… siendo todo una mexcla de lenguas cristianas y de vocablos, que son por la mayor parte*

> *Italiano e espanoles y algunos portugueses...Este hablar Franco es tan general que non hay casa do no se use*
> 'that which the Arabs and Turks call Franca…being a mix of Christian languages and words, which are in the majority Italian and Spanish and some Portuguese, this Franca is so widespread that there isn't a house [in Algiers] where it isn't spoken' (Haedo, 1612: 24; my translation).

Guido Cifoletti, one of Italy's experts in Lingua Franca, refined his initial nomenclature of Mediterrean Lingua Franca to Barbary Lingua Franca, asserting that the Barbary language was the most evolved and established of all varieties (Cifoletti 2004: 14).

1.4 A contentious corpus

Despite its alleged profusion in Barbary, and numerous citations, the corpus of Lingua Franca is remarkably limited. Exclusively European documentary sources (from contemporary diplomats, travellers, priests and slaves) provide mostly phrases and individual words. There are a handful of short dialogues. The most fulsome examples come from literature, and, as such, only provide indirect, and less authentic, evidence of the contact vernacular. However, Kahane and Kahane (1976) suggest that the theatre of Goldoni, a Venetian playwright with direct experience of Lingua Franca, offers accurate renditions of the language. Other prominent playwrights and novelists included scenes or excerpts of Lingua Franca in major works. These include Molière, Cervantes and Dryden. It is striking that these writers span several languages and over two centuries. The language of their Lingua Franca is of varying degrees of realism and in all cases has a dramatic purpose as its primary function. Attention has been paid to the linguistic repertoire of audiences and readers, and yet they all, to some degree, exhibit features linguists have cited as the hallmarks of Lingua Franca, particularly the use of the infinitive for all verb forms (an infinitive which mostly lacks the final -e of Italian verbs, more akin to Spanish or French) and a prevalent use of tonic pronouns, *mi* and *ti*.

The disproportionate representation in literature and relative lack of documentary sources have not dissuaded linguists since Schuchardt from the late 19th century onwards from expressing dogmatic, at times unsubstantiated views on Lingua Franca. Texts have often been cited by one linguist as exemplary of Lingua Franca, only to be rejected by another, yet the lack of comprehensive, authoritative dictionaries and grammars, other than the *Dictionnaire* published in 1830, to be discussed in detail in the sources and linguistic analysis chapters, makes it hard to establish which party is correct. Ironically, differences of interpretation may reflect the unfixed character of the language itself. Indeed, several linguists have identified this quixotic character, referring to the language as a *seeschlange* 'sea monster' (Schuchardt 1883: 282) or Nessie (Selbach 2007:29). Cremona, whose study of Lingua Franca was prematurely halted when he died in 2003, entitled his research notes Sherlock and there is undoubtedly an investigative character to this thesis, a lack of neat answers and issues that remain (as yet) unresolved.

1.5 Archive data

I have extended the potential corpus through archive research at the National Archives, Kew and the online Schuchardt archive, based in Graz, Austria. Seidel (2016) has compared the philological enterprise of archive study with language documentation (Seidel 2016: 29). Examination and analysis of correspondence of the English Consuls in Tunis and Tripoli have provided ethnographic, socio-political and linguistic data that, while not definitively offering examples of Lingua Franca, extend further my portrait of the Regencies, the populations and their linguistic repertoires and the linguistic ecology of Barbary. There is significant linguistic variation in the correspondence, often within a single document, reinforcing the portrayal of multilingualism. Furthermore, individual languages appear to be mixed – featuring many discrete lexifying influences. Although no one letter purports to be written in Lingua Franca, assumed to be an exclusively oral language, the variation and fluidity within broadly fixed parameters is in keeping with what is reported in the existent corpus. Further, the inter-relatedness of speech and writing in a pre-standardized era enhances the value of these documents. As

Olson (1996) states, 'writing systems' 'provide the concepts and categories for thinking about the structure of speech rather than the reverse' (Olson 1996: 2).

1.6 The challenge of classifying Lingua Franca

This multi-faceted investigation also addresses the linguistic concepts that describe and categorize Lingua Franca. Referred to by Whinnom (1977) among other scholars as a pidgin, some later analyses (Minervini 1996; Bergareche 1993; Selbach 2008 and Muru 2016) are less conclusive that Lingua Franca conforms to various criteria that define a pidgin. I explore various concepts including some recent anthropological linguistic terminology, and demonstrate how Lingua Franca bears striking similarities to the vernaculars emerging in multinational, multilingual metropolises of today. Pennycook and Otsuji (2015: 16) draw attention to the issue of a language not solely being a question of lexicon and grammar, but almost a way of speaking which resonates with Lingua Franca. This surprising parallel with modernity is perhaps less unexpected than it initially seems. Mallette (2010) conveys how inextricably linked philological research is with our modern-day experience: 'it regularly responds to contemporary exigencies: we write our histories with an eye on the present. More frequently than we care to admit, our work as philologists proceeds by guesswork and hunches – what philologist Leo Spitzer called an "inner click"' (Mallette 2010: 22).

1.7 Methodology

I have taken inspiration from the work of Philip Freeman (2015) in his Searching for Sappho, a record of his, and other historians, archaeologists and literary scholars' attempt to discover more about the life and work of Sappho, the first woman poet of the ancient world. In his introduction, he writes 'the facts about her life are few and often subject to dispute', that there are scattered comments about her in ancient authors' and of her poems that 'only a few remnants have survived the centuries. Many have missing words or lines…often nothing remains except for a single line or even a solitary word' (Freeman 2015: Loc. 103). These latter observations could almost *verbatim*

apply to Lingua Franca with its partial and sparse corpus. Freeman also acknowledges the impossibility of creating an accurate picture of Sappho's life, striving instead with the assistance of 'other sources from the ancient world – literary, artistic, and archaeological – we can create a plausible, if partial picture of what Sappho's life must have been like' (Freeman 2015: Loc. 108). This harnessing of other fields of expertise informs my own study, although evidently there is a difference between reconstructing a person and her work, and reconstructing a language and its speakers. In order to better understand the potential speakers of Lingua Franca I have attempted to document the populations of the Barbary Regencies, Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli. My ethnographic study follows the methodology of William Samarin's (2013) research into the pidgin Kituba, in West Central Africa, and I have attempted to detail population movements, ethnic and linguistic makeups of the Regency States, and explain thereby lexical choices. Like the study of Kituba, research into Lingua Franca entails what could be called retrospective or historical ethnography, since I have no, or very limited, access to data from the period and no possibility of obtaining direct empirical evidence from observation or elicitation. As Samarin states, context or environment, or what has become known as 'external ecology' is key to understanding how contact languages originate and evolve, and justifies his focus on ethnographic data. As part of his argument, Samarin cites Ansaldo's article on the ecology and evolution of contact languages: Ansaldo not only affirms (Ansaldo 2009: 11) that social, political, cultural, and historical patterns may influence language use, but that observations of a sociohistorical nature' are 'the main force' behind contact language formation (Samarin 2013: 164). This warrants an holistic approach to the study of a contact language, and in particular a focus on the speakers of the language. Samarin continues:

> 'whether one adopts - for what one might call theoretical reasons - the view that language changes at the level of a population, as does Ansaldo, or at the level of the individual, as does Mufwene (1997: 330), we are in agreement that people are responsible for language change. That is the reason I provide so much information about ethnic populations and some of the languages they may

> have spoken. Ansaldo and I also agree on the importance of population movements within a specified ecology in the formation of new languages' (Samarin 2013: 164).

This could have been written specifically about Lingua Franca (rather than Kituba and more generally), as will be demonstrated in chapter 3 through my ethnographic data and socio-historical and political study of the Barbary Regencies of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, the principal locus of Lingua Franca. Samarin provides a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the key communities and their linguistic repertoires in Congo, as well as charting population shifts to explore how this might have influenced the evolution and spread of Kituba:

> 'let us reflect on the monumental movement of populations and imagine the great diversity of the kinds of contact that whites and their foreign (exogenous) auxiliaries and workers (not "escorts") had with each other and with the endogenous peoples….Kituba began to emerge when thousands of human beings - men and women; adults, adolescents, and children seven to nine years of age, whites and Africans, who spoke different languages - wanted to communicate with each other in the colonial tsunami of the 1880s and 1890s' (Samarin 2013: 131).

Once again, as will be discussed in chapter 3, there are parallels with Barbary and I have used Samarin's approach as a guiding principle for my analysis thereof: its transient and ever-changing populations, with waves of new arrivals to Barbary, bringing diverse nationalities and linguistic repertoires. The situation required a means of communication fulfilled by Lingua Franca. Additionally, I have considered and applied the tenets of Linguistic Ethnography, as although it is a recent field addressing today's plurilingualism in urban settings, such multilingual cities bear considerable resemblance to the Barbary Regencies. Pérez-Milans (2015) identifies the rejection inherent in linguistic ethnography of monolingualism and standardization, typical of the nineteenth century nation state. Linguistic and cultural practices are no longer examined against the background of abstract standard languages, uniform views of speakers and stable group identities (Pérez-Milans 2015: 6).

Further, linguistic ethnography embraces the variation and fluidity in contemporary language and communication, once again hallmarks of Lingua Franca, and key to a reading of the corpus:

> 'L[inguistic] E[thnography] allows the placing of mobility, instability and uncertainty at the centre of the picture in that bounded notions of language and community are never conceived of as a starting point for data interpretation' (Pérez-Milans 2015: 12).

Rather, close analysis of the texts with language as the 'entry point to the study of the interrelations between culture, language and social differences' (Pérez-Milans 2015: 7) is the approach advocated in linguistic ethnography. Mallette (2017) echoes this in her article analyzing accounts of sailors' voyages across the Mediterranean. Her articulated methodology mirrors my own in the research and analysis of the many contexts – social, political, historical, ethnographic and linguistic - of Lingua Franca. Her focus is on the texts, themselves:

> 'rather than use data-driven methodologies that some scholars use in order to think through complexity, I will use narratives: the bits and pieces that wash up on the Mediterranean shores like driftwood following storms at sea. My aim is not to resolve complexity. Rather, I propose that narrative accounts of complexity can yield a story about the past that may prove as useful as the analytic accounts that eliminate complexity using explication, deductive reasoning and teleological argumentation' (Mallette 2017: 117).

In keeping with this, I am presenting texts in the thesis that contradict and conflict with one another, and exploring the overlap of fact and fiction, and all the complexity and unresolvedness about Lingua Franca that these suggest. Further, I emulate Mallette's holistic and largely qualitative (but also quantitative) approach to Lingua Franca (Mallette 2014). She advocates, as her principal method of research, 'close reading of a relatively small number of narrative details'. This validates my own approach, particularly in my archive

research, despite, as she acknowledges, it being 'rather old-fashioned' (Mallette 2017: 129).

Throughout the thesis, there are references to "Italian". Before unification in 1860, the "Italian" language as such did not exist. What was referred to as Italian from the 16th century was a Tuscan-influenced vernacular. Given that most sources refer to this as Italian, I too have embraced this approach. Finally, I have not fully glossed examples in this thesis. The various grammatical points I attempt to make, and the features I am highlighting as characteristic of Lingua Franca do not merit full glossing. As will be evident from the various linguists I cite, this appears to be standard practice in the analysis of Lingua Franca. The lack of morphology in the language, as will be fully explored in Chapter 5, would seem to validate my decision.

1.8 Chapter outline

I will begin in Chapter 2 by laying out the theoretical framework of vehicular languages, and attempt to situate Lingua Franca within it. Chapter 3 will then offer a history of the region where Lingua Franca took root and an ethnographic analysis of the Barbary Regencies in particular, demonstrating how the multilingual and multinational social hierarchies would have promoted the use of a contact language with elements familiar to many of the different nationalities. In Chapter 4, I explore the established corpus, with particular reference to the overlap of fact and fiction in the sources, then in Chapter 5, I provide a description of the linguistic ecology of the Mediterranean region in which Lingua Franca evolved and flourished. Chapter 6 offers a descriptive grammar of Lingua Franca from an analysis of the features in the corpus. Chapter 7 is concerned with the lexicon of Lingua Franca, both from the *Dictionnaire* and the corpus. In Chapter 8, I examine the correspondence with and concerning the Barbary Regencies held in the archives at Kew. In Chapter 9, I analyse and re-evaluate the (long-held) assumptions made regarding Lingua Franca in light of my ethnographic and corpus investigation, and explore new perspectives for defining, describing and interpreting this elusive language. Chapter 10 explores the legacy of

Lingua Franca, using sources from the Schuchardt archive which are unpublished, and several of which have not been previously analysed. Chapter 11 offers some final conclusions on my research.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

This chapter traces the scholarship on Lingua Franca from the early research in the late 19th century through to today. I also dedicate several sections to a discussion of how to classify Lingua Franca, in terms of its status as a pidgin or otherwise, and demonstrate how modern are its characteristics of fluidity and variation. I identify some of the key arguments that date from initial study of Lingua Franca through to the modern day, and introduce the work of some of the leading scholars of Lingua Franca today.

The research is itself quixotic, laden with contradiction and contention. Although the language was purported to have died away quickly, or to have been relexified or replaced by an overwhelming French influence as part of the occupation of Algiers, and later French dominion over much of North Africa, Lingua Franca seems to have endured at least up until the close of the 19th century. Thus, initial investigations of Lingua Franca represented an attempt to document and describe a living language in daily use, as well as to situate it theoretically in the nascent domains of pidgins and creoles.

Later scholarship is mostly divided – though not exclusively – between the study of Lingua Franca as a pidgin or creole, an empirical focus on its linguistic makeup, and sociolinguistic analyses of Lingua Franca's geographical and temporal range and its uptake and prestige among different strata of society. I explore the analyses of 20th and 21st century linguists, and attempt to place Lingua Franca within the various categories of pidgins, koines and metrolingua francas (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015), highlighting the degree to which it conforms to certain criteria within each of these definitions, but equally its resistance to definitive classification. As will become increasingly evident throughout the thesis, Lingua Franca's idiosyncrasy, a function of its very particular ecology and its consequent fluidity, makes it hard to define and describe.

2.1 Early Scholarship

As with many other pidgins (and creoles), Lingua Franca was only recognised as a linguistic entity worthy of study in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The historian, Michele Amari, published his documentation of the Royal Archive of Florence in 1863, transcribing and translating correspondence, treaties and declarations written in Arabic, Italian and, as he describes Lingua Franca, an ugly Italian jargon (Amari 1863: Preface LXXll). However, Amari does not analyse Lingua Franca. The earliest sustained exploration of Lingua Franca and its lexical and grammatical features comes in 1877, in a contentious exchange published in the literary journal, the *Athenaeum*, in which Louis-Lucien Bonaparte, a relative of the Emperor and a lifelong student of linguistics, engages with the journal's publisher and polymath, Hyde Clarke. The former defends Lingua Franca as a *bona fide* language, with an Italian-derived vocabulary but non-Romance grammar, against the latter's derisory view of the language as 'bastardised Italian' (Whinnom 1997: 7). Schuchardt's essay, published in 1909, expands on Bonaparte's linguistic analysis and corpus, and offers contemporary evidence and the perspectives of Barbary-based linguists on the usage and diffusion of Lingua Franca.

Marcel Cohen and Ettore Rossi, both based in North Africa in the early twentieth century, discuss the enduring influence of Lingua Franca in the Jewish community and beyond (Cohen1912; Rossi 1928). While both are examples of early scholarship, Cohen's focus is sociolinguistic while Rossi offers a largely historical perspective on the legacy of Lingua Franca, and are explored in Chapter 10. There follows a lacuna, with little research into pidgins and creoles generally until after WW2, when Lingua Franca is once more examined in the context of renewed interest in pidgins and creoles, together with a burgeoning of its corpus (Venier 2009: 35). In this section, I focus on the early contributions of Amari, Bonaparte and Schuchardt's introduction to Lingua Franca scholarship.

2.1.1 Michele Amari

Amari was a historian, particularly of Sicily, and the 19th century's foremost expert in Italian-Muslim relations. He compiled, transcribed and translated many documents dating to the 11th-14th centuries in his work *I diplomi del R. archivio fiorentino* 'Documents from the Florentine Royal Archive' (1863). In its preface he refers several times to *lingua franca*, reinforcing the multiple interpretations of the phrase, compounded further in Italian by the sense of 'Frank or Western European' and 'sincere, frank, clear'. Thus, he writes, in the introduction,

> *È da ricordare che nel Xll e Xlll secolo le version delle opera arabiche di filosofia o di medicina, si avidamente ricercate da' cristiani, si fabbricavano un consorzio: un giudeo, e di rado un musulmano, che sapesse l'arabico e tanto e quanto il latino o qualche lingua franca…*
>
> 'It is worth remembering that in the 12th and 13th centuries, the versions of Arabic philosophical and medical works, so highly sought after by Christians, were produced by a consortium: a Jew, and occasionally a Muslim, who knew Arabic and a smattering of Latin, or some *lingua franca…*' (Amari 1863: 12; my translation).

This suggests that a *lingua franca* is a European, most likely Romance language. There is no sense of the Lingua Franca of Barbary. However later references to *lingua franca* in Amari (1863), while not capitalised, would seem to define the Lingua Franca of North Africa and the Levant. Such references, both in the preface and the main text of the archive documents, contain no article or genitive – simply *lingua franca*. Perhaps the most descriptive and seemingly relevant citation comes at the end of his introduction, where Amari details the faults and linguistic inadequacies of translators:

> *Quanti agli altri traduttori conosciuti o anonimi, io no dirò del latinismo assai barbaro nei diplomi del Xll secolo; massime que' provenienti dall'Egitto, sui quali par che siansi affatticati insieme preti copti e mercatanti italiani; gli uni a voltare l'arabico non so in che idioma e gli altri a metterlo in latino*

> *sgrammaticato, e misto d'italianismo e di qualche arabismo. In Tunis, giovò, com'è pare, a rendere un po' migliori le traduzioni, quella cultura della colonia mercantile de' Pisani …*
> 'With regard to the other translators – both named and anonymous – I will not discuss the rather barbarous Latinisms of 12th century diplomatic correspondence, most of which came from Egypt, on which it seems Coptic priests and Italian merchants worked tirelessly, the former to turn the Arabic into some unknown tongue, while the latter rendered them in ungrammatical Latin, a mix of Italian and some Arabic. In Tunis, the colonial merchant culture of the Pisans went some way towards producing better translations…' (Amari 1863: 78; my translation).

Clearly, Tunis hosted a community of Italians whose language was a more standardised Tuscan, the most esteemed Italian dialect and the one that was used in official correspondence. The linguistic mix of Latin, Italian and Arabic attributed to the Italian merchants of Egypt bears rather more resemblance to the lexifiers of Lingua Franca. Amari proceeds to describe another linguistic example from the Florentine archive, which he compares to an exotic exhibit in a museum of natural history. The language is Italian written in Arabic script, which, as Amari suggests, might be known by:

> *un giudeo di Tuniso Spagnolo o quell ch'egli fosse il turcimanno, il quale avea pur appreso da' Pisani molte parole toscane e vi mescolava a volta a volta particelle arabiche o spagnuole*
> 'a Spanish Jew of Tunis or someone who was a dragoman, who had learned many Tuscan words from the Pisans and mixed them with the odd bit of Arabic or Spanish' (Amari 1863: 79; my translation).

He immediately adds, *Pur non può chiamarsi lingua franca* 'But it's certainly not Lingua Franca' (Amari 1863: 79; my translation).

The combination of these statements is highly revelatory. Amari's description of the potential author of this document, while several centuries earlier than my ethnographic analysis of Barbary, resonates with a typical speaker of Lingua Franca. The Jewish community of North Africa, with its earlier links to Southern Spain, constituted a significant multilingual commercial presence in the Regencies of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, and the languages identified by Amari are consistent with the linguistic combination identified in the corpus of Lingua Franca. While he adamantly asserts that the hybrid language is not Lingua Franca, such a statement would seem to suggest that Lingua Franca was a recognised entity as early as the 12th-13th centuries. This impression is reinforced by the reference in a document included in the Florentine archive and translated by Amari, which mentions the *armata almohade che avessero saputo un po' di lingua franca* 'Almohad army which would have spoken a little Lingua Franca' (Amari 1863: 401; my translation). The Almohad army were North African Muslims who had conquered southern Spain in the early 12th century. The *lingua franca* of this document is potentially an unspecified Western European language, as in Amari's introduction, but the lack of an indefinite article implies that a single, identifiable *lingua franca* did exist.

The document in question, written in a very imperfect Italian but originally in Arabic script could not, in Amari's very adamant view, be Lingua Franca, because the practice of writing a Romance language in Arabic characters was confined to the Spanish *al-jamiya* (Amari 1863: Preface LXX). Here follows an excerpt of the document, as it appears in Amari's collection, firstly in the transliterated Arabic script 'Italian', followed by Amari's attempt to render the *brutto gergo* 'ugly garbling' in what he deems to be correct Italian:

Table 2.1 (presented as in Amari 1863: 120)

la.riku akustu luku iutisumu ekrasiusu dilau- tisima ibrizanti bagiaiah iddii nis.a alusuawardia dilasua bin ekrandisimi r.n.nkarasiatu sinbirr iddii idibua kusu eddii wikunsilia ki lafuwistara litira giunta kunbanniah filibu dilabiâta ellrais b.n.dak	*L'abrigo(?) (nostro è) a questo luogo altissimo e grazio dell'altissima e pregiante Buggea, che Iddio ne sia alla sua guardia ; e il suo bene è grandissimo ringraziato (ne sia) sempre Iddio. E di poi questo, Iddio vi consigli, (sappiate) che la vostra lettera (è) giunta (in) compagnia (di) Filippo dell'Alliata e del Rais B.n.dâk*

'Our shelter is in this very high place and high in grace and chosen Bugaya, that God protects; and his goodness is great, thanks be always to God. And then this, God counsels you, (know) that your letter (has) arrived (in the) company (of) Philip of Alliata and Rais B.n.dâk' (Amari 1863: 120; my translation).

While Lingua Franca, according to Amari, and confirmed independently by Baglioni in Baglioni and Tribulato (eds.) (2015: 193), was never rendered in *al-jamiya* anywhere else, there is much in this excerpt that resonates with later examples of Lingua Franca. The limited vowels used in the transliterated Arabic script are

consistent with those found in Lingua Franca, especially the use of *i* where the Italian would more commonly use *e* - *ibrizanti* translated as *pregiante* 'chosen' and *sinbirr* for *sempre* 'always'. (It is worth noting that the voiced plosive *b* - rather than the devoiced *p* - and the raised vowels also resemble the L2 Italian of Arabic speakers (Bernini 1988:82). The first word, *abrigo* 'shelter', comes from Spanish, while the rest of the text is Italian-lexified, demonstrating the often-occurring interference of another lexifier. Again, this resonates with Lingua Franca, where there is regular interference from Romance languages other than Italian. While Amari's analysis refutes the possibility of this variety being Lingua Franca, his study offers examples of non-standard Romance languages already in use in North Africa by the mid-14th century (Amari 1863: Preface LXXll).

Baglioni contributes a chapter to the 2015 work, *Contatti di lingue – Contatti di scritture: Multilinguismo e multigrafismo dal Vicino Oriente Antico alla Cina contemporanea* (Baglioni and Tribulato 2015), to this discovery. He insists on its uniqueness: there are no other Italian-lexified texts rendered in *Al-jamiya*; but he also rejects the dogmatic derision of the Italian that Amari articulates (Baglioni and Tribulato (eds.) 2015: 193), describing it as ungenerous, and suggesting that

> *Le difficoltà e la conseguente frustrazione dell'editore non devono screditare l'operazione dello scrivente, che risulta tutt'altro che improvvisata e incoerente, specie se si tiene conto del fatto che si tratta di una prova isolata e, a quanto se ne sa, mai più ritentata.*
> 'the difficulties and consequent frustration of the editor should not discredit the work of the writer, which is anything but improvised and incoherent, especially when taking into account the fact that this is an isolated attempt and, as far as we know, was never tried again' (Baglioni in Baglioni and Tribulato (eds.) 2015:193; my translation).

Rather, Baglioni champions the virtuosity and plurilingual efforts of the translator, who while he had no oral or written fluency in either language, is able to communicate through his level of competence in each:

> *L'adattamento del sistemadi notazione dell'arabo alle esigenze del volgare pisano ci lascia intravvedere un autore-interprete che padroneggiava il volgare pisano e al tempo stesso la scrittura araba: forse un ambasciatore o un suo collaboratore che, ignorando l'alfabeto latino, sia stato spinto a usare questo singolare sistema di notazione, ma la cui identità rimane ignota*
>
> 'The adaptation of the Arabic notation system to the needs of the Pisan vernacular provides us with a glimpse of an author-interpreter who had mastered both the Pisan vernacular and the Arabic script: perhaps an ambassador or an employee who, ignorant of the Latin alphabet, had been driven to use this unique system of notation, but whose identity remains unknown' (Baglioni in Baglioni and Tribulato (eds.) 2015: 15; my translation)

Indeed, this text sheds light on the centuries-old plurilingualism of North Africa and the overlap of oral and written multilingual repertoires. It is not an example of Lingua Franca, although, as mentioned, it does exhibit features, including lexical interference and an Arabic-influenced vowel space, similar to those of Lingua Franca explored later in the thesis, particularly in Chapters 6 and 7. Amari's references in his preface (1863) to Lingua Franca (and *lingua franca*) imply that there were variations of natural languages in existence from the late Middle Ages, and that by the mid-nineteenth century, linguists were using the term *lingua franca* itself to describe such languages.

2.1.2 Louis-Lucien Bonaparte

Bonaparte was the nephew of Napoleon I. London-based for much of his life, he was fluent in French and Italian. A philologist, predominantly of Romance languages and also of Basque, he argued staunchly and publicly with the respected author of multiple books on language and languages, Hyde Clarke, about the categorisation of Lingua Franca (Lang 2000: 21). Their quarrel was played out in the pages of the literary journal, the *Athenaeum*, in the spring of 1877. It was triggered by the publishing of a prize-winning essay, *On the existence of mixed languages being a full examination of the fundamental axioms of the foreign school of modern philology, more especially applied to the English*, by the academic, J. Cresswell Clough, the previous year (1876). While issuing the caveat that many philologists would vigorously rebut the possibility of the existence of mixed languages (Cresswell Clough 1876: preface), Cresswell Clough highlights what he claims to be examples of such languages, including Lingua Franca. He describes it as 'a mixture of Catalan, Limousin, Sicilian and Arabic, with other roots especially Turkish' which originated in the 'slave establishments of the Moors and Turks' (Cresswell Clough 1876: 11-12). Cresswell Clough offers a plausible if simplistic explanation for the emergence of Lingua Franca as the principal means of communication in Barbary:

> With such a diverse European element it is not strange that Turk or Moor did not learn the speech of his captives, even if he had overcome his religious scruples on that subject; nor was the Christian more willing to learn the language of his oppressors, or if he did acquire it, he prudently kept the knowledge to himself. There was, however, in spite of the religious and prudential scruples, a necessity of communication between the master and the slave (Cresswell Clough 1876: 12).

Cresswell Clough explains the nomenclature of Lingua Franca as the natural consequence of Muslims regarding all Europeans 'until lately' as Franks (Cresswell Clough 1876: 12). He claims that the 'language or jargon' also influenced English slang (Cresswell Clough 1876: 12, 109-110), as detailed in Chapter 10.

In response to this essay, Hyde Clarke wrote a public request for information on Lingua Franca in the *Athenaeum* (Clarke 1877(a): 545), stating that he had asked Cresswell Clough for a 'specimen of the language; but he courteously informs me he has not one at hand, and that he has never seen one', thereby potentially rather invalidating Cresswell Clough's conclusions. Given his skepticism with regard to Lingua Franca, Clarke was initially delighted to have the benefit of Bonaparte's knowledge, library and engagement in his attempt to prove that Lingua Franca was no more than 'bastard Italian'. It is worth noting that Bonaparte's Lingua Franca corpus amounted to a copy of the *Dictionnaire* (1830) and 'a page from the *Journal de l'Algérie*, giving a dialogue between a lady and a hammal 'porter', from the Arabic. Prince Bonaparte knew two French officials who thought they had heard or seen Lingua Franca, and that is much about the same thing' (Clarke 1877(b): 608). Clarke's equation of oral and written Lingua Franca is interesting, as more contemporary scholarship doubts the existence of the latter, regarding it as an oral vernacular. Plausibly, Bonaparte's interpretation of Lingua Franca allowed for the language to be both oral and written.

Bonaparte quickly rejected the assumption of common ground with Hyde Clarke, attributing to Lingua Franca the status of an Italian dialect, because, he argued, 'the almost entire absence of grammatical forms and the introduction of Spanish, and other non-Italian words, secure to the Lingua Franca, according to my opinion, the rank of an independent Italian dialect quite distinct from the Genoese, the Venetian etc.'. Bonaparte described Lingua Franca's relationship to

Italian as being like that of 'the Indo-Portuguese and Negro Dutch to the languages of Portugal and Holland.' (Bonaparte 1877(a): 640). This prefigures Schuchardt's characterisation of Lingua Franca as a pidgin/ creole. Bonaparte based this analysis on the sample of Lingua Franca he offers. The various phrases are taken from the *Dialogues* section of the *Dictionnaire* (1830), to be explored later in the thesis, particularly in Chapter 7. However, rather than the French-influenced orthography found in the *Dictionnaire*, Bonaparte provided what he deems to be Italian orthography for his Lingua Franca material. Table 2.2 below reproduces Bonaparte's reversioning of the first few phrases of the *Dictionnaire*'s *Dialogue No. 2* (Dictionnaire 1830: 97) with his own Italian translation. The *Dictionnaire* provides a French translation of the Lingua Franca. Bonaparte's rendering of Lingua Franca using Italian orthography suggests that he may not regard the *Dictionnaire* (1830) as an authoritative source. He does not cite it as the source for his example. Given Bonaparte's contention that Lingua Franca is an Italian dialect, rather than Italian itself (Bonaparte 1877(a): 640), his choice of Italian orthography reinforces his argument, as it makes stark the differences between the two (*bon* vs, *buon* 'good' *bonu* vs. *bene* 'well', *muciu* vs. *molto* 'much, many, very'). These three examples highlight the lack of diphthongs, the reduction of 'e' sounds in a restricted Arabic-influenced vowel space, and the Spanish lexical interference all found in Lingua Franca.

Table 2.2

Lingua Franca, with Italian orthography	Italian, literal translation	English, my translation
Bon giorno Signor; comme ti star?	*Buon giorno, Signore: come stai?*	'Good day Sir, how are you?
Mi star bonu, e ti?	*Io sto bene, e tu?*	I am well, and you?
Mi star contento mirar per ti	*Io sono contento di vederti*	I am pleased to see you
Grazia	*Grazie*	Thank you
Mi pudir server per ti per qualche cosa?	*Poss'io servirti in qualche cosa?*	Can I help you with anything?
Muciu grazia	*Molte grazie*	Thank you very much.
Ti dar una cadiera al Signor	*Dà una seggiola al Signore*	Give the gentleman a seat
Non bisogna	*Non abbisogna*	There is no need
Mi star bene acousì	*Io sto bene così*	I am fine like this
Comme star il fratello di ti?	*Come sta il tuo fratello?*	How is your brother?
Star muciu bonu	*Sta molto bene*	He is very well'

(Bonaparte 1877(a): 640; my translation).

A fortnight later, concluding the dispute, Bonaparte details again and more specifically what he considers the grammatical rules of Lingua Franca:

1. The nouns have no plural: *amigo* "friend, friends'"
2. The verbs have no conjugation, but only a periphrastic future and a participle ending *ato* or *ito*: *mi, ti, ellu, noi, voi, elli, andar* mean not only "I go, thou goest, he goes, we go, you go and they go" but also "I

> went" &c; *mi, ti* &c., *bisogno andar*, stands for "I shall go, thou wilt go &c."
> 3. *Star* means both "to be" and "to have" when they are used as auxiliary verbs.
> 4. *Avir* or *tenir* means "to have" but only with the meaning of "to possess".
> 5. The direct regimen of the personal pronouns is preceded by the preposition *per*: *mi mirar per ellu* "I see him". (Bonaparte 1877(b): 703).

As will be evidenced in Chapter 6, Bonaparte's encapsulation of the rules of Lingua Franca remains essentially unchallenged by subsequent linguistic research[1]. Later scholars identify further features, but Bonaparte's identification of the key characteristics serves as a framework for Schuchardt's work and far beyond. Bonaparte signs off his final letter to the *Athenaeum* on the subject of Lingua Franca by dismissing as 'specious' the difference Hyde Clarke emphasises between a 'dialect' and a 'parler', the latter being used to refer to a way of speaking rather than a discrete language (Bonaparte 1877(b): 703). Attempts to define and categorise Lingua Franca, even in the early research, arouse debate and contention.

Despite an extended correspondence (over nearly two decades, 1871-1892) between Bonaparte and Schuchardt, as catalogued in the Schuchardt archive, there is only a single reference to Lingua Franca in their letters. In his second letter to Schuchardt, in January 1882, Bonaparte introduces Schuchardt to the *Dictionnaire* (HSA 1882: Letter 02-01202), providing him with details of the book and its publishers. (The original letter in the archive bears the words *Lingua Franca* in Schuchardt's handwriting at the top of its first page.) There are no other discussions or exchanges of information or analysis between the

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[1] It is worth mentioning that these rules – or, perhaps more appropriately, features - could also be applied to L2 Italian with very little alteration.
[2] It is Hall Jr. who first describes Lingua Franca in 1966 as 'the earliest

two regarding Lingua Franca, although they engaged on several other topics, including Italian dialects, Celtic and Basque, and sent each other articles and journals.

2.1.3 Schuchardt

Schuchardt's (1909, trans. 1980) article [The Lingua Franca] has been and continues to be regarded as definitive by many linguists (Cremona 1998; Whinnom 1977; Minervini 1996; Venier 2009, 2016), but was not by the author himself and his peers. In 1883, writing to one of his correspondents, Emilio Teza, Schuchardt articulates his intention to author a significant text on Lingua Franca, but immediately qualifies his ambition, saying *ma ci vorrà tempo, perchè mi mancano ancora i materiali necessari* 'but it will take time, as I am still lacking the necessary materials' (Teza Archive 1883: Letter No. 5 from Schuchardt; my translation). It would appear that Lingua Franca was not considered worthy of academic attention at the time. A letter from the Arabist Octave Houdas in 1891 states *La langue franque ou sabir n'a donné et ne pourrait donner lieu à aucun travail important* 'Lingua Franca or Sabir has not resulted and could not result in any major work' (HSA 1891: Letter 0-4865; my translation). Further evidence of the lack of interest in Lingua Franca comes from the fact that there was one sole brief review of Schuchardt's article in a French philology journal, (Clédat 1911: vol. 25, 145). Schuchardt's awareness of a lukewarm reception is demonstrated by the list of designated recipients of the article, a tradition in Austria at that time. Compared with another article written the same year (1909), *Sprachgeschichtliche Werte* 'Linguistic values', the list compiled by Schuchardt has just over one third of the names (twenty two versus fifty nine) (Melchior and Schwägerl-Melchior 2016: 15). The article received little publicity when published, nor for decades afterwards.

Interestingly, Schuchardt, like the Dutch linguist Olfert Dapper (1668) two centuries earlier, compiled his information by means of

correspondents 'on the ground' in North Africa, and, to a lesser extent, in the Levant. Neither Schuchardt nor Dapper, both of whom were considered authoritative sources on Lingua Franca, and whose texts are regarded as seminal, set foot in the regions where Lingua Franca was spoken. Correspondence received by Schuchardt, and catalogued in his archive in Graz today, demonstrates that he had a network of nearly 20 correspondents, both academic and non-academic, who responded to his requests for information about Lingua Franca, its nomenclature, lexical influences, and examples of the language. None of Schuchardt's own letters asking for such data have been found, but the similarities in response suggest the content he had specified. I mention this not to discount the value of Schuchardt's analysis, but to highlight how emblematic his research is. The early scholars of Lingua Franca, for the most part, had never heard it spoken, nor had they seen what they considered to be a *bona fide* example of it. There is an elusive, puzzle-solving element to most research, and it is hardly surprising that such analogies of *seeschlange* 'sea monster' (Schuchardt 1883: 282) and the Loch Ness Monster (Selbach 2007: 149) have been used to describe Lingua Franca. Cremona handwrote 'Sherlock' in the top right hand corner of many of the notes in his archives to describe the investigative process he had embarked on. This spirit of inquiry permeates almost all research – be it empirical, theoretical or sociolinguistic – into Lingua Franca.

In the preface to the translation of Schuchardt's 1909 study of Lingua Franca, published within his seminal work, *Pidgin and Creole languages*, the translator, Gilbert, refers to the range of materials used by Schuchardt to inform his analysis of the pidgin (Schuchardt 1909, trans. 1980: 67). The last of the materials mentioned is personal correspondence. Schuchardt cites and refers to nine letters, and yet he wrote and received more than thirty that offer details about the spread of Lingua Franca, or features thereof. Schuchardt's selection within the essay would seem to be explained by his explicit statement

at the outset of the article that he conducted his research 20 years earlier, returned to it 10 years on and is only now presenting it Schuchardt (1909, trans. 1980: 66) may have regarded some of the content of his correspondence as irrelevant given the change in the research context: 'since new paths lead me indirectly into contact with my old research, I wish to present here as concisely as possible the material I gathered at that time' (Schuchardt 1909, trans.1980: 66). In her discussion of the essay Venier (2009) reinforces this, describing it as:

> *un saggio tematicamente isolato nell'opera di Schuchardt e tuttavia al crocevia…di buona parte delle sue riflessioni di romanista e ur-creolista…e indubbiamente concentrato sull'attività linguistica di concretissimi parlanti, commercianti delle due sponde del Mediterraneo che hanno bisogno di uno strumento per comunicare e se lo creano.*
> 'an essay that is thematically isolated in Schuchardt's body of work, and yet at the crossroads...a good part of his reflections on Romance languages as an *ur-creolist*...and undoubtedly concentrated on the linguistic activity of the very real speakers, traders from both shores of the Mediterranean, who need a tool to communicate which they create for themselves' (Venier 2009: 43; my translation).

Venier highlights the fact that Schuchardt's essay explores Lingua Franca from two key angles (Venier 2009: 44): both a linguistic theoretical standpoint – as an example of a creole, in his opinion (it is worth noting that he implies this and never uses the term pidgin (or creole) to describe Lingua Franca)[2] – and from a philological perspective. Schuchardt's essay spans the life of Lingua Franca from the earliest examples, such as the 14th century *Contrasto della*

[2] It is Hall Jr. who first describes Lingua Franca in 1966 as 'the earliest pidgin of which we have any direct record' and 'a pidginized variety of Romance speech' (Hall 1966: 3-4).

zerbitana (Grion 1890-92), followed by a close analysis of texts including Haedo (1612), Rehbinder (1798-1800), and the *Dictionnaire* (1830) – a linguistic manual for French forces travelling to Algiers to facilitate contact with the indigenous population –, as well as examples from literary sources. He also makes reference to the successors to Lingua Franca, *sabir* and *Judeo-sabir*, and devotes significant attention to its residual elements – the use of the infinitive (or at least unmarked verb forms), lexical interference from various languages, and the use of the preposition *per* with several different orthographies in conjunction with a direct or indirect object.

Schuchardt offers a brief description of the language, commenting on its lack of grammar, but identifying key features such as the predominant use of the infinitive, the apparent three-tense verb system, and items of particular lexical interest, including words that appear to have merged from two Romance languages, as well as the few that appear to derive from Arabic. He highlights the incidence of vowel change from the original European words that would be consistent with the more limited vowel space: hence, the verb ending -*ir* often replacing the Romance -*er* (Schuchardt 1909, trans. 1980: 83).

It is worth noting that while Schuchardt analyses the lexicon from both Haedo and the *Dictionnaire*, he makes no more than passing reference to the *Dialogues* sections in both. Particularly in the case of the *Dictionnaire,* as will be discussed in Chapter 7, the *Dialogues* offer a rather different impression of Lingua Franca, in terms of lexifying influence, the more limited lexicon and the later increased semantic broadening.

From the sources that Schuchardt does analyse, Venier suggests that he concludes:

> *l'opera di semplificazione linguistica di cui lingue come la franca sono il risultato è d' attribuirsi agli europei, ai dominatori. Tale semplificazione sarebbe cioè quanto emerge da una sorta di autopercezione delle strutture portanti della propria lingua selezionate per facilitare il proprio dire e per riuscire a comunicare.*
> 'the work of linguistic simplification of which languages like Lingua Franca are the result should be attributed to the dominant Europeans. Each simplification is thus what emerges from a kind of self-selection of the principal structures in one's own language in order to simplify' (Venier 2009: 34; my translation).

Venier expands on 'Europeans' to specify that these were Romance speakers, and predominantly Italians, and that the primary purpose of the communication was a commercial imperative, at least initially (Venier 2009: 40).

Immediate reaction to Schuchardt's essay was, as mentioned, limited. However, Tagliavini's encyclopaedia entries in the early 1930s appear to derive entirely from Schuchardt's research. Venier (2009) highlights Tagliavini's assertion that *Di lingue creole che abbiano come elemento preponderante l'italiano, ci sarebbe solo la lingua franca* 'In terms of Creole languages with a predominant Italian influence, there would only be Lingua Franca' (Tagliavini 1931: 834; my translation), and in 1932, he describes Lingua franca as a creolising language lexically almost entirely Romance-based, with a simplified grammar, and suggests that

> *queste semplificazioni sono sorte in genere sulla bocca dell'Europeo che voleva ridurre al minimo le difficoltà della sua lingua, per meglio farsi comprendere*
> 'these simplications come from the mouths of the European who wanted to minimise the difficulty of his

> language, in order to better make himself understood (Tagliavini 1932: 837; my translation).

Finally, Schuchardt also touches upon the sociolinguistic element of Lingua Franca in his comment on the use of *petit* in the full title of the *Dictionnaire* (1830), which refers to Lingua Franca as *petit mauresque*. As he remarks, this would have been more appropriately entitled *petit français* (Schuchardt 1909, trans.1980: 82). He infers the lack of prestige associated with Lingua Franca. It is viewed as linguistically impoverished and as a pale imitation of French, or any other Romance language (Schuchardt 1909, trans.1980: 82, 85). Schuchardt's tripartite approach – theoretical, philological and sociolinguistic – serves as an overarching framework for my own research.

2.1.4 Early scholarship conclusions

Early scholarship on Lingua Franca was multifaceted in its approach. Amari's work highlights the sustained existence of Lingua Franca in North Africa and the Levant. Bonaparte's research and analysis identifies Lingua Franca's key features from a limited corpus. Schuchardt's seminal essay provides a theoretical framework, as well as a philological introduction and sociolinguistic analysis. His extensive correspondence with linguists in Europe and throughout the Levant and North Africa, preserved and catalogued in the Graz archive, offers further information on how he accessed and built a rudimentary corpus that has served linguists for more than a century since. There was, however, a significant absence of interest in, and investigation of, Lingua Franca for several decades after Schuchardt published his article. It was only in the aftermath of World War ll that Lingua Franca was once again under analysis.

2.2 Situating Lingua Franca in theoretical terms

In the post-WW2 period, and particularly from the 1970s onwards, there was a burgeoning interest in languages that did not conform to

standardised and prevalent notions of 'natural' languages. As one of these, Lingua Franca was the subject of renewed interest. This section will deal with the numerous diverse concepts and terms used to describe unstable or emerging linguistic varieties such as pidgins, creoles, koines, or lingua francas, and the processes by which these evolve. It will attempt to situate Lingua Franca among these various categories, while exploring the partial nature of their definitions and the inherent contradictions in different linguists' descriptions of their features, origins and development.

Siegel (1985) identifies the challenges of such definition and description: 'Progress in the study of languages in contact has been hindered by terminology often as unfixed as some of the languages it is used to describe' (Siegel 1985: 357); he goes on to cite Mühlhäusler (1985), who concludes: 'Having read most what was published in this area over the last twenty years…I am left with the feeling that it comprises a conceptual mess aggravated by a terminological mess' (Mühlhaüsler 1985: 53). I will initially endeavour to clarify the 'mess' of pidgins, although I see it less as a 'mess' than simply as a multifaceted discipline where each pidgin – with its potentially diverse numerous lexifiers, speakers for whom it is often a 2nd, 3rd, or 4th language, and its varying geographic and temporal spread – is so distinct that it resists fixed patterns, systems and rules. Generalisations are inevitable, as are exceptions and anomalies to them. I will demonstrate how this is true of Lingua Franca. I will begin by looking at less stable languages than pidgins, including foreigner talk and jargons, and will introduce the key features of both of these and examine whether Lingua Franca fits within their paradigms.

2.2.1 Foreigner talk

Ferguson (1971) describes foreigner talk as the reduced and simplified version of a language that native speakers use to address other speakers for whom the language is not a native one, especially

speakers who do not know the language at all (Ferguson 1971: 143). Lingua Franca might thus be considered no more than an example of foreigner talk, a simplified register employed with and by those with minimal competency in the superstrate lexifier. Ferguson explores the simplification of the 'broken language' of second language learners. He asserts that the foreigner talk of a speech community may act as an incipient pidgin. Holm (2000), by contrast, offers the criteria of evolution and maintenance as differentiating pidgins from foreigner talk, as the latter does not take root (Holm 2000: 5). Thomason (2001) concurs with Ferguson that foreigner talk can be an early stage of pidginisation, but she refers to the mechanism of negotiation inherent in the development process of pidgin as neither deliberate nor conscious. It is worth noting that in terms of Lingua Franca, Schuchardt refers to the fact that Europeans 'deliberately and systematically simplified and distorted their language to facilitate communication with the non-Europeans' (Goodman 1964:124). According to Thomason (2001), negotiation comes into play when speakers change their language to approximate what they assume to be the patterns of their interlocutors' or another language. It is most evident when nobody in the contact situation knows the language of the others. As they attempt to speak to one another they will 'hazard guesses as to what their interlocutors will understand'. Wrong guesses are likely to be ignored but correct guesses will often be retained as the pidgin develops. This process seems to reinforce the theory of simplicity in pidgins (Thomason 2001: 168).

Bizri (2010), in her discussion of a modern-day pidgin that has evolved between Lebanese Arabic-speaking women and their Sri Lankan maids, *Pidgin Madame*, explicitly describes how the pidgin evolves from foreigner talk, on the part of the Arabic-speaking Madame, at the outset of the maid's employment, and imitation by the Sri Lankan domestic. Bizri clarifies her definition of foreigner talk as including the following elements: short phrases, key words, gestures

(use of visual elements and touching to indicate meaning), and speaking loudly (Bizri 2010: 41). The shift to a stable pidgin is driven by the maid, who wants to acquire what she perceives to be near-Arabic as a 'passport' into employment across the Arabic-speaking world (Bizri 2010: 247-8).

Ferguson posits that the primary source of the grammatical structure of a pidgin is the 'systematic simplification of the lexical source language which occurs in the foreigner talk register of its speakers, rather than the grammatical structure of the language(s) of the other users of the pidgin' (Ferguson 1971: 148). This does not exclude some potential influence from other languages. Ferguson's interpretation offers an explanation of otherwise remarkable similarities among distant creoles 'by setting the starting point in a universal simplification process' (Ferguson 1971: 148). Whinnom's detailed analysis of Lingua Franca as a pidgin rather than as foreigner talk also refers to the importance of grammatical structure – this appears to be a distinction between the two terms, Whinnom cites Wood (1935: 225), who claims that 'Italian was used as the lingua franca throughout the Levant'. Italian could, according to Whinnom, well mean Lingua Franca, which was not just Italian spoken poorly by a non-native (Whinnom 1977: 7). To substantiate this view, he cites the dispute between Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte and Hyde Clark, discussed in Section 2.1.2 above. Whinnom draws particular attention to Bonaparte's argument that the distinct grammatical rules of Lingua Franca would not and could not apply if it were a case of foreigners speaking a second language inadequately. His argument was that a key feature of a pidgin is that its basic grammar does not derive from what might be assumed to be the target language (Whinnom 1977: 7)

Lipski (2001) offers a view on Lingua Franca that attests to the lack of linear linguistic development around the Mediterranean around the 16th-17th centuries. He traces the increasing number of Romance-

derived pidgins that emerged through trade throughout Africa and further East back to the 'medieval avatars of Lingua Franca' but also highlights that pidginised forms of Latin already existed and were also in use in Europe; in addition,

> 'reduced varieties of Romance languages were used every time sustained contact with other speech communities occurred. Lingua Franca, like insects accidentally caught in a drop of amber, is simply the first reduced Romance variety to be captured for posterity, and as such is valuable for the insights it provides into Romance speakers' foreigner-talk intuitions' (Lipski 2001: 37).

2.2.2 Nautical Jargon

In the early modern era, the sea was a key conduit of trade, conflict, and cultural and linguistic exchange. The latter is relevant here, and Matthews (1935) suggests that it is plausible linguistically that a nautical jargon formed the basis of numerous pidgins (Matthews 1935: 193). Ships' crews in the 16th to 19th centuries were composed of numerous diverse nationalities and were consequently multilingual. Dursteler (2012) mentions an example of a Mediterranean ship's crew: in 1596, a group of caulkers and carpenters working on a Venetian merchant ship in Istanbul included Slavs, Messinese, Genoese, Neapolitans, French, Romans, Greeks, Germans, Puglians, Corsicans, Portuguese, Spaniards, Venetians, Rhodiots, and six Muslims of unspecified provenance (Dursteler 2012: 59). A common denominator language would have been needed to facilitate communication. As such, a nautical jargon emerged which was then passed on to the African or Asian communities where the sailors landed. This jargon would have served as a pidgin in miniature that each recipient linguistic group would have expanded. According to several linguists, including Matthews (1935), sailors had 'a dialect and manner peculiar to themselves' (Matthews 1935: 193). Reinecke

(1938) also articulated the possibility of nautical jargon being the basis of numerous pidgins. Reinecke, a scholar of Lingua Franca, stressed the contribution of seafarers to the creation of pidgins: 'One of the most favourable situations for the formation of such dialects is found aboard merchant vessels which ply the seven seas and ship large numbers of foreign sailors – and indeed the seaman is a figure of the greatest importance in the creation of the more permanent makeshift tongues' (Reinecke 1938:107). Kahane and Tietze's (1958) work enumerates and details the Italian and Greek nautical terms that permeated Turkish, many through the medium of Lingua Franca, reinforcing the impression that it started out, at least, as the preserve of sailors and those who worked at the ports. Rossetti (2002), charting the demise of Lingua Franca, suggests that by the early 20th century, Lingua Franca had been replaced by standard Italian, taught in the Italian schools of Tripoli. Only the harbour vernacular (where Lingua Franca may have begun its existence) retained remnants of the pidgin. Words such as *bonazzi* from *bonnaccia* 'lull' and *fortuna* from *fortunale* 'storm' continued to be used (Rossetti 2002: 49).

However, Sebba (1997) contests that although the origin of pidgins is often given as 'nautical jargon' or seafarer's pidgin, there is little evidence of pidgins that have an obvious nautical origin. Pidgins would, however, undoubtedly have been spread by seafaring and trading (Sebba 1997: 27). Holm (1989) states that a Portuguese based pidgin, possibly a relexified Lingua Franca, reached West Africa on trade and slave ships. It became the language of the slave trade and evolved into the Portuguese-lexicon creoles spoken today in Guinea-Bissau, Sao Tomé, Angola and Annobón, Equatorial Guinea. It was possibly also the precursor of the English pidgin which is today widely spoken across West Africa (*West African Pidgin English* or WAPE) and which in some parts of Nigeria is now a creole with native speakers of its own (Faraclas 1996). Also in West Africa, the creole language *Krio* is spoken in Sierra Leone by the descendants of freed slaves, for whom

the colony of Freetown was founded by the British (Sebba 1997: 28). Although an attractive theory, since the nautical jargon hypothesis explains similarities in the vocabulary of different pidgins, it does not provide an explanation for the structural similarities running through pidgins and creoles of different lexifier languages – English, Portuguese, French, Dutch, etc. Ferguson's (1971) view discussed above, that pidgins result from universal strategies of simplification in foreigner talk, suggests a way in which these may be explained. Monogenetic theory, to be discussed later in the chapter, also accounts better for these.

2.2.3 Other jargons

Although both foreigner talk and nautical jargon recur as popular theories for the roots of Lingua Franca, there are other suggestions. In the 13th century, interpreters would have been commonplace, and Latin, rather than Lingua Franca, was the language of wider communication, if there were one Whinnom suggests that Lingua Franca is a possible imitation, or the evolution, of the 'reported Jewish trading Latin' as mentioned by Petronius – 'the lingua franca of the Mediterranean under the Empire, a dialect of mixed Latin and Greek' (Mackail 1895: 184). Although no specimens of Jewish trading Latin are in existence, it is thought that once this simple language had spread across the Mediterranean, it replaced less basic and accessible alternatives. Alternatively, Whinnom suggests that Lingua Franca may not have evolved among Western European speakers. He cites the Grion poem (to be discussed further in Chapter 4), a poetic dialogue, known as *The Conflict with the Maid of Jerba*, discovered by Giusto Grion in 1891 in a 14th century Florentine codex, as potential confirmation of this suggestion, drawing attention to the fact that the speaker of Lingua Franca in the poem was a Muslim girl (Whinnom 1977: 17). Lingua Franca may thus have developed as a result of contact between Romance and non-Romance speakers. Whinnom suggests that the language ecology may have been one of

multilingualism, and one where Italian was not the primary language of any of those who first started spoking Lingua Franca (Whinnom 1977: 18).

2.3 Pidgins

As the following section demonstrates, the 'mess' referred to by Mühlhäusler (1985: 53) is not without foundation: linguists vary in their descriptions of the key criteria of pidgins. The above discussion of foreigner talk and jargons also demonstrates the fluidity of definitions. A jargon may be an incipient pidgin. Equally a pidgin at the end of its life may revert to jargon status. All these terms, furthermore, are loaded with connotations of prestige. Pidgin is a term that conveys low prestige. Furthermore, pidgins themselves for the most part are intrinsically considered as having low status, and yet Lingua Franca, as will be shown, does not always conform to this view. Its diachronic spread is partly responsible for its lexical and grammatical variation, but also for its prestige, as its functions and domains altered and evolved.

Here follow several linguists' definitions of pidgins. There is some agreement but also some dissent. This is due to the very nature of the contact language in question. Generalisations are not easily reached. Pidgins vary in location, geographical reach, duration, lexifiers, grammatical structure, even before one takes into account their speakers, all of whom will have different levels of competency in the pidgin and their own idiolectal variations. I am attempting to clarify the criteria for a pidgin, and so I include a number of descriptions. Sebba (1997) emphasises that pidgins have no native speakers. He highlights a degree of formality, stating that pidgins are governed by convention. They have a lexicon and grammatical structures that are accepted by their speakers. It is not a case of 'anything goes'. Finally, they are not mutually intelligible with their source languages (Sebba 1997: 14). Sebba points out that pidgins and creoles can demonstrate

the basic nature of languages, as they offer a simple stripped-back version of 'official', or perhaps natural or standardised, languages. They highlight linguistic essentials – the elements that humans require for effective communication (Sebba 1997: 28). Sebba identifies seven different types of pidgins and creoles, based on the social rather than linguistic basis of a pidgin's origins. Many pidgins fit into more than one of these classifications:

1. Military and police pidgins
2. Seafaring and trade pidgins and creoles
3. Plantation pidgins and creoles
4. Mine and construction pidgins
5. Immigrants' pidgins
6. Tourists' pidgins
7. Urban contact vernaculars (Sebba 1997: 27).

Holm (2000) defines a pidgin as 'a reduced language that results from extended contact between groups of people with no language in common; it evolves when they need some means of verbal communication, perhaps for trade, but no group learns the native language of any other group for social reasons that may include lack of trust or close contact' (Holm 2000: 5). Holm highlights how those with less influence or power (speakers of substrate languages) are more accommodating and adopt the vocabulary of the more powerful language (the superstrate) 'although the meaning, form and use of these words may be influenced by the substrate languages' (Holm 2000: 5). When dealing with other speakers, the superstrate speakers will use some of these different meanings and forms in a bid to be better understood, and they will not speak as they do to their fellow native speakers. 'They cooperate with the other groups to create a make-shift language to serve their needs, simplifying by dropping unnecessary complications such as inflections (e.g., *two knives* becomes *two knife*) and reducing the number of different words they use, but compensating by extending their meanings or using

circumlocutions' (Holm 2000: 5). The resultant pidgin is inevitably restricted to a narrow domain, usually trade, and is no speaker's native tongue. The motivation for a pidgin's development, its purpose and usefulness lie in its functional nature, at least at its outset (Sebba 1997: 17).

A pidgin must have a degree of stability (although this does not preclude variation) with a grammatical system. Thomason (2001: 159) claims that a pidgin is a language that emerges in a new contact situation that involves at least two groups who do not share a language. Romaine (1988) raises the contentious issue of how many contributory languages are necessary to produce a pidgin. According to DeCamp (1971:22), any two languages in contact can result in an 'interlingual improvization' but more than two are necessary for the emergence of a genuine pidgin (Romaine 1988: 24). Holm concurs with Whinnom (1971: 91-2), who suggests that to become an established language, there needs to be 'tertiary hybridisation', where two or more substrate speaking groups start communicating by means of the pidgin. If superstrate speakers become the least significant members of the pidgin triangle and relations are established and sustained over a substantial period between speakers of different substrate languages, an 'expanded pidgin' develops. As stated above, more ad hoc simplification results in a jargon rather than a pidgin. Jargons are estimated to have a few hundred words. In terms of pidgins, knowledge of approximately 750 words appears sufficient for trading purposes (the predominant purpose). Early pidgins certainly seem to have fewer words than natural languages (Holm 2000: 107). Nevertheless, the vocabularies of pidgins share certain characteristics that compensate in part for their limited numbers: namely 'multifunctionality (one word having many syntactic uses), polysemy (one word having many meanings) and circumlocution (lexical items consisting of phrases rather than single words)' (Holm 2000: 108).

Holm (2000) mentions two other distinctive features of a pidgin. The first is the social disparity between speakers of the superstrate language and those of other languages. This distance prevents substrate speakers from attaining enough information to speak a non-pidgin form of the superstrate language. Secondly, the languages in contact should not be sufficiently related to the point that koineisation occurs, precluding the need for a pidgin as a means of communication between groups of speakers (Holm 2000: 6). Both of these might seem not to apply to Lingua Franca. The ethnographic analysis in Chapter 3 challenges previously-held assumptions as to which socio-linguistic group was dominant in Barbary. Linguists have commented on the surprising Romance lexification of Lingua Franca given the Arabic-speaking elites in the region, and yet Chapter 3 reveals the penetration of social, economic and political hierarchies by Romance and Lingua Franca speakers. The lexical (and grammatical) relatedness of Romance languages and the plurilingualism of Mediterranean populations imply the potential for Lingua Franca to fit the criteria of koines detailed in section 2.4 rather than perhaps pidgins.

Thomason outlines how and why a pidgin evolves. Rather than learning each other's languages, the language groups develop a pidgin whose vocabulary is drawn predominantly from one of the languages in contact (Thomason 2001: 159). The grammar tends to be more of a compromise between the groups' native languages. There is, both in the grammar – particularly syntax – and lexicon, an emphasis on simplicity. Fewer words and stylistic features, and limited, largely regular morphology are all characteristic of pidgins.

Trudgill (2011) defines a pidgin as a stable contact language, without native speakers, which is the outcome of the pidginisation – simplification, admixture, and reduction – of some source language, where reduction means that there is less of the language as compared

to the form in which it is spoken by native and proficient speakers: the vocabulary is smaller, and there are fewer syntactic structures, a narrower range of styles, and so on (Trudgill 2011: 15). He attributes the relative simplicity of pidgins to language contact, and a basic need to communicate. Bizri (2010) characterises a pidgin as a contact language that evolves often as a matter of urgency, immune to the usual normative and educational edicts to which standard languages are subject. Pidgins – like all contact languages – are particularly dynamic. Pidgin Madame, the master (or rather mistress) – domestic maid pidgin found in Lebanon, is a prime example of a language borne of basic communicative necessity (Bizri 2010: 241).

In Romaine's (1988: 33) view, the most obvious place for impoverishment to take place is in the lexicon. Hall (1953: 23) compares the average number of lexical items of a speaker of a standard language, approximately 25-30,000, with the number of lexical items in an average pidgin, approximately 1,500. There appears to be little if any reduction in the overall semantic domains covered by a pidgin, but merely in the lexicon used to articulate them. This is evident in the latter stages of Lingua Franca where, as discussed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, data from the 19th century sources extend significantly beyond the domains of basic daily life, and engage in philosophical debate. A prime example is the interchange between Pananti and his Algiers master (Pananti 1841: 69). Romaine makes the distinction, originally identified by Hymes**,** between what is simple for the speaker as opposed to what is simple for the hearer. According to Hymes, the linguistic economies resulting from pidginisation are of more benefit to the speaker (Romaine 1988: 31).

Pidgins have relatively simple phonological systems, as evidenced by features including their typical avoidance of phonologically marked sounds, and a tendency to favour CVCV phonotactics (Trudgill 2011: 117). Further, Trudgill cites Labov (1990), who states that typically

there is little stylistic variation in the phonology of pidgins, and almost no allophonic variation. The phonemic inventories of pidgins are inevitably more constrained than those of their lexifying languages (Trudgill 2011: 117). Romaine comments on the lack of inflectional morphology exhibited by pidgins. She attributes this to the fact that inflectional morphology is difficult to incorporate in the early stages of a pidgin's development, presumably because foreigner talk is a process of simplification and reduction. There is rarely an issue of linguistic ownership or group identity given the lack of native speakers. The basic morphology and vocabulary of pidgins lead to limited redundancy. Haiman (1985) mentions that the only redundancy found in pidgins is the 'massive and wholesale repetition of the entire message' (Romaine 1985: 65).

Turchetta (1998) suggests that grammaticalisation in pidgins 'is the result of speakers' needs, rather than being simply an effect of language change due to internal factors of the language system itself as can happen in other natural languages' (Turchetta 1998: 274), and that often in pidgins it is possible for one linguistic item to fulfill multiple grammatical roles. This is evidenced in Lingua Franca. Adjectives such as *bonou* 'good' are used as adverbs, and *vice versa*. She also makes the important observation that with regard to change in pidgins, implicitly more than in natural languages, '[as well as] intrinsic factors we have to consider external influences from native languages where a pidgin is spoken a vehicular language' (Turchetta 1998: 275).

The names given to pidgins in the past belie the patronising and dismissive attitude toward them and their speakers of native speakers of European languages – 'broken English, nigger French', etc. It is a relatively new realisation that pidgins and creoles are new languages and not just impoverished and wrong versions of other languages (Holm 2000: 1). Rossetti (1999), writing in French, refers to Lingua

Franca as a *patois*. '*N'étant jamais arrivé a se créoliser par faute d'une literature à soi, donc sans un peuple, un patois semblable à la Lingua Franca est toujours vivant à cause de besoins marchands.*' 'Never having creolised given its lack of literature and without a native speaking people, a *patois* like Lingua Franca survives according to the needs of the market' (Rossetti 1999: 4). This is a relatively neutral observation, but Playfair (1884), the English general and Consul to Algiers in the late 19th century, described Lingua Franca in indisputably disparaging terms as a 'mongrel dialect…which bore about the same relation to Italian and Spanish as the negro jargon of America and pigeon of China do to English' (Playfair 1884: 14).

Li (2016) explores the Chinese English Pidgin that emerged in the principal ports of China and cites 'The Englishman in China' (Anon. 1860) which is – as the title suggests – an account of an English man's experience in Shanghai in the mid 19th century. She includes recorded dialogues in Chinese English Pidgin, which offer, as a phrasebook like the *Dictionnaire* (1830) does, examples of constructions and grammar rather than a simple lexicon. As Li states, given that the Chinese English pidgins are already extinct,

> 'understanding of these languages can only rely on records. By including phrasebooks alongside the already abundant western sources, we can examine pidgin grammar from a more balanced perspective. While descriptions of pidgins in western sources are sometimes short and fragmentary, the structure of phrasebooks could provide a more systematic introduction to the languages, covering core vocabulary, grammar and dialogues for different situations' (Li 2016: 302).

This could have been written about Lingua Franca. One is equally reminded of Lingua Franca in the description Li offers, citing a contemporary account (Downing 1838) of the language:

> The conversation between the Chinese and the English is sometimes extremely ludicrous, when we compare the sound of the words with the gravity and importance of the persons who utter them. It would appear as if the three languages[3] which they are obliged to use, were so mixed up in their minds, that it was altogether impossible to separate them (Downing 1838:22 in Li 2016: 305).

The former comment is evidenced in Chinese Pidgin English itself, as characterised in *The Englishman in China* (Anon. 1860): 'The great secret in speaking this dialect is to add *ee* to the end of your words, as *makee, walkee, talkee, showee, singee'* (Anon. 1860: 42). A parody of Lingua Franca offered by Dryden (1680) and analysed in Chapter 9 echoes the potential absurdity of the language – 'consider wello, ten guinnio in monyo, a very considerable summo' (Dryden 1680: 32).

Pidgins and creoles were largely ignored by linguists for their low prestige, social stigma and because they were predominantly oral. Only written (and uniform) languages were considered worthy of study. They were the preserve of the educated elite, and the changeable coarse language spoken by the masses merited no attention. The introduction of printing presses only reinforced this tendency. Written languages also provided access to their literature (Holm 2000: 2). Despite the fact that pidgins, in part because most originated from the slave trade, have associations with low social standing, the lexifying language was itself a status issue. There is considerable evidence that relative social power and the consequent prestige were important factors in determining which language became the source of a pidgin's lexicon (Holm 2000: 69). However, Hall points out that where a pidgin arose from a master-slave relationship, often the master would not want the slave to address him in his (the master's) language (Hall 1966: 112). The language of the

[3] Chinese, English and Portuguese

ruling class should not be the slave's; rather it should serve as a barrier between the two (Adler 1977: 32).

2.3.1 Monogenetic theory

Monogenetic theory posits that today's pidgins and creoles have a single original source to which they are directly or indirectly related. Various pidgins feature similar words for a particular concept, e.g. *savvy* 'know' (Portuguese *saber*, Tok Pisin *save*, Chinese Pidgin English *savvy*, West African Pidgin English *sabi*, Sranan Tongo*, sabi*, Papiamentu *sabi*, Jamaican Creole *sabi*), which would seem to bear out the theory. *Sabir*, possibly derived from Lingua Franca, or a later version of it, is often considered to be the original source. The proto-pidgin would have had Portuguese as its lexifier, and would have spread across the world in the course of colonisation. In addition, the geographical progress of Portuguese trading and colonisation – they were the first to forge trade links with Asia and to trade slaves in West Africa – makes a Portuguese proto-pidgin seem plausible. The key feature of this theory is relexification, which allows for the lexical variety in pidgins today. Relexification leads to substantial change in the lexicon of a pidgin, while its underlying grammar remains largely unaltered. The most compelling element of this theory is the explanation it offers for the similarity of pidgin (and creole) grammars. However, a shared proto-pidgin is not the only possibility – as noted above, it may be that there is a universal method of linguistic simplification that accounts for similarities across pidgin grammars (Ferguson 1971; Sebba 1997: 72-6). Whinnom's earlier research seems to further the link between Lingua Franca and monogenetic theory by noting that, in the early days of slave trading, the Portuguese crown sold slave-trading concessions to Genoese, rather than to Portuguese Jews, who undoubtedly spoke Lingua Franca. Chapter 5 highlights the central role of Italian dialect-speaking Jews in the promotion and promulgation of Lingua Franca (Whinnom 1977: 4).

2.4 Koines

As mentioned by Holm (2000) and cited above, a pidgin is unlikely to evolve where the proximity of languages spoken in a particular situation means that a koine develops, precluding the necessity for a pidgin. 'The term 'koine' comes from the Greek *koinē* 'common. It originally referred to a particular variety of the Greek language… that became the lingua franca of the eastern Mediterranean during the Hellenistic and Roman periods' (Siegel 1985: 358). Siegel argues that the original koine exhibited features from multiple regional varieties but was mostly derived from just one variety. He emphasizes how 'it was reduced and simplified in comparison with its influencing varieties' (Siegel 1985: 358). Samarin (1971) explicitly contrasts the element of reduction in pidgins and creoles: 'unlike pidgins, koines are not drastically reduced forms of language in spite of the fact that some simplification can be expected in them' (Samarin 1971: 133). Another distinctive difference between pidgins and koines is the pace at which each evolves. Pidginisation is a far more rapid process since its motivation is functional communication between peoples who otherwise have no shared language. Koineisation, by contrast, emerges as a result of sustained contact between speakers who often already have a basic level of mutual understanding (Siegel 1985: 372). The development of Lingua Franca among communities with many different languages means that it could be regarded as both a pidgin and a koine. The Lingua Franca of Romance language speakers would tend toward a koine, while for those less familiar with dialects and languages such as Venetian, Provençal, Spanish and Portuguese, the contact language would represent a pidgin.

In his survey of koines, Siegel notably does not include Lingua Franca among the thirty-six varieties that he labels as such. However, the slave languages of the Caribbean (Dillard 1964: 38) and English-based nautical jargon (Hancock 1971: 290n) – varieties that would possibly

have evolved similarly to Lingua Franca in North Africa – are both included. Furthermore, the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) definition, 'any language or dialect in regular use over a wide area in which different dialects are, or were, in use locally' (Burchfield 1976: 541), and a description offered by Hill, 'any tongue, distinct from his own vernacular, that a person shares with the speakers of some other vernaculars' (Hill 1958: 443), could both be applied to Lingua Franca.

As with pidgins, there is an emphasis on a koine being the stabilised result of a process – in this case, the mixing of regional or literary dialects. 'It usually serves as a *lingua franca* among speakers of the different contributing varieties and is characterized by a mixture of features of these varieties and most often by reduction or simplification in comparison' (Siegel 1985: 362). Siegel (1985) identifies two different types of koine – regional and immigrant. According to his description of the latter, where contact occurs not in the region from which the dialects derive but in a discrete location to which significant numbers of speakers of several regional dialects have migrated (Siegel 1985: 364), Lingua Franca might well fit the paradigm of an immigrant koine. Bergareche (1993) would seem to confirm this, suggesting that Lingua Franca could have evolved from a situation where Italian (or, more specifically, Venetian) and Spanish jargons were in use on the Mediterranean coastlines (Bergareche 1993: 451). As such, Lingua Franca did not develop as a contact language between Arabs and Romance-speaking Europeans but was a more stable phase of the original foreigner talk, namely a pidgin, or perhaps a koine.

2.5 Lingua Franca – a pidgin?

Whinnom claims that Lingua Franca is the earliest documented and longest-lived of all pidgins. It provided the channel for a great deal of medieval vocabulary borrowing, and spread nautical terms to the new world (Whinnom 1997: 4). There is an obvious circularity to the

viewpoints of different scholars. While the earlier analysis of nautical jargon suggests that it may have been the precursor to the pidginisation of Lingua Franca, Whinnom (1977) appears to be suggesting that the pidgin may have led to the creation of a nautical jargon of sorts – a lexicon of maritime terminology. Rossetti (1999) claims Lingua Franca as the only European Italian-lexified pidgin: 'Most of the pidgin and creole languages around the world are of English or French origin; true, there are Portuguese ones in Africa and South East Asia and even a couple of Spanish and Dutch origin in South America. But there is only one along the Mediterranean Sea that is linked to Italian' (Rossetti 1999: 42).

According to Rossetti (1999) among others, Pidgin Lingua Franca, although stable, had several geographic variants that blended gradually into each other so as to preclude a strict dividing line: at least a Levantine variety, an Egyptian variety, and one, possibly two, North African strains could be detected. It was a spoken language of illiterate people. 'Always limited to simple words, often insults or commands, at best short greeting formulas, and was unlikely to ever produce longer periods of prose or poetry' (Rossetti 1999: 49). As stated above, most pidgin languages have a reduced vocabulary of 700-1500 words, while Lingua Franca, according to the *Dictionnaire*, has just over 2000 (Dictionnaire 1830*)*. As demonstrated, there is difference of opinion among scholars of pidgins as to the specific features that define them. Thomason acknowledges that it is an over-simplification to state that pidgins are maximally simple and all alike (Thomason 2001: 167-8). This is exposed by the wider applications of some pidgins, such as Lingua Franca. Its typical domains extended beyond trade during its lifetime. Lexifying influences and lexical choices, structural features and functions were also subject to change over the several centuries of its duration, as well as over its substantial geographical spread. As such, I do not feel that Lingua Franca fits neatly into any of Sebba's categories of pidgins and creoles

mentioned above (Sebba 1997: 27). It could be viewed as a military or police pidgin, or as a seafaring and trade pidgin and creole. However, I would argue that the seventh classification, urban contact vernacular, is the most appropriate, not least because it does not include the term 'pidgin'. Lingua Franca resists the paradigm outlined in section 2.3, as will become clearer in Chapter 3, in terms of its variation and lexical influences. The highly urban environments in which it flourished, with their plurilingual character, however, were clearly a key factor in the development and diffusion of Lingua Franca. As will be discussed later in this chapter, linguists view today's urban vernaculars as a revival of the phenomenon of Lingua Franca, even terming them *metrolingua francas* (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015). Nevertheless, the classification of Lingua Franca, just like its description, empirical proofs of its existence, and the establishment of whether certain texts constitute *bona fide* examples of Lingua Franca, is fraught with challenges and contention. This is compounded by the lack of written evidence. As Turchetta observes, 'naturally, categorization is considerably easier in the case of a language with a written tradition or with a long tradition of the standardization of at least one of its varieties' (Turchetta 1998: 276).[4]

2.6 Comparisons with today's linguistic diversity: Superdiversity vs metrolingualism

Surges in migration, urbanisation and multilingualism in the past decades have transformed linguistic landscapes. The normative idea of the nation state with its monolingual focus has ceased to exist, subsumed by (especially urban) plurilingualism.

Blommaert and Rampton (2011) describe this notion of super-diversity, first coined by Vertovec (2007), with reference to urban centres as 'a tremendous increase in the categories of migrants, not

[4] Turchetta (1998) is based on WAPE (West African Pidgin English), but many of her observations resonate with features of Lingua Franca.

only in terms of nationality, ethnicity, language, and religion, but also in terms of motives, patterns and itineraries of migration' (Blommaert and Rampton 2011: 3). I would argue that such super-diversity is not only a 21st century phenomenon, but characterises exactly the linguistic situation of Barbary, as outlined in this thesis, and was what promoted the evolution and establishment of Lingua Franca there. Results of the archival research reported in Chapter 8 support this hypothesis. Documents found in the National Archive of Kew feature letters that combine elements of Venetian, Spanish, Portuguese and French, and make references to Spanish and Italian dominated currencies (*ducati* and *reali*). They evidence a form of super-diversity reminiscent of today's metropolitan populations.

Blommaert and Rampton (2011) proceed to identify how linguistic superdiversity is evidenced in individuals' speech: their 'very variable (and often rather fragmentary) grasp of a plurality of differentially shared styles, registers and genres which are picked up (and maybe then partially forgotten) within biographical trajectories that develop in actual histories and trajectories' (Blommaert and Rampton 2011: 4-5). This, again, would seem to be borne out by the metadata – descriptions of the linguistic mix of Lingua Franca, the 'semi-speaker' notion apparent in the reported speech of the Lingua Franca corpus (detailed in Chapter 4), such as Byron, who refers to himself as 'tolerably fluent' (Byron 1922: 29), and, as identified by the English captive, Okeley (1675: 13) among others, the challenges and necessity of learning Lingua Franca.

Pennycook and Otsuji (2015) echo the emphasis not only on multiple languages but also on multiple registers identified by Blommaert and Rampton (2011) in their definition of the concept of metrolingualism: '[it] is not only about the use of linguistic resources from different languages, but may equally describe those harmonizing (or parodying) practices of adjustment within codes, as well as certain forms of

styling' (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015: 7). They, like me, explicitly reject the idea of diversity being a new phenomenon, and cite the example of port cities as perhaps the most obvious locus for the evolution of multilingual urban varieties - what they term *metrolingua francas* (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015: 177) - both today and in the past. In terms of Lingua Franca itself, they adopt Walter's (1998:216) definition of a functional commercial language where every speaker believed they were using the other's language. Pennycook and Otsuji contrast this fluid emergent language with the more contemporary meaning of *lingua franca* as a deliberately acquired contact language (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015: 174). However, I do not think their neat distinction is correct. While many contemporary Romance speakers, especially those of Italian varieties such as Venetian and Tuscan, viewed Lingua Franca as a lexically and grammatically impoverished version of their own language, a fluid jargon, there are references by English and other Northern European authors to acquiring what they viewed as a more fixed language. Lingua Franca was both a mixed, fluid jargon(s), influenced lexically by multiple languages and varieties, and/or a fixed contact language, depending on the linguistic repertoire and ability of its audience or speakers.

Pennycook and Otsuji's (2015) description of metropolitan mixed languages – 'the changing, shifting world of the urban landscape, where languages are blended, sorted, created, used for new purposes, taken up, tossed aside, learned and renewed' (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015: 31) – does resemble the diverse linguistic influences evidenced in Lingua Franca. Their words capture the sense of constant change and evolution, and the multilingual inputs of the contact language.

2.7 Theoretical conclusions

I have attempted in this chapter to clarify and detail those terms often applied to Lingua Franca, some of which are used accurately, others less so. None of the terms in isolation would appear to encapsulate

Lingua Franca, although the variety and breadth in the classification of pidgins does make it possible to label Lingua Franca as a pidgin. Given its variety and spread, however, it largely resists categorisation. Even more recent definitions, the names of which are based on Lingua Franca (such as *metrolingua francas*) appear to fall short in their definitions. To paraphrase Cristina Muru (2016), Lingua Franca was more a 'way of speaking', characterising Europeans who wanted to simplify their speech in order to be understood by non-natives, than a proper language. As Schuchardt (1909; trans. 1980: 88) identified, Lingua Franca – perhaps above all in its resistance to theoretical classification – adheres to Heraclitus' philosophy of *panta rei* 'everything is in flux', meaning that nothing abides; instead, rather like a river, all things move and change constantly, a philosophy that dates back to the late 6th century A.D. (Plato, ed. Burnet: Cratylus 401d). It is worth applying this concept to Lingua Franca, as it would appear that it morphed from one classification to another, from nautical jargon to a L2 Romance variety through to koine or pidgin (and back again), themselves definitions which escape precise, fixed criteria, as much in its lexicon, grammar and social status as in its conceptual framework.

2.8 Contemporary scholarship

After the theoretical analysis of Lingua Franca, largely in the context of pidgins and creoles (Whinnom, Hymes, Hall, Holm) the 1990s saw a burgeoning of empirical investigation, and a search for new, undiscovered texts to swell the corpus. Though, simultaneously, there was frequently a rejection of the new texts. This is particularly true of the early dramatic sources, a version of *The Nicene Creed* (Bergareche 1993: 434) and the *Contrasto della Zerbitana* ((Cifoletti 1989: 215–217). Viewed as potential examples of Lingua Franca by some, they are subsequently dismissed as such on the grounds of their dramatic licence, their linguistic inconsistencies, and their place of origin.

Equally, there is a rejection of the possibility of Lingua Franca ever having been written down, and yet Baglioni (2010: 268-9) raises the possibility that among the correspondence he has studied, from the English consul in Tunis in the 16th and 17th centuries, there are linguistic phenomena that could be considered Lingua Franca. While it would seem likely that Lingua Franca existed predominantly as an oral vernacular, I have explored literature that establishes the link between oral and written examples, as per the texts found in archives such as Kew where the orthography in documents frequently reflects pronunciation, and, as such, there seems to be little differentiation in the language between the oral and written versions.

Minervini has written a number of articles on Lingua Franca, predominantly in the late 1990s. Mostly philological in its focus, she thoroughly analyses earlier literary texts that have been claimed as examples of Lingua Franca, offering her opinion as to the extent to which they conform morphologically and lexically to the criteria set out for Lingua franca, exploring particularly the use of the infinitive as a less obvious choice as the least marked form of the verb. Bergareche's 1993 analysis is largely theoretical and empirical, with a focus on many of the same early literary sources that Minervini identifies as possibly examples of Lingua Franca, or at least exemplifying features typical of it. Cremona embarked on an investigation of Lingua Franca (1998 onwards) within the linguistic ecology of the Mediterranean, the Levant and North Africa, exploring the archives of the British consuls of the Barbary Regencies, based at The National Archives, Kew, from which I took my lead for further ethnographic and empirical research.

The early 21st century has seen a resurgence of interest in the study of Lingua Franca, with mostly Italian linguists documenting and describing the language. Two non-Italians who have written extensively on the vernacular are Dakhlia and Selbach. Dakhlia's

comprehensive study of Lingua Franca, describing it in the title as *une langue métisse* 'a mixed language', elicits dissent from many of her fellow linguists. Venier (2016) rejects Dakhlia's suggestion that it's a mixed language, insisting rather that it is a simplified language. She also dismisses Dakhlia's view of Lingua Franca as a:

> *lieu médian. Espace neutralisé, s'il n'est pas d'espace véritablement neutre*
>
> 'a neutral place. A neutralized place, if not a genuinely neutral place' (Dakhlia 2008: 475; my translation).

Venier (2016) maintains that the idea of neutrality belies the very material and vital reality of Lingua Franca:

> *Proprio in quanto lingua usata nelle transazioni commerciali la lingua franca porta in sé le tracce della storia, la storia di rapporti insieme saltuari (data la distanza geografica dei popoli che si trovavano a commerciare) e costanti (dato l'ampio arco cronologico in cui tali commerci furono esercitati)*
>
> 'Specifically in as much as a language used in commercial transactions, the Lingua Franca brings with it the traces of history, a history of relations that were both fragmented (given the geographical distances separating the peoples trading with one another) and constant(given the full chronological arc in which such trading was carried out)' (Venier 2016: 305; my translation).

Dakhlia's tome addresses Lingua Franca from various standpoints – linguistic, sociolinguistic, and philological. She conducts an exhaustive exploration of texts – both documentary and literary, identifying the potential blurring of the two in captivity narratives and repeated figurative language and expressions. Dakhlia also assesses the prestige of Lingua Franca in Barbary, highlighting the various ethnic and religious communities and their relative use of Lingua Franca. Dakhlia offers insights into the Muslim world, and how Arabic-speaking elites would have regarded Lingua Franca as one among European or

Romance languages, rather than a hybrid or pidgin. She identifies the varying attitudes of Barbary leaders to Lingua Franca, and its different levels of prestige in the three Regencies (Dakhlia 2008). This emphasizes the lack of uniformity among the states, an important perspective in the analysis of Lingua Franca, given the different ethnographic makeup of the three states.

Selbach has written several articles about Lingua Franca, and highlights the language's intangibility, even entitling one of them, with a nod to Schuchardt (1883) 'Finding Nessie' (2007). She conducts comparative lexical analysis as well as philological studies of texts and, as a creolist, examines the features of Lingua Franca that coincide with pidgins and creoles. Venier (2009; 2012; 2016) also takes her lead from Schuchardt's analysis of Lingua Franca, stating that his article on Lingua Franca is:

> *un saggio tematicamente isolato nell'opera di Schuchardt e tuttavia al crocevia…di buona parte delle sue riflessioni di romanista e ur-creolista…e indubbiamente concentrato sull'attività linguistica di concretissimi parlanti, commercianti delle due sponde del Mediterraneo che hanno bisogno di uno strumento per comunicare e se lo creano*
> 'an essay that stands alone thematically in Schuchardt's body of work and yet also at its crossroad…in large part based on his reflections as Romance specialist and ur-creolist…and undoubtedly based on the linguistic activity of actual speakers, traders on both sides of the Mediterranean in need of a tool with which to communicate and so they create it' (Venier 2009: 43; my translation).

She analyses in detail Schuchardt's work, highlighting how he did not at any point describe Lingua Franca as a pidgin (2009: 35), and reviews the work of other linguists including Minervini. In a separate contribution, Venier retranslates Schuchardt's essay (Venier 2012),

and in her 2016 article, she rejects some of Dakhlia's work on Lingua Franca, as mentioned above, in an article entitled *L'invenzione del consenso: il caso di Lingua Franca*, where she is concerned to identify the pitfalls open to linguists analyzing such a nebulous language. Although Venier's analysis (2009; 2016) of Schuchardt's essay is remarkably comprehensive, she does not appear to have consulted Schuchardt's archive, but rather focused exclusively on the text. A recent article, co-authored by Luca Melchior and Verena Schwägerl-Melchior (2016), exploring the networks of information exploited by Schuchardt in his research, reveals several interesting perspectives on his investigation into Lingua Franca and presentation thereof. These include Schuchardt's expressed view in 1883 that he had more work to do before publishing anything on Lingua Franca, and that others felt that Lingua Franca did not merit an authoritative study (Melchior and Schwägerl Melchior 2016: 15). Given that Schuchardt's information on Lingua Franca came exclusively from contacts across the Mediterranean, Melchior and Schwägerl Melchior's analysis of each informant's location and their status as academic or non-academic is significant and relevant to the data and opinions they provided. However, in his 1909 article, Schuchardt is far from explicit in his differentiation of his source materials.

2.8.1 A focus on oral versus written language

Baglioni has written extensively on Lingua Franca within the plurilingual ecology of the Mediterranean basin, North Africa and Sicily. In his research (2010) into the correspondence of the consuls of Tunis, inspired by and completing the work of Cremona, Baglioni highlights the possibility of phrases of Lingua Franca in some of the documents. This is of significance since there has been a seemingly unanimous view among linguists that Lingua Franca was an exclusively oral language, given its function as a basic means of communication among peoples with no common tongue.

Given Baglioni's suggestion that there are traces of Lingua Franca in the correspondence with the English consuls of Tunis and Tripoli archived at Kew, and the extensive research I have carried out there, I here address the issue of spoken versus written language, both in general philological terms, and specifically relating to Lingua Franca. As identified by Baglioni and Tribulato (eds. 2015), this is a domain that has hereto attracted little investigation, which has led, he asserts, citing Cardona (1990) to the *concezione vicariale della scrittura come specchio più o meno fedele della lingua* 'assumed concept of writing as a more or less faithful reflection of spoken language' (Cardona 1990: 115; my translation) Cardona rejects this, advocating that writing be treated with *la dignità di un oggetto scientifico autonomo, parallelo ma non identificabile con la lingua tout court* 'the dignity of an autonomous academic entity, parallel but not remotely identical to spoken language(Cardona, cited in Mancini 2015: 15; my translation).

While I appreciate the discrete nature of speech and written language, Frank Seidel's (in press, 2016) article drawing parallels between language documentation and philology resonates with my thinking. He articulates how the blurring of the two outputs only increases with digitization – "speech, once it is recorded and digitized, loses some of its ephemeral characteristics…the recording and further representations of it can now share the same digital space, similarly to the way a photographic copy of a bibliographical [or any] manuscript and its digital edition share the same space" (Seidel 2016: 33). Seidel cites Olson (1996: 2), asserting that "writing systems" 'provide the concepts and categories for thinking about the structure of speech rather than the reverse' (Seidel 2016: 37). Thus, the language of the documents studied at Kew might well provide an insight into the language(s) spoken by their authors. Banfi's comprehensive survey of varieties of Italian spoken outside the country highlights the peculiar characteristics of the written Italian used in consular documents:

> *non si ha a che fare in tal caso, evidentemente, con la lingua letteraria, bensì con registri intermedi, quando non apertamente colloquiali, caratterizzati cioè da notevoli plasticità e flessibilità, elementi normali in caso di una comunicazione approssimativa e imperfetta tra locutori che non dominavano pienamente l'italiano… un italiano substandard, una varietà che il Foscolo definirà 'lingua itineraria e mercantile', diffusa 'in tutte le coste del Mediterraneo sino a Costantinopoli'*
>
> 'it is unrelated obviously to literary language, but rather has in-between registers, when not overtly colloquial, and is characterized thus by remarkable fluidity and variety, normal features in the case of approximate and imperfect communication among speakers without total mastery of Italian…a substandard Italian, a variety that Foscolo defines 'itinerant, mercantile Italian' found 'along all coasts of the Mediterranean as far as Constantinople' (Banfi 2014: Loc. 4220; Foscolo, ed. Foligno 1958, 153; my translation).

This suggests a rather striking parallel between the consular written language and spoken Lingua Franca.

2.9 Final Conclusion

Research into Lingua Franca is ongoing. The elusive quality of the language remains part of its allure. The corpus, as discussed in Chapters 4 and 7, seems potentially incomplete. Furthermore, the emergence in some of today's cities of languages that are similarly motivated to Lingua Franca, with multiple lexifiers and registers, coined as *metrolingua francas* (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015), ensures Lingua Franca feels relevant and contemporary. As with my own research, there is a breadth to some more recent studies, extending beyond the purely linguistic. In the introduction to a collection of

essays, *Lingua Franca: towards a philology of the Sea* (Allan and Benigni (eds.) 2017), the editors identify how there are,

> 'in the convergence of lingua franca and Mediterranean Studies some primary challenges to the reigning presumptions in regional analyses of language and literature. First and foremost is the observation that globalized circuits of exchange are not entirely new, but that different settings construct the terms of exchange differently. And secondly is the idea that maritime regions help destabilize the presumptions of coherent national literary, linguistic or cultural traditions' (Allan and Benigni 2017: 5).

The convergence referred to is inevitable. Lingua Franca and its speakers cannot be separated from the wider geographical and historical context. Like Allan and Benigni, adopting a multidisciplinary approach, I intend to challenge throughout this thesis some of the assumptions made about Lingua Franca. As Allan and Benigni correctly acknowledge,

> 'The pioneering scholarship of Hugo Schuchardt and the studies by… Guido Cifoletti, Laura Minervini or Joceyln Dakhlia all enrich our historical understanding of the implications of lingua franca, its relation to jargon or argot, and its positioning within and between languages' (Allan and Benigni 2017: 3).

I will attempt to build on and extend their research.

Chapter 3 – Historical context to Lingua Franca

3.1 Historical background to Barbary

This chapter will provide the historical background and an ethnographic analysis of the North African coast where Lingua Franca took root and evolved from the late sixteenth century. It will explore and explain the population, and consequent linguistic, influxes to the Regencies of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli. Lingua Franca's existence for over 250 years across that region seems attributable to its particular location on trade routes, its (often western-oriented) social and political history, and its ever-changing but constantly multinational and multilingual population makeup. Barbary allegedly took its name from its indigenous Berber inhabitants, tribes of nomadic herdsmen based in the Atlas mountains and 'barbarians' in the eyes of its more urban and urbane city-dwellers and conquerors – Phoenicians, Romans and Byzantines. The word 'Barbaresque' seems to have applied originally to the Berber tribes who knew nothing of urban or maritime life (Fisher1957: 18). The actual word, βάρβαρος (barbarous) or barbarians, was used from ancient times by the Greeks to refer to those they regarded as less civilised than themselves. Onomatopoetically, it also evokes the image of people babbling (Pagden 1986: 16) in a language other than Greek. Venier (2016), citing the argument of Silvestri (2000), suggests that Barbary derives rather from ancient Sumerian, where the meaning of *bar* was 'marginal, other, on the outside'. The morphological reduplication implies a superlative such that Barbary and its inhabitants are characterized as very much other to civilized societies (Venier 2016: 298).

The Arabs who imposed their rule and religion in North Africa from the seventh century called it *gazīrat al-Magrib*, meaning the Island of the West (Nickerson 1961: 4). An Arab stronghold, the region fomented Muslim antagonism toward Spain, and later much of

Western Europe. Although Morocco was the seat of Muslim power, it did not fall within the Barbary States. However its history (particularly during the era of the corsairs and Lingua Franca) has been inextricably linked with the city-states of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli - the archetypal Barbary domains (Clissold 1977: 17). For Leo Africanus, writing around 1526, Barbary was the coastal area of North Africa, from Tripoli in the east as far as Cape Bojador in Morocco. He felt this strip of land to be the most civilized and richest in all Africa. The English view of Barbary at that time and for several centuries onwards was that it correlated with the kingdom of Morocco (Fisher 1957:17). The Scottish explorer, William Lithgow, defined it in his account of his journeys as the cities of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli and the three kingdoms of Fez, Morocco, and Sus, which were united intermittently under the Emperor of Morocco whenever he had the power to do so, and the semi-independent ports of Tetuan and Sallee (Lithgow 1632: 207-8).

Prior to coming under the control of the Ottoman Empire from 1517 onwards, the population of Africa's North Coast saw their destiny already linked to (Christian) Western Europe. Unlike Turkey and Egypt, they were associated with the West. From the 15th century, 'Barbary galleys' called at the ports of Bougie and Oran, as well as Tunis, en route to England and Flanders. Genova, Ragusa and Florence also had commercial dealings with Barbary ports (Fisher 1957: 19). Leo Africanus commented on the 'civilitie, humanitie and upright dealing of the Barbarians…a civill people [who] prescribe laws and constitutions unto themselves' (Leo Africanus 1600: 182). Echoing this favourable judgment, Lane -Poole, citing contemporary documentary evidence, describes the rulers of Barbary in the later Middle Ages as "mild and just" and their relations with the "trading nations of Christendom" as "amicable and just" (Lane-Poole 1890: 22, 26). These friendly relations came to an end in the first few decades of the 16th century. A linguistic coincidence, the Barbarossa brothers (so-

called for their red beards), Aruj and Hizir, gradually brought much of North Africa under Turkish sovereignty. The two Greek-born brothers launched a series of naval challenges and, later, city-sieges securing power over coastal areas. The indigenous population rallied to the brothers' cry and although the elder, Aruj, was slain, Hizir assumed control of Algiers in the early 16th century (Tinniswood 2010:8; Weiss 2011:10). He immediately offered the Ottoman Empire control over the brothers' conquests in order to bolster his own position and ward off threats from Spain. Ottoman rule was compounded over the following decades. By the late 16th century, the Barbary States of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli were treated as three 'regencies', Algiers the most powerful. Turkish soldiers, known as Janissaries, sustained the local ruler and, as the years progressed, controlled him and appointed his successor. The janissaries' power was somewhat mitigated by the influence of the *ra'ïs* (the corsair captains) who had their own organisation called the *tā'ifa*, run by the High Admiral of the state (Clissold 1977: 27). Despite defeat by the Holy Empire at the Battle of Lepanto (1571), the Ottoman Empire remained a dominant force. However, it was the Pasha of Algiers who "became the officially recognized representation of the empire in the West" according to Fisher (1957: 83). This may have been in part due to the Ottomans allowing native Europeans (who had converted to Islam as corsairs) to rule their regencies, particularly Algiers. It is evident that even before the Spanish Abbot Haedo, whose topographical study of Algiers (Haedo 1612) provides the earliest detailed information about Lingua Franca's ubiquity in Barbary, wrote his account of the city-state at the close of the 16th century, the population was multilingual, its leaders, albeit sustained by Turks, being western European and Romance language-speaking. The Regencies of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli were already strategically located, western-looking, commercial hubs. The influx of powerful corsairs, thousands of European slaves, and the financial leverage these brought would only increase the need for a common tongue, a *lingua franca*.

3.2 Life in the Regencies

In his article on the historiography of the Maghreb, Bono (1972) writes that Barbary was a contradiction of an anarchic and often lawless society, but with a well-ordered Ottoman hierarchical system in place, fuelled economically by corsairing, and a diverse multilingual multinational population (Bono 1972: 242-3; my translation). The Regencies, particularly Algiers, were the definition of a cosmopolis. According to Heers, authors and witnesses couldn't help being 'dazzled and confused by the diversity which pervaded every street, alley or stairway; they emerged charmed but a little breathless' (Heers 2004: 146). The potential disorientation was compounded by the sense of constant change and a consequent lack of familiarity of place, people, culture and language.

> 'The population was often swamped and enlarged by waves of new arrivals, shifting the equilibrium of the social order this way and that. People from far away arrived to find themselves under the thumb of strange rulers with different manners and customs' (Heers 2004: 146).

Heers asserts that the Regencies' Muslim population in the 17th century was a diverse community that spoke a wealth of different languages. Groups either maintained their own languages or adapted a local patois that suited their particular needs. As a result, very few European merchants, and slaves, ever learnt an African language (Heers 2004: 117).

From the end of the 17th century, both the army and the civil service were exclusively comprised of native-born Turks. The chief of police in Algiers was, however, always a Moor, and the chief executioner was a Christian slave, as were the incumbents of many of the key personnel within the pasha's and Dey's households. Once again the multinational and multilingual nature of social hierarchies within the Regencies is evident. This was yet more pronounced in Tunis and Tripoli. The former two regencies allowed Christian renegades and other non-

Turkish inhabitants to hold high office (Fisher 1957: 92-94). According to D'Arvieux (1735: vol. iv, 50), as detailed by the historian, Lewis: 'The real power in Tunisia rested with the army, and a very curious army it was; broken men from other Turkish provinces, renegade Christians, wanted criminals, all were welcomed provided they were Moslems…Promotion was by seniority, and any man could aspire to become Aga or Colonel commanding the force.., in which every soldier had a vote' (Lewis 1992: 118). As in Algiers, the position of *Dey* of Tunis could only be filled by a natural-born Turk and ideally a *Hajji*, one who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca. Once elected, a Dey 'does exactly as he pleases, and has powers of life and death (D'Arvieux 1735: vol. iv, 51-2). Although, as mentioned, there was strict hierarchy and power reserved for Turks in some bureaucratic domains, Fisher highlights the egalitarian spirit of Algiers. Lineage counted for little. Treatment of women was ubiquitously respectful. Marriages among different nationalities were common (although Muslims would only marry renegade Christians or converted Jews) (Fisher 1957: 101). Religious divisions were, however, not strictly maintained. Haedo commented on the spirit of democratic camaraderie found at great religious feasts, where members of diverse nations, religions and languages congregated and celebrated (Haedo 1612: 30-1).

3.3 Barbary Corsairs and slaves

The Barbary corsairs carried out raids at sea and on land. Their incursions garnered thousands of coastal and even inland captives across Europe, not solely countries on the Mediterranean. European renegades made up the majority of corsairs working out of the Barbary States. There was a strict hierarchy among the corsairs (Clissold 1977: 32). The *ra'ïs* or captain, often the boat's owner, was usually a European renegade or a Turk. He answered to the *Agha* of Janissaries, who determined whether a boat was to be attacked and which course a corsair should follow. A captured ship's crew, as

potential slaves, constituted the most lucrative part of a ship's cargo. Clissold describes the fear engendered by the Barbary pirates: an "encounter with the corsairs could only be a moment of unmitigated anguish and terror. It was for their captain, often tricked by a false flag or by a voice hailing him in a familiar tongue, to make the fateful decision whether to attempt resistance or surrender" (Clissold 1977: 35-36). It seems plausible that Lingua Franca would have been the familiar language in question. This is reinforced by the historian, Peter Earle (1970), in his citing of a French diplomat, Chastelet les Boys, who relayed the cries of the attacking Barbary pirates: "when redoubling their terrible yells of *Mena pero* 'surrender, dogs' they gave us the whole broadside, and smashed our bowsprit with angel-shot" (Earle 1970: 60). Tinniswood refers to the *Lingua Francification* of names given to some pirates, as found in consular documents: The Genoese renegade Agostin Bianco, also known as Murad Rais, was recorded too as Agostin Bianco Alis Morato Raixi Genovesz and Caytto[5] Morato Genovese Turco (Tinniswood 2010: 68). Panzac highlights how records show the presence of 38 corsair captains operating out of Tripoli between 1805 and 1816, 48 in Algiers and 192 in Tunis between 1798 and 1816 (Panzac 2005: 61). The numbers and nationalities of corsairs will be further explored in 3.4. Morgan, an English Consul in Algiers, uses the phrase *a la Christianesca* 'in the Christian way' disdainfully to describe corsair behavior:

> 'nothing was more common to be seen in the streets of Algiers, than parties of renegades, sitting publicly on mats, costly carpets and cushions, playing cards and dice, thrumming guitars and singing *a la Christianesca*, inebriating like swine' (Morgan 1731: 532).

According to Morgan, such displays led the local population to complain that 'these renegades are neither Christians, Musulmans nor Jews; they have no faith nor religion at all' (Morgan 1731:533). Certainly, renegades, by virtue of their economic power appear to

[5]*Caito* 'captain' in Lingua Franca is found in Grandchamp (1920: 94)

have been, and certainly to have considered themselves, above the law.

More than 30 of the letters I examined in the archives at Kew detail the brutality of the corsairs and the plight of European slaves. Some are appeals for the intervention of a government or consul to liberate slaves, while others highlight the extent of corsairs' ingenuity and deceit. One such letter (TNA: FO 335/1/2) from Lord Dartmouth to the English consul in Tunis, Baker, written in 1683 corroborates the impression of rife corsairing. This letter of introduction for Captain Priestman, an English navy captain within Dartmouth's fleet sent to evacuate Tangier, recounts the escapades of a certain

> 'Ally Washam Raise, a subject of Tunis, who sometime past, sayled from thence in a ship belonging to that place, with your Passe. But (as he pretends) happening to loose her went to Sally, and there armed out another called Two Lyons, and not only intended (as he confesses) to take all such shipps'.

Later in the letter, Dartmouth emphasizes the guile of the corsair, who

> 'sometime since came to this place overland from Sally and produced your pass (which Captain Priestman brings with him) and seeking protection back to Tunis would have misled me thereon to have given him a later ratification of the Pass-port that he might thereby be the more secure while he intended this piracy against his Majesty's subjects' (TNA: FO 335/1/2).

This also demonstrates the authority of the consuls within the Regencies, in this case Tunis, reinforcing the view that Europeans were an influential element within Regency society. While the corsair mentioned by Dartmouth appears to have been a native of Tunis, another letter from the archive mentions a fellow countryman, referred to as

> *un Turco nominato Hassan di Hassan il quale fu detto Iaco de Livorno fu schiavo del Signor Capitano Antonio Francescij*
> 'a Turk named Hassan di Hassan who was called Iaco of Livorno and was a slave of Captain Antonio Franceschii' (TNA: FO 335/1/23a).

This description highlights the fluidity of the slave trade. While the majority of the slaves in Barbary were of European origin, North Africans and renegades were themselves enslaved. Livorno society, as will be discussed in Chapter 9, bore resemblance in its cosmopolitan, multinational, multidenominational and multilingual makeup:

> 'In Livorno and Marseilles, however, so numerous were Muslim slaves that at the very least it was necessary to concede them a burial site. Tuscan secular authorities tolerated the presence of three mosques inside the building that housed several hundred thousand Muslim slaves (the Bagno), a unique building in early modern Europe that mirrored those where Christian captives were held in North Africa' (Trivellato 2009: 82).

The denomination, Turk, could be less an indicator of nationality or language, but rather a religious label. Turk was synonymous with Muslim.

The maritime supremacy of the corsairs was curtailed in the early 19th century. Lord Exmouth launched an attack on Algiers in 1816, and the French sent colonial troops initially to Algiers and then into Tunisia from 1830. Corsair activity came to an abrupt halt, and slavery of all kinds, including the slave trade of black Africans was outlawed by the mid 19th century (Drescher 2009: 235-6).

Once the corsairs brought the slaves ashore in Barbary, they would be taken to the slave auction, stripped and humiliated. All transactions in the slave market were provisional as slaves were then presented to the Dey who could choose any slave at the same price set in the

market. 'State' slaves as they then became were destined for hard lifelong labour, while those with a private master could hope for domestic work and a possibility of ultimate liberty. Some such slaves undertook to raise a ransom for their own freedom. Known as *paga-lunars* (possibly a Lingua Franca term, derived from Italian, meaning 'paid monthly') they lived a relatively normal life with a house, mistress and horses, and sufficient food and drink. Craftsmen were similarly advantaged, offering skills which would be remunerated buying them out of hardship and even some kind of profit-making business in conjunction with their masters (Clissold 1977: 42). Slavery was conceptually different for Muslims. In Barbary, a Christian slave was a prisoner of war, and a temporary one. His status did not come with 'contempt of human dignity'. In the early 17th century, slavery was a fixed period of 7 years bondage (Fisher 1957: 102-3). D'Arvieux concurs that slaves were treated surprisingly well and could live "very commodiously for their state in life, and provided that they are willing to work, pretty much at their ease" (D'Arvieux 1735: vol. iv, 5). There were unsurprisingly other less positive accounts of slavery but several mention the slaves' rights to work not solely for their nominal master, and thus earn money. Sale of contraband – including alcohol and tobacco – appeared to be the preserve of Christian slaves, who thereby acquired means and status, and the opportunity, if so desired (though it was not always) to buy themselves out of bondage (Fisher 1957:100). *Bagnios* - slave quarters – also had chapels and taverns within them where drinking and gambling were acceptable activities for unmarried soldiers, renegades, foreign sailors and slaves. According to D'Aranda who counted twenty-two languages spoken there, the bagnio was the best school in the world for practical experience (D'Aranda 1662: 12). D'Arvieux attributes the survival and spread of Lingua Franca in Algiers to the need for communication among the diverse multilingual slave community, their masters and the various other groups in Regency society (D'Arvieux 1735: vol. v, 235).

The number of slaves captured is estimated in the following sections for each Regency but Dan (1637) writes that the corsairs *ont mis à la chaine un million de personnes* 'put a million people in chains' (Dan 1637: 317; my translation). Although this is an enormous number, attrition rate of slaves due to the hardship of their lives, frequent outbreaks of plague, and a population-wide low life expectancy (and, of course apostasy which secured slaves freedom) meant there was a need to constantly replace slaves (Davis 2004: 22-23). With regard to the figures suggested by contemporary commentators, Davis (2004) suggests that, as with so much of the testimony of Barbary life, there are issues of accuracy. As with the Lingua Franca corpus, North African sources are minimal and those coming from Europe are held in numerous archives of variable accessibility.

> 'What material there is turns out to be more anecdotal than serial by nature and, although often highly suggestive, these sources by no means allow one to total with any hope of accuracy all those enslaved by the Barbary corsairs' (Davis 2004: 9).

Davis' use of the word 'suggestive', while conveying the sense of estimate, also highlights the element of creativity that inevitably coloured the accounts of sources, as discussed in Chapter 4. Any quantitative analysis of slaves must allow for the potential fact and fiction overlap characteristic of Barbary and its sources.

Some slaves were elevated to high office by the Beys who ruled the provinces that included the Regencies of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli. Indubitably such slaves would have spoken Arabic, but perhaps the language of wider communication was Lingua Franca (Clissold 1977: 51). In Morocco, from Milton's account, *White Gold*, it seems that Arabic was the dominant language between master and slave, and he does not provide any evidence of the communication between slave nationalities having taken place in Lingua Franca. However, there are

several words and phrases included in his description that suggest that at least fragments of Lingua Franca permeated. The Sultan's first word on seeing a cargo of English slaves was *bono* 'good', one of the most frequently-occurring words of Lingua Franca across documentary sources (Milton 2004: 2). Similarly, there is a reference to *buono Christiano* 'good Christian' (Milton 2004: 233). The three Regencies, however, appear to have been the crucible of Lingua Franca's evolution.

3.4 Population Demographics

As Samarin (2013) did in his ethnographic analysis of Kituba, referenced in Chapter 1, I offer here a detailed and, where possible, quantitative breakdown of the populations, and the languages they spoke, of Morocco and the Barbary regencies. For Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, I have further divided the analysis into chronological periods.

3.4.1 Morocco

Morocco counted thousands of European slaves from a combination of corsair nautical captures and land raids throughout Europe, not solely countries with coastlines on the Mediterranean. Several dawn raids were carried out in Cornwall by renegade-led Moroccan ships, most of which had sailed from the port of Salé (Milton 2004: 11). European priests, slaves and visiting diplomats reported there were 5,000 European slaves in Meknes, the imperial capital ruled by the Sultan, Moulay Ismail, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Moroccan historian, Ahmed ez-Zayyani, disputes this and claims there would have been at least five times as many (Milton 2004: 99). Despite the international communities of slaves in Meknes and the other Moroccan city with a significant slave population, Salé, Lingua Franca was not the contact language there as it was in the Regencies of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli. This would seem to stem from the fact that the other three states were under Turkish sovereignty and had a more established international community in each city. The combination of

the lack of direct rule, the power of the violent corsairs, and the relentless trade of commodities and people – Europeans of multiple nationalities and languages - made for cities of shifting populations and identities. These were the conditions in which Lingua Franca flourished. Just as religion and nationality were fluid concepts, and not the sole basis for identity in Barbary, so too was language.

3.4.2 Algiers

17th -18th century

Up until the late 16th century, control of the Regency states was in the hands of a single ruler, appointed by the Sultan often for a term of office of just a few years (Fisher 1957: 84). The names of these leaders belie the international and multilingual nature of the Regencies, and the fact that Europeans were able to hold high office, at least in the non-military domains. Rulers of Algiers included Hassan Veneziano (from Venice), and Ochiali, mentioned above in 3.1, a Calabrian native long regarded as the outstanding leader of Algiers. In the mid – late 16th century, Algiers was ruled by Ramadan Sardo, a 'beloved' leader who was equally popular with Turks and Moors, under whom the state enjoyed 'such Justice and Equity' and 'more Peace and Tranquility' than ever before, and the people were upset when he was transferred to Tunis (Finlay 1877: vol. v, 93). Fisher describes Sardo as 'a native of Sardinia, aged 55 when he left Algiers in 1577, he was evidently a man of culture, since he was said to be keenly interested in Turkish and Arabic literature. He had only one wife, a Corsican, and three children. Both his daughters married renegades, from Spain and Naples respectively' (Fisher 1957: 86). Such European presence in the high echelons of the Algiers' power structure makes the use of the Romance-based Lingua Franca for communication between the Arabic inhabitants and the various European nationalities a logical linguistic choice.

The ruler of a regency was the indisputable representative of the Sultan, but in the aftermath of the Turkish defeat at Lepanto in 1581, the position was split into two separate offices. The Beglerbey – or Pasha (also known as the Bashaw, Bassa) - represented the sultan, by whom he was appointed, but with a short fixed term of office, sometimes no more than a year. While the nominal head of the Regency, his power in maritime affairs – both coastal defence and relations with European powers – was ceded to the Captain of the Sea, who was also appointed by the Sultan (Fisher 1957: 88). Fisher recounts Haedo's tale of the failed attempt in 1574 of the pasha to depose the newly appointed Captain of the Sea, Morat Reis, one of the most powerful and legendary corsairs (Fisher 1957: 89). Allegedly aged 104, Morat's end was described by Thomas Osborne, an English traveller, "Murate, a renegade of the Corsica nation, a person of great honour in Algiers, lieutenant general of the armada, a man of 104 years of age, whose desire was to die in the face of the Christians fighting the battle of Mahomet" (Osborne 1745: vol. ii, 477). This division of power was, however, revoked in the early eighteenth century in order to simplify administrative procedure. From 1710 onwards all Regency state administration was placed in the hands of one executive, known usually by the lesser title of Dey, but who was in practice the Beglerbey or governor-general for the Sultan (Fisher 1957: 92). This led to repeated power struggles, and 45 Pachas in 90 years. A military-inspired intervention changed the system of government in 1671 with the Pacha retained as a symbolic leader and an elected Dey in *de facto* control (an institution borrowed from Tunis). However this solution also succumbed to the anarchy rife in Algiers, and in the thirty years it did endure, twelve *Deys* took office, most losing their lives when they were violently deposed (Plantet 1889: xxii-xxiii). Such disorder may well have prevented hierarchies of culture and language taking root in Algiers (and other Regency states), enabling the spread and survival of Lingua Franca. The pidgin would have offered a channel of communication among those in power,

regardless of their nationality, and without the social and power connotations of Turkish or Arabic.

The urban planning and development of Algiers in the early 17th century bore witness to its thriving character. According to Haedo, there was a mint, a theological school, public baths and a hospital for the sick (Haedo 1612: 42). At that time, an excellent water supply and sewage network was established such that Algiers became commodious for her abundance of fountains in all parts of her and concavity for the passage of ordure and excrement from all houses and corners (Osborne 1745: vol. ii, 480). The key role played by the army in the Regencies was evident in the city's arsenal and the five barracks, housing 2,000 regular soldiers with separate rooms serving as messes and fountains in the quadrangles. Further better-designed barracks were built in the mid 17th century and were used as parade grounds, places for political debate and recreation centres, as well as providing accommodation to many of the military elite. They were kept immaculately clean by Christian slaves who allegedly paid to work there. The slave lodgings known as *bagnios* were modeled on the barracks in their structural layout (Fisher 1957: 97). The *bagnios* were far from prison-like, lacking dungeons. Sleeping accommodation – particularly in Algiers according to D'Arvieux - was basic and cramped, "the poor wretches are heaped on top of each other, rather than lodged" (D'Arvieux 1735: vol. v, 229).

According to Haedo, there were 25,000 Christian slaves imprisoned in the city whose total population numbered 60,000 (Haedo 1612: 8). These slaves were predominantly Romance-language speakers (from Italy, Spain and Portugal) but came from as far afield as Cornwall, Iceland and Russia. Milton also claims that between 1550-1730 there would have been about 25,000 captives in Algiers, although at times that number would have doubled (Milton 2004: 303). Christian slaves were derided and insulted by their masters, as per Pananti's account:

'Dogs are hated by the Moors: this accounts for the very flattering appellation bestowed so liberally on Christians' (Pananti in Blaquière 1830: 124). However, as mentioned above (3.3), treatment of the slaves was not exclusively violent and inhumane, although slaves might have been tempted in their accounts to magnify their suffering and the brutality of their masters. Consequently there is disparity in the accounts of treatment at the hands of Islamic masters (many of whom might have been renegades 'turned Turk'). Bono (1972) singles out the Flemish D'Aranda (1662), captured as he returned to his homeland from Spain in 1640 and imprisoned in Algiers for a year, as one whose reports of Algiers are less dark and dramatic. Indeed D'Aranda's account, while detailing the deprivation of slaves at the hand of their masters, acknowledges that their poverty was alleviated by limited freedom and the possibility to earn their own money:

> *consolation que nous avions était que chaque jour nous pouvions durant trois ou quatre heures, chercher notre vie*
> 'consolation we had was that we could for three or four hours a day make our living' (D'Aranda 1662: 10; my translation).

He also records the camaraderie among slaves, their sharing of food and rooms within the *bagnio* and the sporadic humanity shown to them by masters (D'Aranda 1662: 13,15).

In the first quarter of the 18th century, Peysonnel (1987), doctor and naturalist, spent more than a year in Tunis and Algiers. He gives an impression of the fluidity of social structures in Algiers. Although slaves, the Christians in the *bagnios* are able to earn money and have inviolable rights:

> *Il y a plusieurs tavernes ou gargotes dans les bagnes, que les esclaves chrétiens tiennent par privilège du dey, et moyennant une certaine somme. Elles sont très avantageuses à ceux qui les ont, et ils gagnent dans peu de temps de quoi se racheter. Les Turcs ni autres personnes*

> *n'oseraient y commettre des désordres ni des insolences, encore moins refuser le paiement de ce qu'ils y ont pris, bu ou mangé*
> 'There are many taverns and cheap restaurants in the bagnios, owned by Christians at the grace of the Dey, where they earn a certain sum of money. They offer significant advantages to those that have them, and they earn in very little time what they need to buy themselves out of slavery. Neither Turks nor any other people would dare to cause trouble or problems, never mind refuse payment for what they have taken, drunk or eaten' (Peysonnel 1987: 252; my translation).

Several sources mention the Dey elevating a Christian to the role of private secretary, or a 'favourite slave' (Caronni 1805: 101, 125; Pananti 1841: 69). Such promotion implies the fluidity of power structures in Algiers, and the ability of European slaves to permeate the upper echelons of its society. The Dey's personal secretary referred to by Caronni was Mariano Stinca, a former Neapolitan slave, who became indispensable to his master, famous throughout Algiers and secured independent wealth through his trade of a rose essence liqueur:

> *la più squisita in oggi è quella che si compra da Mariano lo schiavo favorito del Rey, e viene a costare al meno dieci scudi all' oncia*
> 'the most delicious one today can be bought from Mariano, the Dey's favourite slave, and costs ten *scudi* an ounce' (Caronni 1805: 101; my translation).

Nevertheless, the precariousness of such preferment is equally evident from accounts by both Pananti and Caronni. The latter refers to a favourite Maltese slave whose right hand was cut off for allegedly not declaring some private dealings (Caronni 1805: 125), while

Pananti relates his master's account in Lingua Franca of a former Dey's secretary:

> *Star questo costume d'aver segretario uno schiavo. Questo Dey aver avuto primo suo segretario un Cristiano, e questo can d'infedele aver tradito; e Dey far testa tagliara*
> 'It is the custom to have a slave as secretary. This Dey had a Christian as his first secretary, and that disloyal dog betrayed him; and the Dey had his head cut off'
> (Pananti 1841: 69; my translation).

The language here is noteworthy as it has the hallmarks of Lingua Franca in terms of all verb forms in the infinitive, and yet it is indubitably the recollection of an Italian in its orthography, which is more standardized than perhaps the pronunciation of an Algiers slave-master would have been. There is also agreement of nouns and adjectives, *uno schiavo* 'a slave' and *suo segretario* 'his secretary' which is inconsistent with many of the accounts of Lingua Franca. There will be more comprehensive linguistic analysis of sources in Chapters 5 and 6.

From Pierre Dan's writings (1637), almost contemporaneous with Haedo, it appears that Algiers at the time of Barbarossa and Emperor Charles V (mid 16th century) had a population of 60,000, almost half of which were Christian renegades from all over Europe. Turks made up the vast majority of the Janissaries, the army of each Barbary state. These soldiers saw themselves as the Sultan's subjects, which afforded them rights to retire to Turkey fully pensioned. They constituted a national military organization which was considered throughout the centuries (even as late as the 19th) a paradigm of discipline and solidarity and exemplary in its treatment of its personnel (Fisher 1957: 91). The Dutch geographer, Olfert Dapper, attributes the harmony in which so many nationalities co-existed to the military policy of Algiers (Dapper 1668: 228), although it is worth noting that Dapper never left his home country. Up to the mid 17th century, there

had been native inhabitants of the Regency states in the army but following the *Cologhli*[6] riot of 1622, this started to change. The privilege of serving in the army was withheld from native inhabitants, converted Jews, soldiers' sons and renegade Christians. By the close of the seventeenth century both the army and the civil service were exclusively comprised of native-born Turks (Fisher 1957: 92). There were also Turks who did not serve as Janissaries. In Algiers, more than 3,000 houses – the figure can only be approximate – belonged to Turks who were neither Janissaries nor sailors; they were, on the whole, merchants who had set up shop in the souks of the city. According to Heers, they socialized only with each other, restricting their contacts to their children, their relatives and their slaves (Heers 2004: 147).

The population of the city, roughly 100,000 by 1650, was very cosmopolitan. In addition to Turks from Anatolia and Romania, various native races and Jews, there were numerous nationality renegades or 'Turks by profession', the offspring of Christian parents who had converted (Fisher 1957: 100). Haedo claims that there were no countries, from Muscovy to the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in the East and West Indies, that did not have renegade representatives among them, in a bid to escape slavery to enjoy a better life and potentially avoid imprisonment in their home country (Haedo 1612: 9). Pierre Dan (1637) dedicated at least fifty pages of his quarto volume of 1637 to describing the circumstances and influence of the renegades; Nicolas de Nicolay, the sixteenth century French geographer and King's envoy, a somewhat better-informed source but one still concerned with entertaining and surprising his readers, attested that in the 1550s all the Turks in Algiers were in fact nothing more than Christian converts (Nicolay 1576: 17-18). There were some renegades who tried to return to their European countries of origin, attempting first to curry favour with liberated Christian slaves (even

[6] *Cologhli* is a Turkish word, meaning the son of a soldier, denoting the offspring of the marriage of a Janissary and an indigenous woman.

those they had captured themselves) before they left Barbary for Europe. . But many who did return came straight back to Barbary, as in Cervantes' *La historia del cautivo* 'The captive's tale' (Heers 2004:149). Rossetti (2002) attributes the greater number of renegade corsairs in Algiers than elsewhere in Barbary to the fact that piracy was state-sponsored there, while in Tunis corsairs were independent. In addition, there were approximately 25,000 Arabs – made up of Levantines, Algerians, Moriscos (returned from Spain) and Kabyle Berbers. Five thousand Jews also made their home in Algiers (Dan 1637: 73, 96, 111).

Corsairs in the late 16th century (the same time that Lingua Franca started to be documented by European travellers and diplomats) acquired increasing economic power and status within the Barbary elite. Plantet (1889), in the introduction to his compilation of correspondence between the leaders of Algiers and France, highlights the turning point of the Battle of Lepanto (1574):

> *Mais après la bataille de Lepanto, la Turquie, absorbée par des intérêts plus pressants, n'apporta plus les mêmes scrupules dans le choix des Gouverneurs d'Alger*
> 'After the battle of Lepanto, Turkey, consumed by more pressing concerns, paid less attention to the appointment of the governors of Algiers' (Plantet 1889: introduction, xx; my translation).

He further points to the related fact that the state of the finances of the Regency depended exclusively on the proceeds of piracy. Haedo's account, cited by Garcès, confirms the trickle-down effect of corsair activity on Algiers' economy:

'All of Algiers is happy then, because some merchants buy many of the slaves and goods that the corsairs bring with them, and other merchants sell clothing and provisions to those who come home from the sea, because many of them buy new clothes. And all is eating and drinking and triumphing' (Garcès 2011: 158).

Corsairs were a multinational group, at least as diverse as the slave population. Haedo enumerates their nationalities:

> *No hay naciòn de cristianos, en el mundo de la cual no haya renegade y renegados en Argel. Y comenzando de las remotas provincias de Europa, hallan en Argel renegados moscovitas, rojos […], búlgaros, polacos, húngaros, bohemios, alemanes, de Danimarca y Noruega, escoces, ingleses, irlandeses, flamencos, borgoñones, franceses, navarros, vizcaínos, castellanos, gallegos, portugueses, andaluces, valencianos, aragoneses, catalanes, mallorquines, sardos, corzos, sicilianos, calabreses, napolitanos, romanos, toscanos, genoveses, saboyanos, piamonteses, lombardos, venecianos, esclavones, albaneses[…], griegos, candiotas, cretanos, chipriotas, surianos y de Egypto y aun Abejinos de Preste Juan e indios de las Indias de Portugal, del Brasil y de Nueva España*
>
> There is no Christian nation in the world from which there are no renegades in Algiers. And starting with the remote provinces of Europe, in Algiers there are renegade Muscovites, Reds,[…], Bulgarians, Poles, Hungarians, Bohemians, Germans, from Denmark and Norway, Scots, English, Irish, Flemish, Burgundians, French, Navarrese, Basques, Castilians, Galicians, Portuguese, Andalusians, Valencians, Aragonese, Catalans, Majorcans, Sardinians, Corsicans, Sicilians, Calabrese, Neapolitans, Romans, Tuscans, Genoese, Candiotas, Cretans, Cypriots, Surinamese and from Egypt and even Abejinos of Prester John and Indians from the Indies of Portugal, Brazil and New Spain' (Haedo 1612: 9).

Haedo additionally provides a list of the most influential Corsairs – those with Galliots, the highest status ships - in Algiers in 1581. Of the 35 listed, only 10 are described as Turks or native Turks. The other 25

are named as renegades, with Genoese, Venetians and Greeks making up the largest nation groups (Garcès 2011: 160). Haedo conveys the supremacy of the renegades, confirmed by Cervantes, imprisoned in the *banios* of Algiers from 1575-1580 who also attests to the multinational makeup of the renegade community, according to King who names several of those with whom Cervantes had dealings:

> *Arnaute Mamí, renegado albanés, Capitán de la flota de Argel..Dalí Mamí, renegado griego…fue el patron de Cervantes…hasta la primavero de 1580, cuando el cautivo fue comprado por Asán Bajá, el renegado veneciano que sirvió de gobernado o rey de Argel desde 1577 hasta septiembre de 1580, y el cosario Morato Ráez Maltrapillo, renegado murciano, amigo de Asán Bajá, quien protegió a Cervantes y le salvo dos veces de duros castigos*
> 'Arnaute Mamí, an Albanian renegade, Captain of the Algiers fleet, Dalí Mamí, Greek renegade…[who] was Cervantes' owner until the Spring of 1580, when the captive was bought by Asán Bajá, the Venetian renegade who served as governor or king of Algiers from 1577 until September 1580, and the corsair Murad Raïs Maltrapillo, the Murcian renegade, friend of Asán Bajá, who protected Cervantes and saved him twice from harsh punishment' (King 1992: 280-1; my translation).

The Ka'ids, government officials who governed the provinces beyond Algiers such as Bône, Tlemcen, Constantine etc, were a similarly cosmopolitan group. Most of these were rich men who had bought their title and position. A list of the wealthiest Ka'ids living in Algiers in 1581 shows that of the 23, 13 were renegades or sons of renegades from Hungary, Corsica, England, Calabria, Naples, Mallorca, and Sardinia (Garcès 2011: 129).

Until the early 17th century, the Muslims of Barbary were known as 'Moors'. Fisher divides the Moors into Turks; Moorish returnees from Spain, known mostly as Moriscos; Moors (again) to describe city-dwellers; Arabs who were rural inhabitants; and wild or desert Moors, who came to the ports from the Sahara. According to Heers (2004), in Algiers there were as many as 8 different types of Moors from different regions, speaking different languages or dialects. He makes particular mention of the Baldis, Kabyles and Arabs. The most prominent were the Baldis who seemed to be the original inhabitants of the city, occupying 2,500 houses and owning many of the shops. The Kabyles were a poor mountain people who hoped to make their living in the service of the Turks. They worked the land too, and frequently served aboard the corsair galleys as oarsmen (Heers 2004: 146). Tully highlights the opacity of not only the Moorish language, but the whole way of speaking: 'his hands are absolutely necessary for his discourse, he marks with the forefinger of his right hand upon the palm of his left, as accurately as we do with a pen, the different parts of his speech, a comma, a quotation, or a striking passage. This renders their manner of conversing very singular; and an European, who is not used to this part of their discourse, is altogether at a loss to understand what the speakers mean' (Tully 1819: vol. i, 15).

There were significant numbers of Jews, who originated from many regions, but especially from the Iberian Peninsula. They wore hats of different colours and styles according to their various origins, and specialized, working predominantly as tailors, grocers, jewellers and goldsmiths. They also traded and engaged in commerce (Heers 2004: 147). They 'were held by the Muslims in such low esteem that a Muslim child could insult or injure them with impunity'. Even wealthy Jews lived miserably (Haedo 1612: 23). Dan put their number in the first decades of the 17th century at 5,000 (Dan 1637: 111). There were at the same time approximately 3,000 merchant families of various European nationalities. Visitors to Algiers commented on the

abundance, variety and cheapness of food supplies, and the competition of Christian merchants and corporations for trading privileges and concessions (Fisher 1957: 109). In fact, Algiers became a veritable trading centre, and Haedo details its significance to Mediterranean trade and beyond, listing the vast array of foods, fabrics, coral and shells traded there. He describes the Regency as the 'most opulent place' in the sultan's empire, his 'Indies, Mexico and Peru' (Haedo 1612: 19; my translation). Yet Heers points out that the Regencies lacked the beauty and mystique of some of the Levant ports: 'Nor could any European look upon the Maghreb in the same way that he could view the countries of Syria, Egypt, or the East. There they might marvel at the riches to be seen, or the elegance of the architecture' (Heers 2004: 118). In addition, although a trading hub, no European merchant would willingly make use of the local currency; according to Haedo, 'All the coins, *reales, ecus, solta,* are of uncertain value as the Pasha of Algiers raises or debases the currency according to his needs' (Haedo 1612: 24 v; my translation). Nevertheless, merchants chose to use the Italian or Spanish coinage, most particularly silver *reales*, which were the most sought after by Arabic traders and could then be used by them across North Africa and even as far away as India and China (Heers 2004: 118).

19th century Algiers

Feissat et Demonchy, the Marseille-based publishing house responsible for the 1830 anonymously edited *Dictionnaire de la langue franque*, published in the same year, again anonymously, a geographical and ethnographic study of Algiers, *Alger: topographie, population, forces militaires et de mer, acclimatement et ressources que le pays peut offrir à l'armée expedition* (Anonymous 1830). Again, the purpose was to acquaint troops with background information that would benefit military operations. According to the book's author, Algiers' population was much reduced – only 50 years earlier its population numbered 150,000 while by 1830 it had fallen to 40,000,

due to the outlawing of slavery, the consequent reduced number of corsairs, as well as the devastation of plague outbreaks (Anonymous 1830: 3). In an ethnographic breakdown of the inhabitants of Algiers, the unknown author lists Turks, European renegades, Cologhli families (as noted above, denoting the offspring of Janissary and local marriages), Moors, Jews (who lived a separate life from the rest of the city's population), Nomadic Arabs, Berbers, African slaves, and free Christians (slavery of Christians having been halted and outlawed by Lord Exmouth after he bombed Algiers from British ships in the harbour in 1816) (Anonymous 1830: 32-39). Thirty pages later, the ethnographic analysis is of 4,000 Turks, 10,000 Cologhlis, 20,000 Moors and 6,000 Jews, making a total of 40,000 (Anonymous 1830: 66.) It is noteworthy that the author states that despite the altered and reduced population (and the absence of thousands of European slaves), Lingua Franca remains the primary means of communication between the European and Arabic communities:

> *A Alger, comme dans presque tout le Levant, mahometans et étrangers se servent d'un jargon compose d'italien, de français et d'espagnol, qu'on appelle Langue Franque ou Petit Mauresque, à l'aide de laquelle on entend facilement les trois langues, et l'on se fait comprendre de toutes les espèces d'habitans.*
>
> 'In Algiers, as throughout almost all the Levant, Muslims and foreigners use a jargon made up of Italian, French and Spanish, known as Lingua Franca or Petit Mauresque, which facilitates understanding of the three languages, and in which any resident can make himself understood' (Anonymous 1830: 70; my translation).

Broughton's publication of her mother's diaries provides a flavour of the divisions within Algerine society, along racial lines. Mrs Blanckley, the wife of the English Consul from 1806-12, refers to the antagonism toward Jews:

> 'I am told that all the Jews are much threatened by the Turks. The Aga is expected to arrive from the camp. God knows what the result will be, and what fate is reserved for that persecuted race' (Broughton 1839: 63).

She also details a number of what she terms 'revolutions' as leaders are repeatedly toppled from power. There are numerous reports of people being charged (often wrongly) and others of perceived wrongdoers being put to death for insurgency. An example from July 1808 highlights the volatility of power in Algiers: 'A report reached us here that the Guardian Pasha and several other influential men were to be put to death' (Broughton 1839: 92). The English Consul interceded on their behalf and begged for their lives to be spared. The next diary entry, five days later, reveals that 'the man who informed against the Guardian Pasha was lately Captain of the Port of Oran…[who] acted from motives of vile treachery and malice' (Broughton 1839: 92). Internecine rivalry and suspicion, even paranoia, permeated the upper tiers of Algerine power.

The diaries give a clear impression of the multinational character of Algiers. Mrs. Blanckley refers regularly to the various European nationalities of slaves who move from one household to another:

> 'A Sicilian (slave to a Jew) has been recommended to us by Madame Farara, and has today entered our service, to receive instructions from Juan, whom he will replace as head cook' (Broughton 1839: 49).

The 'Juan' referred to was Italian, while Madame Farara's personal history is emblematic of the complex interweaving of nationality and religion in Algerine society. She was originally of British parents, born in Minorca and orphaned at a young age. Her future husband was an Algerine merchant, though unusually a Christian who had been captured from the island of Tabarca (off the coast of Tunis) by an Algerian corsair and enslaved together with his brother. Both had been fortunate to have come into the

service of the Dey and subsequently to have been liberated. On a mercantile visit to Mahon, the capital of Minorca, Signor Farara fell in love with the young English woman who then renounced her Protestant faith in favour of Catholicism (Broughton 1839: 13-14).

Much of the diplomacy effected by Mr. Blanckley was conducted in Lingua Franca, according to his wife's diary entries, and it becomes apparent, reading her account, that Lingua Franca terms and greetings peppered formal and informal discourse among elites:

> 'Mr. Richards…is much gratified at having shaken hands with the Dey, and having wished his Highness a *Buona Pascha*' (Broughton 1839: 70).

A later excerpt recounting the reaction in Algiers to a son being born to the Ottoman Sultan is revealing in the allegiance felt by Algerine elites to Constantinople, but also exemplifies the uptake of Lingua Franca or at least Italianate terms into common parlance:

> 'the birth of a son to the *Grand Signor…* a splendid Regálo, according to *usanza*, will be sent by the Dey' (Broughton 1839: 249).

3.4.3 Tunis

17th century

Jean de Thévenot, a French traveller who spent several months in Tunis, warned visitors that, given the number of (mostly Italian or, at least, Romance language-speaking) renegades living in the city, they should desist from speaking Italian in the city's streets if they wished to keep a secret. (Turbet-Delof 1976: 135). Indeed, Gallico describes Italian as 'the language of trade, sea and diplomacy' (Gallico 1928: 218). Italian or perhaps Lingua Franca was the main language among the principal factions of Tunis' 17th century European population, Maltese and *grana,* Livornese Jews (Triulzi 1971: 160). It was not

confined to the Europeans, however, as Triulzi identifies: 'Like any makeshift language, [it] extended beyond the European community' to all those in daily contact with Europeans (Triulzi 1971: 161). He proceeds to explain the infiltration of Italian and Lingua Franca into households, shops, taverns and into the court and the Bey's household. There appear to be very few locations where Lingua Franca did not extend its influence.

18th-19th century Tunis

According to Clancy-Smith, whose book, *Mediterraneans: North Africa and Europe in an age of migration, c.1800-1900* (2011), focuses predominantly on population shift in Tunisia, the population of Tunis numbered 100,000 in the early 19th century. Muslims numbered between 65,000-70,000, about 5,000 of who were from other North African countries. There were 15,000 Jews resident in Tunis. Until 1840, 1,000 African slaves arrived every year, but following abolition in 1846, the influx came to a halt. Approximately 7,000 freed slaves and their families and descendants remained in the city. There were allegedly 3,000 Europeans although Clancy-Smith highlights the difficulty in being more precise about Europeans' various national identities – Sicilians, Maltese, Italians, Spanish and French were often simply referred to as European (Clancy-Smith 2011: 50-52). In his description of Tunis, Reynaud (1813) counts 6,000 Christians among the population of 70,000 (Reynaud 1813: 68).

In 1848, the English vice-consul claimed there were 5,800 British subjects, which included Maltese and Greek (from the Ionian islands which were under British rule), the vast majority of whom (more than 5,000) were Maltese. A separate British diplomatic report a year earlier tallied 9,400 Christians. Of these, 6,000 were Maltese. A later estimate of the Italo-Sicilian population in 1870 was of 9,000 residents and a further 2,000 itinerant workers – fishermen and sailors (Clancy-Smith 2011: 54). Jews are, in some population analyses, regarded as

an ethnic group; elsewhere they are counted according to their European nationality. In 1871, the Italian consulate in Tunis acknowledged more than 1,000 Jews under Italian jurisdiction. Most of these were the descendants of an influx of Northern Italian (from Livorno) and Tuscan Jews who had crossed the Mediterranean two centuries earlier. They had formed the ranks of physicians to the aristocracy and diplomatic translators (Clancy-Smith 2011:60,). Another population group that, like Moor, Jew and European, defies clear definition, is Creole. In the case of Tunis, it denotes someone born there but of parents born elsewhere, usually Europe (Clancy-Smith 2011: 65).

The Christian community of Tunis dates from the 12th century when Venetian merchants started up enterprises, followed by traders from elsewhere in Northern Italy, Marseille and England. Many of the French immigrants were Huguenot families. The ranks of Europeans were swelled by the practice by Tunis' ruling family of offering families protection in exchange for technical and military know-how or scientific knowledge. This protection was particularly attractive and welcome to French citizens fleeing their homeland in the late 18th century, in the run-up and course of the French Revolution. Relations between the Bey and his administrators, and the Europeans, and their own consular representatives in Tunis, were often fraught. Apostasy was the only acceptable reason for French (and other European nationalities) to avoid their national jurisdiction. The welcoming of Europeans for their 'advanced' culture was extended further to some by the ruling dynasty of Tunis, who subsumed a number of Christians captured in corsair raids into their own ranks within the palace (Clancy-Smith 2011: 70). A particular case of European immigration concerns Tabarka, an island off the coast of Tunis. Originally settled by Genoese merchants in the mid-16th century, Tabarka was a fertile source of fishing and coral-harvesting. Only in the mid 18th century did the Genoese community cede control to the Bey of Tunis, and the

Tabarkan creole community moved to Tunis (Clancy-Smith 2011: 74). It is worth noting that Fiorenzo Toso, a specialist in Tabarkan, a dialect of Genoese, rejects the idea that the Tabarkan community spoke to Arab counterparts in Lingua Franca while resident on the island (Toso 2009: 264).[7] According to Clancy-Smith, the higher echelons of Tunis society, even within the Palace of the Bey, spoke Lingua Franca. She cites the account of Jean-André Peyssonnel, a French diplomat who travelled through the Barbary states, as claiming, 'The reigning Bey speaks Italian or petit Moresque, a corrupted Italian mixed with French and Spanish '(Clancy-Smith 2011: 60). This 'bad Italian' was incorporated into diplomatic and commercial exchanges (Baglioni 2010: 268-9) up until the close of the 19th century when it came to be replaced by French.

3.4.4 Tripoli

17th century

Tripoli is often considered in conjunction with Tunis, where population statistics are concerned, and there is thus less information about the city's population during the period from the 16th – 18th

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[7] Toso cites Gourdin who maintains that the inhabitants of Tabarka acquired sufficient Arabic rather than using Lingua Franca to communicate with their Barbary counterparts.

> *Sans abandonner leur langue ni leur religion, ils [i Tabarchini.] sont devenus bilingues et leur langue maternelle s'est enrichie de mots et de concepts empruntés aux Maures et cet emprunt s'est avéré assez solide pour être transféré en Sardaigne par les émigrés de 1738 et perdurer jusqu'à une époque récente*
> 'Without abandoning their language or religion, the Tabarchini became bilingual and their mother tongue was enriched with words and terms borrowed from the Moors and these loans become sufficiently ingrained to be transferred to Sardinia with the emigrants of 1738 and to endure until recent times' (Gourdin 2008, p. 471; my translation).

This lack of uptake of Lingua Franca is striking and worthy of further research and analysis.

centuries. Tripoli was even more than its counterparts, Algiers and Tunis, a city apart from its hinterland. According to McLachlan's analysis of Tripoli versus Tripolitania during the Barbary periods, Tripolitania was a semi-nomadic rural civilization, very much removed from the commercial (if small) metropolis of Tripoli (McLachlan 1978: 286). The English Consul of Tripoli in the late 17th century was Thomas Baker. His journal echoes the portrayal of Tripoli as multinational at every level of society and across the political and economic domains. Pennell's introduction to the published journal includes a table of the Deys of Tripoli from 1603-1684. Of the seventeen listed, only nine are recorded as Turks, the official rulers of Tripoli. Seven were Greek renegades. Four Deys ruled for a matter of days (Pennell 1999: 32).

Pennell states that 'corsairing in Tripoli like the rest of the economy was relatively small-scale. In 1676 Tripoli had twelve ships…In 1676 Algiers possessed no less than fifty' (Pennell 1999: 46). According to Davis (Davis 2001: 107), European slave numbers in Tripoli peaked at 2,500, far fewer than in Algiers or Tunis. Corsair activity was, however, clearly relatively vigorous: the rovers of Tripoli were alleged to have captured seventy-five ships amounting to nearly 1,100 European slaves between 1677-85 (Pennell 1999: 46). Fontenay, a French historian, suggests an even larger number, claiming that in the decade 1668-1678, Tripolitans captured and enslaved 2,450 Europeans (Fontenay 1991: 22). Both figures convey the relatively significant European population dwelling in Tripoli during the seventeenth century. Pennell includes a table that categorises those captured by corsairs between April 1679 and May 1685 by nationality. The nationalities or place of origin listed are French, Dutch, Genoa, Venice, Malta, Ragusa, Naples, Mallorca, Livorno and Greek (Pennell 1999: 47). The endemic multilingualism extends even to the names of corsairs. Romance and non-Romance blends, typical of Lingua Franca, feature regularly. Baker mentions, among others: 'Mustapha Piccolo, a

Greek renegade admiral of this Squadron' (Pennell 1999: 135), and he refers to the Ottoman Sultan exclusively as *Gran Signior*.

18th century Tripoli

From 1783-1793, a century after Baker, the English Consul in Tripoli was Richard Tully. His sister's journal, detailing Tripoline life at the court and beyond provides further ethnographic insights into the city's cosmopolitan population and its consequent multilingual landscape. Referring to the *bagnio*, she writes: 'There are a number of Maltese, Genoese and Spanish within it at present, but none of any other nation' (Tully 1819: vol. i, 59). As exemplified by Baker, the polylingual character motivates code-switching and the inclusion of Italian (or perhaps, more accurately, Lingua Franca terms and names) in his journals: such was the success of a Moorish corsair, particularly in his battles with Maltese 'that the Maltese gave him the name of *Chasse Diable*, and the Moors that of *Rais Draieco*, or dragon captain' (Tully 1819: vol. ii, 96). *Draieco* does not come from the Arabic or Turkish, and seems to be a variation on either Italian *drago* or Portuguese *dragão*. In another entry Tully uses the expression *buona mano* (from the Italian 'good hand'): 'It is customary at the birth of the Bey's sons, particularly of the heir to the throne…to give a present of money to those who bring the news, which is called a *buona mano*' (Tully 1819: vol. ii, 118). The sporadic code-switching highlights the multilingual ecology of Tripoli, a factor in the uptake of Lingua Franca as a contact language. This will be further explored in later chapters (6,7,and 9).

19th century Tripoli

Reynaud, a French diplomat based in Tunis in the mid 19th century, and whose account, *La Régence de Tripoli* appeared in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, vol. Xll of 1855, described Tripoli as a small urban centre with 12,000 inhabitants living in clean newly-built quarters, surrounded by fortified walls as if a captive state (Reynaud 1855: 14). European

immigrants (merchants and diplomats) numbered significantly fewer than in Tunis, and particularly Algiers, despite the fact that the Bey of Tripoli in 1551 had enslaved almost the entire population of the Maltese island of Gozo (more than 6,000 people) and had settled a significant number in Tripoli (Davis 2001:91). The population was largely made up of Moors and Turks, with Jews and Moriscos (Arabs, who had been captured by the Spanish and forced to convert to Christianity while in Spain, and had subsequently returned to North Africa) forming the merchant class.

Evidently, the renegades remained powerful up until the dying days of the Regencies. A despatch sent from Hanmer Warrington, English Consul in Tripoli, to Robin Wilmot Horton, Under-Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, 22nd February 1824 (TNA: FO: 161/9 (a)), giving details of various persons about the Tripoline court, includes two foreigners who held senior positions in the regime's hierarchy. Warrington describes first a Georgian former corsair:

> 'Mustapha Georgia takes his name from the land which gave him birth, came very young to Tripoli, was a Mohametan and Mameluke, married one of the Bashaw's daughters. Has been Reis of Marina, Captain of the Port for a number of years…of age say thirty-five years, a clever active fellow but as haughty and proud as Lucifer. His unbending stubbornness will some day cost him his head and nothing hither to has kept it on his shoulders but the love of his Highness and his daughter, Mustapha's wife' (TNA: FO 161/9 (a)).

Mustapha Gurgi came to the attention of the Tripolitan elite when he captured the American ship, *Philadelphia,* off the coast of Tripoli in December 1803. He was later captured by the US navy and imprisoned in Naples. He was released around 1811 and, returning to Tripoli, was appointed the captain of the port, responsible for the tax and customs of Tripoli. In 1835, the Ottoman army recaptured Tripoli but

Mustapha, alone among the ruling family, was allowed to stay in the country and held various high-governmental positions. He built the Gurgi (meaning Georgian) Mosque in 1833, a landmark of Tripoli still today (Teijgeler 2011: 13).

Warrington also describes a former corsair, who had also integrated into the ruling family of Algiers:

> 'Murad Reis, or Peter Lisle, a Scotsman by birth, came to the Regency twenty nine years since with Mr Lucas [Simon Lucas, consul in Tripoli 1793-1801] as mate of a large ship belonging to that gentleman...I consider him a good man and very useful to this country…' (TNA: FO 161/9 (a)).

Peter Lisle had converted to Islam in 1795 and became High Admiral of the Tripolitan Navy, employed by the Qaramanli dynasty. He later married the daughter of the Pacha Yusuf Qaramanli, and remained High Admiral (other than a brief period of exile 1816-1819). He also worked as a negotiator for the British government. He is alleged to have taken his name in honour of the 17th century corsair, Murad Reis of Morocco (Tucker 2014: 437). His predecessor was actually a Dutch privateer, Jan Janszoon, who had also converted to Islam and become a notorious corsair operating out of the port of Salé, on the Moroccan coast (Jamieson 2013: 120).

Such power in the hands of potentially non-Arabic speaking individuals might suggest that Lingua Franca endured in part because it was not merely the preserve of slaves, or the master-slave domain, but penetrated the upper echelons of Regency society.

3.4.5 The Levant

Cities of the Levant shared the cosmopolitan and multinational multilingual complexion of the Barbary Regencies, with one significant

exception – there was no slave trade. Europeans, nevertheless, constituted sizeable proportions of the urban populations. Mansel's profile of Levantine cities enumerates the following characteristics:

> 'location on or near the Eastern Mediterranean; the prominence of international trade and foreign consuls; the use of international languages such as lingua franca or broken Italian, and later French; and relative tolerance, and numerical balance, between different communities. No single group was exclusively dominant' (Mansel 2016: 15).

Aleppo in the 16th century became a preferred location for European consuls. In 1548, Venice moved its consul from Tripoli to Aleppo because, according to one merchant, it was 'where the merchants live and business is done' (Tucci 1957: 7). Other European nations, including England, France and the Netherlands, soon followed in establishing consuls. Aleppo was on trading routes to India, and was visited by 'North Africans, Iranians, Arabs and Indians as well as Europeans' (Mansel 2016: 29). Mansel cites John Barker, the British consul between 1803-1826 in Aleppo, who wrote that 'men of different creeds live in perfect peace and not infrequently in relations of closest friendly intercourse' (Mansel 2016: 30). The city's multinational, multidenominational and multilingual population was evidently cohesive with sustained, regular communication between the multiple communities.

The 17th century Ottoman traveller, Celebi, an Ottoman traveller and writer, is cited by Mansel (2010), bemoaning how Smyrna 'resembled an ocean of people. The streets were so crowded that people rubbed shoulders' (Mansel 2010: 22). Woodruff's early 19th century memoir of his journey through the eastern Mediterranean details the multilingual European section of Smyrna: 'Along Frank Street the throng of languages included Dutch, English, Italian and French, and especially Provençal' (Woodruff 1831: 155). It would seem plausible that Lingua Franca was also one of the neighbourhood languages,

given its lexical similarities to Italian and Provençal. The nomenclature, Frank Street, reinforces the sense of a pan-European identity known as Frank, and the umbrella terms Frank and Lingua Franca may have represented, particularly to non-romance speakers. Mansel cites an 1813 census that counted 130,000 residents in Smyrna, 10,000 of whom were Jews and 5,000 Franks. Although these are smaller proportions than in the Barbary ports, there would have been a significant European presence. Certainly, Smyrna retained its European character: at the outset of the 19th century, Chateaubriand compared the city to Paris, describing it as 'an oasis of civilization, a Palmyra in the middle of the desert of barbarism' (Chateaubriand 1806: vol. 1, 171).

Istanbul's population was at least as cosmopolitan as other ports of the Ottoman Empire. Mary Wortley Montagu, the wife of the English ambassador to Istanbul in the early 19th century, observed:

> "I live in a place that very well represents the Tower of Babel; in Pera they speak Turkish, Greek, Hebrew, Armenian, Arabic, Persian, Russian, Slavonian, Wallachian, German, Dutch, French, English, Italian, Hungarian; and what is worse, there is ten of those languages spoke in my own family. My grooms are Arabs, my footmen French, English and Germans, my nurse an Armenian, my housemaids Russians, half a dozen other servants Greeks, my steward an Italian, my janissaries Turks, that I live in the perpetual hearing of this medley of sounds, which produces a very extraordinary effect upon the people that are born here. They learn all these languages at the same time and without knowing any of them well enough to write or read in it. There is very few men, women or children here that have not the same compass of words in five or six of them' (Montagu: 122-3).

Montagu's enumeration of the nationalities and languages in her household, presumably a microcosm of the city, and her own imagery of a 'Tower of Babel' suggests the plurilingualism found throughout the Levant and North African society but also at the individual level. It also reinforces a sense of inevitable idiolectal variation and semi-speaker or L2 versions of the household languages.

Nerval details the various nationalities in Constantinople, and suggests how the communities lived discretely:

> *Nous étions partis de Péra, la ville franque, pour nous rendre aux bazars de Stamboul, la ville turque*
>
> 'We had left Péra, the Frank town, to visit the bazaars of Istanbul, the Turkish town' (Nerval 1884: vol. 2, 2).

Similarly, Mayes refers to the Frank quarter of Alexandria (Mayes 1988: 79-80) and remarks on how the death of a Frank from the plague sweeping the city in 1815 differed from that of an Arab: 'The Arabs were apparently immune, though they took no precautions. But the death of a single European was enough to throw the whole Frank quarter into a turmoil' (Mayes 1988: 80). Despite the multinational character of Alexandria, the Arab and non-Arab populations remained discrete in terms of living quarters. The Europeans appeared to view themselves as superior to the Arabs, and this may have reinforced their use of a Romance-derived language with the Arabic-speaking population of the city.

3.5 Conclusions

The sheer number of Europeans – free and enslaved – living in the Barbary States, and the (largely) unregulated commercial activities, predominantly the trade in stolen goods and people, created the conditions for Lingua Franca to flourish as a basic communication tool between the diverse groups. The power vacuum created by the unusual combination of remote official Ottoman authority that was

subverted and/or substituted by local Arabic- or Turkish-speaking leaders in the Regencies, the economic imperative and power held by mostly European corsairs (and their permeation of executive and social hierarchies), and the ever-shifting multilingual slave and mercantile communities, all contributed to an environment which demanded a contact language accessible to all. The populations of the three city-states, Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, varied from one to another. Geopolitical developments also impacted on the social, national and linguistic makeup of each of the Regencies. I suggest that these population demographics influenced the fortunes, as well as the character, of Lingua Franca spoken in each city-state. Although the absence of corsairing and a consequent (mostly European) slave population in the Levant meant that there were fewer European voices, they nevertheless made up a substantial proportion of urban society in cities like Smyrna, Constantintople, Aleppo and Alexandria. These were all cosmopolitan, trading centres necessitating Lingua Franca, or variations thereof (also known as Levant(ine) Italian or Levantine Venetian) to facilitate communication within and among the plurilingual communities.

Chapter 4 – Sources of Lingua Franca

The chapter will present the key sources on Lingua Franca. These fall principally into two categories of documentary and literary sources, although, as will become apparent, there is inevitably overlap between the two, and the definition of documentary is questionable when applied to travelogues and memoirs. The more strictly documentary evidence comes from diplomatic sources and in the form of the *Dictionnaire* (1830), a lexical manual for colonizing French troops published in 1830. Even this source, however, is not without inconsistency and contention, as its author(s) are unknown, as is their experience of and fluency in Lingua Franca. There are numerous omissions from the text as well as multiple errors. The majority of the documentary evidence takes the form of individual accounts of captivity, redemptionist missions and journeys through Barbary. The evidence is fragmentary and often frustrating. A substantial proportion of the sources refer to Lingua Franca and its constituent or lexifying languages, but then offer little or no example of it. This chapter further exposes the linguistic bias of the authors of many sources, recording excerpts that lexically and orthographically belie their native language and their analysis of Lingua Franca's linguistic roots. The predominantly, if not exclusively, oral nature of Lingua Franca only compounds the fragmentary nature of the evidence as it cannot be compared with sources of written text. Yet, as mentioned in Chapter 1, given the era of its existence, there are no oral recordings. All documentation of the language is written. The chapter will reveal the sources' documentation of the inevitable variation, and yet remarkable constancy, of Lingua Franca across its impressive geographic and diachronic spread.

4.1 Overview of sources

I am approaching the varied documentary corpus from a chronological perspective, examining first Morocco then the Regencies one by one, and finally the Levant. I will subsequently explore the literary, often more extensive, sources of Lingua Franca. The latter are evidently questionable given their primary purposes of entertainment and parody, but they nevertheless offer context and echo linguistic features of Lingua Franca found in the more traditional corpus texts, and complement these, and contribute to a broader picture of Lingua Franca.

The two tables below provide chronological lists of Lingua Franca source authors. The first (table 4.1) details the principal documentary witnesses to Lingua Franca throughout Barbary and the Levant. The second table relates to key dramatic works that feature excerpts of in Lingua Franca. It is noteworthy that these predate the documentary sources.

Table 4.1 Documentary sources of Lingua Franca

Source author	**Native Language**	**Date**	**Location**	**Additional information about the author**
Diego de Haedo	Spanish	1612	Algiers	Spanish Abbot
Savary de Brèves	French	Early 17th century	Tripoli	French consul to Constantinople
Pierre Dan	French	Mid 17th century	Algiers	French priest
William Okeley	British	Mid 17th century	Algiers	Captured sailor
Chevalier d'Arvieux	French	Mid 17th century	Algiers and Tunis	Diplomat and adviser to Molière
Chastelet les	French	1660s	Algiers	

Boys				
John Covel	English	1670	Tunis	Priest
Serrano	Spanish	Late 17th century	Algiers	Missionary
Galland	French	Late 17th century	Smyrna, Constantinople	Employed by French ambassador
Olfert Dapper	Dutch	Late 17th century	Holland	Derived all his information from letters
Tournefort	French	Early 18th century	Crete and Constantinople	
Rehbinder	German	1798-1800	Algiers	
Knecht	English	Mid 18th century	Tripoli	English consul
Abbé Prévost	French	Mid 18th century	Yemen (and elsewhere in Levant)	
Thédenat	French	Late 18th century	Oran, Algeria	Slave turned adviser to Bey
Filippo Pananti	Italian	Early 19th century	Algiers	
Elizabeth Broughton	English	Early 19th century	Algiers	Published mother's diary,
Parodi	Italian / Sardinian	Early 19th century	Tripoli	Sardinian consul
Lord Byron	English	Early 19th century	Levant	
Don Felice Caronnni	Italian	1805	Tunis	
Louis Frank	French	1806-15	Tunis	Doctor to the Bey
Dictionnaire (Anonymous)	French	1830	Marseilles	

Table 4.2 Dramatic works featuring Lingua Franca

Author	Type of literary work	Date	Title	Speaker of LF
Anonymous	Dialogue	c.1305	Contrasto della Zerbitana	Offended woman from Djerba (Tunisia)
Juan Del Encina	Poem	1521	Villancico	Hawkers to Jerusalem-bound pilgrims
Cervantes	Play	1615	Los Baños de Argel	Warden of the slave quarters
Giancarli	Play	1545	La Zingana	Gypsy woman from the Levant
Molière	Play	1667	Le Sicilien	Turkish valet
Molière	Play	1670	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme	Turkish merchant
Shaw	Play	1680	Limberham	Various English characters
Goldoni	Play	1761	L'impresario delle Smirne	Ali, Turkish merchant

4.1.1 Early (pre-17th century) documentary sources

References to the existence of Lingua Franca date back to the crusades and, counter to the later lack of attention apparently paid to European society and culture by the Arabic writers, these earliest sources are largely from Arabic historians, as detailed by Minervini (1996). In the 10th century, the Arab historian, Mas'udi bin Hawqal speaks of the linguistic uniformity attributed to Europeans by Arabs (Miquel 1975: 356). There were evidently some Arabs who mastered European languages: Abu Shama contributes to the Book of the Two Gardens, History of the Two Kingdoms, part of the *Recueil des historiens des croisades* 'Collection of the Historians of the Crusades' (ed. Barbier de Meynard 1892: 82) that a group from the Egyptian fleet who could

speak 'lingua dei franchi' led a surprise assault on the enemy in1156. Minervini conveys the Arabs' perception of European plurilingualism, citing the 13th century historian, Rašīd al-Dīn: 'The Franks have 25 languages, and no one speaks another's language. The only things they have in common are the calendar, numbers and their alphabet' (Minervini 1996: 233; my translation).

4.1.2 Questionable sources

There are multiple sources describing and reporting Lingua Franca predominantly on the Barbary Coast, and through the Levant into Egypt, over a period of several hundred years. The sources vary from the dramatic and stylized poetry and theatre of the 15th-17th centuries, exaggerated and embellished captivity narratives, to travelogues and the more reliable and prosaic works of geographers and the diplomatic and mercantile correspondence found in the European consuls of the Barbary regencies. The picture is further complicated by a body of negative evidence, even if much of this comes from before the 17th century. As I have suggested in earlier chapters, prior to 1600, Lingua Franca does not seem to have existed as an evolved pidgin rooted in Barbary and, to a lesser degree, the Levant. Nevertheless, there is evidence of something known as *franco* or *francko* jargon or pre-pidgin along the Mediterranean coastline, according to some contemporary travellers to North Africa and the Levant. These are inconsistent, however, and a number of sailors, pilgrims and military, whose accounts of their travels in the region would predictably have featured Lingua Franca, not only omit any reference, but often mention the need for a translator or some fluency in a local language

Lanfreducci and Bosio, Knights of Malta, made a comprehensive study of the North African coastline in 1587. Although Bartolomeo Ruffino, a lawyer from Savoy captured by renegades, reported hearing his captors speak Lingua Franca in Tunis a decade earlier, the Knights claimed that Christian sailors would use rudimentary Turkish to

communicate with coastal dwellers (Lanfreducci and Bosio in ed. Monchicourt 1925: 440). In 1612, almost contemporaneous with records like Pietro Della Valle's of 1616 (Della Valle 1843), detailed in 4.3.4, of hearing Lingua Franca in Damascus, Giovanni Paolo Pesenti, together with fellow Italian traders, passed through the neighbouring Aleppo *en* route to the Holy Land. Rather than using Lingua Franca, Pesenti (1628) states that communication with the local population requires the translation skills of dragomans (Mallette 2014: 339). This dichotomy might throw the existence of Lingua Franca prior to the 17th century into doubt, but speaks more to the nascent phase of the pidgin, which necessarily implies less widespread uptake and more sporadic, less consistent use. Both examples of negative evidence cited refer to local populations in Barbary and the Middle East. Although Haedo (1612) and Rehbinder (1798-1800) among others claim that Lingua Franca was adopted and used across all sections of the population of Algiers in particular, it had a particularly urban and cosmopolitan character from its outset, and was largely the preserve of European members of society.

The already limited corpus of Lingua Franca has been further contracted in more recent years by linguists including Minervini (1996), Selbach (2008) and Dakhlia (2008), all of whom reject earlier scholars' (Whinnom 1977 and Schuchardt 1909, trans. 1980) amongst others) claims that pre-16th century literary works offer the earliest evidence of Lingua Franca. They also largely dismiss literary examples of Lingua Franca featured in the plays of Molière, Goldoni and other Venetians as dramatized, exaggerated and unreliable. Much of the documentary corpus, dating from the 17th century onwards, comes from travelogues and captivity narratives. Although both Dakhlia (2008) and Selbach (2008) highlight the repetitive and imitative character of the Lingua Franca excerpts reported in these sources, and Dakhlia (2008) identifies the genre of captivity narratives as being explicitly dramatic in character, both maintain a clear distinction

between these and the literary sources (Dakhlia 2008: 359-60). One possible means of analysing the captivity narratives and the travelogues is to consider them more as literary sources. The excerpts of Lingua Franca they offer, which are often paratactic and ritualistic in nature, would consequently be viewed as less linguistically reliable than quotations from diplomatic correspondence and the later lexical source, the *Dictionnaire* (1830). However, my preference is to examine all the sources as possibly valuable contributions to the small corpus, while exercising caution regarding the intended purpose and audience of the writing. Given that our evidence of Lingua Franca is almost exclusively written representations of oral language (although there may be some elements of it in the written data from the archives of the English chanceries in Barbary), reported Lingua Franca speech in captivity narratives offers a substantial proportion of the examples of the pidgin, particularly in the 17th century. The historian, Linda Colley, states in reference to captivity narratives that 'while these texts sometimes contain fictional interludes, together of course with a tithe of lies and errors, their overall factual anchorage can usually be …and has been tested' (Colley 2003: Loc. 474).

The earliest documentation of Lingua Franca – and the more extensive examples – is literary. Poems, songs and play scenes all feature characters speaking Lingua Franca as a device. As such, the language, albeit resembling later Lingua Franca in terms of key prominent features, is exaggerated, stylized and deliberately comprehensible to its audience (Minervini 1996: 268). As with the documentary corpus, *La lingua franca è dunque attribuita dai franchi a coloro che franchi non sono* 'Lingua Franca is then attributed by the Franks to those who are not Franks' (Minervini 1996: 270). There is an otherness to the language for all members of society. Both the literary parodies and the quotes of diplomats and travellers focus on the speech of the Moors, Turks, corsairs, slaves and sultans, the other rather than 'their own'. Minervini highlights one of the key challenges in studying *foreigner*

talk, namely that mastery of one's own tongue rarely correlates with the ability to simplify it. Native speakers often distort their own language in response to a foreigner's attempt to speak it (Minervini 1996: 271).

Dakhlia observes that transcriptions of Lingua Franca found in the sources that constitute the pidgin's corpus are partial, subject to interpretation by the author of the source and are never neutral (Dakhlia 2008: 329). This despite the fact that these authors predominantly claim to be reporting direct speech, giving their accounts a 'live' and verisimilitudinous character. As Colley points out, many captives, particularly in the 17th century, would have had no access to pen nor paper, and their accounts would have been written weeks, months or even years later. Their audiences – Church, state, or simply readers seeking a thrilling tale – would have indubitably influenced the tone, style and fact / fiction balance of their writing (Colley 2003: Loc. 1799). Furthermore, on a more prosaic note:

> 'It is important to get away from the notion that…captivity narratives can usefully be characterized as either truthful or cruelly mendacious. We all of us convert life's crowded, untidy experiences into stories in our own minds, re-arranging awkward facts into coherent patterns as we go along, and omitting episodes…' (Colley 2003: Loc.1815)

This is especially true of accounts of Lingua Franca excerpts. Idiolectal bias, memory and emotional state each – and often all – play a role in the lexical and grammatical features related by captives.

4.1.3 Suspiciously similar sources

Despite the geographical spread, the almost three centuries of Lingua Franca's existence, and the inevitable variation this would entail, sources often concur in their characterization of the pidgin's lexifiers, and in the (*verbatim*) phrases used by its speakers. This highlights the

ritualistic nature and limited domains of Lingua Franca for at least its initial phase. De Rocqueville's late 17th century account of the corsairs' injunction to their newly-apprehended captives is cited in Dakhlia (2008): *estas bonné forte dios grande faser camino perti non peaur* 'Be good and strong, God is great, he will show you the way, do not be scared' (Dakhlia 2008: 352; my translation). She also highlights de Fercourt's almost contemporaneous citing, in 1679, of the reassurance offered by Muslims to their recently acquired slaves: *No piliar fantasia, Dios grande, mondo cousi, cousi, Dios fera il tuo camino, si venira ventura, ira a casa tua* 'Don't delude yourself, God is great, the world is thus, God will show you the way, if fortune comes, you will go home' (Dakhlia 2008: 352; my translation). Almost identical is Haedo's version of the Arab masters' assurance, preserving slaves' hope that they might one day be liberated: *non pillar fantasia, dio grande mundo cosi, cosi, si venir ventura, andar a casa tuya* 'don't delude yourself, God is great, the world is thus, if fortune comes, you will go home (Haedo 1612: 128*;* my translation). It is noteworthy that Pierre Dan, a Trinitarian priest (and almost contemporary of Haedo, writing only a couple of decades later) sent from France to secure the liberation of French captives, records an almost identical expression, *No pillar fantasia; Dios grande, mundo cosi, cosi, si venira ventura ira a casa tua* 'Don't delude yourself, God is great, the world is thus, if fortune comes, you will go home' (Dan 1637: 373-374; my translation). Four versions that are so similar might seem to suggest plagiarism, but also might imply that this expression was ritualistic and parroted by corsairs and slavemasters. Such linguistic characterization, however, resorted to by playwrights, novelists and (in the case of Lingua Franca) travellers and explorers, creates the impression of linguistic homogeneity. This seems inconsistent with the hallmarks of most pidgins, characterised by their fluidity, variation and polymorphy (Minervini 1996: 269-270). Yet, several of the brief examples of Lingua Franca recorded by travellers, captives (and their redemptionists) are near identical, ironically in a language that

otherwise manifests significant variation. This is likely also to reflect the linguistic homogeneity artificially manufactured by contemporary literary tradition (Minervini 1996: 270). It is thus hard to distinguish primary from indirect secondary linguistic observation.

As Dakhlia states, there is a *nature standardisée, mimétique* 'standardised, imitative character' to these accounts (Dakhlia 2008: 354). She also underlines the paucity of non-violent language among the reports of and in Lingua Franca, whether it be in terms of commercial, personal or diplomatic language. Stereotypical insults, such as *cane* or *perro* 'dog', *cornuto* 'cuckolded' and *senza feda, senza fide* 'infidel' form part of the ritualistic character of Lingua Franca (Dakhlia 2008: 350-1). The domain of Lingua Franca excerpts is, then, largely violence and suffering in documentary sources, while plays and musicals of the same period (17-18th centuries) use Lingua Franca (or approximations of the pidgin) for comic effect. It is only in later sources, from the early 19th century onwards that the domain and tone of documented Lingua Franca extends to social (Broughton 1839) and diplomatic (Pananti 1841; Frank 1850) relations. Despite this, Pananti, in his account of captivity, repeats words and phrases that recall the 17th century Lingua Franca recorded by Haedo et al. His captors exhort him and his fellow travellers, *No paura*, *No paura* 'Have no fear, Have no fear' and when, as a slave in the *bagnio* he is ordered to start work, the slavemaster shouts, *à trabajo cornutos, can d'infidel à trabajo* 'get to work cuckolds, infidel dogs, get to work' (Pananti 1841: 43,70-1; my translation). The repetition of formulations, especially in descriptions of captivity, across the centuries, in a pidgin which elsewhere demonstrates diachronic change and evolution, makes me think that the elements of the captivity narratives could almost be considered as another form of non-documentary evidence or alternatively might provoke a change in evaluation of the corpus. Perhaps, consequently, the dramatic excerpts of Lingua Franca are as valid and linguistically significant as other clearly dramatized sources

– captivity narratives, travelogues etc. given their clear attempts at authenticity of character, customs and language.

4.1.4 European centricity of sources

The corpus is almost entirely comprised of European sources. This may be in part explained by a distorted view of Barbary that dates from the 16th century, as analysed by Rejeb (2012):

> 'reducing North African history to a story of piracy and slavery driven by fanaticism, and Mediterranean history to a Manichean drama – of Good and Evil, of victim and victimiser – promoting those views as History' (Rejeb 2012: 23).

Rejeb comments on the lack of refutation by the Arab population of the Barbary myth. He explains this by the coincidental lack of Arabic intellectual and cultural output during that period:

> 'North Africa did not have a print culture and experienced a slump in scholarly activity after the fourteenth-century era of Ibn Khaldun. Moreover, intellectual communication across the Mediterranean was idle and did not match commercial exchange; North African chroniclers did not seem sufficiently aware of the Barbary discourse in the Western world to produce explicit rebuttals thereof' (Rejeb 2012: 23).

Hopkins (1982) reinforces the impression of limited Arabic literature with his clarification that Algiers, a vibrant trading centre from the 16th century had, prior to the arrival of the Barbarossa brothers not been a centre of commerce or culture:

> 'there had never been a strong Arabic literary tradition in Algiers. Algiers itself, till the Moriscos and Turks appeared on the scene, was no more than a coastal village' (Hopkins 1982: preface, viii).

In his analysis of correspondence between the Regencies of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, and Morocco with the English Government, found in

the collection of State Papers (TNA: SP 71 and TNA SP: 102), Hopkins highlights the relative paucity of documents in Arabic in comparison with those in Turkish. (Hopkins 1982: preface, vii). Nevertheless, in those written in Arabic, there are loanwords that would seem to demonstrate regular borrowings from Romance languages, and even Lingua Franca. These will be discussed in detail in chapter 8.

4.2 Accounts, references and examples

Much of the evidence and metadata regarding Lingua Franca comes from either the Levant or the Barbary Coast, namely the regencies of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, but there is also mention of it having been spoken in Morocco. Schuchardt suggests that it was indeed in use in Morocco (Schuchardt 1909, trans. 1980: 67). There are suggestions that Lingua Franca spread inland and further into North West Africa but these are isolated references rather than the sustained examples, over 250 years, offered by visitors to, and residents and captives of, Barbary.

4.2.1 Morocco

Morocco was not one of the Barbary Regencies, though its history (and particularly during the era of the corsairs and the 'Lingua Franca' period) has been inextricably linked with the other countries. The city-states of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli were the archetypal Barbary domains (Clissold 1977: 17). Sources in Morocco, nevertheless, report some Lingua Franca phrases in use, mostly by corsairs and slave-masters, and even the Sultan Moulay Ismail (Milton 2004: Loc. 83). Milton's *White Gold* suggests that in the 17th and 18th centuries, Arabic was the dominant language between master and slave, and he does not provide any evidence of the communication between slave nationalities having taken place in Lingua Franca. However, there are several words and phrases included in his description that suggest that at least fragments of Lingua Franca permeated. The Sultan's first word on seeing a cargo of English slaves arrive in 1716 was 'bono',

one of the most frequently-occurring words of Lingua Franca across documentary sources (Milton 2004:Loc. 83).[8] Similarly there are references to 'a la Christianesca' and 'buono Christiano' (Milton 2004: Loc. 2201; 3641). Maria Ter Meetelen, a Dutchwoman, gave a description in her memoirs of the inside of the Sultan's harem in Morocco, saying that there were women and eunuchs speaking 'bad Spanish' (Dakhlia 2008: 239). As per the regional variation suggested by sources including the *Dictionnaire* (1830), Spanish was more dominant in the western Barbary. Morocco lies to the west of the Barbary Regencies, so presumably any Lingua Franca spoken there would have been lexically influenced by Spanish. However, it seems conclusive that Lingua Franca was of very little significance in Morocco, particularly relative to its spread and usage across Barbary.

4.2.2 Algiers

17th century

The Spanish abbot, Diego del Haedo was the earliest documenter of Lingua Franca in his geographical and historical study of Algiers. Haedo spent several years in the city at the turn of the 16th-17th century. There is a question whether it was indeed Haedo who wrote the *Topographia*, first published in 1612, which also featured a detailed account of the plight of Europeans enslaved there. According to Garcès (2011) the author was actually Antonio de Sosa, a Portuguese priest, and Haedo had been misattributed by most linguists and historians as the author of the *Topographia*. According to Garcès, Sosa refers to Lingua Franca as 'a mixture of various Christian languages, largely Italian and Spanish words with some recently added Portuguese terms, since a great number of Portuguese captives were brought to Algiers from Tétouan and Fès after the king of Portugal, Don Sebastian, lost the battle in Morocco' (Garcès 2011: 185). As a native speaker of Portuguese, Sosa would have been, naturally, more aware of Portuguese lexified words in Lingua Franca.

Although it seems plausible that Sosa was indeed the author of the *Topographia*, I am going to follow the lead of the majority of Lingua Franca scholars for the purposes of this thesis and credit Haedo as its writer.

Haedo's *Topographia* (1612) details the urban features, social makeup and linguistic mix of Algiers. Its suggestion of Lingua Franca's ubiquity, and numerous citations, create an impression of the pidgin's multiple domains, and indispensability to daily commercial, and even domestic, life:

> *Este hablar franco es tan general que no ay casa do no se use. No ay turco ni moro, ni grande ni pequeño, hombre o muger, hasta los niños, que poco o mucho y los más dellos muy bien, no le hablan*.
>
> 'This lingua franca is so widespread that there is no house where it is not spoken. Nor is there Turk or Moor, old or young, man or woman, even child, who doesn't speak it a little or well, and most of them speak it very well.' (Haedo 1612: 24; my translation)

This highlights the importance of Lingua Franca, predominantly as a communication medium with the Christians, used here as a synonym for the Europeans living in Algiers. Haedo's explanation of the centrality of Lingua Franca in the lives of residents of all nationalities, religions and age in Algeria seems to accord the pidgin a certain status. He suggests that much of the Algiers' Arab population had at one time been enslaved in Europe so would have a level of exposure already to European languages which might make Lingua Franca a less alien pidgin than otherwise it would have been. (Haedo 1612: 23v–24). Haedo characterizes Lingua Franca further as a 'mumbo-jumbo', a function of the diverse mix of lexifiers, *la mala pronunciacion de los moros y turcos* 'the poor pronunciation by the Moors and Turks', and their lack of grammar: *no saben ellos variar los modos, tiempos y casos*

'they don't know about gender, tenses and cases' (Haedo 1612: 24; my translation). Haedo inserts his citations of Lingua Franca, which come exclusively from his period of captivity, directly into his text rather than isolating the specific pidgin words and phrases. This makes it hard to establish to what extent the Lingua Franca he records is influenced by his native Spanish. The fact that his excerpts of spoken Lingua Franca come only from the being the *bagnios* by captives and slave masters perhaps undermines his assertions of the pidgin's extensive social and commercial domains. Haedo's text features orthographic inconsistency or variation. Within a matter of pages, he writes the verb *pigliar* 'to take' as *pillar* and then *piglliar*. Much later in the text, it appears as *pigllar* (Haedo 1612: 128; 129,v; 192). This only reinforces how, in that era, what might constitute Lingua Franca rather than unstandardized Romance languages proves elusive.

Le Chevalier D'Arvieux was a 17th century translator and diplomat in Barbary who inspired Molière's characters in "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme". He said of Algiers that:

> *la diversité des nations Chrétiennes que cette ville retient toujours dans l'esclavage, a formé peu à peu une langue dont tout le monde se sert, sur tout les Patrons, pour se faire entendre de leurs esclaves. C'est proprement un composé corrompu de l'Espagnol, de l'Italien, du Provençal, et autres qui ont rapport avec celles-là. On appelle ce langage la langue franque*
>
> 'the diversity of Christian nations constantly enslaved in this city, has led gradually to the emergence of a language used by everyone, and above all by the masters, so that their slaves understand them. It's a bad mix of Spanish, Italian, Provençal and other related tongues. It's known as Lingua Franca' (D'Arvieux 1735: vol. v, 235; my translation).

In the same era, D'Arvieux's fellow-countryman Chastelet des Boys was taken prisoner in 1665 aboard ship by corsairs shouting "*Mena, pero!"* 'Surrender, dogs!' and transported to the slave quarters, the *bagnio*. *Mena, pero!* was a typical Lingua Franca stock-in-trade phrase used by pirates; it is found across time and place in the literature. Des Boys describes Lingua Franca as:

> *un baragouin galimatias composé de langues, espagnole, italienne et francaise, que la nécessité de se faire entendre de tant de nations a introduit, et qui a cours par tout le Levant, et principalement sur les galères et vaisseaux de haut bord*
> 'a complete gobbledygook comprising Spanish, Italian and French, introduced by the need of so many nations to make themselves understood, and which runs throughout the Levant, and particularly aboard galleys and similar size ships' (Dakhlia 2008: 208; my translation).

Also contemporaneous, D'Aranda, a Flemish captive in Algiers, refers to the multilingual character of the crew but it is once he is imprisoned in the *bagnio* that he encounters the polyglot nature of Barbary and the consequential necessity of Lingua Franca:

> *c'est le langage commun entre les esclaves et les Turcs, et aussi entre les esclaves d'une nation et autres; c'est un langage mêlé d'italien, d'espagnol, de français et de portugais; autrement il serait impossible de commander leurs esclaves, car en notre Bain entre cinq cent cinquante esclaves, on parlait vingt-deux langages*
> 'it is the shared language of the slaves and the Turks, and also between the slaves of different nationalities; it's a mix of Italian, Spanish, French and Portuguese; without it, the Turks could not order their slaves, because in our Bagnio with 550 slaves, there are 22 languages being spoken' (D'Aranda 1662: 21; my translation).

However, Lingua Franca was not necessarily accessible to all. Okeley, captured at sea and imprisoned in Algiers in 1639, wrote 'because I

could not express myself in the Moresco, or lingua frank, I supplied it with signs' (Okeley 1675: 13). This was in spite of having tried along with other fellow English speakers (crew members) aboard the corsairs' ship, to have 'learnt a smattering of the common language, which would be of use to us when we should come to Algiers' (Okeley 1675: 5). This is an important distinction – between speakers with a Romance language background and a potentially multilingual repertoire, and the monolingual members of Barbary society. I will explore this differentiation of speakers, and their consequent competence and use of Lingua Franca in later chapters.

Serrano, a Spanish missionary, offers an account of a journey to Algiers in 1670 that also includes a list of commonly–used words in the Regency: *yorno, matina, manchar* ('day, morning, eat') (Asuncion 1899: 166). These Spanish-influenced examples belie Serrano's native tongue– a common feature of many of the contemporary sources. They also suggest that Lingua Franca words, if not yet the fully-established pidgin, already by the second half of the 17th century, formed part of daily life, and were not simply the preserve of the violent injunctions and threats of the corsair community. Contemporaneously, the Dutch geographer, Dapper (1668), using the material of missionaries like Serrano (and French and Italian counterparts), compiled his *Description of Africa* (1668) without ever leaving Holland. Dapper characterizes Lingua Franca as comprising French, Italian and Spanish. He identifies Turkish as the language of law, and Arabic that of religion. It seems likely then, as Haedo suggests, that the third principal language spoken in Barbary, Lingua Franca, was the language of daily life (Haedo 1612: 24). It is interesting to note that according to the French consul in Algiers in 1720, Laugier de Tassy, Lingua Franca could also be the language of religion:

> *La maison des missionaires de France est la paroisse des catholiques romains, qui se trouvent à Alger. L'on y fait un*

> *prone en italien, ou plutôt en langue franque tous les matins des dimanches et fêtes*
> 'The French missionaries' house is the parish for Roman Catholics living in Algiers. The sermon is conducted in Italian, or rather in Lingua Franca, every Sunday morning and on Feast Days' (Laugier de Tassy 1775: 173; my translation).

This also reinforces the sense that Lingua Franca's domains were extending.

18th / early 19th century Algiers

The French diplomat La Condamine, who was in Algeria at the start of the 1730s, refers to lingua franca as *la langue du pays* 'the national language'. He highlights the variation already found in different parts of Barbary with what is spoken:

> *du côté de Tripoli et plus en avant vers le Levant est un mélange de provençal, de grec vulgaire, de latin et surtout d'italien corrompu, au lieu que celle qu'on parle à Alger, et qu'on appelle aussi petit mauresque tien beaucoup plus de l'espagnol que les Maures ont retenu de leur séjour en Espagne*
> 'on the Tripoli side and further into the Levant is a mix of provençal , vulgar Greek, Latin and above all, bad Italian, while in Algiers what they speak and what they also call *petit mauresque* has much more Spanish in it since the Moors would have held on to this from their time in Spain' (Emerit 1954: 375; my translation).

This is one of very few mention of Greek as a constituent language. The lexifying languages of Lingua Franca will be examined in more detail in Chapter 5. However, I mention here three descriptions of Lingua Franca offered by English-speaking sources cited by Mallette in order to highlight the difference in perception of the language by authors without presumably knowledge of, and competence in,

Romance languages, and how this impacts their description of Lingua Franca. Carey describes it as 'a kind of dialect, which, without being the proper language of any country on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, has a kind of universal currency over all that quarter of the world' (Carey 1794:14), or as Mallette terms it, 'a trans-regional mega-language' (Mallette 2013: 340). Mallette (2013: 340) labels Tyler's description trans-historical: 'it appeared to be the shreds and clippings of all the tongues, dead and living, ever spoken since the creation' (Tyler 1797: 2:67). Both these English-speakers are less adept at analysing the lexifiers of Lingua Franca and interpret its multiple influences as simultaneously alien and familiar. The third English language source Mallette (2013: 340) mentions is Galt, who describes Lingua Franca as "that barbarous jargon which serves to render Italian so useful in every part of the Mediterranean" (Galt 1813: 22). As discussed in chapter 3, Italian was the regional language of commerce and diplomacy but this last citation inverts the pidginisation argument in its implication that it was the proliferation and ubiquity of Lingua Franca which made knowledge of Italian fundamental, rather than the dominant Italian being the inevitable lexifier of Lingua Franca. Galt's statement also serves to reaffirm the ubiquity of Lingua Franca by the 19th century.

La Condamine (1954) identifies the pidgin's defining feature as an absence of infinitives, presumably in error. He asserts that once used to the accent, one can easily understand Lingua Franca especially if you spoke Latin: *C'est celui des divertissements turcs du Bourgeois Gentilhomme et de l'Europe Galante* 'it's the language of the Turkish scenes from *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* and *L'Europe Galante*' (Emerit 1954: 375). (This is echoed by Nerval in the 19th century in the Levant who refers to Lingua Franca as *la langue des Turcs de Molière* 'the language of the Turks in Molière' (Nerval 1927: vol. 1, 131)). The suggestion that the dramatized language of theatre is interchangeable with the Lingua Franca spoken on the streets of Algiers is striking. Not

only does it blur the documentary and literary categorization of sources, but also suggests that the pidgin is akin to the exaggerated, ungrammatical and stylized language of Molière's "foreign" characters.

In 1785, the priest and botanist, Abbé Poiret, was sent to survey the flora of Barbary by Louis XVI. As such, his observations centre on natural rather than social or linguistic phenomena. Nevertheless he commented with surprise to have heard:

> *une proverbe en langue franque dictée par l'expérience. Saint-Jean venir, disent les Turcs, Gandouf andar. 'Quand le Saint-Jean arrive, la peste s'en va*',
> 'a proverb in Lingua Franca based on experience. The Turks say, [The day of] St John comes; the plague leaves. When Saint Jean arrives, the plague departs' (Poiret 1802: 227; my translation)

This highlights the common language Lingua Franca offered and the constant cultural translation that went on from one language to the other: a (European and) Catholic saint's day, infinitives and a possibly, though not confirmed, Arabic-derived word for plague. (The alternative for *gandouf*, or *gandoufa,* as listed in the *Dictionnaire* (1830: 58) is *abuba* 'plague'). Schuchardt explains that *gandufa* 'plague' which may go back to the Arabic, *ɣunduba* 'swollen tonsils'. This would have influenced Italian *ghianduccia* and Venetian *giandussa* 'plague blister, plague'. A second word for plague, an example of synonymy in a language of relatively few lexemes – a theme which is further explored in Chapter 7 -, is *abuba,* from the Arabic *ḥabūba* is similarly close to *buba* 'plague' (Schuchardt 1909, 72). Similar language combinations are in evidence from the account of Venture de Paradis, who recorded the presence of a Christian slave running the household of the Dey of Algiers, greeting his master every morning, "*Bonjorno, effendi, bonjorno, effendi*" 'Good morning, excellency, Good morning, excellency' (Venture de Paradis 1896: 115;

my translation). The linguistic and cultural merging, and code-switching will be further explored in Chapter 7.

According to some sources, there was growing disdain among high-ranking Arabs for Lingua Franca and its speakers in Algiers (though this was not uniform, as shown in the Tunis section, 4.2.3, across Barbary). Rehbinder observed that the Dey Mohammed, who ruled Algiers, at the end of the 18th century, understood and spoke Lingua Franca but considered it undignified to use it with free Christians (Rehbinder 1798-1800: vol. 3, 66). This suggests, perhaps, that the Dey viewed Lingua Franca within the prism of master-slave language, and definitively not the language of officialdom and the upper echelons of society. Rehbinder's report, which may reflect his interpretation of the Dey's attitude rather than the latter's judgment, reinforces the social division between the Dey and his (presumably European) slaves. In Algiers, at least, Lingua Franca seems to have been largely the preserve of slaves and Jewish merchants. This is apparent from the observations of Filippo Pananti, briefly a slave in Algiers. Pananti relates how Turkish is the language of court and diplomacy, while:

> *Sulle coste i ministri, i mercanti, gli Ebrei usano tutti un misto d'italiano, di spagnolo e d'africano che si chiama Lingua Franca…con la quale i forestieri ed i nazionali s'intendon comodamente*
> 'on the coasts, ministers, merchants and Jews all use a mix of Italian, Spanish and African that is known as Lingua Franca, with which foreigners and Barbary nationals understand one another pretty well' (Pananti 1841: 201; my translation).

The use of the word African to describe a lexifying influence may well be a synonym for Arabic, but the choice of term is noteworthy, as is the order in which the languages are listed, which might seem to imply relative lexical contribution to Lingua Franca, having Spanish second

to Italian, while in the a later description of its lexifiers, Spanish is named as the third language.

> *su tutte le coste della Barberia s'intende l'italiano, e la Lingua franca è una mistura d'italiano, di arabo e di spagnolo*
>
> 'the length of the Barbary coast they understand Italian, and Lingua Franca is a mix of Italian, Arabic and Spanish' (Pananti 1841: 304; my translation).

In this later description, African is substituted by Arabic. Pananti is one of very few to mention Arabic as a lexifier of Lingua Franca. Pananti's book is a memoir, recounting his observations, rather than a diary where some kind of evolution of opinion would be plausible. The conflation of Arabic and African is perhaps pejorative, and certainly implies the otherness, as far as Pananti is concerned, of non-Romance languages.

Although, as mentioned above, Pananti suggests that Lingua Franca is spoken by the lower ranks of society, he also describes how the Dey of Algiers, convinced against his will by the English Consul to free him, spoke in *sua lingua franca* 'his Lingua Franca'. Pananti reports the direct speech of the Dey at that moment and on subsequent occasions when he raised his liberation of Pananti resentfully with the English consul:

> *Ebbene mi donare quest'uomo a ti e a to rey…mi aver fatto tanto per ti; mi t'aver dato un uomo, cosa non aver fatto mai, cosa che non far mai in Algeri*
>
> 'And so I am giving you and your king this man...I have done so much for you; I have given you a man, something I have never done, something that is never done in Algiers' (Pananti 1841: 72n; my translation).

As with many of the documentary sources, the authenticity of the language is hard to assess, but the exclusive use of the infinitive to indicate present tense verbs and the incidence of *mi* rather than the

Italian *io* lends legitimacy to this citation being an example of Lingua Franca. It is also consistent with Pananti's own description of Lingua Franca as *tutta quanta in infinite e senza preposizioni* 'everything in the infinitive and without any prepositions' (Pananti 1841: 201; my translation.) Finally, as a native speaker of Italian, it seems reasonable to conclude that Pananti would be capable of distinguishing reliably between Italian and Lingua Franca, and would thus reproduce the latter accurately.

In the late 18th century, Thédenat, a young French captive, was employed by the Bey of Mascara (in the region of Oran) as his treasurer (1948). He writes in his memoirs how the Bey, on meeting him, spoke initially in Lingua Franca but quickly established that Thédenat, as well as speaking French and Spanish, could also speak Italian (Thédenat 1948: 164). Thenceforward, the Bey insisted they would speak only Italian, as he knew it well, having spent time in Italy, particularly Livorno. Thédenat commented on how well the Bey, himself, spoke Italian, compared with his previous master, a Jew in Algiers to whom he had been sold by Algerian corsairs, who only spoke *peu la langue franque* 'a bit of Lingua Franca, which Thédenat describes as:

> *un mélange de l'italien et de l'espagnol, qu'on a peine à entendre*
>
> 'a mix of Italian and Spanish which is hard to understand' (Thédenat 1948: 159; my translation).

There is evidently a distinction between the 'bon italien' spoken by the Bey and the Lingua Franca of his prior master. This reinforces the hypothesis that Lingua Franca was indeed a discrete entity although there is the implication from Thédenat (1948) among others that Lingua Franca is at base a form of L2 Italian with some Spanish influence. Thédenat (1948) makes the noteworthy observation:

> *Ma surprise devenait toujours plus grande en voyant de la manière que me recevait le Bey et encore de ce qu'il se servait si bien d'une langue opposée à la sienne*
> 'my surprise became still greater seeing the way in which the Bey received me and even greater by how well he spoke a language so opposed to his own' (Thédenat 1984: 164; my translation).

What Thédenat means by 'opposed to' is debatable: it may simply indicate the distance, linguistically, between Arabic and Italian, but there may alternatively or additionally be a sense of the gulf between the two languages, socially and politically. Furthermore, although the Bey treated Thédenat more kindly than he had anticipated, he was still the Frenchman's master (and owner) and it was thus unusual for him to be speaking a natural Romance language.

Elizabeth Broughton, the daughter of the British High Consul in Algiers, published her mother's record of the time spent there at the start of the 19th century. In the account, *Six Years Residence in Algiers* (1839), Broughton's mother, Mrs. Blanckley, mentions Lingua Franca as a language used in daily life. She discusses some of the terms of abuse prevalent in Lingua Franca, recalling its origins in master-slave relationships. *Cane* 'dog' still features but it is the Jews (even more than non-believers- *senza feda*) who represent the most negatively viewed. She highlights how the Jews are termed 'Judio senza feda 'for such a qualification ever followed the word Jew' (Broughton 1839: 312). Although the variation of Lingua Franca has been evidenced in Algiers, and is evidently more marked across Barbary, Broughton's book reveals that the meaning and usage of some words were unchanging. Mrs. Blanckley describes at length the repetition of three particular words,

> 'The three most significant and oft-amusing words in the Lingua Franca vocabulary, are *Fantasia*, *Usanza* and *Mangiado*. So comprehensive are they supposed to be,

> that all their meaning are almost indefinable' (Broughton 1839: 279).

These words will be further explored in Chapter 7. Broughton (1839) also suggests an interesting case of language contact involving Lingua Franca. The pidgin is predominantly associated with the highly metropolitan character of the Regency states, but Broughton mentions the regular turnover of Kabyle women in Algiers who worked as domestic servants (Broughton 1839: 298). It seems that when these women returned home to Kabylia they took elements of Lingua Franca with them. A particular example is the word *fantasia* (delusion, stubbornness) that permeated Kabyle in the form of *tafantazit* (Dakhlia 2008: 234). The case of Kabylia also highlights how not only geographical borders were crossed by Lingua Franca but equally other domains – such as the male / female. At least in Algiers, Lingua Franca was a household language as well that of the taverns and the court.

1830 saw the publishing of the only comprehensive source for *Lingua Franca*. It was written with the sole purpose of helping French forces communicate with the indigenous population in their colonising mission of Algeria. Its full title was *Dictionnaire de la langue franque ou petit mauresque suivis de quelques dialogues familiers et d'un vocabulaire de mots arabes les plus usuels; à l'usage des Français en Afrique*. Schuchardt suggests that it was not as thorough and accurate as it purported to be: 'it is rather a poor piece of work, riddled with all sorts of imperfections' (Schuchardt 1909, trans. 1980: 89). He cites from the *Dictionnaire'*s foreword: 'the Petit Mauresque used in Tunis is not quite the same as that employed in Algiers; it draws heavily from Italian in the former territory, while on the other hand it is close to Spanish in the territory of Algiers' (Anonymous 1830: 10; my translation) and the *Dictionnaire* appears to cover the cities of the East as the majority of the lexicon in the dictionary stems from Italian. There is, however, also a Spanish portion. And where there is both an Italian and Spanish source for a word they are cited side by side

(Anonymous 1830: 83). Sometimes the Italian word is actually Venetian or another dialect, and Provençal also features. Not all the words can be assigned to a definite language – mixtures have occurred. This blurring will be examined in more details in Chapter 7, as will the *Dialogues* of the *Dictionnaire* (1830) a section devoted to the practical application of Lingua Franca, featuring phrases broken down into eight conversation topics. The lexicon of the *Dialogues* section manifests the Spanish lexical influence more typical of Algiers. The *Dictionnaire* is the sole linguistic reference text for Lingua Franca, although mention is made by Nerval (1911) of at least one other dictionary and even a grammar. The fact that there is only one lexical record potentially raises questions about the diffusion, uptake and even existence of Lingua Franca as a discrete language. However, the specific intention of the *Dictionnaire* (1830) to assist French soldiers in their communication with the indigenous population, offers evidence of Lingua Franca's ubiquity.

Post 1830 Algiers

As late as 1852 the Algiers newspaper *l'Algérien* published an article on Lingua Franca or Sabir, as it became known. French had already impacted on the language, but there were substantial residual elements, lexically and semantically of Lingua Franca, according to the article by MacCarthy and Varnier (1852, cited in Cifoletti 2004). More than thirty years later, the French General, Faidherbe (1884) mentioned a number of Lingua Franca phrases still in use. These include *moi meskine, toi donnar sordi, toi biber lagua* 'poor me, give me money, you will drink water' (Faidherbe 1884: 107). This plea from a beggar reveals that French has not become entirely dominant: *meskin* is listed in the Dictionnaire as the Lingua Franca for *misérable* 'poor', deriving from the Arabic *miskīn*. *Biber* 'drink' and *agua* 'water' both come from Spanish and Portuguese: *beber* 'to drink' is the infinitive form in both languages.

According to Ettore Rossi, an Italian linguist sent to North Africa in the early 20th century, Lingua Franca endured beyond the end of piracy and slavery, the disappearance of the renegade population, due to commercial activity, colonization by the Italians and particularly their influence on education and the significant missionary presence. Words remained – examples include *scima (cima* in Italian – 'top'), *bonazzi* (*bonaccia* in Italian - 'dead calm'), and f*ortuna* 'luck' but also 'storm'. Nautical and meteorological terms also highlight the legacy of Lingua Franca (Rossi 1928: 149).

4.2.3 Tunis

Tunis was not quite as renowned for corsairs as Algiers, but there were nonetheless many Europeans held captive there. Records from the English consul add to the Tunis corpus substantially as do accounts of the local rulers, particularly Hamooda Bey who was a charismatic and accessible leader, according to the Europeans, like Louis Frank, his personal physician who conversed with him extensively.

17th century

The French diplomat, D'Arvieux travelled extensively from Constantinople through North Africa. He makes no mention of Lingua Franca in Smyrna, the first stop on his voyage, and, as mentioned in 4.2.2, interprest the ubiquity of the language in Algiers in 1674 as a function of the n umber of different Christian peoples there (D'Arvieux 1735: vol. v, 235). Most of his discussion of Lingua Franca comes from his time in Tunis in 1666. In the third volume of his memoirs, he writes of having been welcomed by the Dey:

> *il me reçut avec ce compliment d'un Italien corrompu, qu'on appelle Langue Franque dont on se sert ordinairement à Tunis: Benvenuto, como estar, bono, forte, gramercy. Je ne sçavois pas assez de ce jargon pour m'en servir en lui parlant. Je lui parlay en Turc….*

> 'he received me with a compliment in bad Italian, what one calls Lingua Franca and is generally used in Tunis: "*Welcome, how you are, goode, great, thank you very much"*. I didn't know enough of this jargon to speak it to him so I spoke to him in Turkish…' (D'Arvieux 1735: vol. iii, 418; my translation).

The description of *Italien corrompu* 'bad Italian' might imply that the Lingua Franca spoken in Tunis was more lexically influenced by Italian than elsewhere, an impression affirmed by several other sources including La Condamine (Emerit 1954), as mentioned in 4.2.4 and the later *Dictionnaire* (1830). D'Arvieux reports Murad Beig, one of the leading corsairs in Tunis, saying *Non far tanta fantasia* 'Don't delude yourself' (D'Arvieux 1735: vol iii, 431; my translation). This phrase, examined earlier in this chapter (4.1.3), is a standard exhortation of the corsairs throughout Barbary, particularly in the 17th century when corsairing was rife.

The English minister and scientist, Covel, visiting the ruins of Carthage in 1670, said of his guides that they spoke "broken *Italian* and *lingua franca*, which is bastard Spanish with words of most trading nations" (Covel 1892: 122). The suggestion that there was more than one contact language being used speaks to the theory that Lingua Franca was subject to variation at multiple levels, not solely diachronic and geographical, but also (perhaps most definitively) at the idiolectal level. Each Lingua Franca speaker would express lexical idiosyncrasies.

Although Lingua Franca seems to have been predominantly oral, there are references to written examples. The 17th century antiquarian, astronomer and anthropologist, Peiresc engaged in a correspondence with Thomas D'Arcos, a former political adviser and diplomat who during a 1628 study of the habits and rituals of the moeurs of African

peoples was captured and enslaved in Tunis by corsaris. After a couple of years in captivity he was set free but remained in the city, converting to Islam and calling himself Osman. As such he was well placed to aid Peiresc's research (Miller 2001: 496).

Peiresc was particularly interested in a cultural anthropological approach to the archaeology of Barbary. He asked D'Arcos in his research into myths of the region 'to get these accounts in writing in the original language and only then try to render them in a language intelligible to Europeans' (Miller 2001: 501). D'Arcos' response is revealing with regard to Lingua Franca:

> *il ne vous manquerait pas gens pour transcrire en langue arabique ledit chapitre ou pour y mettre la version en langue franque ou autre intelligible*
> 'There will be plenty of people to transcribe the said chapter into Arabic, or to render it in Lingua Franca or some other intelligible language' (Dakhlia 2008: 330; my translation).

It seems, thus, plausible that Lingua Franca, as well as being a contact language central to daily life was also used in correspondence, narratives and records in Barbary.

Further evidence of the existence and central role of Lingua Franca comes from correspondence between Jewish merchants based in Livorno and the English consul in Tunis, Thomas Goodwyn. Writing in 1687, Gabriel Rivero (TNA: FO 335/6(a)) offered his services to the consul, claiming, *sono già pratico esso la lingua moresca* ' I already know and speak the Moorish language' (TNA: FO 335: 6(a); my translation). Several English captives contemporaneously refer to Lingua Franca as Moresco/a, and the French used the term *le petit mauresque* to refer to Lingua Franca. A second merchant, Giò Sittenmajr, implored the consul to employ him in Tunis, allowing him to escape Livorno, *oltre che mi par mille annj di uscire fori di questo*

paese 'moreover I have wanted for thousands of years to escape this town, (TNA: FO 335/ 6(c); my translation). The use of the infinitive is emblematic of Lingua Franca, and *fori* 'outside, beyond' is a convergence of the Italian *fuori* and the Lingua Franca *fora*. This would appear to show that Lingua Franca elements may have permeated writing as well as speech, even if perhaps only in certain situations. At the least, it highlights the lack of standardization and the variation enshrined in the linguistic ecology of the era and the region. I will explore this in much more detail in chapters 7 and 9.

From the same archive, letters from the Pasha's Dutch tailor to the same Goodwyn relate the urgent need to deliver the Pasha's intricately-described new suit (TNA: FO 335/1/20). Although much of the language is more standard Italian, there is a marked lack of agreement between nouns and adjectives (in number and gender), and the majority of verbs are in the infinitive. The tailor writes, exhorting Goodwyn to send someone to pick up the suit, *domani per piacere mandare per pigliar la robbe* (TNA: FO 335/1/20). Particularly worthy of mention is the verb, an archaic form of Italian *prendere* 'to take', which features throughout the accounts of Lingua Franca, (though it exists as an informal variant in contemporary Italian), in particular in the much-repeated phrase, *non pillar fantasia* 'don't delude yourself', an instruction from corsairs to any captives, bidding to escape slavery (Haedo 1612: Dan 1637) – as detailed in 4.1.3.

Early 19th century Tunis

Much has been written about Hamooda Bey, ruler of Tunis at the start of the 19th century. Dakhlia cites US consul, Thomas Macgill, in 1811, referring to his linguistic ability: 'hamooda bey….reads, writes and speaks the Arabic and Turkish languages, and also speaks the "Lingua Franca", the Italian of the country' (Dakhlia 2008: 204). It is noteworthy that a non-Romance native speaker might differentiate between Lingua Franca and Italian less, but is also in keeping with the

analysis of Lingua Franca in Tunis exhibiting a more Italian influence. Louis Frank, doctor to the Bey of Tunis from 1806-1815, also refers to the Bey speaking Lingua Franca, and specifically choosing to use the pidgin rather than Italian:

> *la langue franque, c'est à dire cet italien ou provençal corrompu qu'on parle dans le Levant, lui est également familière; il avait meme voulu essayer d'apprendre à lire et à écrire l'italien pur-toscan: mais les chefs de la réligion l'ont détourné de cette etude, qu'ils prétendaient être indigne d'un prince musulman*
>
> 'lingua franca, or rather this bad Italian or Provençal spoken in the Levant, is equally familiar to him; he had actually wanted to learn to read and write pure Tuscan Italian; but his religious chiefs had warned him off such study, which they claimed was unworthy of a Muslim prince' (Frank: 1850: 70; my translation).

Frank describes how the European colony of Tunis was made up particularly of Genoese, Corsicans, Neapolitans and Romans – highlighting the predominance of Italian (or Italian dialect) speakers in the Regency (Frank 1850: 89). He also mentions the phrase *star l'usanza* 'it is customary' (Frank 1850: 91), a phrase which was also in currency in Algiers at the same time (and will be discussed extensively in chapter 7).

As was the case in Algiers, Frank wrote of the intriguing linguistic, socio-political, cultural and even religious conflation evidenced in Lingua Franca, writing of an encounter with a Muslim beggar, who implored: "*Donar mi meschino la carità d'una carrouba*[9] *per l'amor della Santissima Trinità e dello gran Bonaparte"* 'Please to give miserable me the charity of a *penny* for the love of the most holy Trinity and Bonaparte' (Frank 1850: 101; my translation). In just this

[9] Until 1891 a *carrouba* was worth 1/16 of a Tunisian *piaster*, according to Rossetti (1999)

one Lingua Franca sentence, multiple languages are represented: *meschino* is from the Arabic, *miskin*, and there is Spanish in *carrouba* 'penny', *donar* 'give', *amor* 'love', with the Italian Catholic reference of *Santissima Trinità* 'most holy Trinity', and French *Bonaparte*. The latter would have still been Emperor and possibly at the height of his power. It suggests how cosmopolitan, multicultural and multilingual Tunis and its population had become that a beggar should speak this way. Even Frank was struck by the incongruity of the beggar's words:

> *sa supplique en ces termes, bien étranges dans la bouche d'un Musulman*
>
> 'his petition in these terms, very odd in the mouth of a Muslim' (Frank 1850: 101; my translation).

Frank attributes Lingua Franca to the Jews of Tunis:

> *Le langage habituel des Juifs de Tunis, dans leurs rapports avec les Européens, est le jargon informe que l'on désigne par le nom de langue franque, et qui se parle dans toutes les Echelles du levant… La langue franque est seulement parlée, et n'est presque jamais employee par les Juifs dans leurs correspondances écrites…*
>
> 'The typical language of the Jews in Tunis, in their dealings with Europeans, is the formless jargon known as Lingua Franca, spoken at all levels throughout the Levant…Lingua Franca is only spoken, hardly ever used by the Jews in their written correspondence….'(Frank 1850: 98; my translation).

Frank uses the qualification, 'hardly ever', suggesting that there may be a few incidences of written Lingua Franca in Jewish correspondence. There is also the potential for elements of Lingua Franca to permeate otherwise more standard Italian written language. This would seem to be borne out in some of the correspondence between merchants and the English consuls of Tunis and Tripoli (found in the National Archives), discussed in detail in Chapter 8. There are few other sources from Tunis who mention Lingua Franca at

this point, yet Frank's accounts testify to the continued ubiquity of the language at all levels of society.

The Milanese priest and antiquarian, Don Felice Caronni writes of his capture and time spent in Tunis (Caronni 1805). Just as the corsairs who captured Pananti and his shipmates at sea exhorted them not to be afraid, *No paura* (Pananti 1841: 43), so too those who boarded the ship Caronni was sailing on, urged:

> *ripetendo francamente a chiunque non paura, non paura*
> 'repeating frank(ish)ly to anyone "Have no fear, Have no fear"' (Caronni 1805: 27; my translation).

It is hard to discern concretely what the *francamente* refers to in Caronni's account. Although the two Italian men's experience of Lingua Franca may have differed through their final Barbary destination, their first experiences of the language was at sea, spoken by multinational and multilingual corsairs, and was likely more influenced by this than the regional variant of Lingua Franca spoken in each city. Caronni, describing the corsairs, refers to:

> *un moro detto Jakazum…il Rais..che avea nome Baba-Ameth.., un Buonavoglia detto Jakmet e un altro rinnegato maltese chiamato Cherif*
> 'a moor called Jakazum…the captain who had the name Baba-Ameth, a *buonavoglia*[10] called Jakmet and another Maltese renegade called Cherif' (Caronni 1805: 26-27; my translation).

According to Caronni, the *Raïs* insists, *non lasciar entrar moro* 'don't let the moor aboard' (Caronni 1805: 27; my translation), suggesting that the different nationality corsairs are far from loyal to one another. The fact that he articulates this in Lingua Franca might also imply that not all corsairs spoke the language. When he reaches

[10] The term, *buonavoglia*, has no obvious translation. It refers to a hired rower for galleys. Although chained to the oars, the *buonavoglia,* would be freed if the boat were in danger, and would also be rewarded if their rowing contributed to a successful mission (Lane 1978).

Tunis, Caronni recounts various other excerpts of Lingua Franca spoken to him by his Arab master among others (Caronni 1805).

In terms of Lingua Franca, Tunis did not experience the influx of French troops, as Algiers did in 1830. Nevertheless, there are far fewer sources referring to Lingua Franca's ubiquity in the mid to late19th century with the increased French presence across the region and the official abolition of slavery in 1816, which contributed to the demise of corsairing.

4.2.4 Tripoli

17th century

François Savary de Brèves was the French consul to Constantinople, and his aide, Jacques du Castel, wrote an account of his journey to Tunis in 1604 to resolve some difficulties that had arisen with the corsairs there. In describing Tripoli (in the east) he includes an account of the *lingua franca*, which he calls *Italien, mais un parler corroumpu, ou pour mieux dire un iargon* 'Italian, but a corrupt speech, or more precisely a jargon' (Savary de Brèves 1628: 39). He describes its linguistic characteristics. While Lingua Franca, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 7, exhibits lexical variation from both a diachronic and geographic perspective, its basic grammar, as outlined below, remains relatively constant throughout its more than two centuries' existence. Almost all the features enumerated here are evident in literary sources of Lingua Franca, as discussed in 4.3.:

> *Il est bien composé de termes Italiens, mais sans liaison, sans ordre, ny syntaxe, ne gardant és noms la concordance des genres, meslans les masculins avec les feminins, & ne prenant des verbes, que les infinitifs, pour tous temps & personnes, avec les pronoms, mi, & ti: neantmoins on les entend aussi bien que s'ils y observoient toutes les reigles de grammaire, & faut que ceux qui ont affaire avec eux, en usent de mesme, s'ils veulent estre entendus.*

> 'It is composed of Italian words, but without connection, order, or syntax; not respecting, in the case of nouns, the agreement of gender, but mixing masculine with feminine; and using only the infinitive of the verb for all tenses and persons, with the pronouns "mi" and "ti"; nevertheless they are understood just as well as if they observed all the rules of grammar, and it is necessary that those who do business with them use the same (language), if they wish to be understood.' (Savary de Brèves 1628: 39; trans. Mallette).

The 'with them' refers to the Jews. As in Algiers and Tunis, the Jewish community in Tripoli comprised much of the merchant class, and appears to have spoken Lingua Franca for much of its commercial dealings. These merchants were known as *francos*, and came to dominate mercantile life of the Barbary states through the 17th – 18th centuries (Minervini 2011: 5-6).

18th century Tripoli

In 1757, Knecht, the English Consul, who wrote a guidebook for his successors addresing the complicated maze of diplomatic relations in Tripoli, enumerated among the officials a *hasnadawr Grande ed un hasndawr Piccolo* – 'a senior treasurer and a junior treasurer (Pennell, 1982: 97; my translation). *Hasnadawr* comes from the Ottoman Turkish *hazinedar* or *haznadar* 'Lord treasurer of the household' (Gilson 1987: 167). As with the earlier proverb concerning the plague, the combination of Arabic and European languages to describe the role highlights the cultural and linguistic exchange in the Regencies, even in the higher realms of office. Regarding the celebration of Muslim festivals such as Bayram and Ramadan, the Consul was expected to attend with the Pasha and greet him, kissing his hand and wishing him, "*Buona Festa, vostra Eccellenza*" (Pennell 1982: 104). The greeting on such a key celebration in the Islamic calendar being spoken in Italian (or perhaps even Lingua Franca) is particularly

significant. It demonstrates just how multicultural, multidenominational and multilingual the upper echelons of society were, and suggests a liberal, highly metropolitan society. Correspondence from the English consul, Hanmer Warrington, to the Colonial Office in London, detailing the key officials in the Pasha's regime, also highlights the compound Arabic-Italian terms considered to be examples of Lingua Franca. One such term is *rais marina*, meaning Captain of the Port, an elite role within the régime (TNA: FO 161/9 (a)), but one often filled by a corsair, who was often of European – rather than Barbary –origin.

19th century Tripoli

In Tripoli in 1818, Lyon recorded that 'a bad Italian is generally spoken by the Inhabitants of the town; so that Christians have not much difficulty in transacting business' (Lyon 1821:13*)*. This implies the practicality of the pidgin in facilitating trade as well as other relations. Clearly, Lingua Franca had evolved in utility from its origins as a language of communication between master and slave, and within the slave community. This appears to echo the situation in the other Regencies, as mentioned above.

The Pasha of Tripoli, Qaramanli, said of the Sardinian consul, Parodi, who came to Tripoli in the 1820s, in a conversation with one of his staff who was also a Sardinian and passed the pasha's judgment on to Parodi,

> *Tuo Console star buono, non cercare me nè buono nè male, inscialla tutti li console star come isso*
> 'Your Consul is good, he doesn't bother me for good things or bad, if only all consuls were like him' (Ferrari 1912: 156; my translation).

Ironically, it was Parodi who accidentally created a conflict between Sardinia and Tripoli when, unwell, he left the Regency and was temporarily replaced by his regent, Foux, without the stipulated

payment for a change in Consul. The lack of protocol infuriated Qaramanli. Foux wrote to his superiors, reporting the Pasha's words: *Mi conoscer ti aver bona cabesa però Re Sardinia mandar sempre Consul senza rigal* 'I know you have a good brain but the King of Sardinia always sends a Consul without a gift' (Ferrari 1912: 156; my translation). Apparently refusing to heed Foux's explanation that his stay was temporary, Qaramanli continued,

> *Ti star Consul o no star? Mi non entender, così aver fatto Re Sardinia per Ugo [Parodi's predecessor], il tratato con Sardinia non dicer questo… Cristiane star furbi*
> 'Are you or are you not the Consul? I don't understand what the King of Sardinia has done with Ugo, our treaty with Sardinia doesn't say this…Christians are sly' (Ferrari 1912: 156; my translation).

This reported speech demonstrates that by the 19th century, in Tripoli at least, Lingua Franca's domains had extended. International diplomacy could be and was being conducted in the pidgin. Nevertheless, the pidgin's vocabulary and syntax, discussed in detail in Chapters 6 and 7, remain limited, simple and dogmatic. Sentences are mostly short, and direct in their question or statement. The verbs are in the infinitive. The pronouns *mi* and *ti* 'you' are in the tonic form. Interestingly and uncharacteristically, there is agreement between the noun, *Cristiani* 'Christians', notably not Franks as found elsewhere (Shaw 1748), and *furbi* 'sly'. As with much of Lingua Franca, in this excerpt there are several lexifying languages, including Spanish, *cabesa* 'head' and *entender* 'understand', and much Italian, *tratato* 'treaty', *rigal* 'gift' and *furbi* 'sly' (originally from French). The earlier conversation between Qaramanli and Parodi's assistant also includes *inscialla,* 'God willing' in Arabic with Italian orthography. The lexicon is largely unchanged from earlier sources. The evolution, then, is in the spread of Lingua Franca in terms of its speakers and its increasingly comprehensive range of subject matter and domain.

4.2.5 Levant

17th century

From as early as the late 15th century onwards, Hughes suggests that

> 'Humming across the Ottoman Empire – and with particular vigour around Istabul – could be heard the original lingua franca, a base of pidgin Italian with added Greek, Turkish, Arabic, Spanish and French elements' (Hughes 2017: 424).

According to Mansel (2010: 30) in Smyrna, as in Constantinople and other Levantine ports, the two principal languages used between Europeans and Turks, and amongst Europeans were Italian and Lingua Franca. Pietro Della Valle described the *lingua franca* in a letter that he wrote about his visit to Damascus in 1616; he called it 'Italian—that is, that bastard Italian ... which in these parts of the Orient they call *franco piccolo*' (Della Valle 1843: 1, 320).

Antoine Galland is best known for his translation from the Arabic of *The thousand and one nights*. He worked for several French ambassadors to the Ottoman Empire, spending several years in Smyrna and Constantinople at the close of the seventeenth century (Raynard 2012: 97-102). Galland describes the variation of Lingua Franca spoken by Jews:

> *Ils se servent de ce qu'ils ont apporté de l'Espagne, laquelle approche plus du portuguais que de l'espagnol, que chacun entend assez bien parce qu'ils y mettent des mots italiens, et ainsi ils n'ont point de peine à se faire entendre aux marchands*
>
> 'They use the language they have brought from Spain, which is more like Portuguese than Spanish. Anyone can understand it pretty well because they substitute in Italian words, and thus have no trouble being understood by traders' (Galland 2000: 150; my translation)

In Smyrna, Galland (2000: 151) mentions having reproached French

merchants for their lack of Turkish but states that Italian and Lingua Franca are the contact languages which make learning Greek or Turkish superfluous for trade. Galland also explains the use of Lingua Franca in Smyrna, which appears to be mostly by Armenian Jews, and Greeks and Turks, the latter two in order to avoid the need for a translator or spokesperson. Galland proceeds to describe Lingua Franca, offering various phrases:

> *Hau vena qui, ti voler per questo, per Dio mi far bon mercato, star bona roba, pigliar perti, c'est a dire ' viens ca! veux-tu acheter cela? Je t'en ferai bon marché, la merchandise est bonne, prends la!*
>
> 'Come over here! Do you want to buy that? I'll do you a deal. It's good stuff. Grab it!' (Galland 2000: 150-1; my translation)

Lingua Franca in the Levant shares many of the characteristics of its Barbary counterpart, lexically and grammatically.

More than a century earlier, the Italian diplomat Lorenzo Bernardo was sent on a special mission to Constantinople in 1591. He reported how Hasan Pasha (Yemisçi – as opposed to Hasan Pasha, the son of Barbarossa and Governor of Algiers), the admiral of the Ottoman Fleet, spoke poor Turkish, but better *franco*, introducing many Spanish words. He was originally a renegade, *di nation venetiana, di casa Celesti* 'of Venetian origin of the house of Celesti' (Bernardo 1887: 42; my translation). Evidently, as in Barbary, elsewhere across the Mediterranean, the corsair community was multinational and plurilingual.

18th century Levant

References to Lingua Franca regularly mention Barbary and the Levant despite the fact that the majority of authors reporting incidences of, and citing, the pidgin are from Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, rather than from the Eastern Mediterranean. However, there are

several reports from Egypt, Jerusalem, and the Arab Peninsula which suggest that Lingua Franca functioned there as a communication medium among speakers who shared no other language, if not on the scale with the same extensive domains as in Barbary. According to the French philosopher Rousseau (Cranston 1991), a mastery of Italian allowed him to understand the vernacular spoken by many inhabitants of the Levant. While staying in Neuchatel as a young man, Rousseau met a Greek monk who claimed to be the Archimandrite of Jerusalem, who was travelling around Europe to raise money for holy sites. The latter spoke no French but 'Rousseau's knowledge of Italian enabled him to understand the *lingua franca*, or bastard Levantine Venetian, which the traveller spoke'. (Cranston 1991: 96).

Abbé Prévost, the French Abbot, traveller and author of 'Manon Lescaut', described Lingua Franca in 1775, according to Philip Mansel (2010), as 'in use among seamen in the Mediterranean and merchants who go to trade in the Levant and which is understood by people of all nations' (Mansel, 2010: 14). In his *histoire générale des voyages…* (1752) Prévost describes the companions of the *Capitaine du port* of Mocha, Yemen, who come to meet the French mission arriving there in 1708 as:

> *un interprête Banian, qui parlait la langue Portuguaise, et qui était vêtu de blanc, avec une belle ceinture brodée et une écharpe de soie sur son épaule, et d'un Hollandais du Comptoir, vêtu a la Turque, qui parlait la langue Franque*
>
> 'An Indian interpreter who spoke Portuguese, dressed in white with a beautiful brocade belt and a silk scarf around his shoulders, and a Dutchman from the trading post, in Turkish dress, who spoke lingua franca' (Prévost 1752: 292; my translation).

Tournefort was a French botanist who travelled throughout the Levant in the early 18th century. While in Crete, Tournefort recorded how he and his companions:

> *nous avions logé chez un Papas, fort zélé pour son rite, et d'une ignorance pitoyable. Il voulut nous persuader, dans un mauvais Italien…*
>
> 'we had stayed with a priest, a true zealot but pitifully ignorant. He tried to persuade us, in bad Italian….'
>
> (Tournefort 1718: 28; my translation).

He describes how in Constantinople the Turks kept themselves apart from Europeans, while the mainly European communities in the *rue des Francs* spoke Italian, French, English and Dutch (Tournefort 1718: 197). While these quarters would have been where many of the Europeans in each city lived, it seems unlikely that, despite their name, Lingua Franca would have been the sole language of communication there. Rather, natural languages, as Tournefort (1718) suggests, would have been spoken. Lingua Franca would be more the preserve of trade and the port.

19th century Levant

Lord Byron, the English poet, on a grand tour of Europe in the first decade of the nineteenth century also referred to the Levantine pidgin, writing to Frances Hodgson, the future author of *The Secret Garden*, and expounding on his linguistic competence: 'my current tongue is Levant Italian, which I gabble perforce. My late dragoman spoke bad Latin, but having dismissed him, I am left to my own resources, which consist in tolerably fluent Lingua Franca….' (Byron ed. Murray 1922: 29). This would appear to equate Levant Italian and Lingua Franca. Byron's choice of 'tolerably fluent' implies mastery of these languages is not necessary for communication, but equally that they do require learning, and that there are degrees of competence, while 'gabble

perforce' may suggest that there is an element of improvisation and even creation in his speaking. This is reinforced by Nerval who wrote:

> *Je songe que beaucoup de Musulmans entendent la langue franque, laquelle au fond, n'est qu'un mélange de toute sorte de mots des patois méridionaux, qu'on emploie au hasard jusqu'à ce qu'on se soit fait comprendre; c'est la langue des Turcs de Molière. Je ramasse donc tout ce que je puis savoir d'italien, d'espagnol et de grec et je compose avec le tout un discours fort captieux*
>
> 'I think that many Muslims understand Lingua Franca, which is essentially, just a mix of all kinds of words from southern patois, which you pick at random until you make yourself understood; it's the language of the Turks of Molière. I gather together all I know of Italian, Spanish and Greek and out of them I make up a very canny speech' (Nerval 1927: vol. 1, 131; my translation).

Nerval's and Byron's descriptions both underline the lack of prescriptive lexicon in the Lingua Franca they encountered in the Levant, reinforcing the impression that there, at least, it may have been more akin to L2 Italian than a more stable independent language, as conveyed by its alternative name, Levant Italian.

Lingua Franca seems also to have been spoken in Egypt. Mansel (2010) writes of Alexandria, 'the city had an international language in which the different communities could speak to each other. Until the 1860s it was Italian or lingua franca'. Italian, and possibly Lingua Franca, words remained in the lexicon of Alexandrian Arabic: *bosta* (post), *gambari* (shrimps), *torta* (cakes) and *roba vecchia* (old clothes) (Mansel 2010: 145). The Italian archaeologist, Belzoni, spent time in Alexandria in the early eighteenth century. Although he does not refer to Lingua Franca in his memoirs (1882), and neither does his biographer, Stanley Mayes (1958), there are words in the texts of both,

which clearly derive from Italian or Lingua Franca, included without translation. One such example is *firman,* meaning a safe-conduct, likely from the Arabic but possibly from the Italian or Lingua Franca *firmar* 'to sign', given the lexical similarity (Belzoni 1882). This will be further explored in Chapter 7.

4.3 Literary sources of Lingua Franca

The earliest documentation of Lingua Franca – and the more extensive examples – is literary. Poems, songs and play scenes all feature characters speaking Lingua Franca as a device. As such, the language, albeit resembling later Lingua Franca in terms of key prominent features, is exaggerated, stylized and deliberately comprehensible to its audience.

4.3.1 *Contrasto della Zerbitana*

The oldest attested example of this usage is the *Contrasto della zerbitana* (The Conflict with the woman of Jerba), dated by Grion (1891) to 1305. It was found by Grion in 1891 in a 14th century codex and assigned the date given the reference to the *amiralia* from the Italian *ammiraglio* 'admiral', presumed to be the great Admiral Ruggiero di Lauria who conquered the Tunisian island of Djerba (Minervini 1996: 250). The *contrasto* (a verbal duel) is between a man and the mother of the woman he has seduced. The principal linguistic feature typical of Lingua Franca found in the *contrasto* is the use of the infinitive for verb forms. There is also a lack of agreement between genders and numbers, and the tonic form of the pronoun is used as a subject; defining features of Lingua Franca are to be further detailed in the linguistic analysis chapter. According to Minervini, lexically the *contrasto* resembles Southern Italian spoken by a native Arabic speaker. This, she points out, says more about the linguistic background of the poem's author than the contact language encountered by the fictional characters depicted (Minervini 1996:251-2). Bergareche suggests – and I concur – that rather than being an

early instance of Lingua Franca, this is what preceded the established pidgin, more a jargon or pre-pidgin. The predominance of Italian (with multiple errors and evidence of simplification) suggests that the language is a 'foreigner talk', an ad hoc oral jargon used by the inhabitants of Jerba to communicate with their Sicilian rulers (Bergareche 1993:435).

4.3.2 *Il villancico* di Juan del Encina

This poem, written in 1520, exhibits features of pidginized Romance, if not Lingua Franca (Harvey, Jones and Whinnom 1967). As with the *Zerbitana*, the *Villancico* is a deliberate parody, of the young Arabs who stop pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem, harassing them until they purchase trinkets to help them on their journey. The language is a hybrid of Spanish and Italian of a particular Venetian influence. The nouns seem largely Venetian in origin, though plurals are rendered with –s, as in Spanish. Once again, there are multiple infinitive verb forms, many of which are verbs found in Lingua Franca: *dar* 'give', *manjar* 'eat', *pillar* 'take' and *estar* 'be' (Minervini 1996: 255-7). The formulaic sales 'patter' of the hawkers represented in the poem – whether it be accurate or heightened for dramatic effect – resembles that of a market trader and, as such, is a jargon all its own. While it may share features of the (more evolved) pidgin Lingua Franca, it seems more likely that the *Villancico* offers an additional interim stage between jargon and pidgin, or a burlesque stylization, emulating such a 'language' (Bergareche 1993: 436).

4.3.3 *La Zingana* - Gigio Artemio Giancarli

The play, written in 1545, was a comedy with language – the polyglot nature of Venice – as one of its key themes. In addition to *la zingana* - the epyonymous heroine, a gypsy woman from the Levant, there are several other characters from different linguistic backgrounds: the Greek, Arcario, and two speakers of Northern Italian regional dialects - the Paduan Garbuglio (which translates as muddle or mess) and the

Bergamascan (from North Lombardy) Martino. (Minervini 1996: 257). The Arabic dialect spoken by the *zingana* is hard to pinpoint partly because it is a dramatic construct, and her 'Arabic' is rendered in glossed pidgin Italian expressions, jokes and idioms (Minervini 1996: 258). Bergareche observes that the use of the infinitive seems to be a default tactic in poetry and theatre to emphasise the foreignness of a character or his / her speech (Bergareche 1993: 437), rather than an indication of the use of Lingua Franca. The principal lexifiers appear to be Italian or Venetian and there are a few Spanish and Arabic words. The multiple incidences of *saber* recall the *sabir,* the verb used throughout the Lingua Franca scenes of Molière's 1670 *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*.

4.3.4 Molière's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* and *Le Sicilien*

The work was allegedly written at the instruction of Louis XIV who wanted a Turkish element to the play. The Turkish Sultan's envoy, Soliman Aga, had apparently been underwhelmed by the French King's reception, and the King, in an attempt to improve diplomatic relations, demanded an Oriental theme to Molière's play. A contending explanation suggests that the King, offended and frustrated, wanted to deride all things Turk. According to D'Arvieux (1735), Molière and Lully (who composed the music), were tasked with creating a comic, musical and theatrical extravaganza in a few months. D'Arvieux advised on the language element, having spent time in the Ottoman Empire and Barbary, and was well versed in Lingua Franca. (Gaines 2002: 252). Gaines also mentions a widely-travelled physician and amateur philosopher, François Bernier, who may well have shared his knowledge and understanding of the Ottomans and Lingua Franca with Molière, influencing his depiction of both (Gaines 2002: 54).

Bergareche says of Molière's language in *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* that it is a stylized version of Lingua Franca. There is a heavier emphasis on French words and the repeated use of *a* ending for

adjectives and numbers is clearly rhyme-motivated rather than an attempt at verisimilitude (Bergareche 1993: 438). While this is accurate, the use of the verb *sabir* 'know' from the Spanish *saber,* and the verbs *intendir* 'mean' and *star* 'be' (Molière 1798: 70-71) both from Italian are all listed as Lingua Franca words in the later *Dictionnaire* (1830). The repeated use of the infinitive and tonic pronouns are also characteristic of Lingua Franca. Such authenticity demonstrates that Molière's language, while designed to entertain, offers a deliberately accurate version of Lingua Franca.

Le Sicilien, written three years earlier (1667), features a chorus sung by Hali, valet to Adraste, a French nobleman, in a bid to distract the Sicilian, Don Pèdre, while Adraste steals away with his Greek slave, Isidore. Although there is an element of comedy and even nonsensical humour to the song, the language bears a strong resemblance to Lingua Franca, both lexically and grammatically.

TABLE 4.3

Chiribirida ouch alla!	'Chiribirida ouch alla!'
Star bon turca,	I am a good Turk
Non aver danara	I have no money
Ti voler comprara,	You want to buy [me]
Mi servir a ti,	I serve you
Se pagar per mi?	If you pay [for] me?
Far bon coucina,	I am a good cook
Mi levar matina,	I get up in the morning
Far boler caldara,	And boil the water
Parlara, parlara,	Speak, Speak

Ti voler comprara,	You want to buy [me]' [11]

(Molière 1667: 28-9; my translation).

The hallmarks of Lingua Franca, the infinitive and tonic pronoun, and the use of the periphrastic *per*, all occur within the short verse. Although the verb endings of *-a* seem perhaps an indication of the future construction, they may be more a reflection of Molière's desire to maintain the rhyme. Both plays do not offer definitive examples of Lingua Franca texts, but Molière certainly appears to have produced a language comprehensible to Romance speakers, his audience, that adheres to Lingua Franca's basic grammatical features.

4.3.5 Goldoni's *L'Impresario di Smirne*

Written in the late 18th century, *L'Impresario di Smirne* is, like much of Goldoni's theatre, synonymous with realistic and detailed character depiction. As Santoro (1999) states, 'Typical characters of everyday life are meticulously portrayed, highlighting particular aspects of their physical and psychological personas' (Santoro 1996: 89). Goldoni's intention was to entertain through parody and ridicule of certain characters, and he exploits features of Lingua Franca – its simplified syntax, lack of articles and limited morphology – to do so (Santoro 1996: 90). Various features, the hallmarks of Lingua Franca found in documentary sources, such as the tonic pronoun and the exclusive use of infinitive forms (ending in a stressed vowel +*r* rather than the Italian *e*) and on omission of articles, occur in Goldoni's play. These linguistic features will be explored in more detail in Chapter 6.

4.3.6 Other literary examples

Cervantes, Swift and Dryden also refer to Lingua Franca, characterizing its linguistic makeup, but offer few, if any examples. Cervantes, who was a slave in Algiers for several years, describes

[11] I believe that since the song is being sung by the valet, Hali, to the Sicilian nobleman Dom Pèdre, offering the latter his services, there is the implicit 'me' in ' You want to buy me'

Lingua Franca's linguistic makeup in Don Quixote:

> *lengua que en toda la Barberia y en aun Constantinople se habla entra cautivos y moros, que ni e morisco ni castellano ni de otra nación alguna, sino una mexcla de todos las lenguas, con la qual todos nos entendemos…*
>
> 'the language which throughout Barbary, and even in Constantinople, is used between Arabs and captives, which is neither Morisco[12] nor Catalan, nor any other nation's language, but rather a mix of all languages, which everyone can understand…' (Cervantes 1605: Part 1, Ch. 41; my translation).

Cervantes wrote two plays, based on his experiences in the *banios* of Algiers, *El trato de Argel* 'The traffic of Algiers' (1582) and *Los banos de Argel* 'The slave prisons of Algiers' (1615). While no character's language bears the hallmarks of Lingua Franca grammatically, the *Guardian* in *Los banos de Argel* speaks in the ritualistic manner typical of slavemasters and corsairs, and uses phrases very similar to those attributed to them in documentary sources, such as: *¡a trabajo, Cristianos!* 'Get to work, Christians!' and *¡Perro, camina!* 'Walk, Dog!' (Cervantes 1615: 8-9).

In Swift's 1726 *Gulliver's Travels*, the protagonist speaks of the difficulties of communicating in Lilliput: "I spoke to them in as many languages I had the least smattering of, which were high and low Dutch, Latin, French, Spanish, Italian and Lingua Franca" (Swift 1726: 28). The jargon Swift uses has been dismissed as nonsense and unlikely to have any relationship with Lingua Franca, but Rothman recently suggested a link between the words spoken by the Lilliputians among others and Hebrew (Rothman 2015). Within a few years, Dryden, in his play *Limberham*, also referred to Lingua Franca,

summing up its domain, geographical spread and linguistic makeup in a mere sentence: ‘‘tis a kind of Lingua Franca, as I have heard the Merchants call it; a certain compound Language, made up of all Tongues that passes through the Levant” (Dryden 1680: 12).

4.4 Conclusions

Lingua Franca varied geographically and diachronically. Even its nomenclature depended on where it was spoken. Many sources claim Italian (both in name and lexifier) as a key constituent. Other Romance languages also feature. A few sources suggest Arabic and Greek as influential on the pidgin. This may reflect the particular excerpt they have heard or may relate to the witness’s own linguistic repertoire. Certainly the author’s native tongue is often in evidence in the actual words they report as Lingua Franca. (This will be explored further in the linguistic analysis chapter). The domains of Lingua Franca seem to extend from the orders, threats and violent insults characteristic of the master-slave domain, into daily and even court life throughout the Regencies, though there are differences in the prestige or lack thereof attributed to the pidgin from one city-state to the next. Lingua Franca is often said to be spoken throughout the Levant, but there is less evidence of the permeation and uptake of the pidgin. Certainly, in the Levant, it is almost never referred to as Lingua Franca, but rather some version of Italian. Literary sources would seem to offer evidence of the pidgin’s existence pre 1600 (the point at which documentary sources start to make reference to its use) and closer analysis demonstrates that rather than a formed pidgin, these are more likely to be interim stages between nautical (and mercantile) jargon and the more evolved pidgin found in Barbary from the 17th century onwards. The relative wealth of documentary sources from the 17th-19th centuries in the Barbary Regencies make them the principal focus of my research and the following chapters.

Despite this, dramatic sources also offer interesting and valid

testimony, and if they were to be dismissed as irrelevant, so too should many of the more 'factual' sources found in the corpus, as many of these were published to entertain as much as inform the reader. There is further overlap between the fiction and non-fiction categories, as demonstrated by the likes of Chevalier D'Arvieux, in his advisory role on the Turkish elements for Molière's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*. Certain hallmarks of the pidgin such as the use of infinitives, cited as an indication of speech being Lingua Franca, are mentioned by critics of dramatic works and by the writers of documentary sources. (This will be explored further in the linguistic analysis chapter). The multiplicity and spread (geographic and historic) of the sources lead me to conclude that Lingua Franca was a genuine entity, or perhaps, more accurately, entities – a linguistic continuum, subject to the speaker's linguistic ability, nationality and audience, and indeed to those of the author of the source.

Chapter 5 – The linguistic ecology of Lingua Franca

5.1. Introduction

This chapter will explore the linguistic ecology of the Mediterranean, and more specifically the Barbary Regencies of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli from the 16th century to the19th century. I will examine the multiplicity of languages in use, and then differentiate the European regional varieties from the more established national languages which emerged later in the nineteenth century when standard languages became more established. Further to this, I will reinforce the centrality of Italian in the region as the predominant language of diplomacy and commerce, but will take into account the distinction between what is regarded today as Italian, and the varieties of that language that were generically referred to as Italian at the time. Tuscan Italian was the recognized standard variety, but in this pre-unification era there remained powerful city-states, each with its own dialect. These dialects, originating mostly from Northern Italy and Venice in particular, were those spoken in Barbary. This chapter will lay out metadata from the sources that refer to Lingua Franca's various lexifying influences, providing as the evidence and linguistic analysis hereto allows, a descriptive grammar of Lingua Franca. I will explore to what extent the *Dictionnaire* (1830) corresponds with the linguistic features found within the corpus. This important volume addresses the grammatical features of Lingua Franca in its introduction and provides the only comprehensive lexical record of Lingua Franca.

5.2 Language ecology

Linguistic complexity existed throughout the Mediterranean for centuries, driven by commerce, conflict, and migration. The multilingual landscape was characterized by linguistic enclaves, such as the Catalan communities of Sardinia, and the Greek and Albanian presence in southern Italy and Sicily, with reciprocal Italian being spoken along the Dalmatian Coast. Other examples include the

Venetian presence on Crete and Cyprus, the Arab-speaking Maronites also in Cyprus and the Judeo-Spanish speakers of Livorno and scattered through the Ottoman Empire (Cremona 2001: 289). North Africa provides an even more linguistically complex picture. The seventh century had seen the start of the Arab conquest of North Africa, with Arabic and Islam replacing the indigenous Berber languages. From the late 15th century, Arabic was displaced by Turkish, which was introduced as the state language when Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, captured by the Barbarossa brothers, became Regencies of the Ottoman Empire.

North Africa had had long-established contact with European continent, predominantly with Spain and Italy. The Muslim invasion and occupation of Sicily from the 9th to the 11th century led inevitably to mutual linguistic exchange between Italian and Arabic, as did ongoing trade across the Mediterranean (Rossi 1928: 143). Prior to the end of the sixteenth century, and the establishment of the Turkish Regencies of Algeria, Tunisia, and Tripoli, there were already multiple Romance language communities across North Africa. Spanish *Presidios*, or fortified bases, existed in Morocco and in Algeria (both in Oran and in Mers-el-Kebir) and were examples of one such linguistic enclave. French was spoken in the *Bastion de France* in Algeria, Genovese (or Ligurian) on the island of Tabarka, Italian and Spanish in the Tunis port of La Goulette or La Goletta. Spanish, Italian, and French alternated in Tripoli depending on the controlling power – Spain, Italy, or the Knights of Malta (Cremona 2001: 290). A truce between François I of France and Ottoman Emperor Suleiman in the early 16th Century (Cremona 2001: 290) facilitated and promoted trade between Europe and North Africa and Levant, with commercial centres set up in Sidone, Aleppo and Tripoli (in Syria) as well as Algiers and Tunis.

5.3 Diasporas

The expulsion of the Jews from the Iberian Kingdom at the end of the 15th century led to a diaspora, both in Northern Europe and in Ottoman-ruled North Africa and Morocco. The former tended to speak Portuguese and write in Spanish, whilst the latter principally used Judeo-Spanish or *Ladinho* for both speaking and writing. In addition, Judeo-Spanish merchants from Livorno and Andalusian Moriscoes who arrived after the Apujarras Revolt (1568-71) in Granada, both brought a form of Spanish known as *Aljamiado,* essentially a form of Spanish written in Arabic script (Cremona 2001: 289-90). Post-reconquest medieval Spain offered a semblance of peaceful multi-faith co-existence *convivencia*, with only sporadic conflict among the ruling Catholics and the Jews and Muslims (Chejne 1983: 76). However, Kamen suggests otherwise, noting that the 'so-called *convivencia* was always a relationship between unequals' (Kamen 1997: 4). Despite this, there existed a long history of Jewish allegiance to the King of Aragon, and Jews held high office in both the religious and political domains (Kamen 1997: 5-6). Initially ordered to convert to Catholicism, Jews who refused, and those not believed to have done so, were forcibly expelled. They numbered 40,000, of whom a substantial number went predominantly to Algiers (Kamen 1997: 29-31). Some Jews expelled from Spain also settled in Italian ports like Rome, Venice, Ancona, and Livorno, with the inevitable consequence of making these port cities multilingual, given the linguistic background of these forced migrants. These Italian-based Jewish communities became the principal intermediaries in the commerce between Northern Europe and North Africa (Minervini 2011: 1-2). Linguistic assimilation between the communities increased throughout the 17th century, with the exception of Livorno, where Spanish with some Judeo-Spanish prevailed. The Livornese Jews, known as *Gorni* (from the English name for Livorno, Leghorn), were able to communicate with speakers of many European languages and became the chosen translators for the Grand Duke of Tuscany in his diplomatic and

commercial correspondence from the Levant and the Barbary states (Minervini 2011: 2). Minervini describes how the Livornese Jews' employment as translators and interpreters by the likes of Thomas Goodwin and his French counterparts in Tunis and Tripoli impacted on the language used in the documents emanating from the European Consuls:

> *Essi svolgono quindi un ruolo di primo piano nell' elaborazione di una varietà di italiano –di base toscana non ortodossa, con innesti iberoromanzi– usato come lingua cancelleresca e diplomatica nelle reggenze nordafricane*
>
> 'They played therefore, a front row role in the development of a variety of Italian – with an unorthodox Tuscan base, and Ibero-Romance loanwords – used as the Chancellery and diplomatic language of the North African regencies' (Minervini 2011: 2; my translation).

This 'variety' would have been reinforced by the merchants of Livorno corresponding with the Barbary consuls, who were increasingly influential due to their special status. According to Minervini, these individuals were under the protection of a European consulate, and were exempted from the taxes and duties imposed on all those trading within the Ottoman Empire and its sphere of power, as well as the restrictions enforced on the rest of the Jewish community. These merchants, who were by the mid-18th century dominant in the mercantile life of the Barbary states, were known as *francos*, given their status as free from taxes, but it seems at least plausible that their language might be known as Franca. Certainly, they made a significant linguistic impact, and their Judeo-Spanish lexicon was increasingly influenced by Italian (Minervini 2011: 5). Many words related to their economic activity, such as *véndita* 'sale', *investir* 'to invest', but also more everyday lexemes like *conchar* 'to build' and *ostaria* 'inn' (Minervini 2011:5-6). Both *vendita*, the translation for the

French *débit*, and *counchiar* as the Lingua Franca version of *faire*, feature in the *Dictionnaire* (1830).

Moriscos, Muslims of North African origin who had spent years in Spain, were expelled from the late fifteenth century, initially to Marseille. This was after protracted discrimination by the Spanish authorities who, having forced them to convert to Christianity, further discriminated against them and proscribed their wearing traditional Arabic clothing or speaking Arabic; their children had to be educated by Spanish priests (Kamen 1997: 216). In the late 16th century, the Moriscos staged revolts in Granada against the Spanish rulers. Approximately 150,000 Moriscos were sent to Marseille from where most of them migrated to North Africa, with only about 40,000 settling permanently in France (Chejne 1983: 13).

According to Chejne, Aljamiado or Aljamía derives from the Arabic *Ajami* 'foreign' and was a 'derogatory designation..that not only expressed defiance toward the oppressor but reiterated Islamic values' (Chejne 1983: Preface vii). Venier (2009) develops this argument, and suggests that just as the terms *barbaro* from βάρβρος indicates otherness or foreignness to Western Europeans, so too does '*ajam* to non-Westerners, signifying rather *incomprensibile quindi spagnolo* 'unintelligible therefore Spanish' (Venier 2009: 299). Linguistically, Aljamía is a Spanish dialect rendered in Arabic characters (Chejne 1969: 79). Aljamiado was employed by Moriscos in spoken daily life, while Arabic was initially maintained as the language of religion. With their forced conversion to Christianity in the early sixteenth century, some Moriscos sustained their Islamic faith using Aljamiado. In 1567, Philip II of Spain issued a royal decree ordering Moriscos to abstain from using Arabic at any time, orally or written. The use of Arabic in any circumstances was viewed as a crime. Moriscos were allowed three years in which to learn Spanish, after which time they were forbidden to own any Arabic written material.

In response to this edict, Moriscos translated all prayers and the sayings of their prophet Mohammed into Aljamiado transcriptions of the Spanish language. Aljamiado scrolls were circulated amongst the Moriscos (Kamen 1997: 217-225). 'In so doing, they remained faithful to the substance of the original Arabic texts and preserved the minutiae of religious beliefs and practices in a language they considered foreign (al– 'ajamiyyah, Sp. *Aljamia* or *Aljamiado*)' (Chejne 1983: 37). The overlap with Lingua Franca is revealing; in *Aljamiado* the Arabic lexicon is rendered in Romance language and orthography. Although Lingua Franca was largely lexified by the Romance languages, there are several terms, predominantly pertaining to office, which derive from the Arabic but have been 'Romanised' or even 'Lingua Francified'. *Rais de la marina* is the prime example, discussed below, where the Arabic *rais* 'leader' is co-opted by Romance speakers to refer to the Captain of the Port.

5.4 Italian as the regional lingua franca

By the 16th century Italian was recognised as the pre-eminent language of society, court, and diplomacy. As mentioned, and will be explored more thoroughly in the linguistic analysis of Lingua Franca (and Venetian), there was no unified standard or 'national' variety of Italian throughout the period of 'Lingua Franca' existence. Regional dialects included Tuscan (the standard, at least for formal written Italian), Genoese and Venetian (the predominant trading dialects), Neapolitan and Sicilian (both widely spoken and lexifiers of commercial and nautical lexicon). What was coined as Italian in Barbary was usually (although not exclusively) a Northern Italian dialect, and most often Venetian. Given that the different varieties were referred to as Italian in the sources and in recent analyses of Lingua Franca, I too am going to use the generic term in the following sections, unless a particular variety or dialect is more relevant.

Italian was the principal diplomatic language between Europeans and Turks across the Ottoman Empire for much of the 16th, the whole 17th, and first half of the 18th century. Migliorini, in his history of the Italian language, cites the 1582 work of Girolamo Muzio, entitled *Battaglia in difesa dell'italica lingua* (Battle in defence of the Italian language):

> *Andate alla Corte del Signor de' Turchi & ritrovate chi sappia Latino: ritrovatane appresso il Re di Tunisi, nel regno del Garbo, di Algier, & in altri luoghi; la nostra lingua ritrovarete voi per tutto*
>
> 'Go to the Court of the Sultan of the Turks, and you will find there people who speak [vulgar] Latin, you'll find it around the King of Tunis, in the Kingdoms of Gerba and Algiers, and in other places; our language you will find everywhere' (Migliorini 1960: 380-1; my translation).

Banfi (2014) suggests that this means that only at the very highest level would Latin have been understood; elsewhere, it was Italian that people recognised (Banfi 2014: Loc. 4001). According to Banfi (2014), there was a well-established colloquial saying in the 16th century, '*se ti vedi el Gran Turco, parlighe in venezian*' 'if you see the Great Turk, speak to him in Venetian' (Banfi 2014: Loc. 2191; my translation).

Further evidence of the diplomatic use of Italian is provided by two treaties between France and Ottoman territories, regarding Tunis in 1666 and Constantinople in 1672, both written in Italian (Cremona 1996: 85-97). Bernard Lewis, the Middle Eastern specialist, relates how correspondence was conducted between Queen Elizabeth I and the Ottoman Sultan, Selim II, in the late 16th century. Tellingly, the Sultan was referred to as the *Gran Signor*. His correspondence was in Turkish but 'a contemporary translation was provided in Italian which the English could understand; the reply was drafted in English, sent in Italian and presumably translated into Turkish' (Lewis 1999: 14).

French Chanceries opened in many North African ports and cities of the Levant. They facilitated trade opportunities for French merchants and seafarers, and offered a wealth of documentation including legal contracts, transactions, registrations of debt, claims, captures at sea, and wills. The French Chancery in Tunis held documents dating from 1582 relating to French, but also many other European merchants and seamen, and Tunisian merchants, whether Turkish, Arab, or Jewish, testifying to the commercial and corsair character of the city. Cremona calculated that of the approximately 15,000 documents preserved in the registers, two thirds were written in Italian. As a general rule, documents were only written in French if all those named in the document were French. If any participant were of a different nationality including Tunisian, Arab, Turkish, Jewish, Italian, Greek, Spanish, English, Flemish etc., the document was written in Italian. The proportion shifts to predominantly French only at the end of the seventeenth century (Cremona 2002: 27).

Cremona provides yet more evidence of the centrality of Italian, and its reach; for example, two English business partners in dispute over the wording of a contract registered their protests to one another through the French Chancery in 1628; these were all recorded in Italian translations as:

> 'Finally, exasperated and keen to set sail having learned of Algerian corsairs off the coast of Tunis one of the men, John Barker, the Captain of the Golden Cockerel, implores the French Consul to engage a reliable translator to translate the original English of the agreement into Italian, *accioché ognuno le possa intendere e fare vedere il dretto delle nostre differenze a chi le tiene* 'so that everyone can understand and show who is right in this dispute' (Cremona 1997: 59-61; my translation).

The registers from the English consulate in Tunis date from 1675. They are, in the vast majority, written in Italian, as are those of the

Tripoli Consulate. The latter's title is even recorded in Italian, as is the 1679 appointment of a new Consul, Thomas Baker:

> *Nel nome del omnipotente e Signor Iddio, Libro de Reggsitri della Cancellaria dell'Illlmo Sig Thomaso Bacher, per l'Invit[tissmo] Rè della Granda Bertagna [sic]; et Difensor della Fede, Carlo 2do, Console nella città et regno in Tripoli di Barbaria, l'anno 1679 adi 17 aprille, giorno del suo possesso in detta carica.*
>
> 'In the name of the all-powerful Lord God, the register of the Chancellery of the worthy Mr. Thomas Baker, by his Majesty the King of Great Britain and Defender of the Faith, Charles II, the Consul of the city and Kingdom of Tripoli of Barbary, on the 17th of April in the year 1679, the day he came into possession of this role.' (TNA: FO 161/20; my translation).

Italian was the *de facto lingua franca* among merchants and seafarers around the Mediterranean, as well as the diplomatic language between its European, Ottoman, and Arab coastlines. Braudel suggests that, as early as the 16th century, Italian was the language of commerce throughout the Mediterranean (Braudel 1987: vol. i, 121). The language of consular documents appears to be predominantly (official) Tuscan Italian, but given the plethora of non-native writers of the documents, Gallicisms and other Italian dialectal elements are evident.

Jews in Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli represented a powerful section of each society, persecuted by the indigenous Arabs but commercially more successful. Jews from Livorno were particularly influential, and Italian – or their dialectal version of it, with Spanish and Portuguese lexical influences – was their principal means of communication. Tunis and Tripoli provided many examples of the use of Lingua Franca and of Italian. In several consulates other than the Italian, for example the French, Dutch, and English to name three, the chancery registers

were mostly written in Italian, partly because of the great number of Italian slaves, merchants, and sailors who recorded their consular activities there, but also because Italian was the language shared by all sections of the urban societies, namely the Arabic-speaking rulers of the Barbary states, the renegade community, the small Christian ones, and the more numerous Jewish communities.

Italian was, additionally, a key language in commerce across the Mediterranean and the native tongue of a high proportion of slaves seized by Barbary pirates. Lingua Franca derives largely from Italian and, as mentioned in Chapter 4, was spoken initially within the slave community of Barbary, and between slaves and their new masters (D'Aranda 1662: 21). The different spheres worked by the slaves along the North African coast extended the lexical domains of Lingua Franca. These included maintenance of building structures in the fields, in corsairs and Arab masters' houses, and in the weapons arsenals. Some slaves were even permitted to run bars and taverns, whilst others practiced their original trades of medicine and pharmacy (Rossi 1928: 144).

The reach of written Italian implies a similarly widespread use of spoken Italian. Several source authors refer to the Barbary elites' ability in Italian, as well as Lingua Franca. Although those working in the consulates and chanceries would have been educated and literate, it is not improbable that Italian was also spoken by many of the inhabitants of the coastlines of the Mediterranean. This Italian would have necessarily been subject to rather more variation, dialectal differences, lexical interference, and would have been more a foreigner talk or L2 Italian. I believe it is possible that the early pre-pidgin or jargon form of Lingua Franca may well have resembled, or even been one and the same as, this 'street', or rather 'sea', Italian.

5. 5 Another Lingua Franca?

In his 2004 study of Lingua Franca, Cifoletti added the qualification, *Barbaresca* 'Barbary' (Cifoletti 2004: 14) having, like several other linguists, referred to it previously as Mediterranean Lingua Franca (Cifoletti 1989; Wansbrough 1996; Minervini 1996). The geographic precision is necessary as not only did Lingua Franca appear to extend into the Levant and possibly beyond, but a separate language known as *franco* was also found in the 15th-17th centuries, predominantly along the Dalmatian coast.

The study of Lingua Franca is further complicated by the fact that Italian, as we know it today, did not yet exist. It was not until the second half of the 19th century, when Garibaldi unified the Italian states, that a national language was officially recognised. Tuscan Italian, championed by Dante, and then established as the purest form from the late 15th century, was seen as the representative variation of Italian, but both Venetian and Genoese – two dialects with reach significantly beyond their native cities – were found along the Dalmatian Coast and elsewhere in the Mediterranean. Furthermore, at the close of the Middle Ages, the Venetian dialect modelled itself increasingly on the Tuscan, to the extent that as Cremona (2002) states, 'it is often difficult to know whether we are dealing with Venetian or Tuscan Italian'. (Cremona 2002: 24). Indeed, as Banfi (2014) writes, by the early 15th century:

> *Venezia era allora al centro dell'economia mondiale*.
> 'Venice was at that time the economic centre of the world',
> (Banfi 2014: Loc. 2089; my translation),

and certainly of the Mediterranean, and

> *Dal punto di vista linguistico Venezia esportava nei suoi dominii il proprio modello. Veneziano 'da là da mar*
> 'from a linguistic point of view, Venice exported to its dominions its own 'Venetian over the seas' model' (Banfi 2014: Loc. 2135; my translation).

Dalmatia was not the only locus for this *franco.* Cremona highlights the case of the small island of Chios in the Aegean, which was known as 'little Rome of the Levant'. It remained Genoese till 1566 (Cremona 2002: 25). A Chian nobleman, Martin Cruccio, is reported by another, Giustiniani, a Genovese, writing in 1586, to speak*'parte…greco, parte italiano corrotto, come I genovesi* part Greek, part corrupt Italian, like the Genoese' (Argenti 1943: 260). Such cases appear to be examples of what Folena terms 'linguistic colonization', describing the language spoken on the Dalmatian coast as 'colonial Venetian' (Folena 1968-70).

Banfi (2014) offers Eufe's (2006) evidence that, already in the mid-15th century, there were signs of Venetian dialect in ecclesiastical documents relating to several Dalmatian cities, whilst a letter written by a certain Antonio di Zuane in 1463, to his brother, addressing military matters, also features the forms *fradelo, combater, casteli, zente, zorni, avemo, avisaremo, pigliarà* 'brother, fight, castles, people, days, we have, we will advise, he will seize' (Eufe 2006: 59-60).

Vianello (1955) cites the Venetian Gian Batista Giustiniani who, in 1553, wrote that in the cities along the Dalmatian Coast the men (but not the women) were able to speak *franco* - *parlar franco* - or spoke the *lingua franca* as well as their native languages: Dalmatian, Slavonic, and Albanian (Vianello 1955: 37). Writing in 1543, Ramberti, a Venetian merchant who travelled to the East, concurred that women rarely left their houses and spoke only Slavic: *Usano quasi tutte la lingua schiava, ma gli uomini et questa et la italiana* 'They almost all speak the Slavic language, while the men speak that and Italian' (Ramberti 1543: 124; my translation). The Archbishop of Ragusa (today, Dubrovnik) from 1555-1564 reiterated the distinction, stating, *I gentilhomini parlano Italiano, ma gli altri schiavo…le donne non sanno parlare la nostra lingua* 'The gentlemen speak Italian, while the others speak Slavic… the women do not know our language' (Beccadelli in

Jezič & Matan 1993: 67; my translation). A century later, Leti, confirms that *franco* was an aspirational language for the elites of Dalmatian society, and he goes so far as to say that women were precluded from learning it in order to exclude them from the academic and cultural education of elite young men: *le Donne non lo possono intendere, come quelle che non sanno la lingua e nemeno gli è permesso di saperla* 'the women cannot understand [him] given they do not understand the language and are not even allowed to learn it' (Leti 1676: 39; my translation). Despite its name, and possible lexical similarities given the apparent Venetian lexifying influence, the Dalmatian *franco* was less an inclusive language of wider communication and more of an exclusive intra-language among the elites on Dalmatia's Mediterranean coast. Lingua Franca on the Barbary coast seemed not to have such an element of gender differentiation. Haedo maintains that it was spoken by women and children alike (Haedo 1612: 24) and there is the mention of it having been spoken by female servants in the households of the elite (Broughton 1839; Dakhlia 2008), but there are so few female testimonies that its diffusion among women remains inconclusive.

Although Venetian appears to be the predominant lexifier of the Dalmatian *franco*, to the extent that it has also been referred to as 'Colonial Venetian', an anonymous 16th century Venetian author cited in Dotto (2008) described the Italian spoken not solely as Venetian, but as:

> *La lingua Italiana con vocaboli corrotti, perciochè parte usano puri vocaboli Toscani, parte puri vocaboli Venetiani antiqui, parte Lombardi e parte Pujesi…*
> 'Italian language with corrupted words, such that in part they use pure Tuscan words, in part pure old Venetian words, in part Lombardy [dialect] and in part Pugliese [dialect]…' (Dotto 2008: 39: my translation).

Ursini refers to a comic Venetian actor living in Ragusa in 1533 who mocked the way Ragusans spoke 'Italian':

> *perchè del fiorentino xè mio parlanza*
> *ché là san stado per medicar rugnia*
> *e ancho in la Padua san studiado*
> *e un con latro parlo mischulado*
> 'My speaking is Florentine
> Because I was there to medicate rabies
> And also, I studied in Padua
> And one together with the other I speak a mix'
> (Ursini 1998: 89-90; my translation).

These lines exhibit a deliberately muddled mix of proudly asserted Florentine, Venetian features in the verb endings, (to be discussed further in 5.7.1) and – as the speaker says – a resultant linguistic blend. '*Mischulado'* has the connotation of muddle as much as mix or combination. Like Barbary Lingua Franca, the Dalmatian variety appears to have multiple lexifiers and a sense of the idiolect – each individual's representation of the language has validity. The very nature of this contact language is its fluidity, both lexically and grammatically.

5.6 Barbary Lingua Franca

This section focuses specifically on the Lingua Franca spoken in the Regencies of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. The corpus I am analysing is predominantly constituted by sources from this region, in terms of both description and examples of the language. As mentioned in 5.5, Cifoletti (2004) coined the phrase *Barbary Lingua Franca* to describe the particular variety spoken throughout the multilingual society of North Africa for more than 250 years. Evidently, this was not a single variety. Variation occurred diachronically and geographically. The three Regencies of Barbary were more than 1000 km apart, each city with its individual makeup of European diasporas, slave populations, and trading routes. These factors led to inevitable flux in the linguistic

repertoire of Lingua Franca speakers, and the consequent language they used. The attempt to find a single lexifier of Lingua Franca misunderstands the very nature of the pidgin. There was unlikely to be a single lexifier in Algiers, since the multilingual backgrounds of the population of Algiers meant that potential Lingua Franca speakers already had several lexifiers in their individual repertoires. As Selbach puts it, 'lexical variants were as much a part of the language as variant lexifiers' (Selbach 2008: 18). As such, the 'doublets', as Selbach terms them – both Romance/Romance and Romance/Arabic - were numerous, and where there are several terms with one meaning, this does not mean that each separate term corresponded to a particular time or place, specific lexifier, or indeed the native language of the speaker (although this can be seen to influence the choice of word more often than other factors). Indeed, the various descriptions of Lingua Franca (as mentioned in chapter 4) testify to this, with most accounts citing at least three lexifiers, including varieties of Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French (or Provençal), Latin, Greek and (one mention of) Arabic. The sustained and extensive contacts of languages across the Mediterranean, as well as the shared lexicons of the several Italian dialects and other Romance languages, meant that mutual intelligibility licensed a certain freedom and multiplicity of options in lexical choice. As identified across the centuries, there appeared to be a definite lexifying variation on a geographic level. La Condamine describes the lexical combination in the 1730s as predominantly Italian in Tunis and Tripoli, while Spanish is more prominent in Algiers, because the Moors had retained more of the language they had acquired during their time in Spain (Emerit 1954: 375). A century later, the *Dictionnaire* (1830) concurs exactly: 'the Petit Mauresque used in Tunis is not quite the same as that employed in Algiers; it draws heavily on Italian in the former territory, while on the other hand it is closer to Spanish in the territory of Algiers' (Dictionnaire 1830: 6; my translation).

While the non-Romance element of Lingua Franca is relatively minimal, there are both Arabic and Turkish words, particularly in the domain of officialdom. Many of the honorific titles that are referenced in the lexical section frequently combine an Italian word with a Turkish or Arabic position of authority. It is striking that Ottoman Turkish in the era of Lingua Franca was far removed from modern Turkish. In fact, it was permeated by both Arabic and Persian in its lexicon (in the form of loanwords), its morphology, and its syntax (Lewis 1999: 6-8); thus further compounding the plurilingual lexifying influences on Lingua Franca.

5.7 Conclusions

The linguistic ecology of the Mediterranean region has long been complex and intertwined. From the 16th century, Italian was the predominant language of commerce and diplomacy, the regional *lingua franca*. Many of its speakers outside of Italy were either not natives or were themselves multilingual and thus their speech and writing exhibited a lack of standardisation and lexical interference from other languages. Variants of Venetian also known as *franco* were spoken along the Dalmatian coast. Barbary Lingua Franca was one of several Romance languages and dialects spoken in Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli during the era of the Regencies. The similarities in nomenclature reinforce the indistinct and elusive character of Lingua Franca.

Chapter 6 A linguistic description of Lingua Franca

Lingua Franca defiantly resists neat categorisation. In part because of the limited corpus, and the potential unreliability of some sources, as well as the lack of written record of a now extinct language, Lingua Franca cannot be definitively termed a pidgin, koine, foreigner talk or L2. Depending on the source, his or her native language(s) and, to a lesser extent, interlocutor (that is, the individual speaking Lingua Franca), what was being spoken could also be regarded as any one of these discrete terms. As such, Romance language speakers might view Lingua Franca as a corrupt version or L2 of their own language, or possibly a koine. Others, unfamiliar with Romance lexicon might consider it a more independent and stable language, even a pidgin. Some sources cited in Chapter 4, including Thédenat (1948), give weight to the L2 argument, and this is further substantiated by Lingua Franca's geographic variation. Algiers' proximity to Spain is reflected in the more Spanish bent to the Lingua Franca spoken there, while the Italian lexical bias is stronger in Tunis and Tripoli (both geographically and commercially closer to Italy).

The paucity of the corpus is echoed in the scant lexical and grammatical record of Lingua Franca, the single text (the *Dictionnaire* of 1830) published specifically to be a manual for French colonising forces rather than as a documentation of the language *per se*. Nevertheless the range of sources, over time and space, and the repeated references to Lingua Franca being spoken as an alternative to more standard Romance, and especially Italian (Broughton 1839; Frank 1850), suggest that it may have been more than just L2 Italian. The extent of variation means that it might be more appropriate to think in terms of Linguas Francas, that there were multiple variants on a continuum ranging from a stable and extensive pidgin to ad hoc and improvised L2 (Mori 2016: 26; Minervini 1996: 241-3).

The following sections in this chapter are an attempt to provide, as comprehensively as possible, a descriptive grammar for Lingua Franca, while Chapter 7 offers a lexical analysis, based on the corpus and the *Dictionnaire* (1830).

6.1 A descriptive grammar of Lingua Franca

The limited corpus of Lingua Franca, both in word count and its repetitive quality, makes a descriptive grammar challenging. Additionally, Lingua Franca shares several key grammatical features of the predominantly Venetian northern Italian dialects, particularly the choice of the oblique or tonic form for the subject pronouns *mi/ti* vs. *io/tu* 'I/ you', making it difficult to definitively establish whether certain elements constitute Lingua Franca. However, there appear to be specific features that recur across sources such as, phonologically, the Arabic-influenced vowel space. Consistent morphological features include the almost ubiquitous employment of the infinitive to indicate both present tense and imperative forms of the verb. This is how stylistically and lexically Lingua Franca stands most apart from its lexifiers, and the plurality of Romance languages and dialects that flourished in Barbary during the period of remote Ottoman sovereignty.

6.1.1 Phonology

Lingua Franca's phonology exhibits variation. As already discussed in Chapter 4, the fact that differences between, and even within, sources may be attributable to a lack of standardized orthography, as well as idiolectal reasons, makes the identification of a definitive phonemic inventory both difficult, and at times, inconclusive. Overall, Lingua Franca follows Romance, and predominantly Italian, though with elements of Venetian and Spanish, phonology; however, in terms of the language's vowels, Arabic appears to exert influence. This is evident from one of the very the early documentary sources, Haedo (1612). Minervini (1996: 263-4) comments that although Haedo's

account is rife with variation and apparent orthographic discrepancies, they are fewer than one might expect given his own criticism of *la mala pronunciacion de los moros y turcos* 'the poor pronunciation [of Lingua Franca] by the Turks and Moors' (Haedo 1612: 24). Many commentators refer to Arab elites speaking Lingua Franca. According to Cifoletti (2004), despite or perhaps because of its intended French audience and their need to understand as well as speak, to the indigenous population, the *Dictionnaire* (1830) manifests Arabic influence on pronunciation: *bonou* from the Italian *buono* 'good' evidences a de-diphthongisation of the *uo*, while *gratzia* alters the final vowel of Italian *grazie* 'thank you' to *a*. This is part of a general tendency to limit the vowels of Lingua Franca to the Arabophone three-vowel system. Despite the potential variation of Arabic dialects, the 3 principal vowels /a:/, /i:/ and /u:/ would have been familiar to all Arabic speakers (Cifoletti 2004: 34). Renaudot (1718), the French 17th century linguist, offers the following explanation of vowel phonetics in the region:

> 'Whenever the *u* occurs in eastern names it is to be pronounced nearly like the diphthong *ou*, or rather *oo*, as in moon: the *i* is to be pronounced as *ee: the* a and the *o* must in general be pronounced a little more open than as in English, but not quite so broad as in French' (Renaudot 1718: Preface xxxv; translated by Tully).

In the *Dictionnaire* (1830) there are many Romance-derived words where within the word the *e* is replaced by *o* or *u*, while a word-final –*a* works in place of –*e* because in several Arabic dialects the final –*a* is pronounced as a [e]- hence *scoura* from *scure* 'axe' or *gratzia* 'grazie'. By contrast, where the sound is a long –*e* sound as in *sempre* 'always 'or *grande* 'big', one finds *sempri* and *grandi*. (Cifoletti 2004: 36). Bergareche (1993) concurs, citing the Lingua Franca words, *mouchou* 'much, many', *poudir*,'can, to be able' *inglis* 'English' with their roots in Spanish (*mucho*, *poder*, *ingles*) as evidence of the smaller Arabic vowel space (Bergareche 1993: 444). Verb endings in the *Dictionnaire*

(1830) and the corpus are exclusively –*ar* or –*ir*, as identified by Schuchardt (Schuchardt 1909, trans. 1980: 83), in contrast to the more typical –*er* ending found across Romance languages. As such, *désirer* 'to desire' which would be rendered as *desidere* in Italian, is translated as *desiderar* or *desirar* (or *quérir*) and *écrire* 'to write' is *scrivir* in Lingua Franca rather than *scrivere* as it would be in Italian (*Dictionnaire* 1830: 27, 29). This conforms to the Arabised phonology of Lingua Franca. Equally, where there would be diphthongs in Italian and Spanish (*uovo* 'egg', *duole* 'hurt', *buono* 'good') the Lingua Franca words are reduced (*obo, dole, bono*) (Bergareche 1993: 444).

Most Romance-derived words in the *Dictionnaire* end in vowels. Equally, the one English derived word in the Lingua Franca lexicon, flint, appears as *flinta*. Broughton (1839) also draws attention to the Italianization or 'Lingua Francification' of English names. As such, one of the Consul's interpreters, a partially sighted man named Bob, saw his name adapted to a less English version:

> 'Turks, Jews and Christians of every nation, pronounced however, according to the genius of their various native languages, often with the Italianized termination, as Blindi Bo-bi' (Broughton 1839: 134).

She also mentions the adaptation of King George's name, stating that the king is known as the Pasha's *buon amigo el rey Georgi*, 'good friend, King George' (Broughton 1839: 318), immediately adding:

> 'Let it be remembered that it is Lingua Franca I quote and not any of the score of pure languages, out of which it is so arbitrarily compiled' (Broughton 1839: 318).

Unlike most words in Lingua Franca that have a typical Romance vowel ending, Arabic words generally retain their consonant ending: *rouss* from *ruz* 'rice', *maboul* from *mahbūl* 'stupid' (Cifoletti 2004: 38). Another phonological feature, typical of Venetian, but also found in

Lingua Franca, is iotacism, the use of the *i* rather than *gi* as in *Iorni/ giorni* (days). As mentioned above, the Lingua Franca for Jew, *iudeo* or *iudio* is found throughout the corpus; the Italian is *giudeo* (Muru[13] 2017).

Venetian influence is also evident in the Lingua Franca tendency to drop final vowels following *-l*, *-n*, *-r* e.g. *colazion* instead of *colazione* 'breakfast'. Both Venetian and Lingua Franca exhibit examples of degemination: *tuto* rather than the more accepted *tutto* 'all' and voicing of intervocalic stops – *segredo* rather than *segreto* 'secret' (Ursini 2011). The voicing of *t* to *d* is consistent with the Spanish that also influenced phonologically elements of Lingua Franca. An example from the *Dictionnaire* (1830: 63) that illustrates both the plosive voicing and the final vowel drop is *padron* 'master', an epithet that recurs throughout the corpus, though sometimes as *patron* (and even *padrone* and *patrone*), thereby highlighting the difficulty in linguistic analysis due to variation. Dakhlia (2008) also suggests this, citing the instances of *padron* and *patron*. She mentions that Dan, uses the term[14], as does the English captive, Joseph Pitts who refers to '*patroonas* or mistresses' (Dakhlia 2008: 344). The Bey of Tunis and the Dey of Algiers are spoken of as *padrone* or even *patrone grande,* (Dakhlia 2008: 344). The English captive, Okeley, refers to his Arab master as *patron* throughout his text (Okeley 1675). Meanwhile, the English diarist, Samuel Pepys, refers to the Algiers slaves' *padron* in an early 1661 diary entry:

> 'How they are beat upon the soles of their feet and bellies at the liberty of their *padron*. How they are all, at night, called into their master's *Bagnard*; and there they lie' (Pepys 1893: Loc. 5394).

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[13] Personal correspondence with Cristina Muru (2017).
[14] Dan repeatedly uses the term *patron* 'master' immediately preceded or followed by *maistre* 'master' as if to clarify to his French audience the exact meaning of the Lingua Franca term. (Dan 1649:139, 335)

Pepys was geographically far removed from Lingua Franca; despite this, certain terms such as *padron* and *Bagnard* (the Lingua Franca is *bagno,* (Dictionnaire 1830: 16) and elsewhere in the corpus *bagnio*), evidently resisted translation. In his analysis of London Jamaican, Sebba (1993) suggest that such code-switching is used to 'animate' the narrative as it creates 'voices' for the individuals in the story (Sebba 1993: 120), while Gardner-Chloros (2009) defines this practice as *mot juste* switching where 'speakers switch precisely because the other language contains the most accurate term' (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 32).

Another sound that reflects the non-Romance influence on Lingua Franca is /p/. It does not exist in Arabic's phonemic inventory (Della Puppa 2007: 23). The *Dictionnaire* features occasional substitutions of [b] for [p] (Cifoletti, 2004:36): *nabolitan* 'Neapolitan', *osbidal* (*Dictionnaire* 1830:41) and there is, of course, the ubiquitous *sabir* plausibly from the Spanish *saber* 'to know', but also a potential example of the Arabic bearing on Lingua Franca's pronunciation as the Italian is *sapere*. Some sources, including those found in Kew, such as the Pasha's tailor's letters (TNA: FO 335:1/20), refer to the leader of Algiers as the *bassa*, while English texts use the epithet *bashaw*. The more common title is *pasha* from the Turkish *paşa* 'head, chief'. Tully claims that *bashaw* derives from two Persian words *pa* and *schah,* meaning viceroy (Tully 1817: vol. ii, 125), underlining the multiple influences on Ottoman Turkish.

Perhaps given that Lingua Franca is replete with abbreviation, ellipsis, and omissions, it predictably features examples of aphaeresis. In several lexemes that entered Italian as Arabic loanwords, the Arabic article *al* often appears in the loanword as a bound morpheme, usually at the start of the word – *algebra* 'algebra', *alchimia* 'alchemy', but at times comes at the end with the obligatory additional final vowel – *ammirale* 'admiral', a clipped version of the Arabic '*amīr al-ʾumarā*',

Nolan (2012: 7). This practice is reversed in Lingua Franca. Many of the Romance words beginning with a syllable that resembles an Arabic article, see this omitted in Lingua Franca. Examples include *sagiar* rather than *assiaggiare* ' to taste' (*Dictionnaire* 1830:32), as well as *bassiador* for *ambasciatore* 'ambassador', *bastantza* for *abbastanza* 'enough', and *rigar* for *irrigare* 'to water'. As with many other linguistic features, however, the similarity between Lingua Franca and Venetian dialect must be considered, as some of these words exist in their abbreviated form in Venetian (Cifoletti 2004: 40).

Lingua Franca exhibits epenthesis, but, as with many of the features identified, not consistently. The addition of an *e* at the start of words such as *estar* is found in Haedo: *Assi, assi, hora estar bueno, mira cane como hazer malato* 'Just like that, now you'll be fine, see, dog, what a sick man does' (Haedo 1612: 12; my translation). The epenthetical *e* belies the Spanish element of Lingua Franca, plausibly another indication that Lingua Franca was L2 Italian spoken by Spanish, or other nationalities with Spanish as a more dominant language than Italian in their multilingual repertoire. The Jewish merchants of Livorno and Barbary itself might fit such a linguistic profile. Since Spanish was Haedo's native language, there remains the possibility that his use of the epenthetical *e* is simply idiolectal variation. The *Dictionnaire* features both *star* and *estar* 'to be' as well as epenthetical examples such as *escaldar* 'to heat', *escambiar* 'to exchange', *escapar* 'to escape' and *escala* 'ladder'. However, the French *escalier* has the Lingua Franca equivalent as *scala* and *esclave* 'slave' is rendered as *skiavo*. Similarly *scrivir* is the Lingua Franca translation for *ecrire* 'to write'. It would seem impossible to establish any fixed rule of epenthesis.

Lingua Franca's phonology stems largely from its Romance lexifiers, with particular Italian and Venetian influence, but where there is variation a few fixed generalisations can be made. As Mühlhaüsler

states, 'of all parts of grammar, those of pronunciation and phonology remain the least stable in stabilized pidgins' (Mühlhaüsler 1986: 5). This would seem a rather apposite observation with regard to Lingua Franca.

6.1.2 Morphology

The morphology of Lingua Franca exhibits significant influence of Venetian. This is predictable given the prevalence of Venice in Mediterranean trade and diplomacy. Although Tuscan had superseded Venetian in official correspondence by the late 16th century, Venetian was much spoken across the Mediterranean and in Barbary, thanks to the presence of merchants from Northern Italy, particularly Venice, Genoa, and Livorno, and a number of Venetian corsairs. As such, Lingua Franca shares both morphological (and phonological) features with Venetian.

As with much of Lingua Franca, pronouns exhibit variation that cannot be clearly attributed to geographic or diachronic factors. The *Dictionnaire* (1830) records the following as Lingua Franca's personal pronouns:

1st sing: *mi*	1st plural: *noi*
2nd sing: *ti*	2nd plural: *voi*
3rd sing (m): *ellou, ello*	3rd plural: (m): *elli*
(f): *ella*	*(*f): no mention

Several sources, both Italian and Spanish, across a wide timespan also use *tu* for the 2nd person singular rather than *ti*. *Mi* is almost ubiquitous, other than Caronni (Emerit 1954) who records *io* but also *mi.* The nominative singular in Italian, *io, tu* etc., is often used in pidgin forms, notably Ethiopian Italian, (Cifoletti 2004: 46), but Lingua Franca's pronouns may well stem from Northern Italian dialects, particularly Venetian where *mi* and *ti* function as nominatives; *ello* also comes from Venetian.

Plural forms of pronouns reveal some variation. Rehbinder (1798-1800) states that there are no polite forms - *Voi* or *Lei* - used in Lingua Franca 'You do not find any form of polite address in this language', (Rehbinder 1798 - 1800: vol. III, 67-8; my translation). He uses French-influenced Spanish plural forms, *nous autros, vous autros* for the first and second person plural, while the *Dictionnaire* lists *noi* 'we', (Dictionnaire 1830: 4).

While early (pre 18th century) Lingua Franca texts mostly exhibit null subjects, in keeping with both Italian and Arabic, both of which are termed 'pro-drop languages', later texts use the pronouns *mi* and *ti* rather than Italian's *io* and *tu*. The near-constant use of the infinitive in Lingua Franca would seem to require a subject, and yet this could be obviated given its overwhelmingly oral usage. Later texts do, however, feature pronouns, specifically *mi* and *ti,* Lipski (2007: 17-20). Lipski notes how the emergence of these forms coincides with the same phenomenon in Afro-Iberian, and Afro-Lusitanian languages. He explains this by suggesting that the same social groups and professions, such as merchants, sailors, residents of the Mediterranean coastlines, familiar with Lingua Franca, would also come into contact with Afro-Iberian speech. As a result, a 'cross-fertilization of Afro-Iberian pidgin and Lingua Franca forms could well have occurred, since the former would have also occupied a prominent place in the popular imagination as the appropriate way of addressing "Africans", whether Arabic-speaking or from sub-Saharan regions' (Lipski 2007: 27).

By the nineteenth century tonic pronouns were evidently in use. The *Dictionnaire* 's *Dialogues* section features the following examples:

> *Mi star contento mirar per ti* 'I am happy to see you'
> *Non star bonou* 'he doesn't feel well' (*Dictionnaire* 1830: 93-98; my translation).

It is worth noting that where it designates the subject, the 3rd person pronoun is omitted.

In terms of possessive pronouns, *tua, tuya* (Dan and Haedo respectively, both early to middle 17th century) and later *di ti* are all used by different sources. The *Dictionnaire* (1830) is consistent in its usage of *di*, followed by the pronoun such as *ti*, to indicate a possessive, as in *casa di ti* 'your house' (Dictionnaire 1830: 96).

The table below demonstrates the 1st and 2nd person pronoun variation of Lingua Franca across sources, and also as evidenced particularly by Haedo, within a source.

Table 6.1

Source/ author	Date	Io / tu (subj)	Mi / ti (tonic)	Null subject (pro-drop)	Me (obj)	-mi (clitic) /mi (obj)	Miya/ tuya/ mio/ tuo	Di mi / Di ti
Contrasto della Zerbitana	Late 14th c.		X					
Savary de Brèves	1604		X					
Haedo	1612	X	X	X		X	X	
Dan	1637			X			X	
Archive of Sardinia (in Ferrari 1912)	1820s		X		X		X	
Dictionn-aire	1830		X					X

The table exemplifies once again the level of variation found in grammatical features diachronically. There seemed to be a tendency toward tonic pronouns, as in Venetian, but this was not a fixed rule. Grammatical fluidity characterizes the use of pronouns. Haedo (1612) is the most extreme example of this; as in the case of infinitives and lexical variation. his record of Lingua Franca pronoun use demonstrates inherent variation in the language. He records the use of

the tonic pronoun: *mi estar barbero bono* 'I am an honest doctor', but also a clitic, *io dico di der que dezirme que ceccar boca*, 'I say to be quiet' (Haedo 1612: 120v, 200).

Object pronouns exhibit somewhat less variation. Most sources use the subject form of the pronoun. One exception is Tamayo, who was a Spanish traveller in the early 17th century in Algiers. His use of *contigo* 'with you' (Tamayo 1644), the only such example in the corpus, belies his native language of Spanish rather than a wider use of the Spanish form of pronoun. Many sources feature the preposition *per* followed by object pronouns, discussed below in Section 5.7.3.4.

A lack of gender and number marking is a hallmark of Lingua Franca. The *Dictionnaire*'s preface asserts:

> *les noms n'ont pas de pluriel, Les amis: l'amigo. Ces Messieurs sont mes amis. Questi Signor star amigo di mi*
> 'Nouns have no plural form, the friends: the friend. These gentlemen are my friends. These gentlemen is my friend' (Dictionnaire 1830: 11; my translation).

The *Dictionnaire* nevertheless provides a couple of examples of plurals:

mes marchandises 'goods' is translated as *lé merkantzié di mi',* and the use of a singular nationality to denote a plural group: *l'Algerino* 'Algerians' and *il Francis* 'French' (Dictionnaire 1830: 50, 98,96).

Spanish influence is evident by a few examples of plural marking *-s, -os.* Cifoletti (2004: 42) cites Dan, who writes of *casseries* 'army barracks', *matamoures* 'ditches' (neither of which comes from Spanish). Others, including Dapper (1668) and Broughton (1839) use plurals with *–s*; neither is Spanish. Morphologically, Lingua Franca manifests multilingual complexity with apparent adherence to the grammars of several Romance languages, but not in a coherent manner. Equally, there is a sense of fluidity in the choice of

grammatical items such as pronouns. While hallmarks of Lingua Franca, both the lack of agreement of gender and number, and the use of tonic pronouns, are also consistent with L2 Italian (Ramat 2003: 51, 62, 222).

6.1.3 Verb forms

6.1.3.1 Use of the infinitive

Perhaps the grammatical hallmark of Lingua Franca was the near ubiquity of the infinitive form of the verb. Contemporaneous commentators, such as Pananti (1841: 201), confirm that Lingua Franca verbs were, for the most part, in the infinitive. Several linguistic analyses of Lingua Franca (Minervini 1996; Lipski 2007; Selbach 2008) comment on the unusual choice of the infinitive as the chosen form for all present tense verbs. The third person singular is less marked, yet as with many colonial pidgins (and especially those in Africa, often in Francophone countries), the infinitive is a prominent feature of Lingua Franca, (Lipski no date: 7) It was also found in *petit-tirailleur*, the French-lexified pidgin of West Africa (Delafosse 1904). Lipski (2007) explains this potentially surprising verb form

> 'as an originally conscious choice by speakers of Italian and other Romance languages to simplify their verbal system when speaking to foreigners deemed incapable or unworthy of learning a full version of these languages. The same is true for *todesche*, *greghesco*, and other forms of Italian foreigner-talk' (Lipski 2007: 11).

Schuchardt (1909, trans. 1980) makes a case for this deliberate choice of the infinitive by speakers of fluent Romance, as opposed to the spontaneous emergence of the infinitive in emerging Arab-Romance pidgin:

> 'But how then does it turn out that the Arab, who does not yet know Italian, selects mangiar as the expressant for mangio, mangi, mangia, etc.? It is the European who impresses the stamp of general currency on the infinitive,

> thereby controlling all communicative languages of the first and second degree' (Schuchardt 1909, trans. 1980: 69).

Minervini (1996) suggests otherwise, seeing little correlation between mastery of one's own language and the ability to simplify it. The choice of the infinitive in Lingua Franca is more likely the distortion of the Romance speaker's native tongue in response to a foreigner's attempt to speak it (Minervini 1996: 271). Despite their differences, Lipski and Minervini highlight the circularity identified by Arends et al. (1995) of the pidgin / foreigner talk argument, namely that not only might a pidgin derive from foreigner talk, but also that foreigner talk itself could develop from a pidgin. They posit, as an alternative explanation for the ubiquity of the infinitive, that a pidgin's linguistic features result from imperfect L2 learning by its (European) slave speakers, (Arends et al. 1995: 96-98). Given the multilingual slave, corsair, merchant and ruling communities, Arends' theory might well apply to Lingua Franca, and speaks to its level of variation inasmuch as imperfect learning on the part of many speakers would lead to multiple idiolect-based lexical and grammatical alternatives. In terms of verb endings, according to the *Dictionnaire* (1830), all forms end with an *r* (similar to several Italian dialects, notably Venetian), none of which is silent as in French. Lingua Franca does not have verbs ending with the French -*er*: it has only endings –*ir* and –*ar,* consistent with the Arabic vowel space discussed in the phonology section, 6.1.1.

The constancy of the infinitive, both in the descriptions and excerpts of Lingua Franca across time and place, is striking given the level of lexical and grammatical variation highlighted throughout the corpus. There are a few authors, the Spaniards, Haedo and Tamayo included (notably early sources from the first half of the 17th century), who use the imperative itself, such as *anda* 'go!', but so does the Milanese priest, Caronni, who was captured by pirates and enslaved in Tunis in

the early 19th century, thus it does not appear to be diachronically affected. Caronni's account features multiple imperatives: *anda, anda, canaglia* 'go on, go on, scoundrel!' (Caronni1805: 57), and *taci, gridommi* ' "Be quiet!" He shouted at me' (Caronni 1805: 67). However, he also refers to the *Raïs* 'corsair captain' exhorting his group on the ship, *Non far entrar moro* 'Don't let the Moor aboard' and his Arab masters urging him, *mangiare mangiare* 'eat, eat!' (Caronni 1805: 61). Minervini identifies in Haedo (1612) a dichotomy of past participle (without auxiliary) to denote the past and infinitive to indicate the present and future, with a few uses of the imperative *mira cane* 'Look, dog' (Minervini 1996: 266). Overall, the use of the infinitive appears to be almost the defining feature of the language, both according to sources, and among scholars, several of whom (Schuchardt (1909, trans. 1980) and Whinnom (1977)) cite the ubiquity of the infinitive as an indication of Lingua Franca's pidgin status.

The employment of the infinitive in dramatic sources would seem to reinforce its status as a hallmark of the language. Both Molière's and Goldoni's Turkish, and thus Lingua Franca-speaking characters exclusively use infinitives. Hence, Ali, the Turkish merchant in *L'Impresario di Smirne* (1780) rebukes Carluccio, a rather inflexible singer:

> ALI: *Smirne non aver bisogno di tua persona. Se voler andar Turchia, io ti mandar Costantinopoli, serraglio de Gran Signore.*
>
> ALI: 'Smyrna has no need of someone like you. If you want to go to Turkey, I will send you to Constantinople, to the palace of the Great Lord' (Goldoni 1780: Act III, Sc. ii; my translation).

The presence in the above example of three infinitive forms rather than inflections for the first, second, and third persons singular reinforces how the infinitive is the sole verb form required in the language.

Past time reference

Past time constructions exist throughout the Lingua Franca corpus. As with all its linguistic features there is variation, often within a sole source. Some sources cite the Italian form of the past participle ending in either -*ato* or -*ito*, while others use the Spanish or Venetian -*do*. Later 19th century sources generally include an auxiliary as well as a past participle; however, Caronni exemplifies the variation endemic to Lingua Franca, attributing a question concerning the Pope to his Algiers master: *cosa detto, cosa aver detto pappasso per carozza*? 'what did the Pope say, what did he say about carriage?' This one sentence exhibits the two constructions of the past tense – both with the auxiliary *aver* in *aver detto,* and without it, in *detto,* both signifying 'did say'. Pananti (1841), Frank (1850) and Calligaris (1834 in Monchicourt 1929) were all roughly contemporary with the *Dictionnaire*, and all with either Italian as their native tongue or encountering their Lingua Franca in Tunis and Tripoli where Lingua Franca was alleged to be more influenced by Italian (Dictionnaire 1830: 10). They all record past tense constructions featuring the auxiliary *aver*; however, the *Dictionnaire*, which only counts six instances of the past participle in its phrasebook section, does not include the auxiliary with any of these. It is hard to explain this divergence between the *Dictionnaire* and the corpus, but it is worth noting that there are 139 phrases in total. The past time references are minimal, which can be explained by the very functional nature of the *Dictionnaire*'s *dialogues*; less a conversation tool, more a manual for communication and understanding. A couple of the sentences exemplify the combination of lexifying languages and grammatical idiosyncrasies particularly usefully:

Mi sentito ablar di ellou

(Me heard to speak of him)

'I have heard speak of him'

(Dictionnaire 1830: 96)

Mi mirato in casa di ti

(Me saw in house of you)
'I saw him at your house'
(Dictionnaire 1830: 96)

Both sentences feature the past participles without auxiliary. There are words from both Italian (*sentito, casa*) and Spanish *(mirato, ablar*) in each *Dictionnaire* sentence, and the tonic form of the pronoun *mi* is used, as well as periphrastic possession, even when the possessor is pronominal.

Although there are no examples in the *Dialogues,* in its introduction the *Dictionnaire* asserts that *star* alone acts as an auxiliary, offering the construction, *mi star andato* 'I went / I have gone' (Dictionnaire 1830: 120). The use of *star* is not found elsewhere in the corpus. The *Dictionnaire* explicitly refutes the idea of *aver* functioning as an auxiliary:

> *Le verbe* ***avir*** *ou* ***tenir*** (avoir), *ne s'emploie pas comme auxiliaire, mais seulement comme verbe possessif. J'ai cette chose, je possede cette chose, mi tenir questa cosa*
> 'the verb *avir* or *tenir* (to have), is not used as an auxiliary but solely as a possessive verb. I have that thing, I possess that thing, *mi tenir questa cosa*' (Dictionnaire 1830: 13; my translation).

Both Broughton and Renaudot, two of the latest sources in the corpus (early 19th century) based in Algiers, use the Spanish form of the participle with an auxiliary *aver*. Renaudot (1830), who was the author of a comprehensive study of Algiers, *Alger: tableau de la ville d'Alger et ses environs*, and the *Dictionnaire*, both published in France in 1830, distinguish clearly between the use of the infinitive form (for present and imperfect tenses) and the past participle (to denote the perfect form). This suggests that by the early 19th century there had been an extension of tense marking in Lingua Franca. The table below highlights the inconsistencies, not solely between authors in their

rendering of the past tense in Lingua Franca, but also of how individual sources manifest inconsistency by using more than one form within their writing, often within a single text.

Table 6.2

Source	Date	Italian ending of past participle	Spanish ending of past participle	Auxiliary *aver*	Auxiliary *Star*	No auxiliary
Haedo	1612	X	X			X
Caronni	1805	X		X		X
Pananti	1815	X		X		
Dictionnaire	1830	X			X	X
Renaudot	1830		X	X		

While this is a sample of only a few sources, it appears that in another grammatical area, Lingua Franca is characterized by its fluidity. The overriding priority was mutual understanding. The absence of first language speakers of Lingua Franca would have placed few constraints in speakers' language acquisition, possibly leading to a lack of focus and importance attributed to grammatical accuracy, if indeed such a concept even existed.

6.1.3.3 Future time reference

The 1830 *Dictionnaire*'s *Dialogues* (phrases which were designed to aid communication between French troops and the indigenous North African population) include examples of the future tense construction using the auxiliary bisogno (literally 'I need to' in Italian). As with references to the past, there are only a few phrases that imply future events. The French sentence *nous irons demain* is rendered *bisognio andar domani* 'we will go tomorrow' (Dictionnaire 1830:100). The *Dictionaire* also features the French sentence *Il n'est pas necéssaire*, translated into Lingua Franca as *non bisogna* 'It's not necessary', and the different forms *bisognio* and *bisogna* suggest a distinction between the future construction and implied necessity. The -*io* future ending resembles the 1st person singular ending in Italian (and Venetian),

while the -*a of bisogna* is a more typical 3rd person singular or impersonal ending. *Non bisogna* still exists today with the same meaning. There are few examples of future tense construction in the rest of the documentary corpus. One such is found in the account of Dan (1637) who quotes the words of the pirate who captured the slaves whose liberation Dan had been sent to ensure:

> *No pillar fantasia: Dios grande, mundo cosi, cosi, si venira ventura ira à casa tua.*
>
> 'Don't be downhearted: God is great, the world turns. If luck comes to you, you will return home' (Dan 1637: 373; my translation).

Given that this statement containing *venira* 'will come' and *ira* 'will go' is the only mentioned instance of a future construction within the corpus, and it is already reported speech when Dan records it, there is a distinct possibility that it is not generally representative of Lingua Franca. *Ira* is also standard French, rather than Lingua Franca.

Prior to the publication of the *Dictionnaire* (1830), the infinitive form would seem to have extended to all present and future tense constructions, and this again suggests a discrepancy between the *Dictionnaire's* suggested authoritative representation of Lingua Franca and the evidence offered by sources in the Regencies. While later sources appear to concur more with the *Dictionnaire's* lexical and grammatical entries, this might be largely due to the source authors being influenced or even educated by the *Dictionnaire*, particularly where the sources were written by military personnel, such as General Faidherbe (1884).

6.1.4 Prepositions and the particular use of *per*

Lingua Franca features many of the common prepositions found in Italian: *a* 'to', *da* 'from', *di* or *de* 'of', appearing to vary more temporally rather than geographically with *de* used predominantly in early sources and *di* from the late 18th century onwards, and *in* (with Haedo

only using *en*). All these fulfil the same semantic functions as in Italian (and other Romance languages). *Per,* however, has many more meanings. The *Dictionnaire* (1830) translates both *pour* 'for' and *par* 'by' as *per*. It also lists several expressions where *per* has both a different sense, and together with a personal pronoun acts as an accusative or dative clause:

> *portar per mi* 'bring to me', and *mi quérir mouchou per ti*
> 'I hold you in great respect' (Dictionnaire 1830: 13, 32).

Similarly, several sources use *per* to denote accusative and dative phrases. Renaudot records the expression:

> *Dios mandado per mi*
> 'God sent me [a son]' (Renaudot 1830: 73).

It appears, however, that this multifunctional role of *per* does not date from the earliest literary texts with other hallmarks of Lingua Franca. The Grion poem, *The Conflict with the Maid of Jerba,* and the V*illancico* by Encina do not evidence such *per* constructions. Similarly, these early texts do not exhibit exclusively disjunctive pronouns. Instead, medieval texts show that the Lingua Franca of that era used the weak enclitic pronoun as is used in Romance syntax today:

> *Alá ti da bon matín*
> 'Good morning to you', (Encina 1520 in Harvey, Jones and Whinnom 1967),

However, in the 1545 play, *La Zingana* by Gigio Artemio Giancarli, the eponymous Arab character with Lingua Franca-style speech uses *bel* (her version of *per*) followed by the direct or indirect pronoun. Evidently, it was an established convention that would resonate with audiences as a foreigner speaking an imperfect form of Italian or, in the case of Giancarli, Venetian. Andrews (2007) comments on the realism of the dialects in Giancarli's works, particularly *La Zingana,* Andrews (2007: 144-154), and indeed such a use of *per* appears to have been more than a dramatic device. Much later, *per* occurs regularly in similar constructions in the nineteenth century corpus, predominantly from Algiers-based sources such as the

aforementioned Renaudot (1830), *Dictionnaire* (1830), and Rehbinder (1798-1800). The last quotes a Muslim warning to a Christian:

> *Guarda per ti, et non andar mirar mugeros de los Moros*
> 'Be careful and do not go to look at the wives of the Moors' (Rehbinder 1798-1800, vol. iii, 269).

This example only uses *per* in the first clause; it does not introduce the direct object of the 'wives of the Moors'. As with so many of Lingua Franca's features, there is a lack of consistency in their occurrence, or at least the record of such. As will be discussed in Chapter 10, *per* or its alternative pronunciations of *ber* and *bel,* remains a feature of Lingua Franca's legacy and of linguistically similar Italian-lexified pidgins found in Ethiopia (Marcos 1976: 178).

6.2 Conclusions

Lingua Franca, which was largely Romance-based, exhibited in its phonology and morphology the influence of Northern Italian, and particularly Venetian. There is also noteworthy Arabic influence on the vowel space and the devoicing of bilabial plosives. It had, however, a number of identifying characteristics, predominantly the near-ubiquitous use of the infinitive verb form, tonic pronouns and, particularly in its latter stages, the use of the preposition *per* preceding a direct object. These features coincide with L2 Italian, and various Italian and Romance-based pidgins more generally. The aforementioned features are, however, found consistently in the Lingua Franca corpus across both time and space. There remains, nevertheless, considerable variation at the morphological level between sources, as highlighted in the tables in this chapter. Whether this is geographically or temporally determined is hard to conclude, and often the variation appears to derive rather from idiolectal record, and potentially the native language of the witness.

Chapter 7 – The lexicon of Lingua Franca

This chapter explores the lexicon of Lingua Franca. My analysis of the *Dictionnaire* encompasses both the wordlist and the *Dialogues* section, and the somewhat contradictory conclusions about Lingua Franca that the two parts imply, particularly in terms of lexifying languages. I will analyse the effects evident in Lingua Franca from the multilingual ecology of Barbary, in terms of individual words, place names and titles, and I will identify particular words found within the corpus that can be classified as Lingua Franca vocabulary.

Lingua Franca's lexicon, with its several Romance and other lexifiers, as documented principally in the *Dictionnaire* (1830) and the corpus, suggests a language that extends, in domains and word count, beyond a jargon or Foreigner Talk. While the *Dictionnaire* (1830) offers the most extensive and comprehensive record, the corpus provides many additional words. As mentioned in Chapter 4, not all these examples of Lingua Franca can be considered reliable. However, this is often the result of idiolectal bias, as demonstrated by the account of FIlippo Pananti (1841). There are several examples of standard Italian in what he reports as Lingua Franca, spoken to him by renegades and Barbary elites: *Allora* 'so, then', *circostanze* 'circumstances', and *mai* 'never' are all Italian words, rather than those of Lingua Franca, and are not mentioned by any other source.

While Pananti incorporates words that appear to be pure Italian, his relatively extensive excerpts of Lingua Franca seem otherwise to exhibit its hallmark features of infinitives, tonic pronouns and lexical interference, predominantly in the form of Spanish items (Pananti 1841: 69, 72). Furthermore, other sources also belie their country of origin through both choice of lexicon and the orthography used in their accounts.

7.1 *Dictionnaire de la langue franque*

The *Dictionnaire de la langue franque ou petit mauresque, suivi de quelques dialogues familiers et d'un vocabulaire de mots Arabes les plus usuels, à l'usage des Français en Afrique* (1830) was published, as the title suggests, for the benefit of French colonizing troops in North Africa and specifically Algeria. Lanly (1962) dismisses the linguistic effort as 'the work of an opportunist based in Marseille', and pointedly comments on the lack of any second edition. Furthermore, letters sent to Schuchardt in the late 1880s suggest that Lingua Franca's reach in the Levant, North Africa and even the ports of France, might mean that the author(s) of the *Dictionnaire* had learned their Lingua Franca in a number of possible locations. Niçaise, a correspondent of Schuchardt in Algiers writes of Lingua Franca:

> *Je l'ai entendu parler dans les ports de Marseille, d'Alexandrie, de Port Saïd,*
> 'I have heard it spoken in the ports of Marseille, Alexandria, and Port Saïd,' (HSA 1882: Letter 1-7820; my translation).

Another correspondent of Schuchardt's, Morel Fatio, also largely based in Algiers, is disdainful of the quality of the *Dictionnaire* and its author:

> *la langue du livret de 1830 doit-être passablement arrangée par un demi lettré* 'the language of the 1830 pamphlet would be adequately arranged if its author were semi-literate' (HSA 1882: Letter 6-7473; my translation).

He goes on to affirm adamantly that the author of the dictionary could not be French given the number of grammatical errors in its in introduction.

The full title of the *Dictionnaire* merits further discussion. The implied equivalence of *langue franque* and *petit mauresque* reinforces the rather superior and colonial attitude to the language, evidenced in the preface:

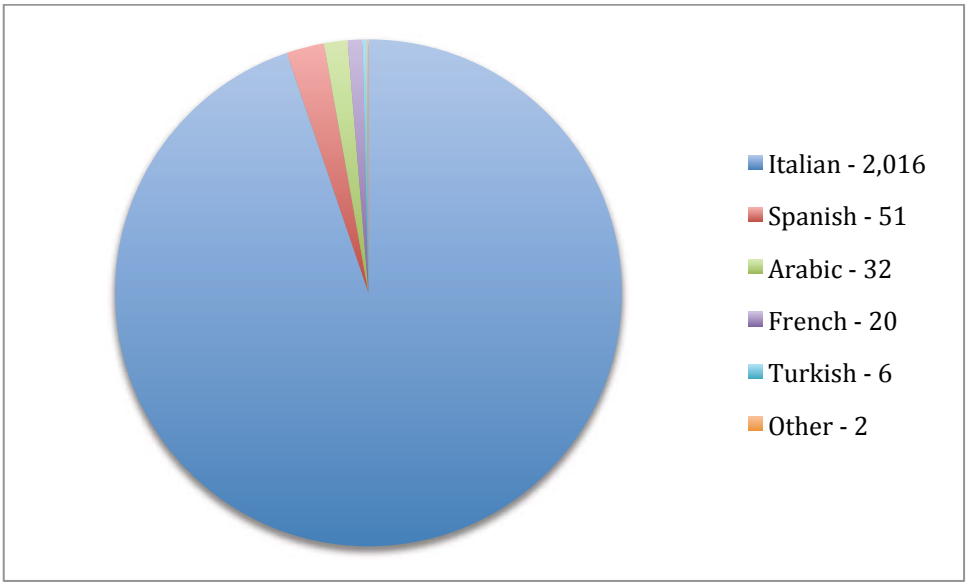
> *cet idiome qui ne sert guère aux usages familiers de la vie, et aux rapports commerciaux les moins compliqués n'a ni orthographe, ni règles grammatiques bien établies*
> 'this "lingo", which barely serves for daily needs and the most basic commercial exchanges, has no established spelling or grammar' (Dictionnaire 1830: 2; my translation).

The preface subsequently justifies the choice of *idiome* to define Lingua Franca: c*et idiome que l'on n'ose appeler une langue* 'this lingo, which one couldn't presume to call a language' (Dictionnaire 1830: 5; my translation), once again demeaning its linguistic status. *Petit* has been used in conjunction with *tirailleur, nègre, noir* in French colonial history to define the pidgins established respectively in West Africa and the West Indies (Minervini 1996: 266). The *petit mauresque* epithet suggests another low prestige regional colonial pidgin.

In the preface of the *Dictionnaire*, the anonymous author claims to have collected the varied lexicon largely from Algerian port cities, and yet he also states that the western Barbary (and largely Algiers-based) variety of Lingua Franca is more Spanish influenced than that spoken in Tunis and Tripoli; however, the lexical content of the *Dictionnaire'*s Lingua Franca is substantially more Italian than that provided by the corpus, which covers all three Barbary Regencies. It is worth noting that the *Dictionnaire* would appear to cover eastern Barbary (despite having been produced to assist French colonizing troops arriving in Algiers), as the majority of the lexicon in the dictionary stems from Italian; there is, however, some Spanish influence. Where both an Italian and Spanish source for a word is given they are cited side by side e.g. *cane, perro* 'dog'. There are also words of Southern French (Provençal) origin, but some words in the *Dictionnaire* cannot be definitively attributed to a particular lexifier. One such example offered by Schuchardt is m*éfidar* 'to mistrust' – a mix of French *méfier* and Italian *fidare* (Schuchardt 1909, trans. 1980: 83). The two

following charts highlight the dominance of Italian-lexified vocabulary in the wordlist of the *Dictionnaire,* compared with the lexicon found in the other sources (and, as will be discussed below in the *Dialogues* of the *Dictionnaire* (1830)).

Fig. 7.1 Breakdown of source languages for 2,127 words in the *Dictionnaire*

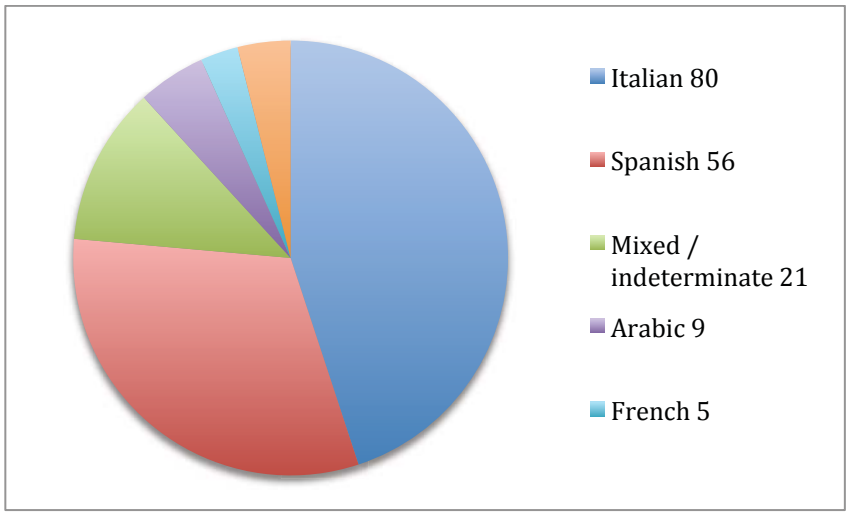


Of the 2,127 wordlist entries, 2016 Lingua Franca words are Italian in origin. There are 51 words specifically identified as Spanish, 32 from Arabic, and 20 from French. Others include *flinta* 'flint' from English, and *fora* 'outside' from Portuguese.

The next chart highlights how the overwhelming Italian bias of the *Dictionnaire* wordlist is not reflected in the Barbary documentary corpus. I have identified and analysed all the lexemes from the corpus to investigate the extent to which they correlate with those listed in the *Dictionnaire* (1830). The chart shows the source languages of the Lingua Franca lexicon featured in the corpus that are not included in the French-Lingua Franca lexicon of the *Dictionnaire*. As discussed, the apparent lexifier may be more related to the native tongue of the witness than perhaps any other explanation. This chart also

demonstrates that the wordlist of the *Dictionnaire* should not necessarily be regarded as an authoritative source, or at least a comprehensive record of Lingua Franca. Where I have designated a *word* as mixed or as having an indeterminate lexifier, it is where multiple languages could have been the lexifying influence. Grammatical words like *de,* 'of', could be Venetian, Spanish, or French. There are also words in this category like *matza Franka,* 'apricot', though literally killer of Franks. *Matza* does not come directly from any of the Romance languages, though *ammazzare* is the Italian for 'to slaughter'.[15] The "other" category includes words from Portuguese, Turkish, and a few words which have been deemed Lingua Franca inventions: *forar* 'to free, put out' derived from the Portuguese *fora* 'outside' and *matamoures* 'ditches'.

Fig. 7.2 Breakdown by language of words from the corpus not found in the *Dictionnaire*



The *Dialogues* section of the *Dictionnaire* (1830) has attracted little scholarship. Schuchardt highlights phonological and lexical points of interest from the wordlist section, but merely cites without comment

[15] Shaw explains the perils of apricots: 'the common apricot is very dangerous, occasioneth a variety of fevers and Dysenteries, and goeth in the Frank language by the name of [matza franka) the killer of Christians' Shaw (1738: 226).

a few phrases from the *Dialogues*. More recent linguistic analysis of Lingua Franca has similarly overlooked the 'phrasebook' element. Perhaps the *Dictionnaire* seems less valid because of its inaccuracies, and yet the *Dialogues* highlight not only such errors and inconsistencies, but also provide a more practical and, possibly, representative picture of the pidgin.

The *Dialogues* are broken into eight categories of conversation varying thematically with sections on weather and time, to different types of interaction – to confirm or negate, to thank and compliment, to travel to and fro, and to consult etc. (Dictionnaire 1830: 93-98). As with the main body of the *Dictionnaire*, the French is listed on the left and the Lingua Franca translation on the right. There are several orthographic errors, but it is hard to decide whether these are emblematic of a lack of fixed orthography, carelessness, or indicative of potential different spellings, and/or pronunciation. Thus, *bon* is variously rendered *bonou, bouonou, bouona*. The trigraph *ouo* is found regularly within the text as an attempt to represent the diphthong typical of Italian *uo*. Given the lack of diphthongs elsewhere in the corpus, in particular 'good' is rendered as *bono* and *bonou*, a de-diphthongisation of the Italian, and a more Arabic pronunciation, it is worth remembering that the *Dictionnaire*'s French readership may have influenced lexical entries.

The *Dialogues* in the *Dictionnaire* (1830) offer a wealth of information that is not available from the simple wordlist. Such are the inconsistencies of this text that many of the words used in the sample sentences do not appear independently in the book's dictionary section. Thus, these phrases offer additional Lingua Franca vocabulary, and indeed reveal a more Spanish influence than the predominantly Italian bias of the wordlist. This is particularly clearly illustrated when the wordlist offers both an Italian and a Spanish-lexified alternative for a French term, for example *parler* 'to speak' is

translated as *parlar* and *ablar* in the *Dictionnaire* (1830: 60), yet all the conversational examples in the *dialogues* feature *ablar* as the verb 'to speak'. Other examples of the Spanish dominance in the *Dialogues* are the verbs *tenir* 'to have', the presence of *avir* as the Lingua Franca equivalent of *avoir* 'to have' in the wordlist, and *quérir* 'to ask for, desire' which is used for every construction where there is an implied desire; although, the French verb *vouloir* 'to want' is rendered by the Lingua Franca *volir* in the lexicon section. *Counchar* 'to do' offers a particularly clear inclination toward the Spanish form, as it is used exclusively in the *Dialogues* to render *faire*, although *fazer* and *far* are both listed in the wordlist:

Table 7.1

Que fesons-nous?	*cosa counchar?*	'what shall we do?'
Que faut-il faire?	*Cosa bisognio counchar?*	'what needs to be done?'
Que voudriez-vous faire?	*Cosa ti quérir counchar?*	'what would you like to do?'
Fesons comme cela	*bisognio counchar acoussi*	'Let's do it like that'

(Dictionnaire 1830*:* 98; my translation).

Given that these examples offer a view of the language 'in action', being a more representative impression of Lingua Franca, perhaps they redress the more Italian influence, belying Schuchardt's conclusion regarding the *Dictionnaire*: 'The percentage of Spanish to Italian words is approximately the reverse of what was described by Haedo' (Schuchardt 1909, trans. 1980: 82). The contention over the *Dictionnaire*'s authorship might even extend to two authors not perhaps in collaboration, but two separate views and records of the language, one more theoretical and literary, and the other a more accurate picture of Lingua Franca 'on the ground'.

As referred to above, a significant number of the words used (some of them repeatedly) in the *Dialogues*, are not entries in the wordlist; once again, this might seem to indicate a dual authorship. Given that the *Dialogues* seem to be a more representative depiction of the usage of Lingua Franca, an impression reflected by the fact that much of the language overlaps with that of the corpus (even if not the wordlist), it seems appropriate to include and examine these words in terms of their lexifiers, orthography and their usage in Lingua Franca. Adverbs are almost unrepresented in the wordlist and merit no mention in the preface which only touches briefly on nouns, verbs, and adjectives, yet they figure regularly in the *Dialogues*. These include *acoussi* (for the French *ainsi* 'thus, like that'), *poco* 'just now, shortly, quietly' (the Lingua Franca for *tantôt, doucement*), *aposto* 'deliberately or expressly' (translating the French *exprès*), and *siémé-siémé* 'together' (Lingua Franca for *ensemble* in French). *Acosi* 'like that' features in Haedo's *Topographia* (1612) while *siémé-siémé* is recorded as *semi-sémi* in an 1852 article about *Sabir*, an alternative term for Lingua Franca, to be discussed in Chapter 10 (MacCarthy and Varnier 1852, cited in Cifoletti: 263). P*oco poco* also recurs elsewhere in the corpus. The inclusion of *poco poco* and *semi-sémi* hints at the restricted lexicon of Lingua Franca. Repetition for emphasis is typical of pidgins, but Arends observes how adverbs, unusually, are most commonly reduplicated in Lingua Franca (Arends 2003:229). The sentence constructions occurring in the *Dialogues* reinforce the impression of the pidgin's hallmark features – the almost ubiquitous use of the infinitive for the present tense (and simple constructions for both the perfect and future), the lack of gender and number agreement, the use of the tonic pronouns *mi* and *ti*, and the lexical impoverishment that leads inevitably to substantial semantic broadening. The latter is particularly evident in the repeated use of few verbs in the sentences. As mentioned above, it is often the Spanish-lexified alternative that appears in the *Dialogues. Quérir, tenir* and *sentar* are each used to

translate a range of meanings. *Sentar* spans perhaps the most meaning, used in phrases to translate the French *asseyez-vous* 'sit down' and *ou demeure-t-il?* 'where does he live?' (Dictionnaire 1830: 93-98; my translation)

The incidence of tonic pronouns, *mi* and *ti*, is particularly high in the *Dialogues. Je vous crois* 'I believe you' is translated in Lingua Franca as *mi crédir per ti* (Dictionnaire 1830: 93). Where *ti* indicates the 2nd person subject, singular and/or plural, it is not always included, presumably because it is evident given the conversation. *Mi* however appears mandatory to indicate I, first person singular. Where the *mi* or *ti* indicates the object, both direct and indirect, it must be preceded by *per*:

Table 7.2

M'entendez-vous?	*Sentir per mi?*	'Do you understand me?'
Je vous comprends un peu	*mi capir oun poco per ti*	'I understand you a little'

(Dictionnaire 1830: 95-96).

The latter example also highlights a discrepancy. There are some definite articles in the *Dictionnaire*, but no indefinite articles, other than with *poco* 'a little, a bit,' where it occurs consistently.

Verb tenses in the *Dialogues* demonstrate once again a lack of consistency. Although the future tense is often rendered by the present tense infinitive form, there is, additionally, a future construction. It appears to be formed with *bisognio* or *bisogna,* which are also translated *il faut*, *il est nécessaire* with the sense of 'ought to, should, it is necessary'. This may carry a connotation of the future, but does not always. Both forms are followed by an infinitive, and both contrast with that identified in the preface to the *Dictionnaire* -

bisogno (Dictionnaire 1830:13). Although this may seem nothing more than an orthographical error, it plausibly gives weight to the hypothesis of different sections of the *Dictionnaire* being authored by separate contributors. The description and examples of the perfect tense exhibit similar discrepancy. In the preface the author states that the perfect tense is made of an auxiliary *star*, without the differentiation of *avoir* and *être* for transitive and intransitive verbs found in French, plus a past participle of the verb form ending –*to*. However, the *Dialogues* do not feature any examples of the perfect tense using an auxiliary; rather, there is simply a past participle, *mi mirato* 'I saw' for *j'ai vu*.

Perhaps the most interesting sentence of the *Dialogues* is the following:

> *Il est francais, anglais, espagnol, portugais, napolitain, toscan, autrichien, russe, américain, danois, suédois, hollandais.'*
> *'Star francis, inglis, esbagniol, portugues, nabolitan, toscan, nemsa, moskovit, amérikan, danés, suédés, flamin.*
> 'He is French, English, Spanish, Portuguese, Neapolitan, Tuscan, Austrian, Russian, American, Danish, Swedish, Flemish' (Dictionnaire 1830: 96; my translation).

This list of nationalities raises a number of key linguistic issues. Other than *francis* 'French', none of the nationalities are mentioned in the wordlist section of the *Dictionnaire*. *Flamin* 'Flemish', *nabolitan* 'Neapolitan' and *portugues* 'Portuguese' all appear to be Spanish influenced, while *esbagniol* is an unusual hybrid of Spanish, Italian and even Arabic. The only other word in the *Dictionnaire* beginning *esb* is *esbinac* 'spinach' from the Arabic *isbanakh, from Persian aspanakh,* a word whose orthography is inconsistent with every other word that features the /tʃ/ sound. Elsewhere throughout the *Dictionnaire,* the Lingua Franca orthography is *ch*. The use of *b* rather than *p* in *Nabolitan* and *Esbagniol* also stands out, as it suggests a more Arabic

type of pronunciation. *Nemsa* comes from the Slavic for German; *nemets* 'mute, no language' used to describe the language spoken presumably by Austro-Hungarians. *Moskovit* refers to Russian-speakers, and although Russian slaves must have made up the majority of the Russian-speaking population, they are unlikely to have come from Moscow, as land raids by corsairs would most likely have taken place in settlements along the Black Sea Coast rather than hundreds of miles inland.

I have touched briefly on orthography in the *Dictionnaire*. The *Dialogues* are more consistent with the wordlist in this domain than in many others. There is an idiosyncrasy to the chosen orthography. It might have been determined by the author(s), or was an attempt to approximate the pronunciation for a French readership. Certainly, there are spelling patterns that would suggest the latter. *Qouesto* 'this' has the *ouest* orthography that would be familiar to a French speaker. *ï* in *païse* '*country'* and *meïo* 'better' (from the Spanish rather than Italian *melio* of the wordlist) suggests the appropriate diphthong sound.

Despite its inconsistent, error-ridden and contradictory content, the *Dictionnaire*, and specifically the *Dialogues,* offer the most comprehensive documentation and description of Lingua Franca. Although giving an initial appearance of an Italian-dominated lexicon, the *Dictionnaire* in its informative and lexically revealing *Dialogues* shows that 'street' Lingua Franca in Algiers, on which the book's language was allegedly based, was decidedly more Spanish-influenced. This was where the French soldiers, its readership, would be speaking their Lingua Franca. There appears to be significant overlap between the *Dialogues* and some corpus sources, reinforcing the impression of the *Dialogues* 'lexicon and constructions' reliability. Discrepancies in the lexicon, entries, orthography, and the grammar of the two sections of the *Dictionnaire* (1830) raise the possibility of dual, or even multiple, authorship. It also, however, highlights the difficulties that

Lingua Franca presents in terms of documentation and description, due to its endemic variation and the multiple native languages of its source authors.

7.2 Lexical Doublets

Given the evidence of multiple lexifiers of Lingua Franca, as well as the incidence of mixed words and several alternatives for particular definitions, as discussed with regard to the *Dictionnaire* (1830) among other sources, it is predictable that there are a number of terms that exhibit more than one lexifying influence. Identified as doublets by Selbach (2008), these can be divided into Romance / Romance and Romance / Arabic. Perhaps unsurprisingly, many of these relate to geographical locations and place names, positions of authority and cultural references.

7.2.1 Romance / Romance

Other than the already mentioned *perro*, *cane* 'dog' doublet, other regularly occurring nouns include the Italian *testa* and the Spanish *cabesa* or *cavezza* 'head/brain', evident contemporaneously in Pananti's 19th century Algiers-based account: *ti star buona cavezza, (buona testa)* 'you have a good brain, (a good brain)' (Pananti 1841: 69). Inconsistent with the geographic trend suggested in Chapter 5.6, the Pasha of Tripoli, Qaramanli, refers to his Italian consul's *cabesa* 'head / brain' using the Spanish influenced term (Ferrari 1912: 156). The *Dictionnaire* (1830) also offers Spanish / Italian doublets for *parole* 'word' with *parola* and *palabra* (1830: 56). Verb alternatives – the many options for 'to do' – *far, fazer, fazir* but also *conchar* and *counchiar* (Selbach 2008: 15) – belie most often the nationality or dialect of the source's author rather than the place or time of his account.

It is interesting to note that the doublet (as well as the sense of exhortation and imperative) is often retained in translation. In the

ballad *Prisoners In Argiers*, written in 1624, also included in Firth's collection (1904), a song written after the English government was apprised of the brutal conditions endured by captives in Algiers, the word *renegadoes* is used to refer to the likes of Ward, an English sailor turned notorious Barbary corsair. The following lines highlight the dual use of *curr* and *dog*, reflecting the Lingua Franca cited contemporaneously by Barbary visitors of *perro* and *cane*:

> '"Worke, worke, you Christian curres," and though none needs
> One blow for loytering, yet his bare back bleeds,
> And riseth up in bunches, which the Turke
> With a bulls-pizzle gives him, crying still, "Worke,
> Worke, dog,"' (Firth 1904: 33).

Selbach (2008) provides a comprehensive list of Romance verb doublets. As well as the aforementioned alternatives for 'to do', she details (2008: 15):

> 'to speak' *parlar* (*Dictionnaire* 1830, Haedo 1612) co-exists with *(h)ablar* (*Dictionnaire* 1830, Haedo 1612). 'To have' is *tenir* and *tener* (in *Dictionnaire* 1830, Haedo 1612, Dan 1637, Broughton 1839) but also *avir* and *aver* (Dictionnaire 1830, Tamayo 1644, Caronni 1805, and Pananti 1841). *Dar* is used in *Dictionnaire* 1830 and Pananti 1841 for 'to give', but *donar* is found in *Dictionnaire* 1830, Haedo 1612, Tamayo 1644, and Pananti 1841' (Selbach 2008: 15).

These examples reveal several elements that recur in the linguistic analysis of Lingua Franca. The duality of *dar* and *donar* as well as that *parlar* and *hablar* within single sources highlights the lexical fluidity offered by Lingua Franca, as well as the linguistic repertoire of Haedo, reinforcing the theory that those involved in Mediterranean travel, commerce and religious missions were multilingual individuals, as evidenced in their linguistic mixing. The doublets also demonstrate that while time and place of the source may have a bearing on the

lexifying language of the chosen variant, this is not a definitive explanation of the alternative chosen.

7.2.2 Romance / non-Romance

Romance / non-Romance doublets feature particularly in terms of place names, and officialdom within the Regencies. The presumed epicenter of Lingua Franca, the *bagnios*, as the slave quarters were termed, reflected the linguistic integration and overlap (Selbach 2008: 15). While non-Romance nomenclature for the slave quarters paid tribute most often to their owners or location, the Lingua Franca term *bagno* (or *bagne*) would be used in conjunction. Thus, *Bagno Pasha, Bagno Beylic*, both of which also had exclusively Romance names, respectively *Trinité* and *Sainte Cathérine* (Selbach 2008:15). Similarly, the port of Tunis was known by its French, Italian and Arabic names, seemingly interchangeably: *La Goulette, La Goletta, and Wādi al Ḥalq* 'the gullet'. In his manual for future Consuls, the outgoing English consul of Tripoli, Knecht, (Pennell 1982) enumerates the hierarchies within the Pasha's household and city administration, revealing the combination of Arabic or Turkish and Italian lexicon, or perhaps this is an example of Lingua Franca. An example of this is the role of *Hasnadawr Grande* and *Hasndawr Piccolo'* 'chief treasurer and assistant treasurer', *Hasnadawr* coming from the Turkish.

An example of Romance / Arabic blending is *Kecchia Grande* and *Kecchia Piccolo* 'chief administrator and assistant administrator' (Pennell 1982: 104). In the letters written by members of the household of Richard Tully, British Consul to Tripoli at the close of the eighteenth century, there is a reference to the 'Great Chiah and the Little Chiah (Tully 1819: vol. i, 70), surely an Anglicization of the title. Kayiha or *Kecchia* comes from the Tunisian Arabic *kahiya* 'chief officer of an administrative district' – *kecchia* is an Italianised (or, again, possibly Lingua Franca-influenced) orthography and pronunciation. Similarly, '*sotto rais*' (from the Italian and Arabic literally meaning

under captain) denoted the second in command of the harbour (Pennell, 1982: 97, 100)). The commander is referred to separately as the *rays de la marina* 'chief of the port' (Pennell 1982: 92). Again, one finds the combination of Arabic and Italian. (*Rays* is spelt in two different ways[16], which highlights how, pre-standardisation of European languages, orthography was erratic, even within a single document.) Already mentioned (in Chapter 4.2.2) is the proverb regarding the eradication of plague by the Saint's Day. Two variations on the proverb are cited – by Poiret in 1802, and by Rehbinder:

> *Saint Jean venir, Gandouf andar*
> '[The day of] St. John comes, the plague leaves'
> (Poiret 1802)
> *Saint Jean venir, buba andar* '
> [The day of] St. John comes, the plague leaves'.
> (Rehbinder 1798- 1800; my translation)

Buba 'plague' may come originally from the Greek, *βουβών, boubôn* 'groin', suggesting yet another potential lexifying influence on Lingua Franca. That the Greek language may have contributed to this saying is given further weight by Mayes (1988) who writes of Giovanni Belzoni, living through the plague besieging Alexandria in 1815:

> 'Giovanni was told of the Arab belief that the plague would end with the rising of the Nile. This was expected at Cairo in a few days' time – on 18 June. Alternatively, said the Greeks, the plague might last till St. John's Day – the 24th – but in no case longer'
> (Mayes 1988: 80).

This would seem to indicate that the proverb, or at least the Lingua Franca term for plague, could even derive originally from a Greek phrase.

[16] *ra'īs* is the standard Arabic form.

Selbach remarks on how such nomenclature in Lingua Franca 'allowed for much room to manoeuver, and for speakers to mark their religious, political and cultural identity' (Selbach 2008: 44). I too have commented in the source chapter on the multidenominational and multilingual culture evidenced by such statements, but here also want to focus on the two alternatives for plague. As discussed in Chapter 4, *gandouf* and *buba* could both plausibly derive from the Arabic (Selbach 2008: 45). This example raises the issue of words already common to Arabic and Romance languages since contact between them, as detailed in chapter 3, had been sustained for centuries across the Mediterranean. Toso reaffirms the suggestion that any code-switching from a native tongue may not automatically be Lingua Franca :

> *Vale quindi la pena di chiedersi fino a che punto qualsiasi parola o espressione che si rinviene in un italiano (o spagnolo, o altro idioma romanzo) più o meno corretto, in fonti che rimandano all'ambiente delle Reggenze barbaresche, si debba effettivamente considerare un vestigio di LF, visto che diversi italianismi lessicali si devono considerare stabilmente inseriti, allora come oggi, del linguaggio indigeno*
>
> It is thus worth asking to what extent any word or expression found in imperfect Italian (or Spanish, or other Romance language), in sources referring to the Barbary Regencies, should actually be consider a remnant of LF, since several lexical Italianisms must be considered established, then as today, in the indigenous language (Toso 2012: 101; my translation).

In his comprehensive study, Pellegrini (1972) identified the many Arabic loanwords integrated into Italian, particularly in the realms of trade, conflict and exploration. A number of these are included in the *Dictionnaire*: *magazino* 'shop' from the Arabic, *maḫāzīn*, and *fondaco* 'trading post' from the Arabic *funduq.* Both would already have been in use in Italian, and, as such, this only complicates further an etymological study of Lingua Franca's lexicon. Similarly, the French (and possibly Italian word *avanie* 'fine, insult, affront') occurs in the corpus (Grandchamp 1920; Pananti 1841). Grandchamp defines it thus:

> *les avanies étaient des sommes d'argent que les pachas réclamaient aux marchands des échelles sous les prétextes les plus divers, prétextes la plupart du temps injustes, parfois extrêmement bizarres*
> 'the fines were sums of money the Pashas demanded of the Levant merchants on various pretexts, pretexts that were for the most part unfair, and at times extremely unusual' (Grandchamp 1920: xiii; my translation).

Although this word would appear to be derived from French, or at least a Romance language, given it was the creation of Ottoman elites, it seems more likely that its origins are Turkish. This is confirmed by Pihan (1847) who suggests that it derives from the Arabic, هوان, hawane 'contempt', but that:

> *se dit également des impôts énormes que les Turcs font peser sur les Chrétiens dans le but de les humilier*
> 'it applies equally to the enormous taxes the Turks impose on Christians with the goal of humiliating them' (Pihan 1847: 46; my translation).

Additionally, there are words that appear to have etymologies in multiple languages that are rarely translated, at least by English sources like Tully (1819), such as *seraglio* 'palace'. The OED details the etymology:

> ‘< Italian serraglio < popular Latin *serrāculum enclosure, place of confinement (compare medieval Latin serrāculum fastening of a door), < *serrāre (whence Italian serrare, French serrer, Spanish cerrar) for serāre to lock up, close, < sera lock or bolt. The Italian word was, from similarity of sound, used to render the Turkish serāī lodging, palace (see serai n.1 – a building for the accommodation of travellers)’ (OED online 2017).

Plausibly, a convergence of Romance and Ottoman Turkish meanings resulted in *seraglio* being mutually comprehensible. It does not feature in the *Dictionnaire* but is present in the corpus as an apparently adopted Lingua Franca term.

Two terms with similar meanings, *firman* and *teschera* ‘pass, decree’ and ‘pass, edict’, both issued by Ottoman or Arabic rulers, also bear remarkable similarity to Italian words with comparable meanings. *Firman* is from Arabic: *firmaan / faramaan*, though originally Persian, and would have come into Arabic through Ottoman Turkish, once again reinforcing how the languages spoken in Barbary were far from discrete entities. However, *firmare* in Italian means to sign, and the Lingua Franca translation of the French *seing* ‘signature’ and *signature* ‘signature’ in the *Dictionnaire* (1830) is *firmar*. A decree or pass (allowing free passage or safe conduct) would necessarily require an official signature. *Teschera* ‘pass, edict’ might appear to come from the Italian *tessera* ‘pass, ticket’ but there is also the Arabic word *taskīr*, ‘subjugation, dominance’. Given the power of a sultan’s decree, this meaning cannot be discounted. Both words seem integral to Barbary life, and are not translated. Tully (1819) writes:

> ‘It is still affirmed that he has a teskerra, or firman, with him for this unfortunate Bashaw. A teskerra is a written order from the Grand Signior, and is held so sacred that every Musulman who receives it must obey its mandate, even to death’ (Tully 1819: vol. ii, 258).

In the *Dictionnaire,* the Lingua Franca for an *interprète* 'translator' is *drogman* or *dragoman* (*Dictionnaire* 1830: 43), a term that derives from both Turkish and Arabic words (*tercüman* and *tarjumãn* respectively) and that appears to have been adopted by the European diplomats, travellers and merchants throughout the region (Chisholm (ed.) 1911). Riggio (1938), who wrote of the plight of Italian slaves in Tunisia in the late 18th century, documented the incidence of *torcimànio* and *tescherè* in 1781, according to Rossetti (1999: 62). A less prevalent term also found in the *Dictionnaire* is the Lingua Franca term*, ousif* that translates *esclave / nègre* 'slave/ black' (as though the two are the same). The etymology is difficult to determine conclusively but again it seems possible that it may be a conflation of the Turkish *esir* 'slave' and the common Arabic name *Yusuf.* The frequent assimilation of foreign terms, particularly evident in English sources, several of them Lingua Franca words, as will be further discussed in section 6.4, underlines the uptake of Lingua Franca, and its spread far beyond the master-slave domain into daily life.

7.3 Franca / Franco

While sources refer to Lingua Franca, or *langue franque, langage de franc* (Dan 1637), Frank language (Shaw 1738), within the documentary corpus, there are multiple interpretations of the word *franca* / *franco*. As outlined in Chapter 1 in terms of the language, *franca* can refer to the freedom from taxes associated with Livorno and its (mostly Jewish) merchants, *franchi*. This extends to a more metaphoric freedom of the language, in terms of its lack of regulation, but also to a state of liberty. Pananti (1841) is told as he is released from his brief period of slavery, *Ti star franco!* 'You are free!' (Pananti 1841: 72). The *Dictionnaire* (1830) lists both *franc* 'franc in the monetary sense' and *étranger* 'foreign' as *franco,* a sense which also applies to the translation of apricot as *matza franka* 'killer of Franks' or as Shaw puts it, ' goeth in the Frank language by the name of… killer of Christians' (Shaw 1738: 226), thereby implicitly equating Franks

and Christians as both being foreign to the indigenous population. Some literary sources, as detailed in Chapter 9, also suggest the idea of otherness associated with Franks.

7.4 Lingua Franca lexicon

There are a handful of words, according both to sources (Dan 1637; Haedo 1612) and linguists (Minervini 1996; Cifoletti 2004) that are creations of Lingua Franca itself. Dan (1637) identifies these as *matamoures* 'trenches', *armadours* 'armour providers', *maceries* 'smallholdings', *fantasia* 'pride, delusion', and *ganches* 'iron hooks' (Dan 1637: 233; 299; 88; 389; 414; 399) and an Algiers port called *La Piscaderie* (Dan 1637: 90). *Matamoures* 'ditches', are mentioned as 'temporary slave quarters' by Clissold (1977: 53). *Masserie* 'smallholding' is listed in the *Dictionnaire* (1830: 49) as the Lingua Franca for *métairie*. This is clearly derived from the Southern Italian, *masseria*. *Armadour* would seem to derive from the Spanish *armadura* 'armour'. Evidently these words were alien to Dan, hence his attributing them to Lingua Franca, but they also demonstrate how the multiple lexifiers of Lingua Franca are reflected in its lexical composite. It also highlights another element of idiolectal perception of Lingua Franca. A word that is unfamiliar to an author may be attributed to Lingua Franca, even if it derives from another language, and is not an original Lingua Franca term.

There are a very few Lingua Franca creations. As identified by Cifoletti (1989) and Minervini (1996), *forar* 'to leave, release, liberate' is a derivation of the adverb *fora* or *fuori* 'outside' from the Portuguese or Italian, and is used uniquely in Lingua Franca as a verb. Haedo mentions a slavemaster shouting *forar*, *forar* at Christian slaves (Haedo 1612: 129 v). *Forar* and *pillar fantasia* 'take offence, delude oneself' are both examples of polysemic words adopted by Arabs in the Mediterranean which then became Lingua Franca lexicon (Minervini 1996: 265). (*Fantasia* is explored at greater length in the

next section, 7.6.) *Forar* features on multiple occasions in the *Dictionnaire*, as the translation for *emporter* 'to take away, out', *oter* 'to take off' and *percer* 'to leak out, pierce' (*Dictionnaire* 1830: 30, 55, 57).

7.5 Lexical and stylistic features

The Lingua Franca reported in the sources is often spoken by corsairs, slave-masters and Arab elites. It is often the language of the other – the enemy, the alien – and is characterized by violence and tension:

> *La langue franque n'est d'ailleurs pas la seule à se voir ainsi transcrite sous forme de citations au style direct, restituant le choc linguistique de l'altérité et de la barbarie. La langue arabe ou turque donne lieu de la meme façon à toutes sortes de transcriptions sur la meme mode du discours direct, accompagnées de points d'exclamation qui privilègent, de la meme façon, l'insulte, la mise en garde…*
>
> 'Lingua Franca is not the only language to be thus transcribed in the form of direct style quotes, providing the linguistic shock of otherness and barbarism. Arabic and Turkish both give rise to all kinds of transcriptions of the same tone of direct speech, accompanied by exclamation points which favour the insult, the warning…' (Dakhlia 2008: 351-2; my translation).

Not only do reports echo verbatim across time and space, but there is a (melo)dramatic and ritualistic quality to many of the phrases and expressions. Parataxis is a hallmark of Foreigner Talk. Series of short sentences, often informative or instructive, provide a simplified form of a new, or alien, language to the listener. Parataxis also creates drama and would therefore have been a useful tool for the travellers and captives chronicling their adventures in Barbary. According to Haedo, corsairs issued the following phrases - a brief combination of warning, reassurance and pragmatism - to the recently captured:

> *Non pillar fantasia, dio grande mundo cosi, cosi, si venir ventura, andar a casa tuya* 'don't fool yourself, God is great, the world is thus, is you are lucky, you will go home' (Haedo 1612:128; my translation).

As mentioned in Chapter 4 (4.1.3), Dan offers an almost verbatim version: *No pillar fantasia; Dios grande, mundo cosi, cosi, si venira ventura ira a casa tua* (Dan 1637: 389). Minervini suggests that, ironically, the potentially questionable characterization of Lingua Franca creates a sense of linguistic homogeneity which is at odds with the fluidity, variation and polymorphy generally associated with pidgins (Minervini 1996: 269-270). Indeed, such characterization does seem to stray into the domain of performance. Dan suggests that the corsairs' words are much rehearsed, and designed to seduce their captives into compliant behaviour and revealing the whereabouts of money and valuable possessions on board the ship:

> *Surquoy ils les exhortent à ne se point fâcher, en usant de plusieurs belles paroles, comme celles-cy que les Turcs leurs disent en langage franc…Voilà comme ils leur montrent un visage d'aigneau, pour tâcher de sçavoir d'eux par les voyes de la douceur, ce qu'ils desirent apprendre*
> 'In which they exhort them [the captives] not to get upset, using many beautiful words, like those the Turks speak to them in Lingua Franca…That is how they show them the face of a lamb, to try to find out from them with kind, gentle voices what its they want to know' (Dan 1637: 389; my translation).

Once again, in the Lingua Franca corpus there seems to be little distinction between fact and fiction.

Lingua Franca does manifest several features typical of pidgins. Although, as mentioned, there are a significant number of doublets, Lingua Franca's lexicon is small and limited. Emphasis by means of

lexical repetition was used to compensate for the simplicity and semantic vagueness that derived from a limited vocabulary. *Mucho mucho* 'a lot, many' *andar, andar* ' Be gone!' *forar, forar* 'leave, leave' are all found in Haedo (1612) and recur elsewhere in the corpus. An article from 1852 detailing the legacy of Lingua Franca in Algiers, cites the phrase *Ti andar mirar, mi andar semi-semi* [*siémé- siémé*, *Dictionnaire* (1830: 95-6); derived from Italian *insieme*] 'You want to see [the city], I will go with you' (MacCarthy and Varnier 1852, cited in Cifoletti: 263; my translation). The same article offers a particularly clear example of how brevity and repetition in Lingua Franca can make up for a lack of semantic range and specificity: three hundred years of Algiers military history is conveyed using only nine (repeated) individual lexemes:

> *Spagnoli venir…boum boum…andar: Inglis venir…boum boum bezef…andar; Francés venir…trutru tru…chapar*
> 'The Spanish came…boom boom…they left; The English came…a lot of boom boom…they left; the French came…toot toot toot…it's all over' (MacCarthy and Varnier 1852; cited in MacCarthy and Varnier 268; my translation).

This elliptically details the campaign of Spanish Emperor Charles V in 1541, the cannon assault on Algiers by Lord Exmouth in 1816, and the occupation of Algiers by the French Marshal Bourmon in 1830. This description parodies the pidgin but conveys the sense of its economical and largely functional nature. It also encapsulates Lingua Franca's multiple lexifiers (Italian – *venir, andar*; Spanish – *chapar*; and Arabic - *bezef* are all features in these few tokens), its Foreigner Talk quality in the use of onomatopoeic words, and, as identified earlier in the section, the proverb-like character of many of the utterances. Although 200 years after Haedo, these few phrases recall some of his writings, particularly a lack of copula– *dio grande* 'God great', *mundo cosi cosi* 'world thus thus' (Haedo 1612: 139). Both

emphasize Lingua Franca's basic and even efficient communication style.

Ironically, by the 19th century Lingua Franca's domains and lexical range had increased from its outset several hundred years earlier. Later excerpts from the corpus, such as Elizabeth Broughton's accounts (1839) of her father's conversations with members of the Dey's household and Louis Frank's (1850) record of his interactions as personal physician with Bey Hamooda of Tunis, reveal how more figurative and even philosophical discussions came to be conducted in Lingua Franca. This marks a significant change from its earlier imperatives, such as *Mena pero*! 'Surrender, dogs!', and more functional character of the 16th century (Earle 1970: 60).

Unlike some of its grammatical features, such as tense and pronouns, Lingua Franca's lexicon shows diachronic development over the several centuries of its existence. Mallette (2014) analyses the Lingua Franca lexicon found in the early corpus, a period she defines as 1458-1600. Although her verdict on whether certain texts are definitive examples of Lingua Franca differs from other linguists (Minervini 1996; Bergareche 1993; Selbach 2008), her lexical analysis confirms Lingua Franca's limited vocabulary:

> 'Strung together, the corpus consists of a total of 305 words representing 115 different lexemes. The word that appears most frequently in the texts—after prepositions; personal pronouns; *estar* the verb 'to be'; and *grande* 'big'—is *cane*, which is found seven times in the corpus. *Perro* appears three times. The two words both mean dog, in Italian and Spanish respectively, and are used by slave masters or corsairs to address Christian captives. The word *dios* or *dio*, 'God', also appears seven times' (Mallette 2014: 337).

Up until the mid-17th century, documentary sources report almost exclusively the speech of corsairs and slavemasters. The lexicon features orders and threats, characterized by insults and intimations of violence. Haedo's recounting of slaves' tales features a litany of insults hurled at the Christians. They include *cane*, *perro* – respectively Italian and Spanish for dog – *Iudio* 'Jew' (a group reviled in Algiers and elsewhere in North Africa during this period), and *cornudo* – literally a 'cuckold', an age-old insult, particularly in Italian, as well as in other Romance languages (Haedo 1612: 131). Dan mentions almost the same grouping of slurs: *cane, perro, Iudaeo traditor* (Dan 1637: 390) in his account of the pirates' attack. The epithets do not change over time: two hundred years later, Elizabeth Broughton, the daughter of the British High Consul in Algiers, edited and published the diaries of her mother, Mary Blanckley, written there in the first decade of the 19th century. In *Six Years Residence in Algiers*, Broughton highlights some of the terms of abuse prevalent in Lingua Franca. *Cane* features but it is the Jews who represent the most reviled: '*JUDIO SENZA FEDA* [sic] for such a qualification ever followed the word Jew' (Broughton 1839: 312).

While the Jewish population remained the targets of verbal (and physical) abuse and the nomenclature of insults had changed little, Lingua Franca's usage extended from the 18th century onwards beyond the master-slave relationship. Several sources testify to the co-opting of Lingua Franca as a more neutral means of communication between Arabic-speaking elites and Europeans. Frank, the Bey of Tunis' doctor, comments on the deemed impropriety of the Bey speaking formal Italian, and his consequent use of Lingua Franca which permeated all levels of society (Frank 1850: 70). As detailed in the source chapter, diplomatic exchanges between Qaramanli, the Pasha of Tripoli and the Sardinian consul there were conducted in Lingua Franca. In his account of conversations with the *Guardian Bachi* (slave master) during his brief period of servitude in Algiers,

Pananti reveals the evolution and potential sophistication of Lingua Franca by the early 19th century. Pananti recalls the advice offered in Lingua Franca:

> *Tutti, tutti dipender dai principi, dai piu forti, dalle circostanze, tutti stare schiavi degli usi, delle convenienze, delle passioni, delle malattie, della morte; ma chi salire al potere, non star piu schiavo, vedere anzi schiavi al suo piede; servire a uno per comandare a mille; ti star buona cavezza (buona testa), ti aver buona lingua; star buono acquisto per noi; ti poter far l'interpetre e il segretario del Dey, e allora ti nuotare nell'oro, divenir lampada di sapere, e avere giardini di volluta; ti divenir grande persona, e tutti fare salamelek.*
>
> 'Everyone depends on the strongest principles, everyone is a slave to necessity, convenience, passions, sickness, death; but he who accedes to power is no longer a slave but rather has slaves at his feet, you only need one to command a thousand, you have a good head, you speak well; you're a good asset to us; you can be an interpreter and the Dey's secretary, and thus you will swim in gold, become a beacon of knowledge, and have gardens of desires, you will be a great person and everyone will bow down to you.' (Pananti 1841: 69; my translation).

This speech conveys the breadth of domains Lingua Franca had come to inhabit in Barbary. Even given the pidgin's relatively limited lexicon, there is both practical and philosophical advice in the master's speech, and the language has a lyrical and metaphorical quality. It is worth noting that Toso is dubious about the more philosophical discussion recounted by Pananti between himself and the *guardian bachi* (Toso 2012), describing Pananti as:

> *inopinatamente propenso alla speculazione esistenziale, che il personaggio sviluppa per di più in una versione di LF che*

> *suona come esempio fin troppo evidente di stilizzazione letteraria* 'unexpectedly inclined to existential speculation, which the character develops moreover in a version of LF that sounds like an all too obvious example of literary stylization' (Toso 2012: 97-8).

As I observed in Chapter 4, the allegedly factual accounts are often subject to embellishment . Toso is less implying the lack of reliability and veracity of Pananti's account as a whole but rather suggesting that its inherent exaggeration and dramatic character is in fact a reflection of the vagueness and intangibility of Lingua Franca and languages of such fluidity and instability (Toso 2012: 98).

Broughton's account of Algiers in the late 18th and early 19th centuries conveys how elements of Lingua Franca vocabulary had been adopted across society. She describes at length the repetition of three particular words:

> 'The three most significant and oft-amusing words in the Lingua Franca vocabulary, are *Fantasia, Usanza and Mangiado.'* (Broughton, 1839: 279).

All three words exist in Italian or Spanish, and yet they have each taken on an independent Lingua Franca identity. *Fantasia* largely retains the sense of taking offence with stubbornness and affectation, bordering on hubris. The *Dictionnaire* (1830: 55) translates *orgueil* 'pride' as *fantasia*. These definitions – though somewhat vague – are more akin to the Arabic meaning than that of any Romance language. The word *mangiado,* from the Italian *mangiato* 'eaten', was used in Lingua Franca to signify something that was irrecoverably lost. (Cifoletti points out that an alternative etymological source for *mangiado* is Kabyle Berber where the verb *mangiare* can also mean lost (Cifoletti 2004: 239.)) Broughton offers an anecdote highlighting the distinction. The English captain, of a ship that had been seized by men from Algiers, was accompanied by Broughton's father the Consul

(both of whom spoke good Italian) to a meeting with Sidi Yussuf, the Minister of the Sea, a speaker of Lingua Franca:

> 'When questioned about the ship's cargo, Yussuf replied *mangiado*. Asked then about the ship's men and the vessel itself, Yussuf once again answered 'mangiado'. 'This is too bad,' exclaimed Captain -----, 'to dare to treat us with such ridicule. Eat men, ship and all.'" It was left to Broughton's father to explain the difference in meaning (Broughton 1839: 282).

Broughton's characterisation of *usanza*: 'the most imperative of the verbal trio was that most magic sound usanza, which was supposed to be rhyme and reason for every piratical, injust and tyrannical action, - for every unintelligible, strange or absurd custom' (Broughton 1839: 280) recalls its earliest mention from the 16th century. The Italian Admiral Doria, ultimately capturing his arch rival, the Greek Corsair Dragut, is reported to have uttered the corsair's own trademark justification, *Señor Dragut, usanza de guerra* 'Señor Dragut, that's the way of war' to which the corsair allegedly responded ironically, *y mudanza de fortuna* 'and a change in fortunes' (Brantôme 1862: 111; my translation). Despite the apparently unchanged sense of *usanza*, there is a notable development as the Lingua Franca term was incorporated by Broughton into her own description, so ubiquitous had it become in Barbary life, rather than translating it: 'on which, according to usanza, the Dey was bound to make a present of value to the English Consul' (Broughton 1839: 409). The three emblematic words offer another indication of the diffusion and uptake of Lingua Franca in daily life in Barbary. Its demonstrated extended domains suggest that the pidgin had significantly evolved from its original basic communicative functions between captor and slave, and among members of the multilingual slave community.

Another lexical feature highlighted by Broughton's (1839) account is the variation from one speaker to the next in terms of lexifying

influences. The Lingua Franca of Algiers, as mentioned in Chapter 4, was allegedly more influenced by Spanish while the Regencies to the East, Tunis and Tripoli, appeared to exhibit more Italian features. Broughton's mother recalls the Pasha urging her husband, the English Consul, after a period of illness:

Andar e sentar quieto al Suo Giardino 'Go and be calm in your garden' (Broughton 1839: 210) while the Pasha's *Hogia* 'teacher':

> 'paid me the greatest compliment, in the name of them all, as he said they all said that Madama Inglese was the cleverest woman in all the world', and he added: *Ma ti non star mujer ti star hombre perché tener judicia d'un hombre* - 'I hope I shall not have my head turned!' (Broughton 1839: 211).

The Pasha's Lingua Franca is clearly more influenced by Italian: *andar* 'go' is from Italian *andare*, while *quieto* 'quiet' and *Suo Giardino* 'your garden' are also both Italian. The use of *Suo* 'your' is the polite form of Italian, rarely found in the corpus that uses the singular and informal forms of address almost exclusively, with little concession to rank. By contrast, the *Hogia*'s language derives more lexically from Spanish: *mujer* 'woman', *hombre* 'man' and *judicia* 'wisdom' are all Spanish nouns. The *Hogia* uses the more typical *ti* 'you' in his address. Broughton's mother is referred to as *Madama Inglese* while her husband is known as *Il Signore Console*. The titles highlight again the multiple lexifiers as *Madama* comes the French *Madame* 'Mrs,' while the Consul's designation is Italian. Variation is evidently a feature in all elements of Lingua Franca and its speakers. Idiolectal differences, as evidenced by the speakers cited above, members of the same household, are endemic to the language.

Lingua Franca's permeation of the higher levels of society, particularly in the 18th and 19th centuries, appears to have extended its domains of use. Once the preserve of corsairs and slaves, orally at least it became the principal language of diplomacy between the

Europeans and the Regencies' ruling elites. As Broughton recounts, 'Mr B requested an audience of the Dey and went to it unattended by his Dragoman which he could not have effected but from the Pasha's knowledge of Lingua Franca' (Broughton 1839: 211). The sustained use of Lingua Franca in this domain has led me to consider whether such use might have extended into diplomatic and commercial correspondence.

7.6 Conclusions

Although the *Dictionnaire* (1830) has been viewed by many scholars (including Schuchardt (1909) and Lanly (1962)) as unreliable, it is the sole lexical record of Lingua Franca. As such, it provides a valuable and informative record, not solely of the lexicon but also the lexifying languages of Lingua Franca, and reiterates key grammatical features. The *Dialogues* section offers an insight into the Spanish dominance in the Lingua Franca of Algiers, what was purportedly spoken in the street, in contrast to the wordlist that has an Italian bias. It is evident, however, that there are often at least two alternatives, drawn from different lexifiers, for many of the more common verbs and, to a lesser extent, nouns. These are largely Romance / Romance doublets, but Arabic and Turkish influences are found and blends of Romance / non-Romance feature in officialdom and geographical nomenclature. In spite of the duplication mentioned, the lexicon is, for the most part, minimalist, with repetition used for emphasis. Lingua Franca appeared to increase its domains, particularly into the nineteenth century, though such a judgment is contentious. Broughton (1839), a non-Romance speaker, however, offers substantial evidence of Lingua Franca use, beyond basic and utilitarian functions, and even employed in the field of diplomacy (Broughton 1839: 210-1).

Chapter 8 Traces of Lingua(s) Franca(s) in the archives

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the corpus of Lingua Franca is limited and there is a blurring of fact and fiction in the sources. This has led me to explore written documents from the English consuls in the Barbary Regencies of Tunis and Tripoli. These do not in any way represent a separate Lingua Franca corpus, but the variation found in the writing from various members of the mercantile community in Barbary and in Livorno, would seem worthy of note in the context of a study of Lingua Franca. Within the correspondence, there are lexical and grammatical features consistent with those mentioned by sources as exemplary of Lingua Franca. With regard to my analysis of the correspondence, I adopt the caveat, issued by Hopkins (1982) in his translation of Arabic documents at Kew of the same era and locations:

> 'the reader should be aware that these documents, being in manuscript and executed with varying degrees of skill and care, are sometimes difficult to decipher and even when deciphered are not always completely intelligible' (Hopkins 1982: preface, viii).

Although considered an almost exclusively oral language, it seems that Lingua Franca may have permeated the written domain. Baglioni (2010) enumerates several linguistic features shared by contemporary citations of Lingua Franca and the language found in the correspondence of the Italian and French consuls in Tunis during the 17th and 18th centuries. Baglioni qualifies this theory with the possibility that individuals' idiolects, rather than anything more established and widespread, might be responsible for the resemblance of the written language to Lingua Franca (Baglioni 2010: 269). My own research into the archives of the English consuls in Tunis and Tripoli (1650-1840) supports the hypothesis that elements consistent with Lingua Franca can be found in some written correspondence of the era. There is the critical issue of whether Lingua Franca existed as

a single entity, or rather, to adopt Muru's phrase *linguas francas* (Muru 2016), there were numerous variants of the pidgin along a Romance continuum. The variation was determined not only by the time and place it was used, but more significantly by the idiolect of the speaker (or writer).

8.1 Regency correspondence in The National Archives in European languages

The National Archives at Kew hold thousands of documents from the English consuls in Barbary. The documents comprise invoices, receipts, and (diplomatic, mercantile and personal) letters. Of the more than 350 letters I have studied, there are a number from members of the Livorno Jewish community, many of them written either in their mercantile capacity or as translators of diplomatic and legal documents for other European consuls. The writing includes features identified as hallmarks of Lingua Franca (several of which are also typical of Venetian), specifically: infinitive forms of verbs, non-agreement of gender and number, monophthongisation, semantic broadening, and lexical interference from Romance languages other than the Italian of the texts, including Spanish, Portuguese, and Ladinho. These documents appear consistent with contemporary correspondence found in other archives, such as the *Archivio di Stato* of Florence and Livorno, as analysed by Trivellato (2009). In her description of the written language of those documents, Trivellato qualifies her choice of Italian, Portuguese and Spanish to describe the correspondence of members of Livorno's Jewish community:

> 'I write "Italian", "Portuguese" and "Spanish", but recall that European written languages in the epoch were not fully standardized and that most people learned languages phonetically rather than by means of a rigorous education….In addition, everywhere they lived and traveled, Sephardim borrowed words, expressions,

> grammar and syntax from local idioms, whether Dutch, French or Italian' (Trivellato 2009: 178).

The catalogue TNA: FO 335, Foreign Office and predecessors: Tunis Tunisia, French North Africa (formerly Ottoman Empire): General Correspondence contains more than 3,500 documents. I have explored the earliest folders, and particularly TNA: FO/335/1 and TNA: FO 335/6 which both deal with general correspondence received by Thomas Goodwyn, Agent and Consul General 1683-1697. Each of these comprises numerous letters, the latter (TNA: FO 335/6 predominantly from 'Leghorn, Marseille, Cagliari and Levantine Ports', as per the catalogue record (TNA FO 335/6 *Discovery* description). More than 80% of the documents are written in Italian but lexically, grammatically and orthographically manifest variation. The authors' names: Conrado Calibenner, Nicolò Munichof, Samuel Medina, Giò Sabe, Gabriel Rivero, indicate their Jewish background, and one that is potentially mixed linguistically. As Mori states of the correspondence in the State Archive of Venice, its writers evidently have *una competenza plurima, a livello linguistico e scrittorio,* 'a command of multiple languages, spoken and written' (Mori 2016: 49; my translation), so too the authors featured here.

It is worth reiterating the argument made in chapter 2 that the writing has a distinctly phonetic quality, such that words are often spelled as they would have been spoken. Additionally, there is often an imbalance of power between writer and recipient. On several occasions, the former's request – for money, employment or the latter's intervention – takes on a dramatic, lyrical quality resonant of the exhortations of the corsairs and the language of the literary sources.

In 1687, a Livorno-based Jewish merchant, Gabriel Rivero, wrote to Thomas Goodwin, and offered his services as a translator and scribe,

claiming, in line [11], 'so la lingua moresca' 'I speak the Moorish language' (TNA: FO 335/6/6 (a) See Appendix ll for copy of original). Given that Lingua Franca was known as *le petit mauresque* by the French (Dictionnaire 1830; La Condamine in Emerit (1954)), this is possibly a suggestion of the centrality of Lingua Franca to commerce and diplomacy. The full text of the letter below highlights numerous linguistic features that recall the Lingua Franca of the documentary sources, and notably the variation found in them.

Example 8.1

[1] *Livorno, 10 Agosto 1687*
'Leghorn, 10th August 1687

[2] *Molto illustrissimo*
Most honoured Sir,

[3] *La presente serve solo per dir al suo illustrissimo come ho*
This letter serves only to tell your most honoured self how I

[4] *Sentito chui che cercava costi qual che duno li*
have heard here that you are looking for someone to

[5] *aiutaze a escrivere sic he io son estate con*
help you write. I have been with

[6] *il signore Balle che lo dize emi rispose che*
Signor Balle whom I told and he replied that

[7] *poteva esere, si che mi hofret al suo illustrissimo*
it might be so, and so I offer to your most honoured self

[8] *di asistenza in tuto quello avera visogno e*
assistance in all that which you need and

[9] *sendo che qui non si fa nulla, cocozendo ass.*
since here there is nothing to do, knowing that

[10] *illustrissimo aver visogno mi trasferiro costi et*
your most honoured self needs me, I will move there and

[11] *io sono gia pratico e so la lingua moresca*
I am already ready and know the Mauresque language

[12] *et sono nepote di cotesti signor Medina che per*
and I am the nephew of Signor Medina, and so was
[13] *esere li guere adeso tre ani fa mi son…*
there scarcely 3 years ago now, I
[14] *Basato con il signore Francesco Baxenton e la prego*
placed with Mr Francesco Baxenton and I beg
[15] *Non lasi di honorarmi con quattro rigui suoi*
you not to deny me the honour of a few lines
[16] *Dandomi risposta restando a suoi comandi*
giving me your answer. Remaining at your command
[17] *E L B L M [e Le bacio le mani]*
I kiss your hand
[18] *Umilissimo servo di Vostro Signore Illustrissimo*
Most humble servant to Your Honour
[19] *Gabriel Rivero*
[20] *Al Illustrissimo Signore Tomaso Godwin*
To most honoured Mr Thomas Goodwin'
(TNA: FO 335/6/6 (a); my translation).

This letter belies Rivero's Livornese Jewish identity, as there is repeated Spanish orthography: *v* rather than *b* in *visogno* 'need' and the voiced *d* in the place of the voiceless *t* in *sendo* 'I feel'. He also employs the epenthetical 'e' typical of Spanish so that the Italian *scrivere* 'to write' becomes *escrivere* and *stato* 'was, have been' is rendered *estato*. It is interesting to note that the infinitive form, commonly used in Lingua Franca, of *estar*, as opposed to *star*, is documented by Haedo, Tamayo, Serrano and Roqueville, all of whom were writing in the 17th century, several contemporaneously with Rivero. Consistent with the Lingua Franca characterized in the *Dictionnaire*, and with Venetian dialect, there is a lack of geminates where the Italian would feature them – e.g. *s* instead of *ss* in *asistenza* 'help, assistance', *esere* 'to be' and *adeso* 'now' and the *z* in *aiutaze* 'help' and *dize* 'say' rather than –*ss*-. Also worthy of note is the rendering of *qui* by *chui 'here'*, and *righi* by *rigui* 'lines'. In Venetian,

the *ch* often subsitutes the voiceless velar stop, so that *luogo* 'place' is rendered as *luocho*. The word-final *ui* of *rigui* ('lines') reinforces the sense that the author was multilingual and not fluent in written Italian. There is Spanish in following the *g* with a *u* and the word-final *i* might be influenced by the writer's Ladinho background, which has a smaller vowel space than most Romance languages, and in which *i* is a more common sound than *e*.

Rivero's letter stands out from much of the Kew correspondence written by Jewish merchants of Livorno and elsewhere in the Mediterranean in that there is, for the most part, agreement between nouns, adjectives and verbs in both number and gender. Other letters from the same catalogue exhibit the non-agreement common in Lingua Franca. A letter written by Nicolò Munichof (TNA: FO 335/6/6 (b)), discussing the liberation of Dutch slaves who had been taken from Tunis to Constantinople and were to be subsequently freed is replete with non-agreement. I include here an excerpt of the letter:

Example 8.2

[5] *...ho visto che il schiavo Willem Jacobsen di*
'...I have seen that the slave Willem Jacobsen of

[6] *Louven, ordinatoui de riscattare sotto il nome del Ragion passato, era*
Louven, ordered for ransom according to a previous ruling, had

[7] *andato con molti altri schiavi olandesi con la nave tunesini per*
gone with many other Dutch slaves aboard the Tunisian ship to

[8] *Constantinopoli per servire Il Grand Signore, e quando sarebbano ritornati*
Constantinople to serve the Gran Signor, and when they are returned

[9] *sta bene de riscattarlo detto schiavo per la somma limitatoui*
it will be good to ransom the said slave for the reduced amount'
(TNA: FO: 335/6/6 (b); my translation).

Examples of non-agreement within this letter include several not included in the lines above: [11] *la solito stile* 'the usual style', [7] *la nave tunesini* and [16] *la nave tunessino* 'the Tunisian ship', [17] *l'incluso lettere* 'the attached letter(s)', and [9] *la somma limitatoui* 'the reduced amount'. The two different spellings of Tunisian – one a seemingly masculine plural form, and the other a masculine singular with *ss* – within a matter of lines highlights the absence of standardized orthography or, at least, a lack of attention to such matters. Such individualistic and inconsistent traits in writing seem to echo the variation found in the Lingua Franca corpus, but also give weight to Baglioni's (2010) view that these idiolects might just reflect the non-official writing of the pre-standardisation era, rather than written evidence of Lingua Franca.

Another letter found in the same general correspondence collection (TNA: FO 335/6/2), sent from Claudio Estienne to Thomas Goodwin on 28th April, 1687 in Marseille, lexically exhibits substantial French and Spanish influence. Plausibly, Estienne's first language may even have been French, but given the status of Italian as the language of commerce and diplomacy and a potential multilingual competence, typical of Jewish merchants transacting with and in Barbary (Simon 1992: 95), he would have written in his variety of Italian. The following extract from Estienne's letter illustrates the multiple lexifiers:

Example 8.3

…il Padrone Carlo Gautier arriva in Livorno il tre al corrente con pocco mia sodisfacciono, non havendo il Signore Demourel fatto il debitto suo nella speditionné. Suplico farli ricapitare.

'…the boss Carlo Gautier is coming to Livorno on the 3rd as far as I know with little satisfaction on my part, since Mr Demourel has not fulfilled his obligation in delivering it. I entreat him to deliver it' (TNA: FO 335/6/2; my translation).

Sodifacionno 'satisfaction' is almost a hybrid of Italian s*oddisfazione*, French *satisfaction* and Spanish *satisfacción*, while *speditionné* 'deliver, sending' appears to be from the Italian *'spedizione'* but with a more French ending. The non-agreement of *pocco* and *mia*, and *mia* and *sodisfacciono,* possibly demonstrate that in writing, as with Lingua Franca, there is a lack of agreement of gender (and number) between nouns and adjectives.

Another instance of variation within a single document comes in a letter from another Livorno-based merchant, Giò Sittenmajr (TNA: FO 335/6/6 (c)).

Example 8.4

Oltre che mi par mille annj di uscire fori di questo paese per eser da questo mio maledetto cogniato tribolato per conto di mie sorelle con forme si dischorde nel tempo che mi ritornano costij e questa e la cagione che averej a dare di andare fora di Livorno

'Additionally it feels like a thousand years that I've wanted to leave this country to have been troubled by my wretched brother in law on behalf of my sister in such unpleasant ways that they recur to me and this is the reason

> that I would give to getting away from Livorno'
> (TNA: FO 335/6/6 (c); my translation)

Sittenmajr uses the word *fori*, a monophthongisation of the Italian *fuori* 'outside, away from'. Within four lines, he substitutes *fori* with *fora*, consistent with Venetian but also Lingua Franca, meaning exactly the same. The alternation suggests how prevalent a feature of both written and oral language variation was. Its use is also significant since, as mentioned in 7.5, according to Cifoletti (1989), *fora* was one of few words that had been 'Lingua Francified'. The adverb meaning 'from, out of' is made into the verb *forar* in Lingua Franca, used in the context of freeing or liberating a slave, (but also semantically broadened to mean putting / taking out as in the examples of *forar barba*, *forar sangré* and *forar erba* to translate respectively *raser* 'to shave', *saigner* 'to bleed' and *sarcler* 'to weed' (*Dictionnaire* 1830: 65)). Thus, its meaning derives from the socio-cultural context of Barbary life and corsairing. It is one of very few Lingua Franca words that appears to be lexically independent of sources languages (Cifoletti 1989: 66-67). Cremona concludes:

> *Ce terme a pénétré l'italien de nos textes consulaires, car je l'ai rencontré deux fois dans son sens technique dans les registres tunisiens. Si nous en tenons à ce que dit Cifoletti, le terme a dû passer de la langue franque à l'italien consulaire voyageant ou ainsi dire de bas en haut dans le continuum langue franque-italien*
> 'The term has penetrated the Italian of our consular texts, as I have encountered it twice in its technical sense in Tunis records. If we agree with Cifoletti, the term must have passed from Lingua Franca into consular Italian, travelling so-to-speak from low to high in the Lingua Franca-Italian continuum' (Cremona 2000: 142; my translation).

A letter written 150 years later to Hanmer Warrington, English consul to Tripoli, dated 17th April 1821, also features the adverb *fora* 'outside, beyond'. It was sent to Warrington by his vice-consul in Derna, Benedetto Regignani, an Italian Jew. Although such an appointment might seem surprising, Jews, especially those of Livornese background, were competent in numerous local and foreign languages and consequently 'were often chosen for consular positions, and at times represented more than one country' (Simon 1992: 95). Reginani's letter from the early 19th century is one of relatively few written in Italian in the catalogue (TNA: FO 161/9 (b)) compared to the preponderance of Italian language documents in the earlier catalogues studied, particularly TNA FO: 335/1 and TNA: FO 335/6. Italian by this point may have lost its status as the dominant language of diplomacy in the region. Regignani's writing exhibits less grammatical and orthographic variation, possibly reflecting an increasing standardization of writing, but also likely due to his diplomatic status. There are, however, a couple of lexical items of note in the letter, such as *baruffa* 'scuffle, row', a word listed as *baroufa* in the *Dictionnaire* (1830: 28) and defined as the Lingua Franca word for the French *dispute* 'quarrel', but one which also exists in Corsican and Italian, of Longobardo or Southern Italian origin. Benignani refers to a *teschera* 'permit, pass' required for the transport of a statue found for Warrington in Cyrene (Thorn 1993). *Teschera* is discussed in section 6.1.2. While not necessarily a Lingua Franca word, it appears to be an Italian–Arabic compound, and certainly was used regularly in the region. Conrado Calibenner offers evidence of another word associated with Lingua Franca in use in Barbary correspondence. There are at least eight letters from Calibenner to Consul Goodwyn in Tunis in the final quarter of the 17th century. Most are sent from Livorno but within TNA: FO 335/1/7 there are two that Calibenner wrote from Tripoli. Calibenner's letter dated 25th September 1676 concerns the delivery of goods for Goodwyn's ship: '*fra doi giorni piacendo Dio vi spedirò l'ultima caravan con* ***mercanzie*** *per la sua*

nave'. The use of *mercanzie* is significant. It is listed in the *Dictionnaire* (1830: 47) as the Lingua Franca word for the French, *marchandises* 'goods, merchandise', and appears to have been in spoken and written use. The number *doi* 'two' appears to come from Venetian rather than any other Romance language. (Two is translated as *due* in Italian, *dos* in Spanish, *dois* in Portuguese and *deux* in French). Once again, it appears to be part of a regional system of numbering or, as occurs often in Lingua Franca, an idiolectally-motivated word choice.

In terms of phonology suggested by the orthography of certain letters, particular examples suggest pronunciation that echoes features identified in Chapter 6 as resonant of Lingua Franca. The phrase *somma limitatoui* 'limited sum' from Example 6.2 reveals an interesting ending to the past participle. Typical endings in Italian are *-ato/a*, *-ito/a* (singular) and *-ati /e* , *-iti/e* (plural). The *oui* does not conform to any Romance language, and yet this is not an isolated example. The same letter features *ordinatou* 'ordered', while another letter, from Conrado Calibenner, (TNA: FO 335/1/7) has the participle *ordonatou* preceded by the auxiliary *eanno*, an elision of *e* with *hanno* 'they have'. The *Dictionnaire* (1830) includes several words that end in *-o* in Italian or Spanish, including *buono* 'good' and *mucho* 'many, very', but which in Lingua Franca were rendered as *bonou* and *mouchou* (Dictionnaire 1830: 15, 12). Once again, the *-u* sound may derive from a concession to the Arabic vowel system as *-u* is one of its common endings.

Another unusual verb ending comes from Estienne's letter (TNA: FO 335/6/2). *Sarebbano* 'they will be' is seemingly a future tense given the stem *sarebb-* , but the correct Italian ending would be *-ero*. The Spanish future ending *-ān* is a possible explanation, but more likely is the Venetian variation where the 3rd pl. present ending is suffixed to the 3rd sing. conditional stem: *sarebb + ano* to express the future.

An anomalous (in that it was written by a woman) letter sent to Thomas Goodwin in 1698, by Francescha Blacheloche (TNA: FO 335/1/29 – See Appendix II for copy of original), exhibits noteworthy lexical and grammatical features. The letter is a plea for Goodwin to intercede on her behalf given the ill health of her brother and their consequent impoverishment. Evidently not commercial or diplomatic in character, the letter is nevertheless written in a variety of Italian, again underlining the primacy of the language in written communication. The woman in question was clearly educated, but possibly not a native speaker of Italian (among other indications, she signs her name *Senora* rather than the Italian *Signora)* and perhaps was unfamiliar with writing letters. Such Spanish lexical and grammatical bias, shown here and elsewhere, is analysed by Mori (2016):

> *le tracce del contatto interlinguistico si manifestano a livello grammaticale, mediante la presenza di construzioni ibride spagnolo-italiano che lasciano supporre una competenza plurima, a livello linguistico e scrittorio degli estensori dei testi. In particolare si evince un ruolo dominante dello spagnolo…*
> 'the traces of the interlinguistic contact are manifested at a grammatical level, through the presence of hybrid Spanish-Italian constructions that suggest a multi-lingual competence, at the linguistic level and at the writing desk. In particular, Spanish plays a dominant role' (Mori 2016: 49; my translation).

Research has yielded little insight into the writer's identity. *Blacheloche* may be a reversioning of the Scottish surname Blacklock or Blaylock. If so, this is a similar practice to the Italianisation, or even "Lingua Francification" of names highlighted in Chapter 3. I have transcribed and translated the first eight lines to convey the oral and

aural character of the letter. Read aloud, the letter makes infinitely more sense than when studied on the page.

Example 8.5

[1] *Per no tralasciare le ocha sioni che misi*
'In order not to neglect the opportunity that
[2] *riprasenta di scriverillo con forme e oblicho*
presents itself to write to you according to my obligation
[3] *mio et insieme darli aviso del nostro bene*
and to inform of you of our wellbeing
[4] *stare sichome spero che stia Vostra Signoria et insieme*
just as I wish to you and your family.
[5] *la sua compagnia. Mia no poso dire che*
I cannot speak of
[6] *si del mio fratello Adriano per che sia molto*
my brother Adrian's wellbeing as he is very
[7] *infermo e quasi fine di morte , e no si*
unwell and almost near death, and
[8] *pote movere ne chambe ne braca…*
cannot move at all, neither leg, nor arm…'

In lines [1], [5] and [7] she uses the form *no* rather than *non*, consistent with Spanish and Venetian rather than Italian, and typical of L2 Italian. She writes the word *occasioni* as two separate words, *ocha sioni* using the *ch* rather than geminate *cc*. Similarly, *braca* in line [8] 'leg' would be written as *braccia* in a more standardised Italian. The same occurs with *sichome* 'just as', line [4], spelt in standard Italian as *siccome*. There are also instances of *ch* replacing what would usually be *g* as in *oblicho* rather than *obligo* 'obligation' and *chambe* rather than *gambe* 'legs'. As mentioned above, this is potentially consistent with the Venetian tendency to replace *g* with *ch*.

At the end of her letter, Blacheloche pledges: *mirasegnio dios*, Consistent with the phonetic quality of much of her writing and interference from Spanish, this can be interpreted as 'I resign myself to God' or 'I accept God's will'.[17] As Mori states (2016: 53), there are different renderings, in the written language of the era, of the

> *segmentazione del continuo fonico a livello di individuazione del confine di parola e rappresentazione dell'unità di parola fonologica, frequentemente attestati in scriventi non native di italiano o in scriventi con un accesso ridotto alla varietà scritta di italiano*
>
> 'segmentation of the phonic sound in terms of the word boundary and representation of the phonological word unit, frequently attested in non-native writers of Italian or in writers with reduced access to the written variety of Italian' (Mori 2016: 53; my translation).

The letter, mentioned in Chapter 3.3, which referred to a captured 'Turk', Hassan di Hassan, formerly known as Iaco of Livorno, was written by Jean Chaberi, the English consul in Cyprus in November 1676 (TNA: FO 335/1/23a). As in the case of Regignani, the consul did not need to be a native of the country he was representing, nor speak its language as his native tongue. Cyprus offers perhaps an extreme example of the multinational and multilingual fluidity of the office of the consul.

> "In 1663, there was an English consul in place by the name of Lister, who wrote a brief, one and a half page "Description of the Island of Cyprus". This is the same person as the Mathieu (Matteo, Matthew) Lister, noted in

[17] I am struck that my initial translation was 'Look to God for a sign', a rendering of *Mira segnio Dios*

> the French records in April 1663 as serving jointly at that time, as English and French Consul. In 1671, Samuel Peere, recorded also already as resident in Cyprus in April 1663, was English Consul, and was in post until February 1674; later, in September 1674 he was no longer, ceding place to the Frenchman B. Sauvan' (Heywood, in eds. Varnava, Andrekos and Coureas 2009: 33).

This letter is noteworthy for a number of reasons; it begins *Laus Deo* 'Praise be to God' and is a record of the visit for legal reasons to the English Consulate in Larnaca, Cyprus by Thomas Goodwin, later Consul in Tunis, to the *spiagia delle Saline* 'Les Salines beach' as the saltpans area in Larnaca was known 'by its Frankish name' (Heywood 2009: 32). This recalls similar Frankish nomenclature found throughout the Barbary Regencies. According to the Consul record, Goodwin brought with him the aforementioned Hassan di Hassan whom he had bought out of slavery (with the understanding that the 'Turk' would repay him' for *la somma de pezze da otto cento vinti due* 'the sum of 122 pieces of eight'. A piece of eight was worth eight *reales*, and, as mentioned in Chapter 3.4.2, the *reale* was of the most popular currencies in use in the region throughout the 17th century.

The letter is authored and signed by Jean Chaberi, explicitly in the presence of the Consul, Bathalzar Sauvan and written in Italian, with some of the features identified in others letter, namely a lack of geminates and of gender agreement. There appears also to have been a correcting or editing process as certain words have letters added at what would seem a later moment. Although the legal record is in Italian, there is an addendum at the bottom of the page in French, reading *Extraict de la chancilerie de Chipre* 'extract of the Chancelry of Cyprus', and an accompanying brief document, written by Sauvan, the Consul named in the letter,

certifying the account provided by Chaberi. Sauvan claims to be Consul not only to the French king, *sa majesté bretanique* 'his British Majesty' but also to *les Serenissime et les etats de Nederlande* ' la *Serennisima* 'Venice' and the States of the Netherlands'. This reinforces the sense of certain multilingual Europeans occupying multiple transnational positions, as already mentioned in the case of Regignani. Although Sauvan writes in French, he certifies the veracity of the Italian document. As a representative of Venice, Sauvan would undoubtedly have been able to both read and write Italian and since, as observed by Cremona (1996, 1997, 2002), it was the pre-eminent language used in consular affairs.

The final letter explored in this section (TNA: FO 335/1/23b) is dated 29th May 1676. Written in a far less formal hand than most of the consular correpsondence, the letter's author, Abramo Piacro (again a name which suggests European Jewish heritage) acknowledges payment from an English captain, Thomas (presumably Goodwin) as an advance and for acting as a scribe for an illiterate Italian, Giacomo Todeschino.

Example 8.6

[1] *Io, Abramo Piacro, menz Ho Rice*

'I, Abramo Piacro, declare I have recei-

[2] *vuto dal Ingl Capitan Tomaso*

ved from the Engl[ish] Captain Thomas

[3] *della Nave Regia Difesa peze*

of the Ship, Defence of the Realm, pieces

[4]*… da occo …Reali esono*

…of eight….Reals and they are

[5] *per il mio avanzo e per non saper*

an advance to me and because he does not know how to

[6] *scrivere a pregato me*

write has asked me

[7] *Giacomo todeschino che fasa*

Giacomo Todeschino that I make

[8] *la presente come ho fato* e *fermo*

this here as I have done and I sign

[9] *mano propia dicho peze diece*

with my own hand and ask for 10 pieces

This letter attests to the role of scribe and translator of Livorno and North African-based Jews as identified by Trivellato (2009: 128) and Minervini (2011:2) as well as the offer cited earlier in the letter of Gabriel Rivero (TNA: FO 335/6/6). Linguistically simple, this letter exhibits little interference although there are features identified by Mori (2016: 53) as typical of the writing of the era, such as *esono* 'and they are' in line [4] where prepositions are agglutinated to other parts of speech.

Most letters have correctly inflected forms of verbs. However, there are occasional uses of the infinitive, similar to Lingua Franca. These occur in a series of letters written in July 1696 to Thomas Goodwin from the Pasha's tailor, J. Vanderweyden (TNA: FO 335/1/20 – See Appendix ll for copy of original). Urging the Consul to come and collect fabric, Vanderweyden writes, *domani per piacere mandare per pigliar le robbe* 'tomorrow please send someone to pick up the stuff'. *Mandare* is in the infinitive. Earlier in the same letter, Vanderweyden writes that the Pasha had not liked the standard fabric, but of the *pezze piu fine ha tenuto 6/2 se havere altre di quella sorte pigliara* 'better pieces he kept 6/2 lengths; if there are others of that sort he will take them'. *Havere* is also in the infinitive, rather than being inflected. There is again the use of a form of *pigliare* 'to take', a word used frequently in the Lingua Franca expressions of corsairs and slave-masters, though, as mentioned in Chapter 3, this exists in Italian

today albeit as an informal variation, rather than the more formal written context found in this example.

The documents in the archive at Kew, while not offering examples of Lingua Franca, would appear to show that features of Lingua Franca, so prevalent in oral discourse, have permeated correspondence. This may be, as just mentioned, due to idiolectal factors, or an inevitable result of the pre-standardisation era when orthography was less regulated, and education and literacy less widespread and accessible. Certainly, the documents are a valuable substantiation of the theory of multilingualism at the individual and societal level in Barbary. They would also seem to offer evidence of language consistent with the definition offered by Broughton of Lingua Franca, 'a sort of *Olla Podrida*[18], of all the different languages spoken in the various countries surrounding the Mediterranean' (Broughton 1839: 210).

8.2 Regency correspondence in Arabic in The National Archives

Hopkins' (1982) research in the National Archives focuses on two sets of state papers, SP 71 and SP 102. The collection is considerable – there are 29 volumes in the first, and 68 volumes or bundles in the second, each volume containing about 200 folios. SP 71 is described in the National Archives' online catalogue, Discovery, as 'Correspondence and papers of the Secretary of State concerning the Barbary States. The records relate to Algiers, 1595-1780; Morocco, 1577-1774; Tripoli, 1590-1780 and Tunis, 1622-1780' (TNA: Discovery description SP 71). As mentioned in Chapter 4, the proportion of letters in Arabic (and particularly compared to those in Turkish) is minimal. Hopkins identifies, in terms of Arabic language correspondence, a total of 69 documents from Morocco: 13 documents from Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, and three of indeterminate provenance (Hopkins 1982: preface, xi). According to Hopkins, most

[18] *Olla Podrida*, literally 'a Spanish stew of meat and vegetables' signifies a miscellany, a hodgepodge.

letters are also translated into English, French and Spanish (Hopkins 1982: preface, vii). Given that many come from Morocco, Spanish would be the obvious language of translation yet there are indubitably some with Italian translations. The catalogue records at least one letter from Algiers that is in Italian (TNA: SP 71/1/480).

Hopkins adds a glossary that demonstrates the extent to which the letters from the Barbary States disproportionately feature loans from Romance languages. He does not, however, consider Italian or Lingua Franca as the source for these words. I would dispute some of Hopkins' glossary attributions, particularly to Spanish, as he appears to extend the 'influence of Iberian on western Arabic' (Hopkins 1982: preface, xi) to the more easterly Barbary States, where Spanish was less dominant. Several words seem rather to be Lingua Franca derivations, as I will detail. Hopkins comments that '[f]oreign words are very common and seem to be used quite unselfconsciously: *armamint*, *dusiya*, *justisya*, *markānti*, *triwa* (Hopkins 1982: preface, x). This seems consistent with the oral borrowings of Lingua Franca, as mentioned by Broughton (1839): words such as *fantasia* and *usanza.* Hopkins does attribute some of the non-Arabic words as belonging to Kahane and Tietze's (1958) 'seamen's *lingua franca*: *batāsh*, *batant*, *būrd*, *fartūna*, *ghalyāta*, *kūmana*' (Hopkins 1982: preface, x). He does not extend the etymology to non-nautical Lingua Franca, though a number of the words in the glossary would seem to indicate the permeation of written Arabic by Lingua Franca lexicon.

Several examples from the glossary identified as the nautical Lingua Franca, detailed by Kahane and Tietze (1958), include *Qamarah* 'cabin' but there is also *caméra* in the *Dictionnaire* (1830: 21) as the Lingua Franca for *chambre* 'room'. Similarly *zabantut* 'pirates' is, according to Hopkins, found in the nautical Lingua Franca, as detailed by Kahane and Tietze (1958: 572). Once again, however, the word features in the *Dictionnaire*, the French *brigand* 'bandit' being translated into Lingua

Franca as *sbendout* (Dictionnaire 1830: 19). *Fartūna* 'tempest' also derives from the nautical Lingua Franca (Kahane and Tietze 1958: 319) but is equally mentioned by Rossi (1928: 149) as a Lingua Franca word that has remained in use after the language's demise.

Hopkins claims that a number of the non-Arabic words are from Spanish. The *Dictionnaire* also lists them as Lingua Franca words. Examples of these include *armāmint* 'fitting out' from the Spanish *armament* – the Lingua Franca is *armamento* (Dictionnaire 1830: 14). Another example is *bandira* 'flag' from the Spanish *bandera* – the Lingua Franca is *bandiéra* (Dictionnaire 1830: 13). Hopkins suggests that *blāsa* comes from the Spanish *plaza* 'fortress', while the Lingua Franca word, as listed in the *Dictionnaire* (1830), is *platzà* (1830: 59).

Two words found in a letter sent from Algiers in 1690 (TNA: SP 102/1/82) are: *buttiya* 'keg' and *Ghalyata* 'galiot'. The *Dictionnaire* (1830) lists the Lingua Franca for *bouteille* 'bottle' as *boutïa* (1830: 18), and for *galiote* 'a galley boat' as *galiota* (1830:38). Other words from the correspondence in SP 71 that are also found in the *Dictionnaire* (1830) include *Justisiya* 'justice', *dgioustitia* in Lingua Franca (1830: 44), *Markānti* 'merchant', *mercanté* in Lingua Franca (1830: 47) and *qursal* or *qursan* 'corsair' *corsan* in Lingua Franca (1830: 23).

Justisiya 'justice' and *markānti* 'merchant' occur in the same document along with *zabantut* 'pirates', a letter without specified provenance but written to the King of England in 1730 by a man claiming to be an Algerine trader in Tripoli (TNA: SP 71/23/51). The incidence of three non-Arabic Romance words is noteworthy and it seems plausible that these were Lingua Franca terms in such common usage, that they would be used in place of a native language alternative, an example of *mot juste* switching (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 32).

Ray (and *re/rey)* 'king' (from the Spanish *Rey*) occurs in two letters with the same date though in different hands[19], sent from Ahmad Pasha of Tripoli to George II in 1728 (TNA: SP 102/3/ 153 and TNA: SP 102/3/156). The first is addressed to the King and the English translation reads 'To the *re/rey Jurchi* king of the English', while the second begins 'To him who may be apprised of this letter of ours, the minster of *al-ray* the king of the English' (Hopkins 1982: 79). The first *re / rey Jurchi* recalls Broughton's (1839) mention of the Pasha of Algiers' referring to his *buon amigo el rey Georgi*, 'good friend, King George' (Broughton 1839:318), referred to in Chapter 6. The second, *al-ray*, is potentially an Arabic / non-Arabic compound, as discussed in Chapter 7; alternatively, the –*a* may be a reflection of the limited Arabic vowel space that often uses –*a,* whereas the Romance uses –*e*, as identified in Chapter 6.

Although this is a relatively small data set, and the incidence of non-Arabic words within it is also not extensive, the correspondence with a number of Lingua Franca terms found in the *Dictionnaire* (1830) and elsewhere in the corpus in the same period makes these documents significant in the search for Lingua Franca in non-Romance sources, and written texts.

8.3 Conclusions

As I stated at the outset of this chapter, I do not claim that these documents are examples of Lingua Franca texts, but they do demonstrate, at the lexical level, the extent of multilingual interference common to the Lingua Franca described in Chapters 6 and 7. The correspondence highlights how speakers (and writers) at the time were themselves plurilingual and their word choice reflects both their native language(s) and their addressees. Jewish merchants

[19] Hopkins (1982: 100) adds the explanation that the two letters 'are different forms of the same letter with identical dates, but written in different hands with different standards of calligraphy. Both bear Ahmad Pasha's stamp'.

living and working in Livorno and across the Mediterranean would have used an Italian that also featured Spanish, Portuguese, and possibly French, influences and this is evident in several of the letters discussed in this chapter. That Romance languages, and even possibly Lingua Franca, penetrated Arabic speech and writing is demonstrated by the correspondence published by Hopkins (1982). There is notable overlap of lexicon with Lingua Franca among the code-switching of these documents. Both data sets are relatively small, and I would be keen to research these phenomena further.

Chapter 9 – A re-evaluation of Lingua Franca

> *Facilius enim per partes in cognitionem totius adducimur.*
> 'We are more easily led part by part to an understanding of the whole' (Seneca, *Moral letters to Lucilius*, XLlX in Patty 2016: Loc. 1183).

Basil Gildersleeve, the leading American classicist of the 19th century, and author of *Gildersleeve's Latin Grammar* (1903), said of his lifelong study and passion, 'It is astonishing how much enjoyment one can get out of a language that one understands imperfectly' (Patty 2016: Loc. 2353). Gildersleeve was evidently writing about Latin in this statement, but his words encapsulate my position on Lingua Franca, and not solely with regard to its linguistic and lexical makeup, but across all domains of my research. There is an inevitability to partial knowledge of a dead language and one with no real documentary written corpus, but with Lingua Franca, the proliferation of questions over its existence, its geographic and diachronic spread, its uptake by different communities of speakers, only reinforces how imperfect our understanding is likely to be.

In a bid to provide a more cohesive picture of the language, this chapter will address the interlinked strands of inquiry of the thesis, namely a re-evaluation of the ethnography, corpus and classification of Lingua Franca. I will also revisit and analyse early scholarship of Lingua Franca, when it was, to some extent, viewed as a living language, as it would seem to have a significant bearing on how Lingua Franca has been considered by more recent linguists such as Minervini (1996), Dakhlia (2008) and Venier (2016) to name a few, who take their lead from Schuchardt's seminal 1909 article.

I will explore how the evidence provided in preceding chapters allows for reassessment of the language, and will demonstrate the

conclusions I have reached about Lingua Franca as a contact language, its origins, its temporal and geographical diffusion, its unexpected prestige and its permeation of multiple linguistic domains. I will suggest how these effects result from its polylingual roots, and its idiosyncratic linguistic and grammatical character. I will demonstrate how the particular socio-historical and political conditions in which it was embedded ensured Lingua Franca's unusually long life, and equally how their end signaled its demise, although not without a significant linguistic legacy across North Africa. I will also focus on what I view as an important new perspective on Lingua Franca and its documentation offered by my archive research. As I will demonstrate, the established corpus, often divided into documentary and dramatic sources, is actually a more nuanced body of texts. There is distinct overlap of fact and fiction, and both provide insight into Lingua Franca. The findings from my archival research add another dimension to the documentary corpus. While, as stated in Chapter 8, the archive correspondence does not offer examples of letters written in Lingua Franca, the texts provide a clear image of the multinational and plurilingual character of 17th-18th century Tunis and Tripoli, at the societal and individual level. This linguistic heterogeneity is evident in letters written in varieties of Italian that bear similar features to those identified in Chapters 5 and 6 as characteristic of Lingua Franca.

9.1 Some challenges of the corpus

9.1.1. Lingua Franca (singular)?

Lingua Franca is a term fraught with meaning(s), misunderstanding and contention. It is tempting to impose our current definition of a *lingua franca* when considering the language. Certainly it fits the criteria of 'language used as a means of communication between populations speaking vernaculars that are not mutually intelligible' (Mufwene 1998) but it is essential to bear in mind that this is a modern understanding that derives from its functional role rather than the actual name of the language or, perhaps more accurately,

languages. There are, as highlighted in Chapter 5, numerous different lexifying combinations suggested in the contemporary sources, including Italian, Spanish, Provençal, Greek, Arabic, to name only the few major languages identified. Further, the variation in lexicon and orthography within the corpus, motivated in part by its geographical and temporal spread, but also idiolectal factors, makes it necessary to reconsider the singular term, Lingua Franca. *Linguae francae* or any of the following: linguas francas, linguas franca or lingua francas, seems potentially more appropriate and accurate. Plausibly, the breadth equally legitimates an argument for the non-existence of Lingua Franca. Each variation may have been no more than an L2 version of a Romance tongue.

9.1.2 Did it even exist?

Debate regarding the existence of Lingua Franca dates back to its earliest scholarship in the 1870s. There is an almost mythological quality to the Lingua Franca identified by Clarke in his description of the European merchant in Barbary:

> 'and the traveller visiting the factory, heard of this Lingua, found it cited in the bazaar, and professed by his dragoman' (Clarke 1877(b): 608).

Everyone appears to know of it, and yet there is, according to Clarke, a lack of concrete proof of a discrete language. He consequently reasons that there 'is no such language as Lingua Franca, which has been so long and so often referred to in books of Eastern travel' (Clarke 1877(b): 608).

Although Clarke (1877), Schuchardt (1909, trans. 1980) and Selbach (2007), among many others, highlight the elusive nature of Lingua Franca, there is nevertheless a consensus among its scholars that Lingua Franca, in some form, existed, and there is a collective desire to define certain works of poetry and drama excerpts as examples of the language. The acknowledgment of the difficulty of categorizing the

language, and the simultaneous dogmatic adoption (or rejection) of texts as instances of Lingua Franca, appear inconsistent. To illustrate this problem further, I will explore the corpus in more depth, looking initially at several literary sources to highlight how and why there is such ambivalence regarding the incidence of Lingua Franca. I will then identify where one could expect to find more evidence of Lingua Franca, and highlight the extent to which it is yet lacking – both in terms of European sources, and particularly in the shortage of Lingua Franca references and citations in Ottoman or Arabic texts.

9.1.3 Dramatic sources

Many early Lingua Franca scholars (including Schuchardt 1909, trans. 1980) and Whinnom 1977) cite Encina's 1520 *Villancico* (Harvey, Jones and Whinnom 1967) as one of the earliest texts bearing the hallmarks of Lingua Franca. The full title of Encina's poem, *Villançico contrahaziendo a los mocaros que sienpre van ynportunando a los peregrinos con demandas* 'A villancico imitating the ruffians who constantly importune the pilgrims with their demands', clearly suggests Encina's parodying not only of the style of the hawkers' patter, but also quite possibly of their language. His inclusion of words from a number of languages, with irregular orthography, including Italian *polastro* 'chicken' and Arabic *taybo* 'good' (used intermittently with *bon* 'good', an example of the Romance-Arabic doublets that characterize the documentary corpus), creates the sense of a dialect or contact language but one that remains deliberately comprehensible to his audience. There are a number of other Encina poems with similar features, for example *Cancionero* as identified by Lang (1992) and *Viaje di Turquia* (Bucalo 1998).[20] Encina's intended entertainment of his audience is "just scrambled enough to amuse, not enough to confound" (Lang 2000: 32) Spanish readers. The fact that they were

[20] This of course raises another potential issue in the pursuit of the elusive Lingua Franca: the incompleteness of the corpus, to be addressed later in the chapter.

Spanish is also significant, as the multilingual ecology of Spain in the Medieval and early Modern era would have influenced the linguistic repertoire of Encina's intended readership.

Toso's (2012) example of a previously unpublished work, a 17th century play with a Genoese doctor and a Turkish slave as its central characaters, reinforces the questionable nature of Lingua Franca used in a dramatic text:

> *e se non tutto pare corrispondere perfettamente agli stereotipi della LF, si può comunque ritenere che l'autore abbia puntato a riprodurre proprio quel particolare tipo di linguaggio. Ma questa circostanza, dato il carattere di stilizzazione teatrale del testo, ci consente di affermare che esso trovasse davvero utilizzo nella comunicazione interetnica della Genova primo-settecentesca?'*
>
> '*a*nd if not everything seems to correspond perfectly to the stereotypes of the L[ingua] F[ranca], we can still assume that the author aimed to reproduce that particular type of language. But does such an instance, given the theatrical stylization of the text, allow us to assert that it was genuinely used in the inter-communal communication of early eighteenth-century Genoa?'
> (Toso 2012: 94; my translation)

Toso encapsulates the seemingly insoluble nature of Lingua Franca in literary examples. Its dramatic purpose means that the author must make the language accessible to his audience, but without compromising at least some of the authenticity of the lexicon and, particularly, the grammar.

Dryden, in his play, *Limberham* or *The Kind Keeper* (1680), creates an anglicised Lingua Franca so that his audience too can understand and appreciate his satirical purpose. I am including an extended exchange

pertaining to Lingua Franca, as there are several issues worthy of comment:

> WOODALL: *Seignior, io non canno take ten guinneo possibilmentè*; *tis to my losso*
> LIMBERHAM: That is, Pug, he cannot possibly take ten guineas, 'tis to his loss: Now I understand him; this is almost English.
> MRS. TRICKSY: English! Away, you fop; 'tis a kind of *lingua Franca,* as I have heard the merchants call it; a certain compound language, made up of all tongues, that passes through the Levant
> LIMBERHAM: This *lingua,* what you call it is the most rarest language! I understood it as well as if it were English; you shall see me answer him. *Seignioro, stay a littlo, and consider wello, ten guinnio in monyo, a very considerable summo.*
> TRICK: Come, you shall make it twelve, and he shall take it for my sake.
> LIMB: Then, *Seignioro,* for *Pugsakio, addo two moro: je vous donne bon advise: prenez vitement: prenez me à mon mot.*
> WOOD*: Io losero multo; ma pergagnare il vostro costumo, datemi hansello.* (Dryden 1680: 32)

While ridiculing the indiscriminate lexical character of Lingua Franca, Dryden simultaneously suggests its diffusion in the Levant and how mutually comprehensible it would be to speakers of different languages given the multiplicity of lexifiers. His mention of merchants and the use of Lingua Franca to discuss a financial transaction reinforce its status as a language borne in part out of commercial necessity. It is noteworthy that Dryden writes 'a kind of Lingua Franca' implying that there are many different kinds. Ironically, Mrs. Tricksy's is perhaps a very perceptive comment, since there would seem to be multiple 'kinds' of Lingua Franca, as discussed later in the chapter.

The choice of language is particularly clever, as Dryden deliberately uses modified English that remains accessible to his audience but provides a flavour of the lexifying influences of Lingua Franca. As stated above, the ludicrous nature of the language appears to be Dryden's overriding concern. Nevertheless he simultaneously conveys the workings of Lingua Franca and its highly subjective quality.

Almost contemporaneous with Dryden, Molière's parody of Lingua Franca in *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (1798) bears the hallmark of his native tongue, though obviously with French being a Romance language, the words come closer to the documentary examples of Lingua Franca. The rhyming couplets and the humorous characterization of the Mufti's buffoonery, discussed in Chapter 4, evidently produce a stylized version of Lingua Franca, with a French bias. Nevertheless, as with the other literary sources, there are certain lexical and grammatical features which coincide with the hallmarks of Lingua Franca as exemplified in the documentary corpus, and identified as such by its scholars, namely the use of the infinitive for most verb forms, the presence of tonic pronouns, *mi* and *ti,* and the choice of the verb *pigliar* 'to take' which features in one of the most cited phrases in the Lingua Franca corpus, namely *non pillar* or *pigliar fantasia* 'don't delude yourself' (Haedo 1612, Dan 1637etc). Molière was advised by Chevalier D'Arvieux (a French diplomat who wrote extensively on the inhabitants and conditions of the European slave quarters in Algiers, as detailed in Chapter 4) on the Turkish element of *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (Dakhlia 2009). In his factual account, D'Arvieux describes Lingua Franca as a *composé corrompu* 'bad mix' of Spanish, Italian and Provençal (D'Arvieux 1735: vol. v, 235; my translation), which is borne out lexically by Molière's text. D'Arvieux mentions only few words of Lingua Franca that he has heard: *Benvenuto, como estar, bono, forte, gramercy* 'Welcome, how are you, good, very good, thank you very much' and *Non far tanta fantasia* 'don't delude yourself' (D'Arvieux 1735: vol. iii, 418, 431; my

translation). Again, this is consistent with the Lingua Franca attributed to Molière's Turkish Mufti in *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*.

In his memoirs, D'Arvieux writes of the appointment to assist Molière:

> *Sa majesté m'ordonna de me joindre à Messieurs Molière et de Lulli, pour composer une pièce de theatre où l'on peut faire entrer que'que chose des habillements et des manières des Turcs…*
>
> 'His Majesty ordered me to meet up with Mr Molière and Mr Lulli, to compose a play which could feature something of the clothes and manner of the Turks…'
>
> (D'Arvieux 1735: vol. iv, 235; my translation).

The socio-cultural accuracy brought to the play by D'Arvieux is confirmed by Powell (2006) who asserts that, despite the broad farce of the *Cérémonie Turque,* Molière, Lully, and D'Arvieux devoted a surprising amount of attention to authenticity. Not only do its lyrics contain several genuine Turkish words and phrases, but also the ceremony itself draws upon the ritual for reception of novices into the order of Mevlevi Dervishes (Powell in Eds. Brady and Calder 2006: 135).

While this adds credibility to Molière's choice of language representative of Lingua Franca, it also complicates analysis of the language as it becomes increasingly subjective to decide whether a source should be considered an authentic linguistic example, or little more than a stylized parody of Lingua Franca. There is clearly an overlap of the two genres – literary and documentary – overtly exemplified in this example, but also evident in the dramatic quality of captivity narratives, as discussed in Chapter 4. One such book, written by Eliza Bradley, detailing her own capture and enslavement in Barbary, includes on its title page the following observation:

> 'The narrative of the captivity and sufferings of the unfortunate Mrs Bradley, is allowed by all those who

> have perused it to be the most affecting that ever appeared in print' (Bradley 1820: title page).

It is hard to assess the domains in which dramatic licence has been taken, and whether any embellishment or exaggeration of her (and others') captives' behaviour extends to the language they used. Once again, a fixed determination of type and reliability of source proves elusive, compounding the challenge to document and describe the incidence and use of Lingua Franca.

To continue this theme, perhaps the most apposite description of Lingua Franca, in my view, comes from Royall Tyler's novel, *The Algerine Captive*. Although, once again the example of a work of fiction, Tyler's book, published in 1797, is 'a polemic about religious freedom' (Lepore 2008), set against the backdrop of America's foreign policy quagmire with the Barbary States in the late eighteenth century. The hero of Tyler's book is Dr. Updike Underhill, captured by Barbary pirates and imprisoned in Algiers for six years, under constant pressure to convert to Islam. Dr. Underhill is disparaging in his definition of Lingua Franca, terming it 'the shreds and clippings of all languages, dead and living, ever spoken since the creation' (Tyler 1797: 143). He describes its lack of verb forms, 'if language it could be called, which bade defiance of moods and tenses' and explains its existence as the result of the "natives" attempts to communicate with foreigners, all known as "Franks"'. He alleges that the principle on which the pidgin appears to be based appears to have endured, such that 'every person assumes the right to introduce words and phrases from his vernacular tongue, and with some alteration of accent, they are readily adopted'. With the caveat that this is fiction, albeit with didactic and political purpose, this portrayal of Lingua Franca highlights its volatility – subject to change not solely diachronically and geographically but literally from speaker to speaker.

9.1.4 Exoticism of Lingua Franca

Ceballos (1999) raises another potential function of Lingua Franca in a fictional context. He suggests that Encina's incorporation of Lingua Franca in *Viaje di Turquia* 'Voyage in Turkey', written in the early 16th century, is an overt reference to experience of foreign places:

> *el conocimiento de varias lenguas – especialmente el de la lingua franca – se podia emplear como garantìa de haber viajado a lejanos territorios*
>
> 'the knowledge of various languages – especially that of Lingua Franca – could serve as a guarantee of having travelled to distant lands' (Ceballos 1999: 329).

Banfi echoes this assessment, again of Encina's and other Spanish authors' intention, referring to the frequent inclusion of *voci appartenenti a diversi dialetti d'Italia inserite per precisi scopi stilistici 'alterità' ed 'esotismo* 'voices belonging to different Italian dialects, inserted for the specific stylistic purpose of conveying 'otherness' and 'exoticism' (Banfi 2014: Loc. 3420). Banfi cites the example of a song by Juan del Encina (recounting the tale of a *'miçer Cotal'* who catches his wife in bed with a Spaniard, kills her and issues hollow threats to her fleeing lover:

> *Fata la parte,*
> *Tutt'ogni cal*
> *Qu'es morta la muller*
> *De miçer Cotal*
> *'Porque 'ay trobato*
> *con un español*
> *en su casa solo,*
> *luego l'ay maçato'*
> *Luy se l'à escapato*
> *Per forsa y por arte*
> 'Tell it,
> tell it everywhere
> Mister Cotal's wife is dead!

Because he found her
with a Spaniard
alone in the house,
so he killed her
he himself escaped,
by force and by cunning' (Rossich 2002: 214-5; my translation).

Although this is not definitively Lingua Franca (as opposed to another Italian dialect), the use of *maçar* 'to kill' echoes the Lingua Franca *massar* with Spanish orthography and the past participle *escapato* 'he escaped', both of which are found in the *Dictionnaire* (1830: 88; 29). (Occitan has *massar* 'to kill', while Venetian features *massare*. *Escapato* would seem to be a compound of Spanish and Italian past participles.)

Such examples suggest that there is a consequent exoticism to Lingua Franca; it implies foreignness, faraway and unknown lands. Three centuries later (though set in the 17th century), in Rafael Sabatini's 1915 *The Sea Hawk*, Lingua Franca is the language of violent and often villainous Barbary corsairs. Sabatini describes Lingua Franca as 'the Frankish jargon…of the African littoral' (Sabatini 2011: 93), as spoken by corsairs and in Algiers. Yet, Sabatini refers later in the novel to the 'Frankish ways' of the Sicilian wife of the Basha of Algiers (Sabatini 2011: 168), as perceived by Algiers society, and there is also a mention of the 'Frankish ship' (Sabatini 2011: 149) captured by the Algiers corsairs. The implication is that although they speak the 'Frankish jargon', 'Frankish ways' are alien to North African society. Lingua Franca is then an element of the *other's* culture for both the European captives and Algiers Arabic-speaking society. This speaks to the multiplicity of inferences Franca has which will be more fully explored later in this chapter.

The argument between Clarke (1877) and Bonaparte (1877), published in the *Athenaeum* weekly journal, and detailed in Chapter 2, also raises this issue. Lingua Franca – as substantiated by the corpus –

is always labelled as such by a non-speaker. The Europeans regard it as, if not foreign, certainly removed from their own languages, and attribute the speaking of Lingua Franca to the Arabs and Turks (even if it is clearly a language that lexically is much closer to European, and specifically Romance, languages) (Bonaparte 1877; Clarke 1877). Dakhlia highlights how citations, often expressing insults and aggressive warnings, and usually introduced in direct speech punctuated with exclamation marks, underline the otherness associated with Lingua Franca, what she terms:

> *le choc linguistique de l'altérité et de la barbarie*
> 'the linguistic shock (or jolt) of otherness and barbarism' (Dakhlia 2008: 351; my translation).

Her choice of words is important. The association of otherness and barbarism suggests that Lingua Franca, according to the European documentary sources, was the language of the oppressor and also overtly equates Barbary with cruelty and violence. There is an inference that, as with Sabatini, documentary sources' inclusion of Lingua Franca was shorthand for the alien nature and character of Barbary's rulers. Such equivalence of factual and literary sources offers another reminder of the overlap of two traditionally discrete elements of the corpus.

While Sabatini's novel is just that – a fictional novel – it is exemplary of well-researched historical fiction. As Sabatini stated in the preface to another work, the play *The Tyrant*, based on the life of Cesare Borgia:

> 'It is demanded of the writer of fiction, whether novelist or dramatist, that the events he sets forth shall be endowed with the quality of verisimilitude. What he writes need not necessarily be true; but, at least, it must seem to be true, so that it may carry that conviction without which interest fails to be aroused' (Sabatini 1925: Preface).

Sabatini adheres to this aspiration for authenticity throughout *The Sea Hawk.* There are historically accurate references to corsairs like 'the Italian renegade Occhiali - the Ali Pasha who had been killed at Lepanto' (Sabatini 1915: 107), and Sabatini repeatedly uses names and titles, possibly even Lingua Franca nomenclature, like *renegado,* and calling the novel's hero, a Cornish Lord turned corsair, *Oliver-Reis* (*reis* being the title adopted by corsair captains) when he takes on his new role in Barbary. In his account of the corsairs' capture of the European ship, Sabatini has a Spanish captive, Don Paolo, speak the words, "*Fortuna de Guerra*" (Sabatini 1915: 98), a Spanish phrase but reminiscent (if not a composite) of the possibly Lingua Franca repartee, at the climax of the 1538 battle between the Barbary corsair, Dragut, and his Italian nemesis and eventual captor, the Italian Admiral Doria, the latter declaring *Usanza de Guerra* 'that's the way of war' as he triumphed, to which Dragut responded, *Mudanza de fortuna* 'my luck has changed' (Brantôme 1862: 111). Such elements of authenticity make it appealing to include novels such as *The Sea Hawk* into the diverse and, in certain cases, questionable corpus of Lingua Franca. Certainly it is of no less linguistic and contextual value than other dramatic sources. However, as stated by Schuchardt in 1890 in a letter to one of his regular correspondents, Emilio Teza, such incidences while affirming Lingua Franca's established presence and recognition level do not necessarily offer concrete linguistic data:

> *Ich werde später einmal auch über die Lingua franca eine "Kreol. Studie" veröffentlichen. Ich denke nur dass in älteren ital. Komödien u.s.w. sie doch öfter vorkommen wird, habe aber bis jetzt selbst nur in Goldoni's Impr. delle Sm. eine Probe davon gefunden. Natürlich handelt es sich dabei gar nicht um Wissenschaftlichkeit, sondern nur um äussere, geschichtliche Belege für die Existenz und Verbreitung der L. fr.*
>
> 'I will publish a "Creole study" later on the Lingua franca. I just thought that in the older Italian comedies etc. it

> would occur more often, but have only found a sample of it in Goldoni's Impr. Delle Sm. Of course, this is not at all scientific, but only external, historical evidence for the existence and spread of L[ingua]. fr[anca].' (HSA 1890: letter no. 12 Teza; my translation)

It is precisely the difficulty in establishing firm parameters for the corpus that makes Lingua Franca a yet more obscure entity. In truth, there is reciprocity between the indefinability of the language and the documentation thereof in the corpus.

9.1.5 The *Dictionnaire* – an authoritative source?

Perhaps what ensures Lingua Franca's unresolved and consequently elusive identity is the absence of a definitive and comprehensive lexicon. Within the wider corpus there are other dictionaries referred to (Nerval 1911: 133), but despite this, only the 1830 *Dictionnaire de la Langue Franque ou petit Mauresque, suivi de quelques dialogues familiers, et d'un vocabulaire de mots arabes les plus usuels; a l'usage des français en Afrique* exists as a thorough attempt at a lexical record of Lingua Franca. It was published by Feissat and Demonchy in Marseille. This publishing house no longer exists, and there is little available information, either in archives or online. From what can be gleaned, it was largely a publisher of diverse factual texts, including naturalist collections, art and architecture and socio-political documents. There are at least three texts relating to Algiers including the *Dictionnaire* (1830). Published in the same year – and quite possibly the work of the *Dictionnaire*'s author(s) – was *Alger: topographie, population, forces militaires et de mer, acclimatement et ressources que le pays peut offrir à l'armée expedition*.[21] I suggest the same authorship, or perhaps more plausibly the same publishing

[21] The topography edition is explicitly publicized in the *Dictionnaire,* mentioned on its final page as available from the same publishing house.

strategy, albeit with different authors, as the full title of the *Dictionnaire – Dictionnaire de la langue franque ou petit mauresque, suivi de quelques dialogues familiers et d'un vocabulaire de mots Arabes les plus usuels; A l'usage des Français en Afrique* – includes the important (and largely overlooked) final phrase explicitly revealing its purpose: for the French in Africa. The publishing date would seem to confirm this as it coincides with the French colonizing mission of Algeria. As such, its status as an objective and comprehensive lexicon is compromised. It acts rather as a phrasebook for visitors to Algiers and beyond. Despite this, featuring over 2000 words (when pidgins have an average lexicon of 750-1500 words) across multiple domains, the *Dictionnaire* does offer the most thorough wordlist of Lingua Franca. The additional Arabic wordlist, of just over 225 words at the end of the *Dictionnaire,* highlights the functional nature of the dictionary, less as a linguistic record, but rather a practical translation manual for the colonizing troops, facilitating daily contact. The inclusion of basic Arabic vocabulary – numbers, body parts, family members etc. – suggests that a colonizing mission could not rely exclusively on Lingua Franca, given its predominantly urban character.

The full title of the *Dictionnaire* merits further discussion. The implied equivalence of *langue franque* and *petit mauresque* reinforces the rather superior and colonial attitude to the language, evidenced in the preface: *cet idiome qui ne sert guère aux usages familiers de la vie, et aux rapports commerciaux les moins compliqués n'a ni orthographe, ni règles grammatiques bien établies* 'this *lingo* which barely serves for daily needs and the most basic commercial exchanges has no established spelling or grammar' (*Dictionnaire* 1830: 10; my translation). The preface subsequently justifies the choice of *idiome* to define Lingua Franca: c*et idiome que l'on n'ose appeler une langue* 'this lingo, which one couldn't presume to call a language', once again demeaning its linguistic status. *Petit* has been used in conjunction with

tirailleur, nègre, noir in French colonial history to define the pidgins established respectively in West Africa and the West Indies. The *petit mauresque* epithet suggests another low prestige regional colonial pidgin.

The *Dictionnaire* is a key text in the analysis of Lingua Franca for its earliest scholars. It was Bonaparte who first sent it to Schuchardt, in 1882 (HSA 1882: Letter 02-01202) and both men reference it and base a significant part of their linguistic analysis on the lexical guide. Despite this, as mentioned, Schuchardt pays almost no attention to the *dialogues*, which seem a more likely reflection of the usage of Lingua Franca. Certainly, if slightly skewed by the military mission of the French and the predicted conversation topics that would ensue, there is a relatively naturalistic tone to the phrases. Bonaparte modifies the phrases in his analysis, reproducing them with a more Italian orthography than that of the seemingly French-authored original text. This is ironically revealing, inasmuch as an expert linguist, Bonaparte's deliberate choice of an alternative orthography to the only recognized authoritative lexical (and grammatical) record highlights a view that Lingua Franca was a subjective and unfixed language, and yet his lexical analysis, in particular of Lingua Franca, stems largely from it. This might seem to indicate that Bonaparte accepts fluidity (lexically and grammatically) as an endemic characteristic of Lingua Franca.

9.1.6 A limited documentary corpus

With regard to Lingua Franca, the limited nature of the corpus can be interpreted on several levels. The paucity of non-fiction sources, both in number and the actual Lingua Franca wordcount, acts as a lure to the researcher. No study has yet found the 'holy grail' of Lingua Franca texts. According to a number of scholars, 19th century sources, including the Egypt-based French traveller, Gerard de Nerval (2011), have mentioned entire texts written in Lingua Franca, and at least one

other, possibly two dictionaries, and even a grammar (Mallette 2014: 337). One wonders whether all the sources can have been discovered – there are none recorded in Arabic, and Turkish sources are scarce. Dakhlia's (2008) explanation of the Arabs' lack of interest in the Western and European (or Frank) culture and society (Dakhlia 2008: 161) would appear to be undermined by various corpus sources (Frank 1850; Ferrari 1912) who detail the apparently close interactions of Hamooda Bey of Tunis and Qaramanli of Tripoli, the rulers of the two Regencies who spoke to their European employees and diplomatic representatives in Lingua Franca, and demonstrated an active engagement with European mores. Further, the shared history of Arab and European societies for centuries across the Mediterranean demonstrates an implicit interface with one another. The European permeation of Arab hierarchies within the Regencies would also add weight to an impression of proximity and collaboration between the two societies that would extend to language and culture.

9.1.7 Negative evidence

The majority of the research carried out into Lingua Franca, and specifically its sources, is by Romance language linguists – there are fewer English source authors listed – which may be a reflection of the reality of Barbary, but it is noteworthy that a number of contemporary English sources, documenting their authors' travels along the Barbary Coast, do not reference Lingua Franca, speaking instead of the need to speak Arabic or have a translator. Mallette (2014) does, however, also mention the lack of consistent testimony of Lingua Franca. She highlights several authors located in cities where Lingua Franca was alleged to be spoken who make no mention of it, instead referring to the need to speak Turkish, Greek or Arabic, or to employ a dragoman. She cites an anonymous English language guide for pilgrims, *Informacon for pylgrymes*, published in 1500, devoid of reference to Lingua Franca but featuring a list of useful words in Greek and Arabic

(1500: 27–28). In the 1580s, having travelled overland from Constantinople to the Holy Land, Giovanni Francesco Alcarotti produced a practical guide to the route including a list of useful words, mostly Turkish, and advised those going overland from Tripoli to Jerusalem to learn a bit of Greek. He makes no mention of Lingua Franca (Alcarotti 1596: introduction). Mallette does add in a footnote that later, in Damascus, Alcarotti met a guide who had 'learned a little Italian from some Spaniards, during the time when he was in the Indies' (Alcarotti 1596: 59), which she assumes must have been Lingua Franca (Mallette 2014: 342). Mallette is not alone in remarking on negative evidence of Lingua Franca in the Levant and Barbary. However, all but one of the examples she offers come from the 15th and 16th centuries, before in my view Lingua Franca had become an established pidgin. Prior to the early-mid 17th century, the incipient (or even pre) pidgin may have escaped notice, seeming more akin to foreigner talk and nautical jargon than a proper language, and its usage may have been more sporadic and less widespread. Certainly, documentary sources are particularly scarce before 1600. Lingua Franca, then, prior to the 17th century did not occupy an established and central place in the language ecology of Barbary, as evidenced by the lack of references by Europeans travelling through the region. Mallette quantifies the early corpus:

> 'Between 1484 and 1650 the corpus consists of 20 documented comments in the *lingua franca* known to philologists… Strung together, the corpus consists of a total of 305 words representing 115 different lexemes' (Mallette 2014: 337).

The stabilisation and diffusion of Lingua Franca, as a contact language among and between the burgeoning and shifting slave populations and slave-masters, only occurred from the 17th century onwards, as corsairing flourished in the three Regencies. References thereafter are more frequent and citations longer.

Barbary Lingua Franca does not seem to extend to Morocco. Although the Sultanate had centres of corsairing and there were significant numbers of European slaves captured and indentured in Moroccan cities (Milton 2004; Tinniswood 2010, 2013), Morocco's self-rule and lack of European infiltration of political, economic and social structures seems to have prevented the spread and flourishing of an alternative to Arabic as a means of mutual comprehension among multiple nationalities. There are indisputably very few sources that mention Lingua Franca being spoken in Morocco.

9.1.8 Turkish sources

Two of the key literary texts in the corpus feature Turkish characters speaking some form of Lingua Franca. The Mufti in Molière's 1670 *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (1798) and Ali in Goldoni's 1760 *L'impresario di Smirne* (1959) both use language that shares lexical and grammatical features of Lingua Franca, and audiences would presumably have associated such speech with the Ottomans. Despite this, Turkish sources of Lingua Franca have largely been overlooked in its research. Given the language's alleged ubiquity, it seems likely that Lingua Franca would have featured in the linguistic repertoire of at least commercial members of Constantinople society. There was for several centuries a closeness of relations between the Ottoman Empire and Venice. The latter's *bailo* 'diplomatic representation' in Constantinople served in part as a translation centre possibly precluding the use of Lingua Franca. Archives in Turkey, as well as Ottoman correspondence with English and French consuls, might provide textual examples of written variation with features of Lingua Franca, given that, as mentioned in Chapter 4, the language of diplomacy in the region was Italian. As revealed in Grandchamp's cataloguing of records from the French consul in Tunis from the 16th century onwards, Italian was the preeminent consular language. Even the dealings of Turkish janissaries with a Regency official recorded at the French consul were detailed in Italian:

26 Avril 1596
en Italien
Ales, fils de Scanderj, et Alli ben Abdalla, janissaires, donnent une procuration au caïd Morat, caïd de la douane de Tunis, pour régler une affaire de construction de barque avec Antoine Lovico.
'26 April 1596
In Italian
Ales, son of Scanderj, and Ali ben Abdalla, janissaries, give a mandate to Caïd Morat, caïd of the Tunis customs, to settle a matter of the construction of a boat with Antoine Lovico' (Grandchamp 1920: 79; my translation).

As observed in Chapter 4, and reinforced by the language of documents found in the National Archives, the Italian found in consular correspondence is often not the more official Tuscan variety, but exhibits variation and interference akin to the features of Lingua Franca. It seems plausible that the documents catalogued by Grandchamp and those yet to be discovered in Ottoman and Turkish archives would show similar features.

One Ottoman author whose work has been much analysed is the 16th century cartographer, Piri Reis. A former corsair and Ottoman sea captain, Reis became the (self-appointed) cartographer to Selim I, presenting him in 1517 with his map of the world, *Mappamundi*, whose creation he explains in his *Kitab-i Bahriye* 'Book of Seacraft' (Emiralioglu 2014: 24). Citing his past experience at sea, Emiralioglu asserts that Reis would have been familiar with the languages of the Mediterranean, including the '*lingua franca* of the sixteenth century'. Soucek (1995), perhaps the most eminent of Piri Reis scholars, confirms this. With reference to Reis's categorization of ships engaged in trade and conflict across the Mediterranean, Soucek highlights the Romance terms adopted by Turkish sailors:

> 'In Turkish the generic term for ship, *gemi*, was not used to distinguish sail-driven vessels from oar-driven craft; specific terms were used for the former, such as *barca*, *koke*, *karaka* or *kalyon*. These were all words borrowed from the *lingua franca*, and they frequently appear in the *Kitab-i Bahriye* of Piri Reis. Barca, derived from the Venetian barza, is the word most often encountered.' (Soucek 1995: 18)

Soucek's etymological research echoes the earlier work of Kahane and Tietze (1958) who, attributing the adoption of Italian and other Romance nautical terms by Ottoman sailors to the 'linguistic cultural unity across the Mediterranean' (Kahane and Tietze 1958: vii), document the incidence of Romance and particularly Venetian and Lingua Franca terms that penetrated Turkish nautical lexicon. While Piri Reis's texts do not document the use or offer descriptions of Lingua Franca from an Ottoman or Turkish language perspective, they do testify to its existence and borrowings. More research into Ottoman texts, correspondence with consuls in Barbary and with the Venetian *bailo* is required. Research into these archives would undoubtedly further our knowledge of the linguistic ecology of the region, and may shed light on the use of Lingua Franca. This contention is only reaffirmed by the repeated use of Turkish characters in the literary sources.

9.1.9 Lack of Arabic sources

As mentioned above, Dakhlia (2008) asserts that there was little or no interest on the part of Arabs in European culture, society and language(s), which could explain the lack of Arabic sources in the Lingua Franca corpus. This seems implausible given the socio-political and consequent socio-linguistic history of the Mediterranean region. Undeniably, Christians appear to have drawn more from Arab culture in the early modern period. Mallette's (2007) study of Sicily

exemplifies the legacy of Arab rule across many domains. In the 12th-13th centuries in Sicily, which had been subject to more than two centuries of Arab rule prior to the 11th century Norman conquest, Mallette highlights 'the power that Arab bureaucratic culture in general and the Arabic language in particular held over the popular imagination. Official documents were redacted in Arabic…with little regard for the capacity of the public to read Arabic. Rather they functioned as 'symbols of royal power' (Mallette 2007: 41). The adoption of Arabic might also have been an acknowledgment of the other's power, and this is perhaps mirrored centuries later in Barbary as several rulers, including Hamooda Bey and Pasha Qaramanli, are said to have spoken Lingua Franca, the most representative language of Europeans in Barbary.

Certainly, from the 15th century onwards there was a schism between the Muslim and Christian civilizations of Europe. Bulliet (2004) suggests that until this point the two were "sibling societies," but after 1500 "the siblings that had for so long trodden the same developmental path parted company" (Bulliet 2004: 43). Mallette is keen to point out that the separation of the two civilizations did not mean that Arabic society ceased to engage with its European counterpart: 'That is, historians may overemphasize both Europeans' omnivorous intellectual appetite during the early modern period and the relatively lean intellectual diet of the Muslim world.' (Mallette 2007: 46). I would reiterate this, and not solely in the intellectual domain. Despite the lack of Arabic sources in the established corpus of Lingua Franca, according to the majority of European accounts from Barbary, the speakers of Lingua Franca were, for the most part, Arabs, or Turks. The correspondence translated by Hopkins (1982) exhibits possible Lingua Franca borrowings in Arabic texts. This is doubly significant; firstly, as mentioned there have been no contemporary Arabic sources of Lingua Franca, and secondly these Lingua Franca terms are in letters rather than in reported speech, the medium of

almost all Lingua Franca excerpts. Such evidence suggests that Lingua Franca may have permeated the written domain to an extent hereto undiscovered. More research into the Arabic correspondence at Kew and Arabic chroniclers of the period is required.

9.2 A re-evaluation of the ethnography of Lingua Franca

This section challenges the accepted position that Lingua Franca stabilized and evolved as an interlanguage solely to facilitate Arab master-European slave communication. As with all elements of Lingua Franca, the reality is more nuanced. The actual demographic of Barbary was a more fluid, less defined and less hierarchical society, contradicting the conception of Barbary as Arabic ruled regencies with a Romance-speaking European slave population. The lack of rigid ethnic and social divisions and the constant flux of nationalities in Barbary society made for a particular ethnographic situation that inevitably had a bearing on the linguistic ecology of the Regencies and the uptake and diffusion of Lingua Franca. There was, additionally, variety from one city-state to another. This section embraces a more anthropological approach to demographic data of Barbary, revisits the plurilingual nature of individuals and society in Barbary, and explores new information and analysis thereof from my archive research.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the very peculiar socio-political environment of Barbary as a whole created the conditions for Lingua Franca's flourishing, sustained usage and the extension of its domains. (It is worth noting that the Barbary Regencies did not constitute a monolithic bloc, each state varying in population size, make-up and level of corsairing with consequent slave communities.) Barbary's three discrete city-states did however share common political and economic ground. They played host for more than two centuries to the distinctive combination of Ottoman *de jure* sovereignty with *de facto* local rule in the hands of regularly changing élites, themselves dependent on the fortunes of corsairs. This latter group constituted

the economic powerhouse of Barbary, disparate and lawless, largely made up of European renegades. Less a power vacuum than a volatile and constantly shifting balance of power prevailed in Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli.

The other numerically significant community in each Regency, and particularly Algiers, was the plurilingual European population, drawn from across the continent. Many were slaves for varying durations (from a matter of days to a number of years) but also priests sent to secure slaves' liberation, diplomats, travellers and merchants, all of whom required a common language. As mentioned in Chapter 4 and earlier in this chapter (9.1.8), one of the more revealing sources in terms of the extent of the multilingual, multinational character of the Barbary Regencies is Grandchamp's (1920) cataloguing of consular activity from the French consul in Tunis. Individual examples highlight this, from 3 July 1590:

> *En italien. — Mustapha, napolitain renégat, cède à Marremo, turc, esclave sur les galères de Sicile, 140 écus d'or d'Espagne. Ces écus sont dans les mains de Jacomo, alias Mangiarassi, de Mellazzo, qui les a reçus d'un esclave napolitain nommé Thomasi Prancesi, lequel, il y a environ dix ans, fut racheté pour cette somme par Mustapha.*
>
> 'In Italian, - Mustapha, Neapolitan renegade, cedes to Marremmo, Turk, slave on the galleys of Sicily, 140 old Spanish écus. These écus are in the hands of Jacomo, alias Mangiarassi, of Mellazzo, who received them from a Neapolitan slave who himself was bought out of slavery for that sum by Mustapha' (Grandchamp 1920: 22; my translation).

This single entry draws together the various strands of multiple nationalities and languages. It also conveys a confusing fluidity of allegiances across religious, political and economic domains: the

taking of a Muslim name by the European renegade, the shifting master-slave dynamic with both a Turk enslaved to Sicilians and a Neapolitan the former property of the renegade, himself European (indeed also Neapolitan) but under the aegis of Ottoman and / or Arabic rule, and the use in Barbary of a Spanish currency but with a French name. As before, the agreement between these diverse participants is recorded at the French consul in Italian. It seems evident that a shared language in the form of Lingua Franca would be requisite to conduct such business among such a miscellaneous group of shifting identities. It also speaks to the variation endemic to Lingua Franca, with its multiple lexifying influences and speakers, and the language's sustained use as a fundamental and unifying contact language.

9.2.1 Evidence from the archives

Documents from the National Archives at Kew confirm the somewhat overlooked evidence of contemporary sources, particularly Haedo (1612), which reveals the extent of power wielded by some Europeans in Barbary. Haedo's documentation is largely concerned with corsairs mostly from today's Italy (then separate states of Genoa, Venice, Sardinia, Sicily etc.), and more importantly the Ka'ids, bureaucratic officials, many of whom were originally from various Mediterranean islands – Corsica, Sardinia and Mallorca, and Italian city-states.

The letters of Hamner Warrington, the English consul in Tripoli in the late 18th and early 19th century, reinforce the influence of non-Arabic speakers in Tripoline society and indeed their infiltration through marriage of the highest echelons. References to the Georgian who married the Pasha's daughter and became *Rais Marina* 'captain of the port', one of the most senior positions within the Regency (TNA: FO 161/9 (a)), as well as other similarly well-regarded and powerful Europeans demonstrate that they were integrated into the traditionally Arabic and Turkish hierarchies of the city-states. Knecht,

the English consul in Tripoli in the late 18th century, wrote a guidebook in 1757 for his potential successor to aid him through the political, diplomatic and geographical maze of the city. It is clear that by this date there was a significant European presence at the diplomatic level in Tripoli. Six consuls are listed, with a strict hierarchy. Knecht recommends that his successor visits them 'in the following order: France, Sweden, Denmark, Venice, Holland and Tuscany' (TNA: FO 161/6). It is striking that individual city-states and islands have their own consuls, and that Sweden and Denmark come above Venice (a, if not the, regional dominant maritime and trading power) in the order in which a new Consul should visit their counterparts (TNA: FO 161/6).

Indisputably at certain times between the 16th and 19th centuries, to differing degrees across the three Barbary Regencies, Lingua Franca was used at the highest levels. Pasha Qaramanli, the ruler of Tripoli for more than 30 years from the end of the 18th century, is recorded (Ferrari 1912) to have spoken to the Sardinian Consul in Lingua Franca. Hamooda Bey in Tunis spoke to his personal doctor, the French Louis Frank, in Lingua Franca (Frank 1850: 70). The Bey's private secretary was Mariano Stinca, a former Neapolitan captive, elevated from slavery to the highest office within the Bey's household (Triulzi 1971). While correspondence from Stinca in the National Archives (TNA: FO 335/47/3-4; 9-14) demonstrates his mastery of the more formal Tuscan Italian, it is plausible that daily exchanges with the Bey, given the latter's alleged competence, were conducted in Lingua Franca. Frank (1850: 70) articulates, as mentioned in Chapter 4, how Hamooda Bey used Lingua Franca rather than 'pure Tuscan' on the instruction of his religious advisers. Frank suggests that the Bey did not share the prejudices of his subjects toward Europeans but rather employed six young Italians in his palace private apartments (Frank 1850: 68). The insistence, by his counsellors, not to use Italian may well have stemmed from the preponderance of Italians in close

proximity to the Bey, and Lingua Franca might have served as a compromise, facilitating communication but also ensuring that Tuscan (or Italian) did not become the language of palace life. For a leader in Barbary to have spoken Tuscan could have potentially implied subservience and inferiority to European language and society. Image, balance of power and the perception of both were clearly significant and evident in linguistic choices.

Rehbinder in Algiers at the close of the 18th century, by contrast, cited in Schuchardt (1909, trans. 1980: 80) refers to Dey Mohammed (1776-1791) who, although he understood and spoke Lingua Franca, considered it beneath himself to use it with free Christians (Rehbinder 1798-1800: vol. iii, 66). This might imply that in Algiers, Lingua Franca was a lower prestige language and thus demeaning for the Dey to use. As Italian was less dominant in Algiers, it is plausible that Lingua Franca was considered the representative language of Europeans and, as in Tunis, it was deemed a concession too far for the Algerine elites to use.

There is, equally, a sense that, across the Regencies, Lingua Franca was largely the preserve of the lower classes, the slave communities and petty commerce. Rehbinder says of the Algerians that 'craftsmen and artists are better paid than others; they get still more if they speak Spanish, Italian, or even the Lingua Franca' (Rehbinder, 1798-1800: vol. iii, 330). The same Frank (1850) who claimed the Tunisian Bey spoke Lingua Franca also attributed the following words to a beggar:

> *Donar mi meschino la carità d'ouna carrouba per l'amor*
> *della Santissima Trinità e dello gran Bonaparte*
> 'Spare poor me the charity of a penny for the love of
> the most Holy Trinity and the great Bonaparte' (Frank
> 1850: 101; my translation).

These reinforce the impression of the lower end of society speaking Lingua Franca. In a letter to Schuchardt in 1882, Morel Fatio

volunteers the type of worker who would speak Lingua Franca in Algiers:

> *les ouvriers maçons, terrassiers, cochers, petits commerçants, c'est-à-dire la partie de la population européenne qui a le plus de rapports journaliers avec les arabes*
> 'the masons, the workmen, the coachmen, the small traders, that is to say the part of the European population which has the most daily relations with the Arabs' (HSA 1882: Letter 6-7473; my translation).

The botanist Schimper's words, quoted by Schuchardt, appear to testify to the ubiquity of Lingua Franca, and again, its proliferation among the poorest social stratum,

> *ne parlant pas un mot d'italien, espagnol ni même Lingua Franca, parlée par la couche plus humble d'Alger* 'not speaking a word of Italian, Spanish, nor even Lingua Franca, spoken by the lowest class of Algiers' (Schimper 1834; my translation).

Dakhlia's observes that the examples of Lingua Franca cited in European sources are characterized by anger, impatience, frustration, and a lack or absence of dignity (Dakhlia 2008: 224). While these are often the memories of enslaved Europeans, the lowest echelon of Barbary society, they also show another facet of Lingua Franca: it served in this domain as a nascent colonial pidgin.

As mentioned in Chapter 5, the Lingua Franca spoken on the Dalmatian coast explicitly excluded female speakers. In 1612, Haedo suggests that, by contrast, Barbary Lingua Franca extended to women and children:

> *Este hablar franco es tan general que no ay casa do no se use. No ay turco ni moro, ni grande ne pequeno, hombre o muger, hasta los ninos, que poco o mucho y los más dellos muy bien, no le hablan*

> 'This Lingua Franca is so widespread that there is no house where it is not spoken. There is neither Turk, nor Moor, neither old nor young, no man or woman, even child who cannot speak it, some just a little and some well, and most of them very well' (Haedo 1612: 24; my translation).

Further evidence from the corpus suggests that the multigenerational, and certainly domestic, character of Lingua Franca endured into the later centuries. Dakhlia comments on women who came 100 miles from rural inland Kabylia to urban Algiers, migrating seasonally to the Regency, where they worked as water-carriers and domestic staff (Dakhlia 2008: 234). There was a regular turnover of Kabyle women whose exposure to urban life and its languages in 19th century Algiers inevitably led to borrowing. The evidence of linguistic exchange comes from Schuchardt (1909) who comments on the endurance of the word *fantasia*, perhaps one of the most iconic Lingua Franca words, which permeated Kabyle in the form of *tafantazit* (Schuchardt 1909, trans. 1980: 73). Thus, women played a role in the diffusion, and permeation, of indigenous languages by Lingua Franca.

Furthermore, several sources that mention Lingua Franca are authored by women, including Broughton's *Six years in Algiers* (1839) as well as the accounts of English ladies travelling and living elsewhere in the Regencies (Tully 1819; Anonymous 1850). Both Broughton and Tully were written without the intention of being published. Elizabeth Broughton published the journal of her mother, Mary Blanckley, wife to the English consul in Algiers at the start of the 19th century. Miss Tully was the sister of the English Consul in the late 18th century. Their accounts, one might thus assume, have very little embellishment or invention. Furthermore as English, and non-Romance speakers, their accounts of Lingua Franca exhibit no lexifier bias. Their accounts focus more than most on the situation of fellow women, and particularly Tully's (1819) refer to women speaking

Lingua Franca, albeit what appears to be a more French variation. As Haedo identifies in the early 17th century, Lingua Franca in Barbary was thus not restricted to men. It was a language that straddled domains: social, political, national and gender.

The particular conditions of Barbary evidently contributed to Lingua Franca's multiple domains. Dakhlia observes:

> *la lingua franca serait donc 'neutre' socialement… cette langue qui serait parlée, en Barbarie notamment, des galères jusqu'aux cercles du négoce et de la diplomatie, fait la preuve, aux yeux des observateurs européens, d'un univers socialement factice*
>
> 'lingua franca would thus be socially 'neutral'... that language which would be spoken particularly in Barbary, from the jails to the negotiating and diplomatic spheres, offers proof in the eyes of the European observers of a socially artificial universe' (Dakhlia 2008: 220; my translation).

This 'socially artificial universe', namely the socially fluid, meritocratic nature of Barbary, was viewed with contempt by many Europeans. The lack of strict hierarchy typical of the *anciens régimes* of Europe, and instead labile social structures, shored up by the corsairs' economic leverage, were deemed a sign of Arab society's lack of development and sophistication. Lingua Franca was a function of the socio-political environment but also, according to Dakhlia (2008), a manifestation of it.

The Jewish community of Barbary embodies social mobility more than any other, and it is in part due to such fluidity that they are closely identified with Lingua Franca. One of the possible interpretations of *franca*/*franco* stems from the term *porto franco*. It was a phrase used to describe those ports whose traders were exempted from duties and taxes. One of the leading port cities bearing this title, and perhaps the

most well known, was Livorno. Its merchants were predominantly Jews resettled there after their expulsion from Spain at the end of the 15th century, and from North Africa whence they fled when it was settled by the Spanish in the early 16th century (Minervini 1996). They were known initially as *Gurni* or *Gorni* (from Leghorn 'Livorno') (Guetta 2007). Multilingual, they would have spoken predominantly Spanish and Portuguese but would evidently have acquired Italian living in Livorno. The resultant hybrid language would feasibly have resembled and possibly influenced the Lingua Franca of the Barbary Regencies as the Jews grew in trading status in North Africa. The correspondence between Livorno-based Jewish merchants and the English consuls in Tunis and Tripoli, as documented in Chapter 5, reveals features resembling the accounts of Lingua Franca found in both the documentary and literary sources. It is interesting to note, therefore, that these primary sources from the Consuls' correspondence, demonstrate that not only were nationalities and native languages a more fluid concept in the era and locus of Lingua Franca, but also the writers of the correspondence did not necessarily adhere to a fixed language in their letters. Loanwords, orthography (mirroring pronunciation) from a different language, and a lack of agreement of gender and number suggest not only a lack of linguistic standardization, but also a lexical and phonological fluidity consistent with the features of Lingua Franca. The indefinable quality and breadth of the term Lingua Franca and the language(s) it refers to makes it conceivable that the spoken and written language of the Jewish *franchi* might have been considered by others as Lingua Franca, both linguistically and, of course, through bearing the very name its speakers were known by.

It is also worth noting, in terms of the language's prestige factor, that Jews were considered, particularly in Lingua Franca's early existence (the 16th and 17th centuries), among the lowest in society. Haedo also points out that, unlike many of the other communities in the Regency

states, Jews remained a discrete group: 'very few are renegades and none are Moors' (Haedo 1612: my translation). The prejudice to which they were subjected is evident in a number of sources. Often barrages of abuse featured a stream of derisory terms, inevitably including the word for Jew:

> *cane, giudeo, traditor, perchè non mainar, perchè combattere?*
> 'Dog, Jew, traitor why don't you lower the sail, why do you fight?' (Anonymous 1675: Manuscript 12219, 148; my translation).

It is worth noting that dogs were ubiquitously reviled in Barbary, thus likening Jews to dogs and traitors reinforces their low social standing (Pananti 1841: 124). As Jews increased their economic influence in Barbary, it seems plausible that a language they used would also only increase in currency. As mentioned, their multilingual backgrounds and ability ensured integration into commercial and diplomatic circles. Their position and role within society, as potential Lingua Franca speakers, offers another motivation for the language's endurance: regular use and increased domains.

9.3 The challenges of classification

As the analysis of Lingua Franca's corpus has revealed, Lingua Franca has proved elusive and inconsistent. Equally intangible is a precise label for its linguistic status. As Chapter 6 showed, it fits many of the criteria of a pidgin, but equally that of a koine (in opposition to a pidgin). In part, this is due to a lack of consensus with regard to the scope of the terms and whether they relate to speakers, linguistic features and level of stability. Linguists in this particular field 'agree neither about the precise definition of the terms pidgin and creole, nor about the status of a number of languages that have been claimed to be pidgins and creoles' (Arends, Muysken and Smith 1995: 3). There is also an issue of the breadth of the classification: 'languages designated as pidgins range from extremely rudimentary short-term contact

languages used only in a very narrow range of contexts to structurally and lexically far more expanded varieties which have been in use over an extended period and for a much broader range of functions, even though in each case there may be a shared lack of native speakers' (Crowley 2008: 75). Thus, both the indeterminate and, at times, contradictory nature of terminology and Lingua Franca's endemic shifting features makes it particularly hard to classify it conclusively.

More recent linguistic concepts such as the specifically urban use of constantly evolving and shifting language, *metrolingua francas* (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015), as discussed in Chapter 2, also to some extent coincide with the features of Lingua Franca. Nevertheless, it still evades a specific description, because whether Lingua Franca evolved from one's own repertoire or was a new language to be deliberately acquired depended on the speaker's native language. Romance speakers would have a decided advantage in understanding and expressing themselves in Lingua Franca while others, as articulated by an English captive, William Okeley (1675), had to learn 'a smattering of the Common Language, which would be of some use to us when we should come to Algiers' (Okeley 1675: 5). Indeed, the perception of what Lingua Franca actually was, ranging from 'bad Italian' (or what might be termed as L2 Italian) to a stable pidgin, seems to depend on the native languages spoken by those who hear it. To some extent, Lingua Franca is 'in the ear of the beholder'. As such, non-Romance speakers, and, particularly in my research, English speakers, appear to conceive of the phrases directed towards them or that they overhear as a *bonafide* language. Toso cites an example of this from the account of a British gentleman travelling through Barbary in 1835. Although this would have been after the official demise of Lingua Franca, the gentleman refers to the Lingua Franca in the present:

> ‘On one occasion I was rather amused, by a specimen of what is called the *lingua franca*; for on asking the driver why he was battling with his mules, he answered, *Ia Sidi, Baghellah voler fare troppo mucho goddam*. Which being rendered into the English tongue, means, ‘Oh sir, the mule wants to get on too fast’. The lat- ter word of his sentence, be it observed, is not the well-known English one, but is The latter word of his sentence, be it observed, is not the well-knowEnglish one, but is purely Arabic, and means ‘ forwards’’ (cited in Toso 2012: 119).

Toso comments on the authenticity of the language, far from the repeated formulaic phrases found elsewhere in the corpus, but it is equally noteworthy that Toso, who questions the veracity of Pananti (among others) (Toso 2012) attributes the reliability in part to the source being an English gentleman. It is in part his social standing that reinforces his validity as a source, but also the fact that his native tongue would not influence the lexical content of his record of Lingua Franca.

As discussed in earlier chapters, the term Lingua Franca has a multiplicity of possible interpretations. The single nomenclature for various discrete dialects, jargons and pidgin languages compounds an already complicated and overloaded term. The mostly sixteenth century Venetian colonial dialect, found predominantly on the Dalmatian coast, is quite clearly distinct from the nautical jargon found across the Mediterranean contemporaneously, and from the subsequent more established dialect of Barbary.

There is also the variety spoken in the Levant, with its Italian bias (to the extent it was often known as Levantine Italian rather than Lingua Franca), which would seem to fall, in terms of its lexification and stability, somewhere between the Venetian and Barbary forms of Lingua Franca. The latter, as discussed in Chapters 5 and 7, manifested

wider lexical influences, including Spanish, Arabic and even Portuguese words. The fact that Franca / Franco can also be applied as a national or ethnic description, or even to societal mores, as in Sabatini's *The Sea Hawk* (2011) extends yet further the potential interpretations of the concept.

Additionally, as mentioned in Chapter 2, Heroclitus' *panta rei* 'everything changes' element of the language, as labelled by Schuchardt (1909, trans. 1980: 88) renders futile an attempt to identify a single lexifier, even in one specific location, or, at times, within a single text. Pre-standardized European dialects offered variation in written, as well as in spoken, examples. Labelling a particular speech, or excerpt of speech, in Lingua Franca is necessarily a subjective judgment. There is nowhere in the corpus a speaker of Lingua Franca claiming to be just that. Lingua Franca exists in the perception of the hearer. Clearly his or her own native language (especially if a Romance speaker or semi-speaker) will influence orthography, and so Cremona's comment about written language likely being related to spoken varieties (Cremona 1998) resonates, as much of the writing would seem to echo the oral, or even aural, features of contemporary speech. This must be borne in mind when approaching the archive. Not only the lack of linguistic standardization in the sense of levelling of dialects but also an absence of prescriptive orthography (or grammar) means that writing in terms of punctuation, spelling and sentence construction was subject to less rigour.

9.4 Oral versus written

There is a certain inevitability to sources of a dead language. All are written and, consistent with the lack of standardized uniform orthography of the 16th-18th centuries, they cannot be considered documentation, but rather an idiolectal attempt to render the language heard, overheard by, or described to the source's author.

Nevertheless, they are accounts of an oral language, which Lingua Franca has long been assumed to be. Yet, as Baglioni (2016) states, there are two discrete variations of written Italian found during this period, both of which would seem to coincide with the language found in correspondence in the National Archives of Kew, and bearing many of the same features as Lingua Franca. Baglioni (2016) describes the first as:

> *un Italiano precario con notevoli fenomeni d'interferenza con lo Spagnoli e il Portoghese*
>
> 'an unstable Italian with significant elements of Spanish and Portuguese interference' (Baglioni 2016: 137; my translation).

The linguistic interference is attributed to the fact that documents of this period would largely have been written or translated by Sephardic Jews, those known as *franchi* and and also awho comprised a significant proportion of Lingua Franca speakers. As highlighted in chapter 4, the correspondence addressed to the English Consuls of Tunis and Tripoli features numerous letters from just such individuals.

The second variation identified by Baglioni, also believed to have been written by Sephardic Jews and possibly Italian slaves (who, as sailors and merchants, would likely have been only basically educated), comes from the French and English Consuls of Tunis, initially studied by Cremona (1997; 1998), and subsequently by Baglioni (2010). Once again, this is not an official Italian. Baglioni (2016: 137) refers to the interference, this time of French and Ibero-Romance, and cites Testa (2014) who describes it as:

> *un Italiano basico e rozzo, fondato sul esclusivo scopo pragmatico di farsi intendere, che, a sua volta, s'innesta su una scansione testuale di rastremata essenzialità*
>
> 'a basic and crude Italian, based on the sole pragmatic aim of making oneself understood, which leads to a

> textual rendering of minimalist essence' (Testa 2014: 271; my translation).

This definition coincides with the themes of the descriptions of (oral) Lingua Franca throughout history, detailed in Chapter 4. Several sources, across both time and place, refer to Lingua Franca as a simplified, bastardised or corrupt form of Italian (and other Romance languages), while others allude to its key function of essential communication. It seems a remarkable coincidence that descriptions of oral Lingua Franca and the written variation of Italian bear such a similarity to one another. Given the presence in the National Archives of examples of such Italian, my aim has been to analyse them with a view to establishing whether they do exhibit features common to Lingua Franca.

Such research, in the case of a dead language, takes the form of a kind of language documentation, as per Seidel's (2016) approach, in which he draws parallels between modern day documentation and more traditional philology, and highlights the value of the latter in providing a more complete picture of a language. Seidel suggests that this allows a shift away from language categorization where they are considered 'as distinct entities coexisting side by side' (Seidel 2016: 40). Instead, as with Lingua Franca, oral and written, the complexity and plurality of the language is viewed as representative of its time and place, with all the social, historical, political and linguistic influences creating a jigsaw language that evades simple categorization. The correspondence, if not examples of individual documents exclusively written in Lingua Franca, plausibly offers testimony of its linguistic features that pervade both the written and oral domains.

9.5 Conclusion

I have attempted to demonstrate the complexities of Lingua Franca, its study and its corpus. A contact language that resists linguistic classification on many levels, with a breadth and variation of lexicon,

phonology and morphology that, at the extreme, it might even seem almost devoid of consistent features. Lingua Franca should perhaps be considered a way of speaking rather than a single language. Rather than shy away from its complicated and contradictory nature, we must embrace it, and scrutinize all the evidence. Cremona entitled his research "Sherlock", and detection and deduction rather than the imposition of labels and dogmatic (and often arbitrary) embracing or rejection of sources must guide the search for Lingua Franca. As Mallette states, with reference to the 'mongrel complexity of the Middle Ages', the scholar should remain 'attentive to the webwork of succession that carried ideas from hand to hand, watching them swerve incrementally ("ever so little") as they pass across continents, from shore to shore, from language to language, through the long centuries' (Mallette 2013: 361). She thus encapsulates the interwovenness of place, culture and language in the era of Lingua Franca and its consequent complexity and variety.

Certainly, Lingua Franca survived and even flourished for several centuries in Barbary precisely because of the peculiar conditions that existed there. Rather than a power vacuum, there was a multiplicity of power structures: the Ottoman Empire (an absent ruler), the local Arabic elites, the (mostly apostatised European) corsairs and, to a lesser extent, the European diplomats, all in competition and collaboration with one another. More broadly there was ongoing commerce and conflict between Arabic and Christian societies, so-called siblings (Bulliet 2004) 'with all the commonalities and the rivalries that the sibling relationship implies' (Mallette 2010: 24). Socially, economically, politically, religiously and certainly linguistically, this was an era that pre-dated standardisation and, particularly in Barbary, its defining characteristics were mobility, fluidity and adaptability. Lingua Franca embodies all these traits; it was a language that maximized understanding, morphing according to the nature of the discussion, and the competence of its interlocutors.

Chapter 10 – Lingua Franca post 1830 and its legacy

This chapter addresses the gradual demise of Lingua Franca as the socio-political landscape of Barbary changed following the outlawing of slavery in 1816 and the arrival of the French. The conditions key to the language's sustained use and wide diffusion were replaced by a more structured political, economic, military and even linguistic landscape. However, as this chapter bears out, Lingua Franca's long-established integral role in Barbary life ensured it left a legacy there, and across the Mediterranean region.

10.1 Post 1830 sources

Far from being quickly relexified as French forces colonized first Algeria, and subsequently much of North Africa, Lingua Franca enjoyed what Mallette (2014) describes as a 'long residual half-life' (Mallette 2014: 340). Cifoletti (2004) confirms that Lingua Franca was relexified in several stages, beginning with a shift to *Sabir* (possibly from the Spanish *Saber* 'to know' or deriving from Molière's repeated use of the Lingua Franca infinitive verb form in *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*) and subsequently to Algerian French, known as *pataouète* (Cifoletti 2004: 29). Evidence from travelogues, correspondence among linguists, and indeed, the Algerian 1857 census, confirms the lingering influence of Lingua Franca lexicon. The name itself, Lingua Franca, appears to have endured, even if what it denotes might have altered somewhat. Two excerpts from *Leaves from a lady's diary of her travels in Barbary* (Anonymous 1850), suggest the sustained lexicon and grammatical features of Lingua Franca twenty years after the arrival of the French. The first example comes when the English party, travelling through rural Algeria, is greeted by the apparent head of a Bedouin village:

> This personage, who presently made his appearance, was an exceedingly handsome Bedouin... We conjectured that this handsome Arab was the superior of the little

> community. His language was a jargon composed of Italian, French, Spanish and Arabic words jumbled together – a sort of Lingua Franca to me unintelligible. "Toi parla arabe, toi mirar, toi saber marabou &c." were the only words I could distinguish amidst all that he articulated" (Anonymous 1850: 30-1).

It is noteworthy that the female author describes the language as 'a sort of Lingua Franca'. Although the qualification might seem to imply that the language was not *the* Lingua Franca, the use of capitals contradicts that. Furthermore the linguistic *mélange* resembles that often cited by earlier sources across Barbary, as discussed in Chapter 4. The fact that French is not given as the first lexifier would seem significant as it suggests that Lingua Franca remained a mixed language, rather than one dominated by a single superstrate. The actual language she reports seems more Spanish and French, with the use of two Spanish verbs in the infinitive form, *mirar* 'to look, watch' and *saber* 'to know'. There is the sustained use of the object pronoun form to indicate the second person singular subject. Additionally, there is the informality implied by using the *toi* 'you (singular)' rather than an inflected plural form – some variation of *vous* 'you (plural), used in French which would seem appropriate in such a social situation. The English author's admission that these were the only words she could understand reinforces the impression of multiple lexifiers (rather than predominantly French) and potentially pidgin-like grammar, as from those words identified, she clearly has a basic grasp of Romance-derived lexicon. Although Lingua Franca was for much of its life a distinctly urban vernacular it appears, from this incident, to have spread beyond the city. Just as this shift would presumably have taken time, so too would its relexification by French. Perhaps at this moment in time, 1850, Lingua Franca outside Algiers would exhibit less French influence than its urban counterpart.

A later example from the same travelogue demonstrates a more French bias to the pidgin spoken by members of the Arabic population, but the sentence construction remains reminiscent of Lingua Franca. On a tour of a rural Moorish family's house, the elder daughter of the house regretfully acknowledges how small and basic the *salon* of the house is, offering 'in her broken French, "Mauresques pas tener salons pas jolies comme toi Français"' (Anonymous 1850: 57). The infinitive form of *tener* 'to have', a verb used widely in Lingua Franca with the simple single negative form rather than the *ne…pas* 'not' typical of grammatically correct French are in keeping with Lingua Franca. There was evidently a growing French influence, but the demographic breakdown provided by the 1857 Algeria census highlights the sustained multinational and polylingual character of the country as a whole, and particularly the city of Algiers. In *The corsair and his conqueror* (1860), Pope details the census results:

> 'In no part of the world is the population so heterogenous as in Algeria, and especially in the town of Algiers, for the truth of which the following statistics, taken from the census of 1857, may vouch.
>
> Population of Algeria – 2,640,000 souls; viz;
>
> • Europeans
> (Spaniards, French, Maltese, Italians, Germans, &c.) 170,000
>
> • Arabs, of Tribes 1,300,000
>
> • Moors 22,000
>
> • Kabyles or Berbers 1,000,000
>
> • Kuruglis (sons of Moors and Negresses or Moors and Christian women, the latter of course rare) 8,000
>
> • Negroes 10,000
>
> • Jews 30,000
>
> Total 2,640,000
>
> 'In the *Province* of Algiers the population numbers 858,000; viz:

• Europeans	78,000
• Natives	780,000
Total	858,000

'In the *Department* of Algiers the population numbers 130,850; viz:

• Europeans	75,567
• Natives	55,283
Total	130,850'

(Pope 1860: 11-12).

Potentially relevant is the listing of Spanish before French among the European population, implying that in 1857 there remained more Spanish than French speakers, plausibly extending Lingua Franca's existence. Additionally, the fact that Europeans outnumbered "natives" by more than 20,000 in Algiers suggests the sustained need for a contact language, which may well not have been overly influenced by French at this stage. Conversely, however, the high number of Europeans in Algiers may point to the opposite conclusion, namely that such a high number of French speakers might have promoted the use of French rather than Lingua Franca.

Elsewhere in the region, Lingua Franca seems to have remained very much in use as late as the early 20th century. Sir Charles Trevelyan, a British civil servant, testified to the House of Commons that a command of Greek, Turkish or *lingua franca* was deemed essential for British army clerks and storekeepers in the eastern Mediterranean (Trevelyan 1855). The 19th century French traveller, Nerval, writing to his father, explains that Lingua Franca endures as the principal means of communication. His description of the variation and idiosyncrasy of the pidgin suggests, despite a different set of lexifiers, that it had not become any less fluid in the 20th century.

> *Je possède assez de mots d'italien d'arabe et de grec déjà pour parler ce qu'on appelle la langue franque, qui se compose*

> *arbitrairement des mots de ces trois langues. On finit par se faire comprendre à force d'accumuler des mots et essayer des intonations de la gorge*
>
> 'I already have enough Italian, Arabic and Greek to speak what is known as Lingua Franca, which is made up arbitrarily of those three languages. You end up trying to make yourself understood by putting these words together and trying out different guttural intonations' (Nerval 1911: 132; my translation).

It is noteworthy that the increased proportion of French in the Lingua Franca of Algiers does not appear to be echoed in the Levant. The fact that each speaker's own (often) multilingual repertoire influences the languages they identify in Lingua Franca and consequently employ in their own idiolectal version is a feature that remains constant throughout the nearly three centuries of its existence.

10.2 Sabir

The name Sabir surfaces for the first time in May, 1852 in an article entitled *La Langue Sabir*, in the Algiers newspaper, *L'Algérien*, *journal des intérêts* d'Algérie. It was published anonymously but Schuchardt identifies its authors only by surname as MacCarthy and Varnier (Schuchardt 1909, trans 1980: 74). Although Schuchardt is widely credited with deducing their names, it seems he actually learned who the writers were from his Algiers-based correspondent, Morel-Fatio (HSA 1882: Letter 6-7473). Enclosing a copy of the article, Fatio's letter (HSA 1882: Letter 6-7473) refers to one of them as *un érudit du crû* ('an expert scholar'). I would suggest that this was the French author, named as Varnier, but in my opinion actually Auguste Warnier, a French bureaucrat who by 1852 had been in Algeria for nearly two decades, working as part of a French government research committee (Dondin-Payre 1994: 90) and was considered *le dictionnaire vivant de l'Algérie* 'Algeria's living dictionary'. He later carried out a study on

Algerian railways with MacCarthy among others (Delavigne, MacCarthy, Ranc, Serpolet and Warnier 1954) further substantiating the view that they were the two authors of the Sabir article (1852)[22].

MacCarthy and Varnier (1852) describe Sabir's everyday usage (Cifoletti 2004: 262-3) and its ubiquity throughout the region (MacCarthy and Varnier 1852, cited in Cifoletti 2004: 265):

> *On la parle à Constantinople comme à Gibraltar; à Marseille comme à Alger, à Tunis, à Tripoli, à Alexandrie; dans les villes de l'Adriatique, et de la Mer Noire comme dans les échelles du Levant.*
> 'It is spoken in Constantinople, Gibraltar, Marseille and Algiers, in Tunis, Tripoli and Alexandria, and in the towns on the Adriatic and the Black Sea as well as the ports across the Levant' (MacCarthy and Varnier 1852, cited in Cifoletti 2004: 265; my translation).

The fact that everyone could speak the pidgin, and that it was used for all daily communication needs, would seem to reinforce the sense of a simple name change. Evidently there was not necessarily a widespread awareness of both names, as demonstrated by the correspondence from the Schuchardt archive. Sabir seems to be recognized in Algiers and less elsewhere.

The name Sabir appears to derive less from the contemporary lexicon – where *sabir* is translated in the *Dictionnaire* (1830) as 'to know' (Dictionnaire 1830: 73) – but rather from the best-known literary example of Lingua Franca, Molière's 1670 *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*. This features a long speech delivered by a character posing as the son

[22] For the purposes of the thesis, I have adhered to the citation of MacCarthy and Varnier, 1852 despite my theory of Warnier, rather than Varnier.

of the Turkish Sultan ostensibly speaking in Lingua Franca whose opening words are *Si ti sabir*:

> *Si ti sabir*
> *Ti respondir:*
> *Si non sabir,*
> *Tazir, tazir.*
> 'If you know,
> Answer;
> If not,
> Be quiet' (Molière 1798: 71; my translation).

Such a theory is confirmed by a letter from Morel Fatio, who explains the use of *Sabir* as no more than the description of Lingua Franca by a Frenchman who was familiar with Molière's play (HSA 1882: Letter 6-7473).

According to Cifoletti (2004: 27), Sabir in the mid-nineteenth century manifests already an Arabisation of its phonology. Those words that end with a vowel have a word-final closed 'i' sound, reflecting Arabic pronunciation (Cifoletti 2004: 27). MacCarthy and Varnier's article exemplifies this, citing words such as *semi-semi* 'together' from the Italian *insieme* and *si mi star* 'if I am' (MacCarthy and Varnier 1852 cited in Cifoletti 2004: 263). However, such a claim of Arabic-influenced phonology is also made of Lingua Franca. Certainly, the orthography of the *Dictionnaire* (1830) implies a pronunciation that reflects the reduced vowel space of Arabic. Sabir's phonology, morphology and lexicon are all limited, but again this is true of Lingua Franca. MacCarthy and Varnier summarise the post pidgin's grammar in three rules:

> *Un seul temps pour les verbes:*
> *Un seul cas pour les substantifs;*
> *Un seul genre pour les adjectifs.*
> 'One tense for verbs;
> One case for nouns;

> One gender for adjectives' (MacCarthy and Varnier 1852, cited in Cifoletti 2004: 264).

This also aptly describes the grammar of Lingua Franca but for, as mentioned, occasional instances of the past tense, and the *bisognio* construction, identified in the *Dictionnaire* (1830) to indicate the future. This impression of a lexically limited and grammatically basic pidgin is reinforced 30 years later in an article by General Faidherbe (1884), a leader of the French colonial mission in North Africa and elsewhere, who wrote an article *L'Alliance française pour la propagation de la langue française dans les colonies et les pays étrangers*, promoting the uptake of French in France's colonies. In it, he refers dismissively to Sabir's grammar rules thus: *La syntaxe est nulle, on ne sert que de l'infinitif* 'There is no syntax and only the infinitive is used' (Faidherbe 1884: 107). Throughout the corpus, syntax is simple and the infinitive, as mentioned, is used almost without exception. Interestingly, Faidherbe (1884) also observes that the French soldier, speaking *Sabir*, is persuaded that he is speaking Arabic while his Arab interlocutor believes he is speaking French (Faidherbe 1884:108). This seems unlikely, but does speak to the idiolectal feature of Lingua Franca or Sabir, the fluidity of lexicon particularly, that would create a blend of languages and dialects such that a French soldier would likely identify the unfamiliar words as Arabic, while his Arab interlocutor would perceive those words alien to him as French, irrespective of their actual etymology. Faidherbe's judgment must, of course, be regarded with some scepticism given his role in promoting the use of French in Algeria and beyond. His account, coming more than 50 years after the French troops landed in Algiers, and 30 years after MacCarthy and Warnier's 1852 article, may well chart an evolution in Sabir with increasing French lexical influence.

MacCarthy and Varnier (1852) claim that Sabir comprises two hundred words, fifty of which, at most, are in common usage. *Bono*

'good or nice' or its negative – indicated by *no* or *non* – is used ubiquitously and such overextension applies to most nouns and verbs: *andar* 'to go' denotes all verbs of motion, while *tenir* 'to have' indicates all variants of possession and *chapar* 'to catch, take' dispossession of all kinds (MacCarthy and Varnier 1852, cited in Cifoletti 2004: 265). Comparatively, Lingua Franca's lexicon appears from the wordlist of the *Dictionnaire* (1830) of more than 2000 words to be much more extensive and almost double the size of what is today deemed typical of a pidgin (Holm, 1989: 63). However, an analysis of the *Dialogues* section of the *Dictionnaire* reveals that there are fewer than 150 tokens in use, thus relatively closer in number to the Sabir lexicon. Of these 150 tokens, the verbs, *andar* 'to go', *tenir* ' to have, hold, own', *star* 'to be, stand, feel' and *counchar* or *fazir* 'to make, build, do' dominate the phrases. There is semantic broadening across verbs, nouns and adjectives.

In terms of its speakers in Barbary, Cifoletti suggests a key distinction between Sabir and its predecessor. The former is designated as the language of the lower classes, in stark contrast with Lingua Franca, which was the preserve of the upper echelons of Barbary society, spoken extensively by the Beys and Deys of the Regencies of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli (Cifoletti 2004: 27-8). There may well have been a shift in the demographic of speakers of Lingua Franca as Algiers was colonized. However, Lingua Franca and Sabir are less two separate entities, and more an Algiers-based change of name for the same variety. It is plausible, thus, that irrespective of nomenclature, the principal speakers of the pidgin were increasingly the lower classes as the ruling elites would inevitably have been more linguistically impacted and influenced by French colonial rule.

Certainly Sabir, from the derogatory nature of its name to its apparently lower class speakers, seems to have had low prestige, though Venier (2016) suggests that French contempt for the language

was evident even in the use of *petit* (Mauresque) in the title of the *Dictionnaire* (1830). *Petit* (small) implies a rudimentary and lesser language, and is used in other French language descriptions: *Petit nègre, petit-tirailleur* etc. (Venier 2016: 297). Its use implies distance between the language used by the indigenous population and the implicitly superior French colonists. Venier (2016) suggests that this is only reinforced through the name Sabir, quoting the 1852 article of MacCarthy and Varnier:

> *En Orient on l'appelle* langue franque*, sans doute à cause de la franchise dont elle jouit dans tous les ports; en Algérie on la désigne par un de ses verbes:* sabir *'comme on désigne les bâtards par un de leur défauts' a dit un modern croniqueue, quelque peu rancunier. Le* sabir *lui avait, comme il raconte lui-même, joué de mauvais tours*
>
> 'In the Orient it is called Lingua Franca, doubtless because of the commercial freedom it enjoys in all ports; in Algeria it is referred to by one of its verbs: sabir 'as one refers to mongrels by one of their flaws' said a modern, somewhat resentful chronicler. Sabir, as he himself says, had done him disservice' (MacCarthy and Varnier 1852 cited in Cifoletti 2004: 263; my translation).

Venier describes the characterization of the language as *storpiata e povera* 'crippled and lacking' (Venier 2016: 300). It is questionable whether this reflects an actual lexical impoverishment of Lingua Franca once it 'becomes' Sabir, or whether the 'crippled and lacking' epithet reflects the French perception of the 'mongrel' language. MacCarthy and Varnier (1852), however, have only admiration for Sabir, if, at times, perhaps with a hint of irony, terming it the *miracle inverse de la tour de Babel!* 'reverse miracle of the Tower of Babel!' (MacCarthy and Varnier 1852 cited in Cifoletti 204: 262; my translation.) They also highlight its poetic and historic credentials:

> *Mais abandonnons ces details de scolastique et arrivons à la partie vraiment littéraire de cette langue: à ses poètes, à ses histoirens*
> But let us move on from the scholarly details and get to the truly literary element of that language: to its poets, to its historians (MacCarthy and Varnier 1852 cited in Cifoletti 2004: 266; my translation).

Lines later, they quickly qualify their grandiose assessment, acknowledging that there is, in fact, only one Sabir poet, Molière. Sabir's historical value, as exemplified in the three-line history of foreign intervention in Algiers and cited in Chapter 7.5, is, however, compared favourably (if humorously) with Caesar and the Bible:

> *Combien Jules César est resté loin de cela avec son admirable: Veni, vidi, vici! Combien le récit biblique de la chute des murs de Jéricho se trouve pale à côté de Tru-tru accompagné de pantomime obligée!*
> 'How far off did Caesar end up with his admirable: *Veni, vidi, vici!* How pale in comparison is the Bible's account of the walls of Jericho coming down with the *Toot toot* accompanied by the obligatory miming!' (MacCarthy and Varnier 1852 cited in Cifoletti 2004: 268; my translation).

As with Lingua Franca, there is very limited Sabir literature, but a century after it was first mentioned, the Tunisian radio presenter, Kaddour published a version of La Fontaine's fables, *Fables et contes en Sabir* (1947). In its preface, his Algerian friend, author and poet, Georges Moussat describes Sabir as *un idiome special, passé dans l'usage, et qui tient à la fois de l'arabe, des patois méridionaux, du français, de l'hébreu, et meme de l'argot* 'an unusual vernacular, that has taken root, and which includes southern European *patois*, French, Hebrew and even slang' (Kaddour 1947: 7). The *patois méridionaux* recall Lingua Franca, and this is borne out in the language of the fables.

There is, if not exclusive, repeated use of the infinitive verb form, a hallmark of Lingua Franca but also a feature of many contact varieties:

> *Ji mange, ji boir, ji dormir!!*
> *Tot la noui ji fir gousto*
> *Adio, ti fir bon blizir*
> 'I eat, I drink, I sleep
> All night I'm going to have fun
> Farewell, enjoy yourself'
> (Kaddour 1947: 12; my translation)

These lines also illustrate the lexicon used in the fables. The verbs *mange* 'to eat', *boir* 'to drink', *dormir* 'to sleep' and *fir* 'to do, make' all come from French but also resemble Italian, *gousto* 'fun, pleasure' is from the Italian, *adio* 'farewell' resembles Italian, Spanish and French. There are several words within the texts that Kaddour (1947) translates in footnotes, which appear to have roots in Lingua Franca, though also in Arabic: *misquin* 'poor, miserable', *bissef* 'a lot', *maboul* 'mad or crazy'[23] are all found in the *Dictionnaire* (1830). While this is a stylized language perhaps more akin to the Lingua Franca of Molière's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, it suggests that Sabir (and, necessarily, Lingua Franca's legacy) stretches into the twentieth century.

10.2.1 Judeo-Sabir

The Jewish community of Algiers appears to have retained elements of Lingua Franca, despite a more general lexical shift, as French outweighed Italian within the *francos*' language (Minervini 2011: 10). Marcel Cohen's (1912) study of the language spoken and written by Jews in Algiers at the start of the twentieth century reinforces the apparent link between their language and Lingua Franca. He states:

> *Enfin, les juifs ont gardé dans leur langage commercial écrit de nombreux vestiges de la langue franque qui servait aux*

[23] *Maboul* and *locou* are offered in the *Dictionnaire* (1830: 36) as the translation of *fou* 'crazy' - typical of the Romance / non-Romance doublet.

relations commerciales et personnelles à Alger entre les éléments européens (captifs, renégats ou négociants étrangers) et les elements turcs, arabes et juifs. A ne considérer que ce langage artificial qui s'écrit beaucoup dans les lettres de commerce, des prospectus, etc., et se parle aussi un peu dans les magasins, on a l'impression d'un dialecte absolument mélangé;

'Lastly, the Jews have retained in their written commercial language, numerous vestiges of Lingua Franca which was used in commercial and personal dealings in Algiers between Europeans (captives, renegades or foreign merchants) and Turks, Arabs and Jews. Focussing on the artificial language used often to write business letters, prospectuses etc., and spoken at times in shops, one gets the impression of a very diverse dialect;' (Cohen 1912: 6; my translation).

Judeo-Sabir was the name given to the language spoken by Jews, particularly in Oran, Algeria by Schuchardt (Schuchardt 1909, trans.1980: 87). He learned about it from one of his correspondents, Jellinek, who sent him several articles from the *Charivari Oranais*[24] newspaper, mostly letters to the editor and a version of one of La Fontaine's fables (HSA 1882: Letter 2-8743). Schuchardt is adamant that this is not Lingua Franca, but a later form linked to Sabir potentially showing features of the earlier language (Schuchardt 1909, trans. 1980: 87).

One article written by Solomon de (Ben) Kali, detailing the misfortunes that had befallen him as, he claimed, he was wrongfully accused of a crime and then suffered extortionate rates from his lawyer. It is a colourful tale, written in Jewish French that, while clearly not Lingua Franca, does seems to bear residual characteristics. Although the lexicon derives largely from French, there is interference

[24] *Charivari* 'confused noise, din'

particularly from Spanish. Kali refers to *patates* rather than *pommes de terre* 'potatoes' from the Spanish, *abogado* 'lawyer' and *Plasa Blanca* 'White Square', both presumably from the Spanish. He uses the phrase *por dios* 'My God!' There are a few words of Italian *primo qui* 'before' and *Adio* 'farewell' (HSA: *Charivari Oranais*, 19 March 1882). There is also Arabic influence in the vowel orthography, reflecting the phonology of Arabic. As mentioned, the Arabic vowel space is more limited than its Romance counterpart, with –*i*, -a, -*o* the common vowels found in Arabic. The lack of variety is encapsulated in the words *il iti pit itre* which would be *il était peut-être'* 'he was perhaps' where the –*i* covers a number of different vowel sounds. As with Lingua Franca, there is a lack of consistent specificity of marking of subject, number and tense aspect in the language, as evidenced in this example, which also highlights that the ending of verbs is largely -*i*;

> *L'otre jor, figouri-vo qui j'iti coupi fir di fritour bor li zouzous qui friquanti mon tablissement, quand y rivi on gent di bolice*
>
> 'the other day, can you imagine, I was busy making fried food for the French soldiers who come to my restaurant when a police man arrived' (HSA: *Charivari Oranais* , 19 March 1882; my translation).

A feature, particularly prevalent in the satirical poem, which recalls Lingua Franca, is the periphrastic use of *por* or *bor,* a French equivalent of *per*, found throughout the Lingua Franca corpus. Schuchardt (1909, trans. 1980) highlights its incidence in the newspaper letter:

> *dire marci por m'sio* 'thank the gentleman'
>
> *di fire prouci barbal por moi* 'to give me a ticket'
>
> (Schuchardt 1909, trans. 1980: 88; my translation).

Another example of Judeo-Sabir is the fable *li corbeau i li chacail* 'the crow and the jackal', also published in an issue of *Charivari Oranais* and sent to Schuchardt by Jellinek (HSA 1882: Letter 1-8742), which exhibits the same periphrastic use of *por* or *bor*:

On jor ji promini bor en bas di ravin

'One day I was walking down in a ravine'

This use of *bor* recurs frequently throughout. Describing the jackal's movement, the author writes:

il marchi, il alli bor divan, bor derrière

'he walked along, he went in front and behind' (HSA: *Charivari Oranais* , 19 March, 1882; my translation).

It seems highly plausible that Lingua Franca influenced Judeo-Sabir although there are distinctions between the two, as identified by Schuchardt (1909, trans. 1980). Judeo-Sabir does not reduce 'all grammatical forms down to one in each category; instead it shows a bewildering confusion of forms, probably further exaggerated for purposes of entertainment' (Schuchardt 1909, trans. 1980: 88). In some senses, however, this could be a portrayal of Lingua Franca itself. Although the near constant use of the infinitive in Lingua Franca correlates with the description of the use of one form, elsewhere the variation found within the corpus and the versions of Lingua Franca found in the dramatic sources seem to neatly fit Schuchardt's description of Judeo-Sabir. There is, indubitably, overlap.

10.3 Evidence of Lingua Franca's endurance from the Schuchardt archive

As discussed in Ch. 2.1.3 on early scholarship, Schuchardt corresponded with linguists across Europe, the Levant and North Africa to further his research into Lingua Franca. There are twenty-six letters catalogued in the Schuchardt Archive in Graz, Austria, that would seem to be responses to Schuchardt's inquiries regarding Lingua Franca. The letters provide a far fuller picture of the ongoing existence and prevalent use of Lingua Franca in the former Barbary Regencies, and particularly Algiers.

In his chapter on Lingua Franca (1909, trans. 1980) Schuchardt

mentions, and volunteers his gratitude to, Alfred Morel-Fatio, resident of Algiers in 1882. The latter introduced Schuchardt to Haedo's *Topographia* (Schuchardt 1909, trans. 1980: 77), which informs a substantial part of the chapter. However, Schuchardt does not include any details provided by Morel-Fatio in his letters regarding Lingua Franca. A reading of the correspondence reveals significant linguistic detail. Morel-Fatio is adamant that Lingua Franca (or Sabir) exists in Algiers, and that actually:

> *il y a deux langues franques: La première est parlée au port entre les marins des divers pays romans qui se comprennent à l'aide du gemeinromanisch; la seconde est celle qu'emploie les Arabes et Kabiles pour se faire comprendre de la population chrétienne*
>
> 'there are two Lingua Francas: the first is spoken at the port between sailors from different Romance countries who understand one another by virtue of a common Romance tongue; the second is that which is used by Arabs and Kabyles to make themselves understood by the Christian population' (HSA 1882: Letter 5-7472; my translation).

He proceeds to explain that examples of the second type of Lingua Franca are increasingly scarce as the indigenous population acquires more French from their colonial rulers. In a subsequent letter, written a month later, Morel-Fatio describes the geographical spread of Lingua Franca and the lexifying influences in each of the three domains he identifies. The lexical breakdown adheres closely to that described fifty years earlier in the preface to the *Dictionnaire* (1830). The Lingua Franca of Western regions including Morocco and western Algeria is more Spanish influenced, while further East in Tunis and Tripoli, Italian is the dominant lexifier. Morel-Fatio repudiates Schuchardt's assertion that Lingua Franca does not exist in Morocco:

> *vous dites qu'on ne parle pas sabir à Tanger et Tétuan .*

> *J'en doute, vu qu'il est impossible que les quelques arabes qui trafiquent avec nous ou les Espagnols puissent se servir d'un autre langage*
> 'you say that Sabir is not spoken in Tangiers and Tetouan. I am doubtful, given that it is impossible that the Arabs who trade with us or with the Spanish could use any other language to do so' (HSA 1882: Letter 6-7473; my translation).

Morel-Fatio reaffirms that Lingua Franca is spoken in every North African country that has dealings with Romance speakers. In the same letter, Morel-Fatio offers an explanation of the terms Lingua Franca versus Sabir. Given that several of Schuchardt's correspondents attempt to differentiate between the two, it seems likely that Schuchardt asked the same question on many occasions to different individuals living in the cities of North Africa and the Levant. Morel-Fatio offers a particularly simple and logical explanation:

> *Au sujet du mot sabir pour désigner la langue franque en Algérie, je le crois d'introduction récente: c'est évidemment quelque français d'après 1830 ayant lu le Bourgeois gentilhomme, qui a eu l'idée de baptiser ainsi ce bizarre langage.*
> 'On the subject of the word *sabir* to describe Lingua Franca in Algeria, I think it was introduced recently; it's obviously some Frenchman around 1830 who had read *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, and had the idea of thus naming this strange language' (HSA 1882: Letter 6-7473; my translation).

Other correspondents offer different interpretations. The most common is a rejection of the term *Sabir* as not being a concept they have encountered. This is the case with Emil Jellinek who, writing from Oran, says that *Sabir* is not found in Algiers, Tunis, Malta, Tripoli or Zanzibar, but that a language known as Lingua Franca does exist in all such places (HSA 1882: Letter 1-8742). Jellinek offers examples of Judeo-Arabic, spoken by the Jewish community of Algiers in the late

nineteenth century, with German translations:

> *Moi makash tenir padron* 'I have no master'…
> *makash bono* 'not good'…
> *Trabacar bono* 'he works hard'...
> *Toi mirar barca* 'you've seen enough'…
> *Quand toi achetir yo vendir* 'when you will buy, I'll sell'…
> *Bono besef* 'very good'
> (HSA 1882: Letter 2-8743; my translation)

Schuchardt includes some phrases offered by Jellinek of the language being spoken in Tunis in the closing paragraphs of his article, describing it as Lingua Franca, but a new form of it – no longer simply Spanish, Arabic and Italian, but now with additional French influence – adding somewhat archly:

> 'The French occupation thus exercised its influence not only on African politics, but also added a new element to the lingua franca' (HSA 1882: Letter 4-8745; my translation).

Schuchardt includes in his article Jellinek's specimen of the new lingua franca in Tunis, but only to contrast it with what he terms Judeo-sabir, the language of the North African Jewish community. Although Jellinek has rejected the term Sabir to describe the language (since the name, Sabir, appears to have been in use only in Algiers) Schuchardt labels the following phrases as such:

> *El bacha no tener piu forza per mandar miselmin ci li geral francis qui guberne, li Bey li ministro malade besef nunca poder mandar piu*
> 'The Pasha has no power to command the Muslims. Now the French general reigns, the Bey and the ministers are totally incapable of ever reigning' (HSA 1882: Letter 4-8745; my translation).

The use of the infinitive, the multiple lexical influences of Spanish, Italian, French and Arabic (*tener, mandar, malade* and *besef* respectively to give just one example of each) would seem to

demonstrate that the language being spoken in Tunis in 1882 is still Lingua Franca. It reflects the sense of more than one Lingua Franca, as articulated by Morel Fatio, but indubitably the *patois* retains the general character of Lingua Franca.

Although early in his article Schuchardt refers to the letter of his French Algiers-based correspondent, Niçaise, to highlight the disparity among experts as to the existence of Lingua Franca and its geographical spread, he does not offer detail of Niçaise's claim. The Frenchman lists the various locations where he has heard Lingua Franca, giving the impression of a pidgin spoken almost ubiquitously around the Mediterranean, even in Marseille itself.

> *Je n'ai jamais entendu parler du sabir; mais la langue franque, qui est parlée par tous les marins de la Méditerranée, est un amalgame d'espagnol, de français, de maltais, d'italien, et peut-être aussi de grec. Je l'ai entendu parler dans les ports de Marseille, d'Alexandrie, de Port Saïd, et à bord des vapeurs français de la C.ie des Messageries Maritimes de Marseille, sur lesquels j'ai fait des fréquents voyages.*
> 'I have never heard of Sabir; but Lingua Franca, which is spoken by all sailors of the Mediterranean, is a combination of Spanish, French, Maltese, Italian and perhaps even Greek. I have heard it being spoken in the ports of Marseille, Alexandria, Port Saïd and on board French steamers of the *Messageries Maritimes* of Marseille, on which I've often travelled' (HSA 1882: Letter 1-7820; my translation).

These are a few among the numerous letters in Schurchardt's archive with direct references to Lingua Franca, its reach and even containing examples of the language. They date to the 1880s, fifty years after the start of Lingua Franca's alleged sharp demise. It seems that the pidgin

was still much-spoken, and not solely in the Barbary Regencies. [25]The alias, Sabir, may well have been localized to Algiers, as Schuchardt's correspondents based elsewhere seem not to be familiar with the name. As Morel-Fatio suggests, it may well be a name given to Lingua Franca by a Frenchman familiar with Molière's work, rather than a term that derived organically from the verb *sabir* or the Spanish *saber*. Irrespective of this, Lingua Franca seems to have endured both in terms of the name and the language itself far beyond the 1830s, and the confines of the Barbary Regencies.

Just as Lingua Franca exists as a linguistic concept today, evolved from its original meaning, so too does Sabir. While a sabir can indicate a contact language with restricted lexicon, its principal sense is rather more pejorative. The French dictionary Larousse provides the following definition:

> *Sabir (nom masculin)*: *Langue difficilement compréhensible, charabia, jargon* 'sabir (masculine noun): language that is difficult to understand, gibberish' (Larousse.fr 2017: sabir).

Such an interpretation is evident in an article about the impoverishment and disenfranchisement of Algerian peasants, entitled *Colonial Policy and Cultural Sabir*. Bordieu and Sayad (2004) describe how the Algerian peasant is unable to sustain his traditional life, but equally cannot embrace modernity:

> 'In short, for lack of speaking the two cultural languages well enough to keep them clearly separated, he is condemned to the interferences and incoherences that make a cultural sabir' (Bordieu and Sayad 2004: 469).

The cultural sabir represents the individual's socio-economic situation, defined by its conflicting and competing ideologies resulting in

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[25] Cifoletti cites a letter from Marcel Cohen in Algiers to Schuchardt, written in 1905 that confirms *La lange franque peut être considérée morte* 'Lingua Franca can be considered dead' (Cifoletti 2004: 284).

disjointed confusion. While this article addresses the Algerian context, the term sabir is not confined to North Africa, but rather has a more general application.

10.4 Pataouète

As mentioned above, there has been little focus on the disappearance of such a central means of communication as Lingua Franca in the Regencies. With regard to the wane of Lingua Franca in North Africa, according to Bergareche (1993) and Minervini (2011), Lingua Franca was superseded in Algiers by the Franco-Arabic dialect that evolved between the colonial power and native Algerians. However, while the Pataouète, as it was known, derivation of *patois*, was largely lexified by French, it retained the multilingual influence that characterized Lingua Franca. In *L'Homme de Mer*' (Achard 1931), a seminal text of early colonised Algeria, Pataouète is defined as 'a jargon composed of a mixture of all the Latin languages, mixed up with Arabic, in which French, thought of as the official language, was subjected to the coarse assault of a syntax bearing the mark of a picturesque algérianisme' (Achard 1931: 55).

The lexifying languages implied are similar to those of Lingua Franca. As with Lingua Franca, too, there is regional variation – with the Pataouète of Oran evidencing a particularly Spanish lexicon. André Lanly, a French linguist who documented the Pataouète of Algeria, or more specifically urban Algeria, identified the regional variation (Lanly 1962: 43). He specifies the regional or national, and consequent linguistic, background of the colonial society.

> *Avant d'aborder l'exposé linguistique il nous a paru nécessaire de donner un aperçu historique sur la formation de cette 'société' nouvelle, qui a colonisé l'Algérie. Son origine est multiple: Français de la Metropole ou de la Corse d'une part, Etrangers venus des*

> *divers pays d'Europe qui bordent la Méditerranée occidentale d'autre part*
> 'Before embarking on a linguistic analysis, we deemed it necessary to offer a historical view of the establishing of that new society which colonized Algeria. It had multiple points of origin: in part French from the mainland and Corsica, but also foreigners from the several European countries on the Western Mediterranean' (Lanly 1962: 11; my translation).

Lanly proceeds to enumerate the non-French populations: mostly Spanish, Italian and Maltese. In 1847, the European population had swelled from 27,204 in 1840 to 109,400. Of this total, 62,126 were non-French. By 1876 there were almost equal numbers of French and other European foreigners (155,000 compared with 156,000, respectively). The number of non-French Europeans in Algeria fell severely from the early 20th century onwards (Lanly 1962: 12).

In his description of the evolution of Pataouète from Lingua Franca, Lanly offers a sense of the relexification as an organic process. He suggests that the French would have acquired words of the local language from daily life rather than the *Dictionnaire,* which he defines as the opportunist project of a Marseille publisher, archly remarking that *le Dictionnaire de la langue franque ne paraît pas avoir de deuxième edition* 'there appears to be no second edition of the dictionary of Lingua Franca' (Lanly 1962; 40-1). Lanly identifies the few words in Pataouète that also formed part of the LF lexicon (Lanly 1962: 42). His selective list (*mouquère, roumi, mercanti, douro, carrossa, papas, fabor* and *fantasia*) does not include several words that appear in the comprehensive *Dictionnare* of Jeanne Duclos (1992) nor does it appear to extend beyond that offered in the somewhat derided (by Lanly himself) 1830 *Dictionnaire*. There are several entries in Duclos' lexicon which, while absent from the 1830

dictionary, do feature on several occasions in the Lingua Franca corpus.

Prochaska (1990) echoes the 'disparate background of speakers' and urban character of Pataouète as well as its regional variation, similarly characteristic of Lingua Franca with Spanish influence more prevalent in the west of Algeria, while Italian was lexically more dominant in the eastern cities (Prochaska 1990: 224). Although Prochaska does not offer the number of words in Pataouète, he provides a breakdown of their lexifiers. As such, Pataouète borrowed some 600 words: 210 from Arabic, 180 from Spanish, 60 from Italian, and 70 from the *patois* or dialect spoken in Southern France from Provence to the Languedoc (Prochaska 1990: 224). Duclos' dictionary, published two years later (1992), features 710 entries, with similar proportions of loanwords. In the introduction, she characterizes Pataouète as *un parler fortement saturé de particularismes et d'irrégularités de toutes sortes* 'a language full of idiosyncrasies and irregularities of every kind' (Duclos 1992: 5), a description that could equally be applied to Lingua Franca. There are more than 30 entries whose etymology is specified as the Lingua Franca *Dictionnaire*, These include *baroufa* 'quarrel', *douar* 'village', *fantasia* 'pride, delusion', *maboul* 'crazy', *mercanti* 'merchant', *meskin* 'miserable, poor', *rabia* 'rage', and *roumi* 'Greek, Christian'. *Lampo* 'light' is also listed in the Pataouète dictionary, though its etymology is given as Italian. In fact, the Italian would be *luce* or *lampada*, but *lampo* is the Lingua Franca term according to the 1830 *Dictionnaire.* The Pataouète dictionary also features several others including *bey* 'ruler', *bezzef* 'enough', *tayba* 'good', and *youdi* 'Jew', which occur in the Lingua Franca corpus in the same or very similar forms, though are not listed in the *Dictionnaire*. Additionally there are words that are reminiscent of Lingua Franca terms. *Frangaoui, frankaoui* 'French' in a pejorative sense *semble une adaptation du sabir franco 'franc'* 'seems to be an adaption of the *Sabir* (or Lingua Franca) *franco* 'French, foreign' (Duclos 1992). *Mangiafranque* 'parasite, good-for-nothing'

recalls Lingua Franca's *matzafranka* 'apricot' in the compound use of the term *franque*, *franka,* though the former has the meaning of 'for free'.

There seems to be a largely unidentified legacy of Lingua Franca in Pataouète. Indisputably, Pataouète is more influenced by French, but the sustained multilingualism of the population in the first phase of the colonial era together with the ubiquity of Lingua Franca prior to the arrival of the French, appear to have lexically impacted on the development of the so-called Franco-Algerian dialect. Although there are indisputable links with Lingua Franca, Prochaska suggests that the plurilingual influences coalesced in Pataouète are symbolic of the formation of a new people in the colony (Prochaska 1996: 705).

10.5 Polari

Much has been made of how Lingua Franca resurfaced in England in the late nineteenth century in the slang jargon, Polari (and its variants) (Hancock 1984, Baker 2002), but as with several key elements of Lingua Franca, linguists differ in their assessment. Hayek (2002) contradicts earlier claims of Lingua Franca's lexical influence on Polari, or more accurately its predecessor, Parlaree.

Hayek (2002) disputes Hancock's (1984) theory that Parlaree derives from separate sources, firstly Lingua Franca in the 16th-17th centuries, and subsequently waves of Italian immigration in the 19th century into Britain: street performers, organ grinders, puppeteers and pedlars of religious iconography. Such nomadic professions would have diffused their language as they travelled from city to city. Hayek suggests that if Lingua Franca lexicon had spread, as Hancock (1984) posits, through the medium of sailors and maritime trade, there likely would have been more of a nautical influence on the vocabulary of Parlaree (Hayek 2002: 169). Through a lexical analysis of Parlaree, using Hancock's (1984) wordlist, Hayek establishes that much of the lexicon

derives from Italian, with other slang influences from America and Australia, as well as the distortion of English words such as *face* for which the Parlaree form reverses and shortens: *ecaf* becomes *eek* (Hancock 1984: 397-400; Hayek 2002: 168-182).

Indeed, in his survey of Parlaree, Hayek only identifies a few words which could, in his view, plausibly derive from Lingua Franca, including *bene* 'good', *bona* 'good', possibly *lingo* 'language', though this might also derive from Italian and is not exclusive to Parlaree, and *savvy* 'to know', from the Lingua Franca *sabir* (Hayek 2002:172, 177, 181). As with *lingo*, *savvy* is not solely a Parlaree term: indeed, even if it originated from the Lingua Franca verb, it is found in English slang, and in many pidgins and creoles across the world.

Hayek (2002) adds weight to his argument that Italian, rather than Lingua Franca, is the lexifier of much of Parlaree by suggesting that Lingua Franca loans would have dated largely from the 17th century, since by the time of the Italian immigration Lingua Franca had ceased to exist (Hayek 2002: 168-9). I would counter this since, as demonstrated earlier in this chapter, Lingua Franca's demise was neither immediate, nor indeed significant, in the aftermath of the French colonisation of Algiers and gradual occupation of much of North Africa. This would thus allow for Lingua Franca, through the channels of sailors and port society, to have lexically influenced Parlaree up until the mid-late 19th century. This view is substantiated by Hotten (1864) who suggests that Lingua Franca permeated lower class English society from several routes:

> 'Lingua Franca or bastard Italian [is] spoken at Genoa, Trieste, Malta, Smyrna, Constantinople, Smyrna, Alexandria and all Mediterranean seaport towns...it has been introduced to the wandering tribes of London by the sailors, foreign and English, who trade to and from the Mediterranean seaports, by the swarms of organ players

> from all parts of Italy, from the makers of images from Rome and Florence, all of whom, in the dense thoroughfares, mingle with our lower orders' (Hotten 1864: 22-23).

Polari, as Parlaree became known, was a jargon spoken predominantly by theatrical and circus performers, and by the gay community in the first half of the 20th century. It was more a secret code than a language, allowing its speakers to discuss issues often of a sexual, and almost always a personal, nature without non-speakers being aware of the topic or the tone of their conversation. Additionally, the use of Polari would have established the boundaries of group membership - to identify fellow group members and to exclude outsiders. Hancock highlights how different this role is to that of Lingua Franca, which enabled and maximised communication potential between different nationalities and professions (Hancock 1984: 396).

Polari was popularised by a BBC Television series, *Round the Horne*, in the 1960s, and several of its terms came into common parlance, just at the moment the jargon fell into decline, due largely to the diminishing importance of secrecy within the gay community as homosexuality was legalised and became socially more acceptable. Linguistically, Polari draws from the cant of travellers and thieves, from Lingua Franca used by sailors, and Italian from the nineteenth century wave of immigrants, Romani of the gypsy community and the jargon of the performing community, particularly the theatre and circus. An additional linguistic element is Polari's cryptolalic features. As such, words are internally re-structured to conceal their meaning, for example *riah* is the Polari word for hair (Baker 2002: 188). Polari was a jargon that has a core of 20 key words (*Zhoosh, bona, vada, Nanti, omi, pallone, eek*) and 400 or so lesser known ones (Baker 2002: 40). Baker (2002) suggests that some Lingua Franca words that seem to be 'at least related to Parlyaree [and thus Polari] are

barca 'boat'; *mangia* 'food'; *bona vardia* 'all's well'; *capello* 'hood'; and *parlamento* 'conversation' (Baker 2002: 28).

There is, as with Lingua Franca, a lack of documentation for Polari. In part, this is due to its secretive nature, and because it was predominantly oral. As a jargon for thieves, travellers and actors (who were considered disreputable until the early twentieth century), Polari had very low prestige, and would not have been considered worthy of attention, let alone study. Furthermore, access to outsiders would have been restricted given its role as a secret language for the gay community (Baker 2002: 1). Ironically, there has been much more cooperation from speakers since Polari fell out of use. The lack of written records before the twentieth century means there is no diachronic analysis of Polari. There is no orthographic standard with, at times, a variety of spellings for a single word and therefore, as discussed above, etymology can prove hard to establish.

10.6 Other remnants of Lingua Franca

In the *Ethnologue* Lingua Franca is listed today (although only in the last decade) as extinct. It claims, however, that there is 'reportedly a present-day variety on Aegean Islands, used as pidgin in southeast Mediterranean region, has mainly Arabic syntax and vocabulary which is 65%–70% Italian, 10% Spanish, and other Catalan, French, Ladino, and Turkish words' (Simons, Gary F. and Charles D. Fennig (eds.) 2017). Rossetti echoes this, claiming personal experience of Lingua Franca in the past few years: 'as an instinctive adaptation of a basic Italian / Spanish lexicon to a simplified Arab syntax, Lingua Franca does occasionally appear even today: specific matchings and examples are given from the current Palestinian Pidgin, Dodecanese Creole, and the 'petit nègre' of Eritrea' (Rossetti 1999: 42). There would appear to be remnants throughout its former region of diffusion, and beyond, or perhaps these are just similar instances of L2 Italian.

A study by Bender, Cooper and Ferguson (1969) states that 'work of an Ethiopian investigator (Habte-Mariam Marcos) documented a variety of modified Italian with startling similarities in form and function to the original Mediterranean Lingua Franca of centuries ago (Schuchardt 1909)' (Bender, Cooper & Ferguson 1969: 192). Similarly, in Eritrea, Marcos found that pidginized Italian was used, between Italians and Eritreans, and among Eritreans without a mutually intelligible African language (Marcos 1976: 172). Features similar to those characteristic of Lingua Franca – the infinitive being used for non-past reference, the past participle forming the basis for past-tense forms, and multiple incidences of *per* with a disjunctive pronoun – can be seen in the following examples:

> *non dire ber luy* `don't tell him'
> *noy dato soldi ber loro* `we gave them money'
> *tu di doße stare* `where are you from?'
> *adesso loro stare amico* `now they are friends'
> (Marcos 1976: 178)

Again, this reaffirms the suggestion that many of those features endemic to Lingua Franca are also typical of the L2 Italian, spoken by those whose first language was Arabic.

Mallette offers an example of enduring Lingua Franca compound terms: a 2012 *New York Times* article quotes a woman in Beirut celebrating the temporary halt to hostilities in Lebanon, using a combination of Italian and Arabic: '"*Finito la mishkila*!"—"No more problems!"' (Mallette 2014: 344). It is worth noting that the harbour quarter in Beirut is known as *Karantina,* a compound Arabic-Italian nomenclature (Rossetti 1999: 47). Minervini (1996) highlights the legacy of Lingua Franca (and its dovetailing with *Franc tirailleur*), citing Hergé's *Tintin* series where all the non-western characters use

the infinitive when speaking western languages. (Minervini 1996: 279).

In terms of its nomenclature, Franco is a term now used for a new form of communication, translating Arabic into Latin script for social media and text messaging. A modern form of *Al-jamiya*, perhaps, but also a nascent contact language that is sweeping the Arab world (Al-Fawaz 2014). The legacy of Lingua Franca stretches into the 21st century.

10.7 Conclusion

Linguists focusing on Lingua Franca have devoted relatively little attention to its demise and legacy. This is despite the fact that the original scholarship carried out by Bonaparte and Schuchardt actually focused on the sustained use of Lingua Franca as a living language, and its immediate successors. Although both were attempting to document and describe a living language, their methods were remote. Neither spent any time in North Africa or the Levant, but rather relied on informants, in Schuchardt's case a network of linguist and non-linguist associates, for primary data regarding Lingua Franca. All the speech data they draw on is reported by a third party rather than collected by Schuchardt or Bonaparte directly. As in the source chapter, this introduces a potential element of the native speaker's perception and bias. There is an implicit equivalence by Clarke and Bonaparte of spoken and written Lingua Franca (Clarke 1877; Bonaparte 1877) as though both would be equally representative samples of Lingua Franca. This stands in contrast with the more recent consensus that Lingua Franca was an oral language. Within his archive manuscript, Schuchardt has devoted several excerpts of newspapers to Lingua Franca, notably the *Charivari Oranais* (HSA 1882: *Charivari Oranais* – See Appendix lll for copies of original), which he analyses on a par with reported speech. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the distinctions drawn between written and oral (or rather aural) data

may well be less relevant in an era where there was less rigid orthography and standardization of language, and particularly in a region like Barbary where the plurilingualism at the individual as well as societal level would mean that examples of written language were unlikely to be uniform and monolingual. This would appear to be borne out by a number of the documents cited from the National Archives at Kew.

Despite the relexification by French of Lingua Franca, as the colonial power spread its influence through Algeria and much of North Africa, a number of its hallmark features endured. Nor was the appropriation of French a uniform process. Depending on the population demographics of the Regencies, more Spanish (as in Oran, Algeria), or more Italian (as in Tripoli), was retained in local dialect. Morel Fatio wrote, in a letter to Schuchardt, confirming the presence of Lingua Franca in Algiers in 1882, that there was an increasing knowledge and uptake of French by the Arabs, transforming the lexical content of their Lingua Franca:

> *Malheureusement les Arabes des environs d'Alger commencent à savoir trop bien le français; il faudrait surprendre des conversations d'arabes avec des Espagnols ignorant le français;*
> 'Unfortunately the Arabs around Algiers begin to know too much French: you must catch unawares a conversation between Arabs and Spanish who know no French' (HSA 1882: Letter 5-7472; my translation).

The "unfortunately" refers to Schuchardt's desire to hear (or, at least, have reported verbatim) conversations in Lingua Franca, and the fact that this was, by the 1880s, becoming increasingly rare. This suggests that, prior to the infiltration of French into Lingua Franca, at least in Morel Fatio's view, there was a specific variety spoken between Arabs and Europeans defined as Lingua Franca. There is the sense that this

did not disappear immediately with the arrival of the French, as fifty years on there is still the possibility of hearing it spoken in the streets of Algiers. Change would have been fastest there, presumably, as it was where French soldiers, and therefore their language, would have been most concentrated.

Residual influences of Lingua Franca can be found in today's Pataouète, the French-influenced vernacular of Algeria, both lexically and grammatically, and there are lexical incidences in the slang, *Polari*, whose very name stems from the Lingua Franca and Italian, *parlare* 'to speak', though it is notably the infinitive form of the verb, as per that used so widely in Lingua Franca. Some remnants of this rather exclusive jargon endure even today in English. Across the Mediterranean, there are isolated words and expressions that seem to echo Lingua Franca, though the plurality of nationalities and languages makes it almost impossible to specify and prove their precise origins. However, it would seem plausible to suggest that, while subject to relexification and a homogenization of language and orthography in the past century, elements of the once ubiquitous vernacular known as Lingua Franca can still be found across the Mediterranean.

Chapter 11 – Final Conclusions

This thesis has demonstrated the extent to which the unusual political, economic and social environment of Barbary ensured the flourishing and centrality of Lingua Franca. The plurality of nationalities, religions and, above all, languages in the Regencies necessitated a contact language whose lexicon and grammar was sufficiently circumscribed and simple to maximize understanding. Lingua Franca also offered a compromise among the different social strata as, although Romance-lexified, it was not a pure natural language, with the associated prestige. Arabic and Turkish speakers could speak Lingua Franca without undermining their own authority.

The corpus is split, by many linguists, into accepted documentary sources and questionable literary texts. I have argued that it should not be so clearly divided, that the corpus is in fact more nuanced. Seemingly factual accounts of liberated slaves were often subject to exaggeration of the hardship and brutality of life in Barbary. This embellishment may have spread as far as the language attributed to corsairs and slave-masters. Certainly, the tales of incarceration and violence had a specific purpose. Sometimes it was pure remuneration for their stories. Others were trying to influence authorities – religious and political – to help free fellow countrymen still enslaved. Such creativity implies an overlap with the more dramatic sources. Some of these, by contrast, have a commitment to authentic portrayal of character, culture and language. Le Chevalier D'Arvieux, the King's envoy to Constantinople and Barbary advised Molière on his Lingua Franca-speaking Turkish characters (D'arvieux 1735). Although one must never lose sight of their primary function to entertain a reader or, more often, an audience, these texts do go beyond what Schuchardt terms historical evidence of Lingua Franca's existence (Teza Archive 1890: Letter no. 12, Schuchardt). There is often linguistic value in the

portrayal of Lingua Franca of the dramatic sources, particularly in Molière and Goldoni.

The blurring of fact and fiction extends to the ethnography of the region. Davies (2004) acknowledges the impossibility of knowing concretely the number of European slaves captured in Barbary over the more than 300 years of corsairing (Davies 2004:9). Assessments like Haedo's *Topographia* (1612) and later population estimates are rough at best, while anecdotal accounts, detailing the size of the slave community, and numbers of Turkish janissaries and renegade corsairs, are likely to be conjecture and, at times, biased. I have, however, demonstrated, through ethnographic detail, the multinational makeup of Barbary society and its consequently plurilingual character. The sheer number of Europeans – slaves, priests, merchants, corsairs and diplomats -, and their integration into the higher echelons of Arab and Turkish society makes the use of a Romance-based contact language a more natural choice than it might initially appear in Turkish-controlled North Africa.

The corpus, even with the literary texts, is limited. Evidently, all testimony is written, although Lingua Franca has long been considered an exclusively oral language. However, early research by Bonaparte and Schuchardt suggests that their Lingua Franca data came from both oral and written sources, with little implied distinction between them (Bonaparte 1877: Schuchardt 1909, trans. 1980). Research into Schuchardt's archive and the National Archives at Kew have expanded the potential corpus. The former provides information about and data samples of Lingua Franca, sent to Schuchardt in the late 19th century, some of which he cites in his seminal 1909 article, but many of which he does not, and have remained largely unanalysed until now. The correspondence with the English consuls in Tunis and Tripoli found in Kew sheds light on the social hierarchies and plurality of different nationalities and languages

found throughout all levels of Regency society. They provide evidence of Lingua Franca 'loans', compound nouns of Italian and Arabic words, such as *Rais Marina* 'captain of the port', as used by the Tripoli consul, Hanmer Warrington (TNA: FO: 161/9 (a)), and also comprise many letters from Jewish merchants, based mostly in Livorno, to Tunis Consuls, Goodwyn and Baker. Such correspondence, while not written in Lingua Franca, exhibits features consistent with those identified as characteristic of Lingua Franca, such as a lack of agreement of gender and number, lexical interference from Spanish and French and, in isolated cases, the use of the infinitive rather than inflected present tense verbs (TNA: FO 335/1; TNA: FO 335/6).

Several linguists including Selbach (2007, 2008) consider Lingua Franca a pidgin. Notably Schuchardt never used the term pidgin to describe the language. Yet, it fits many of the criteria established to categorise pidgins. It also fulfills the definition of a koine. Jargon, nautical jargon and foreigner talk might also be used to describe Lingua Franca, particularly in its early stages before becoming more established in Barbary. L2 Italian could also describe many of the examples in the corpus, and corresponds to the majority, if not all, of the grammatical 'rules' identified by Bonaparte (1877), Schuchardt (1909) and in my descriptive grammar. Given that one of its key features was fluidity, I would argue that at different points in its existence, and perhaps in different places across its vast geographical expanse (ports across the Mediterranean, throughout the Levant and the Barbary Regencies), and particularly by different nationality witnesses it could have been classified as all these. Perhaps the most relevant definition is a supposedly 21st century phenomenon, the *metrolingua franca* (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015), a term that describes languages that evolve out of the superdiversity (Vertovec 2007) of today's metropolises, characterized by multiple lexifiers and with the flexibility to change register, style and lexicon as demanded by the situation. As described by Schuchardt, Lingua Franca's *panta rei*

'everything flows / changes' quality would seem to qualify it as a precursor to the modern day phenomenon. Evidently, the echo of its name resonates with this view.

Reports of Lingua Franca's demise were, and are, premature. Its 'successor', Sabir, actually no more than a name change, endured for decades after the arrival in Algeria of the French. The *patois*, Pataouète, which evolved and still exists today retains a substantial number of Lingua Franca terms. Residual elements were found in Polari, the underground and mostly gay jargon, prevalent among actors and performers in the first half of the 20th century in Britain. L2 Italian in various locations, including Ethiopia and Eritrea, offer echoes lexically and grammatically of Lingua Franca, most likely as a result of comparable experiences of language contact. Place names and odd words have endured in the Levant, and the term Franca or rather Franco has been coined to describe a way of text messaging and contributing to social media in Arabic using Roman letters and numbers, offering another sign of the language's remarkably modern character.

There is more research to be done, particularly in archives of the Ottoman Empire. The vast catalogue of documents at Kew might yet yield more and better examples of Lingua Franca in texts. Private unpublished papers of writers and travellers such as Nerval and Bernier, and especially the accounts of English-language visitors to the Levant and Barbary might also provide added data to enhance the Lingua Franca corpus. The latter also contributes to the attempt to describe and classify Lingua Franca since, as stated, these linguistic records are less influenced by a knowledge and understanding of Romance lexicon.

Although, in my research I have found numerous new Lingua Franca references and texts, as well as new examples within previously

discovered texts, I feel I have but scraped the surface. I have not been able to include every excerpt and citation, but have attempted to provide a comprehensive picture of Lingua Franca, its speakers, its ecology and landscape, and its resonances today. Returning to Hilary Mantel, with whom I opened my investigation, 'evidence is always partial. Facts are not truth, though they are part of it – information is not knowledge. And history is not the past - it is the method we have evolved of organizing our ignorance of the past' (Mantel 2017: Reith Lecture 1, BBC Radio 4).

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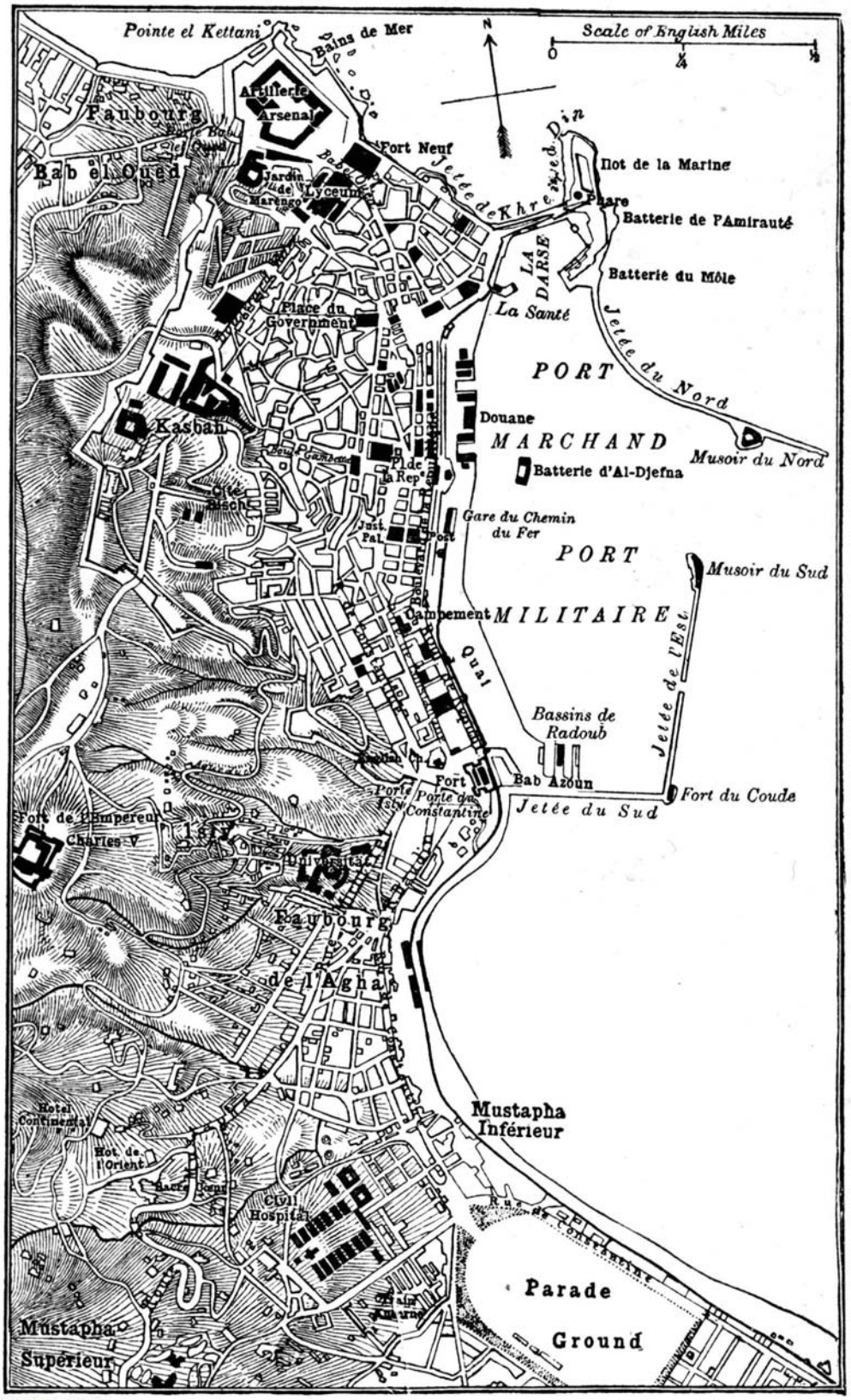
Appendices

Appendix l

Maps of Barbary

Barbary map, 1590 courtesy of http://imgarcade.com/first-barbary-war-map.html

Barbary map courtesy of
http://www.joelertola.com/grfx/grfx_new/chrt_barbary.html

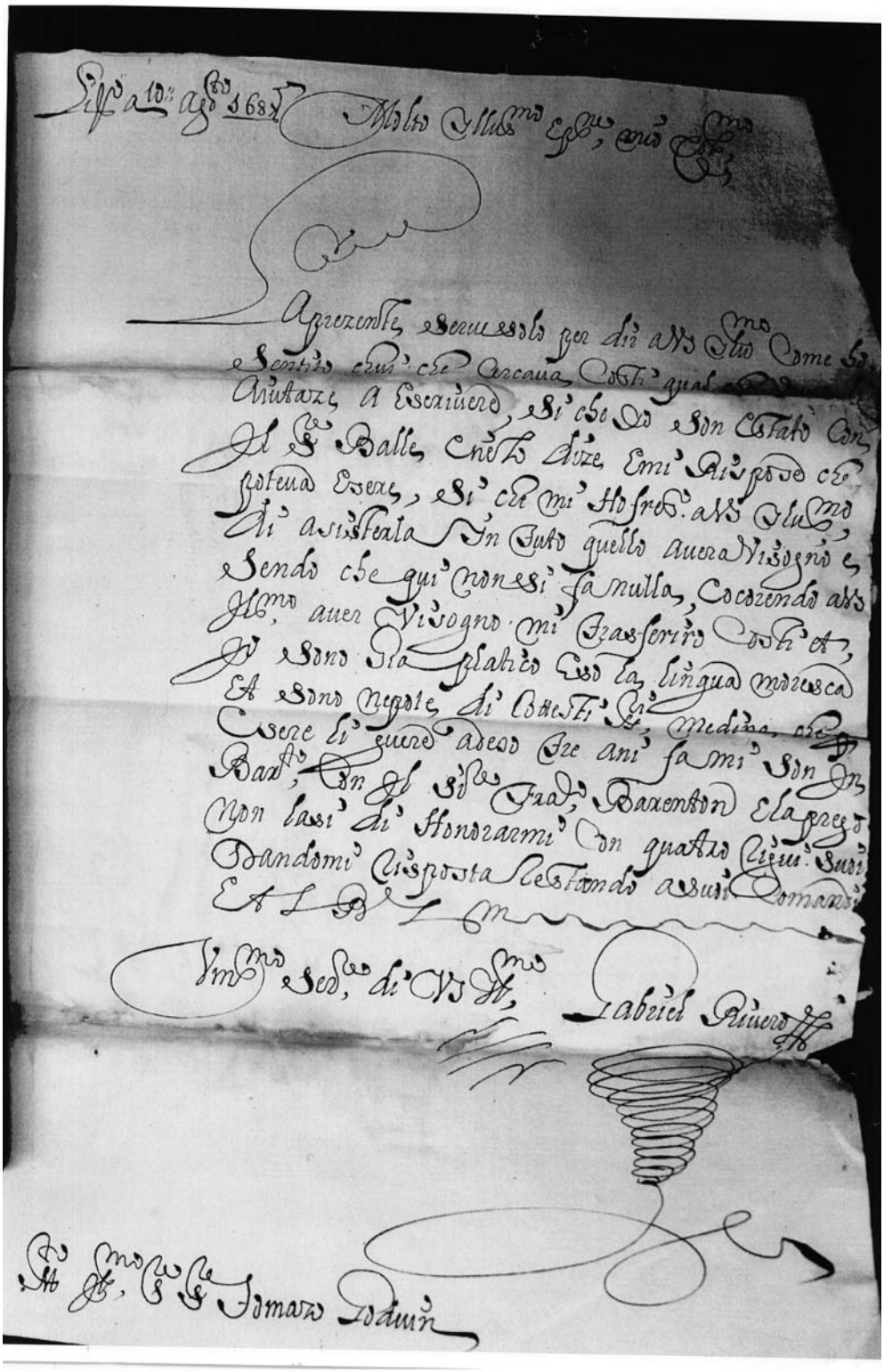


Street map of Algiers, 1906 courtesy of http://www.mappery.com/maps/Algiers-1906-Map.jpg

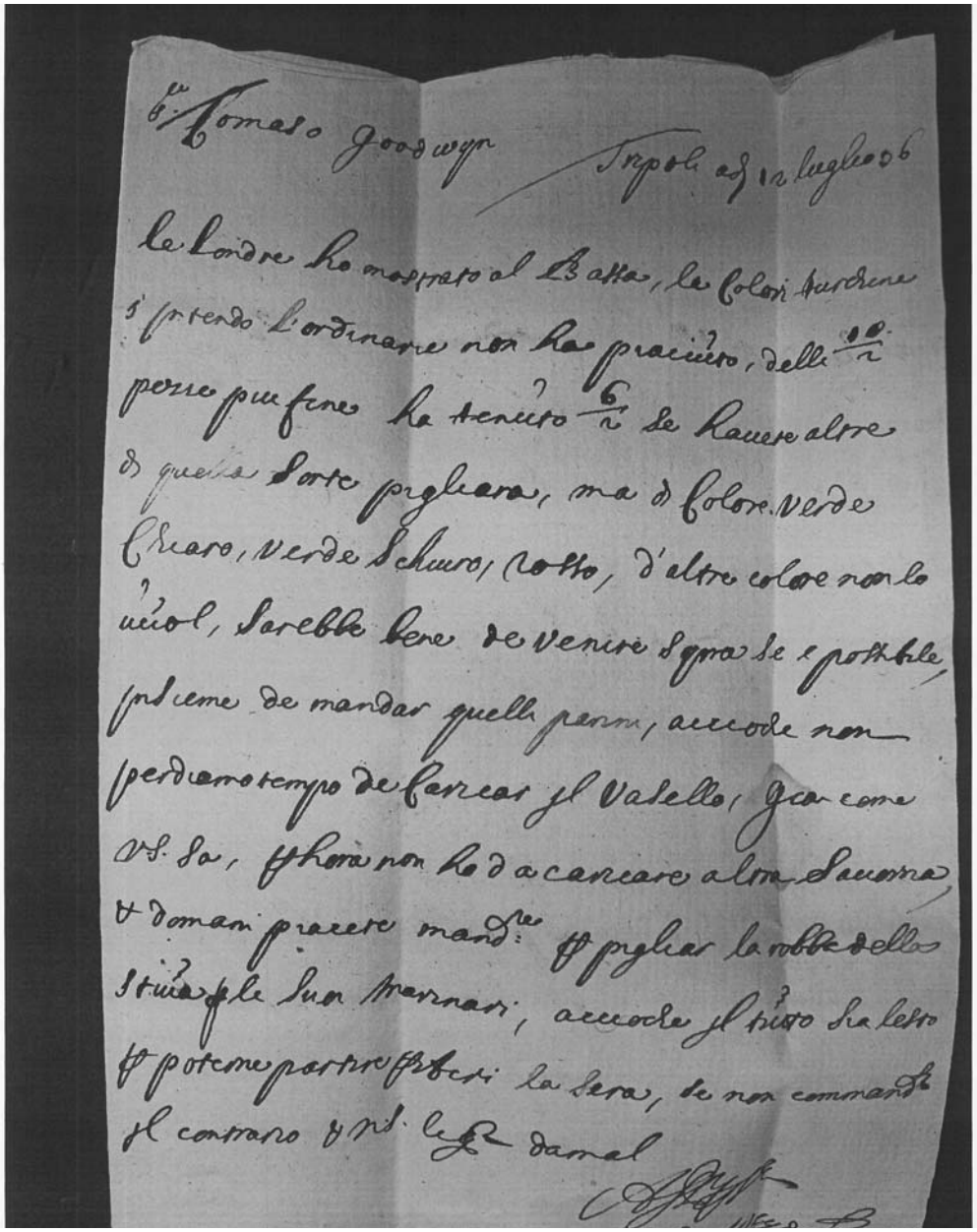
Appendix ll

Correspondence from The National Archives (TNA), Kew.

TNA: FO 335/6/6 (a)
August 1687. Letter from Gabriel Rivero in Livorno to Consul Thomas Goodwin in Tunis



TNA FO: 335/1/20
July 1696. Two letters from J. Vanderweyden to Consul Thomas Goodwin in Tunis



Sr. Tomaso Goodwyn

Tripoli adì 12 luglio 96

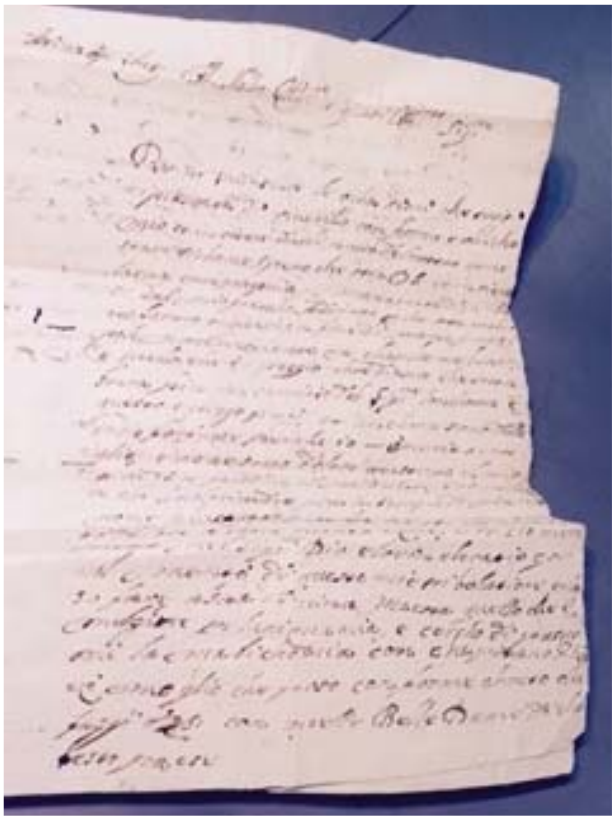
le Londre ho mostrato al Bey atta, le Colori turchine
s'intendo l'ordinare non ha piaciuto, delle 10 n.
pezze pur fine ha tenuto 6 n. se hauere altre
di quella sorte pigliara, ma di colore verde
chiaro, verde scuro, rotto, d'altre colore non lo
uuol, sarebbe bene de venire sgra se e pottibile,
prima de mandar quelli panni, accode non
perdiamo tempo de cancar il Vasello, gia come
V.S. sa, ffhora non ho da cancare alm. sauona
& doman piacere mand.re ff pigliar la robba della
stuia fle sua marnari, accode il tiro sia letto
ff poteme partire ffberi la sera, se non command.
il contrario di V.S. lig.re da mal

S.r Tomaso Goodwyn — Napoli ad 21 luglio 1696

Il Costume di nostro Balla è sempre cosi di pigliar
quello che lei piace, Spero che me resterà di hauer
d'auantaggio del prezzo annotateme delle ore Panni,
le cenere a f 6 a 3 fl.o p.o: costa manco non lo darò —
se pretenda cantaro piccolo, ò damascino — quando
V.S. domani vien Signor che sia di buon mattino, se
potrà parlar quello che sarà necessario di quel tempo
se potrà anco far per mediaten.te — venir li panni
quando li torno — conche li resterò di cuore,
alla matina sarà il mio huomo abatto, per dar le
robbe delle Stue di retro
se lei potrebbe venir
questa sera meglio
sarebbe per parlarne

J Vander Meyden

TNA: FO 335/1/29
1698. Letter from Francesca Blacheloche to Consul Thomas Goodwin in Tunis



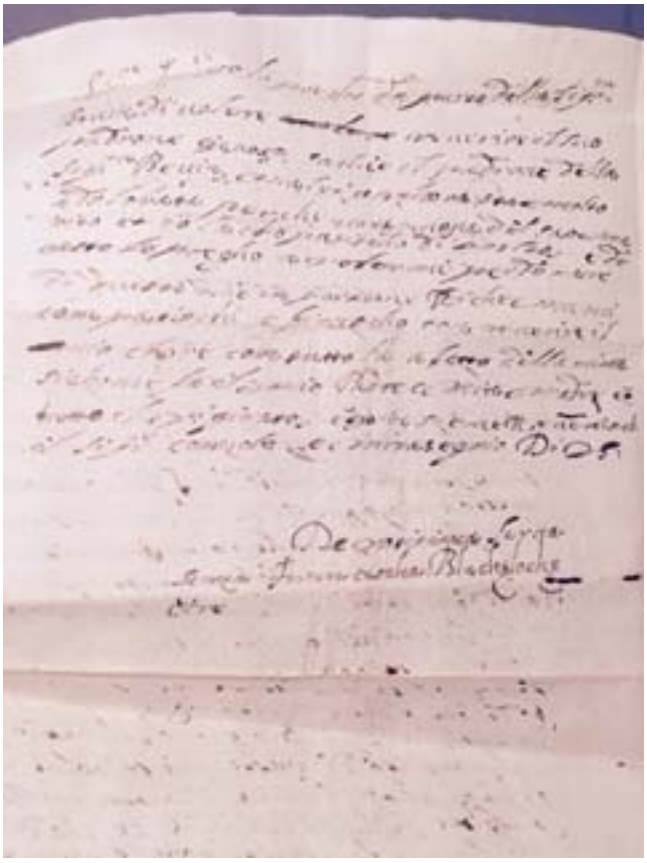


Photo of a representative box file of correspondence from The National Archives, Kew

Appendix lll

Excerpts of *Le Charivari Oranais* courtesy of the Hugo Schuchardt Archive (HSA)

Onzième Année. — N° 534 | Dix Centimes | Dimanche 15 Mars 1891.

ABONNEMENTS
FRANCE & ALGERIE
6 mois 3f
1 an 6
ETRANGER
le Port en sus

ADMINISTRATION
BOULEVARD SÉGUIN
ANNONCES
Légales 0.15 la Ligne
Diverses 0.30
Réclames 1.50

LE CHARIVARI ORANAIS & ALGERIEN

Directeur-Gérant
ZIMMERMANN
ORAN

Imprimeur
VICTOR COLLET
ORAN

CASTIGAT RIDENDO MORES

JOURNAL HEBDOMADAIRE, ILLUSTRÉ, POLITIQUE & SATIRIQUE.

ACTUALITÉ

Le cauchemar d'un fonctionnaire

Front page of *Le Charivari Oranais*, 15 March 1891

Come ji apri ti fi di jornal, ji vodré vos anvoyi quarqu'z'artic qui ti ansir dans li *Piti t'aranti*.

Ji ti aspliqueri primo qui ji m'amouse tou li jour à lire li *Piti Collant*, jornal qui parli di Ripoublique y qui tapi sor li z'affir qui ti diri dis *abou* (1); et come ji soui moi-mime ci qui ti appil on philosophe, ji voudri di riforme, come cit jornal, anportante y boucoup p'antirissante, bor li citoyen cibil z'y militir. Ci riformes qui fo fire y son grand y nombroses.

D'abord ji parlri di z'agent d'affir, qui nous appil di *z'abogados d'Espagne*, y qui sont a riformi soubitman.

Li z'agent d'affir

Figouri vo qui l'otre jor, d'abord ji vo diri qui ji vend des patates frites y di sardines, y qui ji dimore à la *Plasa Blanca*, come ti diri li boulevard di z'railites. L'otre jor, figouri-vo qui j'iti coupi fir di fritour bor li zouzous qui friquanti mon tablissement, quand y rivi on gent di bolice, avic chapo sor la tit, cigarite à la boche, sans dire ni bonjor ni bonsoir, qui live la parole, qui crié y

(1) Abus.

Excerpt from *Le Charivari Oranais*, 19 March 1882, example of Sabir

qui disé : « Msiou Slomone, ti en a on prousi barbal pas qui vos en avi jiti di z'ordoures sor la rote boublic. »

« Mon chir ami, por dios, qui j'loui di, pardone, qui si pas moi, qui si M'siou Chaloum *(pas ciloui di ponch)* qu'il y la coti. »

L'gent di bolice y ripondi : « Pa de riplic, ji soui force poublic, y vos an nite on n'ansolan, vos an n'avi on prouci barbal di quinze francs, y ti passera à la *joustice di Pi.* »

Jiti tan en coulère di cit prouci, qué mon fame, Soltana, y mi croyi fou. « Quisqui vos en avé, mon chiri ; quisqui, mon minion mon pigeon ; quisqui ? »

Moi ji loui ripond : « Mon ange, qu'il malor qui nos zy t'arrivi ! On gent di boulice y vient di fire prouci barbal por moi. Si ti en avi vu tout l'famille qui plouri, ti en oré plouri aussi. »

Dix jours y passé. L'affir di prouci barbal il iti pit itre oublié, quand j'y riçoive on pabié qui dizi qui falli ali à la joustice di Pi por li landemain.

Li landimain, à la *joustice di Pi,* ji dimande on M'siou qui plidi por moi, La court y jouge l'affir. Figouri-vo mon n'attonnement. J'y avi on coulir ! mais on coulir !....

Enfin, jiti por ritorni au tablissement de la *Plasa Blanca,* mais voilà qu'on mi tir mon torban.

« Quisqui tiri torban ? qui j'y crié. Por Dios lisse moi, mon ami!.... Ji ritorni la tite, y ji voi mon abogado. Jiti en coulir contre loui, parciqui y n'avi pa di solement deux paroles.

— Quisqui vous vouli, mon ami ?

— Dix francs pour avoir défendu toi !

— Zoutch douro ! ti peu t'fouilli, mon ami ! zen n'y pa. Ji ti donne zoutch franco, pa blous.

M'siou l'agent d'afir y vouli pa, y vouli dix franc.

Enfin, y ma lissi a sett franc.

Ti compren, M'siou li ridactor, qui si j'en a sovent di prouci pareils, sa n'va blous.

Bor gagni 20 sou y fo qui ji fas dix plat di sardine, y bor gagni 10 franc cit gens la i na qu'a fir do parol.

Vo conprendra qui cit chose y po pa douri. Japil ton bone volonti por qui ti fi cissi cit affir qui son pas chic.

Adio, M'siou li ridactor, mirci di ton spitaliti bien bon.

SLOMON de (BEN) KALI.

Excerpt from *Le Charivari Oranais*, 19 March 1882, example of Sabir

Li Corbeau i li Chacail

On jor ji promini bor en bas di ravin,
Ji misouis embiti comme la queue d'un lapin ;
I fisi one chalor qui on dit dropicale,
Pit-être tu diras : ji mi fot pas mal,
Bas-di tout mon zami, parce que citte chalor
I m'a fait voir on chose étonnante ma palor.
Ji t'a dit qui fis chaud, i bor cette réson
Dissous un grand zeboudj, je couchi por di bon
Pendant que ji dormi y en avi di bites,
Qui por pas s'ennuyer i fisi la causite.
Ji livi mon la tite, i ji voir bor en haut,
On zoizeau noir qui ji crois vos apil on corbeau
I tini dans sa bouche on morceau di grouyire,
Os qui la chiti, ça ni pas votre affire
I bien moi aussi ji mi fot pas mal.
Ma ci pas ça qui dit on citoyen chacal
Qui sont bassi par là, vic on barbe di Sapor,
Migre, grili, fartasse, comme d'one juif la sor,
Il marchi, il alli bor divan, bor darrière
Enfin ji crois mossiou qui sentit la Gruyire.
Il marchi doucement i son fi di grimace
I livi son chapeau, ji voir sa tite fartasse,
Oh ! on, iatek salem, ia sidi corbeau
Comme vos ites joli, comme vos ites beau
I ji crois divini rien quà vot gibus
Qui ton chimise i sort de la maison Pirtus
Vos l'avi chiti chez mon ami Folco,
Ji crois qui vot veston i sorti di chi Girbeau.
Li corbeau ripond pas, i moque di cite crapo
Li chacail dit chouïa, j'vas li tourni la boule.
Il ritour il lui dit : « Je crois vos chanti bien »
On dit qui ti on a on voix de muezzin.
Chanti nous Zouzifine, ou la petite Anglise,
Mi ji vos en supplie chant pas la Marseillise.
Li corbeau i l'acoute, i bor fir son malin
I lache son cascroute, qui tombi das le ravin
Li chacail il i courir i l'attrape aussitôt
Pis si sauve en corant plus vite qu'on perdreau

MORALE :

Si jord'hui por demain ti sara gobernor
Jami l'armée rolante ti besoin d'avoir por,
Borcani ti dira : « Citoyens di corage
Va sarcher di corbeau si tu veux di fromage. »

Li Corbeau i li chacail, *Le Charivari Oranais*, 19 March 1882