

## **Contesting Linguistic Repression And Endurance: Arabic in the Andalusian Linguistic Landscape**

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### **ABSTRACT**

The present article portrays the use of Arabic in the Andalusian linguistic landscape (LL) where Arabic was used in the past as a lingua franca for eight centuries, banned since the Reconquest and is used nowadays as a minority language. Data were collected from road signs, public signs and signs in some specific places in the Andalusia region, field notes, and interviews with two informants. In the light of theories of ethnolinguistic vitality, language economy and power, and collective identity, the data analysis shows that Arabic is used in the Andalusian LL in three different circles, which are dissimilar to the three discourse frames found out in the previous study that identifies economic reasons as the main source of tension between the government's monolingualism ideology and the local people's ideology of multilingualism. In addition to commercial purposes, Arabic is apparent in Andalusia as a sign of vitality against language repression and as a way to build collective identity among the Muslims.

*Keywords:* Arabic language, Spanish history, the Andalusian linguistic landscape

### **INTRODUCTION**

Linguistic landscape (LL) has been a focus of interest among a number of researchers. LL of an area can be used for two functions; an informational function and a symbolic function (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). The most fundamental informational function of LL is as a unique indicator of a region resided by a certain linguistic group of community. Thus, LL informs to the in-

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group and out-group members of the linguistic characteristics, territorial limits and language boundaries they enter.

Finzel (2012) stated that LL may include graffiti, derived from Italian language 'graffito' which meant drawing or inscription (Basthomi, 2007), official and non-official announcements, or public notes. The word 'graffiti' has undergone changes in meaning and it is associated specifically to writings in public areas. In recent development, graffiti comprises any kinds of scratches, drawings, paintings, and signs on walls or any place writers/painters want to express their ideas.

Many studies on LL (Backhaus, 2007; Ehinger, 2014; Gorter, 1997; Hancock, 2012; Hult, 2014; Lanza & Woldemariam, 2014; Lawrence, 2012) have focused on the use of English in different places. However, little information on Arabic LL are available. The existing studies on LL where Arabic is discussed were administered by Botterman (2011); Koskinen (2012), and Mahajneh and Shohamy (2012). In Botterman (2011)'s study, the data were collected from the city of Ghent—Belgium, where Arabic is used in a Lebanese restaurant in an immigrant neighbourhood. Koskinen (2012) conducted a LL research in a suburb of Hervanta, Finland, where Arabic was the third most widely spoken language after Finnish and Russian but could only be found once in the the 22 cases of the signage.

Unlike Botterman (2011) and Koskinen (2012)'s data collected from the European cities, Mahajneh and Shohamy (2012)'s report mentioned the high usage level of Arabic in certain places in Israel. Although

Arabic language has been institutionally defined as a minority language in Israel, Mahajneh and Shohamy's (2012) study showed that in the city of Ume El Pahem, the Arabic language could be found in about 90% of the signs in the internal road, 82% in roads connecting to the main freeway, 87% in secondary schools and 100% in middle schools.

LL studies have been conducted in Spain, for example, by Colomé and Long (2012), and Gorter, Aiestaran and Cenoz (2012). Colome and Long (2012) reported that Catalan dominates signs in the three streets in Barcelona and Arabic was predominant only in 2.5 per cent of the establishments. No Arabic-only sign is found and Arabic is always applied in signs together with Spanish or Catalan-Spanish. Furthermore, Gorter, Aiestaran and Cenoz (2012) collected data from the city of Donostia-San Sebastian in Basque Country where the government purposefully promoted Basque and Spanish to be used in public signs. Other languages, including Arabic, are also present there as minority languages.

Despite the previous studies dealing with Arabic in some settings, to the best of our knowledge, none has been done by putting Arabic as the main focus wherein Arabic previously functioned as a lingua franca in the Andalusia. However, during the Reconquest, Arabic was banned by the rulers and those who spoke Arabic were punished (Pharies, 2007; Surtz, 2006; Woolard, 2013). The current research seeks to identify the visibility of Arabic

in the Andalusian LL after the banishment of the language. Therefore, the current ethnographic study tries to answer the following research questions: “Is Arabic still apparent in the Andalusian LL?” “If it is so, how is it used?”

The theories of ethnolinguistic vitality (Landry & Bourhis, 1997), language economy and power (Cenoz & Gorter, 2009; Gorter, 2012), and collective identity (Ben-Rafael, 2009; Koskinen, 2012), as well as historical accounts on the use of Arabic during the Muslim era in 711-1492 (Bakar, 2016, pp. 107-108) are used to understand why Arabic can still be found in some specific areas despite the government’s policy that puts Spanish as the only official language.

Landry and Bourhis (1997, p. 30) defined ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) as “the socio-structural factors that affect a group’s ability to behave and survive as a distinct and active collective entity within multilingual settings.” When a particular ethnic group is weaker in comparison to more dominant language groups, the former will tend to modify their linguistic communication closer to the dominant groups. Consequently, the linguistic inheritance of the subordinate groups may disappear.

Landry and Bourhis (1997, p. 29) stated that to maintain the vitality of their languages, rival language groups would make efforts to increase the ‘visibility’ of their own languages in the LL through private and government signs. Private signs can be in the forms of commercial signs in the storefront, shops, and so on. Government

signs include road signs, place names and inscriptions on government’s buildings applied by the government. Backhaus (2007) classified government-related signs as ‘top-down signs’ and all others as ‘bottom up’.

While public signs “directly reflect the economic, political, and cultural capital of the language group” (Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 34), the language policy exerted by the government may impact on what language will appear on public signs. The policy is usually directed at official signs but it can affect commercial signs and thus have economic impact (Cenoz & Gorter, 2009). Language policy may result in more frequent use of the supported language such as Basque in Donostia-San Sebastián (Gorter, Aiestaran, & Cenoz, 2012), Gaelic in Scotland and Wales (Hornsby & Vigers, 2012), and Sami in North Calotte (Salo, 2012). In other situation, however, the government’s language policy might be neglected by local people as apparent in Dingle where people prefer to have multilingual practice which can give them more economic power (Moriarty, 2012). Hence, the current research aims to portray the vitality of Arabic in Andalusia against the government policy that banished its application in Spain during the Reconquest.

## METHODS

In order to investigate Arabic in the Andalusian LL, we purposefully observed Islamic heritage sites in Andalusia province. We took photos of road signs, street signs, commercial board signs as well as place

signs along the roads from one site to another one in Cordoba, Sevilla, to Granada. Due to the centrality of the three cities in Islamic civilization in the Muslim era (Fuad, 2016; Mufrodi, 2016; Mukarrom, 2016) and the fact that important heritage sites can be found in the three cities nowadays, they were chosen as sites to be observed. Using ethnography, we observed the field and wrote field-notes, took photos and documented the co-occurrence of Arabic with other languages in the public spaces every one could enter in the heritage sites and the roads connecting them.

While more traditional approaches to the study of LL are quantitatively oriented in which all signs in particular area were documented by photographs, more recent approaches to LL research tend to be more ethnographically informed and focus more on critical examples illustrating theoretical issues (Lanza & Woldemariam, 2014, p. 497). Following the latter trend, our data included photos of 17 different items, which was rather small, of language use in the public spaces and Islamic heritage sites. In the present study, as we are not working towards a quantified analysis, we focused on variation rather than numerical data, so when there were repetitions of data, only one data was taken from one site (Koskinen, 2012). For example, there were numerous inscriptions of *wa laa ghaaliba illa Allah* on the wall of the Alhambra, but only one photo was used to represent the whole.

The current research analyzed data from signage photos, field-notes, and semi structured interviews with two informants,

YM and EG, selected by considering their linguistic background—both are native speakers of Spanish and are fluent in English and Arabic—and knowledge on Spanish society and history. With this background, the information related to the use of Arabic in Spanish LL the researchers collected from them has a strong basis and confirmation. YM is a Spanish holding a Master's degree born and lives in Granada. He has a good knowledge on the history of heritage sites in Spain. EG is a professor in a university in Sevilla whose interest lies in the Andalusia and religious studies.

The interviews with the informants were conducted several times. The first interview took place in a room in a university in Sevilla conducted with EG focused on general situation of the use of Arabic in Spain in the past and at present. It lasted for about 30 minutes carried out both in English and Arabic. To the researchers' questions related to possible places where Arabic inscription could be found, EG mentioned some heritage sites. He also confirmed the researchers' initial observation of the rare use of Arabic within the Spanish linguistic landscape. Further interviews with him focused on the position of Arabic in Spanish history and in Spanish society nowadays.

A series of interviews with YM were executed in heritage sites and restaurants in the Andalusia that we visited. The interviews were manifested in simple, fact-related questions like, "What does this word mean?" to more complicated, opinion-based questions, such as, "If the government intended to erase Arabic from

Spanish language, why didn't they change all the toponyms derived from Arabic to Spanish names of places?" Details related to the history embedded in inscriptions in the signage also became parts of the interviews.

In analysing the data containing Arabic language, the researchers used their knowledge and skills in Arabic, consulted with dictionaries and YM who also has advance level of Arabic. Related to data containing Spanish language, the researchers mainly relied on YM's explanation on it.

## RESULTS

Three clusters of the use of Arabic in Spanish LL were identified by the researchers after applying the theories of ethnolinguistic

vitality (Landry & Bourhis, 1997), language economy and power (Cenoz & Gorter, 2009; Gorter, 2012), and collective identity (Koskinen, 2012) in analysing the data. State discourse circle, commercial sign circle, and Arabic as collective identity are three frames of the use of Arabic in Spanish LL.

### State Discourse Circle

The government policy that puts Spanish as the only official language has a great impact on this cluster. Spanish language dominates signs in public spaces. Arabic inscriptions literally cannot be found in public spaces in the Andalusia province. With regard to road signs, all are written in Spanish using Latin characters.



Figure 1. Road Signs in Andalusia' Highways

However, data from the interviews show that various Spanish vocabulary derived from Arabic words can still be identified in road signs and place names. In the above road signs, some toponyms are derived from Arabic, such as, Jaen, Almeria, Archidona,

and Iznajar. Jaen is derived from the Arabic word *jayyan*, which means crossroads of caravans. Almeria is from the Arabic word *al-mir'ah* or *al-meraya* meaning mirror or watch-tower. Archidona, from Arabic word *arsyiduuna*, means 'Guide us (oh Lord).'



Figure 2. A Road Sign in Sevilla

Similar to road signs in highways, road signs inside the cities of Andalusia are also written in the Latin Alphabet, and none is printed in Arabic alphabet although some of the toponyms and words are from the Arabic vocabulary. The word *alcazares* in Figure 2 is from the Arabic *alqashr* which means fortress.

Hence, in Andalusia, the government's signs in Landry and Bourhis (1997)'s term or official signs in Backhaus (2007, p. 56)'s term, are written in the Spanish language and Latin characters. This is because Spanish or Castilian is the only official language in the whole country in the modern Spain. Arabic inscription is no longer apparent in most places in public life. Arabic has been banished since the Reconquest started in the fifteen century (Pharies, 2007, p. 196). All traces of Muslim culture, including Arabic language and songs, were eradicated. A perfect example of the unforgiving punishment for those using Arabic, including songs and ballads, is the trial of Cristóbal Duarte Ballester, who spoke Arabic and fond of Islamic culture, in

1582 (Surtz, 2006). The harsh inquisition forced people to assimilate themselves with the Christian faith and culture and left their Arabic, Muslim culture, including the use of Arabic language and inscriptions (Pharies, 2007, p. 196; Woolard, 2013, pp. 64-65). Therefore, Arabic inscriptions cannot be found in most public places in the Andalusia nowadays.

However, Arabic's influence can still be seen from many of the existing Spanish vocabulary and terms. Our informant says that it is just impossible to erase the 'too many' Spanish words derived from the Arabic language because they are already blended within the lives of Spanish people. This just shows that Arabic has never completely disappeared from the Spanish people's lives as it had been with them for eight centuries between 711 and 1492 (Engelbrecht & Al Marzouqi, 2009; Fuad, 2016, p. 167).

Arabic has influenced Spanish language in terms of lexical aspect, syntax, morphology, phonology, and semantics (Rorabaugh, 2010, pp. 7-18). The Arab

influence on Spanish's words can be found in architecture, language, music (Shaath, 2016), administration, military, housing, agriculture, crafts, commerce, place-names (Pharies, 2007, p. 44). The greatest linguistic influence of Arabic on Spanish language is in lexical aspect (Pharies, 2007, pp. 40, 43-44, 182, 185). The Spanish nouns derived from Arabic are more than thirty Spanish toponyms (e.g., Tarifa and Gibraltar), military-related words (for instance, *adarga*, and *arrabal*), Moorish-created officials, architectural terms (for example, *fonda*), economic-related words (e.g., *alcancía*, and *arancel*), agricultural terms (such as, *algodón*, *limón*, *acémila*, *rabadan*, *almazara*), domestic life words (e.g., *recamar*, and *alcántara*) and academic-related terms such as algebra, *cifra* and *elixir*. The Islamic influence on the Spanish architecture cannot be denied since the Islamic architecture has impacted a wide range of both the secular and religious styles from the foundation of Islam to the present day of Spain.

In line with the Reconquest of Spain by the Christian power, the Muslim political power ended in Spain in 1492 (Bakar, 2016, p.125; Mukarrom, 2016, p. 211; Pharies, 2007, p. 45). The Andalusia was retaken by the Romance people in the north. Muslim symbols and Arabic language were strictly prohibited afterwards. The opposition to the use of that language was so strong that the banishment to speak Arabic became an important part of successive campaigns to assimilate Spain's Morisco population (Carr, 2009; Pharies, 2007, p. 196; Surtz,

2006, p. 529; Woolard, 2013, pp. 64-65). By the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the identity of the indigenous Islam and the Morisco was considered to have vanished in Spain. Therefore, Arabic language has not been used since then. However, its influence cannot be totally removed from Spanish vocabulary, as we can witness from the existing Spanish words nowadays. This shows Arabic vitality against language repression that occurred in the past.

### Commercial Sign Circle

While the first circle abovementioned asserts that only Spanish may appear in public signs, the commercial sign circles allow other languages to be present. Tourism industry offers alternative for economic development in the area. This necessitates commodification of heritage sites by maintaining the authenticity of the sites. Arabic characters existing in heritage areas from the Muslim era add the marketability of the commodities.

Figure 3 shows *Reales Alcázares de Sevilla*, a royal palace in Sevilla. Originally developed by the Moorish Muslim kings, the palace is renowned as one of the most stunning building in Spain and as a most wonderful example of the mudéjar architecture in the Iberian Peninsula.

The Arabic script enlarged above is apparent in the entrance of the patio. It reads '*wa laa ghooliba illa Allah*', which means no conqueror except Allah. Similar calligraphy showing the Muslims's high inclination to God decorates many parts

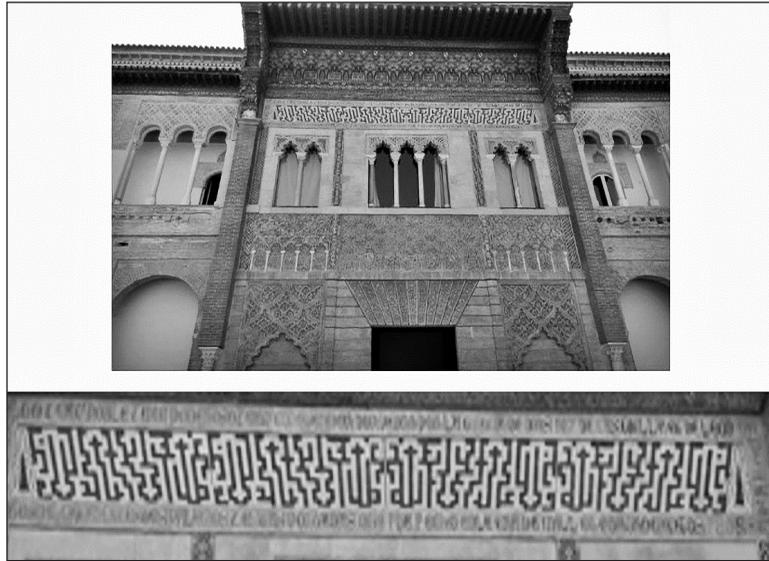


Figure 3. The Alcazar of Sevilla

of the palace's walls. This also shows their humbleness in front of God, as well as their high expectation of Allah's mercy. Identical

Arabic inscriptions are also available in the Alhambra alcazar and Cordoba mosque/cathedral.

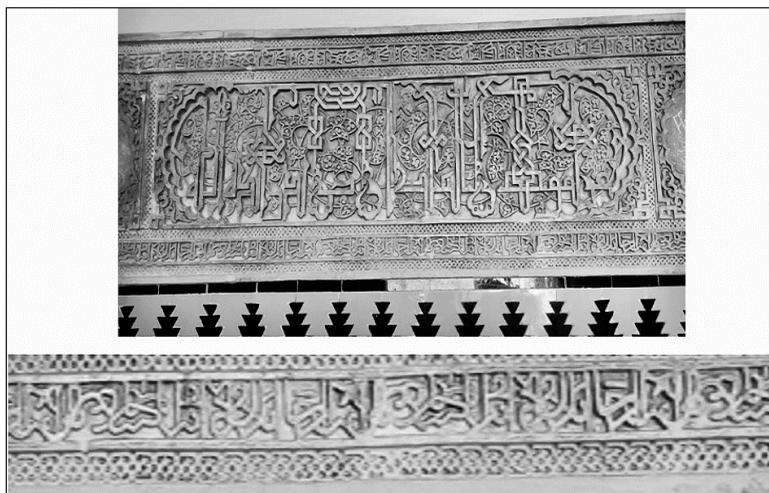


Figure 4. The Arabic Scripts Decorating the Alcazar of Sevilla

In addition to that, there are also Arabic inscriptions in various properties outside the buildings. The first one is the Arabic script

of 'Laa ilaaha illa Allah', which means 'no God but Allah' on a pole in the backyard of the Alcazar of Sevilla (Figure 5).



Figure 5. Arabic Script in a Pole in the Backyard of the Alcazar of Sevilla

The script is engraved on the pole/column and thus it does not easily vanish although it was written a long time ago. The date of the life of Almu'tamid ibn Abbad' (1043-1095) is also engraved there. A member of the Abbadid dynasty, he was the third and last ruler of the taifa of Sevilla in the Andalusia. On the column, the Arabic script is positioned on top of all other scripts written in Spanish. This shows that the Arabic was the most important thing at the time of the inscription. The Spanish written below it is '*No hay mas dios que dios. ... resurreccion*' which means 'God decreed in Sevilla dead in our open graves in the resurrection.'

On the other side of the pole in Figure 5, "*La ciudad de sevilla ... Sevilla 1099*" was written. From this inscription, we know that this column was erected in the year of 1099, nine years after the King was exciled. It also contains the writing 'Rachab 384', which indicates the Islamic

calendar. Hence, the column is a sign to commemorate the last ruler of the taifa of Sevilla. It was written in two languages, the Arabic language in Arabic and Latin script, and Spanish in the Latin script. As the production and placement of this monument was commissioned by the official authorities of the kingdom at that time, we could expect that this official sign reflected the official language policy of the kingdom. In addition, the inscription is both in Arabic and Spanish languages, which signifies that the authorities allowed both languages to be used together. Thus, we should take into consideration of the fact that the linguistic situation of Spanish was rather different at that time. The column with its inscription is still there till this very day for the tourists to enjoy.

Another Arabic script can be found on a marble pole in Cordoba vicinity as illustrated in Figure 6. This marble pole appears to be a product of the old time.

Here, the Arabic script is written below the latin script of the Spanish language. This bilingual sign shows that Spanish was used hand-in-hand with the Arabic script. Moreover, as this pole is located in a walkway, all people may have an access to it. It demonstrates that the creator of the pole wanted to communicate with the passers-by. Hence, it was not only the government that prescribed both Arabic and Spanish as languages for communication, but also people who used both languages in their communication. This situation is different from the LL of Spain today, where Spanish is the only official language.



Figure 6. The Arabic Script on a Marble Pole in Cordoba

In addition to heritage spots, Arabic inscriptions also appear in commercial spaces adjacent to the heritage sites. The Arabic inscription is visible on the wall of one of the shops in a small alley in Cordoba (Figure 7).

‘cordoba leathers,’ Hebrew ‘הבודרוק תורוע,’ Arabic, ‘al jildiyah qurthubah bidluaat,’ and French ‘Cuirs De Cordoue.’ This shows that the owner of the shop is trying to invite customers from different language backgrounds. Arabic language and inscription is used to merely attract

The signs in figure 7 consist of several languages indicating the same meaning: Spanish ‘cueros de cordoba,’ English,



Figure 7. The Arabic Script at a Shop in Cordoba

Arab clients, just like other languages that are used for customers from different parts of the world.

It is clear from the data above that Arabic characters in heritage spaces and shops are maintained to invite more people, especially, Muslim or particularly Arab customers, to come. This is coherent with the use of minority languages, such as, Irish in Dingle (Moriarty, 2012), Gaelic in Scotland and Wales (Hornsby & Vigers, 2012), and Sami in North Calotte (Salo, 2012) to accentuate an exotic aspect of the area and as a way of selling an authentic product to prospective visitors and customers (Gorter, Marten & Mensel, 2012, p. 321).

### Collective Identity Circle

Similar to Ben-Rafael's (2009); Koskinen's (2012), and Botterman (2011)'s data, the current research also found Arabic applied to build collective identity. Figure 8 illustrates the Arabic script inscribed in the *La mezquita de Granada* (The Mosque of Granada). The

first one is a calligraphy attached on the wall near the main entrance of the mosque. It reads, “*Yaa ayyuhalladziina amanu...*”, which is quoted from the Qurán that means, “O, the believers. If you help Allah, He will help you. Therefore, keep your intention strong.” The content of the first calligraphy is to motivate the Muslims to support the Islamic religion, to hold it strongly and to spread it to others. If they do so, Allah will help them. This message is intended only for Muslims since it is located inside the prayer room which can only be accessed by Muslims. Besides, the Quranic verse specifically mentions ‘O, believers....’.

The second calligraphy is put outside of the main building. The calligraphy says, “*Wa laa ghaaliba illa Allah*”, which means “And no conqueror except Allah.” As it is put outside of the main building of the mosque, the Arabic inscription might be intended for both Muslims and non-Muslims who can understand Arabic. To Muslims, the inscription of “*Wa laa ghaaliba illa Allah*”



Figure 8. The Arabic Scripts in the Mosque

can mean “Allah is the only Conqueror. He can free them from any fearful feelings.” If they believe in Allah, He will grant them victory and triumph. As most Muslims are subordinate in the society, in the mosque they project new identities to re-position themselves as individuals who are free from

subordination. All human beings are equal before God; Only Him who are superior. Hence, there is a transformation of social structure in the mosque, and the inscription of “*Wa laa ghaaliba illa Allah*” helps them to share collective identity.



Figure 9. The Arabic scripts in the El-Sirio Restaurant

In addition to the inscriptions in the mosques, the Arabic inscriptions can also be found in restaurants. Pictures portrayed in Figure 9 show the signage on the façade of a restaurant located across the University of Seville. The first picture above shows the entire storefront of “Elsirio” restaurant. The name of the restaurant, ‘Elsirio Restaurante Arabe’, is written in the top part of the façade in Spanish. This is followed by the menu available at the restaurant. Both the name of the restaurant and menu are written in big-size Latin script. The menu is written in capitalized alphabets. Then, in the middle, both the Spanish and Arabic scripts of ‘Halal restaurante’ and ‘*Math’am halal*’ are written in the same size and are equally present on a red background.

When considering the menu written on the right side of the door, we see that it is written in Spanish. This shows that Spanish readership/customers still dominate the restaurant. The decision of the shop-owner to display most information in Spanish can also be regarded as an illustration of a way to integrate oneself into a region that is officially Spanish-speaking. The presence of Arabic script there shows that the restaurant belongs to an Arab and it provides *halal* food. The Arabic script of ‘*Math’am halal*’ is to inform potential customers who value the principles of *halal* that this is a place where *halal* food products can be obtained. This can also be interpreted as a symbolic marker of collective identity - the religious identity as Muslims.

An identical situation can also be seen in Aladdin Restaurant in Calle Juan Antonio Cavestany, Sevilla (Figure 10). A combination of Spanish and Arabic language scripts with Spanish as the dominant language can be seen here. The kinds of menu written in Spanish ‘*pollos asados, carnes a la brasa* and *tapas*’ which means ‘roast chicken, grilled meats and tapas’ are

written in big fonts, hence, become the point of attention. These are even more conspicuous than the name “Aladdin” itself. This implies that this restaurant expects its largest customers from the Spanish community. Near the entrance door is a red board containing Latin and Arabic scripts (second picture in Figure 10).



Figure 10. The Arabic Script in the Aladdin Restaurant, Sevilla

The name of the restaurant is written there in a different, unique font. Below the name is the Spanish script ‘*exotica comida de Jordania*’ which means Jordan exotic food. This shows the clientel that this restaurant provides special food from Jordan. Underneath, an Arabic inscription appears to address Arab and Muslim customers. It says, “*al math’am aladdin lil makkulaati al-syarqiyyah*’, indicating that the restaurant provides menus from the East”. The word *halal* inscribed in Arabic is written in a very small font that makes it almost invisible. Next to the door, however, is a *halal* certificate that is put in a glass

frame hung on the wall. Again, this is a way of building collective identity as Muslims who restrict themselves to only consume *halal* food.

It is true that in the cases of the two restaurants abovementioned, there is a commercial aspect similar to that in the commercial sign cluster. However, the need for commercializing the commodities by using Arabic inscription is not prevalent. Collective identity principle emphasizes to whom the actor belongs and wishes to attract potential clients on the basis of common predisposition (Ben-Rafael, 2009, p. 46). The word *halal* in Arabic inscriptions

informs to the passers-by that the owners of the restaurants are Muslims or those who prefer a good quality product and expect customers of identical likeness that choose only *halal* food to consume. This is matching to Koskinen (2012, pp. 88-89) and Botterman (2011, pp. 97-99) findings on a foodstore and a restaurant displaying Arabic scripts in their stores.

## DISCUSSION

The abovementioned results of the research show that Arabic inscriptions are only apparent in heritage sites from Islamic era and some specific places expecting Muslims to come, i.e., mosques, shops, and halal restaurants. This is quite different from the research results of Mahajneh and Shohamy (2012) reporting that Arabic language dominates the city of Ume El Pahem's LL. The reason might come from the fact that Arabic language is an official language in Israel (Mahajneh and Shohamy, 2012, p. 139) while in Spain Arabic has been banished since the Reconquest started in the fifteen century (Pharies, 2007, p. 196).

The scarce existence of Arabic inscriptions in Spanish LL might be comparable to that in Botterman (2011), and Koskinen (2012) studies where Arabic inscriptions can only be found in Muslim/ Arab restaurants. Although Arabic was once widely spoken and written in the Andalusia area, the government's policy that decides Spanish as the only official language in Spain makes other languages, including Arabic, in weaker position. This is also consistent to what has been mentioned by

Gorter (2012, p. 2) that language regulations imposed by the government can have a great influence on what signage will be present in the public space.

The use of different languages in the sign reflects the power, status, and economic importance of the different languages (Cenoz & Gorter, 2009). The results indicate that Arabic inscriptions are apparent in specific places, i.e., heritage sites, mosques, shops and restaurants. Heritage spots from Islamic era containing various Arabic inscriptions are well known for their magnificent architecture. This is a rich resource to generate revenue from tourism sector. Therefore, although Arabic language was forbidden in the past and is not encouraged nowadays, the Arabic inscriptions in the tourism spots are preserved for economic purpose.

In addition to this economic motivation, there is another purpose of putting Arabic alphabets in restaurants in the Andalusia area, that is, to show collective identity as Muslims. The intention of building collective identity among Muslims is also apparent in the application of Arabic letters in the mosque. Muslims are also encouraged to learn Arabic to understand the law contained in the Qur'an. The Qur'an written in Arabic is the source of law for Muslims. Therefore, the use of Arabic inscriptions in the mosque shows that the language has higher power and status in it and this is dissimilar to people outside of the boundary. This is in line with Garvin and Eishenhower (2016, p. 217) statement that collective identity projects identity which builds new

identities to re-position social actors and transform the social structure.

In short, the present research identifies three important findings. Arabic vocabulary can be traced in Spanish toponyms apparent in road signs. Arabic inscriptions are preserved in specific heritage sites and commercial areas due to economic reasons. Finally, Arabic characters are apparent in mosques and Muslim restaurants to show collective identity as Muslims. The three different domains of the use of Arabic in Spain are not identical to the three discourse frames in Moriarty (2012) study. In Moriarty's study, the three frames are noticeable mainly due to the tension between the government's policy to support Irish and the local people's need to apply more languages to attract tourists to come. Thus, the use of Arabic in Andalusia is not mainly for economic reasons, but it is also as a sign of vitality against the language repression in the past and a symbolic marker of collective identity as Muslims. This but shows the endurance of Arabic against the repression it received in the past.

## CONCLUSION

In the Andalusian LL, Spanish is the official language. Arabic is one of the minority languages not observable in any official signs in modern Spain. Arabic is hidden in Spanish toponyms. Arabic scripts are only observable nowadays in heritage locations—mostly tourist destinations—hence it might be preserved for financial motivation. Arabic is also used in specific places dedicating their readership to Muslims.

This demonstrates the symbolic marker of Muslim collective identity. Hence, in addition to the economic reason (Moriarty, 2012), this study has unravelled other facets of the existence of Arabic in Andalusia: vitality against repression and collective identity marker.

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