



The social connotations of linguistic variation in a Moroccan urban context: the case of Temara

Jacopo Falchetta

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Jacopo Falchetta. The social connotations of linguistic variation in a Moroccan urban context: the case of Temara. Linguistics. Université d'Aix-Marseille (AMU), 2019. English. NNT: . tel-02571596

HAL Id: tel-02571596

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Submitted on 12 May 2020

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The social connotations of linguistic variation in a Moroccan urban context: the case of Temara

Thèse de doctorat présentée par

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Sous la direction de

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Remerciements

Je voudrais tout d'abord remercier mes parents, pour le support constant qu'ils m'ont accordé pendant toutes mes études, ainsi que l'éducation qu'ils m'ont donnée; tout cela est la seule raison pour laquelle j'ai pu commencer et terminer ce doctorat.

Ensuite, je remercie Mme Catherine Miller, pas uniquement pour avoir accepté d'encadrer mon projet de thèse, mais aussi pour son exemple, son encadrement impeccable et la grande patience avec laquelle elle m'a guidé (et, de temps en temps, poussé) à travers ce parcours.

A M. Saïd Bennis et M. Ahmed Ech-Charfi de l'Université Mohamed V de Rabat, M. Mohammed El Himer de l'Université de Kénitra, M. Yordi Aguadé de l'Université de Cadix, Mme Ángeles Vicente de l'Université de Saragosse, M. Jairo Guerrero de l'Université Aix-Marseille et Mme Federica Venier de l'Université de Bergame vont mes remerciements pour les remarques et les précieux conseils qu'ils m'ont donnés pendant le déroulement de mon travail.

Je remercie également mes collègues de l'Université Aix-Marseille et mes amis d'Aix-en-Provence et de Brescia pour leur support moral tout au long de ces années de thèse. Un remerciement particulier va à João de Athayde pour son soutien et pour l'expression "*fructus maximus*" dont il est l'utilisateur originel.

Le remerciement le plus important va pourtant à mes informateurs, qui ont patiemment sacrifié une partie de leur temps et patience au seul but de m'aider; sans eux, cette thèse n'aurait pu exister. Également, je remercie Reda, Ismaïl Gnaoui et Charif Ismaili, qui, eux aussi, ont apporté une contribution fondamentale à ce travail, le premier en tant qu'intervieweur et les autres en tant qu'assistants linguistiques pour la transcription, traduction et explication des données. L'importance du rôle de chacun d'entre eux est mieux spécifiée dans le chapitre 3.

Un autre remerciement spécial c'est pour Ahmed "David Luiz", Ilenia, Aziz, Hossine, Youssef, Oussama, Adil et Mounir, qui m'ont aidé dans un moment difficile de mon terrain. Je n'oublierai pas leur soutien.

Enfin, je voudrais remercier Toufik pour m'avoir fait connaître la ville de Témara, ainsi que pour m'avoir fait ressentir comme un *wāld Ḥāyy n-Nāḥḍa*. C'est lui, en premier, auquel je dois la spécialité de cette thèse, s'il y en a.

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Transcription method and informant codes

Transcription

Two transcription methods have been used throughout the present work: one is used for the excerpts of speech taken from the corpus and is based on the IPA alphabet; the other is used for the names of historical regions, districts and specific, untranslated Arabic words (such as *fuṣḥā*) elsewhere in the text, and follows the alphabet traditionally used in dialectology. Apart from those of regions and districts, other place's and people's names have been written with the spelling most commonly found in official and/or academic texts.

The transcriptions are always phonologic, except when a detailed phonetic transcription is needed (this is especially the case for the excerpts reported in the chapter on the Phonetic Variable). Slash brackets were used for the phonologic transcriptions, square brackets for the phonetic ones. The phonologic distinctions are those identified by Aguadé (2003a), with two modifications:

- [m^ɕ] (pharyngealised bilabial nasal), [n^ɕ] (pharyngealised alveodental nasal) and [z^ɕ] (pharyngealised alveodental voiced fricative) were considered as allophones of /m/, /n/ and /z/ respectively, as no relevant minimal pair was found in the corpus
- /p/ and /v/, found in loanwords from foreign languages, were considered as phonemes different from /b/ and /f/ respectively; even though no minimal pair was found in these cases, it seemed that writing /p/ and /v/ would add more clarity to the transcription

The following is the list of characters used for the two methods of phonologic transcription.

Description	Excerpts	Traditional transcription
Consonants		
Bilabial voiceless stop	/p/	p
Bilabial voiced stop	/b/	b
Pharyngealised bilabial nasal	/b ^ɕ /	b̤
Bilabial nasal	/m/	m

Labiodental voiceless fricative	/f/	f
Labiodental voiced fricative	/v/	v
Alveodental voiceless stop	/t/ ¹	t
Pharyngealised dental voiceless stop	/tʕ/	t̪
Alveodental voiced stop	/d/	d
Pharyngealised dental voiced stop	/dʕ/	d̪
Dental nasal	/n/	n
Alveodental voiceless fricative	/s/	s
Pharyngealised alveodental voiceless fricative	/sʕ/	s̪
Alveodental voiced fricative	/z/	z
Alveodental lateral	/l/	l
Pharyngealised alveodental lateral	/lʕ/	l̪
Alveolar trill	/r/	r
Pharyngealised alveolar trill	/rʕ/	r̪
Alveopalatal voiceless fricative	/ʃ/	ʃ
Alveopalatal voiced fricative	/ʒ/	ʒ
Velar voiceless stop	/k/	k
Velar voiced stop	/g/	g
Velar voiceless fricative	/x/ ²	χ
Velar voiced fricative	/ɣ/	ɣ
Uvular voiceless stop	/q/	q
Pharyngeal voiceless aspirate	/ħ/	ħ
Pharyngeal voiced fricative	/ʕ/	ʕ
Glottal aspirate	/h/ ³	h
Voiceless glottal stop	/ʔ/	ʔ

¹ For most informants, the unconditioned phonetic realisation of this phoneme is palatalised; however, the unpalatalised symbol has been chosen for all the informants for practical reasons.

² In the phonologic transcription, the secondary labialisation affecting the voiceless velar fricative in some contexts has only been marked in the word /xʷra/, in order to distinguish it to the vulgar /xra/. This also seems to me the only case observable in the community studied in which the secondary labialisation actually distinguishes two different lexemes.

³ The normal realisation of this phoneme is voiced ([ɦ]) but the phoneme is indicated as /h/ for practical reasons.

Semi-vowels ⁴		
Bilabial approximant	/w/	w
Palatal approximant	/j/	y
Vowels		
Short central vowel	/ə/	ə
Short high backed vowel	/u/	u
Long low vowel	/a:/	ā
Long high backed vowel	/u:/	ū
Long high advanced vowel	/i:/	ī ⁵

In the phonologic transcription of the informants' speech, an italic font was used whenever the speaker uttered a form that followed the phonologic norms of a linguistic system other than colloquial Moroccan Arabic (eg. French or *fuṣḥā*), such as in the following example:

qədda:m da:k l-*fø ruʒ otomatikmā* ka:jən wa:həd ə... l-pu:li:si

Translation

In front of the red light – in front of the semaphore – there's obviously a... a policeman.

In the excerpt above, *fø ruʒ* and *otomatikmā* are in italics as the informant correctly distinguished the phonemes according to the French phonologic system in pronouncing them. On the other hand, /pu:li:si/ was not italicised, as it follows the colloquial Moroccan Arabic phonologic system rather than the French one (which distinguishes /o/ from /u/ and /j/ from /e/). In other cases, when a form did not follow precisely any phonologic system (eg. when it approximated but not matched the standard French phonologic distinction), it was separately transcribed phonetically, as in the following case:

/da:ba l-/ [fy: ruʃ] /tə-jku:n ja:ʕəl/

Translation

Now, the semaphore has its green light on...

⁴ As was shown by Cantineau (1950), there is no minimal pair justifying the phonologic distinction of the semi-vowels /w/ and /j/ from the long vowels /ū/ and /ī/ respectively. It has been decided to still transcribe these phonemes distinctively for the sake of morphologic coherency. However, when both the semi-vowel and vowel could have fitted the context, a choice was made on a case-by-case basis.

⁵ Following Aguadé (2003a), I do not mark vowel length at the end of the word, where /a/, /i/ and /u/ are always realised short although phonologically long.

In this case, the informant has approximated the standard French form /fø ruʒ/, except that it replaced /ø/ with /y/ (a different phoneme in the French system). As this form cannot be reconducted to any clearly identifiable linguistic system, the phonetic transcription (included in two square brackets that interrupt the phonologic transcription has been chosen just for this particular form.

Conversely, when two *square* brackets are found *in transcriptions*, what is within them is missing and completes the utterance, according to the researcher's interpretation. Eg.:

/ma fi:-ha la tʁi:q ha:kda la wa[:lu]/

Translation

There's no road going like this or anything.

Here, the last syllable of /wa:lu/ is missing, but is inferred from the context.

On the other hand, square brackets *in translations* supply information that the speaker did not provide while talking because, for example, it was inferrable from the context, but that needs to be explicated for the reader to understand. Eg.:

GS: /da:ba nta ʃəddi:ti l-ʔi:za:za xa:sʰsʰ-ək tku:n mətəqqəf xa:sʰsʰa tku:n ʃənd-ək l-lu:ya.../

Translation

GS: *Now, if you've got a BA, you're supposed to be cultivated, to master the [French] language...*

What is included between *round* brackets (both in the transcription and in the translation) signals that the passage is hardly intelligible and its transcription, again, is based on interpretation. Eg.:

/ʔa:h fhəmt(-ək)/

Translation

Yeah, I understood (you).

Here, it is not clear whether the verb ends with a suffix pronoun as what comes after /fhəmt.../ is not uttered clearly.

Finally a few special symbols are used to provide additional information:

(...): if placed in the middle of the excerpt, it means that a part of the recording has been omitted; if placed in the end, it means that the utterance or the informant's speaking turn continues

[---] indicates a sensible pause in speech

Underlined words at the end of somebody's speech turn indicate that these overlap with those uttered by one or more other interlocutors, whose overlapping words are also underlined at the beginning of their respective turns. Eg.:

GM: /jəqdər jku:n mʃəsʃəb jəqdər jgu:l li:-k ʃi:-kəlmə u:la ha:di bō nta ka:-tha:wəl ʔannak tsa:ʃd-u.../

FG: /nta xa:sʃs... nta təfɾəf ki:fa:f.../

Translation

GM: *He may be nervous, he may tell you some bad word or something, and you say: "OK", and try to help him...*

FG: *You nee... You know how...*⁶

?? and ???, if separated by spaces from adjacent words, indicate, respectively, one and more than one unintelligible lexemes which it has not been possible to interpret.

Translation and morpheme-by-morpheme transcription

All excerpts transcribed are translated into English; translations are by no means literal, and aim at conveying the message and the speaker's pragmatic intention.

Whenever it was relevant for the purposes of the analysis, a morpheme-by-morpheme transcription was added to the translation by following the Leipzig Glossing Rules (updated on the 31st May 2015), as they have been outlined by Department of Linguistics of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology and by the Department of Linguistics of the University of Leipzig. Four additions were made to the rules in order to gloss four functions typical of Moroccan Arabic:

⁶ When an informant's speech began and ended while another one was speaking, the "interfering" speech was put in round brackets interrupting the second informant's speech. Eg.:

- **FG:** /hi:t ha:da:k lli ʔa:-jʃədd ʕli:-h mənni ʔa:-jdxul ʔa:-jdi:r lʃ-u:dʃi:tʃ u:-ʔa:-jqəlləb lʃi:-ma:ʃi:n ki:fa:f da:jri:n wa:f mni:tʃwa:ʃji:n u:la lla (**GM:** /ʃi:-mu:ʃki:/ [---] /ʔa:-jrʃu:ndʃi:-h/) jqəlləb t-tu:b wa:f... ki:fa:f xəlla:-h.../

Translation

- **FG :** *Because when he comes, the guy who replaces him will carry out an audit and check the state of the machines, whether they've been cleaned or not (**GM:** [If there's] some problem [---] he'll report it."), he'll check if... in what conditions he's left the fabric...*

- The first one is INTR, which indicates an introductory particle. Eg.:

/ʔa:=hu:wa bħa:lla səwwl=ək hu:wa a:=si:rʕ/

INTR=3MSG as.if ask;PFV.3MSG=2SG 3MSG just=go;IMP.2MSG

Translation

[There you see that] it's like he asked you, just go!

- The second one is INTERJ, which indicates an interjection deprived of semantic meaning. Eg.:

/kulla ʔəh... kə-jku:nu kə-jdi:ru ʃi:-ħa:za

every INTERJ PRVB-be;IPFV.3PL PRVB-do;IPFV.3PL INDEF-thing

ta:=kə-jwəgfu/

until=PRVB-stop;IPFV;3PL

Translation

Every er... They stop in the middle of doing something.

- The third one is ARG, which indicates the argument-introducing particle /rʕa/. Eg.:

/ta:-tba:n li:=h rʕa:=hi:ja wa:gfa lhi:h/

PRVB-appear;IPFV.3FSG to=3MSG ARG=3FSG stop;PTCP.ACT.F.SG there

Translation

He thinks he can see her standing there.

- The fourth one is (UN), which indicates a piece of word or sound that is unintelligible in itself, although its meaning can sometimes be understood from the context. Eg.:

f=wəq... f=wəqt ma wəqfa:t l-ma:ga:na

in=(UN) in=time REL stop;PFV.3FSG DET- clock

Informant codes

In order to encrypt the names of the informants whose speech was recorded, two- or three-letter codes have been used. In the case of older informants, since the code is sometimes based either on the name of district in which they lived or of the tribe to which they belonged, numbers were sometimes part of the code to distinguish informants from the same district or tribe. A capital “X” indicates that it is not clear from the recording which participant has uttered the words reported.

In § 2.3.2, the names of the informants who were interviewed without being recorded are just indicated with a single letter and a dot.

When I report information provided by my collaborator, Ismail Gnaoui, his initials (I. G.) are noted at the end.

INTRODUCTION

Two main motivations led to the choice of the present research subject: the fascination for the unembraceable diversity found among and within human languages, and the desire of embracing the unembraceable.

In the academic domain, dialectology is the discipline that most attempts to quench this desire in an orderly manner, investigating as it does language uses in every type of community – from the small hamlet of few families to the big metropolis of millions of people – identifying the linguistic specificity of that community and putting it in relation with other language uses and other communities through the means of the map – one of the most powerful organising instruments that man has ever created. The *fructus maximus* of this scientific endeavour is undoubtedly the linguistic atlas: whether made for statistical or scientific purposes, the atlas allows us to discover what words are used, what sounds are pronounced and even how grammar rules change across a vast inhabited space, usually an entire nation. Its power of revealing the linguistic continuity between two distant points on the map, which appear to be completely unrelated to each other, is incomparable. The amount of information it can disclose on the history of languages and peoples, and on the life and culture of such peoples, is as much invaluable as it is unpredictable.

Nevertheless, traditional dialectology has a key shortcoming: it limits its scope of research to diatopic variation, essentially ignoring all other types (especially diastratic and diaphasic variation), thus leaving substantial grey areas in the apprehension of linguistic diversity. This was notably pointed out by Chambers and Trudgill in their historical discussion of the development of dialectology into sociolinguistics:

“Some dialectologists began to recognise that the spatial dimension of linguistic variation had been concentrated on to the exclusion of the social dimension. This was gradually felt, by some workers, to be a drawback, since social variation in language is as common and important as regional variation. All dialects are both regional and social, since all speakers have a social background as well as a regional location.” (1980: 54)

For the linguist who strives to learn all about the complexity of human language, the opening to the social dimension is even more fascinating: rather than simply labelling each point of the map with a single form judged as “typical” (as traditional dialectology usually does), sociolinguistics focuses on one of these points and tries to find out who uses what form with whom and when (to paraphrase the title of J. A. Fishman’s 1965 seminal paper) – a *de facto* aiming for omnipotence, which makes the endeavour all the more attractive!

In fact, apart from these considerations originating from the researcher’s relative novicehood, the decision of conducting a sociolinguistic study, rather than a purely dialectological one, was less dictated by personal inclinations than by the research subject itself. Since the initial project was submitted to Prof. Miller, the choice of studying the linguistic variation resulting from

the recent (and ongoing) demographic growth and social evolution of the city of Temara, Morocco, was seen as functional to reaching a better understanding of what seemed to be the process of koineisation of colloquial Moroccan Arabic, particularly concerning its origin (eg. whether it started from a single urban centre, a region, a social group or other), its diffusion (eg. whether it spread uniformly across the population, or whether some speakers contributed to its transmission more than others) and its channels (ie. whether television or other media were determining in its diffusion, or affected it in any manner). Given the issues involved, a sociolinguistic study was obviously considered more adequate than the traditional dialectological one. More specifically, since the subject chosen is typical of studies on dialect contact, it was initially envisaged to adopt a classic variationist (Labovian) approach; the latter particularly informed the modalities of data selection during the fieldwork, as will be seen in chapter 3.

However, after the main fieldwork had been completed and a part of the data had been transcribed, two *en route* considerations made it necessary to modify the scope and objectives of the project: first of all, since the data corpus collected during the main fieldwork required a great amount of time to be analysed, the focus of the study was limited to the speech of the residents of the main research field (the city of Temara, Morocco) with the simultaneous exclusion of speakers from other centres and of the data available from other media⁷. Secondly, given the difference between the Moroccan and the Western societies, it had been observed during the fieldwork that the criteria on which the sampling of informants is usually based in Western variationist studies (particularly social class and level of education⁸) could not be easily applied to the context at hand; as a consequence, the final informants' sample cannot be considered as representative of the community of speakers – or, at least, not as a variationist analysis would require. Some variationist studies conducted in Arabic-speaking communities (such as Al-Khatib 1988 and Al-Wer 2007) take the migrant's regional origin as one of the social variables, and this had been planned for the present study as well; however, the speakers' regional origins were found to be too complex to be grouped in a small number of categories (like, for example, Al-Khatib's "Horaniis" and "Fellahiin"), and while data on the speaker's origin (as well as his/her educational level) were collected and taken into account during the analysis, the speakers' sampling could not be aimed at obtaining an equal number of informants per category. Therefore, a key shortcoming of this work is the limited validity of its findings, which await confirmation from subsequent sociolinguistic studies and/or an enlargement of the speakers' sample.

⁷ Nevertheless, a few occasional comparisons were made with these two other sources during the analysis.

⁸ On the issue of the social variable of education in Arabic sociolinguistic studies, cfr. Al-Wer (2002a).

On the basis of these considerations, and as my knowledge of other strands and approaches within sociolinguistics had meanwhile improved, the research focus was slightly deviated from the patterning of linguistic variation across the whole community of speakers to the social connotation that my informants associated to such variation (which obviously entailed a discussion of the latter anyway). A complete explanation of the scientific aim of this study as well as the **research questions** are given in § 1.3. This revision of the research subject was also made possible by my degree of familiarity with and (relative) integration in the city of Temara and among its residents. I had learnt about Temara back in 2011, during a six-month research internship, as a friend from the town, with whom I had previously been in contact through the internet, invited me to spend the night at his place the very first time we met. From then on, and during the whole six-month period, I regularly paid visit to him, getting to know his neighbourhood and hanging around at night with him and his friends, mostly in the city and in the nearby beaches. After the internship ended, and during the following four years, I did not maintain regular contacts with my acquaintances in Temara and only went back to the town once for a few days. When I returned to conduct my fieldwork in 2015, it took me a while to get back in touch with them, and as I expected, everyone could not be reached after all that time. Nevertheless, the fact of being already familiar with my first friend (to whom I started paying regular visits again) and his neighbourhood served as a useful starting point to meet new people in an informal way, and to get to know them beyond the help that they gave me as sampled informants. This way, I got access to many situations (informal gatherings at cafes, conversations at the street corner, Ramadan Iftars...) that, usually, only an insider to their groups could have entered. Such proximity to my informants' daily routine and interactions was central to my aim of obtaining "natural" conversations as samples of speech (cfr. chapter 3 for more details on this point) and somehow compensated the limited representativity of the informants' sample, which was discussed above; but most importantly, it allowed me to support my linguistic analysis with ethnographic observations which, although unsystematic, enabled me to go beyond the mechanic notation of "who says what and when", looking into the speaker's social and – sometimes – personal motivations as well as the specific meanings that his/her use of variable linguistic features suggested he/she attributed to the latter.

Despite this adoption of a more "speaker-oriented" perspective, I still decided not to directly solicit the informants' judgments concerning the linguistic features that could be involved in variation and koineisation (ie. no questioning such as: "Do you think young people in Temara speak more like youth in other towns today? What's common between the two ways of speaking?" was planned). The main reason behind this decision was that all risk for the researcher's questions to affect the informants' way of speaking, including by increasing their attention on their own

language use, had to be avoided⁹. As for indirect techniques such as matched-guise tests, they were not applicable in the case at hand because, at the time of the main fieldwork (when all the interviews and spontaneous conversations were recorded), what linguistic variables would be analysed had not been decided yet, which means it was not possible to select the features that the test should have targeted. The only occasion in which the speakers' opinions were solicited on language issues was a single question, asked during the individual interviews (cfr. § 3.2.4.2), about whether the informant had ever found it hard to communicate with, or understand, Moroccan Arabic speakers who came from other regions and lived in Temara. Apart from that, unsolicited language judgments did come to the surface now and then during several recording sessions: these were taken into account for the analysis, when they proved to be relevant.

Another peculiarity of the present work is that it is not supported by a background of dialectological research as thorough as that on which other well-known sociolinguistic studies – such as Labov's (1964), Al-Wer's (2007) and most of the studies in dialect contact presented in § 1.1 – were based. Unlike other linguistic (also Arabic-speaking) regions, Morocco still awaits the development of an atlas representing all the diversity of the Arabic varieties spoken in the country¹⁰. This lack is unfortunate, as entire regions have never been investigated, and even some of the available data are about one century old. Although the last 30 years have seen a constant increase of studies in Moroccan Arabic dialectology (cfr. § 1.2.4), much still has to be unveiled on the myriad different routes taken by the evolution of spoken Arabic in the various corners of the country. On the other hand, Temara is a newly formed urban centre that has witnessed a huge demographic growth in the latest decades thanks to migration from other regions: it ensues that most of the speakers involved in this study are either migrants who were born and raised elsewhere, or children of these migrants. In this kind of situations, if the aim of the research is studying language change, the availability of dialectological data on the varieties spoken in the migrants' places of origin is essential for the study to be exhaustive. In some cases, such as Al-Wer (2007) and Al-Wer & Hérin (2011) – who study Amman, another urban centre that owes most of its population to immigration from other Arabic-speaking regions – data on the migrants' sending areas were collected by the sociolinguists themselves.

It may thus be felt that it was still premature to study a “mixed” linguistic reality such as that of Temara before dialectological research shed more light on Morocco's linguistic diversity. However, choosing a field in which the researcher could have a greater access to the speakers, as

⁹ As will be seen, some of the younger informants were recorded in more than one session; since the possibility of re-recording the same informant in another session was always envisaged, it was essential not to give the speakers any reason for altering their own speech in my presence or while they were being recorded, even when a session was over.

¹⁰ A project was started by P. Behnstedt but never completed (Vicente 2008: 37).

well as to a larger variety of communicative situations, was seen as an opportunity to increase the spontaneity and, therefore, the interest of the data collected, an advantage that appeared to minimise the issue of the insufficient availability of comparative data from dialectology. Sometimes, this may have prevented from making confident statements about what processes of language change and variation could be identified: nonetheless, the existing literature on Moroccan Arabic dialectology did permit to make some inferences, and further research will undoubtedly be able to integrate the present findings into a more complete picture of such processes.

The priority given to the “naturalness” of the data is also behind the decision not to define the approach to be adopted (quantitative or qualitative, variationist or interactionist, etc.) before the fieldwork. As will be shown in chapter 3, this as well as the data collection techniques were adapted to the specificities of the field, according to which one would serve the research purposes most adequately¹¹. More in general, the philosophy underlying this research is very close to that elaborated by grounded theorists¹² in the field of sociology, its main goals being a) elaborating new *ad-hoc* categories and hypotheses from the data, rather than taking pre-constructed categories and trying to make the data fit into them¹³, and b) generating new theory from the data themselves, rather than verifying previous theories through logical deduction. The ideas expressed in the following excerpt from Glaser and Strauss’s (1967) seminal *The discovery of grounded theory* (from which the two points above are also taken) are completely endorsed in the present work:

[S]ources of developing theoretical sensitivity continually build up in the sociologist an armamentarium of categories and hypotheses on substantive and formal levels. This theory that exists within a sociologist can be used in generating his specific theory if, after study of the data, the fit and relevance to the data are emergent. A discovered, grounded theory, then, will tend to combine mostly concepts and hypotheses that have emerged from the data with some existing ones that are clearly useful. (1967: 46)

As the last sentence suggests, this approach does not exclude the adoption of previously elaborated concepts, or the verification of well-established theories, if they prove to adequately explain the data at hand. Nevertheless, the basic implication is that the recovery of old concepts and theories should only occur *during* the analysis of the data, rather than beforehand, as the emphasis is placed on elaborating theory that suits these data. This working premise was all the more felt as necessary considering the physical and cultural distance between the region(s) where

¹¹ As a matter of consequence, the subsequent analysis took into account how all the data were not collected using the same technique.

¹² Let Prof. Saïd Bennis be thanked for introducing me to grounded theory.

¹³ The same policy was followed for the selection of the linguistic variables, which was made *after* the fieldwork had been conducted and the data had yielded the first results.

sociolinguistics as a discipline was first (and mainly) developed and that on which this research is focused.

If this policy helped make one or two steps away from the application of categories and concepts provided by previous sociolinguistic research, and towards the identification of new ones adequate to the field, the need for verifying the theories elaborated around these new categories and concepts remains: this gives to the present study the characteristic of an exploratory one, whose results have limited validity – as was stated before – but still serve the purpose of indicating what is the next route to be followed in the investigation of that field. It is hoped that such indications will allow further sociolinguistic research on Temara or other Moroccan urban areas – whether by this or other researchers – to build on the present findings and make more confident statements on the linguistic processes taking place in this area.

The following is a summary of how the contents of this thesis are structured. Chapter 1 is a general review of the literature of the relevant disciplines, ie. sociolinguistics (to which the first part of the chapter is dedicated) and Arabic dialectology and sociolinguistics (which make the object of the second part), **and includes the research objectives and questions as they have been elaborated following the consultation of the abovementioned literature** (§1.3). Chapter 2 focuses on the main research field and object of this work, ie. the city of Temara: besides the reasons that led to its choice as the main source of data, a brief discussion on the possible etymology of its name and some up-to-date demographic data, this chapter notably includes a sketch of the history of Temara's urbanisation, ie. how it became an urban centre following social and structural developments, a part of which were promoted by both public and private housing investments; this sketch is the fruit of an historiographic research that was conducted during the main fieldwork at the same time as the data collection. After specifying what kinds of data were collected and how the issue of speech spontaneity was dealt with, Chapter 3 explains what approach, methods and techniques were adopted during the different stages of the data collection, how the data were transcribed and how the linguistic variables were selected for the analysis. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 respectively consist in the analyses of the three variables: in Chapter 4, the Phonologic Variable is analysed under two perspectives, ie. semi-variationist and interactionalist, on the basis of the results of an *ad-hoc* test aimed at the elicitation of semi-spontaneous narratives; in Chapter 5, the Phonetic Variable is analysed through an impressionistic phonetic analysis, and a comparison of the results obtained for the informants recorded in interviews and spontaneous conversations (ie. those for which the biggest amount of speech had been recorded); Chapter 6 is an exploratory study of the social meanings attributed to the Lexical Variable, based on the few occurrences found in the corpus. Finally, Chapter 7 includes a comparative analysis of the

indexicalisations associated with the three variables – as they emerged from the respective analyses – a few considerations on the specific relation between the relevant social and linguistic dynamics identified in Temara and some final conclusions on the issue of convergence in urban colloquial Moroccan Arabic.

CHAPTER 1

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THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

It is out of doubt that the term “sociolinguistics” refers to a discipline that chooses both society and language as its subjects of study; on the other hand, its exact scope has been a matter of great discussion since the earliest uses of this term in academic works. The obvious reason for putting together language and society in the same discipline is that language is a social habit, and this mere fact inevitably implies an indissoluble interrelation between the two. Even so, investigating such interrelation can involve such a wide range of perspectives that works included under the unifying label of “sociolinguistics” may appear to belong to fields of study that are completely different from each other.

In the present chapter, an overview will be made of the literature that has studied language variation in relation to other social phenomena, with the aim of drawing language-related conclusions. Such specification excludes works in the field of the sociology of language which focus on the use of languages – or linguistic varieties – intended as given, defined objects, with no focus (or need to focus) on its internal variation. Also excluded are works in the field of psycholinguistics, which primarily relate language with phenomena internal to the individual and, therefore, not specifically social; or those in the field of sociology or anthropology that study the individuals’ use of language, but do so in order to draw general conclusions in which language does not play the main role. The first part of this review (§ 1.1) will be reserved to works of the Anglo-American academic tradition, as they can be arguably considered the most influential among the studies that focus on the phenomena of interest. The second part (§ 1.2) will then examine how this tradition went on to influence studies on language variation in the Arabophone world, and what kind of adaptations were made to face the socio-cultural specificities of the Arabic-speaking region

However, even after such delimitation, it will be apparent that the goals of the studies and scholars cited within each strand still differ greatly, and the same will be true of their perspectives and approaches. Yet, one common aspect will be found in all of them with respect to their operating principles, which is *fieldwork as a point of departure in their discussion of reality*.

1.1 – Relevant tendencies in sociolinguistics

1.1.1 – Laying the ground

Sociolinguistics as a discipline committed to studying the interdependence between speech communities and the varieties they speak (Fishman 1970: 24) began to take shape around the 1960s, when the number of scholars who advocated the need for the conjunct study of linguistic and social

objects sensibly grew. At this first stage, the main concern was laying the theoretical bases and introducing the operational concepts that, in these scholars' views, would allow sociolinguists to work on common grounds, whatever community they were to study, as well as cross-compare the results of their works. Some examples of concepts that were introduced or given a tentative (and more or less precise) definition in the prospect of creating a theoretical framework for the new discipline were that of "linguistic/speech community" (Gumperz 1962; Labov 1964), "speech event" (Hymes 1962), "verbal repertoire" (Gumperz 1964), "diglossia" (Ferguson 1959), "variety" (as a set of features that are allowed to co-occur¹⁴, as in Gumperz (1964); or as a neutral term to indicate a "kind of language", as in Fishman (1970) and Trudgill (1974) among others), as well as the modes by which communication within a community can be schematised in order to permit the analysis of linguistic variation (Gumperz 1962, 1967; Hymes 1962; Fishman 1970).

As it emerges from the literature cited above, some of the most notable among these figures, such as D. Hymes and J. J. Gumperz, were guided by a profoundly anthropological approach – a confirmation of the not exclusively "linguistic" orientation that sociolinguistics was intended to have (as revealed by its mere name). Nonetheless, the researcher who was to leave the most enduring imprint on a great part of the subsequent literature in sociolinguistics was one with a totally different background and perspective, which did not prevent him from building on the bases that had been laid and, moreover, from giving important contributions – as well as a definite shape – to the discipline.

1.1.2 - Labov and variationist sociolinguistics

In *The social motivation of a sound change* (1963) and *The social stratification of English in New York city* (1964), the milestones of what has later been given the name of "variationist sociolinguistics", W. Labov, while radically reacting to many of the presuppositions that governed linguistics at the time, adopted a kind of approach that had not been envisaged by the early theorists of sociolinguistics. This was mainly due to Labov himself being not so much an anthropologist investigating language, as a dialectologist faced with the social and linguistic complexity of the city as a scientific field (for a more detailed account of the role of the urban milieu in sociolinguistics, cfr. § 1.1.4).

In these two works, Labov focuses on two communities whose respective local linguistic variety (or "dialect") presents an apparently random variability with respect to a number of linguistic features. What he essentially does is an investigation of the statistical correlations

¹⁴ In subsequent works, this definition has been also (and most often) used for the concept of « style ».

between each of these features and a set of social variables (age, sex, social class, educational background and ethnicity) plus a stylistic dimension (attention paid to speech); by doing this, he manages to demonstrate that the variation observed in the former follows regular patterns when correlated to the latter. In particular, the extra-linguistic variables are shown to be responsible for (i. e., causally related to) both inter- and intra-speaker linguistic variation. In Labov's perspective, the picture of the co-variation of linguistic and extra-linguistic variables that is obtained through this type of analysis not only reveals the synchronic distribution of variable linguistic forms in the community studied, but also allows to understand which social group(s) is/are leading (and which is/are lagging behind) in language change and, consequently, to predict in which direction language use is evolving.

In fact, the method and techniques employed by Labov did allow him to examine the interdependence between a speech community and the variety/ies they spoke – to use the above-cited Fishman (1970)'s wording –, and thus fully responded to the calls that were being made for the development of a discipline that connected the study of language to that of society, although the adoption of an essentially quantitative approach had not been envisaged. To stress the innovativeness of his work, Labov himself asserted in *The social stratification of English in New York city* that he was reacting to a number of key statements that traditional linguistics had theretofore considered indisputable: among these, most notably, the one according to which no language-related phenomenon, including language variation, could be explained through non-linguistic factors – at least not by linguists in their capacity as such (Labov 1964: 9). As the author specifies, such a severe restriction was most probably due to concerns that had been raised around previous “scientific” attempts at explaining differences in language performance by deterministically drawing on concepts such as personal physical shape (or race, we may add), historical (and cultural) factors and so on (Labov 1964: 9). Despite of such concerns, Labov demonstrated that, if scientific statistical methods were employed, it was possible to correlate linguistic differences to social differences without running into the “trap” of any kind of determinism, be it racial, cultural or social. Thanks to this, Labov's achievement was two-fold, having managed not only to pave the way to the scientific investigation of the social-related aspect of linguistic variation, but also to introduce a new combination of methods, techniques and operational concepts (such as that of “attention to speech”) which proved to be highly re-applicable in a great number of case studies on language variation.

This is among the reasons why Labov's early works inspired a whole current of studies investigating similar kinds of correlations: variation observed in the use of this or that feature of a

given language variety was demonstrated to be dependent on this or that extra-linguistic factor, usually drawn from among the social and stylistic factors selected by the forefather of this sub-discipline (which came to be called “variationist sociolinguistics”). Some examples of these studies are Bortoni-Ricardo (1995), Britain (1997), Chambers et al. (1993), Cheshire (1999), Edwards (1992), Horvath (1985), Lippi-Green (1989), L. Milroy (1980) and Trudgill (1972); many others could be cited. One of the subfields of sociolinguistics in which the variationist methods and techniques were most successful was dialect contact, particularly (but not exclusively) in the Anglophone world and Northern Europe. Here, again, Labovian-inspired techniques were used to reach scientific goals that were proper to dialectology, e.g. to improve the existing knowledge on the diffusion of language features over a geographical area, and/or account for the synchronic evolution of features following contact among “mutually intelligible” varieties (Trudgill 1986)¹⁵: studies were conducted on varieties of English in the UK (Britain 1997; Cheshire et al. 1999, Kerswill 1995; Kerswill & Williams 1999, 2000, 2002), in Norway (Kerswill 1996b, 2002), in North America (Chambers et al. 1993) and in ex-colonial contexts (Horvath 1985). Works in this methodological frame have also brought important contributions to closely related fields of research such as historical linguistics (Britain 1997a, 1997b; Horvath 1985) and dialect acquisition (Chambers 1992; Kerswill 1996a)¹⁶.

Due to the fundamental assumption that the speaker’s social features unidirectionally affected his/her own speech, progress in this branch of sociolinguistics occurred as new social variables were found to be statistically influential on linguistic variation within a speech community. The most important innovation on this side was undoubtedly social network, a variable that, once opportunely quantified, allowed to justify certain variation phenomena that did not directly depend on individual social data of the kind operationalised by Labov. The first work that gave a definite and structured form to the integration of social network among other independent variables¹⁷ was L. Milroy’s *Language and social networks* (1980): in this study, the author

¹⁵ In this work, Trudgill (1986) states the following to distinguish « language contact » from « dialect contact »: « [B]y [dialect in contact] is meant contact between varieties of language that are mutually intelligible at least to some degree » (1). This is seemingly in contrast with what the same author had stated in his 1974 book *Sociolinguistic. An introduction*: « The criterion of ‘mutual intelligibility’, and other purely linguistic criteria, are, therefore, of less importance in the use of the terms *language* and *dialect* than are political and cultural factors » (1983²: 15, author’s italics). While it is true that, in the Anglophone context, geographically contiguous substandard varieties do tend to be mutually intelligible, I will only use the term « dialect » in order to indicate an historical and vital variety that lacks standardisation and autonomy (Stewart 1968: 534-537).

¹⁶ Cfr. §1.1.4 for more details on the contributions of variationist sociolinguistics to the study of dialect contact in the subfield of urban sociolinguistics.

¹⁷ Other scholars, including Labov, had already examined the influence of social ties on a speaker’s degree of use of vernacular features (cfr. Labov *et al.* 1968): however, Milroy’s use of the social network variable is the first one that entails its integration in a variationist analysis as an independent variable, ie. at the same level as age, social status/class, etc.

examines linguistic variation in three distinct neighbourhoods of Belfast whose populations differ from each other on both socio-economic and ethnic (religious) bases. Given the peculiar characteristics of the field (three separate areas of a town tormented by internal civil war at the time), Milroy observes that social network (a concept already employed in the field of sociology), together with sex, can best explain why certain variation patterns seem to exist in the informants' speech independently from their place of living or ethnic affiliation. The introduction of social network in a correlational analysis of language variation represented a substantial widening of the scope of social categories, which now came to include one that expressed a super-individual characteristic of the community, i. e. what (kinds of) ties connect the informants with each other and how the number, nature and redundancy of these ties affect language production.

By virtue of its effectiveness, social network is one of the variables to which sociolinguists have subsequently most often resorted to explain socially-bound linguistic variation, apart from Labov's "canonical" social categories: two examples of works studying variation *versus* social networks are Edwards (1992) and Lippi-Green (1989). One reason for the "success" of this concept in variationist sociolinguistics is its high adaptability to the socio-cultural context of the speech community under study, as it can be expressed in the form of an index that can be calculated on the basis of any kind of culturally relevant factor. In S. M. Bortoni-Ricardo's (1985) work on Caipiras in Brazil, for instance, a "social network urbanization index" is calculated on the basis of six indicators, each one supposedly representing a factor that determines a speaker's integration in the urban "way of life": schooling level, work category, spatial mobility, participation in urban events, media exposure, political awareness and recruitment social framework, ie. the institutional environment in which the member of a network had been met by the researcher¹⁸. Conceptual adaptations such as this one are attuned to the perspective adopted in the present research, in that they show an awareness of the need to adjust methods and working categories to the specificity of the community studied¹⁹. Other social variables, such as "social ambitions" (Douglas-Cowie (1978), cited in Macaulay (1999)), have been used for the same purpose.

¹⁸ These indicators were calculated for each member of an informant's social network ; then a mean was calculated for all the values of the network and, through the application of a formula, the network urbanization index was obtained for that informant (Bortoni-Ricardo 1985). In her cited study, Milroy had calculated her social network index in a different way, ie. by choosing five indicators all referring to the characteristics of network density and multiplexity (Milroy 1980).

¹⁹ However, as will be seen in the analysis, the practice of mathematising extra-linguistic factors that are not mathematical in itself – as is done by L. Milroy, Bortoni-Ricardo and Labov himself – is not equally espoused in the present work. "Mathematising" is intended here as "a process of inquiring about, organizing, and constructing meaning with a mathematical lens" (Fosnot & Dolk 2001 in Hintz & Smith 2013).

Of particular interest, in the framework of the variationist approach (but also of other approaches as we shall see below), is also the evolution of the conception of intraspeaker variation, ie. what Labov had initially considered as depending on “attention paid to speech” (Labov 1964) and defined as “stylistic variation” (Labov 1964) or “style shifting” (Labov 1972). In his view, this was another non-linguistic variable that, together with the socio-demographic ones, had to be correlated to the linguistic variables selected for the analysis in order to explain a speaker’s language production. While Labov’s first conception of “style” was a unidimensional one (Macaulay 1999), ie. an increase or decrease of a speaker’s attention to his/her own speech (Labov 1964, 1972), this position was criticised by subsequent works that called for a refinement of the concept, such as Bell (1984), Macaulay (1999) and L. Milroy & Gordon (2003). However, all these works still believed it possible to consider “style” another quantifiable variable explaining linguistic variation, a position shared by a number of variationist works such as Kerswill (eg. 1987) and Trudgill (eg. 1972). Nonetheless, scholars falling within the other main strand of sociolinguistics, the interactionalist / anthropological one, radically oppose such conception and operationalisation(s) of intra-speaker variation and style, questioning through this and other arguments the effectiveness of the variationist approach in general in accurately describing linguistic reality.

1.1.3 - Interactionalist and anthropological sociolinguistics

The other influential current that has contributed to the development of the discipline of sociolinguistics is partly inspired by schemes, conceptions and/or theories drawn from anthropology. In this sense, it followed in the footsteps of the earlier seminal works cited in § 1.1.1, whereas variationist sociolinguistics has followed a fundamentally different theoretical approach, as was shown in the previous section. This strand is simultaneously defined here as « interactionalist » and « anthropological », as these studies often link an anthropological approach to the study of speech to a micro-linguistic focus on interactions among speakers. Among the earliest of these studies, two of the most noteworthy are Gumperz & Wilson (1971) and Gal (1979) (cited in Woolard 2008).

In spite of the binary division presented in this overview, there obviously have been interpenetrations of various kinds between the variationist and the interactionalist-anthropological operating models. Some works, such as Blom & Gumperz (1972), have introduced to such concepts as situational vs metaphorical code-switching, or have emphasised such phenomena as the influence of a speaker’s social network (although not quantified as an independent variable) on his/her way of speaking: both of these were contributions that fed into the variationists’ interest in, respectively,

intra-speaker variation and the social variables that explain both inter- and intra-speaker variation. On the other hand, some variationist studies, such as Bortoni-Ricardo (1985) and L. Milroy (1980), could not refrain from introducing at least an anthropological sketch of the community under study, in order not only to provide necessary background information, but also to support their choice of the independent variables to be analysed (a choice that was culturally-dependent, as was mentioned above when discussing about the social network variable).

However, it is P. Eckert's *Linguistic variation as social practice : the linguistic construction of identity in Belten High* (2000) that could arguably be considered the most complete combination of the variationist and the anthropological approaches: in this book, which is based on an ethnographic study of the students' population of a high school in the outskirts of Detroit, the author analyses the statistical correlation between a number of linguistic and extra-linguistic variables relative to her informants, and exploits such analysis to draw an accurate picture of the strategies through which the members of her speech community come to terms with the resources and challenges offered by the social and institutional environment in which they live. In this view, language is but one of the domains in which such strategies can be put into play, and variation (whether inter- or intra-speaker) is a consequence of the speakers' agentivity, as well as an indicator of the different ways in which they position themselves with respect to the models of identity available in the local socio-cultural context.

In fact, such view of variation touches several points on which scholars adopting the qualitative, interactionist/anthropological approach have been most critical of the quantitative, variationist approach, at least in its canonical application: according to Eckert (2000, 2003), for example, linguistic variation is not to be seen as dependent on the speakers' belonging to fixed social categories, but rather as the product of their active work of both re-use and re-interpretation of the linguistic resources to which they have access. This perspective is diametrically opposed to that underlying the correlational approach, as it considers more realistic to assume that it is the speakers who choose how to speak, rather than their ways of speaking being almost automatically determined by their "social curriculum" (gender, age range, social class, etc.); it also has important consequences on the interpretation given to such phenomena as stylistic variation (Eckert & Rickford: 2001; Irvine: 2001; Eckert: 2008), speech community and social network (Eckert: 2004), which are replaced by other, more agency-based theoretical constructs such as that of community of practice (cfr. Eckert: 2006 for a complete definition of this concept).

The main implication of this switch from the study of “social categories” to the study of what speakers actually “do” has been a different focus of sociolinguistic research: according to the “speaker-centred” view, rather than merely trying to interrelate the “right” independent variables, in the form of social indicators, with the “right” dependent variables, in the form of variable linguistic features, sociolinguists should assign themselves the task of explaining what processes underlie the speakers’ work of interpretation, by which the latter position themselves in the social field through the “making” of meaning and the building of identity. A similar approach was the one already being adopted by Gumperz in studying ideologically-biased contextualisation conventions in small-scale communication (Gumperz: 1982).

This obviously implied a critique of the schemes upon which variationist sociolinguists had been relying up to that moment (and have continued relying thereafter), such as the conception of the study of linguistic variation as the study of the one-way influence of extra-linguistic on linguistic factors, the conception of “language structure” as a basis for the explanation of language variation, the division of ways of speaking into different “varieties”, etc. In other words, the theretofore dominant vision of reality as made of “airtight compartments” (in the form of “languages”, “dialects”, “language levels”, “speech communities”, “speech events”, “variables”, “styles”, etc.) was being totally challenged (cfr. Agha: 2007). A concept that pointed towards this direction was M. Silverstein’s “indexical order”²⁰: given a sociolinguistic event to (ie., a contextualised linguistic form), an indexical order is defined by Silverstein as an order of meanings that is attributed to such event on the basis of the interactants’ interpretation of its appropriateness to, and effectiveness in, the context of the specific “interactional moment”. In certain situations, the meaning of a linguistic form can be re-interpreted, and new meaning can be assigned which is somehow developed out of the “basic” one: in Silverstein’s terms, an “n + 1st” indexical order can be superposed to an “nth” order once the form at issue is “performatively effectuated in-and-by its use” (Silverstein 2003: 194). It is important to underline, as he does (201-203), that this process is made possible by the interplay between the “micro-context” of the single interaction and the ideologised “macro-context” of essentialised categorial (eg. social) distinctions and cultural values.

One of the assets of the comprehensive model that Silverstein elaborates on the basis of this and other key concepts (such as that of “metapragmatic function”) is that many phenomena that fall within the broader concept of “formal linguistic change” can be explained through it (194). In his

²⁰ According to Bar Hillel (1954), the expressions “index” and “indexical sign” have been introduced by Peirce; Bar Hillel himself talks about “indexical sentences” in his article. However, Silverstein’s “indexical orders” represents a quite different use of this adjective. Let prof. Federica Venier from Università di Bergamo (Italy) be thanked for signalling me Bar Hillel’s mentioning of it.

paper, he deals among other things with the use of T-V pronouns (eg.: French *tu* and *vous*, or corresponding pronoun alternations in other languages), an issue that had been examined in a well-known paper by Brown & Gilman (1960) and that he re-reads in terms of superposition of indexical orders. In his discussion of this issue, he also analyses the shift that occurred in 17th-century English from a two-pronoun (*thou* and *ye*, the respective T and V pronouns) to a one-pronoun (*you*) system of reference to the addressee, which he explains as a “2nd-order indexicality taking over (...) the course of the linguistic norms”: in short, according to him, an index of inequality (the 2nd-order of indexicality) came to be associated, at a certain moment of history, to the use of a plural form for a singular referent (the 1st-order), which had theretofore signified deference to an addressee; the new indexicality pushed English speakers to equalise pronoun use and adopt one single form for every addressee. Obviously, ideological re-interpretations of the values underlying inter-personal relationships were at the basis of this shift (210-211).

Another comprehensive discussion of how an analysis of language should be part of a wider approach on the individual’s “semiotic activity” is that of A. Agha, who partly draws on Silverstein’s work on indexicality and, more relevantly, on E. Goffman’s conception of “footing”. The latter is the subject of a 1979 article in which the Canadian-US sociologist pleads for an analysis of “talk” based on a holistic view of what is, actually, “talk”, as well as of the participants to a verbal interaction (whom he calls “interactants”). In this framework, “footing” is a concept that allows to find the most universal grounds on which language variation can possibly take place, as it is broadly defined as “the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance” (Goffman 1979: 5). This is equivalent to saying that a change in footing (and therefore, potentially, a change in the code of communication, including language) occurs when any element changes within the context (called “social situation” by Goffman) in which “talk” takes place, including any aspect of the self-representation that the speaker (to which Goffman prefers the term “animator”) is making of him/herself and of the situation at hand²¹.

The holism of Goffman’s view of speech is incorporated by Agha in his own equally holistic view of language, which, among other things, aims at taking further the “speaker-as-agent” position promoted by Eckert’s abovementioned works, as well as by Irvine (2001). Indeed, Agha’s (2005, 2007) main focus is the primary role of social actors in the reception, interpretation and diffusion of cultural models, including those promoted by powerful, nation-wide (or even international) institutions: an example is provided through the historical analysis of the prestige of

²¹ More about Goffman’s elaboration of the concept of “footing” is said *infra*, § 4.4.2.

Received Pronunciation (Agha 2003). In it, Agha shows that no model can be accepted within a community without its members' active semiotic work, which may also lead to a change in interpretation (or "tropic usage") of such models. In light of this, Agha analyses several phenomena involving indexicality and language variation, among which is "enregisterment": this is the social characterization of a set of semiotic signs ("semiotic repertoire") through its association to a certain kind of characterological figures (a "social range"), which becomes valid for all the members of a given community (a "social domain"; Agha 2005). In the work cited, the point is made that also the products of enregisterment, ie. "registers", can be the object of semiotic reinterpretation through their footing in single acts of communication (which can also include indirect, electronic-mediated and/or spatio-temporally distanced communication).

Therefore, although Silverstein's and Agha's main aim is to explain semiotic processes rather than linguistic change, their respective theoretical frameworks, which are by no means mutually exclusive²², are also relevant to the study of linguistic change and variation, as is shown by the authors themselves. For Silverstein's "indexical orders", this point is highlighted by Woolard (2008), who, in her discussion of the link between linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics, attempts to bring together the theoretical impulses provided by Labov, Milroy, Eckert and Silverstein (cfr. above) by building on Errington's (1985) concept of "pragmatic salience" (cfr. next section). According to him, the pragmatic salience carried by forms that constitute "indexical referential elements" and "have a more crucial role in mediating social relations" (Woolard 2008: 442), such as 2nd person pronouns, could explain not only the evolution of lexical or morphologic forms, as Errington maintains²³, but, possibly, also that of phonological forms. The latter, incidentally, have been the main object of analysis of most Labovian variationist studies, which typically treat them as mere indexes of the speaker's social group of belonging (ie, in Labov's terms, they answer to the question "who are you?"). By converse, Woolard gives several examples of phonologic change (such as the replacement of standard /ð/ with /d/ in non-standard varieties of American English) that could be related to the association of the concerned phonemes with lexemes (such as <them> and <that>) which, being pragmatically salient, are more prone to being more quickly modified by native speakers through "social semiotic and stylistic work"; in other words, she suggests that phonologic change, too, could be partly explained as a result of the speakers' active association and reproduction of meanings of linguistic forms (Eckert), and therefore, like

²² In fact, Agha borrows several concepts used in Silverstein's works as well, such as metapragmatic descriptions of events (eg. Agha 2007: 25) and orders of indexicality (eg. Agha 2007: 171).

²³ The reason for this distinction is that Errington, in agreement with Silverstein (1976, 1977), considers "nonlexical alternations – phonemic, morphophonemic, grammatico-syntactic (...) relatively less available to speakers' awareness" (Errington 1985: 304).

lexical or morphologic change, answer the question “how are you feeling (about matters at hand)?” (Woolard 2008: 443).

The two strands (variationist vs interactionist-anthropological) described in this sub-paragraph clearly differ in their approach, methods and theories, as well as in the techniques through which data are collected and analysed. Besides this, one could also distinguish two different, general aims within each of them: in variationist research, the analysis has generally focused on changes on the language structure as phenomena detached from everything else that is going on in the community; in other words, the variationist study of the speech community has usually been merely an instrument to the understanding of how a certain variety (or varieties, in works such as those dealing with code-switching or bilingualism) is structurally evolving in a given community, with many studies also trying to predict what further steps this evolution will take. On the other hand, in interactionist/anthropological research, language, while still constituting the main object of the analysis, has been considered an integral part of social actions and analysed as such, and the conclusions drawn within this strand of works have usually revolved around semiotic and social processes occurring through language, rather than around language structure alone. Notwithstanding this, both strands are of interest with respect to the present work for their common engagement to discuss the motivations and meanings of language variation within a group of speakers, to search for these motivations and meanings by looking directly at the speakers’ social life (through fieldwork) and to attempt to highlight them by analysing single linguistic features, thus still providing an accurate insight of what is happening at the level of language itself.

1.1.4 - The “urban” nature of sociolinguistics

A fourth aspect shared by these two trends in sociolinguistics is their proceeding from an interest in dynamics of linguistic change occurring in urban environments. In fact, such interest is epitomized by one of the milestones of the discipline, namely Labov’s *The social stratification of English in New York city*, a work that happens to have chosen the most populous city of the Western world for a study of socially-related language variation. To be sure, the same interest in the language dynamics found in urban areas is shared by the long-standing, well established French academic tradition in urban sociolinguistics, which has its most prominent figures in L.-J. Calvet and T. Bulot; however, as the present work is strongly inspired by the Anglophone literature, Anglophone authors will be given the priority in this general overview.

The link between urbanisation and the socially or situationally diversified use of linguistic features is multiple: to begin with, urbanisation usually brings together people from an indefinitely

varied array of social and ethnic backgrounds in one relatively restricted area, “forcing” them to interact and live with each other (Gumperz: 1982): the obvious consequence of this interaction is an increase in contact among (individuals who speak) different language varieties and practices. Secondly, the very nature of urban life implies a distribution of social roles among the members of an urban community which is radically different from, and much more complex than, the role distribution found in other (rural, tribal, etc.) types of community; this, in turn, has been demonstrated to lead to a similarly radical differentiation in the language repertoires found in the community itself (Gumperz 1962). The interference of public institutions in our everyday life also contributes to such differentiation, and does so by diversifying the set of communicative skills we are required to learn and make use of (Gumperz 1982) – another phenomenon that is most accentuated in urban areas.

It has been already mentioned that, according to Chambers & Trudgill (1980), the social and stylistic diversity found in urban speech was the main reason that pushed towards the adoption of variationist methods and techniques in linguistics, and in the study of dialect contact in particular. The goal of such methods and techniques was different from that of traditional dialectological research, which aimed to find the “purest” kind of speakers of local dialects, so that data were exclusively collected from rural, male speakers who had spent all their life in, and had always lived with people from, the local community. If such methods had had the result of identifying important, historical trends concerning the diffusion of language features, the data thus obtained had nevertheless fallen short of being representative of the real speech of the communities investigated for two orders of reasons: first of all, the high selectivity in the choice of the “ideal speaker” failed to register the whole social variation of the local dialect; secondly, the technique used for eliciting the informant’s speech, ie. the questionnaire, encouraged responses that were not uttered in the spontaneous style of everyday use, with consequent distortion of the local linguistic reality²⁴. Since, as was highlighted above, social and stylistic variation in language is a natural accompaniment of urban life, it became vital for linguists wanting to investigate the evolution of dialects in urban areas to abandon the techniques of traditionally dialectology, and adopt those successfully experimented by Labov (Chambers & Trudgill 1980).

²⁴ According to Chambers & Trudgill, if a speaker directs more attention to his/her own speech, the latter will become more formal and be “influenced by notions of linguistic ‘correctness’” (1980: 58). This view, inspired by Labov’s works, implied: a) that the “real” idiolect of a speaker was something distinct from the standard variety that he/she learns at school, and b) that attention paid to speech and formality went hand in hand. As we have seen, these presuppositions were to be challenged by later authors.

This serves to explain why a great part of the sociolinguistic studies cited so far show an interest in urban environments: besides Labov (1964), also Bortoni-Ricardo (1985), Cheshire et al.: (1999), Eckert (2000), Kerswill (1996b), Kerswill & Williams (2000, 2002 and others) and L. Milroy (1980) are monographic studies on urban speech communities, whose variation in speech is examined in tight relation to the socio-anthropological characteristics of the urban setting. However, just as much as the complexity and diversification of urban life has emerged, so have sociolinguists felt the urge to revise previously established theoretical constructs, as new urban realities have proved the latter insufficient to allow a pertinent analysis of the local sociolinguistic facts. Undoubtedly, the criticism encountered by the “classic” variationist approach (cfr. § 1.1.3) has been partly due to these challenges: the preference for agent-focused and qualitative social constructs (such as the community of practice) to speaker-transcending and quantitative ones (such as the social class) or the elaboration of such concepts as “indexicalisation” or “enregisterment” can both be seen as attempts to account for the fluidity and diversification of social relationships and sociolinguistic behaviour as they are found in the city.

Even studies in dialect contact that maintain a variationist approach have found it necessary to improve their own theoretical instruments as they have found themselves dealing with different contexts, among which, most notably, are cases of in-migration to urban areas. This has brought to the identification of several linguistic phenomena originating from urbanisation-related movements of population, such as reallocation (the social or situational re-characterisation of language features that used to be associated to the speaker’s regional origin²⁵), regional dialect levelling (the homogenisation of language features among multiple centres within a given region with consequent loss of alternative variants of a given variable) and koineisation (the emergence of a common language variety – called *koiné* – in a given area which is a mixture of, but also distinct from, all the single varieties spoken in that area)²⁶. All works dedicated to the description of these phenomena have nonetheless left a fundamental question unanswered: when the result of dialect contact in an area (be it urban or rural) is the maintenance, loss or reallocation of certain language features, *what* is it that causes a feature to be maintained, lost or reallocated?

The most influential attempt to provide an answer has probably been Trudgill’s (1986) discussion on “salience”, which he defines as a property of linguistic features that “lead[s] to greater awareness” of their variability, and to the speakers consciously associating them to a determined

²⁵ Cfr. Trudgill: 1986; here, reallocation is said to also take other forms, such as the integration of all variants of a language feature in one linguistic system as alloforms.

²⁶ For a detailed description of these phenomena, see Kerswill (1996b), Kerswill & Williams (1999), Siegel (1985) and Trudgill (1986) among others.

social group²⁷. While the idea of some features being more “perceptually and cognitively prominent” than others dates back to 1930 (Kerswill & Williams 2002: 81-82), Trudgill has had the merit of applying the concept of salience specifically to cases of accommodation between mutually intelligible varieties, a process which, in his and a number of other scholars’ view, leads to language change in the long term (Trudgill (1986); for a detailed description of the accommodation phenomenon, cfr. Giles (1973) and Auer *et al.* (2002)). The factors that, according to Trudgill, help predict if a feature will be salient are, in synthesis:

- Stigmatisation of this feature in the speech community concerned, often joined by the presence of an alternative, more prestigious variant to it that is also reflected in standard orthography
- Its involvement in language change
- Its radical phonetic difference with respect to other competing variants
- Its role in maintaining or merging phonemic contrasts in one of the varieties involved in the contact (Trudgill 1986: 11)

However, this list remains unsatisfying for several reasons: first of all, that a feature should be involved in language change in order to be salient, ie. in order to draw the speakers’ attention and, as a consequence, be more probably involved in language change, is a clearly circular statement (Kerswill & Williams 2002: 90). Secondly, all these factors seem to be tailored to the specific case with which Trudgill begins his analysis, namely internal language variation in the Norwich dialect (Trudgill 1986: 7-11); as a consequence, the list he draws seems too “ad hoc” to be applied to other, both Anglophone and non-Anglophone contexts. Finally, as Kerswill & Williams (2002) have convincingly argued, if a model of salience is to be provided it should in no case overlook the influence of context-specific extra-linguistic factors; these can be of variable nature, from socio-demographic to interactional-pragmatic (Kerswill & Williams 2002: 104-106). It seems meaningful to underline that Kerswill and Williams develop their argument on the basis of studies made in several urban areas of England, which shows once again how the complexity of the city as a setting for sociolinguistic facts often encourages the improvement of theoretical instruments.

Probably, if one should try to apply the salience model to yet other cases of rural or urban sociolinguistic variation – even after correcting the flaws in Trudgill’s first proposition – one would

²⁷ In the original text (1986: 11), Trudgill says, *verbatim*, “the factors which lead (...) to an indicator becoming a marker”, using terminology drawn from Labov (1972).

be obliged to make more changes to the model to make it suit the new contexts studied, and so on and so forth at every subsequent application. In fact, as is the case for Trudgill's model, one of the flaws of the theoretical constructs elaborated under the variationist approach seems to be their ad hoc justification, tailored as they are on specific, mostly Anglophone or Western socio-cultural contexts. From this point of view, Errington's (1985) "pragmatic salience" – mentioned in the previous section – appears to be of a wider cross-cultural validity, and to go beyond a vision of social and linguistic categories as mere lines and columns of a chart, by positing more flexible, qualitative criteria for predicting what forms will be "salient" for a given community of speakers. Besides, it should be noted that his paper forestalled Trudgill's proposition of his own "salience". Nevertheless, Errington's argumentation also has the limitation of resting on a single linguistic case, ie. speech levels in Javanese (although it was shown how Woolard (2008) demonstrates the applicability of his "pragmatic salience" framework to many other cases of language change).

As was previously said, the present review has mainly drawn from literature produced in English-speaking countries because of its role in inspiring the theoretical approach of the present research. Given this geographical and cultural bias, though, the issue of cross-cultural validity becomes all the more contingent as the sociolinguistic study of other world regions is to be dealt with, such as in the present work. In the next section, it will be useful to review what kind of sociolinguistic studies have been made so far on the region of interest, namely the Arabic-speaking world, and whether (and if so, how) the models provided by the Anglophone literature on sociolinguistic variation have proven relevant for the explanation of the data observed; however, before that, a general presentation on dialectological studies of Moroccan Arabic varieties will be made.

1.2 - Arabic dialectology and sociolinguistics: from the beginnings to nowadays

Although the aim of this sub-chapter is to give an overview on Arabic sociolinguistics in general, it was thought that a state of the art of dialectological works on Moroccan Arabic would be a necessary premise before dealing with sociolinguistic studies on this as well as other areas. An overview taking into account dialectological studies conducted in every single Arab country is beyond the scope of the present thesis.

1.2.1 - Moroccan Arabic dialectology (1800 – present)

Studies on Arabic dialects are as old as the dialects themselves: more than an Arabic scholar cited the existence of, and sometimes thoroughly examined, dialectal variation in Arabic parlances during the golden age of Islam. At the time, the main purpose for an Arab scholar to investigate local dialects would be either that of describing the supposedly “pure” and correct form of Arabic spoken by the Bedouin tribes of the Arabian Peninsula (Caubet & Miller 2009: 240), or that of prescribing the avoidance of common mistakes made by speakers (of other ethnic origins) when expressing themselves orally in *fushā*²⁸; the aim of what is considered by Levin (1999, in Vicente 2008: 20) to be the first work in Arabic dialectology, Sibawayhi’s *Al-kitāb* – a description of the different dialects spoken in the Arabian peninsula in his time (d. ca. 796) – might have fallen within either of these two purposes, or both. However, descriptive works covering the spoken varieties of the whole Islamic empire were also done, eg. by the geographer Al-Muqaddasi (d. ca. 990; cfr. Vicente 2008: 20-21), or the historian Ibn Khaldoun (1332 – 1382). As for Western-authored scientific works in Arabic dialectology, they did not see the light until the start of (especially French) military expeditions to North Africa, with Napoleon’s landing in Egypt in 1798 and, later, France’s annexation of Algeria in 1830. By coming into close contact with the Arab populations, European orientalisks became aware of the gap existing between Classical Arabic (the only Arabic variety they had been studying up to that moment) and the varieties spoken at the informal, daily level: the interest in studying Arabic dialects had thus been triggered (Vicente 2008: 21)²⁹.

Western studies of Moroccan Arabic dialect(s) date back to the last quarter of the XVIII century, their emergence being strictly connected with European commercial and political expansionism (González Vázquez 2017: 52)³⁰. In 1779, the Danish consul Georg Høst published his *Efterretninger om Marókos og Fes* (“News on Marrakech and Fes”), following an eight-year stay in Morocco; his work also includes details on the local population’s Arabic dialect, and is considered “the first description of Moroccan [Arabic] dialect” eg. by Aguadé (2012, cit. in González Vázquez

²⁸Throughout the text, this word will be used to indicate both the historical variety of standard Arabic (also referred to as Classical Arabic) and the modernised variety of the language currently used eg. in the media and in schooling (also referred to as Modern Standard Arabic, or MSA).

²⁹It may be interesting to notice how the same historical events triggered the exact opposite tendency among the Arabs themselves: the mutual contacts between European powers and the Arab region in the XIX century caused the emergence of a national discourse that paralleled nationalistic tendencies in Europe, and part and parcel of this discourse was the reaffirmation of Arabic (in its *fushā* variety) in administration, education and other domains of public life that had long been lost to Turkish in most Arab countries. At the same time, many efforts were made by literate people to modernise *fushā* and make it suitable to express XIX-century concepts and ideas; this resulted in the creation of what has been referred to as Modern Standard Arabic, ie. a variant of Classical Arabic presenting several non-radical differences, especially at the semantic and syntactic level (cfr. Versteegh 1997: 173-177). This would not be the last time that Arab cultivated groups would react to Western “interference” by calling for the functional enhancement of *fushā*, as we shall see below with regard to the post-independence period.

³⁰González Vázquez’s chapter in Vicente et al. (2017) has been the main source for the historical information, reported here, on the beginnings of dialectology on Moroccan Arabic.

2017: 54, footnote 8)³¹, although linguistic data are intermingled with cultural and historical information. The first work entirely devoted to the description of a Moroccan Arabic variety was published in 1800 by Franz Lorenz Von Dombay, an Austrian interpreter working for the Habsburg consul in Tangiers: the treaty, entitled *Grammatica linguae mauro-arabicae juxta vernaculi idiomatis usum*, takes the Tangerine dialect as its object of description (González Vázquez 2017: 57). It is notable how this first step of European orientalism beyond the study of the classical variety of Arabic was made thanks to a work that in its own title still uses the classical language of the author's country of origin, which increases its innovative impact for the time of its release.

As the first word in the title of Von Dombay's work (*Grammatica*, "grammar") anticipates, the first studies on Arabic dialectology had many points in common with written grammars of Western standard languages, particularly for their descriptive character; sometimes they also included a course for the Western reader who wished to learn how to communicate in the Moroccan Arabic dialect. By the end of the XIX century, Western authors from a number of countries (including Spain, Germany, France, Sweden, the British Empire and the USA) began publishing dictionaries, collections of proverbs or structural descriptions of Moroccan Arabic, usually basing themselves on the dialects of single Moroccan towns³². At the beginning of the XX century, as scientific theories and methods were perfected in the domain of linguistics, coherent transcription methods based on phonetic distinctions started being adopted in the written reproduction of oral data. Two examples of this improvement are provided by Kampffmeyer's (1912) conversation manual *Marokkanisch-Arabische Gespräche im Dialekt von Casablanca* and by Alarcón y Santón's (1913) *Textos árabes en dialecto vulgar de Larache*, a collection of texts collected from the field which were integrally transcribed and translated into Spanish, and accompanied by a glossary of the "voces y modismos que no se encuentran en los diccionarios clásicos o aparecen en estos con acepciones distintas de las que aquí ofrecen" (VII)³³.

The practice of personally collecting texts for the purpose of linguistic description, as Alarcón y Santón had done, was to be one of the methods most frequently followed by the French dialectologists³⁴, whose works would form the main body of literature on Moroccan Arabic dialects during the first sixty years of the XX century – particularly after the establishment of the French

³¹Lévy (1998) has indicated the French prisoner Germain Moïette's French-Moroccan Arabic dictionary (1683) as the first work offering detailed information on this dialect. Nonetheless, the *Efterretninger* are the first of what seems to be an uninterrupted series of publications – all of them partially or exclusively dealing with Moroccan Arabic – by authors of diverse (Western) nationalities that continued until at least 1956.

³²For a bibliography of these works, cfr. González Vázquez (2017).

³³"...lexical items and idioms not found in classical dictionaries or appearing in the latter with different meanings from those expressed here".

³⁴It is still followed in our days by dialectologists working on Moroccan and other varieties; cfr. the publications of the EDNA (*Estudios de Dialectología Norteafricana y Andalusí*) review, as well as several of the recent monographies listed at the end of the section.

Protectorate on the country in 1912. The main point of reference for the French scholars working on this field was W. Marçais's (1911) *Textes arabes de Tanger*, whose "texts-plus-glossary" structure and transcription method were to be integrally adopted by many other authors, eg. by Brunot in his *Textes arabes de Rabat* (1931a and 1931b) and Loubignac in his *Textes arabes des Zaër*, (1952)³⁵. Other Moroccan Arabic varieties were investigated following different transcription methods (but still with oral texts as a point of departure), including the Ouargha dialect (Lévi-Provençal 1922) and the Jewish dialect of Fes (Brunot & Malka 1939). A special mention should be made of Colin's (1939) *Chrestomatie marocaine*, a collection of texts that, while structurally similar to the other works cited, assembles texts produced by speakers coming from different towns and regions, and at the same time attempts at "normalizing" the language of the texts themselves "de façon à représenter le dialecte moyen parlé et compris dans les grandes villes du nord"³⁶; consequently, a different transcription method was adopted with respect to Marçais's (Colin 1939: VIII). These choices are easily understood as, unlike the other works, Colin's is explicitly addressed to learners of Moroccan Arabic rather than exclusively to scholars; however, it remains uncertain under what criteria Colin proceeded to the "normalisation" of the language of his texts (ie. *how* he decided *which* features were to be switched towards *which* variety, in order to reach his goal of "normalising" the language).

With the passing of time and the progression of research, knowledge of the landscape of Moroccan Arabic varieties became more and more solid for these authors: this was also made possible by the support of accurate contemporary studies on the history and culture of the French-occupied Maghreb. These studies, which were conducted by European authors, mostly based themselves on the Arabic sources available (such as the well-known Ibn Khaldoun's *Muqaddima*). The support provided by historical studies allowed the researchers of Maghrebi dialects in general, and Moroccan varieties in particular, to reconstruct the genealogy of these: it thus became possible to distinguish different layers of linguistic traits according to the time when the local population was thought to have adopted them in its own speech. On this basis, two distinct moments (often called "waves") of Arab invasion of the Maghrebi region (ie. what are now the national territories of Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco and Mauritania) were found to correspond to two distinct waves of Arabisation of the language:

³⁵As Loubignac explicitly says in his introduction to the *Textes* (XVI), it was also adopted as the official transcription method by the *Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines*, the French centre for human studies on Morocco that operated in Rabat during the Protectorate.

³⁶"...in order to represent the average dialect as it is spoken and understood in the Northern towns".

- the first wave of invasion, starting in VII century AD, came in the form of the creation of new Muslim reigns (the most notable ones being the Aghlabid in *ʿifrīqiya*³⁷ and the Idrissid in present-day Morocco), with their administrative and economic apparatuses; its demographic weight and (especially in Morocco) the area it directly affected were relatively limited, but its socio-political, cultural and linguistic impact still lasts to our days. Indeed, the areas whose dialects were affected were mainly the urban ones, which included pre-existing centres, cities created by the Arab rulers (such as Kairouan in present-day Tunisia and Fes in what today is Morocco; W. Marçais 1961) and towns situated along the commercial routes that passed through these centres (such as Tangiers, Morocco and Jijel, Algeria on the Mediterranean coast, or the extinguished Sijilmasa on today's Moroccan desert border; cfr. Caubet 2000: 75-76 and Lévy 1998: 13); however, some of the rural areas crossed by these routes also adopted varieties similar to those of the towns, although with heavy influence from local Amazigh varieties (W. Marçais 1961: 185-186)
- the second one, starting in XI century AD, came in the form of a massive migration of Arab Bedouin tribes, which had previously moved from the Arabian peninsula to Egypt and were then displaced to the Maghreb by the Fatimid caliph (W. Marçais 1961: 186). The most notable among these tribes were the *Banū Hilāl*, the *Banū Sulaym* and the *Maʿqil* (Caubet 2000: 77-78); their arrival entailed the Arabisation of many (but not all) of the rural areas, which had theretofore been exclusively populated by Berbers (*ibid.*).

Taking inspiration from the name of the first of these tribes, *Banū Hilāl*, linguists have resolved to call the varieties of Maghrebi Arabic issued after the first wave of Arabisation “pre-Hilali”, or “non-Hilali”³⁸, and those issued after the second wave “Hilali”.

As Lévy (1998) and W. Marçais (1961) underline, each of these waves reached the farthest edge of the Maghreb (including today's Morocco) at least one century after it had entered through its easternmost edge: Idris I (al-Akbar) b. Abd Allah, who was to become the first Arab ruler in what would then become Morocco, did not settle in the Maghrib before 786 AD (Eustache 1986); as for the Bedouin invasion, it did not take less than 100 years for it to cover just half of the region (“*elle n’a rien de l’allure d’un torrent impétueux*”, “it has got nothing of the speed of an impetuous

³⁷ A province that today would include Tunisia and a part of Libya and Algeria.

³⁸ The latter term was proposed by D. Cohen (Caubet 2000: 74) – and will be preferred hereafter – because of the role played by the Andalusian migration to North Africa in the 15th-16th centuries (ie. after the Hilali migration) in affecting the speech and increasing the group of speakers of those varieties derived from the 1st wave. The Andalusian migration is now considered the main factor for the long-lasting maintenance of these varieties.

stream” according to W. Marçais 1961: 188). Nonetheless, Moroccan non-Hilali and Hilali varieties both present several common linguistic traits with, respectively, non-Hilali and Hilali varieties in the rest of the Maghreb (1961: 185). An accurate description of non-Hilali and Hilali features is made by Pereira (2011). Among the non-Hilali features, the most often cited in the literature are:

- [ʔ], [ʔ], [q] in urban, *Žabli* (ie. of the mountainous area of *Žbāla*) and other varieties, and [k] and [kʰ] in rural varieties, as a phonetic reflex of Old Arabic /q/
- merge of Old Arabic interdental phonemes (eg. /ð/) with the corresponding stops (eg. /d/)
- affrication of Old Arabic /t/, which is thus pronounced [tʰ], [tʰs] or similar
- merge of /j/ and /s/ on the one hand and of /ʒ/ and /z/ on the other into intermediate phonemes
- merge of the 2nd person singular in verbs (eg. /mʃi:ti/ = “you left” (m. and f.)) and independent pronouns (eg. /nti:na/ = “you” (m. and f.))
- reconstruction of the conjugation of verbs with final-weak roots (eg.: /nsa:w/, “they forgot”; /nəmʃi:w/, “we’re leaving”, etc.)
- preference for indirect annexation with genitive exponents, such as /mta:ʃ/ and related ones, /dja:l/ and /d/³⁹
- verbal prefix /ka/ to signify durative or habitual present, according to the semantics of the verb (eg.: /ka:-jɣra/, “he studies” or “he’s studying”)⁴⁰
- indefinite article, such as /wa:ħəd l/ in Morocco
- typical lexical items such as /ʃməl/ “to do” (instead of /da:r/), /sʰa:b/, “to find” (instead of /lqa/ or /lga/), etc.

On the other hand, the most cited Hilali features are the following:

- [g] as the most widespread reflex of Old Arabic /q/

³⁹ /dja:l/ is the exponent that is most widespread in Moroccan non-Hilali varieties; however, /mta:ʃ/ is probably the oldest item as derivatives of this lexeme are found in Andalousi Arabic and Maltese.

⁴⁰ This, too, may be a typical Moroccan non-Hilali feature.

- word-medial and final *ʾimāla*
- gender distinction in the 2nd person singular in verbs (eg.: /mʃi:t/ = “you left” (m.), /mʃi:ti/ = “you left” (f.)) and pronouns (eg.: /nta/ = “you” (m.), /nti/ “you” (f.))
- monophthongal termination in final-weak verbs, such as in /tənsi/, /jənsu/, /nsu/, /mʃu/
- alternation between /u/ and /a(h)/ as a 3rd masculine singular suffix pronoun
- preservation of Old Arabic *ʾiḍāfa*, unprefixing imperfect conjugation and lack of indefinite article
- typical lexical items such as /da:r/, “to do” (instead of /ʕmɛl/), /ʃa:f/, “to see” (instead of /rʕa/)⁴¹

Subsequently, as Lévy (1998) illustrates very thoroughly, historical events and massive movements of populations caused a centuries-long mutual contact between dialects of the area, which in many cases resulted in the amalgamation of linguistic features (with Arabic varieties intermingling both with Amazigh and with other Arabic varieties). Nonetheless, it is still common to categorise a Maghrebi variety as non-Hilali or Hilali according to which of the two types of features prevails: the taxonomy thus obtained not only allows to draw conclusions on processes of linguistic change in the region, but also helps in the reconstruction of the demographic history of the town or region where that variety is spoken. The non-Hilali *vs* Hilali distinction has thus provided sociolinguistics with the bases for the study of the Maghreb in general, and Morocco in particular, and will be recalled below in the section concerning sociolinguistic works on Moroccan Arabic (§ 1.2.4).

Maghrebi Arabic dialectology has thus been characterised by an historical approach since the beginning of the XX century. Such approach is apparent in the historical introductions to some of the works cited, such as Brunot’s monography on Rabat and Loubignac’s on Zaër. Brunot’s studies, in particular, distinguish themselves by their richness of anthropological and ethnographical – as well as linguistic – observations: Brunot (1949), for example, is an historical and, for some aspects, even socio-anthropological account of why and through which linguistic and geographical routes non-French (from the pre-Protectorate time) and French loanwords had been adopted by Moroccan speakers. The following passage on how French words started being introduced to

⁴¹ The summary provided in Caubet (2000) served as a basis for this selection of features.

Morocco by both French and Algerians is a clear example of the author's will of not limiting the presentation of the subject to pure linguistic description:

Les agents de l'introduction de mots français dans le dialecte des citadins, sont assez variés. Ce sont évidemment et avant tout des Français, mais des Français qui sont en contact permanent avec les indigènes : le sous-officier, le garçon de pharmacie, le chef de chantier, le quincailler, le commis de bureau... des gens qui agissent en même temps qu'ils parlent, qui ont en main l'objet qu'ils nomment, serait-ce un bon de ravitaillement, un titre de permission, des gens qu'on voit agir et qu'on entend parler; ils emploient au maximum la méthode directe pour l'enseignement du français.

Avec eux, et tout aussi efficaces, se trouvent les Algériens musulmans (...) Leur influence est d'autant plus forte que leur conduite constitue un exemple que d'autres Musulmans peuvent suivre; les mots français deviennent alors des mots techniques, administratifs, des mots utiles et respectables grâce auxquels des « sésames » peuvent s'ouvrir. Il arrive alors que des mots parfaitement arabes, employés en Algérie mais inconnus au Maroc, font figure de mots français : ainsi *bəṛnōs* n'est pour la plupart qu'une prononciation à l'arabe d'un mot français que les Français articulent *būrñūs*.⁴² (362)

The same perspective is manifest in the introduction to *Introduction à l'arabe marocain* (Brunot 1950), where the anthropological look – although still not devoid of a certain degree of ethnocentrism – is even extended to the description of the grammar, as in the following passage:

Le marocain est une langue que l'on peut qualifier d'économique, chose peu étonnante puisqu'il est uniquement parlé et n'a pas de monuments littéraires ; il va droit à son but, aux moindres frais, sans raffinements inutiles pour exprimer idées ou sentiments. Il supprime ou dédaigne tout ce qui n'est pas strictement nécessaire à ce but. Aussi l'analogie et la simplification règnent-elles souverainement jusqu'à la limite, évidemment, de l'incompréhension.⁴³ (26)

After World War II, some other studies, such as Guironnet (1954, 1956), examine variation in single linguistic features rather than giving a general sketch of the whole dialect: in the two works mentioned, for instance, the author examines two morphological features, presenting both

⁴²“The agents of the introduction of French words into the town-dwellers' dialect are quite varied. Obviously, and first of all, they are French, but French who are in permanent contact with the natives: noncommissioned officers, pharmacy apprentices, site foremen, ironmongers, office clerks... people that act at the same time as they speak, that hold the object being mentioned in their hand, be it a food stamp or a pass, people that are seen acting and heard speaking; they employ the direct method at its maximum for the teaching of French. With them, and as effective as them, are the Muslim Algerians (...) Their influence is even stronger, especially as their behaviour provides an example that other Muslims may follow; this way, French terms make technical and administrative terms; they become useful and respectable words thanks to which new doors can be opened. It thus happens that purely Arabic words are thought of as French, for they are employed in Algeria and unknown in Morocco: *bəṛnōs*, is mostly a mere Arabic pronunciation for a French word that French articulate as *būrñūs*.”

⁴³“Moroccan [Arabic] is a language that one may qualify as cost-effective, which is no wonder since it is exclusively spoken and is not associated to any literary masterpiece; it goes straight to the point, at the minimum cost, with no superfluous refinement expressing ideas or feelings. It removes or scorns everything that is not strictly necessary to its goal. Also analogy and simplification reign supreme, obviously going as far as misunderstanding.”

data collected on them by dialectologists in other Maghrebi Arabic varieties and examples taken from the dialect of the community in which he investigates (the Sṛāḡna group, who live in the area north-east of Marrakesh). With their focus on the synchronic diatopic variation of single linguistic traits, these two papers constitute a further step in the linguistic understanding of Moroccan Arabic, and also present an approach similar to that of variationist sociolinguistics which, one decade later, would discuss linguistic variation and change basing itself on the analysis of single variable traits; however, Guironnet's perspective here remains strictly linguistic, and the social variation and/or meaning of language is not investigated at any point in these two articles.

In the 1950s-60s, the development of Arabic dialectology came to a halt due to the general political situation: as the Arab countries progressively conquered their independence, a certain kind of political discourse following the ideology of pan-arabism exhorted the Arab nations to unite in a single political entity, by virtue of their common culture and language. This discourse implied the promotion of *fuṣṣḥā* in a number of domains in which it had so far given way to foreign languages (such as Turkish, English and French), including administration and education. Such a political view led to associating the study of Arabic dialects to European colonisation, and to considering it as an attempt to disrupt efforts towards the unity of the Arabs by countering the promotion of *fuṣṣḥā*.

As a result, the 1960s and 70s witnessed a certain drop in (both Maghrebi and Mashreqi) monographies on colloquial varieties of Arabic. A noteworthy exception during those years was Harrell's *A Short reference grammar of Moroccan Arabic* (1962)⁴⁴, a structuralist description of this variety or, more precisely, of the "form of Arabic (...) of the educated urban speakers of the northwestern part of Morocco". As specified below in the same page, "the author has worked exclusively with speakers from Fez, Rabat and Casablanca" (vii). In this, it is not too dissimilar in intent from Colin's *Chrestomatie marocaine*, which Harrell himself cites as a "source of primary text material" (*ibid.*)

However, Arabic dialects soon began raising scientific interest again, as several PhD students choosing to write their thesis in Arab dialectology contributed to the resumption of dialectological fieldwork not later than the mid-1970s. Morocco, similarly to the other Arab countries, witnessed a new rise in scientific activity:

"A l'échelle nationale, il va falloir attendre la fin des années 60, mais surtout la moitié des années 70 pour assister à l'implication de jeunes chercheurs marocains dans la phonologie de l'arabe marocain ou l'une de ses variétés. Nous citons entre autres les travaux de : Abdelmassih en 1973 sur l'arabe marocain, Laabi en 1975 sur

⁴⁴ Harrell's book was part of an American series of structuralist descriptions of Arab vernaculars.

le parler arabe de Fès, Khomsi en 1975 sur Casablanca, Hilili en 1979 sur l'ancien Fassi, Hassaoui en 1980 sur le parler de Rabat, Chekrouni en 1983 sur le parler de Meknes..."⁴⁵ (Benthami 2007: 90-91)

Gradually, from then on, works in Arabic dialectology began to flourish again, as is also proven by the foundation of AIDA (*Association Internationale de Dialectologie Arabe*) in 1993 and the launch of a biennial conference on Arabic Dialectology by the same association, an event that still takes place in our days; or – concerning the North African region – by the publication of the EDNA journal (*Estudios de Dialectología Norteafricana y Andalusí*) from 1996 to 2009. Concerning studies in Moroccan Arabic dialectology, a seminal work of this period is Dominique Caubet's *L'arabe Marocain. Tome I and II* (1993): this is a thorough description, covering all linguistic levels and grammatical aspects, of what she defines as the Moroccan "koïné", ie. a way of speaking that, according to her, had been spreading in the country following, among other factors, "l'accroissement de la population, le développement des villes et l'exode rural, la diffusion des médias, l'accession au système scolaire et universitaire, le contact constant avec l'espagnol, le français et l'arabe classique"⁴⁶ (1993: VII). The gradual diffusion of a near-to-common variety of Moroccan Arabic had already been attested to by Colin in his 1939 *Chrestomatie*, although he had not used the term *koine* explicitly, nor did he (or any other earlier dialectologist, to my knowledge) ever make an analysis of this variety as exhaustive as that of Caubet. Other important works demonstrated this renewed dialectological interest for Morocco, such as the multi-authored book *Peuplement et arabisation au Maghreb occidental* (1998), as well as numerous studies mostly produced by Spanish authors, such as Aguadé & El Yaâcoubi (1995) on Skoura, Guerrero (2015) on Larache, Moscoso (2003) on Chefchaouen, Sánchez (2014) on Marrakesh and Vicente (2000) on *Ānẓra* among others; to these, the works issued from Behnstedt's project of Moroccan Arabic atlas (eg. Behnstedt & Benabbou 2005) should obviously be added.

1.2.2. – First stage of Arabic sociolinguistics: diglossia and intermediate varieties (1959 – 1990)

The post-independence studies on Arabic dialects – particularly in the Mashreq – were profoundly marked by *Diglossia*, Ferguson's (1959) landmark article on the eponymous phenomenon. In his discussion, Ferguson chooses four linguistic communities (among which were

⁴⁵ "At the national level, it is not until the end of the 1960s, or even the middle of the 1970s, that young Moroccan researchers engage in the study of the phonology of Moroccan Arabic, or one of its varieties. We can cite, among others, the works of Abdelmassih in 1973 on Moroccan Arabic in general, of Laabi in 1975 on the spoken Arabic of Fes, of Khomsi in 1975 on Casablanca, of Hilili in 1979 on the old Fassi, of Hassaoui in 1980 on Rabat, of Chekrouni in 1983 on Meknes..."

⁴⁶ "...the increase in population, the urban development and rural exodus, the diffusion of the media, the access to the school and University systems, the constant contact with Spanish, French and Classical Arabic".

Arabic speakers) and shows how each one of them presents in its own linguistic repertoire two related but distinct language varieties, whose functions are in complementary distribution: each of these communities deem either variety to be suitable for certain contexts of communication, and the contexts associated to either variety tend not to overlap. In each of the four cases, one variety (which Ferguson called “high”, or H) is reserved to formal contexts, whereas the other (which Ferguson called “low”, or L) is deemed to be more appropriate to informal and familiar situations. In his article, Ferguson goes on to describe more in detail which contexts are usually assigned to the “formal” or “informal” category (eg. religion and schooling normally fall within the former, whereas daily communication with family and peers, or political cartoons, are ascribed to the latter) and which attitudes are most often found as being associated to either code (eg. the H variety often enjoys a prestige linked to history, literary tradition or even religion, whereas the L variety is almost denied its existence or status as an actual language variety, with its norms and grammar).

In fact, the term “diglossia” had already been used much earlier by W. Marçais (1930) in a general description of the structural differences and commonalities existing between *fuṣṣḥā* and *‘āmmiyya* in the Arabic-speaking world. However, while Marçais’s discussion appears to be intended for learners of Arabic, making no attempt to identify the general sociolinguistic characteristics of the *fuṣṣḥā* - *‘āmmiyya* dichotomy, Ferguson’s detailed and straightforward illustration of the “diglossia” concept provided some well-defined criteria against which similar repertoires of other linguistic communities could be measured. This is arguably the reason why most of the authors that subsequently dealt with Arabic dialects (and their relationship with *fuṣṣḥā*) referred to Ferguson’s article, rather than to Marçais’s, as a point of departure for the description of the sociolinguistic status of Arabic varieties.

The bipartite representation of the native Arabic speakers’ repertoire was an effective way to emphasise the actual existence of two distinct linguistic norms, and to clarify the nature of their mutual relationship; however, it did not tell the whole story. As Ferguson himself underlined,

[t]he communicative tensions which arise in the diglossia situation may be resolved by the use of relatively uncoded, unstable, intermediate forms of the language (... Arabic *al-luḡah al-wuṣṭā*⁴⁷...) and repeated borrowing of vocabulary items from H to L.

In Arabic, for example, a kind of spoken Arabic much used in certain semiformal or cross-dialectal situations has a highly classical vocabulary with few or no inflectional endings, with certain features of classical syntax, but with a fundamentally colloquial base in morphology and syntax, and a generous admixture of colloquial vocabulary. (1959: 332)

⁴⁷ According to the transliteration system adopted in this section, further mentions of this term will not use “h” as a correspondence for tā’ marbūṭa

In spite of this clarification, while Ferguson's *Diglossia* served as a theoretical canvas for Arabic sociolinguistics from the 1960s onwards, scholars of Arabic criticised the picture drawn by the article as too "binary", since empirical observations contradicted the idea that Arabic speakers simply skipped from the L variety to the H one, or vice-versa, according to the situational communication. In fact, the "intermediate forms", which Ferguson seemed to mention as a side-phenomenon, proved to be more frequently used and play a greater role than he had suggested, as speakers often appeared to "mix" *fushā* and *ʿāmmiyya* features in a considerable number of situations. Therefore, many post-*Diglossia* studies aimed at shedding light on the issue of *al-luġa al-wuṣṭā*, attempting to answer several questions connected to it: what is *al-luġa al-wuṣṭā*? What are its characteristic features? Are they the same throughout the Arabic speaking world? Who speaks it and in which situations? Is there just one or more types/levels of *al-luġa al-wuṣṭā*? What are native speakers' attitudes towards it/them? Which linguistic features, if any, can be used to classify an utterance as *luġa fushā*, *wuṣṭā* or *ʿāmmiyya*? Since the interaction between *fushā* and *ʿāmmiyya* is not central to the issue of the present thesis, a comprehensive review of the literature devoted to such interaction would be superfluous; therefore, works about this issue will be cited only insofar as their understanding is functional in making sense of later developments in Arabic sociolinguistics.

According to Mejdell (2006), "attempts to construct models [of language variation between *fushā* and *ʿāmmiyya*] tend to be flawed by lack of, or only minimal, empirical support, and turn out to be difficult to apply to natural data" (47). In her view, these flaws are also partially due to the approach that the authors have adopted, usually biased towards a structural type of analysis: this has inevitably led them to identify and generalise rules of verbal performance that could not be generalised without being easily contradicted by empirical observation, or with data collected by other researchers. As Mejdell herself puts it,

[o]ne of the problems when discussing the observations and results of different studies of "intermediate" or "(semi-)formal" spoken language is the highly variable kind of data they are based on, and a tendency among many contributors to generalize occurrences (or non-occurrences) of a feature to a much wider variety/level/style than their set of data validates. (2006: 49)

This is found, for instance, in those works that try to give a full representation of actual speakers' utterances in "mixed styles" (Mejdell 2006) by theorising the existence of "third", "fourth" or even more intermediate varieties, on an ideal scale that proceeds (downwards) from *fushā* to *ʿāmmiyya*⁴⁸. Badawi (1973), one of the best known authors to have attempted to

⁴⁸As shall be seen, some authors make a distinction between the two main types of *fushā*, Classical Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic, with the former obviously placed on the top of the scale and the latter one step below; however, such distinction is irrelevant for the present discussion.

circumscribe such in-between varieties, theorised the existence of five distinguishable levels in the speech of Egyptian Arabic speakers, ie. three “intermediate” plus the two “poles”, *fuṣḥā* and ‘*āmmiyya*. Badawi names the five varieties as follows:

- “*fuṣḥā t-turāt* (‘tradition *fuṣḥā*’), the one of the Koran and pre-islamic poems, now only used in religious preaching (Al-Khatib 1988) and the writing of traditional poetry
- *fuṣḥā l-‘aṣr* (‘modernity *fuṣḥā*’), corresponding to Modern Standard Arabic
- ‘*āmmiyyat al-mutaqqafīn* (‘‘*āmmiyya* of the cultivated’’), a “mixed style” used in certain formal or semi-formal contexts
- ‘*āmmiyyat al-mutanawwirīn* (‘*āmmiyya* of the enlightened’), a variety used by educated people in oral informal situations
- ‘*āmmiyyat al-‘ummiyyīn* (‘*āmmiyya* of the illiterate’), the variety used by people with basic or no education” (taken from Falchetta 2008: 28-29 with modifications)

Badawi’s scheme is interesting as it does not only identify key linguistic features which can suggest the switch from one level to the other, but also formulates “sociocultural and functional” criteria: regarding ‘*āmmiyyat al-mutaqqafīn*, for instance, he clearly states that “it represents the limit where ‘*āmmiyya*, in moving upwards towards *fuṣḥā*, reaches a degree where it becomes capable of expressing, *orally*, contemporary culture” (Badawi 1973: 149 in Mejdell 2006: 54; Mejdell’s emphasis). The names of the levels themselves also seem to point to an association of some of them to certain levels of education. However, the 5-level division still appears to be arbitrary and has not been confirmed by other works on Egyptian Arabic; Badawi himself admits that the five levels “shad[e] into each other like ‘the colours of the rainbow’” (Mejdell 2006: 51), which seems to contradict the fact that they are still presented as discrete levels (Versteegh 1997: 191).

Other works have focused on speech to distinguish one single intermediate variety, usually a sort of “classicised” dialect used by cultivated people in formal situations (roughly corresponding to Badawi’s ‘*āmmiyyat al-mutaqqafīn*): the Leeds project, directed by Mitchell, notably worked on the identification of this intermediate variety, which was named “Educated Spoken Arabic” (ESA), and described as “consisting of elements from both standard Arabic and the dialect and possessing hybrid forms unique to the ESA level” (Caubet & Miller 2009: 7). Again, the claim for the existence of an objectively defined “third variety” in the middle of the Arabic speakers’ diglossic repertoire appears too presumptuous and lacks confirmation from the reality. This is also because, in the Leeds project’s analysis, structural differences are the only criterion adopted for the definition

of ESA, and no role is recognised to other kinds of extra-linguistic (eg. stylistic) factors; to quote Mejdell (2006: 50) once again,

Mitchell defines ‘style’ on the basis of linguistic form alone, i.e. based on single variants of a stylistic variable—without reference to the “common frame or purpose” (Hymes 1974: 59) or ‘style’ as the link between function and form.

The same shortcoming (restriction of the analysis to structural/formal aspects of the language) seems to affect Eid’s work, although she dealt with “mixed styles” as the product of code-switching, rather than selecting a group of features and allocating them to a new “variety” like Badawi and Mitchell did. Accordingly, her purpose was that of finding “constraints” to the switch from Standard and (again) Egyptian Arabic, and vice versa. Here, too, the structural approach seems to be very strict, as “focus points” (ie. elements that cause the switch) are only identified when Standard and Egyptian Arabic present two alternative constituents to mark the same structure (Eid 1988), and all extra-linguistic factors are set to the background. A different, psycholinguistic approach had previously been adopted by Diem (1974, in Mejdell 2006), who interpreted the *fuṣḥā-‘āmmiyya* mixed speech as a kind of “interference”. Several other works have dealt with alternations between H and L forms as code-switching, such as Bassiouney (2003, 2006) and Mejdell (1999, 2006) (all cited in Bassiouney 2009).

Another scholar, Youssi, elaborated a concept similar to Mitchell’s ESA for the Moroccan sociolinguistic situation and called it “*arabe marocain moderne*”: in Youssi (1992), he makes a thorough presentation of this variety, to which users resort “lorsqu’ils sont en *situation formelle* et qu’ils doivent manier des concepts techniques et scientifiques dans la communication orale, ou lorsqu’ils ont recours à des concepts relevant des domaines d’intellection et de la culture moderne.”⁴⁹ (19, author’s italics). According to Youssi, *Arabe marocain moderne* (as was the case for ESA) is a well-defined variety, with concrete applications in the Moroccan linguistic reality, to the extent that he is able to redefine the sociolinguistic repertoire of Moroccans (or at least of those “ayant reçu un minimum d’instruction”, ie. having received minimum education; *iid.*) as one of “triglossia”, with *arabe marocain moderne* standing in the middle between *arabe littéral* and *arabe marocain* (ie. “plain” Moroccan Arabic dialect; cfr. Youssi 1992: 24-26). The latter is – quite vaguely – defined as consisting of “variétés (...) considérées comme ‘trop pauvres’ en structures syntaxiques et lexicales complexes ou appropriées, ou trop marquées d’un point de vue régional

⁴⁹“...when the situation is formal and they need to deal with technical and scientific concepts in oral communication, or when they resort to concepts that fall within intellectual domains or domains related to modern culture.”

et/ou social⁵⁰” (23-24). The contexts in which *arabe marocain moderne* is employed, according to the author, are:

- a) in public administration
- b) among strangers, of lower and middle upper classes, when the object of the exchange implies a power relationship;
- c) when the speakers try to conceal their regional or social origin
- d) in spontaneous hosting and/or technical and scientific popularisation in radio and TV programmes (Youssi 1992: 25; my translation).

The book, as the title suggests, is a formal description of the grammar and lexicon of *arabe marocain moderne*; in its pages, it becomes apparent how this variety essentially consists of a phonological and morphological underlying structure provided by the Moroccan Arabic dialect, to which a lexicon mostly imported from *fuṣḥā* (especially that pertaining to learned domains, such as politics and sciences) is adapted. Therefore, rather than a perfectly “intermediary” level, Youssi’s *arabe marocain moderne* looks like a “cultivated” register of the dialect that, again like Badawi’s *‘āmmiyyat al-mutaqqafīn*, “struggles” to expand its domains of use by borrowing technical vocabulary from *fuṣḥā*. While his description accounts for a great part of the processes actually observable in real oral formal situations, some points of Youssi’s discussion remain unclarified, such as what is the boundary between *arabe marocain moderne* and *arabe marocain*, in terms of both structural and lexical features; or which Moroccan dialectal variety serves as the basis for *arabe marocain moderne*, and if the latter presents noteworthy diatopic variation across Morocco.

The works mentioned so far undoubtedly have the merit of nuancing Ferguson’s binary scheme, which had given the impression that Arabs spoke two totally separate varieties, and that their choice between them was categorical. From this point of view, scholars such as Badawi, Mitchell, Youssi etc. brought to academic awareness how the Arabic-speaking community “plays” with diglossia in order to respond to concrete exigencies of expression, such as that of communicating on erudite topics without needing to follow all the strict norms of codified *fuṣḥā*. In this sense, these studies showed that at least some Arabic speakers (usually the most educated) instrumentally and consciously adapt *‘āmmiyya* not only through the addition of *fuṣḥā* technical vocabulary to it, but also through the borrowing of idioms, formulas, syntactic constructions and even (although to a lesser extent) phonemes and morphemes from *fuṣḥā*; a phenomenon that would

⁵⁰“...varieties (...) considered ‘too poor’ with regards to complex or appropriated syntactic and lexical structures, or too regionally and/or socially marked”

never have been detected without a critical approach towards Ferguson's "closed" representation of the sociolinguistic reality of Arabic.

1.2.3 – Arabic urban vernaculars (1980 – present)

In turn, even the works centred on the analysis and nuancing of the diglossic continuum faced critiques for their purportedly limited view of sociolinguistic facts, particularly with regard to their treatment of the status of dialects (Ferguson's "L" varieties). The main weak point of these works, according to several scholars (such as Abdel Jawad 1987, Ibrahim 1986 and Haeri 1996) was their presupposition that borrowing from *fuṣḥā* was the only process of accommodation found among Arabic speakers, while the possibility of other kinds of accommodation (eg. to other L varieties) was not taken into consideration (Caubet & Miller 2009: 7). Related to this, two more problems may be mentioned with regard to the 1960s-80s research on intermediate varieties in the *fuṣḥā*-*ʿāmmiyya* diglossic continuum: the first one is that *ʿāmmiyya* was dealt with as a uniform, "national" variety, with no mention whether regional or local variation came into play (possibly according to the speaker's place of origin⁵¹) in the borrowing of/move towards *fuṣḥā* features; the second and possibly more important one is the assumption that *ʿāmmiyya*, like *fuṣḥā*, was itself a well-defined variety with its own limited set of grammar rules and vocabulary; a vision that still holds today among most scholars working on Arabic dialectal varieties. Such view appears to be at odds with the linguistic reality, as it would imply that every single linguistic item found in real speech may be incontrovertibly assigned to either *fuṣḥā* or *ʿāmmiyya*: that this is not the case is demonstrated by the lack of agreement on how variation on the diglossic continuum should be analysed (whether as a series of intermediate levels or as a tripartite scale, or just as code-switching; cfr. works cited in the previous section), which seems to suggest that the continuum model itself may need to be reconsidered.

This issue was convincingly addressed by Haeri in her book *The sociolinguistic market of Cairo* (1996): referring specifically to works such as those – mentioned above – of Mitchell and Badawi, she states that those authors' need to identify an "intermediate variety", or order of "levels", between *fuṣḥā* and *ʿāmmiyya* is due to their considering "Colloquial Arabic" (the term used by Haeri for *ʿāmmiyya*) as "monolithic", so that the presence of classical features in otherwise prevalently dialectal speech is claimed to constitute an automatic switch to a different variety/level (12). However, she affirms, it should not be forgotten that colloquial Arabic has been the only

⁵¹Most of these works were conducted on Egypt, where local dialectal variation is as wide as in most of the other Arab countries.

variety used orally "for at least 5 centuries", which means that different registers have necessarily been developed *within* it. Therefore, the borrowing of Classical Arabic items into otherwise Colloquial speech may as well (or, according to Haeri, should) be seen as a kind of stylistic switch *internal to* Colloquial Arabic, so that there is no need to posit the existence of ESA or some other kind of hybrid entity to justify this borrowing. (13-16) Therefore, as she puts it in reference to her dialect of study (but the same concept may apply to any other variety of *‘āmmiyya*),

“...many classical features that from the point of view of linguists continue to be considered as classical, become part of the resources for speakers of *Egyptian* Arabic. In short, Egyptian Arabic is a language, not a ‘colloquial’ language, whose stylistic resources depend on its contact with other languages. It is a language like other languages in which sociolinguistic variation cannot be understood outside of the social differentiation that is its context of use. If it were to be accepted that non-classical varieties of Arabic are full fledged [sic] languages, then the confused and mystifying machinery of so many labels and ‘levels’ could be dispensed with.” (16; author’s emphasis)⁵²

With her argumentation, Haeri is demonstrating that what had been defined as “code” or “variety”-switching by previous works may be considered as variation *within* *‘āmmiyya*, rather than a “move towards” *fuṣḥā*; this is also consistent with the fact that *‘āmmiyya* is the only real native “language” of Arabic speakers, and that, connected to this, all the intermediate forms or mixed styles that had been identified by previous researchers ostensibly presented an underlying *āmmiyya* structure. This view is in line with the “new wave” of research on Arabic dialects that followed the painstaking fragmentations of, and speculations on, the supposed diglossic continuum that were presented in the previous section.

Such “new wave” was initiated by works such as Abd-el-Jawad (1987), Abu Haidar (1992), Haeri (1996), Ibrahim (1986), Palva (1982) and Walters (1991), who started questioning the basic assumption that variation in Arabic dialects essentially consisted in the speakers’ greater or lesser use of *fuṣḥā* features. These authors based their critiques on data found in their own works as well as those of other researchers, which covered a wide range of dialects: Jordanian (Abd-el-Jawad 1986; Al-Khatib 1988), Iraqi (Abu Haidar 1992; Blanc 1964), Egyptian (Haeri 1996), Tunisian (Jabeur 1987; Walters 1991) and Bahraini (Holes 1995) among others⁵³. What emerged from these data may be summarized in three main points:

⁵² The fact that Egyptian Arabic speakers can use other languages as stylistic resources to any extent leads Haeri to assert that it is a “full-fledged language”, whereas I stated above that not having a limited set of grammar rules and vocabulary means for a linguistic variety not to be “well-defined”. The two qualifications (“full-fledged” and “undefined”) may not necessarily constitute a contradiction, as being undefined allows a variety to be unlimited, in the sense that its speakers are free to include as many new elements as they like: this way, it is even easier for them to develop stylistic variation in that variety, than in the case of, for example, standard languages, whose boundaries are often strictly defined by authoritative regulations.

⁵³ The list is by no means thorough; more references may be found in the works cited.

- when speakers accommodated their speech, they often adopted features associated to either old urban speakers or speakers belonging to dominant groups within the same community (eg. Sunni Bedouins in Bahrain; Holes 1995)
- such accommodation took place even when the feature adopted was non-standard (or non- *fuṣḥā*) and came to replace a standard one (eg. Christian and Jewish Baghdadi speakers replacing [q] for [g] in the verb /qa:l/ “to say” thus accommodating to the Muslim Baghdadi dialect; Blanc 1964)
- even when a part of the population actually seemed to be introducing *fuṣḥā* features in their dialects, this was found to be mainly a men’s trend, whereas women showed to prefer accommodating to urban features independently from their matching the standard variant (cfr. Cairene dialect speakers’ use of words containing a /q/ in Cairene dialect; Holes 1995)

Such findings contradicted not only the assumptions made by sociolinguists of Arabic that took Ferguson’s *Diglossia* as their main theoretical basis, but also some of the theories that sociolinguists working on dialect contact in Western communities had built on the general trends found in their own studies. First of all, both the diglossic and the variationist frameworks agreed on the fact that some social variables (particularly social class and education) were directly related to an increased use of standard features, and therefore that the standard variety (*fuṣḥā* in the case of Arabic) would inevitably be the target of accommodation for speakers seeking social acceptance and status elevation. However, the fact that speakers in many Arab communities were actually accommodating *from* standard *to* non-standard features implied that they did so to avoid stigmatization: so, in this case, speaking more “standard”/*fuṣḥā* appeared to threaten rather than help in one’s pursue of prestige and acceptance.

Also, the behaviour of Arabic-speaking women, who did not accommodate to the standard variety as much as men, was seen as contradicting previous findings of Labovian quantitative studies with regard to the influence of the gender factor in linguistic variation. Labov himself had stated:

The general principle that emerged from studies in Europe, Canada, the United States, and Latin America is that women are conservative in their reaction where stable or socially recognized variation is concerned. But this generalization has been reversed for a number of societies in the Middle East and South Asia (1982: 78, quoted in Walters 1991: 201)

The reason for this statement is that Labov saw variation in the Arab communities investigated⁵⁴ as “stable”, probably under the influence of Ferguson’s description of Arabic diglossia as a “fixed” state; in fact, if we admit with Haeri (1996) and other scholars that variation in these communities should be examined as mostly *‘āmmiyya*-internal (at least as far as oral communication is concerned), then it would no longer appear to be so “stable”, and findings on women’s behaviour may be seen as matching those relating to Western communities (in which women’s speech is recorded as being more “innovative” in situations of *unstable* variation). Another assumption of Labov’s was that the difference in trends between Western and Middle Eastern women was due to the fact that, “where women have not traditionally played a major role in public life, cultural expectations will lead them to react less strongly to the linguistic norms of the dominant culture” (78-79, quoted in Walters 1991: 201), where “react less strongly to” should be taken as a synonym for “adopt less frequently”. This, also, was objected to by Haeri (1996: 174-183), who underlined how women in the Egyptian society, while being far from secluded from public life, still showed the same tendency of using more non-standard features than men. In sum, admitting that linguistic variation should be seen as *‘āmmiyya*-internal stylistic differentiation rather than as *fushā*-*‘āmmiyya* mixing (or, to use Auer (2011)’s terminology, as “horizontal” rather than “vertical” levelling) appears to constitute the best explanation for women’s choice of non-standard, urban features in Arabic-speaking communities.

Therefore, scholars came to generally (although not unanimously) agree that *fushā* had little influence on linguistic variation in colloquial Arabic⁵⁵, and that the key to successfully analysing such variation was treating it as dialect contact. For this reason, this new strand of works – most of which were conducted in the Mashreq – was characterised by a Labovian variationist approach, as the aim of these studies was to identify relevant linguistic variables and find their patterns of distribution within the communities studied, on par with Western studies in dialect contact (cfr §. 1.1.4). Consequently, levels of formality along the diglossic continuum ceased to be the focus of the analyses, which started giving their priority to the social significance of single linguistic features. Also, urban areas proved themselves to be the most adequate field of study again, as it was found that urban varieties were the most frequent target of convergence. Thanks to this kind of approach, it was found that the social significance of linguistic variables had an impact on their use and

⁵⁴Labov had mainly based his impressions on the work of Abd-el-Jawad (1981, in Walters 1991: 201), an investigation of the Arabic dialect of Amman, Jordan.

⁵⁵“MSA cannot be considered to have an appreciable role in the sociolinguistic stratification of individual speakers (...) it has little bearing on the individual’s social status, which is more likely to be affected by the local prestigious Colloquial dialect” (Wahba 1996: 120)

diffusion in Arabic-speaking communities as well: so, for example, ethnicity and gender were found to be the most recurring factors influencing language use in the Levant, since when a variable presented two alternating variants, it was recurrently found that one of them was associated to “bedouinity = toughness = masculinity” and the other one to “urbanity/higher education = refinement = femininity” (Abd-el-Jawad 1986; Al-Khatib 1988; Al-Wer 1999; Al-Wer & Hérin 2011); sometimes, also sectarian divisions were involved in this alternation (Amara 2005; Holes 1995). In some of these works, variation was still discussed in comparison with MSA forms, in order to verify the relationship between “classicisation” and “urbanisation”, or the relative weight of either phenomenon, in the speech of the population concerned (Abd-el-Jawad 1986; Al-Khatib 1988; Wahba 1996).

Just as several Labovian works on dialect contact in the Anglophone regions had been identifying phenomena of convergence and focusing – which often led to different degrees of koineization and even, sometimes, new dialect formation – so did most studies on variation in urban Arabic dialects postulate the emergence, or ongoing expansion, of intercommunal colloquial varieties, which tended to spread either to the whole population of a single town or to other regions, or even, in some cases, to the whole country. This is, for instance, the case of Cairene Arabic, an urban variety which established itself quite early (beginning of XX century, according to Woidich, cited in Miller 2004: 186) and has been gradually replacing the dialect of Alexandria – the second biggest city in Egypt – since the XIX century, first thanks to commerce-based contacts within the two towns (Wahba 1996: 109) and then with the influx of immigration from other parts of Egypt; meanwhile, the media (especially in the XX century, with the rise of Egyptian cinema and, later, the diffusion of television) contributed to the diffusion of Cairene Arabic to the whole country (as well as the whole Arab region), leading all other Egyptian speakers to accommodate to it in situations of inter-regional communication (cfr. Miller 2005). Another example is represented by Amman, whose dialect, according to Al-Wer (1999; 2002b), is a case of new dialect formation, as intra-dialectal differences tend to break ethnic boundaries (in this case, those between Jordanians and Palestinians) and features originally belonging to the two ethnic varieties are in the process of being reallocated (in the sense given by Trudgill 1986) and taking new meanings shared by the whole urban community.

Processes of inter-communal and inter-regional accommodation, convergence and focusing have led scholars to talk about the emergence of (more or less) new urban colloquial varieties, which function as a shared norm at the national level, thus competing with MSA (the only codified variety of Arabic) for this role. These “new standards” have received several denominations at the academic level, including “Arabic urban vernaculars” (Miller 2007) and “national ‘standard

dialects” (Holes 1995: 285), while for the layman they sometimes represent *the* country’s dialect *par excellence* (eg. Cairene Arabic is usually referred to as “Egyptian Arabic” by its native speakers, as well as by non-Egyptian speakers). This phenomenon arguably problematizes what is commonly meant by such words as “standard” and “prestige”, bringing to prominence the ambivalence characterising these concepts, even when they are employed in research on areas of the world other than the Arabic region (cfr. Macaulay 1997). In the Arabic context, however, the issue is somewhat amplified by diglossia, ie. by the fact that the official “standard” variety, MSA, is not a code that fulfils daily informal functions: this inevitably leaves communicational “gaps”, notably in informal inter-communal or inter-regional communication, in which the speaker needs to create an *ad hoc* linguistic norm allowing him to make him/herself understood. The fact that he/she recurs to an urban “koineised” or “supra-local” vernacular, instead of merely switching to MSA (which is also, in theory, a variety common to all Arabic speakers), explains why Arabic urban vernaculars are now seen as competing with the official variety in the linguistic arena⁵⁶.

1.2.4 – Morocco and socio-anthropological linguistics

In this section, we shall move the focus back to Morocco: here, sociolinguistic literature on spoken Arabic varieties counts relatively fewer authors with respect to studies on other Arab countries. Also (probably in line with the spirit of the earlier French dialectologists’ works; cfr. § 1.2.1), it has been mostly characterised by an historical and socio-anthropological orientation, unlike studies on the Mashreqi colloquial varieties which prevalently moved from Labovian-variationist theoretical presuppositions; however, concerning this aspect, exceptions can be found on both sides (cfr. Moumine 1990, a variationist study of the Casablanca dialect; or Holes 1995, a non-variationist sociohistorical study of the Bahraini dialect).

Sociolinguistic research on Morocco seems to have been encouraged by a general idea of “specialty” or “exclusivity” of the Moroccan case; an idea which may be partly endorsed, as the country’s linguistic “landscape” appears to be peculiar under many aspects. To start with legislation, two official languages are adopted according to the national constitution, namely Arabic (since 1956) and Amazigh (since 2011). As it is not specified for either of them which variety of the language is officially recognised in terms of use in such public domains as administration or education, many sociolinguists (such as Ennaji 2005: 200) have seen in this choice a marginalisation of colloquial (particularly Arabic) varieties at the advantage of MSA. However, Moroccans’ common sense and practice do not seem to exclude the use of the former in oral

⁵⁶ For a more complete analysis of this issue, see Holes (1995), Miller (2007) and Miller & Falchetta (in press).

communication, even in such contexts as the parliament or the University (personal observations), where one would only expect the official codified variety to be employed.

At the educational level⁵⁷, MSA is the main language as it is employed in public institutions for the teaching of all subjects (except for foreign languages) from the first year of primary school to the last year of high school, and for most human sciences at the university level (again with the exclusion of foreign languages). The second most important language of education is French, which is mainly employed in the teaching of French from the second year of primary school to the high-school diploma, although many private schools offer entirely French programmes for families who can afford private education for their children; like at university (public and private), courses in the Faculties of Sciences, Economy and (partly) Law are in French, which notably causes great performance unbalance between university students with public- and private-school backgrounds. A minor role is played by Amazigh and English, who have been introduced relatively recently in primary school and public non-linguistic university courses respectively. At the working level, French is more “profitable” than MSA as it gives access to a much wider range of jobs, especially in the private sector, with MSA being mainly required for some public (especially educational) sectors: this obviously increases the gap between those students who had the opportunity of reaching a good level in the foreign language and those who did not. Another language that ought to be mentioned is Spanish, which used to be the language of administration and education in the areas colonised by Spain, where it is still the most widespread foreign language.

At the informal daily level⁵⁸, two colloquial varieties have been coexisting for over 1,200 years, namely Amazigh and Arabic: each of them is arguably quite diverse, even if one limits one’s look to their distribution on the Moroccan territory with the exclusion of other countries. Variation between Amazigh parlances is such that one cannot speak of a single colloquial Moroccan Amazigh variety (Benítez *et al.* 2013b: 16); for this reason, Arabic is employed as a spoken *lingua franca* at the national level (17). As a result, according to the 2014 national census, Amazigh is fluently spoken by ca. 26% of the population only⁵⁹ (usually beside Arabic), even though the proportion of Moroccans that identify themselves as Amazigh is undoubtedly greater; on the other hand, Moroccan Arabic is spoken by the 92% of the population⁶⁰. French is also sometimes employed in communication among Moroccans, both alone and in code-switching, usually with Moroccan Arabic; however, it is not clear to what extent this practice is common within the Moroccan society,

⁵⁷ Full presentations and discussions of language issues concerning the Moroccan education system and job market are found in Benítez *et al.* (2013a), Boutieri (2016) and Ennaji (2005) among others.

⁵⁸ General accounts of language use in Morocco can be found in Benítez *et al.* (2013a) and in de Ruiter & Ziamari (2014).

⁵⁹ <http://rgphentableaux.hcp.ma/Default1/>, consulted on 26th April 2018.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

as it seems to be limited to a restricted number of relatively cultivated situations, elite groups and educated youth.

This complex sociolinguistic panorama has stimulated a number of sociolinguistic field studies on a wide range of topics, including language attitudes towards the varieties present in Morocco⁶¹, code-switching between Moroccan Arabic and French or Spanish⁶² and reciprocal contact and influence between Amazigh and Arabic (such as Ennaji (1995) and El-Kirat (2001), cited in Caubet & Miller (2009), or Bennis (2012)). Other major subjects of discussion are the status of Moroccan Arabic, its expanding functional use at the expense of MSA and ongoing efforts of promoting it as a “standard” language (Caubet 2003, 2005, 2011, 2013, 2017, 2019; Miller 2012, 2016 and other works of these two authors; cfr. also Ech-Charfi 2016). From here onwards, however, we will be concerned with works that specifically studied variation in colloquial Moroccan Arabic, in line with the orientation of the present project.

One of the major themes that have been driving sociolinguistic research on Moroccan Arabic varieties is the classification of these into non-Hilali and Hilali (cfr. 1.2.1). Starting from these two basic types, Moroccan Arabic dialects have furtherly been divided into four categories: *parlers citadins* (old urban colloquial varieties), *parlers montagnards* (mountain dwellers’ colloquial varieties), *parlers juifs* (Jewish colloquial varieties) and *parlers ruraux* (rural and Bedouin colloquial varieties)⁶³, with the last group falling within the Hilali and the other three within the non-Hilali type. Such division is genealogically-based, in the sense that it “refleja la historia del asentamiento de la población, teniendo en cuenta el tipo de hábitat de los hablantes de estas lenguas en alguna etapa de su historia, que no tiene necesariamente que coincidir con la situación actual.”⁶⁴ (Vicente 2008: 42). This is a relevant point as the dialects of some cities, among which most notably that of Casablanca (the biggest urban centre in Morocco), fall within the *parlers ruraux* type, as the growth of these centres was mainly due to early population flows from rural areas.

This panorama is said to have partially blurred in the last six or seven decades, as substantial rural-urban immigration fluxes have brought the population of Moroccan cities to unprecedented

⁶¹ Cfr. Benítez *et al.* (2013b: 25-27) for a review of the main existing works on language attitudes in Morocco.

⁶² For a review of the main works on code-switching involving Moroccan and other colloquial Arabic varieties, cfr. Caubet & Miller (2009).

⁶³ The respective Moroccan Arabic equivalents for these three categories (*citadin*, *montagnard* and *rural*) are *ḥaḍari*, *ḡabli* and *ṛūbi* according to Lévy (1998: 14), who does not give the translation for *juifs*. This classification had originally been made by Colin, who also mentioned the existence of “mixed” varieties (Lévy 1998: 19).

⁶⁴ “...it reflects the history of the people’s settlement by taking into account the kind of habitat in which the speakers of these varieties used to live at some stage of their history, this habitat not being necessarily the same as the one in which they are living now”. Vicente refers this statement to the division between Bedouin, urban and rural Arabic dialects which has been elaborated for the Arab region in general; however, the same concept is true for Colin’s division, which is strictly linked to the general one.

figures, or led to the urbanisation of previously rural areas (such as Temara; cfr. next chapter). Consequently, *parlers citadins* are said to be on the verge of disappearing, and to have been replaced by a new type of colloquial variety: *parlers urbains* (“new urban colloquial varieties”). This use of the two terms *citadins* and *urbains* refers to two notions, those of *citadinité* and *urbanité*, which have been successful in French urban geography and widely employed in studies on Arab urban spaces as well (Berry-Chikhaoui 2009). The distinction between the two concepts has been officialised relatively recently, in the *Dictionnaire de la géographie et de l’espace des sociétés* (Lévy & Lussault 2003, in Berry-Chikhaoui 2009: 9): according to this text, *urbanité* refers to “les espaces urbains (...) leur ‘production par des acteurs spatiaux’, leurs ‘potentialités en termes de lien social’”⁶⁵, whereas *citadinité* is “la dimension spatiale de la construction des pratiques et des représentations sociales”⁶⁶ (2009: 10). This distinction is not the same as the one given/implied in works on the Arab world, particularly by local authors, who reserve the term *citadins* to the historical dwellers who have inhabited the city for generations, and *urbains* to the rural migrants who “happen to” live in the town but do not participate in the networks, activities and lifestyles of the historical urban groups. According to Berry-Chikhaoui, all these considerations are based on essentialising assumptions, which stigmatise the newcomers to the cities and downplay the value of their contribution to the renewal of the urban social tissue and practices. In the words of these authors (eg. Mohamed Naciri), the arrival of the rural migrants in the Arab cities is presented as a factor of social disruption, and migrants themselves are seen as failing to acquire the same knowledge and adopt the same customs as the old dwellers (the “*citadins*” *par excellence*), which is considered as a necessary condition to integrate properly in the city. In other words,

[l]’idée de *ruralisation* participe d’une vision normative et idéologique de la ville dans le Monde arabe, selon laquelle, en dehors des individus dont les familles sont “engoncées” dans la cité, il n’y a pas de citadins.⁶⁷
(Berry-Chikhaoui 2009: 15; my emphasis)

Such vision is adopted, for instance, by Messaoudi (2003) and El-Himer (2015) in their discussions of the linguistic dynamics that have resulted from the socio-demographic evolution of two Moroccan cities, Rabat and Sale respectively. Both these authors employ the *urbanité*-vs-*citadinité* distinction to classify the varieties found in these two centres – following their dramatic demographic growth – into *parlers urbains* and *parlers citadins*. While the latter correspond to the typical pre-Hilali varieties found in the old Moroccan cities (Fes, Rabat, Sale, etc.), *parlers urbains* constitute a sort of “mixed” type issued from the interaction among Arabic speaking families of

⁶⁵ “...urban spaces, their ‘production by social actors’ and their ‘potentials in terms of social ties’”.

⁶⁶ “...the spatial dimension where social practices and representations are constructed.”

⁶⁷ “The idea of ruralisation derives from a normative and ideologic view of the city in the Arab world, according to which there are no *citadins* other than the people whose families are ‘bundled up’ in the city centre.”

several regional (mainly rural) origins who have been occupying less central spaces of the cities for not more than one or two generations. The definition that El-Himer gives of *parlers urbains* is that of “forme[s] utilisée[s] par les locuteurs non natifs [des villes à variété citadine] une fois leur parler originel urbanisé et débarrassé des traits caractéristiques régionaux” (“language forms that non-native speakers [who live in towns where *citadin* varieties were originally spoken] employ after urbanising their own dialect and clearing it from its typical regional features”; 2015: 110). The social background of this process of linguistic “purification” is the massive influx of (mostly) rural migrants to these cities, who eventually outnumbered the original urban families; as a result, most *citadins* ended up abandoning their original residences, located in the historical town centres, and moving to new residential areas or to other towns. According to both El Himer and Messaoudi, this entailed the disruption of the city’s original social tissue, and the abandonment of the *citadin* dialect in public interactions, for reasons linked not only to ease of communication – as most of the new residents were originally *parlers ruraux* speakers – but also to the “old urban” culture no longer enjoying prestige in the new “ruralised” city. This link between rural-urban immigration and “ruralisation” of the city dialect is clearly expressed by Messaoudi:

Cette ruralisation linguistique découle aussi logiquement de l’exode rural massif des populations campagnardes vers les villes. Phénomène en recrudescence ces dernières années en raison de la sécheresse et le manque de pluies qui pousse les paysans à abandonner leurs terres et leur parler (...) pour le PUR [Parler Urbain de Rabat] qu’ils ne cesseront d’alimenter ! Ceci explique la minoration des traits citadins qui finiront par disparaître, à long terme, faute de locuteurs.

La dynamique langagière s’explique par la mobilité migratoire et par la volonté des locuteurs de s’adapter et de s’accommoder à leur nouvelle situation de nouveaux urbains et ce, au détriment des anciens citadins.⁶⁸
(Messaoudi 2003: 114-115)

According to the authors cited, *parlers urbains* do not necessarily maintain a strict identification with the city in which they are spoken: so, according to El-Himer,

[l]e PU [Parler Urbain] est une variété dialectale qui ne permet pas à un interlocuteur de classer l’usager comme appartenant à une région ou à un groupe social particulier. Il s’agit en fait de l’idiome qui représente, pour les

⁶⁸ “This linguistic ruralisation is also the logical consequence of the rustic populations’ massive rural exodus towards the cities. A phenomenon that has increased in the last years because of the drought and the lack of rainfall that push farmers to abandon their lands and dialect (...) in favour of the Rabat new urban variety, which they will keep on feeding into! This explains the undervaluing of the old urban features, which will end up disappearing in the long term, due to the lack of old urban speakers.

These linguistic dynamics are due both to the migratory mobility and to the speakers’ desire to completely accommodate to their new status of new urbanites, and this to the detriment of the old ones.”

Marocains usant de l'arabe dialectal, une certaine norme en ce sens qu'il constitue le niveau de langue accepté par les usagers.⁶⁹ (El-Himer 2015: 110)

The same impression is expressed by Messaoudi on the Rabat *parler urbain*:

[N]otre sentiment est que le PUR, *sorte de koiné dialectale* appartient virtuellement à l'espace ville Rabat mais qu'il ne diffère pas beaucoup des autres parlers des autres centres urbains, en particulier de celui de Casablanca. Et que l'évolution est plutôt en faveur d'une déterritorialisation.⁷⁰ (Messaoudi 2003: 104; my emphasis).

Apart from uncritically adopting the *urbain-citadin* dichotomy in the description of complex urban social dynamics, El Himer's and Messaoudi's works do not cite detailed survey data confirming to what extent *parlers citadins* are disappearing from the city centres, or how homogeneous *parlers urbains* are, either within the same town or between different centres; nevertheless, their reflections are useful inasmuch as they represent an insider's glance into, as well as a tentative explanation of, the converging trends characterising the speech of Moroccan cities, which is the subject that the present thesis aims at discussing. Indeed, the fact that an inter-regional urban *koiné* is currently spreading in Morocco has been observed or recognised by a number of dialectologists and sociolinguists, such as Caubet (1993, 1998) and Lévy (1998). However, none of these studies provides an answer to the following questions (or if they do provide an answer, this is not supported by their field data): to what extent can the similarity of *parlers urbains* be defined as a result of recent "koinéisation"? More precisely, is this similarity entirely the product of recent converging trends, as Caubet (1993) seems to suggest? Or could it have resulted from contacts of population which occurred in past historical periods – perhaps even before the Protectorate – and led to the spontaneous elaboration of a *koiné* at a much earlier stage? In light of these ambiguities, how can we be certain that today's processes of urbanisation are responsible for the seeming homogenisation of Moroccan Arabic in some urban centres (particularly on the central Atlantic coast)?

Even if we were to agree that we *are* witnessing a process of koinéisation *nowadays*, several points would still need clarifying: are we dealing with a *koiné* resulting from the spread of the variety of a single city (eg. Casablanca) to other centres or with independent processes of convergence taking place in the different towns? What is the role of the media in this process (cfr. Miller 2012)? Finally, the exact timing of this spread would still need to be defined, as we lack

⁶⁹ "The new urban dialects are dialectal varieties that do not allow an interlocutor to classify their users as belonging to a specific region or social group. In fact, they represent a certain linguistic norm for Arabic dialect-speaking Moroccans, in the sense that they constitute the level of language accepted by users".

⁷⁰ "Our feeling is that the Rabat old urban dialect, a *sort of dialectal koiné*, virtually belongs to the Rabat urban space, yet does not differ much from the other dialects of the other urban centres, particularly that of Casablanca. And that this evolution rather tends towards de-territorialisation".

accurate historical studies on the constitution of *parlers urbains* in other cities of Morocco (such as Fes or Meknes). A tentative answer to this last issue was given by Lévy (1998), although in the form of speculation not supported by precise data:

Cette dialectique entre parlers de générations différentes, entre villes et tribus arabes, semble bien avoir constitué le mécanisme qui, du XIII^e au XX^e s., a produit l'arabe marocain actuel, puissamment diffusé à partir du creuset casablancais (et rbati) dès le début du protectorat, par les moyens modernes des transports routiers et ferroviaires, de l'école, de la radio (puis de la télévision), du commerce.⁷¹ (23).

Hachimi (2005, 2007, 2011, 2012) is a series of publications based on a case study that addresses one of the aspects of the *dialectique* between *parlers urbains* and *parlers citadins*, with the support of accurate fieldwork. The latter consists of over ten years of ethnographic research on Moroccan Arabic speakers of different regional origins – all residing in Casablanca. However, the main focus of her research is a community of speakers of Fessi origin living in Casablanca. As she explains, Fessis living in Morocco's economic capital are an “elitarian” and economically well-off immigrant group, whose original spoken variety falls within the old urban (*citadin*) type: however, the maintenance of this variety is gradually being eroded in the youngest generations' speech – especially those who were raised or spent much of their lifetime in Casablanca. In this context, Hachimi's object of research is the speakers' reinterpretation both of their own and of Casablancon linguistic features, and how such reinterpretation reflects in their way of speaking. The techniques adopted by Hachimi included a series of interviews, in which questions were also asked “about informants' in-group and out-group identifications and their ideologies and attitudes towards social categorization and its embedded meanings”, in order to understand “what it means [for these informants] to be or to become Casablancon, and what it takes not to be or become one” (Hachimi 2007: 98-100).

By adopting this ethnographic and identity-based approach, Hachimi found that her speakers varyingly accommodated to three key linguistic features that prevail in Casablanca and that are not present in the Fessi dialect⁷², and that this accommodation did not only depend on the effect of social variables, such as age or social class, or an informant's place of birth. According to her findings, speakers had clear ideas on the social meaning of what it meant to speak “Fessi” or “Casablancon”, as they associated the former to “refinement”, “authentic civilisation” but also

⁷¹ “This contention between dialects of different generations, between towns and Arab tribes, really seems to have functioned as the seven-century-old mechanism that gave the current state of Moroccan Arabic as a result. This state has been powerfully spreading from the Casablancon (and Rbati) melting pot since the beginning of the Protectorate, through the modern means of highway and railroad transport, school, radio (then television) and trade”.

⁷² These are the phoneme /g/ in the verb /ga:l/ (“to say”), the allophone [r] and the masculine/feminine distinction in the 2nd person singular of the imperfective and imperative; the respective corresponding features in Fessi dialect are /q/ (/qa:l/), [ɾ] and the neutralization of the 2nd person singular morpheme to the masculine form.

“snobbery”, and the latter to “pugnacity”, “toughness” but also “down-to-earthness” (Hachimi 2007). It thus emerged that which features were accommodated to, and how frequently, depended on whether an informant had a favourable or unfavourable attitude towards either dialect (and its speakers) on the basis of these associations. Hachimi interpreted these data by making three fundamental points: first of all, the disappearance of old urban dialects is by no means an abrupt phenomenon implying the immediate stigmatisation of old urban features as soon as an old urban speaker finds him/herself in a “ruralised” (in Messaoudi’s sense) urban environment; secondly, processes of reallocation of features in contexts of dialect contact are extremely complex, as they depend on the varying social values that speakers assign to each feature, and may even contribute to slowing down processes of dialect switch or loss; finally, an insight of speakers’ perceptions towards language and their community can lead to the understanding of this relationship between social values and variation in language, or, as Hachimi puts it,

l’investigation des attitudes et représentations nous aide à comprendre pourquoi les variables prennent des trajectoires différentes et nous permet aussi d’analyser les réinterprétations sociales des variables linguistiques dans un temps bien précis dans leur évolution.⁷³ (2011: 39)

Bennis’s studies (eg. 2001a, 2002, 2012) on the Tadla region, in the inner centre of Morocco, are another series of sociolinguistic analyses of variation within the speech of a Moroccan community. Bennis’s orientation is twofold: on the one hand, he gives an historical account of the mutual influence of the region’s two main colloquial varieties (the local dialects of Moroccan and Amazigh); on the other, he examines the Arabic speakers’ attitudes towards their own and the dialect of the city⁷⁴ from an essentially socio-anthropological perspective. Through this dual approach, he also investigates the social value of three linguistic features that are distinctive of the regional Moroccan Arabic variety⁷⁵, after exploring possible reasons of their historical emergence as a consequence of dialect contact and population movement (Bennis 2002, 2012); for two of them, he also provides a qualitative account of their distribution among different social groups (Bennis 2012: 121-125).

In his analysis, Bennis sees speakers’ attitudes towards language as framed by *normes fictives*, which he defines as “la vision que se construit le locuteur de son lecte et du lecte des autres” (“the vision of a speaker’s and others’ lect that the same speaker builds for him/herself”;

⁷³ “...the investigation of attitudes and representations helps us to understand why variables take different paths; also, it allows us to analyse social re-interpretations of linguistic variables in a specific moment of their evolution”.

⁷⁴ For the local community, the city of reference is Beni Mellal, the main centre in Tadla.

⁷⁵ These are the femininisation of the 2nd person singular masculine morphemes of verbs and pronouns (eg. the use of /gəlsi/, “sit” imperative, feminine, with the same meaning as /gləs/, imperative, masculine), *zézaïement* (the pronunciation of alveo-palatal fricatives as alveo-dental) and *chuintement* (the reverse of *zézaïement*).

Bennis 2001a: 75); these may be brought to the surface by eliciting their judgments on these lects, which gives way to the production of *discours épilinguistiques*, ie. “discours autonome[s] ayant pour objet les lectes ou l’activité de langage de soi ou des autres” (“autonomous discourses about one’s own or others’ lects or language activity”; Bennis 2001b: 637, quoted in Bennis 2002: 349). What emerges from this is a multi-faceted range of language-related judgements and self-judgments (Bennis 2001a, 2002), which may or may not express a feeling of *insécurité linguistique*, defined as

la manifestation d’une quête de légitimité linguistique, vécue par un groupe social, qui a une perception aiguisée tout à la fois des formes linguistiques qui attestent sa minorisation et des formes linguistiques à acquérir pour progresser dans la hiérarchie sociale⁷⁶ (Bennis 2002: 353)

As was the case with Hachimi’s Fessi-Casablanican informants, speakers’ statements on language prove to complexify the theoretical framework, as they demonstrate that new, exogene linguistic norms are not unanimously accepted in a community (cfr. also L. Milroy’s Belfast study, § 1.1.2). Besides that, Bennis’s research offers a new perspective on studies of Moroccan Arabic in that his focus is on rural rather than urban areas: for this reason, it represents a sort of view “from the other side” with respect to the previously mentioned works – which all investigated the city – and suggests that the further exploration of regional dynamics would provide a considerable amount of data on Moroccans’ interpretations of sociolinguistic variation, as well as on how these are inter-related with the diffusion of new linguistic norms. This is precisely what is maintained in Vicente & Naciri (2017), which is a study joining the two researchers’ fieldworks in the northern city of Tetouan and the nearby Ghomara, a rural region. Their interviews conducted with speakers from both the city and the countryside bring together their language attitudes and actual use, and show how the former provide relevant clues to explain the latter. In particular, according to their data, the latent prestige of the old Tetouani urban dialect appears to be a key factor in the maintenance of several old urban features in the new urban dialect of the city; on the other hand, the stigmatisation of Ghomara Arabic explains why Ghomara features are increasingly abandoned by the youth – especially those with higher levels of education.

The emergence of new urban varieties and the hypothetical Moroccan *koine* have not been the only point of departure of sociolinguistic studies on Moroccan Arabic (although it is usually recalled in one way or another). Vicente, for example, has focused on colloquial varieties spoken in Northern Morocco (the area of the former Spanish Protectorate) as well as by Moroccan immigrants in Spain, in order to investigate a wide range of phenomena, including gender-related variation in

⁷⁶ “...the manifestation of a search for linguistic legitimacy by a social group, who have a sharp perception of which linguistic forms prove their lower status and which ones they should acquire in order to progress through the social hierarchy”

rural varieties (Vicente 2002), Moroccan Arabic-Spanish code switching (Vicente 2004) and effects of koineisation in the diaspora (Vicente 2007). As the ex-Spanish colonies had been excluded by other sociolinguistic glances on Morocco, Vicente, through her works, implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) cautions against limiting the research focus to one single area, and emphasises how linguistic trends may differ across the country, particularly where the supposed influence of the cities of the central Atlantic coast may be weaker, or diminished by the prestige of other centres with different varieties (such as Tetouan and Tangiers)⁷⁷. Another approach is that developed by Barontini and Ziamari (2013, 2016) who examine the use of Moroccan Arabic in the media: their analysis particularly targets the copywriters' linguistic choices in such mediatic products as foreign soap-operas translated into Moroccan Arabic and YouTube animated series (Bouzebbal), questioning the evaluations on language and society that are discernible behind these choices.

As may be observed, the concern for the speakers' active evaluations of features and intra-language variation, and how these relate to inter-group relationships and issues of identity, is the main common point of most of the studies cited in this section. As has been mentioned above, the qualitative orientation of research on Moroccan Arabic constitutes a basic difference with respect to most works on Mashreqi Arabic dialects, which mainly followed the Labovian model of quantitative variationist approach. Nonetheless, a few studies on both sides, such as Germanos (2009), Hachimi (2005) and Haeri (1996), attempted to concile the two perspectives and, in doing so, arguably offered the most complete picture of the communities they investigated by getting beyond the schemes and aiming at grasping the real meaning that variation in language carries for their informants. For this reason, it is hoped that future research will follow the same line, combining different approaches in order to obtain results which are truly revealing for both our knowledge on Arabic dialects and that on sociolinguistic dynamics and phenomena.

As a conclusive remark to this overview on previous Arabic sociolinguistic literature, we may observe that the change of course from studies on the *fuṣḥā-āmmiyya* mixed styles to studies on internal variation and dialect contact in colloquial Arabic brought with itself a (perhaps) unnecessary ideological opposition between researchers of either orientation. This is because which variety is seen as the target of variation may sometimes be interpreted as an indication of the scholar's political bias: if he/she has a view of variation as MSA-oriented, this may be interpreted as a support for MSA as a "pan-Arabist" unifying instrument; if, by converse, he/she presents variation as being mainly affected by prestigious national/regional urban varieties, this may be considered as a sort of "nationalist" position.

⁷⁷ Cfr. also Ech-Charfi (2009) for a case study of the varying impact of koineisation in two Jebli varieties, the Ouazzani and Tangiers dialects.

Apart from these interpretations, which may be valid to a certain extent, it is also true that such opposition has led to a sharp division in terms of research goals between the two fields, so that (as was previously noticed) research on mixed styles tends to ignore issues on which colloquial varieties are involved in the mixing, whereas researchers on dialect contact will usually be silent on what happens in more formal styles, where a move towards MSA is, in fact, empirically attested to. These observations echo Ferguson, who affirmed that

linguists who are focusing on one part of the range of variation typically pay so little attention to other parts of the range that a full picture of the variation and directions of change never appears (1987: 73).

While the present research project does not address variation in formal styles (just like most scholars of dialect contact in the Arab region have done), it is admittedly desirable that the by now wide discipline of Arabic sociolinguistics develop towards a unification of these two orientations, in order not to leave unanswered questions on the relationships, both structural and historical, between the influence of *fushā* on everyday speech (particularly as a consequence of its diffusion through education) and the rise of new urban vernaculars in the national linguistic arenas.

1.3 – Aim of the research

As is suggested by the literature illustrated in this chapter so far, the purpose of the present research falls within two distinct disciplines: sociolinguistics and Arabic dialectology.

As far as sociolinguistics is concerned, the project investigates the changing sociolinguistic status of three variable Moroccan Arabic features:

- a. The alternation between /g/ and /q/ in a limited number of lexemes
- b. The affrication of the phoneme /t/
- c. The alternation between the verbs /dwa/ and /hdər⁶/ in semantically equivalent contexts

in a particular kind of urban environment: a recently-formed town (Temara) that has been witnessing a sharp demographic growth in residents in the last 30-40 years by the effect of immigration from other areas of the country (more details on the history and demography of the town will be given in the next chapter). Moreover, this peculiar situation combines with the issue of the (possible) undergoing regional homogenisation of the language variety of interest, ie. colloquial Moroccan Arabic. In this general picture, the project aims at analyzing the outcomes of dialect

contact in this town, and verifying whether these outcomes tend to confirm or deny the position according to which Moroccan Arabic is undergoing progressive homogenisation in the urban areas of Central Morocco. The sociolinguistic context of this research is therefore reminiscent of Western works in dialect contact, such as Cheshire *et al.* (1999), Kerswill (1996a, 1996b, 2003), Kerswill & Williams (1999, 2000, 2002, 2005), Trudgill (1999) and Trudgill *et al.* (2000).

The contribution of this project to Arabic dialectology is of a quantitative and qualitative nature: from the quantitative point of view, it adds to the literature a sociolinguistic insight on an area that had never made the object of any sociolinguistic analysis, ie. the Moroccan town of Temara⁷⁸; connected to this, it also offers a different perspective (both geographically and methodologically) on the variation and change of two phonemes that have already been investigated in other Arabic-speaking areas, namely /q/ and /t/ (cfr. § 4.1 and § 5.2 for a more detailed review of the previous existing literature on these two variables). From the qualitative point of view, the project distinguishes itself by virtue of its attempted combination of different perspectives: a variationist perspective, based on the computation of the occurrences of linguistic variants and their correlation with social variables; an interactionalist perspective, that takes into account the context of the single act of communication in order to explain linguistic choices; an ethnographic perspective, that takes into account the informants' lifestyle and their social environment in the analysis of their speech; and an historical perspective, that takes into account the urbanisation history of the town under investigation. Works in the field of Arabic dialectology that have inspired this complex combination of approaches are Labovian-inspired variationist studies, such as Al-Wer (1999, 2002a, 2002b among others), Amara (2005) and Jabeur (1987); works with ethnographic or sociological perspectives such as Bennis (2001b, 2002, 2012), Hachimi (2005, 2011, 2012) and Miller (2005); works on Moroccan urban sociolinguistics in general such as Caubet (1998) and Ech-Charfi (2009); and works on Arabic dialect contact in general such as Al-Wer & Hérin (2011), Holes (1995) and Miller *et al.* (2007).

The language variety chosen for investigation is colloquial Moroccan Arabic. The definition of such variety may be given by decomposing its name, from the right to the left (in line with the Arabic tradition): “Arabic” means that it is a variety genetically related to Classical Arabic and to all the colloquial varieties (commonly known as “Arabic dialects”) equally related to it; “Moroccan” is a merely geographical attribute and indicates that this variety is natively spoken within the national borders of Morocco, or by people linguistically raised in a family of Moroccan native speakers (this would also allow to include diaspora Moroccan Arabic speakers in the definition, although they are not the subject of this thesis); “colloquial” indicates that this variety

⁷⁸ More reasons for the choice of this city will be given in the next chapter.

does not abide to the norms of Standard Arabic, but rather to those of oral speech as the speaker learns them and is educated to them in informal contexts (ie. the family and peers). Therefore, this project will have as its object of study *the non-standard variety of Arabic that is commonly learnt as a daily code of communication by native Moroccan speakers*, which is arguably a more precise definition than “Moroccan Arabic dialect”. Such definition does not exclude native Moroccan Amazigh speakers who have learnt Moroccan Arabic as a “second language”, and who currently and fluently employ it for having lived since their youth and for a long time in places where Moroccan Arabic is more frequently spoken than Amazigh. The criteria by which the target speakers have been chosen for this particular research will be specified in chapter 3.

In the light of what has been stated above, the research questions that this project aims at answering are the following:

- Are there any extra-linguistic motivations supporting the choices that Temara residents make between variable linguistic features⁷⁹, as they interact in colloquial Moroccan Arabic with Moroccans of different regional origins and in the social context of the town studied?
- What are the social meanings that they assign to these features, and that can be inferred from their use of them in actual verbal interactions?
- Through which strategies do they assign or re-assign social meanings to such features?
- Do Temara speakers’ linguistic choices and sociolinguistic interpretations point to an ongoing “informal standardisation” of colloquial Moroccan Arabic?

As some of the research questions revolve around the concept of “social meaning(s)”, a clarification is necessary concerning the referent of this term. “Social meaning” is here intended to mean the social value and significance that speakers associate to a linguistic feature, as it appears from their use of the feature itself and in the light of the situational contexts of use and the speakers’ individual social background (including not only their “social address”, ie. age, sex, place of birth/origin and the like, but also their social networks, lifestyle, daily activities, etc.). Using Johnstone *et al.*’s (2006) terms, “social meaning” can be defined more precisely as what is semiotically “evoked” by “non-referential indexes”: the latter are different from “referential indexes”, in which “the denotation of the term depends on the context of the utterance” (eg. deictics). For an index to be non-referential, it has to refer to something in connotative, rather than

⁷⁹ By “variable linguistic feature” is meant here, in the common Labovian sense, a feature that may be replaced with an alternative, semantically-equivalent one that is present in the community’s linguistic repertoire.

denotative terms; for this reason, what is intended by “social meanings” covers “matters such as register (in the narrower sense of situational appropriateness), stance (certainty, authority, etc.), and social identity (class, ethnicity, interactional role, etc.)” (2006: 81). The principal aim of the analysis of the three linguistic variables (chapters from 4 to 6) will be that of identifying the social meanings that speakers attribute to the variables themselves.

CHAPTER 2

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THE RESEARCH SITE

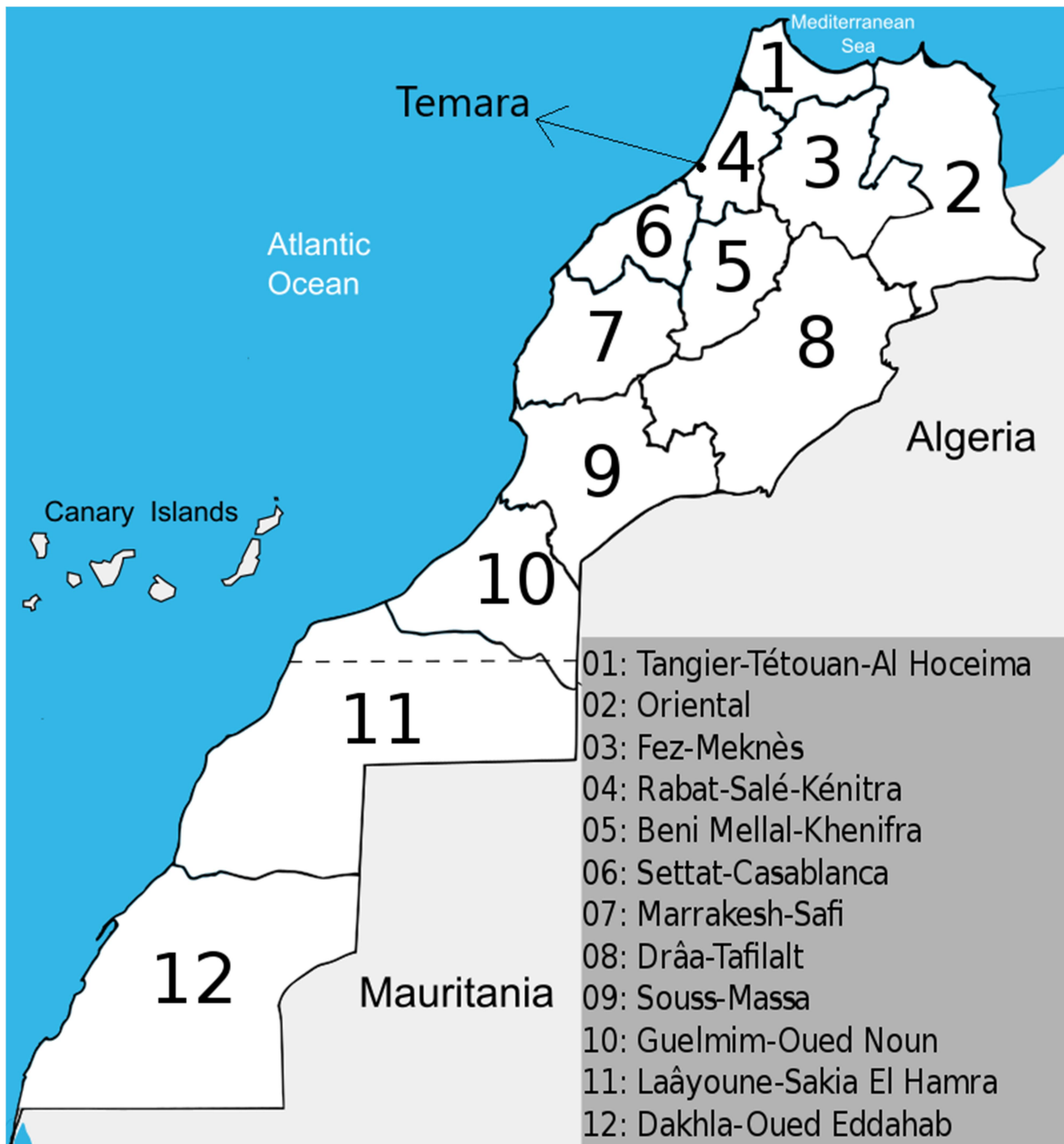


Figure 1 - Position of Temara with respect to Morocco's administrative regions.

Adapted from en.wikipedia.org. NB: the area below the dashed line is currently under Moroccan control, although its status has not been internationally regulated to these days.

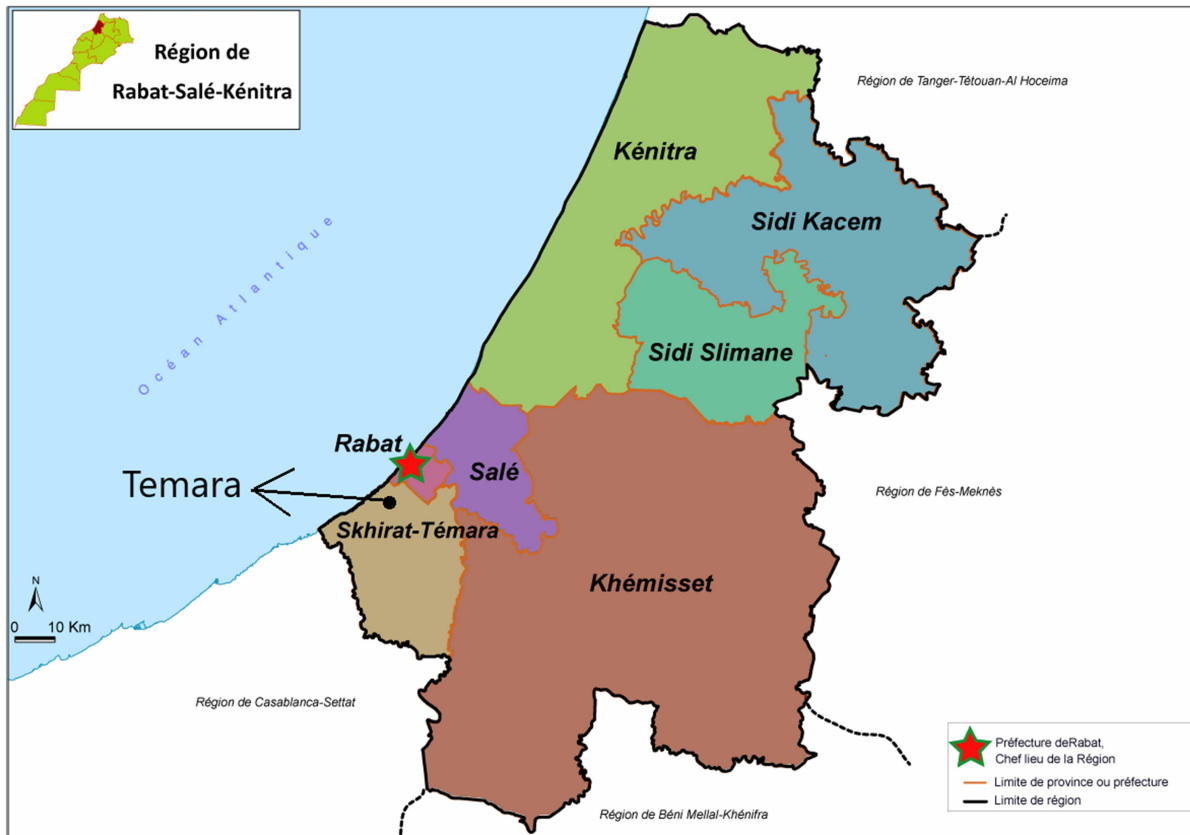


Figure 2 - Position of Temara in the administrative region Rabat-Sale-Kenitra.

Adapted from ma.chm-cbd.net.

2.1 – Why Temara?

Temara is an urban centre whose territory marks the South-Western limit of Rabat⁸⁰. According to the 2014 General Census of Population and Housing (RGPH), its municipality counts over 300,000 inhabitants, corresponding to over half of the population of the capital. This figure is the result of a tremendous demographic growth that the city has been witnessing during the last four decades; before, it was a rural municipality gathering a few tens of thousands of people. Its closeness to Rabat and the presence of two active industrial areas are among the reasons for its becoming an attractive destination for immigration from other areas of Morocco. Consequently, Temara's social fabric is now characterized by the presence of families from almost every region of

⁸⁰ For a complete account of Temara's recent history as well as demographic and administrative status, cfr. § 2.3 and 2.4.

the country. In this sense, its situation recalls that of Casablanca which has also witnessed a sharp growth in size and population – especially between 1936 and 1952 (Moumine 1990: 5) – because of huge immigration fluxes stimulated by the city’s emerging role as Morocco’s economic hub.

The comparison with the country’s biggest city is not coincidental, as Casablanca does not only act as Morocco’s economic and financial pole, but may also have a crucial role in the linguistic dynamics involving colloquial Moroccan Arabic at the inter-regional, if national, level. It was noticed above (cfr. § 1.2.4), when discussing the converging trend that is observable in the dialect of several Moroccan urban centres, that the origin and orientations of such trend are still unclear. One could go as far as saying that there has been no attempt to answer the following question: is the variety of one city spreading to the others, or are we dealing with a phenomenon of pluri-centric convergence of colloquial Moroccan Arabic, at least in a part of the country? Two main reasons may stand behind the failure to clarify this issue:

- Dialectological research on Moroccan Arabic local varieties is incomplete: the varieties of many regions and towns (such as Doukkala or Oujda) have never been thoroughly described from a structural point of view; we are still in need for an atlas of Moroccan dialects on the model of those that Behnstedt and Woidich compiled (together or separately) for many Mashreqi dialects⁸¹. This means that we lack the very bases that would make it possible to cross-compare adequately between, for instance, converging and non-converging varieties;
- While the existence of supra-regional varieties of Moroccan Arabic may not be in itself brand new information for the linguistic history of the area, it is not clear if a combination of social factors (creation of the modern state, massive population growth, consistent rural-urban migration, mass education, influence of the media) is actually boosting *new* converging trends today. In any case, we are dealing with ongoing phenomena, which are obviously harder to examine than stable ones.

In the absence of studies accurately investigating this issue, several authors (Caubet 1993, 1998; Lévy 1998; Messaoudi 2003 among others) merely assume that a *koine* is expanding among Moroccan Arabic speakers, who, generation after generation, are increasingly accommodating their own speech by levelling out local features (presumably learnt in the family environment) which are felt as being too “marked” (cfr. § 1.1.4). Some (such as Aguadé 2003b and Lévy 1998) explicitly

⁸¹ Cfr. Vicente (2008: 36-37) for a state of the art on atlases of Arabic dialects; also, the publication of a multi-volume general atlas of all arabic varieties, entitled *Wortatlas der arabischen Dialekte* (by Behnstedt & Woidich), is currently under way

mention one city in particular, ie. Casablanca, as the origin of the converged-to variety⁸²: this view seems to be based on the nation-wide cultural influence that this centre exerts thanks to its economic power and the national media.

While the existence of a *koine* seems to be the most plausible explanation for the observed mutual linguistic homogenisation of Moroccan urban areas, more field research is still needed to confirm a) how far this phenomenon actually extends across the country and b) whether new and old urban speakers in each town involved are actually following the same linguistic norm, as it is still uncertain to what extent the different new urban varieties are similar in terms of forms selected and contexts of use. If a common linguistic norm is identified, then it should be defined more adequately: is it the specific variety of a single city (and if so, which one)? Or of a specific social group within that city? Or of a trans-urban one, ie. a group that is simultaneously present in several urban centres? Or is it a totally new combination of features that is becoming characteristic of an innovative social group and/or of the media language? These issues appear to be essential for any type of scientific study of Moroccan Arabic, as there seems to exist a glaring contradiction between the naturalness with which both laypeople and scholars use such terms as “Moroccan Arabic (dialect)” or “*darja*” as though they referred to adamantine entities (defined as, for instance, the variety most commonly employed in the media, the one standing against – and sometimes in competition with – MSA, etc.) and the vagueness of the definition that is given to such entities (if any definition at all is provided).

Why, then, choose Temara as a research field for a sociolinguistic study? First of all, and most simply, neither the town nor the pre-existing rural community have ever made the object of a dedicated sociolinguistic study⁸³. However, like Casablanca, this centre has also witnessed a dramatic increase in population due to immigration; as a consequence, families of a wide range of regional origins have necessarily come into contact with each other, each one bringing its own local linguistic features or spoken variety (which was not even Arabic in some cases). For this reason, members of these households have needed to communicate with members of other households in a variety that would be both a) different from the one employed in their community of origin (village, region or town), as well as within their own household, and b) apt to be equally understood and

⁸² To be sure, Lévy (1998: 23, already quoted *infra* in § 1.2.4) first mentions Casablanca and then, in brackets, Rabat as the melting pot from which the converging Moroccan Arabic has spread.

⁸³ Naciri (2014) is the result of a linguistic survey conducted in Temara, but he declares that people in the town speak Rbati Moroccan Arabic (53); concordantly, his study is presented as one on “Rbati Moroccan Arabic”. It is out of doubt that the identification of the varieties spoken in the two towns depends on the researcher’s focus more than it constitutes a linguistic fact; besides that, no social or historical background of the city is provided in this study, as it is not considered functional to the linguistic analysis, as it seems.

“accepted”⁸⁴ by all the members of the new community, ie. Temara. In sum, the speakers have necessarily had to communicate by either building up a common, shared norm, or *choosing* an existing one.

The interest of investigating linguistic variation in Temara thus rested on the following consideration: if the norm built up by Temara speakers had been found to be similar to norms elaborated in other comparable urban contexts within Morocco, then this would be a confirmation that a *koine* was actually spreading and, possibly, acquiring the role of a general, supra-regional norm, at least in some areas of the country. If, conversely, the Temara norm had been found to be original, or at least partly independent, then the *koine* assumption could have been called into question. In any case, Temara’s status as a sort of inter-regional “melting-pot” made the city the ideal starting point to unveil the real nature of the process of dialect convergence observed; added to this, its special geographic position between two culturally (and therefore – at least potentially – linguistically) very influent urban centres, namely Rabat and Casablanca, suggested that a comparison between data collected on this city and those collected on the other two⁸⁵ could also allow to identify which of the two centres is more influential and, consequently, to make one step towards the individuation of the origin of the koineisation trend, if such trend was proven to exist⁸⁶.

Another peculiarity of Temara is its recent history as an urban centre, as well as its lack of an ancient nucleus of “old urban” dwellers (or *citadins*; cfr. § 1.2.4), which constitutes a fundamental difference between this and other Moroccan towns with a longer history of urbanisation, such as Rabat or Fes. This difference is crucial in two respects: first of all, it implies that the contact that immigrants in Temara have had with the cultural and linguistic model of “old urbanity” is not as close as the one that immigrants in, eg., Rabat (Messaoudi 2003) or Sale (El-Himer 2015) have had after their arrival in the city; secondly, it has indirect consequences on the social relationships among different groups of migrants, as the absence of an original, urban nucleus entails different modalities of urban development, which in turn affect the type of social networks that residents (especially newcomers, as will be shown in § 2.3) are able to create. Studies on “new towns” are already known in the Western literature on sociolinguistics, most notably those by Kerswill & Williams (1999, 2000 and 2005, among others) on Milton Keynes: it thus seemed interesting to examine the outcomes of dialect contact and sociolinguistic variation in a Moroccan

⁸⁴ I.e., not stigmatised in a way undesired by the speaker.

⁸⁵ By myself or other researchers.

⁸⁶ Further reflections have subsequently refined the theoretical presuppositions of this intent, particularly regarding the importance of the speakers’ sociolinguistic interpretation of language variation; cfr. Introduction.

“new town”, keeping in mind the radically different urbanistic as well as cultural and linguistic background.

As for the reason behind the choice of this particular town over others that may have presented similar features, it was mainly linked to the presence of personal contacts (friends and acquaintances) dating back to several years before the start of the research: this represented an opportunity to gain access to the speakers’ habitual contexts of interaction and obtain data that would reflect their daily language practices as faithfully as possible.

2.2 – Hypotheses on the toponym

Several theories exist, also at the folk level, on the etymology of the name تمارة (in colloquial Moroccan Arabic: /tma:ra/; in MSA /tama:ra/). As none of these seems to find confirmation from the historical sources consulted (cfr. § 2.3), each of them will be briefly exposed and problematized below.

The first explanation that I was given by an informant, who had been questioned about the origins of the city of Temara, was that the name تمارة derived from that of *Ibn Tūmart*, the historical, religious figure that had a key role in the emergence of the Almohad empire (cfr. Hopkins 1986: 960). The two other hypotheses draw the origin of the toponym from the common language: the first one relates it to the Amazigh word /tmara/ or /tamara/, meaning “hard/miserable work”⁸⁷, and the second one to the Arabic root ث م ر, which carries the meaning of “(producing) fruit”. This last hypothesis, in particular, is the one validated in an online leaflet⁸⁸ published by the Ministry of National Territorial and Town Planning (وزارة إعداد التراب الوطني والتعمير):

“Une des explications, que l’on donne au mot Témara, est qu’il dérive de ‘Tamara, ou Atmara, ou Tamira’ qui veut dire ‘terre qui donne des fruits’”⁸⁹ (5).

However, none of the three hypotheses seems to be backed by historical evidence, as none of the sources reports when, under which circumstances and (most importantly) in reference to what the name started being used. According to the same leaflet, the first buildings erected on the current site of the city were a mosque and some schools of theology, and date back to the Almohad period

⁸⁷ I owe this piece of information to my colleague R. Touati. The same word is also found in Moroccan Arabic as a loanword (/ta:ma:ra/) with the same meaning.

⁸⁸ <http://www.aust.ma/images/pdf/1%20.%20Rep%20His.pdf>, consulted on 11th May 2018.

⁸⁹ “One of the explanations that are provided for the word “Témara” is that it derives from ‘Tamara’, or ‘Atmara’, or ‘Tamira’, meaning ‘fruit-giving land’”

(XII cent. AD / VI cent. AH); later, at the beginning of the Alaouite era, Moulay Ismail (1672 – 1727 AD / 1082 – 1139 AH) had the complex annexed to a fortress. However, nowhere is it mentioned if the name تمارة (or similar) was given to any of these constructions, or to anything else in the area.

This lack of knowledge on the initial referent of the toponym may make it difficult to endorse the hypothesis of its relation to *Ibn Tūmart*: if the name had been referred to, for instance, a facility with religious functions, then it would be expected to have originally carried a religious significance, and this derivation would be more plausible; apart from that, it is obscure how the word /tma:ra/ or /tama:ra/ may have formally derived from /tu:mar/. On the other hand, the theory that the leaflet supports is just as questionable: of the three *fushā* words given as the possible root of تمارة, only two may literally mean “(terre) qui donne des fruits”, ie. “Tamara” and “Tamira” (supposing that their orthographies respectively reproduce the Arabic words تَمَّارَة and ثَامِرَة). However, neither of them is identical to the current form of the toponym (تَمَّارَة or تَمَّارَة⁹⁰), nor could the latter have been obtained after the phonetic modifications that usually affect Moroccan words (including toponyms) of Arabic roots: while the replacement of the interdental ث with the occlusive ت is a well-known phenomenon (cfr. Moroccan Arabic /tla:ta/ vs MSA /θala:θa/, “three”, or Moroccan Arabic /tu:m/ vs MSA /θu:m/, “garlic”, etc.), the ثَامِرَة > تَمَّارَة passage would also require the elision or shortening of a long vowel in open syllable, which is not found in other cases of etymological derivation; the same is true for the loss of a gemination, as would be the case for the passage تَمَّارَة > تَمَّارَة (Aguadé: personal communication).

What appears to be the most likely trail is provided by Loubignac (in Prémare 1993: 91), who says that, among the *Zŷīr* (who lived in the area for a long time), the colloquial word /tma:ra/ means “profit”, “utilité” (“profit”, “usefulness”). Following this, one could suppose that *Zŷīr* or some other tribe called this piece of land /ʔərdʰ tma:ra/, meaning “land of profit”, “useful [ie. fertile] land”, a supposition which finds its confirmation in the fact, provided by several of my informants, that the land of Temara was actually favourable for agriculture.

Apart from all considerations, it is hard to validate any hypothesis without knowing what the initial referent of the name /tma:ra/ was, or who (Arabs or Berbers) started employing it for that referent. Perhaps, one should feel inclined to look for a Berber origin on the basis of the initial “t”, a prefix common to many Berber toponyms (cfr. Tiznit or Taroudant, or the close-by Tamesna,

⁹⁰ The former version, with *sukūn*, corresponds to the Moroccan Arabic pronunciation, and the latter to the MSA one; as long as it is not confirmed whether this toponym is of Arabic origin, one cannot be sure which of the two pronunciations pre-existed the other.

whose name was once attributed to the whole region; Ferhat: 1986)⁹¹, and therefore suppose that /t(a)ma:ra/ derives from the Amazigh word /t(a)mara/. However, one is left to wonder why a word with such a meaning should be chosen as a name for this place: every possible explanation would be forcibly based on pure speculation.

2.3 - History: a sketch⁹²

The purpose of this section will be that of clarifying how Temara turned from a territory sparsely inhabited by sedentarised tribes to an urban centre. This historical account will consist of two parts: before and after the beginning of the French Protectorate. For the first part (§ 2.3.1 “Before the French Protectorate”), all information was taken from the volume no. 3 (*Rabat et sa région – Les villes*) of the *Villes et tribus du Maroc*, published by the *Mission scientifique du Maroc* (1918) – except where differently noted; the second part (§ 2.3.2, “During and after the Protectorate”) is mostly based on the accounts obtained from a series of interviews with long-time residents of the town (cfr. next chapter), some of whom were descendants of the original inhabitants of the area before the urbanisation process began. Their contributions were corroborated with data taken from a thesis of Agricultural Geography (Le Coz 1965, on the *Ūdāya* tribe’s land) and two dissertations in Urban Planning (Aït Mouloud 1998 and Camara 2009, both concerning Temara’s urban development), as well as with supplementary information provided by one of my scientific assistants, Ismail Gnaoui, during our translating sessions.

The ancient residents’ contributions were particularly valuable as they allowed to reconstruct, with a certain degree of detail, the dynamics of land-purchasing and urban development that operated at the outset and during the course of the process of urbanisation. However, before taking a close look at the latter, it will be useful to illustrate the historical events that led to the settlement of the two pre-urbanisation tribes on the territory: the *Ṣrəb* (sing.: *Ṣərbi*) and the *Ūdāya* (sing.: *Ūdīyi*).

2.3.1 – Before the French Protectorate

⁹¹ Again, this suggestion was given by prof. Aguadé in a personal communication.

⁹² The account given in this section is entirely the product of a work of historical synthesis that I did autonomously. In many points, it may present flaws due to an inexperienced interpretation of the sources, and would certainly have needed an expert historian’s revision, which, unfortunately, I did not have time to seek. Therefore, it does not have the ambition of being a scientific historical reconstruction: its basic purpose consists in providing an historical background to the social and linguistic dynamics examined in the present work.

In the XII cent. AD, after the Almohads had defeated the Berber *Bargwāta* kingdom of Tamesna⁹³, the region where Temara is situated today was almost completely uninhabited, and sultans from that and subsequent dynasties repopulated the area by bringing Arab tribes from other parts of the Maghreb for military purposes. “Recruiting” entire tribes as regular armies, charging them with the defence and security of their dominions and relocating all of them (including non-fighting members, such as women and children) wherever their military support was needed was a frequent practice of the Maghrebi sultans’: both of the tribes that settled in what was to become Temara ended up in their current location by effect of this practice.

Besides the role they both fulfilled as part of the Sultan’s army, another common point between the *ṣrāb* and the *Ūdāya* is their supposed *Maṣqil*⁹⁴ origin⁹⁵; both historical sources and some of their current members trace their respective tribes’ roots back to the Arabian Peninsula. In fact, historians report that the two tribes were originally one, known by Arab writers with the name of *Āhl Sūs* (“people of Souss”), from the region where they were located at the time of their “recruitment”. As for the *ṣrāb*, their identification with *Āhl Sūs* is reported in *Villes et tribus du Maroc* in a straightforward way:

Les ṣArab sont connus des auteurs marocains sous le nom de Ahl Sous, gens du Sous...⁹⁶ (179)

According to the sources, it was the Saadi sultan *Muḥammad aš-Šayḥ al-Mahdiyy* who moved them to the northernmost part of the former kingdom of Tamesna in the XVI cent. AD, and had them fight against other Hilali tribes, the *Ġašam*⁹⁷ and the *Zugba* (both descending from the *Banū Hilāl*), that were still faithful to the previously ruling dynasty, the Merinides. In cases such as this, it was common practice to give the relocated tribes collective land *in loco*, so that they could support themselves and at the same time fight for the Sultan when requested, without having to move somewhere else for their subsistence. This land was given as a usufruct, rather than completely ceded to the soldiers (an important detail, as will be seen in the *Ūdāya*’s case). Once the enemy tribes had been defeated, the *Āhl Sūs*’s task ended and they were removed from their military roles, switching to the status of *nāyba* (ie. submitted to the Sultan’s control and taxation, but

⁹³ This kingdom corresponds to a wide area located south of Rabat, along the Atlantic coast, which extended a long way into Tāḍla at the time of his maximum expansion.

⁹⁴ Cfr. § 1.2.1

⁹⁵ A study by Bahija Nazar of a tribe called “Nzala of Oudaya” (“Nzala des Oudaya” in the original title) is found in Brigui (ed. 2015), which is a collection of descriptions of Hilali varieties of the rural surroundings of Fes; unfortunately, I learned about this work too late to retrieve it. In any case, mixing with tribes of different origins through inter-marriage can never be excluded, considering the historical context of constant relocation and contact between tribes in the Maghreb (cfr. Lévy 1998); therefore, further research would be needed concerning the Hilali status of the *Ūdāya*’s pre-urbanisation spoken arabic.

⁹⁶ “ṣArab are called Ahl Sous (ie. Sous people) by Moroccan authors”.

⁹⁷ It has not been possible to find the current pronunciation in Moroccan Arabic; the one reported is in MSA.

without military engagements) and settling as semi-nomads in the same land where the Sultan had left them, which became their property (*malk*). Afterwards, the tribes that settled in this area came to be known with the generic name of *ʕrəb*, which replaced that of *Āhl Sūs*; however, one fraction, called *Šbānāt*, would be re-included in the army of the new Sultans (the Alaouites) about one century later, and displaced to other locations before being brought back to the former Tamesna and taking a different name, as will be seen below.

The *ʕrəb*'s life on the Atlantic coast was not a peaceful one, as the tribes inhabiting the surrounding areas waged them war and conquered portions of their lands – which were returned upon payment of a ransom – several times. One of the groups that caused most troubles was *Zʕīr* (sing.: *Zəʕri*), a tribe of unconfirmed origin whose language variety is nonetheless Arabic of the Hilali type⁹⁸. Their territory still extends from the south-eastern border of the former *ʕrəb*'s land towards the inland to these days. According to my informants' accounts, they also used to occupy an area near the Ocean, possibly corresponding to a part of Temara's coast, until the XIX century; however, at a certain point, they decided to move a few kilometres away from the seaside. A member of the *Ūlālda*, a fraction of the *ʕrəb* tribe, attributed this sudden movement to *Zʕīr*'s quest for game, as their sustenance was based on hunting; a more peculiar explanation was provided by DN, a young informant (28 y. o.) son of a *Zəʕri*, according to whom this “migration” was due to the *Zʕīr*'s belief that the sea level was rising, and that it threatened to swallow both them and their lands. Whatever may be the reason of this spontaneous relocation, this tribe ended up settling at the margins of Temara's territory.

The declaration of the Protectorate meant the end of all inter-tribal clashes for the *ʕrəb*; at that time, their presence extended across a 53 km-long area starting from Rabat, running south-westward along the ocean and ending approximately at the town of Bouznika. During the French occupation, they ultimately became a sedentary tribe as a consequence of the colons' farming activities, which took away a part of their land (Ait Mouloud 1998: 19).

The *Ūdāya*'s case is more complex, as their history is linked to *Gīš l-Ūdāya* (“the *Ūdāya* Army”), a group of tribes that served for a long time as a semi-permanent military force under the Alaouites, the dynasty that is still ruling Morocco nowadays. In the second half of the XVII cent. AD, when *Gīš l-Ūdāya* was created by the Sultan Moulay Ismail, it was composed of three distinct '*arḥā*' (sing.: *raḥā*, roughly translatable as “squadrons”⁹⁹), if we follow the terminology used by the

⁹⁸ This is the same tribe that made the object of Loubignac's (1952) *Textes arabes de Zaër* (cfr. § 1.2.1).

⁹⁹ Prémare: 1993; however, as will be seen below, '*arḥā*' also had an ethnic character, unlike modern types of squadrons.

Moroccan historian al-Nāṣirī in his *’istiḡṣā* (1894). Each *raḥā* included an average of 1,000 men (Le Coz 1965: 5) and was composed of many tribes (*qabā’il*), but it is not clear whether the tribes included in the same *raḥā* were related to each other. The three *’arḥā* that composed the *Gīš* were *Šbānāt* (a fraction of the *ṣrāb* tribe that had been displaced following their attempt to conquering Marrakesh), *Mġāfra* and a tribe originally called *Ūdāya* (which historians describe as strictly related to *Āhl Sūs*). This means that the name *Ūdāya* is used in reference both to the tribe that initially carried that name and to the entire *Gīš*, which may cause certain ambiguities as we will see shortly.

Gīš l-Ūdāya was, in every aspect, a military instrument in the Sultan’s hands, as he could relocate its *’arḥā* wherever he deemed it necessary: historical sources have them stationed most of the times in the surroundings of Meknes and Fes, two capitals of the Alaouite state, as well as Oujda, a town close to the border with the Ottoman Empire; wherever the Sultan placed them, he granted exploitable land to them, for the same reasons explained above for the *ṣrāb*. As the military role of *Gīš l-Ūdāya* conferred its tribes a privileged status with respect to the other subjects, periods of meekness and faithfulness towards the Sultan alternated with periods of rebellion, ransacking and unauthorised wars against other tribes and cities for about 150 years. However, such abuses did not always go unpunished, until in 1833 AD, the Sultan Moulay Abderrahmane finally dismembered the *Gīš* following a revolt of the *’arḥā* that almost cost him his life, and scattered it to three different locations; one of these was Temara’s *qašba* (the fortress built centuries before by Moulay Ismail), which was then restructured in order to be employed as barracks (*qašla*). According to *Villes et tribus*, the *raḥā* displaced here was that of *Āhl Sūs*¹⁰⁰, who were charged with protecting the cities of Rabat and Sale from the incursions and loots of the contiguous tribe of *Zṣṣr*. In conformity with the common use, the soldiers and their families were given collective land on the

¹⁰⁰ In the source, which tribes were included in the *Āhl Sūs* deported to Temara is left unsaid: it is only confirmed that they did not include the “original” *Ūdāya*, as it is explicitly reported that “les Oudaïa proprement dits [furent déportés] à Larache (...) et les Ahl Sous dans la banlieue de Rabat” (“the ones strictly known as *Ūdāya* [were deported] to Larache (...) and Ahl Sous to the suburbs of Rabat”; *Villes et tribus*, vol. 3: 180). Therefore, *Āhl Sūs* here may be taken to mean either *Šbānāt* (one of the first three *’arḥā* included in the *Gīš*, and a fraction of *Āhl Sūs*) or a mixture of *Āhl Sūs* fractions, or *dwāwār*⁶ (groups of households with common ancestry), including *Šbānāt* and others that had subsequently entered the *Gīš*, although historians do not mention this specifically. The latter option would seem more likely, as a list of tribes (called “fractions”) constituting Temara’s *Ūdāya* in 1918 (*Villes et tribus*, vol. 3: 183) reports *Šbānāt* together with other, historical tribes of the *raḥā* of *Āhl Sūs*, thus confirming that the tribe that came to be stationed at the *qašba* of Temara and that is now called *Ūdāya* is actually the same as the *Āhl Sūs* tribe that was displaced by the Saadis in the XVI century for military purposes; the reason why these *Āhl Sūs* call themselves *Ūdāya* at present could be linked to their early belonging to *Gīš l-Ūdāya*. As for the other tribe, the *ṣrāb* (who had served as the Saadis’ military and then settled south of Rabat), it still remains unexplained why the names of their fractions in 1918 were not the same as the *Ūdāya*’s fractions in 1918 (*ibid.*), since both tribes are called *Āhl Sūs* by one source or the other. A possible explanation is that, after more than 300 years of settlement in the Atlantic plains, the *ṣrāb* had mixed with surrounding tribes, and that this had led to the creation of new fractions; on the other hand, the *Āhl Sūs* “branch” who were recruited in *Gīš l-Ūdāya* may have chosen not to “mix” with other tribes who did not enjoy the same, privileged *Gīš* status, thus preserving the old fractions unchanged. In any case, it still remains true that, today, *ṣrāb* and *Ūdāya* are unanimously identified as two different tribes.

spot for their living, and kept it till after the Independence (some of them to these days). With the beginning of the French Protectorate, many *Gīš* tribes that had been fulfilling military tasks for the Sultan went on doing so under the French's orders; one exception was *Āhl Sūs*, who quit providing military support after the French's arrival (Ducros 1925 in Le Coz 1965: 7).

As is underlined by Le Coz (1965), the transplantation of the *Gīš* tribes to the central and western parts of today's Morocco in the course of the centuries "a contribué pour une forte part à l'arabisation des plaines atlantiques et s'est réalisée principalement autour des villes capitales du royaume ou sur les voies y conduisant." ("greatly contributed to the Arabisation of the Atlantic plains, and mainly involved the surroundings of the kingdom's capital cities, or the roads leading to them"; 5). Therefore, it seems certain that the community inhabiting the rural *commune* of Temara (probably formed during the Protectorate) was entirely Arabic-speaking, at least before the immigration fluxes started to increase its regional diversity to unprecedented levels.

2.3.2 – During and after the Protectorate

At the beginning of the French colonisation, the *Āhl Sūs* that were part of *Gīš l-Ūdāya* (and that will henceforth be called *Ūdāya*) found themselves in the middle of the territory occupied by the *šrāb*¹⁰¹, whose tribe

se trouva de ce fait coupée en deux: la fraction la plus considérable conserva le nom de tribu de 'Arab, la seconde, restée dans la banlieue immédiate (*haouz*) de Rabat, prit celui de *Haouzâia*.¹⁰² (Villes et Tribus du Maroc, 3: 181)

Villes et tribus du Maroc (released in 1918) estimates at 3,000 the *Ūdāya* residing in Temara (178), ie. three times as many as those who settled in 1832-1833, after the Fes revolt and Moulay Abderrahmane's forced relocation of their *rahā* (Le Coz 1965: 17). The land they occupied (also known as "*Gīš* land") extended for a length of 10 km from the *qāšla* inside Rabat's municipality, between the Atlantic Ocean and the nearby forest, for an average width of 6 km (13). Therefore, it covered both part of the *commune* of Temara and part of that of the capital; however, this made little difference at the time, as Temara was considered as part of the Rabat surroundings (in French, *banlieue*) from an administrative and geographical point of view.

¹⁰¹ According to a *šarbi* informant, **OUL** (an excerpt of whose interview is reported later in this section), the exact name of the tribe is *šrāb šabbāh* and comes from Ouarzazate (not from Souss), at the borders of the desert; it is not clear whether this should be taken as the complete name that locals give the *šrāb* tribe or as a sub-group of the *šrāb*. Two *communes* in the Errachidia province (not far from Ouarzazate) still carry the name of Aarab Sebbah.

¹⁰² "...was subsequently split in two parts: the bigger one held the tribal name 'Arab, whereas the other one took that of Haouzâia, as it found itself in the immediate surroundings (*haouz*) of Rabat."

Thus, the *ḡrəb* “half”-tribe that kept the old name – according to *Villes et Tribus* – met the *Gīš* land on its south-western edge, ie. on the opposite side with respect to Rabat; consequently, a part of their own land, too, fell within the area that would become the city of Temara. Among the *ḡrəb* fractions that occupied this area, several informants mentioned one in particular, that of *Ūlālda* (sing. *Wəllādi*)¹⁰³. An estimate of the total land occupied by the *Ūlālda* was provided by my only *Wəllādi* interviewee:

OUL: /l-perimetr dja:l-hum ka:n hu:ma mən-l-bhər/

Reda¹⁰⁴: /mən-l-hərhu:ra/

OUL: /mən-l-hərhu:ra u:-mʃa:t hta:-l-wa:d i:kəm ḡrəfti l-wa:d/

Reda: /fu:t sʰa:bəlʰdʰu:rʰ/

OUL: /lʰa:rʰi:vji:rʰ wa:d i:kəm hta:-l... la-fore l-ya:ba ha:di hi:ja l-u:la:lda ka:mʌ/ (...) /təqri:bən ya:-jku:n fi:-ha wa:həd l... tmənja u:la təsʃa:-t-ki:lʰu:mi:tʰrʰ ha:kka/ (...) /təmʃi mʃa:-l-bhər/ (...) /u:-ha:kka:ja ya:-tku:n a:-si:di ʃi... tla:t-t- ki:lʰu:mi:tʰrʰ/

Reda: /ma:ʃa:lʰlʰa:h rʰa ka:nt ma:sa:ha/

OUL: /rʰa ka:nt ma:sa:fa u:-ha:di rʰa ta:-nəʃqəl ʃli:-ha rʰa ka:nt xa:wja ka:nu fi:-ha s-sukka:n qʌ:l/ (...) /u:-l-ʔərdʰ kti:ra/

Reda: /ma:ʃa:lʰlʰa:h/

Translation

OUL: *Their perimeter, they started from the seaside.*

Reda: *From Harhoura*¹⁰⁵?

OUL: *From Harhoura, and it went as far as the river Ikkem*¹⁰⁶. *Do you know the river?*

Reda: *It's after Sable d'Or.*

¹⁰³ It is possible that other *ḡrəb* fractions used to own land that would then be involved in Temara's urban growth; in any case, information about their presence has not emerged from the informants' contributions.

¹⁰⁴ Reda was my local assistant for all the interviews conducted during the fieldwork; cfr. § 3.2.4).

¹⁰⁵ Name of the area of the “historical” Temara municipality located along the seaside and including several beaches and upper-class residential areas. Today it constitutes an independent municipality.

¹⁰⁶ A river running between Temara and Skhirat, the next town on the road towards Casablanca.

OUL: *La Rivière*¹⁰⁷... The river Ikkem. And as far as... the forest. The wood. That's the whole Ūlālda. (...) There must be about... eight or nine kilometres or so (...) if you move along the seaside (...) and in the other sense, sir, it must be about... three kilometres.

Reda: *God bless! That was wide!*

OUL: *It was a big area, and I remember it was all empty. Few people lived there. (...) And a lot of land!*

Reda: *God bless!*

In 1918, the whole *ṣrāb* tribe that was settled in the Rabat *banlieue* (ie. from Rabat to Bouznika) included 8,310 members (*Villes et Tribus*, vol. 3: 178); data on the exact Ūlālda population is not available in the sources.

2.3.2.1 – During the Protectorate: early immigration fluxes (1912 – 1956)

Although Temara already existed as an administrative territory, the two known groups living within it (*Ūdāya* and *Ūlālda*) did not form a homogeneous community: in fact, they seem to have led quite separate lives, with each of them taking care of its own land and subsistence. This seems natural, if considered in the perspective of the period of chaos (*sība*) and inter-tribal belligerence that had preceded the French Protectorate on the one hand (concerning this, cfr. eg. Rivet 2012), and the importance of intra-tribal (kinship) bonds in the Moroccan society of the time on the other. A self-evident clue of the desire to avoid any inter-mingling between the two groups was the initial *Ūlālda*'s prohibition to get married to any *Ūdīyi*, by fear that this would imply a loss of land to the *Gīš*. According to an *Ūdīyi* informant, this mutual closure only loosened with the introduction of public schooling:

B.¹⁰⁸: *Since the Ūlālda would say they were the owners of their land and this sort of thing, there was a marriage ban. (...) This ban was dismantled by the girls' school*¹⁰⁹. (...) *A Wəllādi girl could go study there, and there you also had Ūdīyi girls... A sort of relationship began. After a while, this thing (...) removed that intransigence that stood between them. Gradually, Ūdāya and Ūlālda started marrying each other. Now you have so many Ūlālda marrying Ūdāya.*

Conversely, it does not seem that the same ban was in force among the *Ūdāya*, probably because, while the *Ūlālda*'s land was owned (*mālk*), the *Ūdāya*'s was *'arḍ māḥzānīya*, ie. land still

¹⁰⁷ Sable d'Or and La Rivière are two beaches in Harhoura.

¹⁰⁸ Whenever the original Arabic text is not given, it is because the interview was not recorded and the interviewee's words are approximately based on notes taken during the interview.

¹⁰⁹ The Almohads Primary School for girls, which was the first primary school for Moroccans in the town.

belonging to the *māḥẓān* – the statal apparatus headed by the king –, although, as we know, it was given to the *Gīš* tribes as a usufruct.

The different legal status of the two groups' land also affected their material living conditions: as may be recalled, the *Ūlālda* had ceased to serve in the *gīš* during the rule of the same dynasty that had “drafted” them, the Saadis, and subsequently kept their land under a different status, that of *nāyba* (cfr. § 2.3.1). For this reason, when the Saadi dynasty came to an end, the new Sultans (the Alaouites) exerted no claim on the *Ūlālda*'s land, which was seemingly recognised as the latter's property; this allowed them to freely exploit their fields, thus reaching a certain degree of well-being. On the other hand, the *Ūdāya*'s case was quite different, as their tribe (as well as their land) was still enjoying a *gīš* status at the beginning of the Protectorate. Under that status, according to the local traditional law, the *Ūdāya* were collectively (not individually) entitled to the right of exploiting their land; nonetheless, this was still officially considered as a concession of the Sultan's, and could not be alienated from them (Le Coz 1965: 5).

In spite of this inalienability, the *Gīš* land attracted the interest of the French colons, who occupied it to install residential structures. Eventually, the Protectorate managed to circumvent the limitations imposed by the traditional law and, in 1933 (Le Coz 1965: 15) or 1935 (Camara 2009: 27), the creation of a housing estate on 102 ha of *'arḍ māḥẓānīya* was launched and soon completed: this was the first official modern “neighbourhood” of what would become the city of Temara. The account of the event given by Camara (2009) does not make it clear if the *Ūdāya* had previously agreed on this project or if they received any compensation for this loss of territory:

Ce lotissement destiné officiellement à des activités de loisirs pour justifier son implantation sur des terres guich, servira à loger les colons français dans des villas spacieuses et verdoyantes avec des superficies de quelques 3300 m².¹¹⁰ (28)

The name given to the estate was (and still is) *Le Vieux Marocain*; this developed as a group of villas inhabited only by Western colons and their Moroccan domestic workers. Some of the latter had come from other regions to be employed by the settlers, and were among the first work immigrants in Temara. Other structures were erected on the seaside and reserved to the colons' use: these were Temara's first beach resorts.

The 1930s were an important decade for the growth of Temara: besides the villas, the years between 1932 and 1940 also witnessed the building of the first two slums (by Moroccans), as well

¹¹⁰ “This estate, which had officially been designated to leisure activities in order to justify its establishment on *guich* land, was to accommodate the French colons in large and verdurous villas, each covering an area of about 3,300 m².

as the opening of the first factories (by colons), according to Camara (2009: 28). The name given to slums in Morocco is *dwāwār* (sing.: *dāwwār*), a word which was traditionally used to indicate a group of Bedouin tents disposed in a circular fashion (Prémare: 1993) or a fraction of a tribe; with the emergence of slums, it also started indicating a (sometimes quite extended) group of shacks which was compact enough to form a sort of small village. The first *dāwwār* in Temara was erected by four families of *Ṣaḥrāwi* origin¹¹¹, who worked as traders and used to come and sell goods in the local wholesale market (*sūq ṣ-ṣammāla*): this first nucleus was therefore called *Dāwwār ṣ-Ṣaḥrāwa*, ie. “slum of the *Ṣaḥrāwi* people”.

B.: *There's a road coming this way (...) which they call "the Wholesalers' Market". (...) Those wholesalers had to walk a long way before getting to the city, so they had to (...) settle temporarily in one spot, one, two days... just to attend the market! They'd come from far away, and were tired by the time they reached Temara; as the night came, they would stay, spend the night there and continue. Those Ṣaḥrāwa, too, were people who travelled (...) Gradually, they settled in that spot permanently, until people called it Dāwwār ṣ-Ṣaḥrāwa, because they were originally Ṣaḥrāwa.*

The second slum, *Dāwwār l-ḥaskār*, took shape soon afterwards as a consequence of national military recruitment (*tāžnīd*). Since Moulay Hassan's sultanate (1873 – 1894 AD), the Moroccan military system had been increasingly based on a modern kind of permanent army (*ḥaskār*) and soldiers started being recruited from all over the country (Le Coz 1965: 4-5). As a consequence, also the *qāṣla* of Temara began receiving new recruits from other regions of Morocco, particularly from *Žbāla*, according to C. (also an original *Ūdīyī*).

C.: *There were few people [in Temara], families were known to each other, but there was a group from Žbāla (...) They had come to Temara when conscription had begun (...) People started coming (...) Because, since the Sultan was close, they thought: "Things are moving, we'll work with the Sultan..." (...) And they were the Ġzāwa of Beni Ahmed, the Ġzāwa from the area (...) between Chefchaouen and Ktāma, Tlat Beni Ahmed (...) They came and settled here.*

The main innovation brought by modern recruitment was that soldiers carried their service in an area different from their residence, instead of moving with all their families and wares as the *gīṣ* tribes used to do. On the other hand, the State did not provide any accommodation to these soldiers, who had to arrange for it by themselves: for this reason, some of them also started building and living in shacks, thus creating *Dāwwār l-ḥaskār*.

B.: *When a soldier came for the first time, he was a young bachelor, but as he grew up he wanted to get married. (...) When he brought his wife, he could not take her to the barracks. He needed a place to live in, and there*

¹¹¹ *Ṣaḥrāwa* is an ethnonym that is usually employed for nomads living in the desert (*ṣaḥra*) or for their sedentarised descendants.

were no dwellings in Temara. (...) Just empty land! But if you wanted to live in the empty land, you could! So they built and gathered and made those little shacks, using tin, ḥəllāla¹¹²...

The area chosen by the *ʕaskər* was a space right in front of the *qəšla* – which allowed them to live close to their place of duty – and was part of the *Ūdāya*’s land. Since a great amount of unexploited land was available¹¹³, the owners asked the dwellers for very low reimbursements – even when civilians started coming as well; in reference to the building of another slum, called *Dəwwār Bən l-ʕərbi*, it has been reported that the permission to settle on a parcel could be bought with a sugarloaf!

B.: *There was a sir, after whom Dəwwār Bən l-ʕərbi took its name – his name was Ben Laarbi. (...) That sir used to farm the land in the Qāyəd Žilāli area (...) and when you went and talked to him, you would bring him a sugarloaf (...) saying: “I’ve got nowhere to live”. And he’d pick up a stick (...) and draw a line enclosing an area of at least 600 metres! And he’d say to you: “There you go, settle here!”*

In the middle of all this, the status of the *Ūdāya*’s land remained legally ambiguous, and several juridical attempts – few of them successful – were made to reduce it to the colons’ or the State’s profit. Finally, the *ṣahīr*¹¹⁴ of the 19th January 1946 recognised the official collective property to the tribe, although the holder of the right of property was still considered to be the *Ūdāya* as a whole (Le Coz 1965: 15); no right could be claimed by any single individual, or family, on a private land plot. The ambiguousness of the land status was far from being solved.

2.3.2.2 – After the Independence: the outbreak of the *dwāwər* (1956 – 1983)

On the 2nd March 1956, Morocco obtained its independence by ending both the French and the Spanish Protectorates that had ruled its territory for over 40 years. It was probably after this date that the king, Mohammed V, offered the *Ūdāya* to “re-legalise” their property by dividing the land among the different families. The *Ūdāya* denied his offer, as they saw it as a potential damage to their socio-economic unity and, therefore, strength.

C.: *When Morocco got its independence (...) Mohammed V (...) asked the Ūdāya to register their deed of property (...) but they refused. (...) They didn’t want to split the land (...) in order to remain strong (...) “If we*

¹¹² /rʕa:jt l-ḥəlla:la/ is a white flag that is tied on the top of a cane, together with a branch of some plant (eg. mint), usually to signal happy events (a circumcision, a wedding...; I. G.) In this case, B. could mean that the cane of the flags was used in the building of the shack.

¹¹³ The land granted to every *Gīš* soldier amounted to 7 ha; this portion of land was called *mḥəzni*. In total, the *Gīš* land around the *qəšla* amounted to 4,053 ha before it started being eroded in the 1930s, under the French Protectorate (Le Coz 1965: 15).

¹¹⁴ A *ṣahīr* (ظهير) is a royal decree by which something is granted, such as the appointment to a high office or, more generally, a certain kind of right or privilege (Prémare: 1993).

split, we'll become weak, we'll become a tribe, whereas we want to keep on being a single group.” (...) And this is the problem experienced by the Gīs l-Ūdāya lands across Morocco.

Their refusal had the result of maintaining the collective entitlement of the land, and subsequently proved to be a legally risky move as it paved the way to the land expropriation projects that would be implemented in the 1980s (cfr. next section).

After the Independence, land started being given to former combatants who had fought in the resistance (*mūqāwāma*) against the French forces, and these opened new factories: it was the birth of what was to become one of the most important industrial areas of the Rabat-Sale administrative region¹¹⁵.

B.: *In 1957-58, after the colonisation, lands were transferred to (...) the “resistants”. (...) starting from half ryal¹¹⁶. A symbolic price! And what did those people came for? They came to open companies.*

The earliest factories were of semi-finished products, such as wicker, cork and textile. As Temara's population consisted of few thousands of people at the time, the area lacked manpower and these early factories attracted workers from outside the *commune*¹¹⁷. These contributed to the growth of Temara's slums.

B.: *In the 1960s, during the summer holidays, I used to enter a factory and work one or two hours; if I didn't like it, I'd move out (...) to another factory. I worked in three factories in a single day. (...) Since there was this lack of manpower, the owners of the big factories went elsewhere to search for it. For example, a company in which the owner was Fassi and the accountant was Žəbli, the accountant would tell the owner: “I'll bring you some manpower from Žbāla.” He'd go and come back with workers, providing them with their first dwelling – a tent. When the workers started hanging around Temara, they provided a house in the slum for themselves.*

In the 1960s, as the population increased, some traders (mainly *Šlūh*, ie. Berbers from Southern Morocco) also decided to settle and open the first grocery business (*tābəqqālt*) in Temara: the first *ḥwānət* (sing. *ḥānūt*: a small, mainly grocery shop) were set in two lines of shacks in *Dəwwār l-ḥəskər*, which thus became the first permanent “commercial area” in the *commune*. Soon, as their savings increased, first the *ḥəskər* and then those shop keepers decided to switch to a modern kind of dwelling (*dyūr*, sing. *dār*), perhaps on the model of the close-by city of Rabat.

¹¹⁵ In 2007, Temara housed more than 80 industrial facilities, or 17% of all the facilities of the region. Today, the most developed sectors are “textile, leather, agroindustrial, chemical and para-chemical” (Camara 2009: 84).

¹¹⁶ Even today this would correspond to ca. 2 or 3 euro cents. The figure may be reduced hyperbolically.

¹¹⁷ Most often, they would attract immigrants from the same region as the workers or supervisors who were already working in the facility; the owners – especially of the first factories – were likely to be colons.

C.: *One new group came: the group of the Šəlḥa traders. (...) That's when tābəqqālt began. (...) They came in the 1960s and opened shops in the Ūdāya[ʼs land], in what now is called Sūq s-Səbt. (...) There were two rows of shacks, that's where they did tābəqqālt. (...) [But] they lived by themselves, they didn't live with the Ūdāya: they were living in the ʕəskər's dəwwār. (...) They mixed with them, because the ʕəskər were strangers, too. (...) [The Šlūḥ] lived with them, and made their own mosque (...) and stayed there. (...) Then this process began, first among the ʕəskər and then the Šlūḥ, (...) of looking for (...) a "decent" dwelling: houses, buildings, two rooms, three rooms...*

The land where the first buildings were made was situated between *Dəwwār l-ʕəskər* and *Dəwwār ʕ-Šəḥrāwa*, and was purchased from some leaving ex-colons. Also some public companies, including Ridal, came to open their offices in the vicinity of the still small but growing community; cafes and restaurants followed soon afterwards. As a result, the site developed as the first modern-built residential and commercial area of Temara, from which all other districts would then radiate in the course of its urbanistic development (for this reason, it is now referred to as *ʕ-Šānṭər*¹¹⁸ “the [town] centre”): the urbanisation of Temara had *de facto* begun.

About a decade later, some *Ūdāya* started selling their land: according to B., an external figure played a key role in spurring them to take this step.

B.: *After a while, a man from Zəmmūr¹¹⁹ (...) became acquainted with the Ūdāya. (...) At a certain point, he said to them: “The longer you keep this land of yours, the longer you'll make it easy for the State to come and take it one day! (...) Why don't you do something: (...) fix your land and sell it!” (...) He forged ties with the authorities, who took their bribes (...) Just as the Ūdāya put up their land for sale, purchasers pounced on Temara!*

As a result, by the end of the 1960s, a great number of immigrants bought plots of *Gīš* land and built either concrete houses or shacks on them. The increase of the immigration fluxes was also due to the expansion of Rabat, whose population grew from 156,200 in 1952 to 227,400 in 1960, to 374,800 in 1971 (data from the *Wilāya* of Rabat, reported in Camara 2009: 24). This led to a saturation of the residential space and a stiff increase in housing prices in the capital: as a consequence, many Moroccans who migrated towards Rabat in search for a job diverted to Temara in their quest for accommodation (Aīt Mouloud 1998: 47-51). Here, plenty of *Gīš* land was available, and both purchasing and renting prices were still extremely affordable (from 50 to 200 dirhams per hectare, ie. from 65 to 260 ca. in today's euro). Obviously, building shacks was an illegal practice, not just because they eluded regulations in terms of habitat but also because the land they had been erected on, and that was being so easily sold or rented, was still officially

¹¹⁸ The local pronunciation is approximately [sʕsʕo:nʕʕərʕ] or [sʕsʕātʕʕərʕ] and obviously reproduces, “localising” it, the French pronunciation of “centre” ([sɑ̃tʁ])

¹¹⁹ A rural historical region beside the Rabat prefecture.

inalienable: therefore, the local *mqəddmīn*¹²⁰ had to be bribed, too, so that, in case of inspection, they would confirm to governmental authorities that the shack dwellers were local residents, and thus had the right to inhabit that area (I. G.).

Thanks to such expedients, the *Ūdāya*'s land had become replete with slums, with many *dwāwər* being erected or expanding in several areas around the *qəšla*: *Dəwwār Bən l-ḡərbi*, *Dəwwār Bən l-Məkki*, *Dəwwār Bən Nāṣər* and other slums emerged as the immigrants themselves built and inhabited groups of shacks and/or unauthorised concrete houses. Of all these *dwāwər*, the already mentioned *Dəwwār ṣ-Ṣəhrāwa* became the biggest one, as it greatly expanded on a nearby, huge space next to its original nucleus, and thus came to be known with the name of *Dəwwār Ždīd* ("New Slum"). As a consequence, the population of Temara – which was still counted administratively as a rural *commune* – had risen to 22,233 in 1971 (official national census, reported in Aīt Mouloud 1998: 25).

Unfortunately, no data are available on the regional composition of the immigrant community living in the *dwāwər* at the time; according to the accounts of my elder informants – as well as the origins of my informants and acquaintances – *Dūkkāla*, *Šāwya*, *Tādla*, *Ḡərb*, *Žbāla*, *Sūs* and the desert, together with the rural surroundings of Rabat and Sale (eg.: *Zṣīr*), were important sending regions: the general picture that results is, therefore, one of prevalently rural-to-urban migration. Initially, immigrants of similar origin would prefer gathering within the *dəwwār*, also for linguistic reasons.

B.: *The first thing that bərrānīyīn ["people from outside", ie. immigrants] did was gathering: Žbāla by themselves, Ryāfa by themselves, Šlūh, Dūkkāla, Šāwya, Zṣīr, all by themselves (...) For example, if I'm a Žəbli in Temara, when I want to feel at ease I go and sit with Žbāla. Why? Because I find my accent easy to understand. Same thing for a Šəlḥa.*

However, after this first stage of regionally-based grouping, several factors fostered inter-tribal and inter-regional mingling in the *bidonvilles*. B., who grew in *Dəwwār Bən l-ḡərbi*, cited two factors that he believed contributed to the gradual thawing of inter-group relationships within the *Dwāwər*. The first one was weekly markets:

B.: *I [as a slum dweller] cannot fix my life by myself (...) Sooner or later I'll need something from the ḡərbi... For example, the ḡərb used to grow vegetables, peas, cucumbers, watermelons... Ūdāya, too, were known for*

¹²⁰ These are part of the system of local governors that was in use before the Independence, which included the *mqəddəm* (pl.: *mqəddmīn*), the head of a tribal fraction, and the *qāyəd* (pl.: *quyyād*), the head of a tribe or town, to whose authority several *mqəddmīn* are submitted. These figures still exist in Temara (and other towns in Morocco) nowadays, and are respectively charged with the supervision of smaller neighbourhoods and bigger areas within the city (I. G.)

prickly pears. (...) So, when you went to the market, you would have to speak to a ʕərbi (...) you'd buy from ʕrəb, Ūdāya... (...) One would want to, would have to learn!

The second one was the mosque, not just because the Muslim faith was common to all immigrants¹²¹, but also because it functioned as a pre-primary school (there was no kindergarten at the time) where everybody learnt how to read and write before (or without) attending primary school; the structure that provided this basic teaching was the *kəttāb*, and was annexed to a mosque.

B.: *The mosque, too, played a role... But we only had the kəttāb, because we wouldn't study at school before spending some time at the msīd¹²². (...) All the people of my generation studied in the mosque (...) to the point that, when we attended Primary School, we went back to the mosque during our holidays; or we'd study at school and then go back to the mosque after the mūğrīb¹²³. (...) So the mosque, too, made people socialise.*

Now that the *Ūdāya* had launched the land sale – and that its cost-effectiveness had been proven – the *Ūlālda*, too, considered it convenient to enter the growing market: and so they did. It may be that the legal status of their land allowed them to follow safer routes; this may be the reason why, as it appears from B's account, their main purchasers were *wīdādīyāt*, ie. “associations” of people that collectively bought a piece of land, adapted it for building and sold it to real estate investors, including return migrants from Europe.

B.: *The Ūlālda said: “The Ūdāya are selling! Why don't we sell, too?” The first wīdādīya, “Rīžāl t-Təʕlīm”, was created, (...) they gathered about 1000 dirhams (...) And how much did they earn? About four or five million [francs]¹²⁴! (...) The day that a wīdādīya was split and the plan had succeeded and building began, a new wīdādīya was created from the old one [and investment . (...) Then what happened? The [Moroccan] migrants in Europe started saying: “There's cheap land in Temara!” For six or even five million [francs] you could buy fixed land, a deed of property, everything. And that was the Ūlālda's land.*

As a consequence, more buildings started to appear on both sides of the *Šāntər* (ie. in the directions of Casablanca and Rabat), and Temara increasingly assumed the appearance of an urban conglomerate; also, the cost of land started rising, as demand was increasing greatly, as was the labour necessary to adapt the soil for construction.

2.3.2.3 – The urban municipality of Temara (1983 – today)

The main reason that led the central administration to the decision of officially turning Temara into a *commune urbaine* (urban municipality) may have been the wave of immigration

¹²¹ No information has emerged concerning Jewish dwellers within the *Dwāwər*.

¹²² Today, the *msīd* is distinguished from the *kəttāb* in that it only provides religious teaching; at the time, the two types of institute may have been similar (I. G.).

¹²³ Moroccan pronunciation for the sunset prayer.

¹²⁴ An outstanding sum for the time.

caused by the famine that struck Morocco in the early 1980s, which forced many peasants out of their rural communities towards the main urban areas of the country; among these were Rabat and its *banlieue*. As a result, the population of Temara had reached 78,727 inhabitants in 1982 (3.5 times as much as 1971; RGPH 1982). According to the official data, immigrant households now constituted 81.25% of this population; their main region of origin was the “North-West” (ie. the one including Temara and Rabat), followed by El Jadida and Marrakesh (RGPH 1982, cited in Aït Mouloud 1998: 29).

In order to better face the issues caused by such an abrupt demographic growth, both in Temara and in Rabat, the king Hassan II promulgated the royal *ḍahīr* no. 283,566 of the 11th February 1983, which simultaneously promoted Temara to the status of urban municipality (*ḡamāʿa ḥaḍariyya*) and turned it into the seat of the newly-created prefecture (*wilāya*) of Skhirate-Temara, thus separating it from the jurisdiction of the *wilāya* of Rabat (Camara 2009: 70). The new *wilāya* also came to include several rural centres in the hinterland, as well as the coastal town of Skhirate, on the route for Casablanca. With this reform, Temara saw an increase in administrative importance, as many public offices and ministerial departments were decentralised and opened a seat in the new town (Camara 2009: 31); at the same time, the municipality itself was reduced on its south-western end, with the simultaneous creation and detachment of the rural municipality (*ḡamāʿa qarawiyya*) of Ain Attig out of its territory (Camara 2009: 70).

Since Temara was now officially an urban entity, the Moroccan government committed itself to seizing control of its urbanistic growth by launching a series of projects aimed at the gradual relocation of all the *dwāwār*’s dwellers to modern types of housing (Camara 2009). This was done by selling them specially designated land parcels at very low prices¹²⁵, under the condition that they demolish their own shack and erect a healthy concrete abode on their new locations. In fact, it often happened that the former shack owner handed the keys of his old accommodation to the *qāyād* (cfr. previous section) rather than demolishing it, so that the *qāyād*, in turn, could re-sell it to a newcomer to the town and earn money from the process; this was reported by M., who was about 7 y. o. when his family was relocated from the slums.

M.: *If someone owned land (...) you’d purchase it from them, you’d give them one million [francs]¹²⁶, they’d give you a piece of land, you’d build your own shack and make a deal with the mqəddəm; he’d say: “Go build your shack next to that house”... In 1984, right after they put the wilāya here, they did that “who tears down his shack benefits” thing. (...) Actually, they only had to turn in the key of their shack, and leave it*

¹²⁵ According to Drissi, the president of the Association for the Defense of Guich El Oudaya (also quoted slightly afterwards), the fixed for a land parcel of ca. 500 m² was 1.5 million francs (today it would correspond to 3,750 €).

¹²⁶ About 2,500 € today.

standing. Why? Because the qāyād would sell it! For him, he would say, “Temara needs to receive more people”. We turned in our key, with the shack still there (...) and they gave us land to inhabit in Māsīra Wāḥād.

This way, shanties were quickly re-occupied and the relocation projects took much longer than it was expected to reach their (declared) goal of dismantling the slums and improving the urban landscape; as a result, many *dwāwār* are still inhabited nowadays. Nonetheless, the relocated dwellers’ living conditions improved in terms of both habitat and urban environment, as most (not all) of their houses were now provided with basic services such as water and electricity, and were located in modern neighbourhoods that were soon connected to the main national roads through modern, asphalt streets. The first district thus organised took the name of *Māsīra Wāḥād*, and was situated at a short distance from the *qāšla*, in the direction of Rabat; more districts followed, each one corresponding to a relocation project launched by the State (Camara 2009). However, not all of them were inhabited by the original recipients of the land plots, as some of these found it more convenient to resell the land at a greater price, or to build a house and then sell it or rent it to other people; some plots may even have been left empty for a certain period of time, until real estate prices had risen enough to make it profitable to speculate on them (I. G.)¹²⁷.

The area where the new districts were created was entirely taken from the *Gīš* (ie. the *Ūdāya*’s) land, who thus lost a consistent portion of land during the implementation of the relocation projects¹²⁸. The heavy political climate of Morocco’s “Years of Lead” (dominated by Ḥāsān II’s “strong man” Driss Basri) certainly contributed to this radical act of expropriation, as did the legally weak status of the *Ūdāya*’s land as a “collective” possession (cfr. previous section). Most informants, among which **OUL**, agree that the latter point played an essential role in the matter at hand:

OUL: /l-mu:ʃki:l/ (...) /rʰa bda mʃa:-frʰa:nsʰa/ [---] /mølli da:rt t-titr/

Reda: /tømma ka:nu jhəbsu kull-ʃi/

OUL: /ʔa:h mølli da:rt ø titr global ʃla:-kull-ʃi zəmʃa:t-u fi:-h ka:m̩la [=ka:m̩l] tømma mʃa li:-hum kull-ʃi/

Reda: /piɛz l-mu:sta:ʃmi:r dki/

OUL: /fhəmti lu:ka:n ʔi:r fərqa:t li:-hum ma:ta:la:n da:rt li:-hum u:la:d zərʰa:rʰ titr b-wəhd-hum u:la:d mta:ʃ titr b-wəhd-hum u:-ka:da ʔa:di jku:nu hu:ma kə-jpa:rʰtʰa:zi:w bi:na:t-hum l-ʔərdʰ/

¹²⁷ My assistant Ismail, whose parents were among the people relocated from the slums to the newly created *Ḥāyy n-Nāḥda* district in the 1990s, also supplied information on the matter at hand.

¹²⁸ The total area dedicated to the implementation of the relocation projects amounts to 276 ha (Camara 2009: 54).

Translation

OUL: *The problem (...) started with France. [---] When it made the deed of property...*

Reda: *That's when they should have frozen everything.*

OUL: *Exactly! When it made a "global" deed for it all, it gathered everything in it: that's when they lost everything.*

Reda: *A trap.. The colonists were smart!*

OUL: *See? If only France had split... for example, if it had made one deed of property for Ūlād Žəṛṛāṛ, one for Ūlād Mṭāṣ¹²⁹, and so on, they would have shared the land among them!*

Some *Ūdāya* households were relocated on parcels in *Māsīra Wāḥad* for free, in exchange of the loss of land; in other cases, compensations took other forms, such as a free commercial licence; however, none of these reimbursements could even remotely match the value lost through the expropriation. The promise was made that all the members of the tribe (who still lived on the old *Gīš* land) would receive a land plot to which they could move on favourable terms, so that their land could be cleared and resold, or exploited for other governmental purposes: however, a part of the *Gīš* land is still untouched and some *Ūdāya* are still living on their original plots to these days.

Meanwhile, the government's unilateral decision to remove the *Ūdāya* from their right of usufruct raised militant opposition from a part of the tribe, who claim the land as the *Ūdāya*'s property on the basis of the *dahīr* of the 19th January 1946 (cfr. §2.3.2.1) and other official documents attesting land transactions between the *Ūdāya* and other parties. Drissi, the president of the "Association for the Defense of Guich El Oudaya" – an official, organised instrument to support the tribe's claim to the land – was interviewed on this subject

D.: *We made pressure on the Wardship Committee¹³⁰, and they took the official documents and gave them for the notary to confirm that the land was purchased, the Ūdāya bought it in 1946. (...) So now no one can say that "the Ūdāya used to be soldiers defending the homeland, and this land was granted to them in reward for their services blablabla (...) so that when they were at war they would fight and after the armistice they go back and cultivate it." (...) They only read what they want to read: the land is owned, and there's a contract to prove it.*

During another interview, with C., it was reported to me that, in the course of a recent national meeting, a member of the government had announced that the property of all the *Gīš* land

¹²⁹ Two fractions of the *Ūdāya* tribe.

¹³⁰ The Wardship Committee (*məžlīs l-wīṣāya*) is an agency depending from the Ministry of the Interior, apparently created for the management of the *Ūdāya*'s land.

that was still being exploited for agriculture (ie. that had not been converted into building area) would be soon recognised to its current occupants. As this was towards the end of my field study, I have no news about the actual implementation of this provision.

Not only did the relocation policy fail to immediately clear Temara of its *bidonvilles*, but it even fostered more immigration to the town, as the immigrants now knew that they could easily find land or a shack to occupy, and that the State would provide them with cheap, modern housing after they had spent some time living in the slum. As a result, a governmental census calculated at 5,700 the number of shacks in Temara in 1984, and at 55,000 the number of people living in them; in 1989, the number of *dwāwār* was 30, and hosted 43.54% of the town's population (Camara 2009: 39-40). This does not only imply that, by this time, Temara had already passed the figure of 100,000 inhabitants, but also, most importantly, that the majority of them were now housed in modern buildings.

All the following years up to our days have not witnessed any new remarkable phenomenon in Temara's urbanistic development, except for the progression of the relocation projects and the increase in population and slums size: in 1993, the *Hāyy n-Nāhḍa* project was launched for the relocation of more *dāwwār* dwellers to the eponymous district (which constituted one of the main settings of the field recordings, as well as the place of residence of most informants in the sample). By this time, a 65 square-metre plot was sold for 15,000 dirhams, ie. prices had decupled in ten years. This, however, did not seem to deter migrants from settling in the town, with shacks increasing to 8,845 (Camara 2009: 32) and the total number of inhabitants to 162,982 (ie. more than twice as much as 1982¹³¹; Aït Mouloud 1998: 27) in 1994.

Many other districts have developed afterwards, although the role of public projects gradually diminished in such development, with the increase of private real estate investments: modern neighbourhoods filled the former *ṣrāb* (*Ūlālda*) land, and Temara bloated south-westward, along the roads leading to other municipalities in the hinterland (Ain Aouda, Sidi Yahya, Ain Attig). Housing conditions are not always impeccable in these and the older neighbourhoods: in 2003, 14,000 families lived in *habitats insalubres* ("unhealthy dwellings"; Camara 2009: 41), ie. lacking in basic services. In 2004, the population had risen to 225,084 (RGPH 2004). In 2008, the operation of dismantlement of the *dwāwār* reached an historical goal with the transfer of all the residents of *Dāwwār ṣ-Ṣaḥrāwa* (*Dāwwār Ḍdīd*) to a peripheral area of the town, situated near Ain

¹³¹ It should be added that in 1982 the municipality of Temara also included what became the separate municipality of Ain Attig in 1983; two more municipalities, Harhoura and Mers El Kheir, had been detached in 1993. Therefore, the 1994 and subsequent population figures refer to a much smaller area than the 1982 one; however, the municipality of Temara has always been by far the most populated among the four.

Attig (the first rural municipality that had been obtained out of Temara's original territory; cfr. above) and known as *l-ṣīmārāt* ("the Buildings"). The removal of *Dəwwār Ždīd* has left a huge, showy empty space in the middle of the town, a part of which is now being filled with the building of a new public hospital. Today, Temara's population has grown to almost half as that of Rabat, with the 2014 national census estimating it at 312,246 dwellers; while its territory is now near to saturation (although construction is still proceeding in many areas), near-by rural municipalities, such as Ain Attig and Ain Aouda, are now receiving new immigration flows, including from Temara¹³².

2.4 – Temara today

In 2015, at the beginning of my fieldwork, Temara was the fourth biggest urban centre of the administrative region Rabat-Salé-Kénitra. The last national census, which was conducted in 2014 (just one year prior to the beginning of the fieldwork), gave the following, general information about the municipality¹³³:

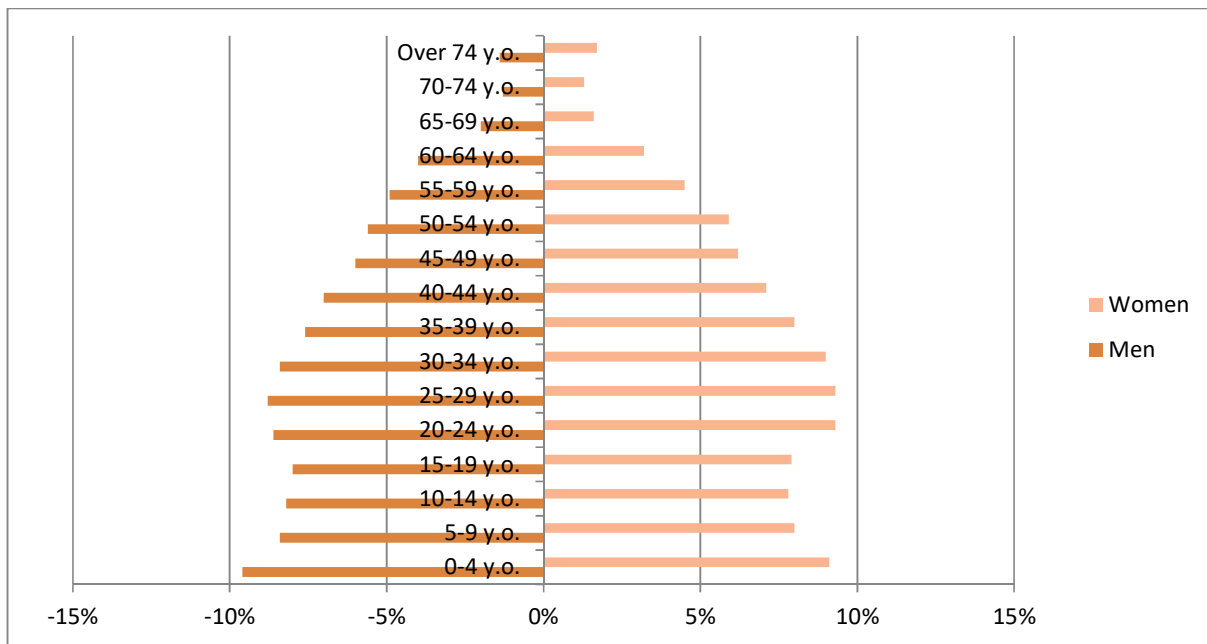


Figure 3 - Temara age pyramid (2014)

¹³² These are constituted, for example, by young Temaresees choosing to settle with their families.

¹³³ All following data are taken from <http://rgphentableaux.hcp.ma/Default1/>, consulted on the 3rd June 2018, except where noted.

Source: RGPH 2014

Graphe 2 : Pyramide des âges

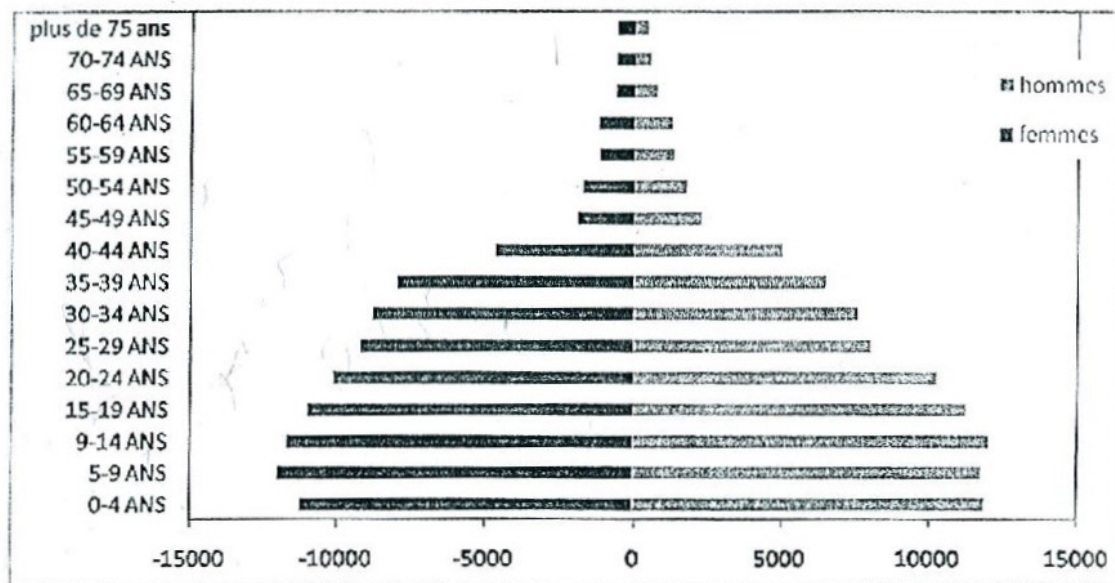


Figure 4 - Temara, age pyramid (2007)

Source: Camara (2009: 77)

The comparison of the pyramid in Figure 3 with that in Figure 4 shows some remarkable differences, most notably the levelling of the decrease of population in the range from 40 to 65 y.o in 2014 with respect to just seven years before. Since the two surveys were taken by two different institutions, this seemingly sharp demographic change may be due to different evaluation and data collection systems; if this is not the case, then it could be tentatively hypothesised that a great number of over-40 immigrants came to settle in Temara during those seven years. This may not be an unsupportable explanation, as the last 10 or 20 years have witnessed the development of high-end neighbourhoods and districts in the town, such as *l-Wīfāq* (cfr. below), which may have attracted older, better-off residents in search for comfortable accommodation at a lower price than Rabat. Another hypothesis (which may combine with the first one) is that there may have been an exodus of young married couples who chose to move out of Temara in search for a quieter place to live, such as the adjacent municipalities of Ain Attig and Ain Aouda: this may have caused a drain of young residents and, as a consequence, a decrease in percentage weight of the age ranges from 20 to 40 with respect to older ranges. Either case would show how Temara is still undergoing a demographic evolution, which contributes to making its social composition highly variable.

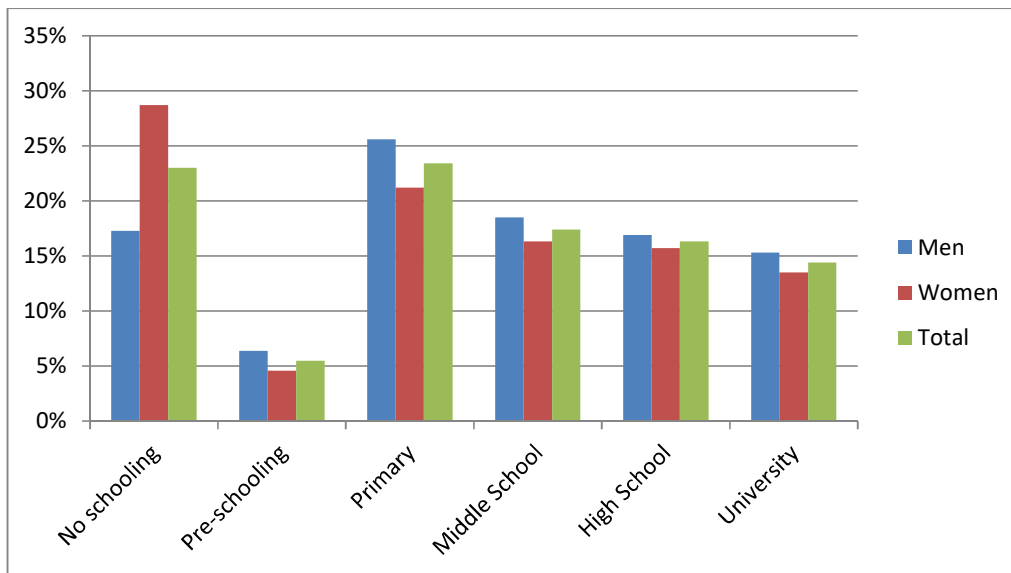


Figure 5 - Educational levels in Temara

Source: RGPH 2014

The data in Figure 5 show that schooling is moderately spread in Temara's population nowadays. The only element that conflicts strikingly with this general view is the percentage of residents without schooling, especially among Temarese women, over a quarter of whom has never

completed pre-schooling or Primary School. This is mirrored in the illiteracy rate, which is 24.3% among women and 11.2% among men (with a general rate of 17.8%; RGPH 2014).

	Men	Women	Total
Employer	3.8	1.9	3.3
Autonomous	26.2	10.4	21.5
Wage earner – Public sector	23.1	28.3	24.6
Wage earner – Private sector	42.1	56.6	46.4
Family assistant	0.9	1.0	1.0
Apprentice	1.2	0.4	1.0
Associate or partner	2.3	0.8	1.8
Other	0.4	0.5	0.4
Labour force	73.8	33.7	53.5
Unemployed	12.7	23.2	16.0

Table 1 – Type of job among the working-age employed and formerly employed (%).

Source: RGPH 2014

Table 1 shows how the Temarese population's labour statistics are relatively male-biased, particularly concerning the labour force-to-population rates, which are much lower for women. Unemployment is also more spread among the latter, as their rate is almost twice as much as men's. Among the employed, gender differences are less sharp for the population working in public jobs, but women are more frequently hired for private, wage-earning jobs (notably – but not exclusively – in the administrative staff and secretariat) than men, whereas men are more likely than women to work as autonomous, freelance professionals, or own a company.

No. of households	75 440
Average household size	4.1

Table 2 – Population and households.

Source: RGPH 2014

Villa or storey inside a villa	4.9
Flat	27.5
Modern Moroccan house	48.4
Shanty	18.1
Rural housing	0.5
Other	0.6

Table 3 – Type of housing (%)

Source: RGPH 2014

The figure representing the average household size may be deceptive: personally, I have mainly come into contact with families with at least three children; the most likely explanation for it is the high percentage of residents of early marriageable age, who get married, settle in a separate house independently from their respective parents (thus counting as a separate household) and still have few or no children, thus lowering the average figure. As for the “Type of housing” data, they reveal, if anything, that the proportion of shacks used as habitat is still important in Temara, which is due to the persistence of shanty towns in the urban fabric.

Detailed statistics on the regional composition of Temara would have been helpful in giving hints on the mix of regional varieties that is found in the town; however, it has not been possible to obtain this type of data from the National Statistics Office. Aït Mouloud (1998) provides various suggestive data referred to the situation of three areas of different socio-economic status in the year 1994: the three areas are *Māsīra Žūž* (one of the oldest modern housing projects, which was launched next to *Māsīra Wāḥad*), Comatrav (situated in the most recent half of the town, on former *Ūlālda* land) and *l-Wīfāq* (the most expensive district): he reports, for example, a scaling of the immigrant population according to the year of arrival (Table 4), which shows how 2/3 of the immigrants living in Temara at the time had settled between 1976 and 1985. Also, he cites data on the presence of “direct” and “indirect” immigrants in each of the three areas and in *Dəwwār Ždīd* (which he calls “Sahraoua”; cfr. Table 5), which suggest that less attractive areas in the city were inhabited by a greater number of “direct” migrants (ie. migrants who had not migrated to Rabat or other towns before moving to Temara): this is arguably due to the fact that people who move from other cities tend to be in a better financial situation than people who move from rural areas.

Years	Before 1950	50-60	61-70	71-75	76-80	81-85	86-90	91-94	Total
Absolute numbers	2	9	32	33	185	105	64	10	440
%	0.4%	2%	7.2%	7.5%	42%	23.8%	15.5%	2.2%	100%

Table 4 - Settling dates of the heads of household who migrated to Temara.

Translated from Aït Mouloud 1998: 40; data from the author's 1994 survey

Areas	Direct		Indirect		Total [no.]
	No.	%	No.	%	
COMATRAV	48	40	72	60	120

MASSIRA II	210	76	66	23.9	276
AL WIFAK	24	33.3	48	66.6	72
SAHRAOUA*	247	76	78	24	325
TOTAL	529	66.7	264	33.35	793

Table 5 - Type of emigration by area

Translated from Aït Mouloud 1998: 41; data from the author's 1994 survey

The main thing that is inferable from Aït Mouloud's data, and that is easily confirmed by a superficial look, is that Temara is a relatively diversified town, in terms of both urban landscape and social fabric, with extremely different areas existing side by side. Shanty towns, modern or semi-modern government-backed residential areas and middle- or upper-middle-class districts seem to alternate almost freely on the map (although more attractive areas tend to be placed in relatively separate places, eg. on the other side of the railway, like *Vieux Marocain* and *l-Wīfāq*). This has important implications for the daily lives of the residents, who are constantly in close contact with people of different social conditions, and often report security issues related to the proximity of the shanty towns (*brārək*). In fig. 2.4, a sketch of the city's map is represented with the places mentioned in the historical account. *Gār*, *ṣīmāla* and *Qəšla* stand for the train station, the prefecture and the historical barracks respectively.



Figure 6 - Basic map of the areas around Temara's centre (Şāntər), with places mentioned in the text.

Key: Green: pre-Protectorate *Wəllādi* land. Yellow: pre-Protectorate *Wḡiyi* (*Gīš*) land.

District or Area; Landmark; **Former *Dəwwār*** --> 1 = *Dəwwār ṣ-Şəḡrāwa*; 2 = *Dəwwār l-ḡəskər*; 3 = *Dəwwār Bən L-ḡərbi*; 4 = *Dəwwār Ždīd*

Again, the only data on the regional composition of single areas come from Aït Mouloud (1998), and are limited to the three areas he surveys in 1994: the most attractive one, *l-Wīfāq* (1998: 37), had 50% of its residents coming from Chefchaouen and, to a lesser extent, Rabat, Sale and adjacent rural areas, while the other 50% was equally distributed among a number of other origins; Comatrav (34) had received most of its demographic “contributions” from the areas of Agadir (20%) and Ouarzazate (16%); finally, *Māsīra Žūž* presented an extremely varied population (35), distributed between 34 different origins among which the prevailing one, the area of Marrakesh, only included 9.78% of its residents. Therefore, a complex picture emerges and is confirmed by the data obtained on my informants’ places of origin, which are also highly diversified. An accurate compilation of the regional composition of each area in the city is obviously out of the scope of the present project; however, it would undoubtedly shed more light on the historical dynamics of dialect contact in Temara, and future research on the town should also be aimed at collecting more detailed data in this direction.

To sum up all the information given above, Temara may be described as an urban centre of relatively great size, which has grown at a remarkable speed out of a space previously inhabited by Arabic-speaking tribes, who occupied it very sparsely and mainly dedicated themselves to agriculture. As a consequence, very few signs of urbanisation was present on the territory until 50 years ago, when the first modern, non-colonial buildings appeared in the *Ṣāntər*. From then on, the inhabitable space was rapidly filled up in few decades with three distinct types of structures, which appeared in three overlapping “waves”: the large and ubiquitous shanty towns, the private real estate projects and the modern buildings that emerged out of the public land allocations to the *dəwwār* dwellers. The first and second “waves” obviously represent the two moments of greatest rise in the town’s population, as they saw the settlement of great numbers of newcomers, unlike the governmental projects which had the intended purpose of relocating households that had already settled in Temara.

It should be underlined that all three types of structures have always been mainly inhabited by immigrants, ie. *bərrānīyīn* (people whose origins are from places other than Temara, or, in other words, who do not belong to any of the tribes who lived there before urbanisation). In turn, the members of the local tribes have ended up mingling in the newly emerged urban tissue, although some areas, such as *Māsīra Wāḥəd*, are likely to have a greater concentration of *Ūdāya*, who were given several land plots in the oldest government-supported districts as a compensation for the loss of land linked to the relocation projects (cfr. §2.3.2.3). A separate case is that of the untouched *Gīš* land, where *Ūdāya* families are still living and waiting for the government to help them relocate.

Therefore, it may be asserted that Temara presents some characteristics of a Milton Keynes-like “new town” (cfr. Kerswill’s and Kerswill & Williams’s works): it emerged as an urban centre only a few decades ago, and immigration from other regions of Morocco played a key role in constituting its first urbanised population, among whom locally-born residents were very few. On the other hand, major differences obviously exist with respect to British new towns: the complete lack of government control that marked the emergence of most residential areas – including both shanty towns and modern housing – and the speed of demographic growth, which led to the quadruplication of Temara’s population in the first 32 years of its urban history, are but two examples. Added to that, the particular Moroccan socio-cultural context is sufficient in itself to warn against generalisations or comparisons with Western cases of urbanisation.

The city of Temara itself presents an extremely composite population, from both a socio-economic and a cultural point of view: as has been seen above, the town has developed in different stages, each corresponding to the arrival of different types of population in terms of regional origin, socio-economic status and – possibly – age. This has led to each area of the city differing from the others as for the social characteristics of its dwellers and, consequently, the types of social relationships, networks and practices – including language practices – that developed within those areas. At the same time, it would be erroneous to deduct from this that the Temarese networks are limited to their respective neighbourhoods: work, leisure and grocery or clothing shopping are all motives for contact with residents of other areas, and some places within and around the town – such as the football pitch and the playground in the *Ṣānṭar*, or the beaches and cabarets by the seaside – offer more occasions for such contact to happen. However, a tendency has been noticed among my informants to develop most of their friendships in their own neighbourhood (*hūma*). This partial restriction is testified by a recurrent comment made by Reda, as he deprecated the younger generations’ failure to live up to standards of respect for the elder; with this, however, Reda also implicitly states that such restriction is now less effective than it used to be:

/ka:jni:n n-na:s lli kbər mənn-i ʕa b-xəms sni:n a:rʔbəʕ sni:n u-ba:qi sʕyi:r u-l-da:ba ba:qi nʃu:f fi:-h[um]... ma nəqdər-ʃ nʃu:f fi:-hum f-ʕi:n-hum (...) a:na rʕa:-h təjlqa:-ni d-dərri wəld l-ħu:ma ma:ʃi:-xu:-ja u ma:ʃi:-bba jlqa:-ni bərʕa s-[sekʔæ:] ʔa:-nnakul qəṭla d-l-ʕsa u ma nəhdər-ʃ (...) o nʒi l-d-da:rʕ hi:t ʕa:rəf i:la gəlt ʃi:-ħa:za ʔa:-nnakul qəṭla d-l-ʕsaxra/

Translation

There are people that are five years, four years older than me, and since I was a child up to now I have never dared to even look straight in their eyes [out of respect] (...) When a guy from another neighbourhood – not my brother or father – found me out of my district, he’d beat the hell out of me, and I wouldn’t even talk (...) Then I

went back home... [and I didn't mention what happened], because I knew that if I said something I'd have the hell beaten out of me again.

In such a fluid social context, a study that focuses on a limited number of informants recruited on the basis of the networks available to the researcher – such as the present one – does not claim to describe the dialect of the entire town, nor of a part of its population (eg. men, or youth). However, a description of the material conditions in which the city of Temara has evolved into an urban centre is essential to situate the speakers' networks and practices. Such practices have a direct relationship with, and influence on, language variation: according to Eckert, it is within communities of practice that individuals make sense of (ie. assign a meaning to) the world around them and, ultimately, develop styles of behaviour.

“A community of practice engages people in mutual sense-making – about the enterprise they're engaged in, about their respective forms of participation in the enterprise, about their orientation to other communities of practice and to the world around them more generally (...) This includes the common interpretation of other communities, and of their own practice with respect to those communities, and ultimately with the development of a style – including a linguistic style – that embodies these interpretations.” (Eckert 2006)

The present research does not use the “communities of practice” construct in its analysis of inter-individual relationships and language variation; however, it is important to underline that the relationship between the “social” and the “linguistic” is one that goes beyond pre-defined social categories, and that language change is a process that is ultimately determined at the micro-linguistic level. If one engages in a macro-social (ie. variationist) study of a community, then one will need to be confident that the social categories employed in the analysis are relevant to the aspects of language variation studied within that community. Such confidence, in turn, cannot be reached without a previous knowledge of the local social and cultural dynamics; for this reason, an historiographic study was considered to be an important point of departure for the linguistic study of Temara, and may serve as a basis for future research (including by other authors) on this or other Moroccan urban centres.

Another aim of this historic sketch was to increase the researcher's limited familiarity with Temara as a social environment. The next chapter will deal with this same issue from the perspective of the data collection, as a description will be made of the techniques adopted to access to the speakers and collect the data corpus.

CHAPTER 3

—

THE DATA COLLECTION

3.1 – Type of data collected

3.1.1 – *The linguistic data and the issue of the observer's influence*

The main aim of the fieldwork was to record the “maximum amount of speech” (Labov *et al.* 1968: 48) from as many Moroccan Arabic speakers as possible. A large corpus of linguistic data is obviously an asset in a sociolinguistic study based on the analysis of the use of a few variables, as it increases both the number of occurrences and the variety of uses recorded for those variables. However, contrary to what Labov did in some of his works, no attempt was made at controlling “style”, as this would have entailed the imposition of pre-constructed “style” categories on the data collection that may have proven irrelevant to the speakers’ language use. Also, the element of “attention paid to speech” was not taken into account, as its effect on an individual’s speech is not necessarily the same for every speaker and is therefore unpredictable. This is also supported by Eckert, who, commenting the Labovian idea that an individual tends to accommodate his/her own speech towards the standard as he/she pays more attention to it, maintains that

[w]hile formal style certainly involves greater attention to speech, and while speakers have to pay careful attention when they’re speaking in the most extremely standard end of their stylistic repertoire, there is every reason to believe that a similar effort is required at the extremely non-standard end of their stylistic repertoire as well. One might consider that the two ends of the continuum require effort motivated by different – and even conflicting – orientations, and that people have to work to ensure their participation in either market. (Also, it is not clear that attention gets paid to speech only when a production effort is required; the intentional stylistic production of variants anywhere along a speaker’s continuum could be the result of heightened attention.) (2000: 18).

Therefore, while one informant may switch to more “formal” registers when he/she pays attention to his/her own speech, another one may maintain the same level of informality while making the same effort of attention, or even become more informal if other situational factors intervene encouraging informal registers. For example, if engaged in a verbal fight, someone could decide to adopt a register which, in their community, is usually associated to thugs or any kind of “dangerous” (possibly stigmatised) group, even though they do not frequently use such register; in this case, the speaker would be forcing him/herself towards a more informal/non-standard register than the one(s) he/she is used to adopt in daily life. In light of these considerations, the only, great concern that guided the selection of speech and speech events to record was that of the observer’s influence.

It was part of the theoretical assumptions of the present research that no pre-constructed scheme was to be followed in the approach to the field and that no hypothesis was to be advanced before the collection of data had been completed (cfr. § Introduction): this principle was abided by whenever possible. However, some basic assumptions had to be made during the field study in order to decide how the data were to be collected, and what part of the data would be judged acceptable for the subsequent analysis. More particularly, it was assumed that the most interesting type of speech that could be recorded was that which corresponded as much as possible to how the speakers communicated in the researcher's absence. The reason for this assumption resided in the general aim of the research, which is that of identifying the social meaning that Temarese Moroccan Arabic speakers attribute to variable linguistic features. According to Eckert, "participation in discourse involves a continual interpretation of forms in context, an in-the-moment assigning of indexical values to linguistic forms" (2008: 463); a view which is endorsed in the present work. Since participation in verbal interactions in Moroccan Arabic ordinarily occurs among Moroccans (all the more so in Morocco), it is at the level of conversations between Moroccans that such interpretation of forms in context will be expected to emerge. The interaction with a non-native speaker (the researcher) who is known to have a lesser knowledge will inevitably push native speakers to simplify their use of linguistic forms, restraining themselves from using all the range of forms they would use in the non-native speaker's absence. Therefore, it was expected that conversations excluding the researcher would be the most relevant for the analysis to come.

For this reason, the first concern was that, in order to be included in the sample, a speaker be fluent in Moroccan Arabic, ie. that he/she either be issued from a Moroccan Arabic-speaking household, or, in case of native Amazigh monolingual speakers, be a fluent Arabic speaker as a result of regular interactions with speakers who did not communicate with him/her in Amazigh. However, this criterion did not prove a very selective one, as I encountered very few non-native or non-fluent Arabic speakers: other, more stringent requirements were imposed on the selection of speakers for particular types of recordings, as will be specified below.

The second – and main – concern deriving from the above-stated assumption was that the influence of the researcher's presence on the informants' speech be reduced as much as possible; or, to use Labov's (1972) terms, that the "observer's paradox" be dealt with. To reach that aim, verbal interaction between the researcher and the informants was maintained to a minimum during the recordings. Conversely, lengthy exchanges between Moroccan speakers were aimed for and never

interrupted, regardless of subject¹³⁴ and equal turn-taking. The obvious undesired implication of this choice is that the total length of speech each informant in the sample contributed to the corpus differed greatly from one informant to another. However, this imbalance does not have any practical influence on the study of the three variables (cfr. § 3.4): concerning the Phonologic Variable, the only part of the corpus used for the analysis is the hidden-camera test, which yielded comparable contributions of speech from each test-taker; as for the Phonetic Variable, only those informants for whom a minimum amount of tokens could be counted for each phonetic environment were selected, and a maximum number of tokens was considered for each of them (cfr. § 5.4); finally, the analysis of the Lexical Variable is an exploratory one, and takes into account the semantic meanings attributed to the two verbs analysed rather than their respective number of occurrences.

Apart from that, different measures for reducing the observer's influence were adopted according to the data collection technique being used, and will be illustrated in the next section for each technique. However, it should be kept in mind that none of them was expected to make the informants “forget” that the researcher was there, and a certain degree of influence is always implied; this point will be especially taken into account in the analysis of the Phonologic Variable.

3.1.2 – *The socio-demographic data*

Many sociolinguistic studies aiming at the analysis of several speakers' language performances base their analysis on the relation between these and a set of social variables; usually, in variationist studies, such variables are pre-selected, as a hypothesis is preemptively made on their relationship with linguistic variables. An effort is then made to record an equal number of informants for each category obtained through the crossing of the social variables (eg.: if the variables taken into account are age and sex, the goal will be that of recording an equal number of adolescent men, adult men, adolescent women and adult women). Notable examples of these studies are Chambers *et al.* (1993), Horvath (1985), Kerswill (1987), Labov (1964), Milroy (1980), Trudgill (1971), as well as Kerswill's Milton Keynes project reported, eg., in Kerswill (1996b); in the Arabophone context, some examples are Al-Khatib (1988), Amara (2005), Habib (2010) and Al-Wer's Amman project (eg. 2007). Following this model, the data collection also included the obtention of the following socio-demographic data from each informant:

- Age

¹³⁴ This preference for length of speech (ie. quantity of useful data) over topic coherency is obvious in sociolinguistics, where the scientific aim is not that of obtaining and analysing the informants' opinion but rather that of analysing the way they speak. Labov repeatedly highlighted the importance of eliciting the maximum amount of speech eg. in his New York and “Negro English” studies (Labov (1964) and Labov *et al.* (1968) respectively).

- Place of birth
- Family's regional origin (and whether Amazigh is spoken in the household)
- Year of arrival in Temara (if born elsewhere)
- Highest educational level attained
- Current job (if any) or main past job if retired

Unlike the works cited above, no effort was made to obtain an equal representation for each of these categories – or subcategories obtained by their crossing – as no preliminary hypothesis was made regarding which of them would have been relevant to linguistic variation, and how. Concordantly, a strict statistical analysis was not among the purposes of the collection of these data; nonetheless, these were aimed at providing a basis for a subsequent cross-comparison with the linguistic data, in order to verify, through qualitative observations, whether any correspondence between the use of the linguistic variables selected and any of the socio-demographic characteristics of the informants could be found. **Therefore, the items making up the informants' socio-demographic profiles were treated as “factors” influencing (or not) the speakers' language choices, rather than as “variables” against which language use had to be measured.**

In order not to make the recording session appear too “formal” and similar to an official survey, with consequent influence on the informants' speech, the collect of the information above was not always explicitly presented in the form of a surveying practice, and its modality depended on the technique being employed (cfr. following sections). When an informant was first recorded in a focus group, questions were asked at the beginning of his speaking turn about his age, place of birth, studies and the like, as though he was being encouraged to present himself. Other demographic data were collected in the course of the session, and their collection served as a hint to introduce new topics of speaking; for example, during one of the focus groups, an informant was asked about his job and, after answering that he was a mechanic, he started discussing with the other participants about the differences he had learnt to exist between mechanics' competences in Europe and in Morocco; each participant then started talking about their own professions and how each of them required incredibly complex skills, no matter the educational level necessary to practice them. During the one-to-one interviews, the obtention of this type of information was rendered even less salient, as Reda, my assistant in that phase of the data collection, elicited the interviewee's socio-demographic details by asking related questions at different and variable moments of the interview, so that the latter would resemble a casual conversation as much as possible (cfr. the interview grid in § 3.2.4.2). On the other hand, most of the informants who were

only recorded in spontaneous conversations or through the hidden-camera test were asked to provide their socio-demographic data after they had been recorded: therefore, their way of speaking cannot have been affected by their realising the surveying nature of the questioning.

It may appear from the list above that which demographic data needed to be recorded for each informant was an assumption made prior to contact with the field. However, since the type of study made it necessary to constitute socio-demographic profiles for each informant, it was decided to do this by recurring to those social categories who had already proved to be relevant in Western sociolinguistic studies (as well as some studies in Arabic sociolinguistics, cited above). This decision was not due to the assumption (which was not made) that those would be the most likely extra-linguistic factors to affect linguistic variation in the community studied, but rather to the need of adopting some temporary points of reference in the schematisation of the social differences that possibly existed among the speakers.

This implied the adoption of a hybrid quantitative-qualitative approach throughout the analysis, whereby a basically variationist perspective was complemented with more discursive and open discussions based on ethnographic observations. The most prominent model for this kind of approach is arguably the research conducted by Eckert (2000) in Belten High: in her study, she joined the analysis of the correlation between the linguistic data and given social categories – such as age and the social identification of students as “Jocks” or “Burnouts” – to the examination of other factors – such as the self-identification with the Detroit “urban” lifestyle – the importance of which emerged thanks to her constant ethnographic observation of the community under study. Underlying this was the vision of language use and change as a product of the speakers’ agency, through which meaning is assigned to linguistic forms at the same time as speakers participate in shared practices¹³⁵: it is by virtue of such vision that she went beyond classical Labovian analyses, which generally limit themselves to correlating given social to linguistic variables in a statistical fashion, discarding those social variables that prove not to affect linguistic variation and discussing the influence of those that prove relevant.

Among the studies in Arabic sociolinguistics that previously adopted this hybrid approach, the one to which the present work is most indebted from the methodological point of view is undoubtedly that of Hachimi (2005), who also supplemented Labovian counts of occurrences with

¹³⁵ For this reason, one theoretical concept to which Eckert often recurs is that of “community of practice”, defined as “a collection of people who engage on an ongoing basis in some common endeavor” (Eckert 2006). Even though this concept was not used, its underlying principle of the individual’s centrality in the meaning-making process and in linguistic change informs the present research as well.

in-depth ethnographic observations in order to arrive at a more complete account of her informants' language use and of the social values indexed by the variables she analyses. Besides that, another common element between Hachimi's and the present work is the choice of the linguistic data (rather than the social categories) as a point of departure for the analysis: once the results have been compared for each informant, the attempt is made to motivate the differences found in language use through differences in the socio-demographic profiles of those informants whose results differed for that specific variable. This approach reverses the analytical techniques most frequently used in variationist studies, which examine differences in language use after assigning speakers to pre-constructed social categories¹³⁶; as was mentioned before, this kind of approach does not allow other possibly relevant factors to emerge, and it is particularly inadequate if the socio-cultural context presents important differences with respect to the Western countries.

3.2 – Data collection history and techniques

Most of the data were collected during the longest fieldwork, which lasted from September 2015 to July 2016; a second one-month fieldwork between July and August 2017 was exclusively dedicated to the hidden-camera test. All along the second fieldwork and another one-month research mission that took place between February and March 2018, empirical observations were also made, in the form of written notes, on the informants' use of the variables when they were not being recorded. **The total length of the recordings at the end of the first mission** (ie. excluding those obtained from the hidden-camera tests) **amounted to ca. 24 hours and 50 minutes, for a total of 39 informants being recorded.** All data were collected by me personally.

3.2.1 – *Models for the data collection*

A single model was not chosen for the whole process of data collection, as the approach and techniques were adapted according to which one of them allowed to obtain the most spontaneous data¹³⁷ with a particular group of speaker and in specific recording situations. However, Jabeur's (1987) sociolinguistic study of variation in the Tunisian community of Rades was taken as a point

¹³⁶ An exception is represented by variationist works (such as Horvath 1985) using principal component analysis as an analytical method: this implies the computerised analysis of which social variables account for the variation found in the linguistic data, and to what extent. In this case, the analysis first groups the informants according to their use of the linguistic variables, rather than the social categories. However, the problem remains that the set of extra-linguistic factors taken into account is a closed one, and the aim of the research is again limited to stating, in quantitative terms, which of the given social variables affect linguistic variation and to what extent.

¹³⁷ From here on, the word "spontaneous" will be used as a synonym of "unaffected by the observer's influence", as the latter was described above.

of reference, by virtue of his flexible use of the different data collection techniques and his successful adaptation of the Western sociolinguistic *modus operandi* to a non-Western linguistic and cultural context. During his fieldwork, Jabeur made use of the following techniques:

- “The sociolinguistic interview
- Spontaneous group conversations
- Participant observation” (1987: 79)

According to him, the use of different techniques allows one to compensate the limits of the other in providing a full picture of the actual linguistic variation in the informants’ speech. Therefore, a combination of techniques was also used for the present research for the same purpose, and included the following:

- Spontaneous conversations between two or more speakers
- Group interviews
- One-to-one interviews
- Participant observation

How the first two techniques were concretely put into practice will be explained in detail in the respective dedicated sections below. As for participant observation, this is defined as

“a process in which the observer's presence in a social situation is maintained for the purpose of scientific investigation. The observer is in a face-to-face relationship with the observed, and, by participating with them in their natural life setting, he gathers data...the observer may spend a great deal or very little time in the research situation; the participant-observer role may be an integral part of the social structure or largely peripheral to it.” (Schwartz & Schwartz 1969: 91 in Jabeur 1987: 85-86).

Again similarly to what Jabeur did, participant observation was used for supplementing both social and linguistic data on the informants: in Jabeur’s case, it proved a useful technique to “ensure the validity of the social data given through informants' reports”, to “identif[y] social network members and (...) understand the nature of social interaction between them”, and to increase the data on the variables selected by taking notes of the use of them in situations other than the recorded events (1987: 86). In the present work, it particularly allowed from the one hand to observe differences in lifestyles among the informants and how they related to the linguistic data collected, and from the other to take additional notes on the informants’ use of this variable, as was mentioned above.

In the next section, the different techniques employed in the different stages of the data collection will be illustrated, and for each of them the aim of their use, the speakers targeted, the criteria for selecting them and the measures adopted to reduce the observer's influence will be specified.

3.2.2 – The spontaneous conversations

The initial aim of the fieldwork was to familiarise with as many Temaresees as possible, so as to be able to build an entire corpus on spontaneous conversations, ie. situations in which informants gathered independently from my activity of data collection and talked to each other. This is, for example, what Jabeur did as he managed to record conversations at “the local youth club” and in “the street corner” (1987: 83). This technique would have allowed to reach my “ideal” goal, ie. to entirely build my corpus out of conversations in which speakers were not aware of being recorded, so as to reach the maximum possible degree of spontaneity. However, one main difference between Jabeur's study and mine consists in the latter not having been conducted in the researcher's local community, which implies that, in order to collect my data, I had to rely on the few people with whom I was still in contact in the town after four years of absence.

Therefore, as a first step, I started seeking the collaboration of one of my oldest acquaintances in Temara, who lived in the *Hāyy n-Nāhḍa* district: this is one of those areas that emerged as a result of the government-led relocation projects described in § 2.3.2.3. My friend was the first one who gave me the permission of recording conversations between him and his friends who paid visit to him in the shop that he owns, or with whom we sat at the cafe at night after he finished working. During these first recordings, I left my recorder in a corner of the room (or the table), so that the speakers soon became oblivious of it. This was carried on intermittently throughout the one-year fieldwork, and allowed the collection of **6 hours and 20 minutes ca. of speech sample from a total of 19 informants**; 7 of these were also recorded during group interviews (cfr. next section).

Unfortunately, my shop-owning friend turned out to be the only one who was available enough for me to meet him regularly; at the same time, I did not initially get to familiarise with other speakers as easily as I thought, both for lack of social opportunities to meet other people in the town and for personal limits in socialisation skills in colloquial Moroccan Arabic¹³⁸. Therefore, the first few months were particularly unsuccessful as I had only managed to collect a few hours of

¹³⁸ This is especially true for the first months of my fieldwork, in which I had to slowly make back for the fluency I had acquired during my first long stay in Morocco, in 2011.

spontaneous recordings with just three informants; this is the reason why I decided to proceed to the use of another technique alongside random recording, ie. the group interview, which permitted me to sensibly enlarge my informants' sample.

3.2.3 – *The group interviews*

3.2.3.1 – Previous uses in the literature

The group interview has been used in both quantitative (notably Kerswill (1987), Labov *et al.* (1968), Lippi-Green (1989), Milroy (1980)) and qualitative sociolinguistics (eg. Blom & Gumperz (1972), Bucholtz (1999), Eckert (2000)) in situations when the research goal made it imperative to observe language use *among* the informants, ie. while the researcher was not being addressed. For example, when he starts describing how the group sessions were conducted in his study of “Negro English” among African American adolescents and pre-adolescents, Labov explains that, when the speakers are “in spontaneous interaction with each other (...) the peer group controls language in the same manner as in everyday life, outside of the adult-dominated environments of the school and the home” (Labov *et al.* (1968: 57))¹³⁹. The aim of the group interviews in the present research was mainly that of increasing the sample of informants and, at the same time, keeping the observer's influence to a minimum by creating situations that were as close as possible to an informal gathering. To this aim, the criterium for a group of speakers to be included in the interview was their being a group of friends who regularly hang out with each other, and that had socialised with each other in the town under investigation. Following the model of Blom & Gumperz (1972), an acquaintance who was “part of the network of local relationships” (1972: 426) was asked to recruit the participants to the group interviews, so as to make sure that the nature and purpose of the interview be explained without misunderstandings.

3.2.3.2 – Interviews conducted

In total, three group interviews with a total of 14 informants were conducted. The two first group interviews were arranged by a friend of mine, a Fassi-born 20 y. o. Moroccan Arabic and Tashelhit bilingual¹⁴⁰ (although declaredly more fluent in Arabic) who worked in Temara in his brother's dried seeds (*zərriṭa*) shop but had just moved there from Casablanca, where he had spent two years working and living on his own. The first interview was conducted during a visit that he paid to his old friends from the *L-hrāwyīn* slum in Casablanca; all of them had been raised there,

¹³⁹ Nonetheless, later in the same paragraph the author admits that “the effect of the recording process” was “never entirely eliminated” (1968: 58).

¹⁴⁰ His family is originally from Aqqa, in the Tata area (South of the country).

were attending the last year of high school and were between 18 and 19 y. o. at the time. As he invited me to accompany him, I proposed to arrange a group recording with them, to which he agreed without asking any specific questions about the aim of the recording¹⁴¹. As his friends accepted, a group interview was conducted late at night in the house of one of them, with four participants (including my friend and the host). As the two other group interviews that were conducted afterwards, I asked questions to every participant in turn, starting with questions concerning his socio-demographic data and then asking one aimed at eliciting a relatively long answer (eg.: “How do you like living here?” or “What would you like to do out of your studies?”), so as to guarantee that at least a certain amount of speech would be recorded from each participant. Before the interview proper, I recorded a 45-minute informal conversation including me and the informants (sometimes with the informants speaking to each other without my involvement) before they were aware that I was recording, in order to increase the sample of speech; in addition to that, a 20-minute spontaneous conversation the next morning (while we were having breakfast) was recorded in order to obtain speech among the informants, rather than between me and them; this latter session also involved another friend from that neighbourhood. Even though the informants recorded during this double session were not from Temara, the recordings were considered useful as a sample of “Casablanquese” speech which could then be used as a term of comparison. Due to lack of time, such comparison was limited to the analysis of Lexical Variable; the results for the other variables will be cross-compared in the course of future research, possibly together with an extension of my Casablanquese corpus.

The second group interview that I asked my Fassi friend to organise was with four youth living in the area of the Temara train station, where I was living as well; this is the part of the city that was developed through private investments rather than government-led relocation projects (cfr. § 2.3.2.3). As my house was right in front my friend’s brother’s dried seeds shop, I frequently visited and sat chatting with my friend when he was “on duty” at the shop, and occasionally replaced him in dealing with customers while he was busy. It was during my time at the shop that I met three habitual customers, who I saw were in friendly terms with my friend; hence my idea of organising a group interview with them. This took place in my home and was structured in the same way as the one in Casablanca. Refreshments during the interview and a dinner after it were offered to all the participants. The three clients were all 22 y. o., and a friend of theirs joined who was 28; as I learnt later during further meetings with them, they were part of a wider gang that met mainly for all-night parties and other entertaining activities. Other than that, a potentially important feature

¹⁴¹ In fact, he was already generically aware that I was doing research about *dārīza* and recording samples of speech to this purpose; in one occasion, I had recorded him while he was making tajine and explaining the recipe.

of this group is that it included people of different lengths of residence in Temara. My friend also participated in the interview as a secondary conversationalist and animator.

The third and last group interview was arranged for me by another resident of *Hāyy n-Nāhḍa*, who lived in the same neighbourhood (*hūma*) as my shop-owning friend, and who also was an old acquaintance of mine as we had known each other for five years. He recruited four students of the Faculty of Economics of Rabat, one of whom he knew from his *hūma* while the other three he had met through the one from his neighbourhood. All the informants he recruited were attending the second year of their Bachelor's degree and were between 20 and 21 at the time, while the recruiter himself (who was also interviewed) was 26; unlike the participants to the previous group interview, these had all been born and raised in Temara, except for one who had moved there when he was only 3 y.o. The interview took place in a public square in the Temara town centre (*Ṣāntar*) starting from the evening until 11.30 pm – midnight, a time in which the square is generally quiet, especially in winter (the interview took place in the first half of March, and the weather already allowed to spend a long time outside). Again, the speaking turn was assigned to one informant at a time.

3.2.3.3 – General aspects

The three group interviews respectively lasted 75¹⁴², 67 and 110 minutes, **for a total of 4 hours and 12 minutes**: the last one was sensibly longer as it involved five informants, while the first two involved four. Most of the interviewees contributed enthusiastically to bringing new topics to each conversation, and spontaneously had their say on the subjects of debate that other participants had introduced, which ultimately permitted to obtain satisfying amounts of linguistic data. To favour this, I did not impose any boundary to topic choice or length – unless requested by other participants – and reduced my speaking turns as much as I could. Besides, given my non-fluent speaking skills, limiting my role as a speaker was also an expedient to avoid that an awkward use of Moroccan Arabic from my part may induce my interviewees to under-estimate my comprehension skills and over-simplify their speech. The side effect of this policy was that all the informants did not speak for an equal amount of time, which remained as a shortcoming of the group interview technique adopted¹⁴³. Below is a list of some of the topics touched during the three interviews:

¹⁴² This figure includes the 45-minute informal conversation recorded previous to the interview proper.

¹⁴³ As a consequence, while the group interviews provided useful data for the analysis of the Phonetic Variable, I had to exclude two of the interviewees from that analysis as they did not reach the minimum amount of occurrences per phonetic environment that was aimed for (cfr. § 5.4).

- Personal aims for the future
- Role of French in education
- Shortcomings of Moroccan education in general
- Nepotism in job recruitment
- Promotion of youth's skills in Morocco
- International politics
- Respective jobs and their assets
- Group's leisure activities
- Towns visited in Morocco
- Jokes¹⁴⁴

Some excerpts of the group interviews that took place in Temara are included in Appendix A.

3.2.3.4 – Possible influences on speech

All the participants to all the group interviews knew that the research purpose was generically on “*dārīza*”; however, in no case were they explicitly asked to avoid other varieties, such as *fushā* or French, and code-switching and mixing was left to occur freely. In addition to that, all of them were informed in advance that the session would be audio recorded: the awareness of the recording device may have affected some informants' speech to a certain extent, although in practice this influence seems to have been limited to the borrowing of some *fushā* syntactic connections involving the use of /ʔanna/ in utterances that were otherwise devoid of similar borrowings, particularly in the third interview (in the following examples, I report borrowings from *fushā* in bold in the translation):

SI: /dʒi l-ʃi:-xədma təlga:-h hu:wa f-ʃi:f dja:l-ək f-ha:di:k l-xədma ma:ʃi *li-ʔanna-hu* zəʃma jku:n hu:wa ni:vu ʃli:-k f-l... f-l-ʃqəl u:la ʃi:-ha:ʒa wa:la:ki:n jəqdər jku:n ʔi:r/ [---] /bba:-h u:la ʃi:-ha:ʒa ddəxxəl li:-h u:la ʃi ləʃba/

Translation

¹⁴⁴ During the second group interview, the oldest informant, whom the others saw as a particularly good joke teller, was requested to tell some jokes; as a result, joke-telling took a good part of the total recording. Other informants joined as well, each of them telling some jokes they knew, too.

SI: *You may start working somewhere and find that he's your boss in that job, not **because**, like, he's better than you in terms of... of mentality or something, but it can just be that [---] his father or something intervened in his favour or whatever.*

Apart from that, none of the participants to the group interviews (except one) appeared to entirely adjust his register to the interview situation. The only one informant that did seem to adopt a different register was the recruiter of the last group interview (**GG** is his code for transcriptions), who borrowed a few lexical forms and discourse markers from the standard language in the obvious intent of “elevating” his way of speaking for that particular situation:

GG: /b-ʔimka:ni nəmʃi l-wa:həd... n-nha:r nəmʃi l-ʃi:-mdi:na ju:mi:n wa:la:ki:n ka:-ngu:l kulla marra ka:-nəbqa n.../ [---]
] /bha:lla ka:-ngu:l ka:-nwa:si rʰa:s-i ta:-ngu:l a nha:r tku:n ʃənd-i l-ma:dda rʰa:-h ʔa:-nəmʃi ndəwwəz wa:həd l-mudda
 ha:da hu:wa l-ʔi/ka:l lli ʃənd-i maʃa-da:lik ka:jən ka:jən l-həmdulʔʰa:h ka:-nsa:fər wa:la:kin qli:l jəʃni di:ma a:sʰla:n f
 tma:ra jəʃni ʔaʔlab l-ʃutʰal ka:-ndəwwəz-hum f tma:ra/

Translation

GG: *I may go [on a trip] to one... day I can go spend two days in a town, but then I say... **Every time**, I... [---] Like I say... I reassure myself, I say: “One day, when I have the **substance**, I’ll finally go and spend some time there. This is the **issue** I’ve got. **Despite of that**, it happens, thank God it happens, I do travel, but not much; I mean, in fact I’m always in Temara. I mean, I spend **most holidays** in Temara.*

In fact, the main influence on the informants’ speech during the group interviews was most probably the role of the researcher as the addressee, independently from the presence of the recorder (which could be the actual reason why **GG** adjusted his own speech in the way seen above): inevitably, the mere fact of addressing a non-native speaker caused them to make their own speech more “comprehensible”, particularly by moderating the use of “slang” words or expressions which I was not expected to understand. When these did occur in somebody’s speech, they were often explained to me right after they had been used, as in the following example, in which **LT** interrupts the joke **GP** is telling in order to clarify a term he has just employed:

GP: /bda:w tə-ʃsəwwlu mni:n ʒ-ʒi:nsi:ja dja:l-hum tta:-wa:həd ma:-bya jgu:l li:-hum ga:lu ʃnu ha:-ndi:ru ʒa:bu li:-hum
 wəhda ʃərja:na qu:qa/

LT : /qu:qa hi:ja zwi:na/

GP: /ʒa:bu:-ha l-ha:da:k mi:ri:ka:ni u:-hu:wa jfu:f/ (...)

Translation

GP: *They started asking about their nationalities but no one wanted to tell them. They wondered: “What can we do?” and they brought them a naked “artichoke” girl...*

LT: “Artichoke” means “hot”...

GP: They brought her in front of the American guy who stared...

Or in the following one, where all the participants join forces to provide colloquial expressions that mean “to speak a lot”, “to be a blabbermouth”:

GS: /ta:-ngu:l li:-h həkm-ək həkm-ək u:la fhəmti hkəmti:-h u:la həkm-u fhəmti fha:la:kka/

SI: /l-hki:m ʔa:h l-lu:bja¹⁴⁵/

PT: /tʰa:ləq-ha ʕli:-k tʰa:ləq-ha ʕli:-k¹⁴⁶/

DS: /fhəmti hi:ja zəʕma ʔa:-nəbqa ha:km-ək ʔa b-l-hədrʕa/

GS: /nəbqa ʔa:dd-ək b-l-hədrʕa/

DS: /u:-nta ma:-ʔa:-təbqa:-ʃ ʕənd-ək ʔi:-fursʕa fi:n təhdərʕ ʔa:-təbqa təsməʕ li:-ja u:-ʔa:-təbʔi mʕa:-ja hi:ja hkəmt-ək/

Translation

GS: I say to him: “He overwhelmed you.” “He overwhelmed you” or... you get it? “You overwhelmed him”, or “He overwhelmed him”, you get it? It’s like that.

SI: Overwhelming, yeah... The “bean”!

PT: “To let it loose”, “to let it loose on you”!

DS: Did you get it? Like, it means: “I overwhelm you just by talking”.

GS: “I clutch you with my talking”

DS: And you don’t have the chance to speak any more, you’re just there listening to me for a very long time! That’s the meaning of “I overwhelmed you”.

As the two group interviews in Temara were conducted one month after the one in Casablanca, my fluency in Moroccan Arabic may have varied sensibly from the first session to the next two. At that time, I was able to sustain a conversation, but still happened to mix my *dārīẓa* with *fushā* and Egyptian Arabic, a colloquial variety which I had known for much longer; as the time passed, the interference of these two varieties in my speech decreased. On the other hand, the informants’ perception of my communicative skills may have varied as well, because of the different familiarity and kind of interaction that preceded each interview: this is a key factor, as it

¹⁴⁵ This word, literally meaning “bean”, may be derived from the onomatopoeic word /la:lu:bi/, meaning a nonsensical flow of speech. It can be found in expressions such as /bna:dəm ʔəbʕa:n lu:bja/, “That guy talks too much”, or /təbqa ʕli:-ja b-l-lu:bja/, “You keep talking nonsense to me” (I. G.)

¹⁴⁶ The implicit object is /l-hədrʕa/, in the sense of “blabbering” (which is metaphorically let loose onto the listener).

appeared that the more an informant was aware of my proficiency, the more likely he was to simplify his speech, with undesired consequences on the quality of the data. Before the Casablanca session, I had attended a birthday party with my friend and soon-to-be informants, and then spent the afternoon and evening hanging out in their district and chatting: during the following recording, most of the informants showed a tendency to watch their choice of words while speaking to me, which was manifested in slow speaking tempo and frequent pauses, as well as in a relatively frequent borrowing from *fusḥā* and, occasionally, from French or English for explaining purposes:

MD: /n-na:s a:-təlqa ʒdu:d ʒdu:d-hum/ [---] /ʔaʒda:d/ [---] /grændfa... grændfadər dja:l.../

J: (*Yeah, I know*)

MD: /a:-təlqa:-hum/ [---] /mən-l-ʕa:ru:bi:ja ʒa:ji:n mən/ [---]

CDS /ʒa:ji:n mən əh mna:tʔəq mħəjjda/

MD: /kulla ʒa:ji:n mən [---] mən-ʃi:-məntʔa:qa bħa:l/ [---] /dukka:la ʔa:sfi rħa:mna/ [---] /wa:la:kin l.../ [---]
/ʔu:rʔi:ʒi:na:lʔ l-vrʔi/ [---] /hu:ma wla:d həddu/

Translation

MD: *You'll find that [Casablančan] people's grandparents' grandparents... [---] “ʔaʒdād” [---] Their “Grandfa...” “grandfather”...*

J: *Yeah, I know!*

MD: *You'll find they come [---] from the countryside, from... [---]*

CDS: *...from er remote areas...*

MD: *Each one comes from [---] from a different area, such as [---] Dukkāla, Safi, Rħāmna... [---] But the [---] “original”, “true” ones [---] are Wlād Həddu.*

The two other interviews did not elicit such an altered speech, either because my language proficiency had improved, or (more likely) because I was meeting the participants for the first time and the latter, by consequence, had not had enough time to assess my level in colloquial Moroccan Arabic. As was mentioned above, I had met the youth who would participate to my first session in Temara in my friend's brother's *zərrīʕa* shop, which means that I had had the opportunity to briefly talk to them, but not as much as to the Casablanquese youth. Besides, they were the only ones to frequently ceased addressing me to talk to each other in the course of the recording, which made theirs the interview with the greatest amount of speech not addressed to the researcher. All this contributed to minimising the observer's influence. As for the participants to the third and last session, who were meeting me for the very first time (with the obvious exclusion of my old

acquaintance), not only were they unaware of my knowledge of Moroccan Arabic, but they also knew that a native speaker, Ismail, would assist me in understanding the recording (cfr. § 3.3), as this happens to be a friend of theirs from the *ḥūma*: this probably reduced (although to a certain extent) the level of simplification that they imposed on their own speech, as they were confident that Ismail would explain to me whatever I had not understood. However, it is still significant that my two local recruiters were the ones who borrowed from *fuṣḥā* the most, despite of my efforts to speak “plain” colloquial to them both before and during the interview. A sample of the speech of one of them (GG) has already been provided above; below is one from my Fassi friend (again, the words borrowed from *fuṣḥā* are in bold in the translation):

CDS: /kə-jhləm b... *mustaqbal*... *mustaqbal* ʕa:di ka-ʔayy faxs^s *mutawa*:dⁱʕ ba:yi:n ʕi:f ʕla:-qədd l-ha:l b... ʕla:-qədd l-ha:l jku:n ʕənd-u *manzil*/ [---] /ʔəh mu:hi:mm *zawʒa s^a:liha durrija s^a:liha*/ [---] /ka:n ʕənd-ək ha:d f-ʕi u:-kənti u:-s^aħħt-ək ʕa:di:ja r^a:h nta hu:wa nta hu:wa l-ma:li:k/

Translation

CDS: [*The average Moroccan*] *dreams of a... future... a normal future, like every humble person. They want an adequate living... adequate, with a house [---] er well, a devoted wife, devoted children [---] If you've got that and you're health is normal, then you... you're the king!*

Apart from the few cases reported above, the general register adopted by the informants was quite unaffected by the presence of a non-native interlocutor, as can be seen in the excerpts reported in Appendix A. In addition to that, a few minutes of spontaneous conversations were obtained from the participants to the second group interview during the dinner that followed the latter, as well as during two visits that two of them paid to me in the following months.

A general flaw of the sample of informants that contributed to the spontaneous recordings and the group interview corpora is its being entirely composed of male speakers. Since none of the groups of friends to whom I could access through my personal contacts in Temara included girls or women of any age, I did not have any direct contact with female speakers: for that reason, it was felt that, even if I had managed to arrange an interview with a group of girlfriends, or a mixed group, my complete unfamiliarity with them could have induced them to excessively alter their way of speaking. The only two female speakers in the sample were two women recruited during the following stage of the fieldwork, which was aimed at enlarging the age range of the informants' sample.

3.2.4 – The individual interviews

3.2.4.1 – General issues

The one-to-one interview was used as a last-resort technique in the last stage of the one-year fieldwork, in order to collect speech samples from older speakers¹⁴⁷. As a technique, the one-to-one interview is known in sociolinguistics for being the most “classical” one: after Labov’s first development and theorisation of the “sociolinguistic interview” in the course of his seminal New York study (1964), individual interviews have been used, most notably, by Bortoni-Ricardo (1985), Chambers *et al.* (1993), Eckert (2000), Horvath (1985), Kerswill (1987), L. Milroy (1980), Trudgill (1971) and in the Kerswill’s Milton Keynes project; in Arabic sociolinguistics, it has been used in several quantitative and mixed qualitative-quantitative studies, such as Al-Khatib (1988), Habib (2010), Hachimi (2005), Haeri (1996), Jabeur (1987), Vicente (2004) as well as by E. Al-Wer in her project on Amman Arabic (2007).

For the purposes of the present research, the individual interview had initially been discarded as a means of collecting data, by virtue of the very specific framework that it provides to the communication that occurs within it. To be sure, every communicative situation constitutes a framework that has given implications on the use of language of the verbal interactants that take part in it; however, the specificity of the interview framework derives (among other things) from the fact that it implies an asymmetrical verbal exchange, as L. Milroy adequately points out:

An interview in western society is a clearly defined and quite common speech event to which a formal speech style is appropriate. It generally involves dyadic interaction between strangers, with the roles of the two participants being quite clearly defined. *Turn-taking rights* are not equally distributed as they are in conversational interaction between peers. Rather, one participant (the interviewer) controls the discourse in the sense of both selecting topics and choosing the form of questions. (...) People are generally quite well aware of the behaviour appropriate to these roles, and of their implications in terms of unequal distribution of rights to talk. (1987b: 41; author’s emphasis).

While the correspondence “formal speech – interview style” does not necessarily hold in the Moroccan context (most of my interviewees arguably maintained a quite informal style), it is likely that television and the social media have familiarised most of the Moroccan population with the interview and its implicit rules as a communicative event. This been said, what is of interest in Milroy’s characterisation of the interview situation is how it is inevitably singled out to the speaker’s eyes as having implications on language use of a totally different nature with respect to other, more “ordinary” communicative situations: therefore, the risk exists that it will have undesired consequences on the quality of speech recorded. This concern has been shared by many

¹⁴⁷ The oldest speaker recorded up to that moment was only 36 y. o.

other sociolinguists, first and foremost Labov, who spent several pages in explaining how one can attempt to obtain and recognise samples of “casual speech” (ie. unaffected by the interview situation) bypassing the interview constraints on speaking style (cfr. Labov 1972: 85-99). Needless to say, if the researcher has less-than-native language skills, then another major style-modifying factor adds to the interview itself.

On the other hand, the recourse to the individual interview for the collection of speech samples from older speakers had been envisaged since the beginning of the research project, which established that the parents of the youth included in the sample would also be interviewed and recorded; this should have allowed a cross-generational comparison of the data, of the kind made by P. Kerswill in his Milton Keynes project (cfr. related works). Unfortunately, the access to my young informants’ parents proved to be more difficult than expected, as all the children who were asked this access (except one; see below) either reported their parents’ refusal, or never provided any answer from their parents’ part. In one case, the refusal was explicitly justified on the account that older people are not familiar with the concept of scientific research and would not understand the purpose of the questioning and recording. It is possible that the same reason lay behind all the refusals that I received to my request, with the possible addition that, since the purpose of the research had not been explained in detail to my young informants themselves, the way they, in turn, presented it to their own parents must not have contributed much to clarifying it to them.

3.2.4.2 – Organisation of the interview

This hitch led me to the decision of asking somebody else’s help in the recruitment of older informants. To this purpose, the most useful network was that of the Phd students of the Faculty of Literatures and Human Sciences of Rabat, who put me in contact with relatives or acquaintances in Temara who either were willing to be interviewed, or could re-direct me to other people whom I could interview. This allowed me to meet several Temara residents of the age range desired. However, following the difficulties encountered with my young informants’ parents, the interviews were recorded only when it was felt that this would be accepted by the interviewee without problems; in other cases, the recording device was not employed and notes were taken instead. The content of both the recorded and the unrecorded interviews was exploited to integrate information about the history of Temara’s urbanisation and past social life, which served for the writing of chapter 3.

However, before the first interview was arranged, a fundamental issue had to be solved, ie. my language proficiency, which was not so advanced as to allow me to conduct an interview in a

satisfactory manner. To obviate this problem, I hired one of my young informants, Reda, to conduct the interviews instead of me, although in my presence. The choice of Reda was due to the following considerations:

- he was a Moroccan Arabic native speaker, which solved the non-native researcher's issue
- he was sufficiently educated to conduct interviews
- he had studied marketing (without completing his degree) and worked two years in the marketing domain, which had given him a certain knowledge of inter-personal communication skills
- he had no regular job, which allowed him plenty of time to assist me in my work
- we were long-time friends, which minimised the risk of mutual misunderstandings
- he lived in Temara: this means that any conversation recorded between him and another Temara resident would have represented an example of verbal interaction between people living in the town, which perfectly matched the aim of the research

In confirmation of these expectations, Reda's collaboration proved to be of great help for the obtention of consistent amounts of quality data. An important decision to which he contributed was what should have been the topic of the interviews, as we needed one on which older people would be willing to talk at length. The idea was suggested by Reda to present the interview as an inquiry on how life is now different with respect to past times from all possible sides (social, economic, ethic, linguistic, etc.). This subject in itself was ideal, as it served the double purpose of giving our interlocutors the opportunity of denouncing the (usually negative) changes they had witnessed – which they were always eager to do – and of collecting information on how Temara became urbanised – when a member of the original tribes was interviewed – or on experiences of immigration and social integration in the new town – when we spoke to an immigrant. It was this information that served to integrate the historical sketch provided in § 2.3.2. The data necessary to draw each informant's socio-demographic profile (cfr. § 3.1.2) were taken by asking questions throughout the interview, rather than all together before or after the latter, so that the surveying character of the conversation would not be too salient. A grid was made in order to include all these elements in the structure of the interview:

Socio-demographic data

Topics for the body of the interview

Age	<p>In your opinion, what are the main differences between now and when you were young / arrived in Temara, from the following points of view:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Urban (evolution of the urbanised spaces) • Economic (cost of living, jobs available, etc.) • Social (public safety, mutual solidarity, etc.) • Ethic (respect, politeness, decency, importance of family bonds, etc.) <p>How did you like your new living place? Did you have any issues in adapting yourself to it? <i>(Reserved to immigrants)</i></p> <p>How did the town develop at the beginnings of its urbanisation? <i>(Reserved to members of the original tribes)</i>¹⁴⁸</p> <p>(Optional) Did you have issues with new immigrants? What was their influence? <i>(Reserved to members of the original tribes)</i></p> <p>Did you ever find any difficulty in understanding people coming from other regions?</p>
Place of birth	
Family's regional origin	
Length of residence in Temara	
Places of residence within the city (optional)	
Highest educational level attained	
Current job (if any) or main past job if retired or relevant	

Table 6 – Interview grid

This scheme was freely inspired from the first four points of the one elaborated by Labov *et al.* (1968) for the interviews conducted during his study of African-American Vernacular English:

1. “To elicit the maximum amount of speech”¹⁴⁹
2. “To obtain demographic data”
3. “To obtain specific information on the speaker's (...) treatment of particular forms.”
4. “To elicit a wide range of values and attitudes”¹⁵⁰ (1968: 48).

¹⁴⁸ As we gathered new information on the history of Temara's urbanisation, this point evolved into more specific questions aiming at clarifying missing details in the historical sketch.

¹⁴⁹ Unlike the present research, Labov's was also concerned with stylistic variation.

As an *incipit* to the interview, Reda (who always maintained the main interviewer's role throughout all the sessions) introduced me as a PhD student (and a friend) coming from a French university and having chosen *dārīẓa* as my subject of research, and Temara as the place where to study it by virtue of my acquaintances living there. He then explained that in my interviews I also sought information about my informants' life and that I was now looking to speak to older people as they could provide precious accounts of their experiences and of life of bygone days in Temara¹⁵¹. Following Bennis's (2013) classification, the interviews fell within the semi-directive ("*semi-directif*") type, in which:

[l]'ordre dans lequel les thèmes peuvent être abordés est libre, si l'enquêté ne touche pas spontanément un ou plusieurs des thèmes du schéma, l'enquêteur doit lui proposer le thème. Dans le cadre de chaque thème les méthodes se rapprochent de celles de l'entretien libre.¹⁵² (2013: 5).

Accordingly with the above, the points in the interview grid were followed as Reda found it more adequate to the situation, and all types of digression were conceded to the interviewees. In addition to that, the way the questions were formulated was not pre-determined, but was rather adjusted to the situation and the receiver, so that the latter could adequately understand what was the information being sought and feel that he/she had something to say about it.

3.2.4.3 – Management of the interview

Reda's management of the interviewing process was very accurate and relevant to the aims of the interviews. From the stylistic point of view, his genuine interest in the interviewees' stories and general statements on morals and society constantly showed through his manner of asking questions and making comments, as he was truly fascinated by the information that they provided on the previous generations' "good old lifestyle"; it is my belief that, as a result of this, their impression of being "surveyed" was greatly attenuated. In a few cases (and only when the informant's age was closer to Reda's), short debates arose between the two out of disagreement on given issues; this also proved the interviewer's involvement beyond his role, and brought the tone of the conversation farther from that of the scientific survey.

¹⁵⁰ Concerning points 2 to 4, the demographic data, forms and values researched by Labov were obviously different and specific to his aims.

¹⁵¹ None of the informants seemed to find any oddity in the subject of the research, which is probably thanks to its having been previously introduced to them, at least partially, by the person with whom I had initially got in touch, and who had ultimately arranged the encounter between me and the interviewee.

¹⁵² "Themes can be tackled in a free order; if the interviewee does not spontaneously touch on one or several themes of the grid, the interviewer has to put them forward him/herself. The methods employed within each theme are similar to those of the free interview".

As a consequence, globally speaking, Reda's combination of tact and laid-back attitude created a friendly atmosphere which encouraged the interviewees to speak their mind frankly and freely – most importantly, to speak! As he was aware that the ultimate purpose of the interviews was collecting speech samples, Reda also took care of stimulating his interlocutor to express him/herself verbally through appropriate questioning and reactions to his/her statements, as in the following excerpt, taken from an interview with a *ʕarbi* (the *ʕarab* were one of the tribes living in Temara before the urbanisation)¹⁵³:

Reda: /b-ħukm nta wəld l-ʔərd/ [---] /ki:-wəlla:t ta:-tba:n-l-ək tma[:ra] nta ʔa:-tku:n ka:-tla:ħədʕ ktərʕ mən-wa:ħəd ma:-
ʕa:f-f f-ha:di:k l-ħi:qba nta kənti wəld u tə-jba:n-l-ək n-na:s ʕa:ji:n ma:ta:la:n mən-ka:za t-ta:qa:fa:t kə-jtbəddlu l-
ləhʒa l-aksā ha:da ʕa:jəb mʕa:-h ʕa:da:t l-a:xur ʕa:jəb mʕa:-h ʕa:da:t ma:t.../

OUL: /ʔa:h u:-ha:du... had l-xa:li:tʕ ha:di lli wəlla... dəwwbu:-na hna/

Reda: /bi-maʕna:/

OUL: /bi-maʕna: ʔənn-a:hna twəddərʕna wəstʕ mən-hum wəlli:na ʔa:qa:lli:ja ma:-bqi:na:-f ta:-nba:nu/

Reda: /[ma:-]bqa:t-f ka:-tba:nu ʔa:h/

OUL: /ma:-bqi:na:-f ta:-nba:nu/

Reda: /nu:rʕma:lʕ/

OUL: /da:ba ta:-txrəʒ ma:-ta:-tsʕi:b-f wəld l-bla:d/

Reda: /na:di:ra:n fi:n a:-ttla:qa ʕi:-wa:ħəd təmma/

OUL: /ta:-ttla:qa mʕa:-h b-sʕ-sʕu:dfa/ [---] /b-sʕ-sʕu:dfa/

Reda: /ħi:t ktər l-ʔi:nsa:n/

OUL: /ʔa:wla ma:t ʕi:-wa:ħəd mən-l-ʕa:ʔi:la tə-tsa:ndu/

Reda: /l-ʕza təmma fi:n kə-jdʒa:mʕu/

OUL: /a-par sa wəlli:na hna ʔa:qa:lli:ja ʔəh wa:ħəd n-nha:r əh wa:ħəd sʕ-sʕa:di:q ta:-hu:wa/ [---] /ʔa:di məski:n hna f-z-
zba:la tə-j... tə-jdu:rʕ u:-da:z hda ʕi:-wəħdi:n/ [---] /u:-hu:ma ga:lu ʕli:-h hu:ma ga:lu ʕli:-h (ha:d xa:j-na ta:ni) ma:-ʕ[rəf]t
mni:n ʒa ha:d s-səjjəd/ [---] /bqa bna:dəm ʔi tə-jtk[a:tər]/ (*laughs*)

Reda: /ktər/ (*laughs*)

OUL: /wəlla hu:wa ma:-məʕru:f-f l-bla:d/

Reda: /wəlla tə-jba:n bərʕrʕa:ni/

¹⁵³ A more extended version of this excerpt is reported in Appendix B.

OUL: /bərˈrɑːni/

Reda: /tamaːman/

Translation

Reda: *Since you're originally from this place [---] what do you think about today's Tema[ra]... You must be able to see more than somebody that didn't live that time: you were a boy, so you must have seen people coming, say, from Casablanca, cultures changing, the dialect, the accent, some bringing certain traditions, some bringing different ones, li...*

OUL: *Yeah, and those... This mix ended up... We've been diluted¹⁵⁴!*

Reda: *In what sense?*

OUL: *In the sense that we've scattered among them, we've become a minority. We don't stand out any more.*

Reda: *You don't stand out, yeah!*

OUL: *We don't stand out any more.*

Reda: *That's normal.*

OUL: *Now you go out there, you can't find locals any more.*

Reda: *You rarely find one.*

OUL: *You just meet him by chance. [---] By chance!*

Reda: *Because the population increased.*

OUL: *Or someone in your family has passed away and you go help them.*

Reda: *Funerals. That's where they reunite.*

OUL: *Apart from that, we have become the minority! Er... One day er... A friend, too [---] the poor guy was walking there, in the midst of the garbage, he... he turned the corner and passed by some people [---] And they said, they said about him: "(Now, this one), who knows where this man has come from! [---] This place has become really crowded!"*

Reda: *...crowded! (laughs)*

OUL: *Now he's the unknown one here.*

Reda: *Now he looks like a stranger!*

OUL: *...a stranger!*

Reda: *That's right!*

¹⁵⁴ The literal translation is "they melted us". As Reda's reaction seems to suggest, the Arabic original is as ambiguous as the translation chosen and requires **OUL**'s further explanation.

The addressing of relatively long questions to the interviewees – such as the one at the beginning of this excerpt – served the purpose of conveying the reason of our interest in receiving their opinions on the issues discussed, or in listening to what they had to tell us about earlier times. Also, while they may appear as potentially hindering the interviewee from speaking, Reda's continuous reactions to his interlocutor's argumentation through repetitions/reformulations (**OUL:** /da:ba ta:-txrəʒ ma:-ta:-ts'i:b-ʃ wəld l-bla:d/; **Reda:** /na:di:ra:n fi:n a:-ttla:qa ʃi:-wa:həd tamma/), completions (**OUL:** /ta:-ttla:qa mʃa:-h b-sʕ-sʕu:dfa/; **Reda:** /hi:t ktər l-ʔi:nsa:n/) and various types of comments purportedly signalled his understanding and following what was being said. For this reason, they seemed to have an encouraging rather than an inhibiting effect, as is shown, for example, by the small anecdote that **OUL** decided to tell us towards the end of the excerpt above.

The individual interviews were 18 in total, with 13 of them being recorded, and added 14 older informants (from 39 to 83 y.o.) to the global sample¹⁵⁵. Each recorded interview lasted between 40 minutes and 2.5 hours, for a total of 14 hours and 17 minutes. Most of them took place in the interviewee's house, three of them were conducted in the open air and one at a cafe. The criterion for the informants' recruitment was for them to reside in Temara and have been living there for at least ten years. This limit was chosen arbitrarily as an indication that the informant was stably part of Temara's population: with this premise, and as was mentioned above, the conversation recorded between him/her and Reda could be considered a sample of a verbal interaction occurring between two residents of the town – and their linguistic choices a sample of those made by two random speakers who had met in the “real” social context of the town itself. This is similar to the criterion used in the selection of the informants that participated to the group interviews, ie. that they be known to each other for having socialised in Temara. No other criterion was adopted, including on the informant's sex: two women were also interviewed, among whom was the mother of one of my young informants (the only one who managed to recruit one of his older family members). Apart from that, the fundamental difference between the interactions recorded in the group interviews and in the individual ones was that, in the latter, the interactants were not familiar to each other. This, together with the sociolinguistic requirements of the interview situation, obviously translated into a moderate increase in speech formality, as may also be noticed in the excerpt reported above; however, it is my impression that such formality never exceeded the levels reached in colloquial Moroccan Arabic in some “ordinary” conversational situations as well.

3.2.5 – *The hidden-camera test*

¹⁵⁵ One new informant spontaneously came to join the conversation during one of the interviews.

An additional technique was adopted during the second data-collecting field – which was conducted after the choice of the variables had been done (cfr. § 3.4)¹⁵⁶ – in order to increase the data concerning the Phonologic Variable, ie. the alternation between /q/ and /g/ in a selected set of five lexemes (cfr. Chapter 5). Given the restricted number of lexemes, the occurrences found in the corpus collected during the first fieldwork were not judged sufficient to compare different speakers' social evaluations of this variable for each lexeme, I retrieved a technique I had personally developed in one of my previous works (Falchetta 2008) that would (theoretically) allow me to give each speaker the same “opportunity” to pronounce the five lexemes selected: this technique was the hidden camera test.

This is a technique aimed at eliciting semi-spontaneous narratives, of the same kind as those used by Boumans (2005) in order to cross-compare the use of different genitive exponents across Morocco¹⁵⁷. A single session required the participation of two or three speakers. The selection criteria were that all the participants' native or current second language¹⁵⁸ should be Arabic, that they should be familiar with each other and that their relationship had developed in the context of social practices having the city of Temara as their setting (ie., the same criteria used for the recruitment of the participants to the group interviews). The attempt was done for the test participants to include as many of previously recorded informants as possible, in order to have the opportunity to compare between different communicative contexts for the same speaker¹⁵⁹. At the same time, it was judged advisable to increase the number of participants to the highest number allowed by the circumstances (ie. time and personal network¹⁶⁰), so as to obtain the greatest amount of cross-comparable data on this variable. Again, as personal connections were used to recruit test-takers, all of these ended up being male speakers. In total, **19 test sessions were carried out and 39 speakers participated**; 18 sessions involved two participants each, and one involved three of them. The two-participant sessions lasted between 30 and 60 minutes each (including the time taken to watch the videos) and the three-participant one lasted 60 minutes.

¹⁵⁶ This field study was conducted in the cities of Temara, Rabat and Casablanca and lasted one month between July and August 2017. It was made possible by a funding allocation from IREMAM.

¹⁵⁷ The data themselves had been collected by P. Bos and A. Al Aissati for a research on bilingual acquisition and language loss (Boumans 2005: 127).

¹⁵⁸ The latter case served to include Amazigh speakers who had lived outside their home towns or villages long enough to become fluent in colloquial Arabic.

¹⁵⁹ This included only the informants with whom I was in direct contact, ie. those that had been recorded in spontaneous conversations and group interviews. The others, ie. the older informants, were not re-contacted for the test as it was felt that a similar request would have annoyed them. Besides, I only had one month for this second data-collecting fieldwork, which means I had to give priority to those who I knew could most quickly accept to collaborate and perform the test.

¹⁶⁰ As personal contacts were again the main channel through which the participants to the test were recruited, the sample of informants with whom the test was carried out was again gender-biased, with all of them being male informants.

The single session was structured as follows: one of the participants (hence the viewer) was asked to watch a hidden-camera video with no dialogues¹⁶¹. The viewer was then charged to verbally describe the prank to the other participant (or one of the other two), who had been prevented from viewing the video, so that the viewer would be compelled to verbalise everything he had seen for his interlocutor (hence the listener) to understand. In order to increase the amount of speech on the viewer's side, I preventively announced the participants that, after the viewer had finished his narration, I would ask the listener some questions (usually and at least three) aimed at verifying his comprehension of the narration itself: this was done in order to compel the viewer to maximise the amount of information (and, by consequence, of speech) that he would provide to the listener, so that the latter would be able to answer my following questions correctly. As a side effect, this also enormously increased the verbal exchange *between* the participants (thus enriching the variety of communicative acts recorded), as the listener often interrupted the viewer's narration in order to ask him questions and seek clarification. Each participant fulfilled the roles of viewer and listener three times each, which means that each of them had to narrate three pranks, and to answer questions concerning three other pranks; this allowed me to elicit many occurrences for most of the lexemes, as the questions were eventually exploited to make the lexemes emerge from the informants' speech (see below).

The pranks chosen were such that the verbalisation of the sequence of events constituting them was thought likely to trigger the use of the five lexemes: eg. one of the pranks consisted in an unaware car driver having to stop at a semaphore, which the personnel of the TV show had placed in the middle of a long, straight road crossing an open, extra-urban area. The semaphore is controlled by an operator through a remote control and the semaphore is switched to the red light just while the driver is approaching, so that he/she is forced to stop and wait for a very long time. When he/she gets tired and tries to "infringe the law" by jumping the red light, a (fake) policeman standing beside it threatens the "offender" by showing a traffic ticket ready to be filled in, thus discouraging him/her to proceed. As two of the lexemes to be elicited were /wa:Xəf/ "still", "standing" and /wXəf/, "to stop", it seemed highly probable that the viewer would have to use at least one of these two lexemes in the prank description. The other pranks were selected with the same rationale.

Before the test was actually submitted to the target informants, two experimental tests were conducted with two groups of two and three participants respectively, in order to verify the practical

¹⁶¹ The reason behind this choice was two-fold: first of all, the absence of dialogues implied that understanding the video would not have been affected by the viewer's proficiency in foreign languages, as the candid-cameras were not set in Arabic-speaking countries. Secondly, the other participant(s) might have got a hint of what the viewer was watching, had he/they heard what people in the candid-camera were saying. All videos were taken from the same TV show and were available on YouTube for watching.

feasibility and flaws of the test itself and the appropriateness of the pranks selected. These two tests served to confirm that the probability that the informants used the target lexemes was, in reality, not as likely as I had expected. This led me to the decision of using the questions that I would ask the listener not only in order to discourage the viewer from leaving behind details of the prank in his narration, but also in order to elicit the lexemes from the *listener*, in a way that I could control more effectively¹⁶². Therefore, on the basis of the two experimental tests, both the pranks to be shown the viewer and the questions to be asked the listener were reviewed, the latter to induce the pronunciation of the specific lexeme in the listener's speech, the former to allow me to ask the lexeme-inducing questions after the viewer had finished his narration. If, for example, I needed to elicit /Xədda:m/ (which can be translated either “in front of” or “forward”) from the listener after he had heard the viewer's description of the red semaphore prank, I would ask a question such as:

J: /u:-lli sa:jəg ʃnu kə-jdi:r wa:ʃ kə-jrʒəʃ l-l-lu:rʃ/

Translation

J: *What does the driver do? Does he move back?*

In this case, the answer I expected (and needed) was indirectly solicited by the way the question itself was formulated, as it contained the adverbial locution /l-lu:rʃ/ (“Back”), which is the antonym of /l-Xədda:m/. This attempt, like many others, elicited the expected informant's answer, reported below:

MA: /ma a:-jrʒəʃ-ʃ l-l-lu:rʃ a:-jzi:d l-l-qədda:m/

Translation

He won't go back, he'll go forward.

The same type of question was often used to elicit /qbəl/, although this proved a more difficult task. A strategy that I often adopted was that illustrated by the following question (same prank, different session), in which I referred to the device that had been implanted in the traffic light and permitted to remote-control it.

J: /fu:qa:ʃ da:ru ha:dək l-ha:ʒa da:ru:-ha f-wəstʃ l-ka:mi:rʃa ka:ʃi/

EMK: /lla qbəl/

¹⁶² Clearly, the participants were always left unaware of what the real purpose of the questions was, which ensured maximum spontaneity in the test results.

Translation

J: *When did they put that thing [inside the traffic light]? Did they put it during the prank?*

EMK: *No, [they put it] before*

In this case, the word /qbəl/ was triggered by the presence of the complex preposition /f wəst^s/ in the question, which made clear that I was asking when the “thing” connected to the remote control had been installed in the semaphore *with respect to the timing of the prank*: this way, the probability that I received /qbəl/ as an answer was extremely high (and I actually succeeded in eliciting it in most of the cases).

Adopting such indirect elicitation strategies was also allowed by the fact that, by now, I had increased my communication skills with respect to the group interviews, which I had conducted more than one year before. However (and luckily), direct questions of the kind illustrated above were not always necessary to elicit the five lexemes, as my informants often uttered them spontaneously while reporting a prank (when they fulfilled the role of viewers), while elaborating on answers to questions I had asked to elicit other lexemes (when they fulfilled the role of listeners), or in other kinds of contexts (listeners’ questions to viewers, viewers’ interferences in the questions-and-answers round, etc.). Questions such as those exemplified above represented a sort of “safety measure”, which aimed at insuring that each participant uttered each of the five lexemes at least once (although this was an “ideal” goal, which I did not always reach); however, I have reported here in order to illustrate how it was taken care that the elicitation of the lexemes be as successful as possible. It took a few (non-experimental) test sessions to make the questioning method effective enough at compelling the listeners to produce the targeted lexeme, and obviously this did not occur 100% of the times anyway; however, the results were eventually satisfactory, as will be seen in Chapter 5.

3.2.6 – The final informants’ sample

The total number of informants who were recorded during the two field studies was 60. Each of them was associated to a code in order to preserve anonymity. The *Wdīyi* informants are indicated with **OD** plus a number, indicating the order in which they were interviewed; the only *Wlīdi* informant is indicated with **OUL**; all other codes were chosen randomly.

Below is a comprehensive list including, for each of them, the code associated, sex, age, town of residence, family’s regional origin and, if the informant lives or was raised in Temara, whether he/she was lived on former *Wdīyi* land lots reassigned during the public relocation projects

(PUB), in privately developed residential areas (PRI) or in the slums (S) (for informants from the other city, this information is not relevant, “n.r.”).

Code	Sex	Age ¹⁶³	Town of residence	Family's origin or tribe ¹⁶⁴	Area of residence
AD	M	18	Casablanca	<i>Rhāmna</i>	n.r.
AL	M	39	Temara	<i>Šāwya</i>	PUB
AT	M	35	Rabat ¹⁶⁵	<i>Rīf</i>	n.r.
CA	M	25	Temara	<i>Sūs</i>	PUB
CDS	M	24	Temara / Rabat ¹⁶⁶	Aqqa (Tata province)	n.r.
CT	M	20	Temara	<i>Tādla</i>	PRI
DC	M	24	Temara	<i>Dukkāla</i>	PUB
DH	M	20	Casablanca	?	n.r.
DM	M	25	Temara	Marrakesh	PUB
DMN	M	20	Temara	Ksar El Kbir	PUB
DN	M	27	Temara	<i>Zṣīr</i>	PUB
DS	M	21	Temara	<i>Šāwya</i>	S
EMK	M	31	Mers El Kheir	<i>Žbāla</i>	n.r.
EY	M	36	Temara	Yousoufia	PUB
EZ	M	22	Temara	<i>Dərṣa</i>	PUB
FC	M	27	Temara	<i>Dukkāla</i> (mother),	PUB
FG	M	29	Temara	<i>Tādla</i>	PUB
FR	M	18	Casablanca	<i>ṣabda</i>	n.r.
GF	M	80 ca.	Temara	<i>Tādla</i>	PUB
GG	M	26	Temara	<i>Dərṣa</i>	PUB
GM	M	36	Temara	<i>Tādla</i>	PUB
GP	M	22	Temara	Taza	PRI
GS	M	21	Temara	<i>Sūs</i>	?
HN1	F	68	Temara	<i>Ġarb</i>	PUB
HN2	M	42	Temara	<i>Ġarb</i>	PUB
HN3	M	47	Temara	<i>Dūkkāla</i>	S
IC	M	22	Temara	<i>Tādla</i>	PUB
IDG	M	24	Temara	<i>Tādla</i>	PUB
KS	M	28	Temara	Benguerir	PUB
LH	M	21	Casablanca	<i>ṣabda</i>	n.r.
LIB	M	22	Temara	<i>Sūs</i>	PRI
LPI	M	35	Benslimane ¹⁶⁷	<i>Tādla</i>	PUB
LT	M	22	Temara	<i>Tādla</i>	PRI
LTm	F	50 ca.	Temara	<i>Tādla</i>	PRI
MA	M	36	Rabat	Rabat (Andalusian)	n.r.
MD	M	19	Casablanca	<i>Dukkāla</i>	n.r.
MH	M	40	Temara	<i>Sūs</i>	PRI
MT	M	30	Temara	Marrakesh	PUB
MW	M	65 ca.	Temara	<i>Tādla</i>	PUB
OL	M	31	Temara	<i>Rhāmna</i>	PUB
OD1	M	57	Temara	<i>Wdāya</i>	S

¹⁶³ Indicates age at the time of the first recording.

¹⁶⁴ *Italics* indicate a region or a tribe, while a plain font indicates a town or small centre.

¹⁶⁵ Two informants from Rabat (**AT** and **MA**) were also recorded for comparative purposes, like for the informants from Casablanca; however, their speech samples have not contributed to the present research and will be analysed in further work.

¹⁶⁶ This informant moved in the course of the fieldwork.

¹⁶⁷ This informant had actually been raised in *Hāyy n-Nāḥḍa*, the government-developed district from which I started my research; he had moved to Benslimane with his wife one year before he was recorded.

OUD2	M	60 ca.	Temara	<i>Wdāya</i>	PUB
OUD3	M	58	Temara	<i>Dukkāla</i> (Father), <i>Wdāya</i>	PRI
OUD4	M	63	Temara	<i>Wdāya</i>	PRI
OUD5	M	83	Temara	<i>Wdāya</i> (Father), <i>ṣrəb</i>	PRI
OUL	M	68	Temara	<i>Wlālda</i> (<i>ṣrəb</i>)	PRI
PA	M	24	Temara	Oujda	PRI
PG	M	28	Temara	Marrakesh	PRI
PL	M	22	Temara	<i>Sūs</i>	?
PO	M	32	Temara	Oujda	PUB
POP	M	21	Temara	<i>Dukkāla</i>	PUB
PT	M	20	Temara	<i>Tāfilālt</i>	PUB
RB	M	18	Temara	<i>Tādla</i>	PRI
SC	M	20	Temara	Oujda (mother), Fes	PRI
SDD	M	25	Temara	<i>Dərṣa</i>	PUB
SDG	M	26	Temara	Souk el Arbaa	PRI
SI	M	21	Temara	Tata	PUB
SO	M	32	Temara	<i>Dukkāla</i> (father), <i>Ġərḇ</i>	PUB
ST	M	24	Temara	Oujda	PRI
VDM	M	23	Temara	<i>Dərṣa</i>	PUB

Table 7 - List of informants recorded with respective basic socio-demographic features.

3.3 – The working transcription of the data

During and after the one-year fieldwork, a part of the data recorded was transcribed by two Moroccan undergraduate language students. The first one to be hired was Ismail Gnaoui, an English student at the Mohamed V University of Rabat, who was from Temara and lived in the same *hūma* where I took my first contacts in the town: he took charge of the biggest part of the corpus. As he started transcribing while I was still doing my fieldwork, we regularly met to check and translate into English each of the recording that I sent him. He then continued transcribing and answering my questions on the transcriptions after I left Morocco. The second one was Charif Ismaili, a French student at the Moulay Ismail University of Meknes, who also gave his contribution in transcribing, translating and explaining a considerable part of the corpus, particularly some of the individual interviews containing key historical information (the content of which was then included in the historical account in § 2.3).

The transcriptions served the main purpose of familiarising to a much greater extent with colloquial Moroccan Arabic by learning new words and expressions, as well as by training my ear to understanding Moroccan Arabic speech. Secondly, they served as a sample from which linguistic variation was expected to emerge, suggesting which variables were most adequate for the analysis (cfr. § 3.4). The proportion of recording selected for transcription varied according to the kind of data. The spontaneous conversations and the second group interview were merely amended of all the portions of recording that were not clear enough for transcription, or that included me as a speaker: the remaining portions were submitted to my assistants in their entirety. The third group interview was almost entirely (90%) transcribed, whereas each individual interview was reduced to a group of excerpts totalling 45 to 60 minutes, according to the interest of the themes addressed. The first group interview (the one conducted in Casablanca) still awaits transcription, while the hidden-camera tests have been used for analysis without being transcribed. I asked my assistants to use latin characters and adopt a non-scientific transcription method, similar to that used in social media (eg., with “3” instead of “ʿ”, etc.), as it would be less time-consuming; all transcriptions reported in the present thesis will follow scientific methods instead.

Globally, Ismail’s and Charif’s help was essential as they made themselves available for any type of explanation concerning the linguistic and semantic sense in the conversations transcribed, as well as the many implicatures in Moroccan Arabic discourse that may easily escape to the non-

native. Added to that, they frequently provided extra-linguistic information (related to culture, politics, etc.) which was also fundamental for me to get the sense of what my informants had said.

3.4 – The variables

Following the one-year fieldwork, a set of variables was identified in order to target the data analysis. An effort was made to find variables that could most adequately testify to a diachronic evolution in the Temareses' way of speaking, and whose variation appeared to depend on the speakers' assignment of different social meanings to their variant forms. This way, it was thought, their analysis was to provide simultaneously an indication on the direction in which subsequent generations of Temareses were accommodating their speech in Temara's regionally neutral framework, as well as on the extra-linguistic factors that guided their accommodating choices.

In order to identify features that fulfilled this criterion, it was decided to observe the linguistic choices made in the use of colloquial Moroccan Arabic in TV and YouTube fiction, and compare it with the data in my corpus. The choice of language in fiction – rather than in other types of programmes – as an object of comparison was motivated by the assumption that the linguistic material of written texts (ie. scripts) elaborated to be presented to a wide Moroccan audience brought to the fore linguistic choices that were themselves the fruit of a native speaker's interpretation of the social meaning of variation. On the other hand, the more spontaneous (ie. less written text-based) speech of, for example, hosts and radio speakers was not thought to lay bare such choices as clearly; hence the preference accorded to fiction. Initially, it was envisaged that a “media corpus” would be collected in parallel with the field corpus, in order to make a full comparison of the use of the selected variables in the media and in “real life”. Then, due to limited time, the project of constituting a full “media corpus” was abandoned, and a restricted sample of excerpts of media productions was relatively rapidly searched just to obtain a list of variable features, the occurrence of which was subsequently counter-checked in the field corpus. The productions I examined included Moroccan Ramadan series, dubbed foreign soap-operas, and an animated series (Bouzebbal), and were chosen among those that I knew had had a certain success in terms of audience¹⁶⁸.

¹⁶⁸ Variation in the use of colloquial Moroccan Arabic in a dubbed soap opera and Bouzebbal is notably analysed in Barontini & Ziamari (2013, 2016 respectively).

Basing the selection of the variables on the linguistic choices of screenwriters, or actors, would be a questionable scientific procedure, since the rationale behind the media's interpretation of the meaning of variation is not necessarily the same as the one behind the native speaker's everyday use; for this reason, it is important to specify that no similar assumption was made. However, it was thought that if a variable linguistic form was associated to a certain type of use (connected to a given social meaning) in media products that addressed a national audience, and if the same form varied in my informants' use as well, then it was more likely that native speakers assigned social meaning to that form; this way, the set of candidate features for the analysis could be restricted. In other words, the purpose of observing the media's language use was merely that of focusing the search for relevant variables: if the data collected during the fieldwork – together with the observations I was able to make on language use in general – seemed to support the social relevance of a feature identified as variable in the media's use, then it could be selected for the analysis.

There is no use in reporting here the entirety of the features I identified following these criteria. The linguistic variables short-listed to be analysed in the present study were the following¹⁶⁹:

- d. The affrication of /t/ - **The Phonetic Variable**
- e. The alternation between /g/ and /q/ in a limited number of lexemes – **The Phonologic Variable**
- f. The alternation between the verbs /dwa/ and /hdər⁶/ in semantically equivalent contexts – **The Lexical variable**

The relevance of the Phonetic Variable had already been observed in the earliest part of the fieldwork, as it clearly appeared how speakers of the younger generation palatalised the phoneme /t/ to a much greater extent than the older generation did – although even among the youth it seemed that coming from a city other than Sale, Rabat, Temara or Casablanca made a difference. In the media, it was noticed that the alveo-palatal affrication of the phoneme was associated with younger characters, which confirms data from Barontini & Ziamari (2013, 2016).

The Phonologic Variable was selected after observing that, in TV fiction, some words with an etymological /q/ were pronounced with [g] in stereotypical rural speech and with [q] in non-rural

¹⁶⁹ Contrary to sociolinguistic tradition, I indicate each variable with its respective linguistic level rather than with one or two letters in round brackets (eg.: Labov's (1964) "(dh)" indicating the variable oscillating between standard [ð], non-standard [d] and an intermediate pronunciation): the purpose of this choice is to underline how different dimensions of the language are being investigated.

kinds of speech. A part of these lexemes witnessed variation between [g] and [q] in the corpus as well, although in a much more complex manner. It therefore seemed possible that a variable originally indexing rurality could have undergone processes of reallocation in Temara, and that analysing its variation in the corpus would clarify whether this was the case.

Finally, the Lexical Variable stood out thanks to the dubbing of foreign soap operas in colloquial Moroccan Arabic. In particular, a complete divergence was noted between two of them, the Mexican *Mar De Amor* (Arabic: بحر الحب) and the Turkish *Beni Affet* (Arabic: سامحيني), where the dubbing of the former presented an overwhelming preference for /hdərʕ/, while the latter completely excluded it to the advantage of /dwa/. At the same time, the lexeme /dwa/ also seemed to be associated to rural speech (in the media) and to informal registers (in the corpus). In light of that, the reason of the divergence between the two dubbing choices was thought to reside in the different year of broadcasting of the episodes viewed (2011 for *Mar De Amor*, 2017 for *Beni Affet*), and to signify either the translators' "opening" to more informal registers in the course of time, or the reflection in the media's language use of a spread of a rural form /dwa/ in everyday speech. In either case, the alternation appeared to be potentially relevant to social interpretation.

An effort was successfully made to choose one, and only one, variable for each linguistic level, in order simultaneously to cover different types of language change and to respect the time limits of the present academic effort. Therefore, other features that equally showed socially-driven variation in both the media's and my informants' use were discarded, usually because of their lower frequency in the corpus: this is why, for example, the affrication of /t/ was preferred to the assimilation of dental stops found in /ʕənd/ (yielding [ʕadd]), /nta/, /nti/ (yielding [ttæ], [tti]) and a set of other lexemes more limited than the ensemble of words containing /t/; or why the alternation between /hdərʕ/ and /dwa/ was preferred to that between less frequent verbs such as /wqəʕ/ and /tʕra/ ("to happen"), or /nʕəs/ and /rgəd/ ("to sleep"). In other cases, such as in the morphologic variation of the adverb /ʕi:r/ (which can encompass as many forms as /ʕi/, /ʕa/, /ʕi:r/, /ʕi/, /ʕa/, /hi/, /i/ and /a/, all found in my corpus), the number of variants would have been too great, with consequent time-related issues to be considered. Finally, the analysis of a variable that initially drew my interest, ie. the alternation between the verbal prefixes /ka/ and /ta/, was not considered feasible without a detailed study of the literature on general verbal semantics and aspectuality, which would also have not allowed the respect of the delays of the present project.

The three analyses are presented in the order in which they have been completed: the Phonologic Variable (chapter 5) will precede the Phonetic Variable (chapter 6), which will be followed by the Lexical Variable (chapter 7).

CHAPTER 4

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WHAT HAPPENS IN TEMARA: THE PHONOLOGIC VARIABLE

4.1 – [q] vs [g] in the literature

4.1.1 – Importance at the pan-Arabic level

The phonetic instability of the uvular voiceless stop (/q/) in colloquial Arabic has been debated since the earliest grammatical debates on the correct pronunciation of the Arabic language¹⁷⁰. It is also one of the most debated topics in the field of Arabic sociolinguistics, as well as one of the main motives for the development of this discipline in the last 40 years. Several facts may be brought in mind to confirm this: the importance of the alternation between [q] (sometimes [ʔ]) and [g] has been at the centre of Maghrebi dialectology, as it has been identified as one of the discriminants between non-Hilali and Hilali varieties (cfr. § 1.2.1), and even at the level of the whole Arabic-speaking region [q] (or [ʔ]) and [g] serve the purpose of distinguishing between sedentary and Bedouin colloquial varieties (Cantineau (1960) in Vicente (2008: 43); cfr. also Heath (2002: 1), Palva (2006) and Taine-Cheikh (2000: 13)). Indeed, the alternation between the allophones of /q/ was chosen by Blanc (1964) to represent the two main categories of Arabic dialects spoken in and around Mesopotamia (which, indeed, were grouped under the labels of “*qeltu*” and “*gelet*” dialects); it was mentioned (together with other variables) by Abd-el-Jawad (1986, 1987), Haeri (1996), Holes (1995) and Palva (1982) as an example of sociolinguistic variation in which a “non-standard” variant (usually /ʔ/ or /g/) is preferred to its corresponding standard variant (/q/), which contributed to deviating the general orientation in Arabic sociolinguistics from the investigation of speech convergence towards *fushḥā* to that of speech convergence towards prestigious norms within the colloquial register (cfr. § 1.2.3); it was seen as one of the main indicators of a general change in the dialect of Amman (Al-Wer (1999), (2007); Al-Wer & Hérin (2011)), in what was the first series of systematic variationist studies on a colloquial variety of Arabic; it was subsequently analysed by many other sociolinguistic works dealing with different Arabic-speaking areas and following the strand initiated by the studies mentioned above (Al-Khatib (1988), Amara (2005), Habib (2010) among others). Recent sociolinguistic works on Moroccan Arabic also focus on the speakers’ oscillation between (usually) [q] and [ʔ] or [g] (Benthami 2007; Moumine 1990; Hachimi 2005, 2007, 2011, 2012 among others), although with different methods and approaches and always with reference to restricted areas (eg. one single town) or communities.

¹⁷⁰ It seems that, according to the first grammarians, the original pronunciation of this phoneme was a voiced velar [g] or uvular [ɢ] stop, which is also closer to what is found today in the so-called Bedouin varieties (cfr. Cantineau 1960: 67-68)

In general, what emerges from these studies is a fundamental difference on the status of [q] between Mashreqi and Maghrebi varieties. In the Mashreq, with the exclusion of the *qeltu* dialects described by Blanc (1964), the urban norm has settled on [ʔ], particularly in Egypt and the Levant, whereas [g] prevails in the Gulf cities; in some cases, such as Amman (eg. Al-Wer 2007, Al-Wer & Hérin 2011), both variants are present with different social meanings. While in such situations, [q] cannot be associated but to the *fuṣḥā* norm, the case is quite different for Maghrebi urban varieties, many of which (eg. Tunis, Constantine, Cherchell¹⁷¹, old Fassi and old Rbati) do have [q] (sometimes in alternation with [ʔ]) as the main reflex of the Old Arabic *qāf*. This, combined with mass education and the great migration fluxes towards the urban centres of the last decades, contributed to the spread of [q] simultaneously as an urban and standard (*fuṣḥā*) norm, an ambiguity which is not found in the Mashreq.

What is the purpose of conducting yet another study on the alternation between /q/ and /g/ within a community of Arabic speakers, after all the contributions mentioned above? The analysis that will be presented in this section has less the aim of adding another piece to the jigsaw puzzle of the outcomes of the evolution of Old Arabic /q/ across the Arabic-speaking region, and more that of making hypotheses on what kind of information the intra-speaker and inter-speaker alternation between two of these outcomes (/q/ and /g/) provides on the speakers' interpretation of their respective sociolinguistic values in the context of a recently formed urban area in Morocco. At the same time, the mixed quantitative-qualitative approach adopted takes its inspiration from Hachimi's (2005 and following), as the analysis moves from quantitative data (number of occurrences per speaker combined with extra-linguistic factors) and then goes beyond them by using all kinds of ethnographic observation that I was able to make about the informants (and the context of communication) with the aim of giving a tentative interpretation of sociolinguistic meanings¹⁷². Eventually, the results of this analysis will be both integrated with data from the study of the two other variables, and compared to what is happening to Old Arabic /q/ in the rest of the Maghreb and the Mashreq.

4.1.2 – *Distribution in Moroccan Arabic*

The theory of the division between non-Hilali and Hilali varieties of Maghrebi Arabic has among its postulates that, in contemporary times and until a few decades ago, the former were typically found in some of the oldest cities and in the areas found along the trade corridors connecting such cities to the sea; the latter were mainly spoken by nomadic, former nomadic and

¹⁷¹ Data on the *qāf* reflexes in these three cities are found in Taine-Cheikh (2000).

¹⁷² As clearly emerges, the main difference from Hachimi's approach is that the speakers' metalinguistic judgments have been omitted from investigation.

other rural populations. This rough sketch is nuanced by a closer look at the actual geolinguistic reality: in Morocco, some old cities such as Marrakesh and Meknes seem to present a mix of Hilali and non-Hilali features (Lévy 1998: 22-23); on the other hand, Judeo-Arabic varieties of the non-Hilali type used to be spoken across Morocco, including the South (far from the old cities), until the 1950s (Heath 2002). This does not exclude that linguistic features generally considered as non-Hilali may be found in what is considered to be a Hilali variety, and viceversa: this is best shown by Heath (2002) who, talking about Muslim Moroccan Arabic varieties, seems to distinguish the Hilali group into two types, “Saharan” and “Central”, with the former being characterised by a set of more “incontaminated” Hilali features, and the latter presenting, together with the Hilali traits, many others common to what Heath calls the “Northern type” (corresponding to the non-Hilali type; 2-10).

What does this imply for the geographic distribution of the /q/ allophones? As many areas in Morocco still lack an exhaustive dialectological description, a complete picture cannot be given and we have to rely on the data mentioned in the dialectological monographies¹⁷³ or on partial accounts such as that found in Sánchez & Vicente (2012), who, in their thorough comparison between the “Northern variety” and the “Marrakshi variety” of Moroccan Arabic¹⁷⁴, provide a short, general comparison concerning this feature:

El principal rasgo discriminante entre ambas variedades de la *dārīẓa* marroquí aquí descritas es la diferente articulación del fonema /q/. Mientras que en toda la región norte se realiza /q/ oclusivo, velar, sordo, en Marrakech su realización es, en mayor medida, sonora /g/. (...)

En la región noroeste también encontramos una realización glotal /ʔ/, por ejemplo en Chaouen o en la medina de Tetuán, sobre todo entre las personas mayores, además de en numerosas zonas de la región rural de Jbala. Por ejemplo: *ʔāl* “él dijo”, *ʔiṭṭ* “gato”.¹⁷⁵ (234-235)

In general, it seems that [q] and [ʔ] prevail in the Northern region enclosed by – and including – the *Žbāla* region, Tetouan, Tangiers and the Northernmost segment of the Moroccan Atlantic coast, and in the urban non-Hilali varieties of Taza, Fes and Rabat. By converse, in rural varieties across the country, [g] alternates with [q], although full descriptions are available only on a

¹⁷³ Some of the dialectologists that deal – although briefly – with the issue of the /q/-/g/ variation in their work on Moroccan Arabic varieties are Aguadé & Elyâcoubi (1995: 30-31), Caubet (1993: 12), Colin (1920: 42), Guerrero (2015: 48) and Sánchez (2014: 93-95).

¹⁷⁴ The former is specifically represented by the city of Tetouan and its surrounding area, whereas the dialect of Marrakesh is taken as an example of Southern variety (Sánchez & Vicente 2012: 224).

¹⁷⁵ “The main discriminating feature between the two varieties of Moroccan *dārīẓa* described here is the different articulation of the phoneme /q/. While this is pronounced as a /q/ (velar voiceless stop) across the Northern region, it is more often voiced (/g/) in Marrakesh. (...)

In the North-Eastern region, we also find a glottal variant (/ʔ/), such as in Chefchaouen or in the city of Tetouan (especially among the eldest), as well as in many areas in the rural Jbala region. For instance: *ʔāl* ‘he said’, *ʔiṭṭ* ‘cat’”.

limited number of areas (cfr. Aguadé & El Yaâcoubi (1995) on Skura and Brigui (2015) on the varieties to the north-west of Fes). The only variety in Morocco in which [g] is the undiscussed “winner” seems to be *ḥāssānīya* (Taine-Cheikh 2000). However, as is underlined by some of the authors mentioned so far, the /q/ phoneme rarely has one single reflection in a given, geographically identified variety: it is very common, for instance, to find [g]-items¹⁷⁶ in [q]- or [ʔ]-prevalent varieties. This is sometimes explained as a result of borrowing from Bedouin varieties (such as items related to the agricultural domain, as Bedouin varieties are distinctive of rural areas in many parts of the country), although, as Colin said with reference to the Taza variety (in which [q] and [ʔ] prevail over [g] but [g]-items abound), “la grande quantité d’exemples de ce passage de laryngale sourde à palatale sonore, ne permet pas de les considérer raisonnablement comme étant tous des emprunts à des parlers (bédouins) où ʕ sonne /g/ inconditionnellement”¹⁷⁷ (Colin 1921: 42 in Guerrero 2015: 48). In any case, minimal /q/-/g/ pairs are found in many areas (eg.: /qəlləb/ “to search” and /gəlləb/ “to turn” in Skura; Aguadé & El Yaâcoubi (1995: 31)), which means that the two sounds often have phonologic status.

This variation within a single variety may be inter- or intra-lexical (or both), which means that some lexemes may be found as always containing a [g], a [q] or a [ʔ], whereas others may alternate between two or three allophones within the same community, and even the same idiolect¹⁷⁸. The degree of mixing varies greatly, and even varieties in which etymological /q/ is quite regularly represented by a single allophone will present a few exceptions in the form of loanwords or (in the case of /q/-items in /g/-prevalent varieties) lexemes pertaining to the vocabulary of religion, administration, school and new technologies (Pereira 2010: 75-77 in Pereira 2011: 956). To limit ourselves to the alternation between [q] and [g] in colloquial Moroccan Arabic, variation at all levels (inter- and intra- lexical as well as inter- and intra-individual) has already been reported in the dialectological literature of the last two or three decades: Guerrero (2015), for example, reports the following case of intra-lexical alternation in the /Xa:l/¹⁷⁹ lexeme in the dialect of the Northern city of Larache, in which /q/ is the most common speakers’ choice:

¹⁷⁶ From here on, “/g/-item” or “[g]-item” will be used for those lexemes whose root contains a [g] which is a reflection of Old Arabic /q/, whereas “/q/-item” or “[q]-item” will be used for those lexemes whose root contains a [q] which is the reflection of the same Old Arabic phoneme. The choice between slashes and square brackets will be motivated by whether the sound concerned is or is not considered to have phonemic status.

¹⁷⁷ “...the great amount of examples for this switch from voiceless laryngeal to voiced palatal does not allow to reasonably consider all of them as loanwords from (Bedouin) varieties, in which ʕ unconditionally sounds /g/”.

¹⁷⁸ I have not found any case of lexeme containing an etymological /q/ whose reflection alternated between all three of the allophones in the speech of a single individual; however, it is by no means inconceivable that something of the sort may happen, given the wide range of variation resulting from the convergence of immigration fluxes in a city like Casablanca, where the verb “to say” has actually been recorded as being pronounced [qal], [gal] and [ʔal] by different speakers (Hachimi 2005).

¹⁷⁹ From here on, a capital X in a phonological transcription will indicate a variable allophone of the Old Arabic /q/.

En algunos casos he encontrado informantes que, esporádicamente, sustituyen /q/ por /g/ en el verbo *qāl*, imp. *yqūl* “decir”. Esta vacilación entre /g/ y /q/ puede deberse a la influencia de dialectos de tipo beduino que habrían traído consigo inmigrantes procedentes de distintas áreas rurales de Marruecos.¹⁸⁰ (50)

Interestingly, Guerrero continues by observing that, while the informants concerned are aware of the existing /q/-/g/ variation for this lexeme in their city, they are not aware of their own use of the /g/ phoneme for the verb /Xa:l/ which they attribute to other, rural speakers (2015: 51).

To provide an example of intra-speaker variation from a Southern variety, we find variation in Abu Shams’s (1997) texts, representing samples of the speech of a single woman from Tisergat, in the Zagora area; the variation seems to concern two items in particular, /fu:X/ and /nəXXa/:

- /fu:X/

- a) /fu:q/

→ “w nhəṭṭūha **fūq**... ʕənd lə-ḡda” (Texto 2, p. 161)

- b) /fu:g/

→ “...tgəddi lī:ha tšərmīla zāda ddīrīha **fūg** mənha...” (Texto 3, p. 162)

→ “...tā-ndīru mʕāh l-hāməd, māṭīša w l-hrūr mən l-**fūg** tā-nəqqfūh bīh...” (Texto 9, p. 166)¹⁸¹

- /nəXXa/

“...hīt melli nʕībūh l-d-ḡār tā-yʕībūh tā-**nnəqqīwəh** tā-**nnəggūh**...” (Texto 7, p. 164; in the footnote no. 25, Abu Shams specifies that the second occurrence, which comes right after the first one, is “la [forma] propia de su dialecto”; in the following texts, three more occurrences with /q/ of the same verb are found).

Moving closer to our field, we find data from Benthami (2007), who investigates *Zəʕri* speakers who relocated from their original communities to other places in and out of Morocco. For the [q] - [g] alternation, he provides a list of 12 lexemes which may be found with both allophones (124). Then, he analyses more in detail the distribution of these items in the speech of two groups of informants, one distributed between two sub-districts of the city of Rabat (*Tāqāddūm* and *Yūsūfiya*) and the other residing in five different centres located between the capital and the *Zəʕri*

¹⁸⁰ “In some cases, I have found informants that sporadically replace /q/ with /g/ in the verbe *qāl* (imperfect *yqūl*), ‘to say’. This wavering between /g/ and /q/ may be due to an influence of the Bedouin-type dialects, supposedly brought by immigrants that came from different rural areas of Morocco.”

¹⁸¹ The alternation here may be due to the first occurrence being in pre-pausal position. The preference for /q/ over /g/ in final position in lexemes presenting this kind of variation had already been detected by Moumine (1990); the same principle may be operating here, as pre-pausal position means final position with respect to a sentence (although Moumine referred to the final position of words).

communities of origin. In the second group, he reports two different pronunciations for two lexemes, /rXi:X/ (“thin”) and /zrəX/ (“blue”), according to whether the informant is a quasi-systematic user of the typical *Zəʕri* features ([g] for /q/ and diphthongs [əy] and [əw] replacing, respectively, [i] and [u]) or varies between the two (ie., quasi-systematic users systematically pronounce [rgəyg] and [zrəg], whereas the others invariably have [rqiɣ] and [zərqa]¹⁸²; cfr. data in Benthami 2007: 279 and 280).

The data cited so far clearly show that the [q]-[g] alternation is best treated as a case of lexical diffusion, ie. as a case of spread that concerns each lexeme in a different way, and not as a Neogrammarian change (ie. an inconditionate change “involving every token of a phoneme in a phonological context”; Kerswill 1996a: 178). This is also the stance taken by Gibson (2013), which investigates the distribution of these two phones in Tunisian Arabic. According to him, “in the case of the shift of /g/ to /q/ we are dealing with a case of TRANSFER (Trudgill 1986: 60) of a word from a set with /g/ to one with /q/” (Gibson 2013: 25): in the present research, as well, I shall follow his example by considering the occurrence of a lexical item with one of these two phonemes as the assignment of such item to either the /q/ or the /g/ phonological class.

4.1.3 – *Social meanings of the /q/ derivatives in Morocco*

If descriptions of the actual linguistic variation between [ʔ], [q] and [g] are lacking both in the dialectological and the sociolinguistic literature on Moroccan Arabic, investigation of the social meanings attributed to each of these three allophones is even scarcer. In this sense, the most accurate analysis is probably that of A. Hachimi (2005, 2007, 2011 and 2012), who describes the indexicalisation of [ʔ]¹⁸³, [q] and [g] in the speech of Casablanca residents of Fassi origin (cfr. also § 1.2.4): by adopting a mixed quantitative-qualitative approach that combines linguistic analysis and elicitation of her informants’ attitudes towards the linguistic variants, Hachimi identifies the focusing of a new system of associations between linguistic features and social values within the implanted community. Such associations are new in the sense that the features involved (/q/, /r/ and the 2nd person singular feminine morpheme of the imperfective and imperative), once mainly viewed as regional markers (indicating the speaker’s geographical origin), start being perceived by her informants as socio-cultural markers (indicating the speaker’s social position and personal characteristics such as politeness, masculinity, etc.), a process to which Trudgill (1986) refers as *reallocation* (cfr. § 1.1.4).

¹⁸² Sic; all phonetic transcriptions are Benthami’s original ones. [y] corresponds to IPA [j].

¹⁸³ In some works of Hachimi’s, this allophone is transcribed as [ʔʰ].

According to Hachimi, the result of reallocation in the case of the (q) variable (which has as its variants the three allophones mentioned above) has been that [ʔ], once typical of the “old urban” (cfr. 2.2.4) Fassi dialect, is now only appreciated by the oldest (female) speakers as a marker of the traditional cultural prestige that is attributed to the city of Fes and, through a process that Irvine (2001) would call “recursivity”, also to its ancient residents. As for [q] and [g], they now stand in a sort of equilibrium by which [g] is increasingly preferred for the verb /Xa:l/ (“to say”), whereas [q] is the binding norm for every other lexeme containing an etymological /q/. Thus, the social meanings of either of these two variants emerge in how the speakers perceive transgressions to this equilibrium: while pronouncing [g] in lexemes other than /Xa:l/ would be seen as a sign of rurality and, therefore, excessive rudeness, saying [qa:l] is perceived as not “normal”, even “stupid” (or “effeminate”, in the case of male speakers) and raises feelings of annoyance or repulsion in some of Hachimi’s informants, such as the one whose words are reported below:

<p>Kawtar: mafi fassija fassija, <i>je suis normale</i> ... ana [ʔwiya biɖawija, <i>je parle</i> [r] <i>avec</i> [ʔ], <i>c’est tout, parce que</i> lfassijat tajgulu ‘qatli/qutlok’, ana <i>c’est</i> ‘galli gutlak’.</p> <p>Atiqa: ulfassija kikatʒik?</p> <p>Kawtar: mzjana, fʃi hʔawjʒ, dik qalli uqutluk <i>c’est bête</i>.</p>	<p>Kawtar: I am not authentic Fessi. I am normal ... I am Casablanca a little. I speak with Fessi [ʔ], that’s all. Fessi women say ‘qatli/qutlok’. I say ‘galli/gutlak’.</p> <p>Atiqa: How do you find Fessi dialect?</p> <p>Kawtar: It is okay in some things but saying ‘qatli/qutlok’ is stupid.</p>
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(From Hachimi 2005: 194)

Conversely, being a “[ga:l]-speaker” is considered positively, as the use of [g] in this lexeme seems to connote positive qualities such as *təʃ ‘bi:t*¹⁸⁴, literally “folk-ness” or “a desire to be like the others” in Hachimi’s words (2007: 117): in this sense, using [g] in this one lexeme suffices to convey a willingness to adapt to the Casablanca milieu – which may be seen as a “host environment” for a speaker of Fessi origin – enough to integrate oneself in it and not to sound “snobbish” or excessively “soft”, but still without going so far as to speak like the stigmatised ‘rūbi (rural) people. An example of this appreciation of a “middle way” between a typical Fessi and an excessively “rural-ish” ways of speaking is offered by the following informant:

<p>Atiqa: daba kajn farq bin Fassa dFes u Fassa dCasa, ulʃrubija dlʃrubija?</p> <p>Fatma: ulʃrubija dCasa, <i>surtout</i> flhaqiqa Casa lli</p>	<p>Atiqa: There is difference between Fessis of Fez, Fessis of Casablanca and rurals?</p> <p>Fatma: and ʃrubis of Casablanca, especially actually</p>
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¹⁸⁴ “*Taʃʃbit*” in Hachimi’s transcription.

ʕajʃin kulhum fCasa ʕandhum waħəð <i>langage</i> mɣad, <i>si tu veux dire</i> ʕandhum hðərthum mɣadda maʃi djal lʕrubija dlʕrubija ulla djal Fes. ħit Fassa kajnin ʃi kalmat lli ana majmkəŋf nfhəmhūm, <i>je ne peux tenir</i> <i>une discussion</i> mʕa fassi, <i>pure Fessi, moi ça</i> <i>m'étouffe</i> .	everybody who lives in Casablanca has a straight dialect. Their way of speaking is straight not like the peasants from rural areas. Or those of Fes. Because Fessis have some words that I do not understand. I cannot hold a conversation with a Fessi, a pure Fessi, it suffocates me.
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(From Hachimi 2005: 197)

Other data on the sociolinguistic charge of the variation concerning /q/ can only be inferred indirectly from such sociolinguistic studies as those of Benthami (2007) and Moumine (1990), both PhD theses. The former, already mentioned in the previous section, suggests that *Zə'ri* speakers (which works on Moroccan Arabic spanning over almost one century have considered as the prototype of rural speakers; cfr. works of Loubignac and Messaoudi) residing in the area between their community of origin and Rabat switch from [g] to [q] to a greater extent if they live closer to the capital¹⁸⁵, and/or if they received a certain degree of education:

“[L]a vélaire [g] [in replacement of the uvular [q]] et les diphtongues [aw, əw] et [ay, əy] (...) sont considéré[e]s comme macro-discriminants ou idéal-types du parler rural de la région Zaer, [elles] sont toujours et encore maintenu[e]s par les personnes âgées, hommes et femmes, par les personnes dont le niveau scolaire varie entre analphabétisme et école coranique.”¹⁸⁶ (Benthami 2007: 278)

On the other hand,

“plus on s'éloigne du lieu d'origine le plus enclavé et le plus rural du locuteur, plus la vélaire [g] et les diphtongues [aw,əw] et [ay,əy] sont peu réalisées et par conséquent remplacées par la consonne [q] et les voyelles [u] et [i] ; et vice-versa, plus on s'approche du douar Laâbabsa ou l'une des six tribus avoisinantes (Jbiliyine, Krarmiya, Hallabou, ChlouHa, Gdadra, Bwachriya) lieux d'origine des locuteurs, plus on a un taux de

¹⁸⁵ This conclusion moves from Messaoudi's (2003) hypothesis that the urban space and the positioning with respect to the centre and the periphery of a city has a fundamental influence on the way of speaking of a community or district (cfr. Benthami 2007: 266; cfr. also *infra* § 2.2.4 on Messaoudi's theory of the relationship between the urban environment and the emergence of *parlers urbains*).

¹⁸⁶ “The velar [g] [in replacement of the uvular [q]] and the diphthongs [aw,əw] et [ay,əy] (...) are considered as being macro-discriminating factors or ideal features of the rural variety spoken in the Zaer region, and are still and always maintained by older people (men and women), by people whose schooling level varies between illiteracy and the Coranic school”.

réalisation quasi-systématique de la consonne [g] et des diphtongues [aw, əw] et [ay, əy].”¹⁸⁷ (Benthami 2007: 280)

However, Benthami does not provide any detail on the procedure he followed to elaborate his data and arrive at the conclusions mentioned above, limiting himself to show the raw data speaker by speaker in a general chart (from which the correlation he claims to exist emerges only partially). Added to that, no quantitative or qualitative detail is given on the distribution of the variation of any single lexeme within the population he investigated (but this was clearly out of the scope of Benthami’s work).

Using “pure” Labovian techniques and collecting data on both linguistic performance and social attitudes on language in Casablanca, Moumine (1990: 156-167) explicitly indicates the [q] variant is a more prestigious option than the [g] variant, not only because the rate of the former is directly proportional to social class (ie. higher classes tend to prefer [q] to [g]), but also because every group of speakers seems to over-estimate their own [q] rate, affirming to choose to pronounce [q] instead of [g] more frequently – on a group average – than they actually do. Besides class, (q) is also shown to be an age marker, with the younger speakers’ use of [q] exceeding that of the older speakers: this is compatible with Benthami’s identification of education as a factor favouring the same variant, as younger speakers tend to be better educated than older speakers in a context such as Casablanca, a city in which most households were located in rural areas just one or two generations earlier¹⁸⁸. Interestingly enough, sex does not seem to be statistically significant in the choice of [q] over [g] in Moumine’s data, with women only slightly surpassing men but preferring [q] less frequently than other prestigious variants.

To sum up all information inferable from the cited literature on the social meanings carried by each of the three variants of old Arabic /q/ that are found in Moroccan Arabic varieties (including those meanings linked to their diachronic developments), we may venture the following:

¹⁸⁷ “The farther we get from the speakers’ most isolated and rural place of origin, the less frequently the velar [g] and the diphthongs [aw, əw] and [ay, əy] are found in their speech and, consequently, the more often they are replaced with the consonant [q] and the vowels [u] and [i]; and vice-versa, the closer we get to douar Laâbabas or one of its six neighbouring tribes (Jbiliyine, Krarmiya, Hallabou, ChlouHa, Gdadra, Bwachriya, ie. the speakers’ places of origin), the more we find a quasi-systematic rate with regards to the consonant [g] and the diphthongs [aw, əw] and [ay, əy].”

¹⁸⁸ More precisely, Benthami finds that 13, 14 and 15 y.o. students residing in communities between Rabat and their families’ places of origin alternate between [q] and [g], unlike older, illiterate people who exclusively use [g] (cfr. Benthami 2007: 280).

- [ʔ] (or [ʔʕ]): strictly pre-*Hilali* trait, found in several Northern (including *Žabli*) and old urban varieties, but not of current use out of these areas (even recessive in old cities), where we may suppose it will be felt as “extraneous” (possibly in the sense of indexing members of other communities who are not welcome in the hosting environment) or associated to a recessive old urban culture, and therefore be considered as “too old”, “pretentious” or even “too effeminate” (cfr. Hachimi 2005 and following);
- [q]: “neutral” (ie. regionally and socially unmarked) or “correct” form in some lexemes; socially prestigious or “cultivated” or “urban” form in other lexemes; “pretentious” or “effeminate” in /Xa:l/ (Hachimi 2005 and following) and, possibly, other lexemes. These three options by no means define three different categories of lexemes, which may carry different social meanings for different speakers within the same community;
- [g]: “neutral” (ie. regionally and socially unmarked) or “normal” form in some lexemes; stigmatised, “low-class” or “rural” form in other lexemes; “new urban” (and, therefore, modern) form for those lexemes which are increasingly pronounced with /g/ (cfr., again, the case of /Xa:l/ in Hachimi 2005 and following)¹⁸⁹.

An important corollary of the above is that the alternation between the three variants is often lexically-conditioned, ie. different lexemes, all containing an etymological old Arabic ق, may have different reflections of the latter ([ʔ], [q] or [g]) within the same community of speaker, or in the same idiolect. This implies that the ideal variationist analysis of the (q) variable in Moroccan Arabic should measure the frequency of the three variants for every lexeme containing an etymological ق separately, and then identifying a variation pattern for each of these lexemes. While this is a nearly impossible task to fulfil, given the great number of lexemes containing an etymological ق in the Arabic colloquial varieties, it is not even necessary to analyse each and every lexeme if our goal is not that of giving a full account of the outcome of the evolution of the etymological ق in Moroccan Arabic varieties. Since this is actually the case, as our real goal is that of identifying the sociolinguistic significance of the choice between the variants, then the set of lexemes that shall make the object of the analysis may be reduced, if it is admitted that such choice is not

¹⁸⁹ Caubet (1993: 12) similarly makes a distinction of the status of /g/ according to whether it is optional, universal (in Morocco) or phonologically distinctive the lexeme at issue. Furthermore, she adds that, in cases in which it is optional, “[l]a prononciation en g est rurale et peut être utilisée par ceux qui habitent à la ville pour rétablir une complicité avec la branche paysanne de la famille” (“...the pronunciation of g is rural and can be employed by those who live in the city to re-establish their bond with the rural branch of their family.” Caubet’s study is based on an urban community of rural origins).

sociolinguistically charged for all of these lexemes. How this reduction was done and why it was considered relevant to analyse some particular lexemes is explained in the next section, which will present in detail the analysis of the phonological variable (/q/ vs /g/ in five key lexemes). The results of the analysis will also serve as a term of comparison with the findings – summarised in the scheme above – of previous works on the social meaning of this variable in Moroccan Arabic.

4.2 - /q/ vs /g/ in Temara

4.2.1 – Preliminary observations

The “/q/ vs /g/” variable will be analysed by studying the alternation between the /q/ and /g/ phonemes in five lexemes in my Temarese¹⁹⁰ informants’ speech. /q/ and /g/, the two variants of the phonological variable, are both considered as enjoying phonological status, as they distinguish between words of different meanings at the Moroccan level (although not necessarily everywhere in the country), such as in /qərʕa/ (“bottle”) and /gərʕa/ (“courgette”); this may occur (again, not in all diatopic varieties) even when two words of different meaning have exactly the same trilateral root and only differ by the presence of /q/ or /g/, both corresponding to the same etymological phoneme (eg.: the verbs /qəlləb/, “to search”, and /gəlləb/, “to reverse”). Therefore, the speaker’s choice between the two variants will be considered as a choice between two distinct phonemes¹⁹¹, and the variants themselves (as well as the relevant examples taken from the corpus) will be transcribed in slash brackets.

As was observed in the previous section, the alternation between /q/ and /g/ is lexically conditioned in Moroccan Arabic, which implies that an ideal analysis of this variable should count /q/- and /g/-occurrences for each and every lexeme found in the corpus and containing an etymological ق. However, **since the aim of the analysis is to find out what is the social value that speakers within a given community attribute to variable features** – possibly involved in language change – **then the lexemes that the analysis should target are those whose phonological status is unstable, or, in other words, those that the speakers varyingly attribute to /q/ or /g/.** A possible exception is constituted by lexemes that switch phonemes according to

¹⁹⁰ By “Temarese”, here as well as elsewhere, I mean informants recorded during verbal interactions with other informants the socialisation with whom took place in the city of Temara (as a social background).

¹⁹¹ The purpose of examining the alternation as phonological rather than phonetic is the reason why other kinds of phonetic variation involving /q/, such as the affrication that gives way to [qx] or even [x] (frequent in Moroccan Arabic, and in my corpus as well), were excluded from the analysis.

linguistic factors of higher systemic order, such as (morpho)syntactic or semantic factors, rather than to extra-linguistic factors of social nature. An example may be constituted by the following lexeme, whose variation in the corpus is analysed very briefly.

- **/fu:q/ vs /fu:g/**

This lexeme was used by my informants as either adverb (“above”, “on top”, “up”) or preposition (“on”, “above”, “on top of”). When an adverb, it most often (but not always) follows a /l/, which is taken to be as a crystallised preposition /l/ that is now commonly preposed to the adverb even when other prepositions are present (cfr. examples (1) and (3) below). Some examples (taken from the corpus) of /fu:X/¹⁹² used as an adverb are reported below:

1) GM: /mən-l-**fu:q** dʕa:rəb mʕa:-h ʃi sʕu:mi:za/ “*You match some shirt on top of it*”, lit. “*From above, you match some shirt to it*”

2) J: (*And where are Zʕir and Zəmmūr to be found?*)

 OUD3: /l-**fu:q**/ “*Up there*”

3) DS: /...w ta:-təbʃi wa:gəf mən-l-**fu:g** w mza:həm/ “*...and you travel [on the bus] standing, holding yourself from above, crushed by the crowd*”

When a preposition, /fu:X/ (always without initial /l/) may be found alone or as a part of the complex preposition /fu:X mən/:

4) HN1: /tʕləʕt a:na **fu:g** n-na:mu:si:ja/ “*I climbed on my bed*”

5) OUD3: /**fu:q** mən-ha:d l-a:sti:ti/ “*Over this institute*”

A count of the /q/- and /g/-occurrences for this lexeme in the corpus (not including the hidden-camera tests) has given the following results, which are ranged taking into account whether the lexeme is used as an adverb, a one-word preposition, a part of the complex preposition /fu:X mən/ or a one word preposition with suffix pronoun (eg.: /fu:q-na/, “*over us*”):

¹⁹² From now on, a capital X in phonologic or phonetic transcription will indicate a phoneme varying between /q/ and /g/.

Speaker	Adverb	Prep.	Prep.+men	With suffix pronoun
GM	7q	1q		1g (obs.)
SS	1q			
FG	1q			
FC	1q	1g		
LT	1q			
GP	2q	1g		
GG	1q			
DS	1g			
ST		2q		
DN			1g	
HN1		3g		
HN2	1g			
OUD1	2q, 1g	3g		
OUD2		1g	1g	
OUD3	3q, 1g	1g	1q	
OUD4		1g	1q	
OUL	1q			
Tot. Tem.	20q, 3g	3q, 11g	2q, 2g	1g
DH	2g			
FR		2g		
AD	1g			
Tot. Casablanca	3g	2g		
Tot.	20q 6g	3q, 13g		

q: /q/-occurrence; g: /g/-occurrence

Table 8 - /fu:q/ vs /fu:g/ occurrences in the sample of free-speech recordings.

Table 8 shows the occurrences of /fu:X/ for the 20 speakers (listed in the first column) that uttered this lexeme; the first 17 speakers are Temara residents, the last 3 are Casablanca residents. The latter seem to behave quite differently as far as this and other lexemes are concerned, so they shall be discussed separately.

In the “Tot. Tem.” (ie. total for Temara) line, the total /fu:q/ and /fu:g/ occurrences are found for every grammatical employ of this lexeme: it seems clear that there is a general tendency for the speakers to employ /fu:q/ in adverbial function (20 occurrences of 23, ie. 87% of the total) and /fu:g/ as a one-word preposition (11 occurrences out of 14, ie. 78% of the total), while /fu:q mən/ and /fu:g mən/ seem to alternate more equally (although 4 occurrences are insufficient to discern

any sort of general trend). Also, in one observed case (ie. not tape recorded), GM, who otherwise always said /fu:q/, switched the /q/ to a /g/ in conjunction with the addition of the suffix pronoun /-u/, thus producing /fu:g-u/. No occurrence was found in the recordings for /fu:X/ followed by a suffix pronoun.

The results above seem to suggest that the lexeme /fu:X/ is undergoing a grammatical reallocation in Temara, whereby it would present a /q/ when used as an adverb and a /g/ when used as a one-word preposition. This result could not be disconnected from phonetic processes: a key morpho-syntactic difference between the adverb and the preposition is that the latter forms a closer prosodic bond with the noun that follows, so that the phoneme /X/ may be considered as situated in the middle of a prosodic word. The same is not true for the adverb, which is often located at the end of a sentence as in (2), or in the following example:

6) GG: /xa:s^ss^s-ni nəmʃi n.../ *‘I’d need to leave...’*

PT: /nətyərrəb/ *‘Far from home’*

GG: /wa:həd s-si:ma:na mən-si:ma:na l-l-fu:q/ *‘One week, one week or longer’*

Even when it is not found at the end of a prosodic unit, such as in (1), the fact that /fu:X/ is still located at the end of a phrase (in this case, a left-displaced adverbial phrase conveying place information) implies that it will not create an indissoluble prosodic link with what follows. In this sense, the phonetic conditioning that the /X/ phoneme in the adverb /fu:X/ undergoes might be similar to that affecting word-final phonemes in several world languages, ie. final devoicing¹⁹³, with the slight difference that, this time, the phoneme may be defined as “phrase-final” rather than “word-final”. If this were the case, then the [q] in /fu:q/ should be seen as the product of a devoicing of [g]: however, defining this phonetic change as a mere “devoicing” would be inexact, as [q] is uvular and [g] velar, which means the two allophones do not form a perfect voiced-voiceless couple. For the same reason, the [g] in /fu:g/ (when used as a preposition, ie. when /g/ is “phrase-internal”) cannot be viewed as a product of the voicing of [q]. Nonetheless, evoking the phenomenon of final devoicing to explain the /q/ - /g/ alternation in /fu:X/ may not be totally inappropriate, as its (supposed) universality seems to attest to a preference, diffused in many languages, for voiceless phonemes in final and for voiced phonemes in initial or medial position; therefore, Temara speakers may be conveying the same kind of preference in their choice between

¹⁹³ Final voicing can be defined as the phonetic process consisting in the “loss of voicing in final obstruents” (Brockhaus 1995: 2; cfr. also 3-4 for the frequency of this phenomenon in different languages).

the two phonemes they deem appropriate to /fu:X/ (rather than between one of those phonemes and its voiced/voiceless counterpart).

While a phonologically conditioned type of grammatical reallocation such as the one I envisage for /fu:X/ would theoretically exclude extra-linguistic factors, it is also true that such hypothetical reallocation process cannot be considered as complete in any case, since four out of the seventeen Temara speakers appear to have said /fu:g/ with an adverbial function, while two others (different from the former four) have used /fu:q/ as a one-word preposition; thus, six speakers seem to have violated the “grammatical rule” whose existence I am suggesting. This proves (if anything) that, while internal linguistic factors can and often do play a role, extra-linguistic factors can hardly be ruled out when we are trying to account for variation within a non-standardized language variety, and that “perfect” grammatical reallocation (which, in the absence of a top-down standardisation, cannot be due but to the speakers’ collective linguistic rationale) is very unlikely to be reached in this kind of circumstances.

4.2.2 - *The five lexemes*

Unlike the example observed above, **the five lexemes chosen** for the analysis of the variation of the phonological variable in Temara **present a variation pattern that mere internal linguistic factors cannot explain**, unless hypothetically and in (at best) some cases concerning minor aspects of such variation, as shall be seen.

The five lexemes selected for the analysis are:

- /wa:qəf/ vs /wa:gəf/ (active participle, including feminine and plural forms; roughly corresponding to English “*standing*”, “*still* (adjective)”)
- /wqəf/ vs /wgəf/ (verb, including all its conjugated forms; roughly corresponding to English “*to stop*”, “*to stand up*”)
- /qədda:m/ vs /gədda:m/ (preposition, adverb or noun; roughly corresponding to English “*in front of*”, “*opposite*”, “*forward*”)
- /lqa/ vs /lga/ (verb, including all its conjugated forms and participles; roughly

corresponding to English “to find”¹⁹⁴)

- /qbəl/ vs /gbəl/ (preposition or adverb; roughly corresponding to English “before”)

As was done when choosing the three variables, my choice of these lexemes was based on the observation of their variability between /q/ and /g/ both in the corpus collected during the longest field study (September 2015 – July 2016) and in Moroccan media fiction products (cfr. § 3.4); again, as for the variables, it was hypothesised that the recurring of such variability in both cases increased the possibility that variation involving the lexemes concerned may carry social meaning. In the media, it was observed that pronouncing these and other variable lexemes (such as /Xəlb/, “heart”) with /g/ seemed to mainly indexicalise the speech of people of rural origin, which is not surprising given the history of, and the academic research conducted on, these two diachronic allophones (cf. § 4.1.3). Therefore, one of the goals of the analysis of the phonological variable was that of verifying whether the data from my corpus confirmed or integrated the set of social connotations attributed to the alternation between /q/ and /g/ according to the academy, or the Moroccan media.

The lexemes that appear to vary between /q/ and /g/ both in my corpus and in the media are more than five in number, but it was decided to limit the analysis to these five lexemes because of their frequency and, therefore, the greater number of occurrences that they would allow to work on. This does not mean that greater frequency is taken as corresponding to greater “salience” (cfr. § 1.1.4), but rather that the former provides more favourable conditions for the study of the speakers’ social assessment of a certain phonological trend, namely the alternation between /q/ and /g/ in a

¹⁹⁴ In fact, the employ of this verb is arguably more extended than the English translation proposed here; in particular, it is frequently used in order to express the mere existence of somebody or something, although this is presented as if it were the interlocutor who “finds” it, and not the speaker who informs the interlocutor about its existence. Eg.:

- /ka:-**təlqa** bna:dəm kəjzi:b lʕi:ma:rʕk məzja:ni:n/ ie. “There are people that bring good [clothing] brands” (lit.: “You find people that bring...”)
- /...f-l-ħa:mma:m ʕa:mra b da:k f-ʃi mi:dʕi:ka:lʕ ka:-**təlqa** ātidepresær āti ātikalmā āti kda.../ ie. “[In Europe] bathrooms are full of those things: there are antidepressants, anti... antisedatives [sic], anti... and so on” (lit.: “You find antidepressants, antisedatives, and so on”)

It also can be used to present the existence of somebody’s characteristics, or actions. Eg.:

- /ma:ta:la:n LT tta hu:wa ʕənd-u ha:d f-ʃi t-l-*əformatik* ta:-**təlqa**:-h f-l-ħa:ja:t dja:l-u mʒəhhəd/ ie. “For example, LT as well is into this thing of informatics, so he puts in his best effort at it” (lit.: “...so you find him putting in his best effort at it”)

All the phrases of this kind imply a sort of hypothetic protasis, such as “if you go check for yourself (... then you find [the existence of] X)”. The frequency of the use of /lXa/ with this and other meanings makes it a veritable discourse marker in my informants’ Moroccan Arabic.

part of their colloquial Moroccan Arabic lexical repertoire: the analysis will then help to state *if* any of these lexemes may be considered as salient in any sense.

Despite this choice, the occurrences of the five lexemes obtained after the first fieldwork were still not considered sufficient in order to carry out a meaningful analysis. For this reason, **an *ad hoc* test was conceived in order to indirectly cause the speakers to utter those specific lexemes and obtain comparable data from a greater number of informants** (cfr. § 3.2.5 for a complete description of the test and how it was executed). However, even though this technique usually succeeded in eliciting the targeted lexemes, the number of occurrences obtained for each lexeme greatly varied from one informant to another, and it was not possible to obtain tokens for each lexeme from all the informants. By consequence, every observation that will be made and every conclusion that will be arrived at in the course of the analysis that follows are to be taken as hypothetical, and await an extension (and a more accurate selection) of the sample of speakers to be confirmed. Also, it should not be forgotten that, being almost all the informants men, it is not certain that these hypotheses may apply to the female population as well, which means they will have to be restricted to the male population for the time being. Nonetheless, if those hypotheses are well-founded, the trends identified may prove very interesting as they would complicate previous di- or trichotomical visions of the variation of /q/ and /g/ (and other linguistic variables) in the Moroccan and other Arabic colloquial varieties (cfr. § 4.1.3).

4.2.3 - /q/ vs /g/: a semi-variationist approach

Speaker	Sex	% /wa:gəf/	% /wgəf/	% /gədda:m/	% /lga/	% /gbəl/	Tot. /q/	Tot. /g/	% /g/
Oud1	M	0%	100%	100%	100%		1	16	94.1%
Oud3	M		0%		97%	0%	8	27	77.8%
Oud2	M		17%	100%	87%	100%	7	19	73.1%
Oud4	M	67%	0%	100%	56%	0%	7	9	56.3%
GF	M	100%		100%		0%	5	5	50.0%
HN3	M		75%	100%	0%	0%	14	4	22.2%
MH	M	0%	0%		0%		16	0	0.0%
LTm	F		0%		0%	0%	22	0	0.0%
HN1	F	100%	100%	100%		100%	0	9	100.0%
Oud5	M		100%		100%		0	3	100.0%

AL	M	0%		100%	0%		2	4	66.7%
HN2	M			100%	100%	0%	2	3	60.0%
MW	M		100%		0%		5	1	16.7%
OUL	M				0%	0%	3	0	0.0%
Elder group /g/-rate		55.6%	40.9%	100%	53.4%	9.1%	92	101	52.3%
Younger group /g/-rate (general)		20.8%	13.0%	21.3%	5.4%	1.8%	603	87	12.8%
Inter-generational difference		-34.8%	-	-78.7%	-	-7.3%			-39.5%

Table 9 - Results for the older Temara speakers and comparison with general results from the younger speakers.¹⁹⁵

4.2.3.1 – General observations on older vs younger informants

The older informants

Table 9 groups the speakers recorded by means of a one-to-one interview; each of them had been living in Temara for at least 10 years at the time of the recording. They have been grouped separately from the others (ie. those whose speech was recorded through techniques other than the one-to-one interview) because the social networks followed to recruit these informants are different from those through which all other informants were recruited (cfr. § 3.2). I also call them “older” as they cover an age range from 39 to 83, for an average of 60 ca. y.o, while the other informants’ ages range from 18 to 38, for an average of 26 ca. y.o.¹⁹⁶. For this reason, I shall henceforth consider the former group’s data as representative of an “older” generation of Temarese speakers, whereas the latter shall be considered as representants of a “younger” generation of speakers.

The chart reports, for each informant, the percentages indicating the rate of /g/ production for each lexeme and the raw occurrences and /g/-rate¹⁹⁷ of all 5 lexemes put together. Speakers are sorted according to their total /g/-rate for all 5 lexemes; speakers with fewer than 10 occurrences in total (ie. an average of 2 occurrences for each lexeme) have been separated from the others, as I have considered less than 10 a non-significant amount of occurrences. In the third last row, the

¹⁹⁵ An empty case indicates no /q/ or /g/ occurrences, while 0% indicates that there were only /q/ occurrences.

¹⁹⁶ All ages are calculated at the time of the informant’s last recording.

¹⁹⁷ The term “/g/-rate/ will be henceforth used to indicate the percentage of /g/ occurrences for a given lexeme or group of lexemes, either for one single informant or a group.

general data are reported for the whole group. For ease of visual representation, the absolute number of /q/- and /g/-occurrences for each lexeme is not shown.

As none of these speakers underwent the hidden-camera test, the data in the chart are only based on the relatively few tokens of the five lexemes that occurred during the interviews. This serves to explain why for almost half of them (6 out of 14) fewer than 10 occurrences were recorded; nonetheless, all of them (except 3) produced over half of the lexemes (at least 3) in spite of not being explicitly solicited to do so. Therefore, it is possible to observe that, for this group of speakers, all lexemes do not vary in the same way: for two of them, /Xədda:m/ and /Xbəl/, no intra-speaker variation was found. For the former, not even inter-speaker variation is observed as the group /g/-rate for this lexeme is 100%; however, this datum has to be relativised since all the least /g/-pronouncing informants did not happen to produce any /Xədda:m/ token. As these informants consistently pronounced all other lexemes with /q/, it is legitimate to suspect that they may also prefer /qədda:m/ over /gədda:m/ when speaking. Nonetheless, even so, the consistency with which the rest of the group pronounced this lexeme with /g/ is remarkable, and seems to suggest that, in their repertoire, /g/ is the only phoneme available for /Xədda:m/; this will be furtherly discussed in relation to the data from the younger speakers. On the other hand, the status of /gbəl/ almost seems to be the opposite of that of /gədda:m/, as its /g/-rate is the lowest one (9%). This is partly due to the fact that the two informants that did produce /gbəl/ (**ODU2** and **HN1**) only did so once, although neither of them produced any /qbəl/ token. It may also be observed how /Xbəl/ seems to have the lowest /g/-rate among the five lexemes in general, with even some of the most consistent /g/-pronouncing speakers invariantly producing /qbəl/¹⁹⁸.

In-between these two lexemes, we find a group of three other (/wa:Xəf/, /wXəf/ and /lXa/) whose status is more controversial: while their /g/-rates (all close to 50%) seem to indicate an equally-split group preference between /q/ and /g/, a look at the individual rates for each lexeme immediately shows a gap between speakers with a 0% rate (ie. consistently producing that lexeme with /q/) and speakers with a rate higher than 50% (ie. always or prevalently choosing /g/ over /q/); only one of the informants, **ODU2**, produced a /g/-token for a lexeme (/wXəf/) which he otherwise exclusively pronounced with /q/. This may imply that, at least for these three lexical items (and for the age range represented by this group of informants), it is more frequent for a speaker who habitually pronounces them with /g/ to occasionally switch to /q/ than the reverse (ie. a speaker who habitually pronounces them with /q/ occasionally switching to /g/). Also, it may imply that (again, for this age range of speakers) maintaining a constant /q/-pronunciation for an item that varies

¹⁹⁸ Two of them, **GF** and **HN2**, respectively produced five and two tokens of /qbəl/ while prevalently pronouncing all other lexemes with /g/.

between /q/ and /g/ is easier than maintaining a /g/-pronunciation for the same item. Therefore, we may already see a greater “strength” of the status of /q/ over /g/ emerging from these data, as the former phoneme seems to be more stable in the individual informants’ repertoire than the latter; however, as far as this group of speaker is concerned, **the phoneme that is actually prevalent in the data is still /g/, at least statistically**, as it appeared about 52% of the time in the total occurrences of these five lexemes.

One last observation may be made on the social characterisation of the speakers in relation to their ranking according to their /g/-rate. If we only consider the informants for whom at least 10 total occurrences were recorded for the five lexemes, we may observe that the four most consistent /g/-speakers (those on top of the chart) are all *Ūdāya*, ie. members of one of the tribes who inhabited Temara before the start of the urbanisation process. Even if we include the speakers with less than 10 total occurrences, it still results that four out of the five top /g/-pronouncers come from this tribe (the fifth one being a woman born in the rural *Ġarb* region). This also will have to be taken into consideration when comparing these data with those obtained from the younger informants’ speech, as well as when discussing the social meanings attributed to the use of /q/ or /g/ for these five lexemes.

Inter-generational evolution of the variable

In the last two rows, the general /g/-rates for the younger Temara speakers (ie., those who were not recorded through the standard interview technique) and the difference with respect to the older’s rates are reported. These rates are calculated after gathering all the occurrences obtained from all the recordings to which younger Temara informants participated, including spontaneous conversations, focus groups and hidden-camera tests. Recordings including those informants who were not living in Temara at the time they were recorded are not taken into consideration¹⁹⁹; the “younger informants” examined here thus amount to 38. Similarly, individual younger speakers’ /g/-rates will be shown later, and only in relation to the hidden-camera tests; here, we shall limit the discussion to a comparison of the global rates obtained for the older and the younger. An important bias to take into account in such comparison is that older and younger informants differ as for the techniques through which samples of their speech were recorded, the networks through which they

¹⁹⁹ An exception was made for two of them, **LPI** and **EMK**, who underwent the hidden-camera test together; the former was born and raised in Temara, then got married and moved to Benslimane (Casablanca-Settat region), where he had been living for a year. Despite that, he worked in Rabat and regularly met his friends in Temara; the latter lived in Mers El Kheir, but performed the test with **LPI** as the two had socialised while attending the same school in Temara, and were long-time friends.

were recruited and their socio-demographic characteristics (eg. regional origins, social status, etc.; cfr. Chapter 3).

A global inter-generational decrease of the /g/-rate can be observed for all the five lexemes, suggesting that the younger generation prefers /q/ over /g/ in each of them. The quantitatively sharpest decrease is that of /gədda:m/ (which is the most frequent /g/-item among the “older” while being much closer to the rates of other /g/-lexemes among the “younger” informants) although that of /lga/ is equally remarkable (being preferred to /lqa/ by the “older” and used more than once by only three “younger” informants out of 38). The frequency of the other three /g/-items is also sensibly lower, including for /gbəl/ which is not popular among the older either²⁰⁰.

The following hypotheses can be made on the basis of the observations above:

- Linguistic constraints may be more operative in the older generation, notably with respect to /Xədda:m/ and /lXa/, where /X/ is closely followed or preceded by a voiced consonant
- The “younger” are *more aware* of the /q/ - /g/ alternation, at least in the case of /Xədda:m/ and /lXa/, as they do not let natural or close-to-natural phonetic processes influence their phonological choice
- Another possible explanation for the sharp decrease in /lga/ occurrences from the older to the younger generation is its “pragmatic salience” (Errington 1985), as /lXa/ is a fundamental discourse marker which frequently recurs and has many semantic and pragmatic functions. If this contributes to making this lexeme salient, then the latter may be easily subject to the speakers’ “meaning making” work, and, as a result, phonologic change may be accelerated.

4.2.3.2 - Younger Temara informants: the hidden-camera test results

In order to analyse the use and indexation of the Phonologic Variable among the younger Temara speakers²⁰¹, it was decided to only take into consideration the data that emerged from the hidden-camera tests. This restriction of the analysis is due to the following reasons:

- Not enough occurrences of the five lexemes were recorded besides the hidden-camera tests (which was one of the reasons why the hidden-camera test was developed in the first place)

²⁰⁰ Only one “younger” informant produced /gbəl/ during the recordings, against two “older” ones.

²⁰¹ I.e. speakers who resided in Temara and were recorded in interactions with other Temara residents; it should also be kept in mind that this group does not include any females.

- The hidden-camera test provided the opportunity for obtaining linguistic data from a relatively big number of informants while maintaining a constant communicative context
- As only 14 out of 34 test-takers were also recorded in other kinds of interactions, it was not possible to verify whether the test context seriously influenced the informants' speech, as I could not compare test and extra-test occurrences of the lexemes for a sufficient number of informants. Attempts I made at comparing test and extra-test occurrences for a few number of informants are not reported here as they did not issue significant results that may support or contradict the hypothesis that the test affected the informants' way of speaking.

These considerations led me to limit my analysis of the Phonologic Variable among this group of speakers to the speech recorded in the framework of the hidden-camera tests, and to the 34 test-takers who resided in Temara at the time of the test recording²⁰². This decision obviously implies that younger speakers who were only recorded in contexts other than the tests have not been included in the analysis. Also, it adds a *caveat* to the comparison between the data exploited in order to analyse the younger informants' speech and those exploited in order to analyse the older informants' speech, as the latter were only recorded in the context of individual interviews, which present important differences with respect to the test in terms of audience and communication purposes.

Another *caveat* concerns the limitation of the analysis to a "controlled" communicative situation. In no way is it assumed that verbal interactions within this kind of test take place in exactly the same manner as in other, more "spontaneous" contexts; quite the contrary, given the "imposed" nature of the communicative task and the presence of both the researcher and the recorder. Rather than providing a faithful sample of everyday speech, the hidden-camera test had the purpose of allowing a meaningful comparison of the contextually anchored phonologic assignment of the five lexemes by different speakers, while at the same time diverting the latter's attention from a metalinguistic use of language (ie. a use aimed at sending messages on that use itself), especially as far as /q/ and /g/ are concerned. It was expected that, through such comparison, the social meaning underlying this phonologic variation would emerge regardless of the component of "unnaturalness" of the test context – a goal which I believe was reached.

²⁰² Two Temara residents who took their test with a Rabat resident are not included in the analysis.

Below are reported the global results of the 17 test sessions that only included speakers residing in Temara. The count of the /q/- and /g/-occurrences was done manually, without the use of a software. All occurrences were counted, except:

- Cases in which the speaker immediately repeated a /q/- or a /g/-item he had just uttered in the same form by effect of stuttering or hesitation, or for explicative or rhetorical purposes
- Cases in which the speaker immediately repeated a /q/- or a /g/-item his interlocutor had just uttered in the same form (whereas, if he switched the phoneme in repeating it, then the occurrence was counted)

During all the sessions, I took particular care in avoiding to utter any of the lexemes myself, in order not to affect the speaker's choices. I was always successful in this, except for one case, in which I did mistakenly use the verb /wqəf/; I therefore omitted to count all following /wXəf/ occurrences in that session.

Speaker (Interlocutor during test)	/wa:qəf/	/wa:gəf/	/wqəf/	/wgəf/	/qədda:m/	/gədda:m/	/lqa/	/lga/	/qbəl/	/gbəl/	%/g/*3	%/g/*5
SI (EZ)		7				2		1			100.0%	100.0%
PT (POP)		4				1	2				100.0%	71.4%
GS (DS)		5		2	2		4		1		77.8%	50.0%
DC (FG)		2	4	1	1	2	1		1		50.0%	41.7%
DMN (DM)	1	1	3	3	1		2		1		44.4%	33.3%
PL (PA)	1	1	2	1					1		40.0%	33.3%
GG (IDG)	1		1		1	2	3				40.0%	25.0%
EZ (SI)	2	2	1	1	2		2				37.5%	30.0%
CA (VDM)	4		1			3	2				37.5%	30.0%
OL (EY)	6	3	1		1		2		2		27.3%	20.0%
DS (GS)	5	4	4		2		10	1	4		26.7%	16.7%
SDD (PO)	10		2	1	2	3					22.2%	22.2%
SDG (IC)	2	1	1		1		1		2		20.0%	12.5%
GP (LT)	7		2	2			1				18.2%	16.7%
VDM (CA)	2	1	3		2		1		2		12.5%	9.1%
DN (GM)	4	1	3				3		1		12.5%	8.3%
LT (GP)	1		2		5	1					11.1%	11.1%

IC (SDG)	5		3	<i>I</i>	2		1		1		9.1%	7.7%
GM (DN)	3		5		3	<i>I</i>	1		1		8.3%	7.1%
CT (RB)	5	<i>I</i>	6		3		5		1		6.7%	4.8%
IDG (GG)	7						5		2		0.0%	0.0%
EY (OL)	2		1				3				0.0%	0.0%
POP (PT)	2		1								0.0%	0.0%
ST (SC)	3						4				0.0%	0.0%
SC (ST)	10						1		1		0.0%	0.0%
DM (DMN)	3		4		1		2		1		0.0%	0.0%
MT (KS)	6		1		1		2		1		0.0%	0.0%
KS (MT)	5		3		14		5		1		0.0%	0.0%
EMK (LPI)	3		2		4		5		1		0.0%	0.0%
LPI (EMK)	7		4		3		2		1		0.0%	0.0%
PA (PL)	6		15		1		2		1		0.0%	0.0%
PO (SDD)	12		4		3		1		3		0.0%	0.0%
RB (CT)	6		3		4		4		1		0.0%	0.0%
FG (DC)	7		2		6		9		1		0.0%	0.0%

Table 10 - Test results (Temara-only tests)

Test – Ranking the results

The 34 Temara test-takers were initially ranked according to the total /g/-rate they obtained during the test (indicated in the %/g/*5 column). However, not all lexemes targeted showed significant variation among the test-takers: /lga/ only occurred twice instead of /lqa/, whereas /gbəl/ was never uttered at all. This immediately leads us to draw some conclusions for these two lexemes: on the one hand, **/lqa/ and /lga/ appear to be clear inter-generational discriminants, whereby the former is typical of the younger generation of Temara speakers, while the latter is typical of the older one. On the other, /qbəl/ seem to be the norm among both age ranges, with /gbəl/ presumably indexing different regional origins** (eg. speakers living in rural areas rather than in a city). For the rest of the analysis, **only /wa:Xəf/, /wXəf/ and /Xədda:m/ will be thus retained, as their status seems to be more variable *within* the younger generation’s speech.**²⁰³ Therefore, each participant’s /g/-rate has been re-calculated by excluding the other two lexemes (the rates thus obtained are indicated in the %/g/*3 column), and the considerations that follow will exclusively address the variation observed with regards to these three lexemes.

Globally, almost half of the informants (16 out of 34) produced at least one of these three lexemes with both phonemes during the test. Figures in italics are used in the table to indicate those cases in which the same informant produced the same lexeme with both phonemes: this happened in 21 out of 102 (=34*3) possible cases, ie. in about 20.6% of the cases. However, if we only consider the 73 cases in which the same informant produced the same lexeme at least twice (ie. those cases in which he practically had the chance to produce it with two different phonemes), then this percentage raises to ca. 28.8%: therefore, the same lexeme was produced with both /q/ and /g/ by the same informant more than one fourth of the times that this could have occurred.

The fact that all the speakers that pronounced at least one lexeme with both phonemes during the test are grouped between two non-phoneme-switching groups (one with a high /g/-rate, indicated in darker grey²⁰⁴, and the other with a 0% rate, in lighter grey) may point to linguistic insecurity (Bennis: 2002) as one of the factors guiding my informants’ choice between /q/ and /g/; more about the possible reasons standing behind the alternation between the two phonemes will be said below. On the basis of this observation, the test-takers thus ranged were initially divided into three groups: “stable” /g/-strong speakers (in dark grey in the table), ie. test-takers who never switched between /q/ and /g/ and constantly assigned at least one of the lexemes to the /g/ phoneme;

²⁰³ All these considerations concerning the younger’s phonologic assignment of the five lexemes receive support from recorded data as well as empirical observations of the younger generation’s speech in contexts other than the hidden-camera test.

²⁰⁴ One informant within the phoneme-switching group, CA, is also indicated in darker grey as he did not alternate between /q/ and /g/ for the same lexeme, but did assign at least one of the lexemes to /g/.

“unstable” speakers (in mid-dark grey), ie. test-takers who did switch between the two phonemes at least for one lexeme; and “stable” /q/-only speakers (in dark grey), ie. test-takers who only produced /q/-items. This way, the variation in use of /q/ or /g/ is represented not only in its quantitative dimension (ie. the percentage of /g/ employed instead of /q/), but also in a sort of “qualitative” dimension (ie. whether the informant is coherent in his assignment of a single lexeme to a phonologic class).

In order to give a more complete representation of the social links between the test-takers and their concentration across Temara, a scheme is reported below that shows the social network they form among each other. Since I feared that the purpose of my questioning may have been misunderstood, I preferred not asking my informants explicit questions about whom among their acquaintances they considered as being closest to them, as was done in other sociolinguistic works that included a study of social networks (such as Bortoni-Ricardo (1985), Labov *et al.* (1968) or Milroy (1980)); also, as I was familiar with many of them, I believed that my being simultaneously acquainted to several informants who in turn were acquainted to each other may have biased his answer to this kind of question. Therefore, data concerning other ties that an informant may have outside the sample of test-takers are not available: the scheme in figure 4.1 is merely based on my direct observation of the relationship existing between my informants, and its main purpose is that of illustrating the informants’ reciprocal distance in terms of social ties. Nonetheless, the informants’ respective test results have been added to the scheme in order to also discuss whether such distance and the test performances appear to be related.

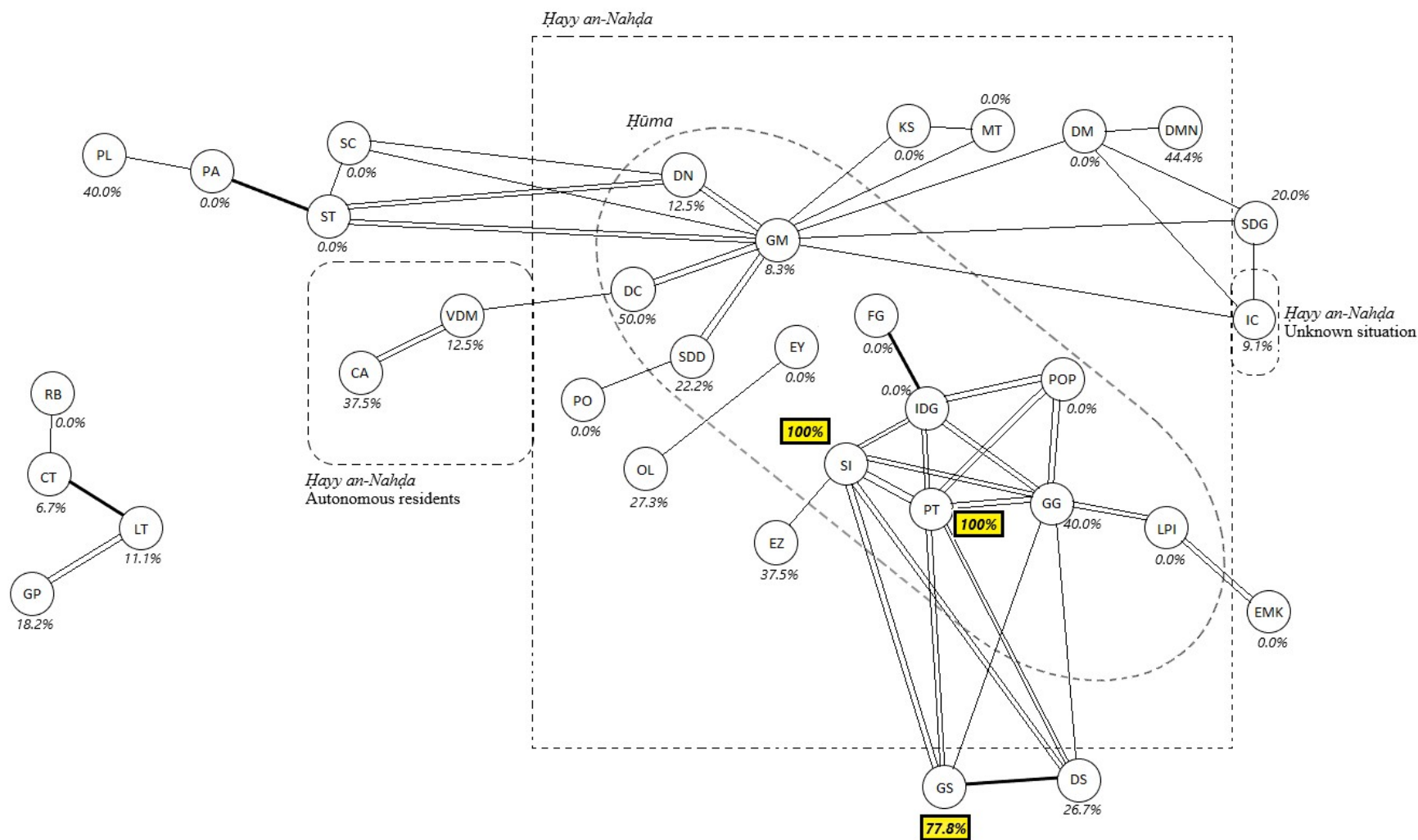


Figure 7 – Test-takers' social links

Most of the test participants were recruited in *Hāyy n-Nāhḍa*, one of the districts that have emerged as a consequence of the government's relocation of slums residents on *Wdaya*'s land²⁰⁵: in figure 4.1, the speakers living in this area of the city are those enclosed in the big square and the two small rounded rectangles placed along the two opposite sides of the big one. The core of my *Hāyy n-Nāhḍa* informants was formed by the people living in a specific neighbourhood (the word for which is *hūma* in Moroccan Arabic²⁰⁶), where I had most of my oldest personal contacts; these are enclosed in the capsule within the big *Hāyy n-Nāhḍa* square. The two small rounded rectangles enclose informants who live autonomously (ie. not in the same dwelling as their parents) in a rented place, or whose situation in this regard is unknown. This distinction was made as it implies differences at the level of the informants' location in the district, social networks and history of residence (as those who rent did not use to live in the Temara slums). All other participants live in different districts of the city (except one, **EMK**, who lives in an adjacent municipality called Mers El Kheir).

The existing tie between two given informants was measured on the basis of the quantity and nature of factors of interaction by which the informants are connected to each other²⁰⁷. Eight such factors were considered in order to establish whether two informants were sufficiently acquainted with each other or not:

- Neighbourhood
- Friendship (declared by the informants, or inferred from occasional verbal interactions)
- Occasional informal hang-outs
- Occasional informal hang-outs in the past
- Occasional common participation in leisure activities (eg. football)
- Work-related interactions
- Frequent customer – service provider interaction
- Common schooling (at present)

On the basis of the list above, three levels of ties were identified:

²⁰⁵ Cfr. § 3.3.2.3

²⁰⁶ Therefore, I shall heretofore call this core neighbourhood *Hūma*, with a capital.

²⁰⁷ As will be seen, the measurement method I adopted serves the purpose of measuring the multiplexity of an informant's social ties with other informants. In her seminal work, Milroy (1980) also focused on the measurement of the multiplexity (as well as of the density) of an individual's network. However, her purpose was quite different as she aimed at measuring a speaker's integration in the local community, so that she could then translate this datum into an independent variable against which the patterning of the linguistic variables could be calculated. Here, the multiplexity of the single tie between two individuals (rather than the whole network of an individual) is addressed, with the purpose of bringing to the fore (in a qualitative way) the relationship (if any) between test performances and ties between the test-takers.

1. No tie at all; this means that no factor in the list is present, and is represented with the absence of any connecting line between two informants (although see below);
2. A simple tie; this means that one single factor is present, and is represented with a single line connecting two informants;
3. A multiplex tie; this means that two or more factors are present, and is represented with a double line connecting two informants.
4. In addition to these three kinds of ties, a special, thick line indicates whether the two informants are from the same family, or best friends (if declared by the informants).

Apart from this distinction, it was observed that, given the kind of reciprocal relationships that the *Hūma*'s residents had developed, all of them were acquainted to each other²⁰⁸; therefore, more single lines should have been traced to connect two informants who are not linked by any line in the scheme, but both live in the *Hūma*. However, this was not done in order to maintain the scheme intelligible. The fact of being both enclosed in the *Hūma* is therefore left to signify alone that two informants are at least linked by a simple tie based on a single factor of interaction, ie. neighbourhood.

As for the relation between the structure of the social ties between the test-takers and the test results, the scheme in figure 4.1 does not seem to provide relevant information. It may be observed that the three informants that obtained the three highest /g/-rates, indicated in a yellow rectangle (**SI**, **PT** and **GS**), are actually part of the same cluster, and this may suggest the existence of an influence due to mutual contact; however, the presence in the same cluster of other informants having obtained a 0% rate seems to imply that the mutual ties are not the main factor explaining those high rates – or that at least other factors should be weighed against the individual's social ties to fully explain the reason of his choice of /q/ or /g/.

As the purpose of the test was to identify the social meanings attributed to such choice, I initially decided to exploit the data obtained from the test by adopting a semi-variationist approach, ie. by looking for possible correlations between the test results and the socio-demographic and ethnographic data that I possessed on the individual test-takers without using a strict statistical procedure. The search for correlations was based on my assumption that recurring to the canonical variationist social categories (age, origin, education, etc.) would allow me to make a first, “rough” interpretation of the data based on pre-defined independent categories. This interpretation would then serve as a basis to make inferences on the actual dynamics of language use. On the other hand,

²⁰⁸ According to the older informants' accounts, ties within a neighbourhood used to be strong in the past; while it is claimed that this is no longer the case in today's Moroccan (urban) society, I personally observed that anyone from the *Hūma* tended to be acquainted with every other dweller of the neighbourhood, even if no special friendly bond existed between them.

I decided not to recur to statistical checks of such correlations, as the data collected are not easily convertible into pure quantitative data, and it was thought that statistical measurements would not have given a coherent picture of the sociolinguistic facts.

Below, the test results are confronted with five kinds of social discriminants: age, potential contacts with other urban areas, area of residence/upbringing, regional origin and education. These are not analysed as “variables” in the canonical variationist sense, but simply as possible factors that may have affected the informant’s performance in the test; therefore, the aim of the analysis was rather to freely use the data as an instrument for understanding the linguistic reality, rather than search for statistical patternings of the variation of linguistic features against the variation of independent variables.

4.2.3.3 – The test results: age-related differences

Speaker	/g/-rate	Age
SI	100.0%	22
PT	100.0%	21
GS	77.8%	22
DC	50.0%	24
DMN	44.4%	20
GG	40.0%	27
PL	40.0%	22
CA	37.5%	24
EZ	37.5%	22
OL	27.3%	31
DS	26.7%	22
SDD	22.2%	25
SDG	20.0%	26
GP	18.2%	23
DN	12.5%	29
VDM	12.5%	23
LT	11.1%	23
IC	9.1%	22

GM	8.3%	38
CT	6.7%	20
EY	0.0%	36
LPI	0.0%	35
PO	0.0%	32
MT	0.0%	31
EMK	0.0%	31
FG	0.0%	30
KS	0.0%	28
DM	0.0%	25
ST	0.0%	25
IDG	0.0%	24
PA	0.0%	24
SC	0.0%	22
POP	0.0%	21
RB	0.0%	18

Table 11 - Test takers ranged

by /g/-rate, with age.

Proceeding with a semi-variationist approach, I correlated the /g/-rates with the single test-takers’ age, which appeared to be a relevant factor in the test-takers’ performance after a first look at the final results. The importance of examining the relation between the speakers’ age and their way of speaking has been highlighted since the earliest variationist sociolinguistic studies (eg. Labov 1964); the variation of linguistic performance according to the informants’ age has given crucial information, both when variation in real time mirrors that in apparent time (ie. differences in the ways of speaking of people of different age mirror an actual evolution of the community’s

speech from one generation to the other) and when it represents a case of age-grading (ie. the same differences show how the speakers of a given community modify their speech as a result of individual development²⁰⁹). In the former case, correlating language use to age allows to track back the language changes that have taken place in the community under study in the last few decades; in this framework, younger speakers are seen as language innovators. In the latter case, inter-generational differences can bring to the fore the social connotations linked to the feature that is abandoned as a result of development. Therefore, whether variation according to age is due to actual language change or age-grading, we shall be interested in examining it in our data, as both scenarios would allow us to make important inferences on the social values associated to the phonological variable.

In Table 11, it is possible to observe that the youngest informants (ie. those whose age is lower than the group's average, which is 25.5; they are marked in grey in the chart) are more evenly distributed along the chart, whereas the “less young” do not range as high. **This was taken as a clue that age had an influence in the test-taker's performance. It was then decided to divide the sample of informants into age subgroups, so as to bring to the fore those factors that differentiated the performances of speakers *within* the same age range.** The division of the sample was not merely based on how old an informant was, as no logic direct relationship was thought to exist between this criterion alone and the informant's linguistic choices (especially in consideration of the fact that the age difference between the test-takers is not a great one). The subdivision – it was thought – needed to take into account a key “turning point” in an individual's life experiences that could have affected the idiolect of the older test-takers.

The identification of this “turning point” was made on the basis of the application of the social networks theory to sociolinguistics. As L. Milroy made clear in many of her theoretical writings (eg. 2002), the structure and content of an individual's social network exert a great influence on his/her (also linguistic) behaviour; more specifically

[n]etworks constituted chiefly of strong (dense and multiplex) ties support localized linguistic norms, resisting pressures to adopt competing external norms. By the same token, if these ties weaken conditions favorable to language change are produced. (L. Milroy 2002: 550).

Following Milroy's words, we may argue that any event in the life of an individual that entails important modifications in his/her social network may have indirect – but important – consequences on his/her way of speaking. Furthermore, Milroy, citing Mitchell (1986: 74), maintains that

²⁰⁹ Cfr. Chambers (2002) for a discussion of age-related variation and the distinction between change in apparent-time and change due to age-grading

[a] fundamental postulate of network analysis is that individuals create personal communities which provide a meaningful framework for solving the problems of daily life. (L. Milroy 2002: 550)

The conclusion one can draw is that, as the individual enters a new phase in his/her life, in which he/she has to deal with a new order of problems and challenges, he/she will also tend to adapt his/her social network structure to the new situation, in order to respond adequately to such problems and challenges. Therefore, the “turning point” to be taken into account for the purpose of subdividing the test-takers’ group had to entail a sort of change of the kind just described.

On the basis of empirical observations made on the fieldwork, it was hypothesised that this key passage should have entailed an opportunity for the informant to develop what I define as Adult Social Networks (henceforth ASN) – by which I intend networks that go beyond family, school and close peers – and that **such passage could be represented by the individual’s entry into the job market**. In the community investigated, this moment is particularly relevant in the constitution of a man’s (and, presumably, also a woman’s) social network, in that work and the workplace force him to create ties – other than those within his family or group of peers – on which he depends for reaching his life goals, with people with whom he is usually in contact on a daily basis – an obligation that many did not necessarily have before. This is not to say that other “turning points” influencing an individual’s network cannot be found: the university, for one thing, is often the first occasion (for those who attend it) to build social relationships out of Temara²¹⁰; marriage, on the other hand, implies a total redefinition of a man’s (as well as, obviously, a woman’s) life priorities and issues, with consequent repercussion on the structuration of his network. However, **whether an informant had entered the job market seemed to be the criterion allowing to provide the most satisfying explanation for the distribution of the /g/-rates**.

The informants that satisfied this criterion were grouped under the label “Employable Younger Speakers” (EYS), whereas those that had not completed their *cursus studiorum* at the time of the test were simply grouped under the label “Students”. In fact, two slight corrections were made in order for this subdivision to be sensible: first of all, an informant who had only finished studying in the summer of 2017 (when I performed all the hidden-camera tests) was still included among the Students, as long as he had not been working for one year or more; on the other hand, if someone had been working for at least one year in a job unrelated to their family business (if their family owned any business at all), then they were included among the EYS even if they were still studying alongside their job. These corrections were aimed at linking the informants’

²¹⁰ Cfr. Al-Wer (2002a) on the strict connection that emerges between education patterns – including university – and social networks in Arab sociolinguistic studies.

subgrouping to actual differences in their socialising opportunities as realistically as possible: the social ties that one develops as a result of starting a job do not affect one's way of speaking from the first day of work, but presumably take a while to exert their influence²¹¹; on the other hand, working in one's family business, especially a small one (such as a grocery shop), does not in itself modify the individual's social network to a great extent²¹².

An issue that was not taken into account in this classification was the presence of people who entered the job market and then became unemployed again, or of different degrees of employment stability. As was noticed by Bennani-Chraïbi & Farag (2007) in reference to the crisis of the unemployed graduates in the Arab societies, “ce qu'on appelait pompeusement ‘l'entrée dans la vie active’, n'est pas irréversible. (...) Le binôme actif/inactif résiste mal à l'épreuve des pratiques et, du coup, c'est la notion même d'insertion qui se révèle lourde de présupposés normatifs”²¹³ (19-20). Keeping in mind these caveats, it was still decided to consider the informant's first entry into the job market as a sort of “coming of age”, ie. as a moment that somehow marked his social as well as linguistic maturation; therefore, even those informants who returned to the status of unemployed after their first job were grouped with the EYS.

By applying the criterion described above, the test-takers were divided into 20 EYS and 14 Students (cfr. Table 12 and 13): while the chronological ages of the members of the two subgroups partially overlap (ie. some of the Students are older than some of the EYS), the EYS's age average (27.95) is sensibly higher than the Students' (22.07) as could be expected. Table 12 and 13 report the global test results in a double fashion, with both the “quantitative” and the “qualitative” dimensions of the variation (cfr. above) being represented for each member of the two subgroups.

Speaker	/g/-rate	Intra-lexical variability
CA	37.5%	No unstable lexeme ²¹⁴ , mixed /g/-/q/ speaker Showed unstable lexemes
OL	27.3%	
SDD	22.2%	
SDG	20.0%	
GP	18.2%	

²¹¹ Obviously, how long this “while” should be cannot be calculated mathematically; the one-year limit I fixed is totally arbitrary.

²¹² The matter would be different if the family business was eg. a large company, or an activity which also includes members with whom the individual does not have kin relationships; however, this was not the case for any of the test-takers.

²¹³ “...what used to be pompously called ‘the entry into the workforce’ is not irreversible. (...) The economically active/inactive dichotomy is not straightforward in practice, and the concept of ‘occupational integration’ proves to be charged with normative presuppositions”.

²¹⁴ By “unstable lexeme” is meant a lexeme that oscillated between /q/ and /g/ during the speaker's test performance.

VDM	12.5%	
DN	12.5%	
LT	11.1%	
IC	9.1%	
GM	8.3%	
EY	0.0%	Stable /q/-speakers
LPI	0.0%	
PO	0.0%	
MT	0.0%	
DM	0.0%	
ST	0.0%	
EMK	0.0%	
EG	0.0%	
KS	0.0%	
SC	0.0%	

Table 12 - EYS with general test results

informant (5%) showed no unstable lexeme while producing /g/ in more than one lexical item, 9 (45%) showed unstable lexemes and 10 (50%) did not produce any lexeme with /g/. On the other hand, among the Students, these three categories are respectively represented by 3, 7 and 4 speakers, ie. about 21%, 50% and 29% of the subgroup members. Although the numbers of members for each subgroup (20 EYS and 14 students) are not huge, it clearly appears how the EYS definitely tended towards a /g/-less performance more than the Students did. A brief look at the quantitative dimension of the variation confirms this picture: while no EYS obtained a /g/-rate equal to or higher than 50%, four out of fifteen Students did, with two of them even invariably producing /g/ for all three of the lexemes.

How does this statistical difference explain to us the meaning of the /q/-vs-/g/ variation? In fact, these data are not sufficient in themselves to assert that forming ASN encourages Moroccan Arabic speakers from a city like Temara to assign to the /q/ phonologic class (rather than the /g/ one) lexemes that alternate between the two classes; and even if they were sufficient, why forming ASN should correlate with a preference for /q/ would remain unclear.

One possible explanation for the relevance of ASN could be advanced on the basis that developing “mature” networks leads Temarese to be more connected to urban speakers from other

When the test-takers are separated according to their chance of having formed ASN, the inter-group difference clearly emerges both on the quantitative and the qualitative dimensions of the variation. On the qualitative dimension, the distribution of the informants is proportionally slightly different between the two groups: among the EYS, 1

Speaker	/g/-rate	Intra-lexical variability
SI	100.0%	No unstable lexeme, /g/-strong-speakers
PT	100.0%	
GS	77.8%	
DC	50.0%	Showed unstable lexemes
DMN	44.4%	
PL	40.0%	
GG	40.0%	
EZ	37.5%	
DS	26.7%	
CT	6.7%	
POP	0.0%	Stable /q/-only-speakers
IDG	0.0%	
PA	0.0%	
RB	0.0%	

Table 13 - Students with general test results

Arabic-speaking Moroccan towns. That Moroccan Arabic /g/ is associated to rural speech is widely accepted among both laymen and Moroccan Arabic linguists and sociolinguists (cfr. § 4.1.2). In Temara, it appears that the bulk of its current residents has a rural origin (cfr. § 2.3.2), so **we may expect that growing in the linguistic environment of the town exposes an individual to ways of speaking in which /g/ tends to prevail over /q/**. Young people growing in Temara are able to, and usually do study in the same town where they live until they complete their *Baccalauréats*, which correspond to a high-school diploma; up to that moment, they are not forced to commute or move to another town. This means that, until they start attending university or working, they are very unlikely to develop solid networks that connect them with social contexts in which /g/ is not the prevalent norm. Since most members of the Students group had completed their *Baccalauréat* and were attending or had attended university at the time of the test – and nevertheless showed higher /g/ rates – my argument is that **working is a much stronger factor pushing towards /q/ than university**.

Conversely, if an individual has entered the job market, we expect him/her to have started forming networks that go beyond not only those he/she was able to build while at school or university, but also those emanating from his/her kinship and teenage friendship relations – in other words, we expect him/her to have started forming ASN. Also, we expect work-related ASN to be not as limited to Temara as the school, family and peers networks were, since many (and probably most) work opportunities still come from bigger cities, most notably Rabat (which allows commuting thanks to its proximity). Another argument may be added: the older an individual is, the more social ties we expect him/her to have developed in his/her life, and the more ties he/she has developed, the more likely he/she is to have connections with urban speakers from other cities.

In order to check whether what we may call “inter-urban ties” affected the informants’ test performances, **we shall confront the EYS’s ranking with the ethnographic data I could collect on each of them with regards to their opportunities of forming social networks with urban speakers out of Temara**. Chances to closely observe and get the full picture of a speaker’s social and human background, as well as of his daily life, were unequal across my sample of informants, depending as they were on my degree of familiarity with each of them. Therefore, the observations reported in table 4.7 below are based on the sometimes limited information I possess for each participant, and are to be relativised because of such limitation.

4.2.3.4 – EYS: Degree of inter-urban ties

As can be observed, out of five informants (**CA, OL, PO, SDD and SDG**) whose daily or previous life does not seem to present any opportunity of developing ASN in other Arabic-speaking

urban areas, four (highlighted in yellow) are at the top of the chart, as they were the most frequent users of /g/ within this group. **CA**, 24, was born and grew up in a small town near Agadir, came to Temara when he was already 16 and still lives and works here²¹⁵ (although he was not asked whether he had previously worked in any other town); therefore, his speech is unlikely to have been greatly influenced from contacts not only with other urban areas, but with other Arabic-speaking areas in general, to the point that his proficiency in colloquial Arabic seems to be still lacking²¹⁶. **OL**, 31, was born and raised and still lives in Temara where he has started a family, and keeps a hairdresser's shop in one of Temara's slums (*Səbṣīn*). **SDD**, 25, was born and raised and has spent all his life in Temara, except for one year during which he played for Raja Casablanca (also, he may have taken his vocational diploma in Rabat); apart from that one year as a professional footballer, he is not likely to have developed wide networks in other urban areas. **SDG**, 26, was born in Sale but his family originates from Souk El-Arbaa, a town in the *Ġarb* region (which he never visits); he has been living in Temara since he was 11, still works here and does not appear to have particular social links in other urban areas²¹⁷.

²¹⁵ All information about the participants that is reported in this section refers to the time when the test was taken, except where noted differently.

²¹⁶ **CA** and **VDM**, who were co-participants in the test, are the only test-takers for whom Arabic is a second language; both of them are native Tashelhit speakers. As may be recalled, one of the criteria with which I selected the participants for my test was that they be fluent in colloquial Moroccan Arabic. Added to that, two speakers could co-participate in the test only if speaking Arabic to each other was not unnatural for them (eg.: if they were used to speaking Amazigh to each other, then they could not co-participate in the test). I met **CA** at the house of **VDM**, who is his neighbour, and heard them speak colloquial Arabic to each other. As I intended to recruit them for the test, I intended to ascertain that they were not speaking Arabic just because of my presence there, so I asked them if they normally spoke Arabic to each other; to which they responded affirmatively. Nonetheless, during the test, **CA** needed for one of the by-standers (also a Tashelhit speaker) to translate a word that I had uttered during the questions-and-answers session (the verb /ttakka/, "to lie down") to Tashelhit. Whether this was due to my incorrect pronunciation of that word or to a possible incomplete proficiency in Arabic on **CA**'s part remains uncertain.

²¹⁷ It is also true that, **SDG** having born in Sale and having lived there for the first nine years of his life, he may still have family and childhood friends in that city. However, these would not be counted as ASN - which are networks that go beyond family and peers -, unless **SDG** happens to work or engage in some kind of organised activity with his contacts in Sale. Unfortunately, data on this informant are not abundant as he was not among my closest friends in Temara.

Speaker	Ethnographic observations	/g/-rate	Intra-lexical variability
CA	Born and raised in the Agadir area, came to Temara when 16, works in Temara	37.5%	No unstable lexeme, mixed /g/-/q/ speaker
OL	Born, raised, lives and works in Temara	27.3%	Showed unstable items
SDD	Born and raised in Temara, briefly played in Raja Casablanca, may have studied in Rabat	22.2%	
SDG	Raised first in Sale, then in Temara when 11, works in Temara	20.0%	
GP	Born in Taza, visits family there, in Fes and Meknes; occasionally works in contact with people from other towns	18.2%	
VDM	Lived between Agadir and Marrakesh then came to Temara when 15, used to work and studies in Rabat	12.5%	
DN	Born in Rabat, came to Temara when 10, works in Rabat, organizes music events between Rabat and Casab.	12.5%	
LT	Born and raised in Temara, works in Rabat	11.1%	
IC	Born and raised in Temara, works in Temara but studies in Rabat	9.1%	Stable /q/-speakers
GM	Born and raised in Temara, trades in Western clothing, used to work in Rabat	8.3%	
EY	Born and raised in Temara, works in Rabat	0.0%	
LPI	Born and raised in Temara, attended private university and works in Rabat	0.0%	
PO	Born and raised in Temara, works in Temara as a hairdresser	0.0%	
MT	Born and raised in Temara, trades in Western clothing	0.0%	
DM	Born and raised in Temara, used to work in Rabat, now works in a factory in Temara	0.0%	
ST	Moved to several towns before settling in Temara when 11 ca., then left to Oujda after 11-12 y.s and settled back	0.0%	
EMK	Born and raised in Mers El Kheir, near Temara; attended private university and works in Rabat	0.0%	
FG	Born and raised in Temara, works in a factory in Skhirate with workers from several towns	0.0%	
KS	Born and raised in Temara, skates in Rabat	0.0%	
SC	Born in Chefchaouen, works in Rabat	0.0%	

Table 14 - Data on EYS's opportunities of building inter-urban ASN.

All participants lower in the chart are engaged in some activity that provides them with the opportunity of developing ASN in other nearby cities, most notably Rabat. Most of them are connected to the city by virtue of their job, including one (**GM**) who used to trade Western clothing in the Old Medina. As trading imported clothing implies links with other urban areas, at least for traders who do not live in a big town where contacts may abound, it is also likely that whoever does **GM**'s job (such as **MT**, a colleague and acquaintance of **GM**'s) has the same kind of links. A particular case is that of **FG**, who works as a supervisor in a factory that belongs to an international firm and is located in Skhirate, a small sea town next to Temara which enjoys a more “elitist” reputation, and is the location of several foreigners’ and rich Rbatis’ villas (as well as a royal palace). Added to that, **FG**'s workplace counts several people from other urban areas among its workers, as appears from **FG**'s own statement, collected during a recording session previous to the test:

/ka:-ttla:qa b-na:s bæzza:f ka:-ttla:qa b-ʕa:qli:ja:t f-f-jkəl xa:sʕsʕ-ək ha:da təhdərʕ mʕa:-h b-tʕa:ri:qt-u u ha:da xa:sʕsʕ-ək təhdərʕ mʕa:-h b-tʕa:ri:qt-u tma:rʕi ma:-ka:-təlqa:-f mʕa:-h mu:ʃki:l ka:jən ka:za:wi xa:sʕsʕ-u jəhdərʕ mʕa:-h mən-l-fu:q xəsʕsʕ-ək ta:-nta tha:wəl təʃrəf ki:fa:f təhdərʕ mʕa:-h wəld xɪ:rat ta hu:wa bbuħdi:t-u xa:sʕsʕ-ək təʃrəf ki:fa:f təhdərʕ mʕa:-h/

You meet unbelievable people, strange mentalities; this one needs to be talked to in a way, the other one needs to be talked to in another way... A Temarese won't give you problems, but there's a Casablancaese that needs to be talked to like you're superior, you, too, need to try and know how to talk to him; people from Skhirate are also peculiar, you need to know how to talk to them...

In some other cases, such as **DN**'s and **KS**'s, these links may also be due to activities related to leisure or entertainment. The only informant who is lower than the top-five /g/-pronouncing EYS and about whom I have no knowledge of social connections to Rabat or any other town is **PO**: the very brief contact we had, which was essentially limited to his participation to the hidden-camera test, did not allow me to collect any information on him (beyond his basic demographic data), and therefore I am not able to state whether he is engaged in social activities connecting him to other urban areas in other ways or he is just an exception to the group's general trend.

The informants' distribution in Table 14, with their respective opportunities of having social ties with people in Rabat and other cities, should not be taken as evidence that speakers who do not have such ties inevitably choose /g/ more frequently than speakers who do have them. To begin with, all the top four, “non-urban-connected” informants we described above did not markedly differ in their /g/-vs-/q/ choice from all those lower in the chart: suffice it to say that the fourth ranking, **SDG**, who does not seem to have special links with other cities, has chosen /g/ only once,

whereas **GP**, who seems to have had opportunities of coming in contact with urban social networks (although not regularly), has gone for /g/ twice, although he obtained a (slightly) lower /g/-rate than **SDG** (cfr. Table 14). Nonetheless, the fact that the test-takers who do not appear to be particularly in contact with speakers from other cities tended to obtain a higher /g/-rate cannot, in my opinion, be neglected: for example, it cannot be overlooked that **CA**, the only Employable Younger Speaker who has no urban connections and has not even grown up in the proximity of big Arabic-speaking cities, not only has the highest /g/-rate of all, but is also the only one who constantly pronounced at least one of the three lexemes (/Xədda:m/) with /g/. Therefore, this seeming correspondence between the choice between /g/ and /q/ on the one hand and the degree of connection of the informants' social activities with other urban areas on the other will be taken into account in the discussion of the social value of the phonological variable.

A comparison of social practices within the EYS group (which, as should be remembered, was isolated on the basis of opportunities of building Adult Social Networks linked to the speaker's entry into the job market) **has therefore provided further (although not final) evidence in favour of my hypothesis, ie. that the possibility of forming social networks at the inter-urban level favours the use of /q/ over /g/ in lexemes that allow a choice between the two.** Unfortunately, the same comparison is not possible within the Students subgroup, for the obvious reason that, being still students, their possibility of building ASN is very limited and no great differences exist among the members of this subgroup with regards to this aspect. However, two exceptions are worth noting: **POP**, who participates in a Scouting group with whom he travels around Morocco, is likely to have contacts with Moroccans from other urban areas, and it may not be a coincidence that he obtained a 0% /g/-rate. The second exception is **PA**, who not only was born in another city, Sale (he moved to Temara when he was between 6 and 7 y.o.), but also had recently spent about four years in Oujda – his parents' town of origin - , going back to Temara in 2016, the year before he made the test; like **POP**, he also constantly avoided /g/ when uttering the three lexemes examined.

4.2.3.5 – EYS: age at arrival and area of residence

A further argument in favour of the relation between urban social connections and choice of /q/ can be advanced if the same analysis is done by focusing on those EYS who were linguistically raised in the same geographical and social context. By this, I mean that we will now consider only those speakers who were living in the same district (ie. *Ḥāyy n-Nāḥḍa*) during their formative years for dialect acquisition.

It is common knowledge that the kind of speech we come into contact with in the course of our formative years (through our family and people we were close to during that time) affects our way of speaking. On the other hand, since the quasi-totality of *Hāyy n-Nāhḍa*'s households have come to live in this district after being relocated from the ancient slums, and since most slums dwellers used to be immigrants from other Moroccan regions (cfr. § 3), we may expect the residents of this district to have quite similar histories of relocation and, ultimately, socio-economic conditions. Therefore, if we consider a group of speakers who were living in this district during those crucial years, we will be keeping constant an important factor – the social context of their dialect acquisition – that is likely to have affected their way of speaking, and the impact of other factors shall emerge more clearly. Following Chambers (2002: 368), we will consider as “formative years for accent and dialect formation” those going from eight to eighteen years of age.

Speaker	Area of upbringing in Temara	Came to Temara when (y.o.)	/g/-rate	Intra-lexical variability
OL	<i>Hāyy n-Nāhḍa</i> (his own family, also grew there)	Born	27,3%	Showed unstable items
SDD	<i>Hāyy n-Nāhḍa</i> (family house)	Born	22,2%	
DN	<i>Hāyy n-Nāhḍa</i> (family house)	8	12,5%	
IC	<i>Hāyy n-Nāhḍa</i>	5	9,1%	
GM	<i>Hāyy n-Nāhḍa</i> (family house)*	Born	8,3%	
EY	<i>Hāyy n-Nāhḍa</i> (family house)**	Born	0,0%	Stable /q/-speakers
LPI	Ben Slimane (grew in <i>Hāyy n-Nāhḍa</i>)**	Born	0,0%	
PO	<i>Hāyy n-Nāhḍa</i> (family house)	Born	0,0%	
MT	<i>Hāyy n-Nāhḍa</i> (own family, also grew there)	0 – 1	0,0%	
FG	<i>Hāyy n-Nāhḍa</i> (family house)	1	0,0%	
KS	<i>Hāyy n-Nāhḍa</i> (family house)	Born	0,0%	

*Lived more than half of his formative years in Temara's slums

**Lived less than half of his formative years in Temara's slums

Table 15 - test results of EYS residing in *Hāyy n-Nāhḍa*, with their area of upbringing and age at arrival in Temara.

The informants shown in Table 15 are those who spent their formative years either entirely in *Hāyy n-Nāhḍa* or first in the slums and then in *Hāyy n-Nāhḍa* after their household's relocation. For this reason, the two test-takers who autonomously moved to *Hāyy n-Nāhḍa* in their teenage years (**VDM** and **CA**) are not included. Also, another informant (**DM**) was excluded from Table 15 as he had moved to *Hāyy n-Nāhḍa* from Rabat when he was 10 (ie. during his formative years for

dialect acquisition), and his speech may thus have been affected by a different kind of social environment, at least in the early years.

The remaining 11 *Hāyy n-Nāhḍa* residents listed in Table 15 are shown with information on how old each of them was when he ultimately moved to Temara (if he was not born in the city). Also, the double line that separated non-urban-connected from potentially urban-connected speakers in Table 14 has been left here with the same function. This way, it may be observed that the highest ranking *Hāyy n-Nāhḍa* resident with connections to the city and the lowest ranking one with no such connections (or at least not to a relevant degree), ie. **DN** and **SDD** respectively, are separated by a wide gap (almost 10% ca.), much wider than the difference in /g/-rates previously noticed between **GP** and **SDD** (cfr. above). This seems to indicate that, if speakers with the same dialect acquisition background are taken, and if such background implies having had few contacts with the urban milieu (as we expect to be the case for children of families who used to live in Temara's slums and were relocated to land sold by the government), then developing urban ASN once they have grown up has a sensible effect on their language practices – or at least in the ones we are examining in this chapter.

To resume, the analysis of the hidden-camera test results in the light of the information available on the test-takers' urban contacts seems to suggest an influence of the connection to urban ASN on the quantitative variation between /q/ and /g/ in the EYS's test performances (ie. how many /g/'s they uttered during the test). This seems to be corroborated if only speakers with a similar dialect acquisition background are considered. On the other hand, nothing certain can be stated with respect to the coherence of their choice between /q/ and /g/ for a single lexeme during the same test (the “qualitative dimension” of variation).

We may therefore discern a tendency for Temarese speakers not enjoying the opportunity of building and maintaining social ties with other urban speakers to choose /g/ instead of /q/ more frequently (at least in the test context). By consequence, we should expect all Students to have very high /g/-rates, as, by definition, students not having entered the job market as yet have had few opportunities of building ASN. Statistically, if we compare Table 13 with Table 14, this expectation seems to receive partial confirmation as the /g/-rates of nine out of fourteen Students (ie. ca. 64% of them) are higher than the /g/-rate of **SDG**, the lowest ranking non-urban-connected EYS; it thus seems that socialising prevalently in Temara (or in *Hāyy n-Nāhḍa*, or even in the *Hūma*) encourages the /g/ choice among the Students *at least* as much as it does among the EYS. Still, it should not go unnoticed that the Students' test performances appear to be quantitatively much more diverse than the EYS's, as their /g/-rates range from 0% to 100% (against the EYS's 0% - 37.5% range). Also, on the “qualitative dimension” of the variation, it was noticed above how four out of fourteen

Students (ca. 29%) have assigned at least one lexeme to /g/ only, against one out of 20 EYS (5%), and how Students are more evenly distributed between “stable” /q/-users, varying /q/-/g/ users and “stable”, strong /g/- (or mixed /g/-/q/-) users. Therefore, some questions remain unanswered:

- Why did the highest ranking Students rank even higher than the EYS? Is this only due to their younger average age, which has not given them the time to develop as many ASN as their “less young” fellow citizens?
- What caused the Students to perform so differently from each other?
- Why did some Students still rank very low, with four of them (ca. 29%) having obtained a 0% rate?

In order to answer these questions, we shall now focus briefly on the Students subgroup and check its members’ test results against three factors that may prove to be crucial in affecting the speech of individuals whose social networks should be mainly limited to peers, family and school: area of upbringing, family’s area of origin, and education.

4.2.3.6 – Students: area of residence / upbringing

Speaker	Area of residence ²¹⁸	Came to Temara when (y.o.)	/g/-rate	Intra-lexical variability
SI	<i>Ḥāyy n-Nāhḍa</i>	Born	100.0%	No unstable lexeme, /g/-strong-speakers
PT	<i>Ḥāyy n-Nāhḍa</i>	Born	100.0%	
GS	<i>Sāgīya</i>	3	77.8%	
DC	<i>Ḥāyy n-Nāhḍa</i>	Born	50.0%	Present unstable items
DMN	<i>Ḥāyy n-Nāhḍa</i>	Born	44.4%	
PL	Temara (not specified)	Born	40.0%	
GG	<i>Ḥāyy n-Nāhḍa</i>	Born	40.0%	
EZ	<i>Ḥāyy n-Nāhḍa</i>	Born	37.5%	
DS	Slums	Born	26.7%	
CT	PDRA	2	6.7%	
POP	<i>Ḥāyy n-Nāhḍa</i>	Born	0.0%	Stable /q/-only-speakers
IDG	<i>Ḥāyy n-Nāhḍa</i>	Born	0.0%	
PA	PDRA	6 – 7	0.0%	
RB	PDRA	Born	0.0%	

Table 16 - Students’ area of residence, age at arrival in Temara and test results

²¹⁸ All informants live with their parents or in their parents’ house.

During the data collection, each informant was asked about the area where they lived, their family's origin²¹⁹ and the educational level they had attained. While the latter two are useful in telling us whether interactions within the family or the school had any clear influence on test performances, the area of living is not necessarily the only area where the informant has been raised during his formative years for dialect acquisition, if his family relocated during this period. Unfortunately, information was not collected about the informants' past residences, so it will not be possible to discuss about the influence of the social context of upbringing on the test-takers' way of speaking from an acquisitional point of view.

An important clue given by the informant's current area of residence concerns his family's socio-economic status. Most informants live in two kinds of residential areas: the first kind consists of the districts that emerged following the government's assignment of land plots to the slums dwellers; *Ḥāyy n-Nāḥḍa* is virtually the only district of this kind which is represented in my sample of young informants²²⁰. The second kind is what I label as Privately Developed Residential Areas (PDRA), ie. districts that emerged in Temara following private real estate companies' exploitation of parcels of land that the government had not used for the relocation projects²²¹.

Whether an informant lives in *Ḥāyy an-Nāḥḍa* or in a PDRA has implications on his family's history of residence, which in turn is strictly linked to the family's socio-economic conditions: all the informants' households inhabiting the former are (mostly rural) immigrants who used to live in slums (either in Temara or in Rabat) before moving to their current place; vice versa, most households inhabiting the latter moved from one urban area to another (ie. the parents' generation had also been born and raised in urban contexts) before coming to Temara and, in most of the cases, the informants' parents have not lived in slums²²². Therefore, a comparison of the informants' test performances between the two kinds of areas of residence would be interesting if a sufficient number of speakers had been recruited from both of them; unfortunately, as can be seen

²¹⁹ This is intended as the place from which the first migrating members of the informant's family moved for economic (work or business) purposes.

²²⁰ One of the Students, GS, currently lives in *Sāgīya*, an area close to *Ḥāyy n-Nāḥḍa*. I ignore whether this district emerged as a result of the government's relocation projects or as a consequence of private real estate investments. For what concerns our present discussion, GS's family used to live in the slums as they arrived in Temara, but subsequently moved to modern housing autonomously, without receiving a low-priced land plot like most *Ḥāyy n-Nāḥḍa* residents did. As a consequence, they pay a rent and do not own the place they live in: this places them in-between the socio-economic conditions of the *Ḥāyy n-Nāḥḍa* and the PDRA residents (cfr. above).

²²¹ For an account of the historical circumstances in which both kinds of residential areas were developed in Temara, cfr. §2.

²²² Eight between EYS and Students lived in a PDRA at the time of the test. Among these, four are two couples of brothers, which means that these eight informants represent six households in total. Of these six, four have been confirmed to have moved to Temara from another urban area, and to have never lived in slums once they had become urbanised.

in Table 16, only three Students lived in PDRAs, against nine of them living in *Hāyy n-Nāhḍa*, which means that PDRA residents are under-represented in the sample.

4.2.3.7 – Students: regional origin

Speaker	Regional origin ²²³	/g/-rate	Intra-lexical variability
SI	<i>Sūs</i> (A) – near Marrakesh (A)	100.0%	No unstable lexeme, /g/-strong-speakers
PT	<i>Tāfilālt</i> (A) – Missouri	100.0%	
GS	Tamanart (<i>Sūs</i>) (A) (A)	77.8%	
DC	<i>Dəkkāla</i>	50.0%	Present unstable items
DMN	Ksar El-Kbir (<i>Ġarb</i>)	44.4%	
PL	<i>Sūs</i> (A)	40.0%	
GG	<i>Dərṣa</i>	40.0%	
EZ	<i>Dərṣa</i>	37.5%	
DS	<i>Šāwya</i>	26.7%	
CT	<i>Tādla</i>	6.7%	Stable /q/-only-speakers
POP	Essaouira – <i>Dəkkāla</i>	0.0%	
IDG	<i>Tādla</i>	0.0%	
PA	Oujda	0.0%	
RB	<i>Tādla</i> (A) (A)	0.0%	

Table 17 - Students' regional origin and test results

It is equally difficult to take into consideration the family's regional origin as a factor of influence on the informants' way of speaking, although for a different reason: since dialectological studies lack for several areas in Morocco (including many of those listed in Table 17), it is not possible to systematically know about the lexical distribution of /q/ and /g/ in the informant's parents' area of origin (a datum which was exploited, for example, by Al Wer 2002b in analysing variation in Amman, Jordan). Other issues emerge from the impossibility of acceding to the informants' parents themselves, which was one of the hindrances encountered during the field study (cfr. § 4): this prevents us from knowing, for instance, if the informants' parents have actually

²²³ Italics indicate a region, whereas plain font indicates a town. When two places separated by a hyphen are written, it indicates the two parents' respective origins; the order of writing is the same as the order in which the informant himself reported them. A capital "A" between brackets means one Amazighophone parent.

preserved the language practices found in their region of origin, or if and how long they were in contact with other urban or rural speakers during their lifetime.

As can be observed, the Students' regional origins are quite biased, with most of the members of this group having family roots in Southern regions (*Sūs*, *Dərṣa*, *Tāfilālt* and the Marrakesh area) or in central rural areas such as *Tādla*, *Dəkkāla* and *Šāwya*. The few dialectological studies on the Southern regions cited in § 4.1.2, as well as Sánchez and Vicente (2012), tend to present the lexical diffusion of /g/ as more widespread (in those cases in which its alternative is /q/) than in Northern regions. The Southern regions are also closer to the area in which Arab Bedouin tribes are reported to have concluded their centuries-long migration from the Arabian peninsula and spread Arabic in (mostly) the rural areas starting from the XI century (cfr. § 2.2.1); as may be recalled (§ 4.1.2), researchers generally agree that the varieties of spoken Arabic brought by these tribes, which constituted the second wave of Arabisation, are characterised by a preference for /g/ over /q/ in those roots that correspond to a Classical Arabic /q/. We may therefore expect to find speakers originally from these regions to give their preference to /g/ over /q/ in such roots. Now, if we look at the data in Table 17 and separately calculate the mean /g/-rate for the whole Students subgroup and for the five informants having both parents from Southern regions (ie. **SI**, **GS**, **GG**, **EZ** and **PL**), we do obtain a result of 36.3% and 59.1% respectively. We would be tempted to state, on the basis of this result, that parents originally from Southern regions influence their children in the latter's choice between /q/ and /g/; in fact, things are more complicated than that, considering that, in some cases, both the informants' parents are Amazighophone (cfr. Table 17), which means that Arabic is not necessarily their means of communication within the family. The originally Southern informants' higher /g/-rates may therefore be connected to their family's origin only if we suppose that Arabic is at least used in alternation with Amazigh within those households, and that the informant's parents learnt Arabic through contacts in their region of origin, before moving to Temara: again, this is hard to verify as access to the informant's parents could not be gained during the field study.

The single regional area most represented in the subgroup is *Tādla*, which counts three informants with both parents from this region (ie. **CT**, **IDG** and **RB**). Accurate dialectological data on the Moroccan Arabic spoken in this region is scanty (apart from Bennis (2012) and other works); in particular, we do not have any picture on the /q/ vs /g/ lexical diffusion there. The average /g/-rate of those three informants is extremely low (2.2%); however, as linguistic data are lacking, we cannot state with certainty if this lower mean is due to the lower diffusion of /g/ in the *Tādla* region, or, more in general, if the linguistic situation there is related to this result in any way.

4.2.3.8 – Students & EYS: education

Speaker	Education	/g/-rate	Intra-lexical variability
SI	BA in Economics (ongoing), public	100.0%	No unstable lexeme, /g/-strong-speakers
PT	BA in Economics (ongoing), public	100.0%	
GS	BA in Economics (completed), public	77.8%	
DC	Vocational diploma (failed)	50.0%	Present unstable items
DMN	<i>Bac</i> (failed)	44.4%	
PL	BA in Economics (ongoing), public	40.0%	
GG	Vocational diploma (ongoing)	40.0%	
EZ	Master in IT (ongoing), public	37.5%	
DS	BA in Economics (completed), public	26.7%	
CT	Failed his <i>Bac</i> , was about to start two	6.7%	
POP	Vocational diploma (ongoing)	0.0%	Stable /q/-only-speakers
IDG	BA in English Studies (ongoing), public	0.0%	
PA	Two vocational diplomas (ongoing)	0.0%	
RB	ISMAL – Sound technician’s private	0.0%	

Table 18 - Students’ highest educational degree obtained and test results

Another question that every informant was asked was about the highest educational degree they had obtained, or what they were studying at the moment of the test. For every test-taker, it is reported if they have completed or just failed²²⁴ their degree (“not completed”), or if they were still attending courses (“ongoing”). When this was asked, it is also reported whether the informant obtained his high-school diploma (*Baccalauréat*, or simply *Bac*); this particularly concerns those informants who had attended or were attending professional (such as vocational) schools, not all of which require for enrolling students to have achieved a *Bac*. Where this is not reported, it means the information is missing.

Unlike the EYS’s educational statuses (reported in Table 19 below), which include some pre-high school dropouts, the Students’ are more homogeneous, with all but two of them either attending or having completed (public or private) BA courses or vocational schools (usually a public *Institut Spécialisé de Technologie Appliquée*, or ISTA) at the time of the test; the two remaining informants had just failed their *Bac* that summer, which means that they had at least reached the last year of high school. Added to that, we may observe that both university and professional students seem to rank both high and low in the chart; the cluster of three Economics students at the top does not seem to be due to their educational statuses, as the similarity of the

²²⁴ The tests were made in summer.

performances of these three informants, all originally from the South and part of the same group of friends, is more probably be due to other, previously examined factors. Therefore, we may only conclude that attending university or professional studies did not seem to constitute a real discriminant affecting the test-takers' performances; this may be attributed to the similarity between the *cursi studiorum* implied by the academic and professional options, both usually implying the student having at least reached the last year of high school.

The only contribution of the Education factor to the present analysis may come in answer to one of the questions we asked above, ie. why some Students obtained a 0%-rate even though they have not had as yet the opportunity of developing urban ASN in their daily lives (this, if the hypothesis that having urban ASN is actually a factor in the speakers' choice between /q/ and /g/ is exact). The data at hand do not show any commonality between the four Students that obtained this result. In fact, for two of them, **POP** and **PA**, we have already shown (cfr. § 4.2.3.4) that they are the only members of this subgroup who seem to have had the opportunity to build social networks in other cities, apart from those related to their families and school environment. For the remaining two, **IDG** and **RB**, education may suggest some different explanations: the former is a BA Languages student, and as such he may be aware enough of the social value of language to adjust his linguistic choices in the desired direction (which, in the case at hand, was apparently /q/²²⁵); the latter is the only informant in this subgroup who had chosen a private institute for his post-high school education. Concerning this, there would appear to be no direct correspondence between private schooling and constant avoidance of /g/ at first sight. However, if we look at Table 19, where the EYS's test results are also cross-checked with the Education factor, we may notice that all three of the EYS informants who have attended at least one private institute for their higher education (**LPI**, **EMK** and **SC**) also accurately avoided assigning any of the three target lexemes to /g/ during the test. It is true that other EYS with totally different *cursi studiorum* have also obtained a 0% rate; however, this does not necessarily counter our hypothesis, which is not that private education is the *only* factor that discourages speakers from choosing /q/ over /g/, but rather that it is *one* of the factors that strongly encourage the choice of /q/.

But what may be the logic explanation for this correlation? For the moment, we do not have sufficient data to advance one. Still, it should be born in mind that being educated at a private institute in Morocco not only gives important information on the student's family's socio-economic situation (as private education is much more expensive than the public one), but we also expect it to

²²⁵ For **IDG**, empirical observations corroborate the idea that he "adjusted" his own speech towards /q/ during the CC test, as he assigned /wa:Xəf/ to /q/ seven times (cfr. Table 4.3); on the other hand, when speaking in friendly, informal contexts outside the test, he was observed to equally alternate between /wa:qəf/ and /wa:gəf/.

have important implications on the student's social networks, as private institutes are attended by a higher number of students of relatively high socio-economic status (again, because they are expensive) and ultimately coming from other towns (as they are numerically fewer in the country as a whole²²⁶). That a higher socio-economic status is correlated with a greater use of /q/ over /g/ has been found by Moumine (1990) for the city of Casablanca; nonetheless, we have no proof that the same socio-linguistic dynamics can be found in a city like Temara, whose social tissue presents important differences with respect to Morocco's economic capital. Also, we have already found that building Adult Social Networks with speakers from other towns tended to push my informants towards choosing /q/ over /g/; however, school networks do not seem to affect my informants' linguistic behaviour as much as work networks do: if we check Table 18, we can see how students attending the public university²²⁷ (which also gathers students from several towns, most of all Temara, Rabat and Sale) performed very differently from each other, and none of them avoided /g/ so consistently (except for the only Languages student, **IDG**).

²²⁶ As a confirmation to this, **SC**, of the EYS subgroup, was attending a private Engineering school in Casablanca.

²²⁷ In all cases, they attended Mohamed V University of Rabat.

Speaker	Maximum educational level attended	/g/-rate	Intra-lexical variability
CA	Middle School (not completed)	37,5%	No unstable lexeme, mixed /g/-/q/ speaker
OL	Primary school (3rd grade)	27,3%	Showed unstable items
SDD	Vocational diploma (no <i>Bac</i>)	22,2%	
SDG	No <i>Bac</i> . Attended Hospitality school, did not complete.	20,0%	
GP	Vocational diploma	18,2%	
VDM	BA in Law (ongoing), public uni	12,5%	
DN	Infirmity diploma	12,5%	
LT	Vocational diploma (IT), obtained <i>Bac</i>	11,1%	
IC	Two vocational diplomas completed, one + Faculty of Economics (public uni) ongoing	9,1%	
GM	Middle school (not completed)	8,3%	Stable /q/-speakers
EY	Middle school diploma	0,0%	
LPI	<i>Bac</i> + 3 Geography, <i>Bac</i> + 5 IT (all private)	0,0%	
PO	Vocational diploma	0,0%	
MT	Vocational diploma	0,0%	
DM	BA in Economics (completed), public uni	0,0%	
ST	Vocational diploma (not completed)	0,0%	
EMK	<i>Bac</i> + 3 Geography, <i>Bac</i> + 5 IT (all private)	0,0%	
FG	Vocational diploma (got his <i>Bac</i>)	0,0%	
KS	Vocational diploma	0,0%	
SC	Vocational diploma + IGA (Ecole des ingénieurs, private)	0,0%	

Table 19 - EYS's highest educational degree obtained and test results

To resume our analysis of the Students' results focused on three socio-demographic characteristics (area of residence/upbringing, regional origin and education), we may conclude that it did not highlight any clear tendency concerning the Students' test performances.

- As for the Area of residence/upbringing factor, the unbalanced data in terms of areas of the city represented did not allow to make any satisfactory consideration
- Concerning the Regional origin factor, it may be possible to identify a correspondence between a Southern regional origin and a relatively high /g/-rate; however, the insufficiency of dialectological data on other Moroccan regions and, most notably, the presence of originally Southern informants whose parents are both Amazighophone does not allow to confirm the exactness of this correspondence.

- The Education factor has only allowed to observe that all the informants who attended at least one private institute after their *Baccalauréat* consistently avoided /g/ during their tests; however, their small number and the fact that many other informants who never attended private institutes obtained a 0% /g/-rate does not allow to easily appreciate the reason of this correlation, if it is not just a random coincidence.

4.2.3.9 – EYS and Students: partial conclusions

By adopting a semi-variationist approach to the analysis of the results of the hidden-camera test, which was aimed at discerning the causes of the younger Temarese speakers' choice between /q/ and /g/ for a number of lexemes oscillating between the two phonemes in common use, we cross-checked such results with a number of socio-demographic features of the informants'. First of all, we divided the younger Speakers into two subgroups according to whether or not they had entered the job market. The rationale behind this decision was that, by starting his search for a job, the individual opens his own networks beyond the ones he had developed since his childhood, namely those linked to his family, school and peers (the name given to networks going beyond one's childhood and adolescence social ties being ASN, Adult Social Networks), and since social networks are known in sociolinguistics to play an important role in influencing an individual's way of speaking, extending them in such an "irreversible" way seems likely to constitute a key moment in the development of the individual's sociolinguistic competence²²⁸ and language practices. On the basis of these considerations, the hypothesis was made that ASN encouraged Temarese speakers to choose /q/ over /g/. Splitting the test-takers into two subgroups showed, among other things, that the average /g/-rate of the Students (ie. the subgroup who have not had the opportunity of developing ASN as yet) was actually much higher than that of the EYS (ie. the subgroup who had entered the job market and could have developed ASN), and that while the latter did not obtain a /g/-rate higher than 37.5%, some of the former managed to obtain a 100% rate.

The next factor analysed was the informants' opportunity of establishing ASN with urban speakers coming from other Arabic-speaking towns: this was examined for the EYS, only. On the basis of the ethnographic observations available on each informant, it was noticed that the informants who obtained the highest /g/-rate were actually those who had not had any opportunity of establishing social ties in other cities, and that this factor seemed at least to affect the frequency of choice of the /g/ phoneme. In order to bring further evidence in favour of this theory, the sole

²²⁸ Kerswill (1996a: 181) defines sociolinguistic competence as "a person's ability to recognize language varieties within a community, to evaluate those varieties socially, and to exploit them in the communication of social meanings".

members of the subgroup who had been raised in the same neighbourhood (*Ḥayy an-Nahḍa*) were considered, and it was noticed that, keeping the informant's context of upbringing constant, the Urban ASN factor polarised the informants with respect to their /g/-rates, ie. appeared to have been even more crucial in influencing their test performances.

As for the Students, three factors were cross-checked which could have affected their test results, ie. Area of residence/upbringing, Regional origin and Education. While the unbalanced data available for the first factor did not allow to make any inferences on the reasons of the Students' choice between /q/ and /g/, the latter two (Regional origin and Education) allowed to make two observations, although limited in scope:

- First, **the five originally Southern informants obtained an average /g/-rate which is sensibly higher than the subgroup average rate**; as the literature available on Southern varieties of Moroccan Arabic agrees on showing /g/ as more widespread (as a reflection of Classical Arabic /q/) with respect to other Moroccan Arabic varieties, **this result might suggest that the family's influence had a role, at least in the originally Southern speakers' test performances**
- Second, **all four of the informants (both in the EYS and Students subgroups) who attended at least one private institute after their *Baccalauréat* obtained a 0% rate**. However, if and how the two things may be correlated is not clear, for the moment.

4.2.4 - /q/ vs /g/: an interactionalist approach

4.2.4.1 – The hidden-camera test as an interactional context

As was noticed above (§ 4.2.3.2), 16 out of 34 Temarese test-takers who were tested together with other Temara residents assigned the same lexeme at least once to both phonemes; also, this ambiguous assignment was recorded 28.8% of the times that the same informant used a lexeme at least twice during the test itself. This gives us the impression that **alternating /q/ and /g/ in the same speech act is not an uncommon practice in the community studied**, at least for the three targeted lexemes. In addition to that, it provides us with a number of cases in which the same speaker subsequently assigns the same lexeme to the /q/ and the /g/ phonological classes (or vice versa) in the same speech event (the hidden-camera test), ie. while all elements in the communicative situation are constant. **Could it be that, by comparing the different contexts-in-interaction in which the same speaker uttered a single lexeme with /q/ and /g/, we may manage**

to identify the reasons that pushed him to vary his choice? If we did, then we may also draw some important conclusions on the social meaning attributed to the two phonemes, which may in turn clarify the findings we made by analysing the test results through a semi-variationist approach. As the hidden-camera tests contributed to the elicitation of a much greater number of tokens of the target lexemes than the other types of recording techniques did, it was in the test context that the greatest number of cases of phonological switches for a single phoneme was recorded; therefore, this interactionist analysis will also be limited – as did the semi-variationist one – to the speech samples recorded during the hidden-camera tests.

Turn alternation in the test sessions

Since verbal exchanges during the hidden-camera test were regulated through the tasks that the researcher assigned to the participants, these alternated turns with each other in a fairly regular way, although such regularity – as is explained below – was made slightly more complex by the participants' active breaking of the role assignment implied by the tasks themselves. It should be recalled here that each session included the vision of three candid-camera pranks by each participant, and that the participant who had viewed the prank (hereafter the Narrator) had to make a verbal account of it for his interlocutor (hereafter the Listener) to grasp from his words what happened in the video and what was funny about the prank; obviously, the Listener had been prevented from watching the video, so that the Narrator had to talk as much as possible to convey the information needed. I subsequently asked the Listener questions aimed at verifying his understanding of the Narrator's account, with the double purpose of encouraging the latter to convey the information required in an exhaustive and effective way and of eliciting more occurrences of the lexemes targeted (cfr. above). Therefore, the predicted structure of a single hidden-camera account-plus-verification was the following:

- a) The Narrator watches the hidden-camera video
- b) The Narrator refers to the Listener what the prank is about
- c) The researcher asks the Listener a few questions (at least three), allegedly to check his comprehension of the Narrator's account

As it appears from the scheme above, the two phases involving verbal interaction (b and c), which also represent the two moments in which the lexemes desired may be produced, each take the

form of a two-participant communication: the first one is a one-way communication in which the Narrator communicates to the Listener what he saw in the hidden-camera video; the second one is a questions-and-answers (Q&A) session, ie. another asymmetric interaction in which the researcher asks questions and the Listener has the task to answer.

In fact, the turn alternations that actually took place in hidden-camera accounts-plus-verifications were more complex than that, for the following reasons:

- The Listener was allowed to ask the Narrator questions both during the latter's account and during the Q&A session, if he was not sure what was the correct answer to give
- The Narrator was not prevented from interfering in the Q&A session for whatever reason (eg. if the Listener hesitated in giving his answer);
- Most sessions took place in a cafe, usually at an isolated table (for audio quality reasons), so that no other auditor (ie. "known and ratified" but not "addressed" participants to the communication; Bell 1984: 159) was involved during the test, and even the presence of overhearers ("known" but not "ratified"; 159) was maintained to a minimum; however, a few sessions took place in the house or shop of one of the participants', and saw the presence of other auditors, always friends (or, in one case, a brother) of the participants'. In almost no case did such external auditors assume the role of speakers or addressees²²⁹ (and when it happened, it weighed very little on the interaction between the participants). However, during the analysis, the presence of other auditors during the test will be signalled explicitly when excerpts are reported.

For these reasons (especially the first two), most accounts-plus-verifications were composed of "subroutines", usually embedded in two of the greater "routines" (Narrator's account and Listener's answer(s)) into which the test tasks aimed at "organising" communication. These subroutines usually consisted in the Listener (or, more rarely, the Narrator) asking for either additional or repetition of previously given information, or the Narrator interfering in the Q&A session.

²²⁹ In what follows I adopt Bell's (1984) terminology of audience roles for its straightforwardness and applicability to the communicative situations analysed.

One point before the analysis has to be made on the possible influence of the researcher's presence on the informants' speech. While measuring how this may have affected their test performances directly proved to be unfeasible (cfr. § 4.2.3.2), two episodes that occurred during the test sessions suggested what the nature of the researcher's influence might have been.

On the researcher's influence

First of all, it should not be forgotten that he is a foreign, non-Arabic speaking individual, and that native speakers will expectedly tend to make an effort in clarifying their speech when talking to him, or in his presence. Secondly, it should also be kept in mind that the informants' basic motive in participating to the test was to give their help to a foreign PhD student who is doing research on *dāriža*²³⁰, and that therefore some (if most) of them may have found it necessary, or desirable, to speak in such a way as to ease out the researcher's subsequent work of re-listening the speech recorded during the test. Evidence of some speakers correcting their own speech with the purpose of making it more "ready to understand" for the researcher emerged in a few cases during the test sessions: in the following example, **GS**, the Narrator, is intent in describing the guard in the "Beating the guard" prank²³¹, when he starts looking for an appropriate (and maybe understandable for me) word to use, which **DS** suggests to him.

GS: /bħa:l du:k lli tə-jku:nu ra:kbi:n ʕla:l-ʕa:wd u lli tə-j... ?? tə-jku:nu (**DS:** ??) wa:hdi:n wa:gfi:n ha:zzi:n s-sla:h (**DS:** la:bsi:n s-sla[:h]) bħa:la:kka da:ba hu:ma na:fs... nəfs əh... nəfs l.../

DS: /n-nu:tʔa/

GS: /nəfs n-nu:tʔa u:la dʔ-dʔi:ku:rʔ fhəmti/

Translation

GS: ...Like those riding a horse and... ?? *standing* (**DS:** ??) alone, with *their weapons* (**DS:** *Wearing their weapons*) like that: those [in the West] are the... The er.... The same...

DS: "Note"

GS: The same "note" or the same "decoration", you get it?

As **GS** accepts and follows **DS**'s suggestion, he does something unusual in ordinary conversations between Moroccan Arabic native speakers (and maybe between native speakers of

²³⁰ All younger informants, even those who had not been scholarised, were at least familiar with the concept of doing research for scientific purposes.

²³¹ Descriptions of all the hidden-cameras cited in the analysis are found in Appendix A

the same variety in general): he uses two synonyms for the same referent by connecting them with the disjunctive conjunction “or”. This is as if, in English, a native speaker should say: “This is the same stuff, or the same thing”. Pairs of synonyms may be used in some varieties (including Classic Latin and MSA) as a hendiadys; however, the copulative conjunction “and” is more often used in a hendiadys than the disjunctive one. The use of the latter, in English as in Moroccan Arabic, would be easier to attribute to metalinguistic purposes; which is actually the case at hand, as may be inferred from the casual exchange I had with the participants after the end of the Q&A session that followed GS’s account of “*Beating the guard*”:

DS: /wəlli:ti ta:-tqən d-da:ri:za ḥsən mən-na/

J: (*No, no... I’ve just got slightly better than...*)

DS: /mən-lli sbəq ʔa:h/

GS: /wa:la:ki:n ?? tə-tfhəm ma:ʃi bħa:l... tə-tfhəm da:ba wəlli:ti ka:-təfhəm məzja:n/

DS: /bħa:l da:ba i:la gulna bħa:l da:ba dik n-nu:tʔa ta:-ttʔra li:-ja di:k n-nu:tʔa zəʃma kə-jtʔra li:-ja da:k ʃ-ʃka:l u:la ʃi ḥa:za (**GS:** /dək l-ḥa:za dək l-ḥa:za zəʃma hi:ja n-nu:tʔa/) hadi hi:ja ka:-nəʃni:w b di:k n-nu:tʔa wa:f fhəmti:-ni/

J: (*Yes*)

DS: /di:k l-ḥa:za ka:-ttʔra li:-ja hi:ja di:k n-nu:tʔa/

GS: /hi:ja ʃi:wa:dʕ n-nu:tʔa xəsʕsʕ-na ngu:lu l-ḥa:za f l-ʔəsʕl xəsʕsʕ-na ngu:lu l-ḥa:za ma xəsʕsʕ-na:-ʃ ngu:lu n-nu:tʔa yi:r ḥna:ja... l-lu:ya z-zənqa:wi:ja lli ka:-tgu:l n-nu:tʔa da:k ʃ-ʃi ʃla:ʃ ʔa:mma hi:ja f l-ʔəsʕl xəsʕsʕ-ha tgu:l di:k l-ḥa:za/

Translation

DS: *Now you master dārīza better than us!*

J: *No, no... I’ve just got slightly better than...*

DS: *...Than previously, yeah!*

GS: *But ?? you do understand, it’s not like... You do understand! Now you understand better!*

DS: *Like, if we say, like: “That note”, “That note happens to me”, like, that stuff or whatever happens to me*
(GS: *“That thing”, like, “note” means “that thing”), this is what we mean by “that note”, did you get it?*

J: *Yes!*

DS: *“That note” means “that thing [that] happens to me”*

GS: *So instead of “the note” we should say “the thing” in the first place, we should say “the thing”, we should not say “the note”, but in fact we... Street language is the one that says “the note”, that’s why; but it should say [= be] “that thing” in the first place.*

From this exchange, it clearly emerges that **GS**’s use of the two synonyms was directed to the researcher, and that **DS** subsequently understood **GS**’s intention, to the point that it is **DS** who explicitly inquires the researcher about whether he understood **GS**’s use of slang (or /lu:ya zənqa:wi:ja/, “street language”, to use **GS**’s words). We may also suppose that **DS**’s question was aimed at verifying if he should adjust his speech and how “slang” he, too, could go during the rest of the session without hindering the researcher’s comprehension.

At least one other case of metalinguistic discussion of the same kind has emerged during another test session, in which the Listener used the verb /ləbbda/ (“to stop”) during the Q&A session that followed the Narrator’s resume of the “*Time freeze*” prank; at the end of the test, the same participant explained to me the meaning of the verb he had employed himself, as an example of the “deep slang lexicon” existing in *dārīza*. However, what is also interesting for the present discussion is that, during the Q&A session, the participant had used another, more common synonym (/ħbəs/) right after the “deep slang” word, apparently in order to make the message clearer. His intentions were underlined by his intonation, and by the fact that the use of /ləbbda/ was accompanied by a short laughter, signifying that he did not really intend to employ such a “slang” word in this context; in confirmation of that, he switched to the more common /ħbəs/ while at the same time returning to his regular speaking intonation. The complete utterance, together with the question that elicited it, is reported below (whereas the metalinguistic comment is not reported as, unfortunately, it was made after the recorder had been turned off):

J: *(Something strange happens in the video: what is it?)*

MT: /ka:-təwqəʃ... kull ji... kull ji kə-jləbbda (short laugh) kull ji kə-jħbəs/

Translation

J: *Something strange happens in the video: what is it?*

MT: *What happens... Everything... Everything freezes! (short laugh) Everything halts.*

MT's preoccupation for not "going too deep" into the *dārīẓa* slang cannot be interpreted but as a wish to adjust his speech, in the context of what is ultimately a scientific test and – all the more – of a non-native Arabic speaker needing to understand the speech recorded during the test itself. I believe this should be taken as a sign that, also in this case, speech was being altered with the purpose of clarity.

Even though instances of explicit metalinguistic discourse such as those illustrated above did not occur frequently during the tests, my impression is that the few cases in which it emerged only constitute the "tip of the iceberg" of what was in fact a more general tendency for my informants to "simplify" (to their view) their use of language *vis-à-vis* my double status as a non-native speaker and as a researcher on *dārīẓa*. Such impression is also based on empirical observations of differences between my Moroccan Arabic-speaking acquaintances' speech directed to me and to other native speakers, especially in terms of vocabulary and explication of information. Therefore, my hypothesis is that the consequences of this simplification actually reflected on the informants' choice between /q/ and /g/. In one of the following sections (§ 4.2.4.3) we shall examine two cases in which this sort of researcher's influence seems to have had direct consequences on the informants' phonological choice.

4.2.4.2 - /q/ vs /g/ as new vs given information

One of the main findings of the analysis of the Phonologic Variable is that /q/ and /g/, in the context of the hidden-camera test, were used to signal information structure through the use of different phonemes. However, this conclusion was not arrived at directly: the first orientation of the interactionist analysis was based on the expectation that the two phonemes might signal different stances with respect to participant's role, in the theoretical framework of Goffman's (1979) concept of "footing", which he defines as "the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance" (Goffman 1979: 5). According to him, a change in footing occurs in the form of a change in such alignment. This – says Goffman – typically causes variation at the linguistic level: "[C]ode switching is usually involved, or at least the sound markers that linguists study: pitch, volume, rhythm, stress, tonal quality." (4) This change in alignment is most typically triggered by a change in the "participation framework", another concept that Goffman uses to illustrate the complexity what is commonly called the "hearer"'s role in a communicative interaction:

[I]f one starts with a particular individual in the act of speaking — a cross-sectional instantaneous view — one can describe the role or function of all the several members of the encompassing social gathering from this point

of reference (whether they are ratified participants of the talk or not), couching the description in the concepts that have been reviewed. The relation of any one such member to this utterance can be called his *participation status* relative to it, and that of all the persons in the gathering *the participation framework* for that moment of speech. (11)

At the initial stage of the interactionalist analysis, the hypothesis of the influence of changing participant roles on language variation, as it was postulated by Goffman, was operationalised by comparing the most frequent types of alignments identifiable in the different test sessions. As was illustrated in § 4.2.4.1, two of the main communicative routines associated to each hidden-camera viewing (Narrator's account and Listener's answer) usually included several subroutines as a consequence of, respectively, the Listener's and the Narrator's interruptions of the routine. If, for example, the Listener interrupted the Narrator's account in order to ask a question on a specific point of the narration that he had not understood, this created, within the Narrator's account, a subroutine composed by the Listener's question and the Narrator's answer (followed by the resumption of the latter's narration). Several other types of subroutines common to most hidden-camera sessions (like the one just described) could be identified and, on their basis, a classification could be made of recurring "types of alignments": for example, the Listener's question constituted one definable type of alignment, in that the expected addressee of the greater communicative routine (the Narrator's account) took the floor and assumed an information seeker's role; in other words, his floor-taking entailed a clear change in the alignment of participant roles. On the other hand, the Narrator's answer constituted another type of alignment, in that the "legitimate" speaker took the floor back. However, the stance taken by the Narrator towards the participation framework in this specific case was slightly different than the one he took while he was simply narrating the video he had just watched: when he answered a Listener's question, the Narrator was providing information to the addressee (in Bell's (1984) terms) following a request of the addressee himself; when he relates the events of the hidden-camera video, he is still providing information to the addressee, but he is at the same time fulfilling a request from the auditor (in Bell's (1984) terms), ie. the researcher – with all the implications that this had on the participation framework and, consequently, on language.

Several prototypical alignments were identified in this manner, and all hidden-camera sessions were subdivided into communicative acts, each of which was characterised by a constant state of things in terms of participation framework, and each of which was categorised as one of the types of alignments obtained from the comparison of the different test sessions. Then, the cases in which the same informant had switched phonemes for the same lexeme during a single test session were considered, and correspondences were searched between each case of use (by the informants

concerned) of /q/ and /g/ in the targeted lexemes and the types of alignment in which they occurred. A matching between communicative contexts in which the researcher's role was more relevant (the Narrator's account of the hidden-camera) seemed to loom and was perhaps expected: however, too many cases eventually contradicted this theory. It was by re-analysing these contradictory cases that what was common among them – ie. an equal treatment of the information being communicated as new or given – emerged. This also explained the initial interpretation of the variation as linked to the researcher's role, in that situations in which the researcher was salient to the communicative interaction (eg. the Q&A session) were also the ones in which new information tended to prevail on the given one.

For this reason, the analysis was eventually re-oriented towards information structure. According to Gumperz, Aulakh & Kaltman (1982):

“When we speak of style we mean the verbal realization of differences in communicative intent through shifts in the balance of the signalling load carried by [lexicalisation, syntax and prosody]. The *interdependent* [author's emphasis] functioning of these surface features of communicative acts accomplishes the *requisites of discourse cohesion* [my emphasis]: topicalization, relativization, establishment of perspective, indication of illocutionary force, contrastiveness, etc.”

(...)

“[F]or discourse to be cohesive, speakers must signal and hearers interpret (1) what is the main part of a message and what is subsidiary or qualifying information, (2) what knowledge or attitudes are assumed to be shared, (3) what information is old and what is new, and (4) what is the speaker's point of view and his/her relationship to or degree of involvement in what is being said. In other words, an utterance to be understood must be contextualized — this sort of information must be signalled in such a way as to fit into the goals and expectations of participants.

We are talking about what linguists call discourse functions, and we are suggesting that these functions do not inhere in the text, i.e., are not ‘given’ in the text; they are expressed through prosody and the syntactic and lexical choices.” (28-29)

Even though the authors draw on a case of language interference (the English spoken by North Indian native speakers), which is quite different from the one analysed here, they make a general point on **the existence of a relationship between (speech) style and speakers' effort in achieving discourse cohesion**. According to this point, such relationship is expressed in some of the linguistic features that speakers use; most peculiarly those that, through their combined effect, serve the purpose of allowing the speaker to organise the text in a sensible manner, and the hearer to interpret it as a coherent whole.

Single linguistic features, in other words, may function as cues both for speakers to indicate how they intend to structure the information they are trying to convey, and for their interlocutors to understand how it is structured. Gumperz, Aulakh & Kaltman seem to reduce discourse functions (through which information structuring is signalled) to four main ones, although the list could probably be extended. However, one of those functions (point 3 – what information is old and what is new) may be provisionally retained for discussion. In the following analysis of five phonological switches, chosen as representative of a wider range of similar cases that occurred during all the test sessions, we shall observe the relationship between the fulfilment of discursive functions and differential use of /q/ and /g/.

SWITCH NO. 1

Informant (*co-participant*): **DMN** (DM).

Lexemes: /waxəf/; /waxəf/

Prank: “Time freeze”(4)

Summary: **DMN** switches phonemes while exposing to **DM** the topic moment of the prank he has just watched.

4.1

DMN : / dək	l-ma:ga:na	ka:-təbqa	ddu:r ^ɕ	ddu:r ^ɕ ddu:r ^ɕ	
DEM	DET-clock	PRVB-stay;ipfv.3fsg	turn;IPFV.3FSG		
ta:=hi:ja	ka:-təwqəf	f=wəq...	f=wəqt	ma	wəqfa:t
until=3FSG	PRVB-stop;IPFV.3FSG	in=(UN)	in=time	REL	stop;PFV.3FSG
l-ma:ga:na	kə-jwəqfu	ta:=ha:dək	n-na:s	kulla	?əh...
DET- clock	PRVB-stop;IPFV.3PL	also=DEM	DET-people	every	INTERJ
kə-jku:nu	kə-jdi:ru	ʃi:-ha:za	ta:= kə-jwəqfu /		[---]
PRVB-be;IPFV.3PL	PRVB-do;IPFV.3PL	INDEF-thing	until=PRVB-stop;IPFV;3PL		
/u:=dək	z...	lli	kə-jku:n	mʕa:=hum	za:jəd
and=DEM	(UN)	REL	PRVB-be;IPFV.3MSG	with=3PL	add;PTCP.ACT.M.SG
kə-jtʃəʒəb		kə-j...	kə-jdxul	ʃ-ʃəkk/	[---]
PRVB-be.astounded;IPFV.3MSG		PRVB-IPFV.3	PRVB-enter.3MSG	DET-doubt	
/ʃ...	kə-jnu:d ^ɕ		ka:-jbqa	jdi:r	li:=hum

(UN)	PRVB-stand.up;IPFV.3MSG	PRVB-stay;IPFV.3MSG	do;IPFV.3MSG	to=3PL
fha:la:kka	kə-jbqa	j... (DM: /ʔa:h/)	...fu:f	zəʕma
like.this	PRVB-stay;IPFV.3MSG	3M	yes	see.SG
ʕla:f	ha:d	n-na:s	wa:gfi:n/	[---] /wa:həd
why	DEM	DET-people	stop;PTCP.ACT.M.PL	one
ʃ-fwi:ja	ʕa:wta:ni	kə-jthərrku		kə-tthərrək
DET-thing;DIM	again	PRVB-move.INTR;IPFV.3PL		PRVB-move.intr;IPFV.3FSG
l-ma:ga:na	kə-jthərrku	ta:=hu:ma/	[---] /ʕa:wta:ni	
DET-clock	PRVB-move.INTR;IPFV.3PL	also=3PL		again
ka:-ʕa:wəd	təwgəf	l-ma:ga:na	u:=kə-jwəgfu	hu:ma
PRVB-repeat;IPFV.3FSG	stop;IPFV.3FSG	DET-clock	and=PRVB-stop;IPFV.3PL	3PL
ʕa:wta:ni/ (...)				
again				

Translation

DMN: *That clock keeps turning and turning and turning until it stops; as... as the clock stops, those people stop, too. Every er... They stop in the middle of doing something [---] and the in... The one that's in with them is astounded, he... He starts wondering [---]... He stands up, keeps doing this to them²³², keeps... (DM: Yes?) checking, like, why these people are still [---]. After a while, they start moving again, the clock moves and they move, too [---]. Then the clock stops again and they stop again...*

DMN utters the verb /wXəf/ six times in 4.1: he assigns it to /q/ three times, and to /g/ three times. From the prosodic point of view, all three /q/ occurrences are found in two consecutive utterances, the second of which ends with a falling tone on the last syllable /na:s/²³³:

|| dək l-ma:ga:na ka:-təbqa ddu:r^s ddu:r^s ddu:r^s ta hi:ja **ka:-təw/ɣəf** || f wəq... f wəqt ma
wəqfa:t l-ma:ga:na **kə-jwəqfu** ta ha:dək n-ʌna:s²³⁴

²³² **DMN** waves hands here, imitating the prank victim that checks if the people are around him are really frozen by moving his/her hands in front of them and drawing their attention.

²³³ Even though phonetic transcription would be more appropriate in discussions on prosody, it has been chosen to adopt phonologic transcription wherever an accurate phonetic one was not necessary.

²³⁴ When marking prosody, I omit the slash and square brackets of, respectively, phonologic and phonetic transcriptions for the reader not to mistake them for prosodic symbols.

DMN subsequently switches to /wgəf/ in the utterance that immediately follows, and then goes on to assign both /wa:Xəf/ and /wXəf/ to /g/ one and two more times respectively.

If we look at 4.1 while keeping in mind the discourse functions listed by Gumperz, Aulakh and Kaltman (1982), we may observe that the two utterances in which the /q/-items occurred may be seen as containing two information units, ie. one each. These units respectively correspond to a) the clock stopping and b) the fact that the hidden-camera actors stop at the same time. According to Halliday, who tried to account for how speakers/writers structure information within a text and its subdivisions (clauses, phrases, etc.), “the clause content is organised into one or more **information units** which are realised phonologically by intonation” (Halliday (1967) in Brown & Yule (1983: 155); authors’ emphasis). Even though Halliday’s idea that a constant correspondence may be found between such units and tone groups has been criticised, the idea that intonation is one of the language levels at which speakers most frequently signal information structuring is widely accepted²³⁵. Below are reported the two utterances, together with a summary of the information conveyed by each one of them, plus a few prosodic notations:

1. dək l-ma:ga:na ka:-təbqa ,ddu:r^f ddu:r^f ddu:r^f ta hi:ja **ka:-təw/**qəf → *the clock stops*
2. f wəq... f wəqt ma **wəqfa:t** l-ma:ga:na **kə-j/**,wəqfu ta ha:dək n-**/**na:s → *the actors stop simultaneously*

In the following utterance, **DMN** interrupts himself after one word, then goes on specifying that the actors stop in the middle of doing something; in doing so, he uses /wgəf/.

3. kə-j,ku:nu kə-jdi:ru ji:-'ha:za ta **kə-j/**,wəqfu → *the actors stop in the middle of doing something*

From the point of view of discourse analysis, a fundamental difference exists in the function of the verb /wXəf/ in the three utterances: while it expresses *focused* (or new) information in the first two, it carries *presupposed* (or given) information in the third one. Ward and Birner (2001) define focused information as “just that portion [of an utterance] which augments or updates the hearer’s view of the common ground (Vallduvì 1992)” and presupposed information as “the information that the speaker assumes is already part of the common ground, ie. either salient or inferable in context”. (120). In utterance no. 3 above, according to these definitions, the focused content is that it is *in the middle of doing something* that the actors stop, not the fact itself that they

²³⁵ For a discussion of the relationship between intonation and information structure, cfr. Brown & Yule (1983: 155-169). For a general description of the intonation system of Moroccan Arabic, cfr. Benkirane (1999).

stop (which had already been made clear before). The same is not true for the previous two utterances, in which the clock and the actors simultaneous stopping did constitute new (ie. focused) information.

Apparently, **DMN** (unconsciously?) **chooses to switch to /g/ as the content expressed through the lexeme /wXəf/ shifts from the status of “focused” to that of “presupposed”**. Phonology is not the only level at which he seems to signal how he is structuring information: as may be observed in all the three utterances reported, he makes use of several syntactic and prosodic strategies to give prominence to new information: from the syntactic point of view, he usually assigns it to main clauses (such as /kə-jwəqfu ta ha:dək n-na:s/ and /kə-jku:nu kə-jdi:ru ʃi:-ha:za/); from the prosodic point of view, he uses prosodic primary accent on words that are focal for the new information being conveyed (/təw'qəf/, /ha:dək n-'na:s/, /ʃi:-'ha:za/). The utterance-final rise on /qəf/ may be also seen as a way to give special prominence to /təwqəf/ and signal that it expresses key, focused information even though it is not in a main clause. While the purpose of the present discussion is not to identify **DMN**'s all syntactic and prosodic strategies for signalling information structure (which may be numerous and hard to identify in different utterances), it is important to observe how he (like the other informants in the cases reported below) is actually intent in employing (at least) linguistic and prosodic cues to provide this kind of meta-information to his interlocutor.

The impression that the alternation between /q/ and /g/ falls within this work of cue-sending is furtherly reinforced by his subsequent assignment to this and another lexeme (/wa:Xəf/) to /g/ three more times in utterances no. 4 and 5: it may be observed that, in all three of these cases, the target lexemes still reiterate presupposed information concerning the stopping of the clock and the people, and that the focused content (marked in red in this and following examples) concerns other elements of the utterances. Again, in these two utterances, new and presupposed content are also marked through differences in (mainly) syntactic prominence (main vs subordinate clause in no. 4, reiteration in no. 5).

4. **kə-jbqa jfu:f zəʃma ʃla:ʃ** ha:d n-na:s **wa:gfi:n** → new information is the victim's realisation that everyone around him has frozen
5. **ʃa:wta:ni ka:-tʃa:wəd təwgəf** l-ma:ga:na u **kə-jwəqfu** hu:ma **ʃa:wta:ni** → new information is the reiteration of the clock trick, not the trick itself

On the other hand, during a previous Q&A session addressed to **DMN**, the latter had coherently assigned /wa:Xəf/ to /q/ in a one-word answer (ie., an utterance entirely conveying focused information through a single lexeme, and of maximum prosodic and syntactic relevance):

4.2

Prank: “*Homo sapiens sapiens*” (3)

J: (*And what the about the guy inside, does he sit? Does he lie down?*)

DM: /la/

no

DMN: /wa:qəf/

stand;PTCP.ACT.M.SG

Translation

J: (*And what the about the guy inside, is he sitting? Is he lying down?*)

DM: *No!*

DMN: He’s standing!

Could the phonological switch serve the purpose of signalling the articulation of content just as the prosodic and syntactic cues do? Experimental research by Brown and Yule (1983) has shown how, at least in English utterances (but the same can probably be said for most Western European languages), prosody and syntax cooperate in differentiating the linguistic form of different kinds of new and given information: in particular, they demonstrated how new information is more usually given prosodic prominence and entities are typically introduced through phrases of the indefinite article-plus-noun kind, whereas given information is associated with less prominence and phrases of the definite article-plus-noun kind²³⁶. The possibility that the phonological switch is

²³⁶ In fact, the results of Brown and Yule’s experimentation go well beyond how speakers distinguished new from given information: the authors adopt and integrate (1983: 182-188) Prince’s (1981) taxonomy of information status, which distinguishes several types of new-ness and given-ness of information. For our purposes, we limit ourselves to a binary distinction between “new” and “given”, where “new” is defined as entities “assumed not to be in any way known to the speaker” and “given” as entities “already (...) introduced into the discourse which [are] now being referred to for the second or subsequent time”; Prince respectively labels these two categories as “brand new” and “textually evoked” information. Brown and Yule, in turn, distinguish the latter type into two further sub-categories, “current textual” and “displaced textual entities”, and find that the former are more often associated with personal pronouns. It should be kept in mind that the nature of the test they elaborated did not permit to produce a wide range of communicative situations, and those results are probably limited to the kind elicited by the test itself (giving instructions on how to draw a diagram).

in fact a “proxy” cue with respect to information structure (ie. that it is related to other factors which are, in turn, linked to information structure signalling) cannot be excluded; for now, we shall observe how correspondences similar to those we have observed in **DMN**’s case are arguably identifiable in other instances of phonological switches as well, as we shall see below.

SWITCH NO. 2

Informant (*co-participant*): **GP** (LT).

Lexeme: /wXəf/

Prank: “Fugitives in the lorry” (2)²³⁷

Summary: **GP** (*the Narrator*) switches from /wqəf/ to /wgəf/ while reporting the same prank.

4.3

GP: /ha:da wa:həd ə... ka:mju djəl=l-həbs/ [---] /fi:=h ʒu:ʒ.../
DEM;M.SG one (UN) lorry of=DET-jail in=3MSG two

LT: /(dja:l=a:f)/
of=what

GP: /djəl=l-həbs/
of=DET-jail

LT: /həm həm/
INTERJ

GP: /lli tə-jku:n fi:=h l-msəʒʒən hi:ja
REL PRVB-be;IPFV.3MSG in=3MSG DET-imprison;PTCP.ACT.M.SG 3FSG

b=a:f tə-jhəwwlu:=h mən=l.../
with=what PRVB-transfer;IPFV.3P=M.SG from=DET

LT: /ʔa:h dja:l=tʰ-trãspɔɾ dja:l=le-prizonje/
yes of=DET-transportation of=DET-prisoner[PL]

GP: /ʔa:h ha:da:k/
yes DEM.M.SG

LT: /???/

²³⁷ Numbers in brackets next to the prank title indicate the order in which the video was shown during the session; in this case, it was the fourth video, ie. the second one shown to the second participant (**IDG**).

GP: /fi:=h ʒu:ʒ djəl=l-ə.../ [---] /məʒu:n-i:n/
in=3MSG two of=DET-(UN) prisoner-PL

LT: /həm həm/
INTERJ

GP: /tə-jʒi u tə-jwqəf dək l-ka:mju djəl=l-həbs
PRVB-come;IPFV.3MSG and PRVB-stop;IPFV.3MSG DEM DET-lorry of=DET-jail

tə-jwqəf/ [---] /u wa:qəf wa:həd r^ɕ-r^ɕa:ʒəl.../
PRVB-stop;IPFV.3MSG and stand;PTCP.ACT.M.SG one DET-man

[---] /kbi:r f s-si:nn/ (...)
big in DET-age

(Ending time: 7.19²³⁸)

(...)

(Beginning time: 7.42)

GP: /s^ɕa:fi du:k z-zu:ʒ tə-jhərbu ha:dək ʃ-ʃi:ba:ni yn fwa
clear dem;pl det-two prvb-escape;ipfv.3p dem det-old.man one

tə-jfu:f l-a:xur tə-jmʃi tə-jtxəbba/ [---]
PRVB-see;3MSG DET-other PRVB-go;IPFV.3MSG PRVB-hide;IPFV.3MSG

LT: /tə-jbqa.../
PRVB-stay;3MSG

GP: /tə-jbqa wa:qəf ha:du:k l-mħa:bsi:ja lli tə-jhərbu/ [---]
PRVB-stay;3MSG stand;PTCP.ACT.M.SG DEM.PL DET- REL PRVB-escape.3PL

LT: /ʔa:h/
yes

GP: /tə-jʒi jəwqəf ʃli:=h bu:li:si/ [---]
PRVB-come.3MSG stop;IPFV.3MSG on=3MSG policeman

LT: /ʔa:h/
yes

²³⁸ Two recording time indications like this and the following ones are reported when a part of the recording has been omitted for the sake of practicality. They respectively indicate the beginning and the end of the part omitted.

GP: /tə-jbqa	jgu:l	li:=h.../ (...)
PRVB-stay;IPFV.3MSG	say;IPFV.3MSG	to=3MSG

Translation

GP: *This is a... jail lorry [---] with two...*

LT: *(What lorry?)*

GP: *A jail lorry.*

LT: *Hm hm*

GP: *Where there's a convict. That's what they use to move him from the.../*

LT: *Oh! The one for the prisoners' transfer!*

GP: *Yeah, that one!*

LT: *???*

GP: *There are two... [---] prisoners.*

LT: *Hm hm*

GP: *That jail lorry comes and stops. It stops [---] and a man's standing there... [---] an elderly man.*

(Ending time: 7.19²³⁹)

(...)

(Beginning time: 7.42)

GP: *So the two guys run away. As soon as he sees [what] the other guy [did], that old man goes and hides himself.*

LT: *He [=the victim] stays...*

GP: *He [=the victim] stands still; those prisoners that run away... [---]*

LT: *OK*

GP: *...a policeman comes and stops by him. [---]*

LT: *OK*

GP: *He starts telling him (...)*

²³⁹ Two recording time indications like this and the following ones are reported when a part of the recording has been omitted for the sake of practicality. They respectively indicate the beginning and the end of the part omitted.

Following the discourse analysis approach and trying to see how **GP** organises content in his prank account, we may observe that, through the phonological switch, he marks once again new, key information for the unfolding of the narration.

tə-jʒi: u **tə-jwʌ'qəf** dək l-ka:mju dʒəl=l-ʌ, həbs || **tə-jwʌ'qəf** [---] u wa:qəf wa:həd r^ɛ-r^ɛa:ʒəl...

In this excerpt, the first occurrence of /wqəf/ conveys new content, ie. that the lorry (which **GP** had mentioned before) stops at the side of the road, so that the gag may begin. The second occurrence is a repetition of the first one: this is a frequent syntactic rhetorical strategy employed by Moroccan Arabic speakers, whereby one of the last phrases of the preceding utterance is repeated at the beginning of the next utterance in its entirety, in order to, simultaneously, summarise what was said in the previous utterance and signal that the content of the second utterance temporally or logically follows from that of the first one. The introductive phrase of the new utterance usually ends with a phrase-final rising tone, indicating that completing information is following. An example, taken from another test session (and therefore reported in a smaller formatting²⁴⁰) is:

SI: bna:dəm kə-jdda:sər fa:f kə-jbqa jfu:f di:k t-twi:ʌfi:ja || bna:dəm fa:f kə-jfu:f di:k t-twi:ʌfi:ja tə-jgu:l da:k
xu:-na fnu t^ɛra li:-h ma:za:l ma-na:d-f

Translation

SI: *People start talking when they see that stuff. People, when they see that stuff, they say: “What happened to the guy? He hasn’t got up yet!”*

If the use of this strategy implies the repetition of a lexeme varying between /q/ and /g/, it is unusual to switch phonemes from one occurrence to the other²⁴¹, probably because the phoneme itself is involved in the repetition, as well²⁴². The same cannot be stated for the third occurrence, which moreover refers to a different event in the prank. In this case, the item /jəwɣəf/ does not express presupposed information as was the case for the /g/-items analysed in 4.1; however, it does not express key focused information either, as is highlighted below:

tə-jʌ,ʒi **jəwɣəf** ʕ/li:=h bu:ʌ'li:si

In this utterance, the real, new content (in red) is the entrance on stage of a policeman (ie. an actor playing this role), which, formally, is expressed through the verbal phrase /tə-jʒi/ in

²⁴⁰ Also, the morpheme-by-morpheme translation is not added as the excerpt is only reported as an example of this prosodic strategy.

²⁴¹ Or, at least, I have never encountered such a case either in my corpus or during my personal observations.

²⁴² For this reason, in cases such as this one, I always count one single occurrence.

conjunction with the noun phrase /bu:li:si/. The act of “stopping” is, in a sense, “subsidiary” (to use Gumperz, *et al.*’s terminology), as it is not the most influent of the policeman’s actions as far as the narration is concerned: what counts is that the policeman has come, not that it has stopped. This was not the case for the previous occurrences of /wqəf/, which alone expressed the fact that the lorry had entered the scene *and* stopped (for lack of the verb /za/, “to come”), and therefore conveyed central content in the general narrative context. From the syntactic point of view, this results in the two /q/-items fulfilling the function of verbs of two main clauses, while the /g/-item is subordinate to /tə-jʒi/ (as may be observed from its lack of pre-verbal prefix). Consequently, the phrase in which the last /wXəf/ occurrence is embedded appears to play a different role in the structuring of information with respect to the phrases in which the other two are found: once again, the use of the /q/-items seems to be associated to the intent of communicating focused information. The latter is also highlighted through syntactic structure (main clauses are charged with focused content) and prosodic patterning (entities expressing new content carry the primary prosodic accent).

The association of /wqəf/ with the expression of focused information seems to be confirmed by two further occurrences of this lexeme in **GP**’s speech, each one assigned to a different phoneme: the following excerpt is taken from the beginning of the Q&A session that followed the same prank account – which was obviously addressed to **LT**, the Listener for that particular account:

4.4

J: (*Why did that policeman get mad? [---] There’s a policeman...*)

GP: /tə-jku:n	wa:qəf	wa:həd	l-bu:li:si	lli
PRVB-be;IPFV.3MSG	stop;PTCP.ACT.M.SG	one	DET-policeman	REL
tə-jʒi	mni	tə-jʃu:f	(du:k	l-həbs)
PRVB-come;IPFV.3MSG	when	PRVB-see;IPFV.3MSG	DEM.PL	DET-prisoner.PL
tə-jhərbu	tə-jʒi	jəwgəf	ʃla:=ha:da:k	lli
PRVB-escape;IPFV.3PL	PRVB-come;IPFV.3MSG	stop;IPFV.3MSG	on=DEM.M.SG	REL
dərˈdək	ə...	dək	l-qfəl/	
break.open;PFV.3MSG	INTERJ	DEM	DET-lock	
LT: /ʔa:h	ha:da:k	ʃla:f	tqəlləq	ha:da:k
				l-bu:li:si

yes DET.M.SG why become.angry;PFV.3MSG DEM.3MSG DET-policeman

hi:nta:ʃ/ (...)

because

Translation

J: *Why did that policeman get mad? [---] There's a policeman in the video...*

GP: *There's a policeman standing. The one coming when he sees (those convicts) run away comes and stops by that guy that broke er... that lock open.*

LT: *Oh! That... Why that policeman got mad? Because...*

As I feel that **LT** has not understood my question, I try to reformulate it with more background information. However, **GP** preempts me in providing such information, thus enabling **LT** to successfully answer the question. Narrators' interferences (which, as was said before, were frequent across all test sessions) are characterised by the fact that the content communicated within them had already been provided before: it is just being repeated with the purpose of helping the Listener concerning a specific point of the prank. In this sense, the same speaker may arguably not use the same linguistic devices to structure discourse during these interferences and discourse aimed at providing the whole account of a prank; in the former, he may linguistically treat most of the content he provides as presupposed.

4.5

Prank: "The magician" (4)

GP: /ha:da wa:həd ə... l-ma:ʒi:sʃi sa:hi:r/
 DEM.M.SG one INTERJ DET-magician magician

LT: /hm hm/

INTERJ

GP: /tə-jwqəf ʃla [---] ba:ʃdʰ l-ʔa:ʃxa:sʰ/
 PRVB-stop;IPFV.3MSG on some DET-person;PL

Translation

GP: *This is a er... magicien. A sorcerer.*

LT: *Hm hm.*

GP: *Stopping by [---] some people.*

Here, like the previous /q/ occurrences, /wqəf/ expresses key focused information, as it is the only verb used to express the entrance of the main figure of the prank.

SWITCH NO. 3

Informant (co-participant): **PL** (PA). **Auditor:** PA's brother

Lexemes: /wXəf/; /wa:Xəf/

Prank: "Time freeze" (3)

Summary: **PL** switches phonemes while narrating the same prank.

4.6

PL: / ka:-twəqqəf ²⁴³	di:k	l-ma:ga:na	m.../ [---]	/di:k	təktək
PRVB-stop;IPFV.3FSG	DEM;F.SG	DET-clock	(UN)	DEM;F.SG	ONOM
[ta:-]təwgəf	l-ma:ga:na	tə-jtkwa:ns ⁶ a:w	ta	hu:ma	s ⁶ a:fi
PRVB-stop;IPFV.3FSG	DET-clock	PRVB-get.stuck;IPFV.3PL	also	3PL	clear
tə-jwəlli:w.../ [---]					
PRVB-become;IPFV.3PL					

PA: /hm/

INTERJ

PL: / wa:qfin	da:jri:n	ha:h/ [---]
stop;PTCP.M.PL	do;PTCP.M.PL	like.this

PA: /hm/

INTERJ

PL: /mb⁶fu:ki:n/

be.blocked;PTCP.M.PL

(Ending time: 18.12)

(...)

²⁴³ This is not the only instance I encountered in which /wəXXəf/ was used intransitively, with the same meaning as /wXəf/. Occurrences of this and other verbs of the same root were not counted, as they represent different lexemes and may carry other social values, or be more/less salient.

(Beginning time: 18.26)

PL: /tə-jbqa:w	jʃu:fu	f...	ʔəh	tə-jʃu:fu	f	ha:du:k
PRVB-stay;IPFV.3PL	see;IPFV.3PL	in	INTERJ	PRVB-see;IPFV.3PL	in	DEM.3PL
n-na:s	ma:=l=hum [---]	wəqfət		l-ma:ga:na	wəqfu ^{244/}	
DET-people	what=to=3PL	stop;PFV.3FSG		DET-clock	stop;PFV.3PL	

Translation

PL: *That clock stops, m... [---] That “tic-tic” – the clock stops and they freeze, too. So they become... [---]*

PA: *Hm*

PL: *...still, they do like that (mimics the actors’ pose). [---]*

PA: *Hm*

PL: *Like blocked! (18.12)*

(...)

(18.26)

PL: *They stare at... er they look at those people: “What’s wrong with them?” [---] The clock stopped and they also did!”*

The first occurrence in 4.6, /təwgəf/, seems to confirm the correspondences identified before, as it serves the purpose of repeating information given previously although with another, etymologically related lexeme (/ka:twəqqəf/); in other words, it conveys presupposed content. Predictably (according to our previous findings), it has been assigned to /g/. On the other hand, the second occurrence, /wa:qfi:n/, seems to counter the trend we have found till now, as it also conveys presupposed information (which is introduced through the immediately preceding /tə-jtkwa:nsʰa:w/) but is assigned to /q/. In fact, a closer look at prosody and syntax shows that **PL** treats /wa:qfi:n/ like an entity that introduces focused information, despite the fact that, speaking from the point of view of lexical content alone, this would not seem to be the case (although see below).

1. **təwgəf** l-ma: ga:na tə-jtkwa:nʰsʰa:w ta hu:ma

²⁴⁴ This occurrence was not counted as the segment /qfu/ is uttered with almost no vibration of the vocal chords and the phoneme /q/ is not pronounced clearly; however, the quality of the preceding vowel ([ɔ]) reveals that the phoneme is, in fact, supposed to be /q/.

2. sʰa:fi tə-jwəlli:w... [---] (...) lʰ wa:qfin || da:jri:n ha:h [---]

The prosodic patterns reveal the different functions fulfilled by the clauses in which the two lexical items are embedded: /təwgəf l-ma:ga:na/ is a temporal clause, which is subordinate to the main clause /tə-jtkwa:nsʰa:w ta hu:ma/ not only grammatically but also logically, as it provides the temporal context in which the actors freeze; concordantly, it does not carry the main accent. On the other hand, /sʰa:fi tə-jwəlli:w wa:qfi:n/ is the main clause in the sentence. Besides, within the latter, the lexeme /wa:qfi:n/ is given particular prominence, not just because it carries the primary accent but also because it follows a break: it almost seems like, at this point of the narration, **PL** was not satisfied with how he had just verbalised the event being narrated (the moment in the prank in which the actors freeze) and paused in order to think of a word, more specifically an adjective, conveying the *state* of immobility of the actors in the prank (whereas /tə-jtkwa:nsʰa:w/, as a verb, expresses the *process* of halting). If this interpretation is correct, then we may also add that the information he provides with /wa:qfi:n/ is also “new” from the *semantic* point of view, as this lexeme conveys the “state” of being immobile (rather than the process of becoming so) for the first time in **PL**’s account.

A different interpretation can be advanced for the two further /q/ occurrences in the account, /wəqfət/ and /wəqfu/. Here, again, it appears that /q/ is assigned even though the verb, in both instances, is conveying previously given information. However, before stating if some piece of information is “presupposed”, we should first check *within whose discourse* it enjoys this status. So far, we have distinguished between content that *the prank account Narrator* had or had not “given” to *the prank account Listener* in the test communicative framework. Here, on the other hand, we are dealing with reported speech; by virtue of this, information is not being exchanged between the participants to the test, but between *the prank victims*²⁴⁵. If we view reported speech as a communicative act in which, to use Goffman’s (1979) terminology, the “animator” (the “real-time” speaker) not only impersonates the “author” (whose speech is reported) but also makes the same linguistic choices that the latter would, then **PL** may be seen as imagining how the prank victims would choose between /q/ and /g/; and, since the information expressed by the lexeme would be new (ie. focused) *for them*, then /q/ would be the phoneme of choice.

SWITCH NO. 4

Informant (co-participant): LT (GP).

²⁴⁵ Or in the single prank victim’s mind, depending on whether PL refers to situations in which one or two victims were being pranked (both situations occurring in the video).

Lexeme: /Xədda:m/

Prank: “Red light”(1)

Summary: *LT switches phonemes while specifying the reciprocal positions of the people involved in the prank.*

4.7

LT: / a fak fwa ʃi:-wa:ħəd kə-jʒi ka:-tħəʔtʰ=u f
at each time INDEF-one PRVB-come;IPFV.3MSG PRVB-put;IPFV.3FSG=3MSG in

l-ħmər/ [---] /tə-jbqa ʔu qədda:m ha:da:k l-ħmər
DET-red PRVB-stay;IPFV.3MSG and in.front.of DEM.M.SG DET-red

qədda:m da:k l-fə ruʒ otomatikmā ka:jən wa:ħəd
in.front.of DEM.M.SG DET-light red automatically be;PTCP.ACT.M.SG one

ə... l-pu:li:si [da:]k l-pu:li:si ga:ləs/ [---]
(UN) DET-policeman DEM.M.SG DET-policeman sit;PTCP.ACT.M.SG

/kə-jʃu:f=f=ək nta ma təqdər-ʃ dʒi:d ʃi:nta:ʃ
PRVB-see;IPFV.3SG=in=2SG 2MSG NEG can;IPFV.2MSG-NEG proceed;IPFV.2MSG because

l-fə ruʒ /ʃa:ʕəl u qədda:m=ək l-pu:li:si/
DET-light red turn.on;PTCP.ACT.M.SG and in.front.of=2SG DET-policeman

GP: /ħrəg dʕ-dʕu l-ħmər (u jəwqəf ʃli:=h) bu:li:si/
burn;PFV.3MSG DET-light DET-red and stop;IPFV.3MSG on=3MSG policeman

LT: / ʔa:h a fak fwa kə-jħawəl ??... ʔu kə-jbqa n-na:s
yes at each time PRVB-try;IPFV.3MSG and PRVB-stay;IPFV.3MSG DET-people

kə-jdu:zu u kə-jmʃi:w kə-jmʃi:w u kə-jʒi:w
PRVB-pass;IPFV.3PL and PRVB-go;IPFV.3PL PRVB-go;IPFV.3PL and PRVB-come;IPFV.3PL

(dək) l-a:xur/ [---] / ba:qi ʃa:sʕəl qədda:m l-pu:li:si
dem det-other;m.sg still be.trapped;ptcp.act.m.sg in.front.of det-policeman

yn fwa kə-jbyi jrʒəʕ/ [---] /yn fwa
one time PRVB-want;IPFV.3MSG go.back;IPFV.3MSG one time

kə-jbyi jʒi:d kə-jbyi jʔi:nju:rʕi

PRVB-want;IPFV.3MSG proceed;IPFV.3MSG PRVB-want;IPFV.3MSG ignore;IPFV.3MSG

kə-jdi:r li:=h l-pu:li:si rʒəʃ/

PRVB-do;IPFV.3MSG to=3MSG DET-policeman go.back;IMP.2MSG

Translation

LT: *Every time somebody comes, [the hidden-camera collaborator] sets [the semaphore] to red [---]. And it stays like that! And in front of the red light – in front of the semaphore – there’s obviously a... a policeman. That policeman is sitting [---] looking at you, so you can’t move forward, because the traffic light’s on and there’s a policeman in front of you!*

GP: *If he jumps the red light, the policeman intervenes.*

LT: *Yeah! Every time he tries to ??... And he stays there! People pass and go, come and go and that guy [---] **is still trapped in front of the policeman. When he wants to move back [---]** When he wants to move forward and ignore [the red light], the policeman makes a sign to him: “Move back!”*

Once again, the targeted lexeme is used – at least twice – to express the same piece of information: in this case, where the policeman is located with respect to the prank victim (or vice versa). In the previous case, **PL**’s /wa:qəf/ was seen, among other things, as expressing a piece of information slightly different from /kə-jtkwa:ns’a:w/ for semantic reasons, ie. as expressing state rather than process; following this argument, **PL** was said to be choosing /q/ in order to signal new content. In the case at hand, we may explain in a similar way why **LT** chooses /q/ for the third /qədda:m/ occurrence, as the difference between this and the first two /qəddam/’s is one of referent: while the first two occurrences (the second being a mere repetition of the first one due to the aleas of speech) refer to the policeman’s position with respect to the traffic light, the third one refers to his position *with respect to the victim*. In fact, the difference in content goes even beyond this mere shift in points of reference: while the utterance

/ʔu:=qədda:m ha:da:k l-ħmər qədda:m da:k l-fə ruʒ otomatikmā ka:jən wa:ħəd ə... l-pu:li:si/

explains the policeman’s physical presence in front of the traffic light from the perspective of plausibility (probably connecting it to the hidden-camera designers’ successful creation of a realistic situation, which does not arouse the victims’ suspicion), the utterance

/nta ma təqdər-f dʒi:d hi:nta:f l-fə ruʒ ʃa:ʕəl u qədda:m-ək l-pu:li:si/

conveys the *emotive* effect of the policeman's being there in front of (ie. monitoring) the pranked driver; effect which is intentionally rendered more salient for the interlocutor through the use of the 2nd person singular pronoun /-ək/. This slight difference in referents seems to justify **LT**'s treatment of the third /qədda:m/, too, as focused information, as the same content had not been conveyed before. On the other hand, the /gədda:m/ he utters after **GP**'s comment expresses the same concept as the last /qədda:m/, ie. the policeman's monitoring presence.

Another explanation is possible: the /q/ on the third occurrence of the lexeme may come as an indication that the Narrator is still making efforts to ensure that the information conveyed through this lexeme be communicated effectively. In other words, it may be that, after reiterating /qədda:m/ twice in order to make sure that **GP** grasped the information (ie. the policeman's presence and his position with respect to the victim), the Listener's comment reassures him on the successful reception of the message, as he responds with the assenting interjection /ʔa:h/. Right after that, **LT** happens to repeat the lexeme once more, although this time it is to specify that the victim is "*still* in front of the policeman" in spite of all other drivers coming and going with no hindrance. This last repetition is not due to the need of specifying where the policeman is located, but rather to make a funny comment to the situation: this is also paralinguistically signalled through a hint of laughing, which **LT** audibly stifles throughout the segment highlighted in yellow in the transcription and translation. In other words, the content conveyed through /qədda:m/ may be *treated as new* (focused), in the sense that **LT** is still signalling the information as though he were not sure that it has entered the "common ground" (to use Ward and Birner's wording) between him and his interlocutor, ie. it still needed to be focused. On the other hand, after **GP** has confirmed through his comment to have understood **LT**'s narration so far and to be "on the right track", the Narrator can now treat the same content as "presupposed" and, concomitantly, signal it with /gədda:m/. This second interpretation would also explain why, later in the same session, **LT** (once again in the Narrator's role) used /qədda:m/ after another comment of **GP**'s appeared to give him the opposite impression, ie. that previous communication had not been successful and that it was necessary to re-start the narration from scratch (ie., to restart treating all information as focused). The beginning of the following excerpt is about one minute into **LT**'s prank account.

4.8

Prank: "*Voyeur child*" (5)

GP: /l-ʔəb	u:l̩la	l-ʔumm	dʒəl=di:k	l-wəld	tə-jxəlli:w=h.../
DET-father	or	DET-mother	of=DEM	DET-boy	PRVB-leave;IPFV.3PL=3MSG

LT: /ʔəlla lla la əlla ʒa sməħ li:=ja ha:di ɦa:za
no no no no just excuse;IMP.2MSG to=1SG DET.F.SG thing

xra da:ba hu:ma ga:lsi:n kə-jtsənnə:w
other;F.SG now 3PL sit;PTCP.ACT.M.PL PRVB-wait;IPFV.3PL

kə-jtsənnə:w qədda:m l-akəj fhəmti:=ni/
PRVB-wait;IPFV.3PL in.front.of DET-reception understand;PFV.2SG=1SG

GP: /wa[:xxa]/
alright

LT: /ka:-dʒi wa:ħda ka:-təwqəf/ (...)
PRVB-come;IPFV.3FSG one;F.SG PRVB-stop;IPFV.3FSG

Translation

GP: *The father or the mother of that child leave him...*

LT: *No, no, no! No, excuse me, this is different. See, they sit waiting... waiting in front of the reception, did you get it?*

GP: *Alright!*

LT: *Then a woman comes and stops...*

SWITCH NO.5

In the following case – like other cases that will be dealt with later – I consider the switch as multiple, in that it does not only occur within the same prank account, but also among different moments of the test session. Below are schematised all the /q/ and /g/ occurrences of the lexemes that the informant alternatively assigned to the two phonological classes.

Informant: EZ (SI)

Lexemes: /wa:Xəf/, /wXəf/

Occurrence	Role / Addressee	Time	Prank
/ta:-təwgəf/	Narrator / SI	20.28	“Time freeze” (4)
/wa:gəf/	Listener /	28.51	“The magician” (5)

	Researcher		
/jəwqəf/	Narrator / SI	33.20	“Red light” (6)
/wa:qəf/	Narrator / SI	33.23	“Red light” (6)
/wa:qəf/	Narrator / SI	33.28	“Red light” (6)
/wa:gəf/	Narrator / SI	33.58	“Red light” (6)

Table 20 - /wa:Xəf/ and /wXəf/ occurrences during **EZ**'s test

Once again, by looking closely at all the occurrences of the two lexemes, we realise that a) all /q/-items serve the purpose of introducing new information in the context of the prank resume and that b) all /g/-items repeat information that had been previously given. Excerpt 4.9 includes all /q/ occurrences, whereas excerpts from 4.10 to 4.12 include one /g/ occurrence each.

/q/ occurrences

4.9

Prank: “Red light” (6)

EZ: / da:ba	l-/ [fy:	rəʃ]	/tə-jku:n	ʃa:ʕəl	b
now	DET-light	red	PRVB-be;IPFV.3MSG	turn.on;PTCP.ACT.M.SG	with
l-xdʕər/	[---]	/ ta:-tku:n	wa:hd[a]	xədda:m[a]	mχəbbi:ja
DET-green		PRVB-be;IPFV.3FSG	one;F.SG	working;F.SG	hide;PTCP.F.SG
wa:ħəd	ʃ-ʃəʒra	tə-jbyi	??	ʃi:-wa:ħəd	ʒa:j
one	DET-tree	PRVB-want;IPFV.3.MSG		INDEF-one	come;PTCP.ACT.M.SG
mən=hna:ja	ka:-twərʕrʕək		ʕla:=wa:ħəd	tʕ-tʕi:lʕi:ku:mu:n	
from=here	PRVB-press;IPFV.3FSG		on=one	DET-remote.control	
ta:-təʃʕəl		l-x ^w ra	b	l-ħməɾ/ [---]	
PRVB-turn.on;IPFV.3FSG		DET-other;F.SG	with	DET-red	

SI: /ʔa:h/

yes

EZ: / dōk	xəsʕsʕ=u	jəwqəf/	[---] / l-x ^w ri:n
so	be.necessary;PFV.3MSG=3MSG	stop;IPFV.3MSG	DET-other;PL

tə-jdu:zu	mən=ʒ-ʒi:ha	l-x ^w ra	(ta	tə-jd[u:zu])...
PRVB-pass;IPFV.3PL	from=DET-direction	DET-other;F.SG	until	PRVB-pass;IPFV.3PL
tə-jdu:zu	u	hu:wa	tə-jbqa	wa:qəf/ [---] /
	and	3MSG	PRVB-stay;IPFV.3MSG	stop;PTCP.ACT.M.SG
tə-jt ^ʰ ləʃ	li:=h	d-dəmm	wa:h	t ^ʰ ri:q ʃa
PRVB-go.up;IPFV.3MSG	to=3MSG	DET-blood	INTERJ	road just
ta:-təddi	ma	tə-j...	fhəmti	ma fi:=ha
PRVB-take;IPFV.3FSG	not	PRVB-IPFV.3M	understand;PFV.2SG	NEG in=3FSG
la	t ^ʰ ri:q	ha:kda	la	wa[:lu] tə-jbqa
neither	road	like.this	nor	nothing PRVB-stay;IPFV.3MSG
wa:qəf	wa:qəf wa:qəf wa:qəf ²⁴⁶ / [---] /	kə-jt ^ʰ ləʃ	li:=h	
stop;PTCP.ACT.M.SG		PRVB-go.up;IPFV.3MSG	to=3MSG	
d-dəmm	tə-jbyi	jzi:d	tə-js ^ʰ əffər	
DET-blood	PRVB-want;IPFV.3MSG	proceed;IPFV.3MSG	PRVB-whistle;IPFV.3MSG	
ʃli:=h	bu:li:si	tə-jhəzz	li:=h	wərqa/ (...)
on=3MSG	policeman	PRVB-lift;IPFV.3MSG	to=3MSG	paper

Translation

EZ: Now, the semaphore has its green light on [---]. One's working [for the hidden camera], hiding behind a tree. When someone wants ?? coming this way, she uses a remote control and turns on the red light [---].

SI: OK!

EZ: So he has to stop [---]. Other people come by the other way, (and when they pass)... They pass, and he stays [---]. He gets mad, damn! And it's just one road, it doesn't... you get it, there's no road like this²⁴⁷ or anything, he keeps stuck for a long long long long time [---]! He gets mad, he wants to move forward but the policeman whistles at him and shows him a ticket...

/g/ occurrences

4.10

²⁴⁶ These four items are counted as one single occurrence (cfr. § 4.2.3.2).

²⁴⁷ Here EZ probably means that there's no crossroads justifying the presence of a traffic light.

Prank: “Time freeze” (4)

EZ: /dək l-ma:ga:na ta:-təwsʕəl l wa:həd l-wəqt/ [---]
 DEM DET-clock PRVB-arrive;IPFV.3FSG to one DET-time
 /ta:-təhbəs kull=fɪ tə-jsməʕ fi:=ha fi:=ha
 PRVB-halt;IPFV.3FSG each=thing PRVB-hear;IPFV.3MSG in=3FSG in=3FSG
 sʕ-sʕu:t mərta:fəʕ [ka:-]təbqa təsməʕ ti:k ti:k ti:k/
 DET-noise rise;PTCP.M.SG PRVB-stay;IPFV.2MSG hear;IPFV.2MSG ONOM

(Ending time: 19.43)

(...)

(Beginning time: 20.17)

SI: /sʕa:fi/
 clear

EZ: /sʕa:fi/
 clear

SI: /[ma] kə-jbəjjnu la tʕbi:b la ta:=fi:-wa:həd wa:həd
 NEG PRVB-make.appear;IPFV.3P no doctor no even=INDEF-one one
a:xur/
 other;M.SG

EZ: /??? ʕa:d di:k s-sa:ʕa ??? tə-jtsənnaw u
 only.then DEM.F.SG DET-hour PRVB-wait;IPFV.3PL and
 wa:həd ʃnu tə-jdi:r tə-jʒi wa:həd
 one what PRVB-do;IPFV.3MSG PRVB-come;IPFV.3.SG one
 tə-jdxəl tə-jbqa jtsənnaw mʕa:=hum (**SI:** /sʕa:fi/)
 PRVB-go.in;IPFV.3MSG PRVB-stay;IPFV.3MSG wait;IPFV.3MSG with=3P clear
 bha:la:kda/ [---] /fwi:ja da:k... da:k l-ma:ga:na **ta:-təwgəf/** (...)
 like.that thing;DIM DEM DET-clock PRVB-stop;IPFV.3FSG

Translation

EZ: *At a certain point, that clock [---] stops. Everyone can hear it, it's quite loud: you keep hearing “tick tick tick”...*

(Ending time: 19.43)

(...)

(Beginning time: 20.17)

SI: *Is that all?*

EZ: *That's all!*

SI: *Don't they show any doctor or somebody, somebody else...?*

EZ: *??? At that point, ??? they're waiting, and what does one of them do? One comes, gets in and waits with them (SI: Alright) like this [---]. After a while, that... that clock stops...*

4.11

Prank: "The magician" (5)

EZ: /ʔa:h	fhəmt(=ək)/	[---] /da:ba	l-bʰlʰa:n	u:=ma	fi:=h
yes	understand;PFV.1SG=2SG	now	DET-plan	and=REL	in=3MSG
gəlti	bi:=ʔa:nna:=hu	fhəmti	da:ba/ [---]		
say;PFV.2SG	with=that=3MSG	understand;PFV.2SG	now		
/tə-tku:n	ʃi:-wa:həd	f=ʃi...	ʃi:-ħa:nu:t	bħa:lla	
PRVB-be;IPFV.2MSG	INDEF-one	in=INDEF	INDEF-shop	as.if	
tə-jtku:n [€ ²⁴⁸ tə-jku:n]	xa:rəʒ	ka:jən			
	PRVB-be;IPFV.3MSG	exit;PTCP.ACT.M.SG	be;PTCP.ACT.M.SG		
wa:h[əd	l-]maʒisiẽ	wa:gəf	dək	l-maʒisiẽ	
one	DET-magician	stop;PTCP.ACT.M.SG	DEM	DET-magician	
tə-jku:n	la:bəs	wa:həd	l-bʰi:dʰlʰa/	(...)	
PRVB-be;IPFV.3MSG	wear;ptcp.m.sg	one	DET-dress;DIM		

Translation

EZ: *Yeah, I understand (you) [---] So, the story's that there's... you said that... you see, now [---] There's someone by some... some shop, like he's outside; there's ?? magician standing. This magician is wearing a sort of dress...*

4.12

²⁴⁸ This symbol is used here to signify that a different form is used where another one would be expected according to syntax.

Prank: “Red light” (6)

SI: /tʰri:q... ʔəh (ltə)... ma ta:-təddi ma ta:-dʒi:b yi:r
road INTERJ (UN) NEG PRVB-take;IPFV.3FSG NEG PRVB-bring;IPFV.3FSG just
ka:-təddi/
PRVB-take;IPFV.3FSG

EZ: /tʰri:q tʰri:q ʕa... lla tʰri:q ta:-təddi u ta:-dʒi:b ma
road just no road PRVB-take;IPFV.3FSG and PRVB-bring;IPFV.3FSG NEG
fi:=ha ta:=ʃi:-tʰri:q ha:kka/
in=3FSG even=INDEF-road like.this

SI: /ʔa:h sʰa:fi/
yes clear

EZ: /[ma] fi:-ʃ krʷa:zma fhəmti/ [---] / da:ba fha:lla ma:ta:la:n
NEG in=NEG crossroads understand;PFV.2SG now as.if for.example

tʰ-tʰri:q ta:-təddi u ta:-dʒi:b da:ba tʰ-tʰri:q lli
DET-road PRVB-take;IPFV.3FSG and PRVB-bring;IPFV.3FSG now DET-road REL
ta:-təddi ha:tʰfi:n wa:həd/ [fy: ru:ʒ] /hna:ja/ [---]
PRVB-take;IPFV.3FSG put;PTCP.ACT.M.PL one light red here

SI: /sʰa:fi/
clear

EZ: /tə-jku:n ʒa:j ʃi:-wa:həd tə-jʃəŋlu[:=h] b
PRVB-be;IPFV.3MSG come;PTCP.ACT.M.SG INDEF-one PRVB-turn.on;IPFV.3PL=3MSG with

l-hmər u n-na:s mən=hna tə-jdu:zu/ [---] / ʔu hu:wa
DET-road and DET-people from=here PRVB-pass;IPFV.3PL and 3MSG

mən=hna **wa:gəf** tə-jtsənnə l-xwa l-xa:wi/ (...)
from=here stop;PTCP.ACT.M.SG PRVB-wait;IPFV.3MSG DET-void DET-empty

Translation

SI: *Is it a road... er ??... it's not a two-way road, just one way?*

EZ: *It's a road... just a road... No! It's a two-way road, but there's no road like this [ie. crossing it]*

SI: *Oh, alright!*

EZ: *There's no crossroads, you get it? [---] Now, like, for example, there's a two-way road: the road that goes, they put a traffic light on, right here [---].*

SI: *Alright!*

EZ: *When someone comes, they turn the red light on, and the people coming this way can still pass [---] and he's stuck on the other way, waiting in vain...*

Each of the three /q/ occurrences in 4.9 introduces new – and therefore focused – information for the picturing of the prank: the first one reveals to **SI** that the victims are obliged to stop; the second one lets him know that they have to keep waiting while everybody else is passing; the third one expresses the lengthiness of their stop through reiteration of the lexeme. The fact that **EZ** makes a short pause after each occurrence may be seen as an indicator that he is expressing key details in the framework of his narration, and intends to allow **SI** some time to grasp the information.

Conversely, the two /g/ occurrences in 4.10 and 4.12 follow a question of **SI**'s, to whom **EZ** answers by reformulating information he had already given during his initial resume, although not necessarily using the same lexeme: in 4.10, **EZ** first mentions the clock stopping by using the verb /hbəs/, a synonym of /wXəf/, during the prank account (cfr. beginning of the excerpt); in 4.12, he uses /wa:gəf/ to return to the moment when the prank victim is left waiting at the traffic light (his first mention of this detail during the resume is found in 4.9). However, as appeared from the previous cases examined (although it was explicitly observed in the switch no. 4), what seems to affect the speakers' choice between /q/ and /g/ is not whether the information expressed through the lexeme is new or given, but whether it is *treated as* new or given by the speakers themselves. Both **PL** and **LT** seemed to gave their preference to /q/ as long as they felt that they needed to “get the message through” to their interlocutors, and to /g/ when they felt confident that this had happened. In 4.10 and 4.12, we find two situations more similar to the second case: even though **EZ** is requested in both cases to supply additional information, in neither case does **SI**'s question indicate a misunderstanding of the whole account (unlike **GP**'s question in 4.8). By consequence, **EZ**'s reformulations may be seen as short “reminders” rather than repetitions of the whole account from A to Z, and the information reported in them is probably not given particular relevance (or at least not as much as focused information would be given), as it only serves the purpose of providing a general summary of the prank events in order to answer **SI**'s question.

This brings us to the /wa:gəf/ occurrence in 4.11: in this case, **EZ** (here in the Listener's role) makes a quick summary of the prank that **EZ** had just finished telling in order to demonstrate

to me that he has understood it. In other words, as in 4.10 and 4.12, he recaps a series of events with purposes other than “augment[ing] or updat[ing] the hearer’s view of the common ground”, in this case to prove comprehension. In this view, we may expect him again to treat the information he is conveying as presupposed, which in turn would explain his associating it with the use of /g/ for /wa:Xəf/.

So far, a tendency has been shown for the lexemes /wa:Xəf/, /wXəf/ and /Xədda:m/ to be assigned to the phonological class /q/ when they are used to express focused information, and to /g/ when they express presupposed information. At this point of the discussion, we should not forget that we are only considering the cases in which a single informant has switched phonemes for the same lexeme at least once during the hidden-camera test; we shall see later what this implies for the findings of this analysis. For now, it may be useful to observe that, **if we only consider such cases, 63 (ie. almost 70%) out of 91 /q/- and /g/-occurrences (including those analysed above) can be explained as associated to, respectively, focused and presupposed content in the context of the utterances in which they occurred.** In the following section, I move on to consider cases of switch that may be explained through another theoretical framework elaborated in the field of interactional linguistics, ie. that developed around the concepts of “voice” and “voicing contrast”.

4.2.4.3 - /q/ vs /g/ in voicing contrast

The concept of “voice”, originally developed by Bakhtin (1981, 1984 in Agha (2005)), is used here in its re-elaboration by Agha (2005). According to Bakhtin, voices are semiotic forms that “involve speaker-focal indexicality”, in the sense that they “index typifiable speaking personae” (Agha 2005: 39). More precisely, as Agha explains in this article, they are *the product of the attribution of a range of semiotic cues to a typified speaker* (or persona). In order to be meaningful, such attribution also needs to be correctly interpreted (ie. recognised) by the addressee. However, different voices can only be identified negatively, in that they are “different from each other”²⁴⁹: for this reason, their “individuation” is made through *voicing contrast*, i.e. the judgement of juxtaposed texts where different distributions of semiotic cues make it clear that the texts are ascribable to different voices. In Agha’s terms,

“[v]oicing contrasts are made perceivable or palpable by the metrical iconism of co-occurring text segments—the likeness or unlikeness of co-occurring chunks of text—which motivate evaluations of sameness or difference

²⁴⁹ In this, the concept of “voice” is very similar to Irvine’s (2001) “style”; however, the indexical referents of “voices” are more material in nature, as they are features of typified “real figures”, although highly ideologised.

of speaker. Such entextualized contrasts are wholly emergent and nondetachable: They are figure-ground contrasts that are individuable only in relation to an unfolding text structure (hence emergent) and are not preserved under decontextualization (hence nondetachable)” (40).

Even though Agha provides an example of voicing contrast taken from literary narrative, he makes it clear that the concept is by no means limited to the written channel, or to cultivated narratives:

“Jane Hill (1995) has shown that a similar range of voicing contrasts is detectable in everyday oral narratives, where the text-internal organization of a single person’s speech contains many individuable voices, each linked to describable textual scopes but not always to named biographical identities.” (44)

So how can we describe the type of speaker indexed through a set of co-occurring semiotic cues? As he maintains, even though voices

“do not permit clear biographic identification[,] this does not prevent us (...) from using some other description (...) Such descriptions employ a metalanguage of social types—whether types of interactant (onlooker), of persona/stance/attitude (parody, irony), or of social kind of person (crass, vulgar)—in typifying voices individuated by text-metrical contrasts.” (44-45)²⁵⁰

Could the differential use of /q/ and /g/ for different pragmatic purposes be also read as a semiotic strategy that speakers put into practice in order to achieve voicing contrast? If this were true, we should at least be able to demonstrate that the two phonemes co-occur with different sets of semiotic cues, each indexing a different social type in one of the senses envisaged by Agha – interactant, persona/stance/attitude or social kind of person. We already saw in some of the previous examples that some of the /q/- and /g/-items did appear to co-occur with – especially prosodic and syntactic – features in order to signal a distinction between what we defined as “new” and “given information”; however, how such distinction should correspond to a juxtaposing of different voices does not emerge clearly from those examples. We shall now analyse other cases in which co-occurrences are more transparent, to the point that they may, in fact, be interpreted as instances of voicing contrasts.

SWITCH NO. 6

Informant (co-participant): GG (IDG).

²⁵⁰ As Agha himself specifies in his article, the theoretical framework in which he develops his definition of voice and voicing contrast is that of Goffman (1979), who talks about changes in interactant’s stances as stances in footing. This, according to Goffman, is “the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance” (5).

Lexeme: /Xədda:m/

Prank: “The magician”(4)

Summary: **GG** (the Listener) switches from /gədda:m/ to /qədda:m/ while answering one of the researcher’s questions.

4.13

J: (Where was it left, the garment of the...?)

GG: /l-ləbsa	bq-a:t	l	a...	f	l-ʔa:ma:m	dja:l=[h]um	jəʕni
DET-garment	stay-PFV.3FSG	to	(UN)	in	DET-front	of=3PL	that.is
gədda:m =[h]um	jəʕni	mni	kə-jʒi:w		jqəllbu	jjʃu:fu	
in.front.of=3PL	that.is	when	PRVB-come;IPFV.3P		search.for;IPFV.3PL	see;IPFV.3PL	
ʃ-ʃəxsʕi:ba [ɛ ʃ-ʃəxsʕi:ja]	a:w	smi:t=u		f...	kə-jtfa:ʒʔu		
DET-character	or	name=POSS.3MS		(UN)	PRVB-be.surprised;IPFV.3PL		
kə-jlqa:w	ʕla:=a:sa:s	ʔanna	ha:di:k	hi	ləbsa		
PRVB-find;IPFV.3PL	on=bases	that;DECL	that;DEM.F.SG	only	garment		
m...	ka:n	mətxəffa	fi:=ha/ [---]	/hi:ja	(dʕəlʕ)	f	l... qədda:m
(UN)	be;PFV.3MSG	hide;PTCP.M.SG	in=3FS	3FS	(UN)	in	DET front
dja:l=[h]um	ʕla:=hsa:b	ma	fhəmə-t/				
of=3PL	on=account	REL	understand-PFV.1SG				

Translation

J: Where was it left, the garment of the...?

GG: The garment was left bef... before them [= the victims], like, in front of them, like, when they come up and look for that character or whatever, in... they are astonished, they find, for the reason that it was just a laid-on suit he was disguised with [---]. And that’s in the... front of them, as far as I understood.

As can be seen in 4.13, **GG** starts his answer by joining the colloquial Moroccan Arabic analytic genitive particle /dja:l/ to a lexeme usually found in MSA texts, /ʔa:ma:m/²⁵¹, which can be seen as the *fushā* correspondent for /Xadda:m/. This kind of prepositional locution, /f l-X dja:l/ (where X is a lexeme that may also be employed as a one-word preposition), is also typical of colloquial Moroccan Arabic, and is not included among those that Youssi considers as *arabe marocain moderne* (cfr. 1992: 240). It may thus be seen as an extreme case of code-switching (or code-mixing, for that matter) between *fushā* and colloquial Moroccan Arabic, where a lexeme of the former is embedded in a grammatical construction pertaining to the latter; however, this is not relevant for the present discussion.

By the end of his answer, he uses a third, semantically equivalent phrase, namely /f l-qadda:m dja:l=[h]um/; however, the peculiarity of this last phrase (besides the phonological switch) is that it presents a syntactic form that is less usual in colloquial Moroccan Arabic than its synthetic counterpart /qadda:m=hum/. Curiously, it represents a sort of hybrid of the other two forms, /f l-ʔa:ma:m dja:l=[h]um/ and /gadda:m=[h]um/ (the former of which is, in turn, a hybrid form between *fushā* and colloquial Moroccan Arabic).

How to interpret the juxtaposition of three linguistic forms that “say the same thing”? First of all, we should not forget that **GG** is intent in fulfilling a task: answering a question that aims at checking his understanding. He is therefore required to show that he has, in fact, understood the Narrator’s resume of the prank. My interpretation is that, in order to fulfil his task, he chooses to use three forms that, in the context in which they are uttered, are increasingly relevant to the test requirements, which also include the task he has been assigned:

- The first one, /f l-ʔa:ma:m dja:l=[h]um/, is a mixed *fushā*-colloquial form, and thus definable as “more formal” than the two following forms.
- The second one, /gadda:m=[h]um/, is a colloquial form with no clear borrowing from *fushā*; it may be defined as “pure *dārīza*”.
- The third one, /f l-qadda:m dja:l=[h]um/ is a form both lexically similar to and syntactically more articulated than /gadda:m=[h]um/, as it is an analytic – rather than synthetic – genitive construction embedded in a prepositional clause.

As can be observed, the three forms do not only represent an alternation of three different combinations of linguistic features, but also signal different speaker’s stances:

²⁵¹ The MSA phonology for this term is /ʔama:m/.

- Beginning an utterance in a more formal register and then switching (more or less gradually) to registers involving a greater use of colloquial Moroccan Arabic features is also typical of contexts associated with some degree of officiality or cultivation, such as political debates on TV programmes (personal observation). Here, apparently, **GG** considers the communicative situation represented by the hidden-camera test to have linguistic requirements similar to those contexts, and consequently adopts the same linguistic strategies.
- While the change of register in TV debates may be due to rhetorical purposes connected with the type of audience or topic of discussion, **GG**'s sudden switch from a more to a less formal phrase needs to be justified. It was shown above (cfr. § 4.2.4.1) how some informants went as far as actively helping the researcher with metalinguistic activities and comments during the test. Like all other informants, **GG** is aware of the general scientific aim of the test (ie. doing research on *dārīža*). The fact that he switches to a “purely *dārīža* form”, ie. one that fully matches the researcher's objective, may be interpreted as a metalinguistic activity, ie. as an accommodation to the language form that the speaker believes the addressee to expect from him.
- The third form comes after a short digression in which **GG** seeks confirmation to his own answer through what may be dubbed as “thinking aloud”. Therefore, the final utterance – in which the form is embedded – may be seen as **GG**'s confirmation that the answer he has given is the one that seems most correct to him: in confirming his answer, and making sure that the addressee understands it, he seems to conciliate a syntactic structure associated with formality (which he apparently considers as a feature of the situation at hand) and a lexical material associated with the colloquial register (which he still believes is what is sought by the addressee).

We may summarise the analysis above in a table similar to that used by Agha (2007: 99) for his analysis of an interactional text (the “interpersonal alignments” has been removed, as it is not a matter of concern for the present discussion).

Participants	Form	Stances and roles performed by the speaker
GG (speaker) J (addressee)	/f l-ʔa:ma:m dja:l=[h]um/	Evaluates context as formal
	/gədda:m=[h]um/	Accommodates to J's (academic and communicative) needs
	/f l-qədda:m dja:l=[h]um/	Simultaneously accommodates to J's needs and evaluates context as formal

Table 21 - Interactional text analysis highlighting the three synonymous forms used by GG.

Briefly, it may be said that **GG** gradually adjusted his stance to the situation at hand, signalling such adjustment with three synonymous syntagms that vary as for the combination of linguistic features constituting each of them; in other words, we are dealing with an instance of voicing contrast. The adjustment is not to be seen as a linear one, as, if my interpretation is correct, it implies **GG** first having instinctively given priority to his assessment of the formality of the situation over which form would have been more appropriate to his addressee; then, his abrupt switch of focus on the addressee's communicative needs may have been dictated either by his sudden realisation that he was expected to speak *dārīža*, or by a planned rhetorical strategy – frequent among Moroccan Arabic speakers – which consists in the juxtaposition of two synonyms, each one belonging to a different code. However, with the final form, **GG** conciliated both exigencies, which, in my opinion, is confirmed by the very fact that he gave it as his final answer, ie. the one he considered most appropriate.

What is more important for our discussion is that, in contrasting different voices, **GG** has alternated /g/ and /q/, using the latter in what seemed to be the form he preferred for the situation at hand. We shall retain this for our final discussion.

SWITCH NO. 7

Informant (co-participant): **SDD** (PO).

Lexeme: /Xədda:m/

Prank: “The magician”(6)

Summary: after the researcher has signalled problems in understanding **SDD** (the Listener)'s answer, **SDD** reiterates it and, in doing it, switches phonemes

4.14

J: (*Where was the cloak left with respect to the victim of the Prank?*)

SDD: /d^ɛ-d^ɛa:hi:ja bqa... bqa li:=ha/ [---]
 DET-victim stay;PFV.3MSG stay;PFV.3MSG to=3FSG

PO: /bqa.../
 stay;PFV.3MSG

SDD: /b d^ɛ-d^ɛhər ʃa:t^ɪi:=h b d^ɛ-d^ɛhər dja:l=u/
 with DET-back give;PTCP.ACT.M.SG=OBJ.3MSG with DET-back of=3MSG

Ca. 1.5s pause

J: (*I mean... Er... The victim...*)

SDD: /ʔa:ma... ɡəddɑ:m=u u ʃa:t^ɪi:=h b d^ɛ-d^ɛhər
 (UN) in.front.of=3MSG and give;PTCP.ACT.M.SG=3MSG with DET-back

 bha:lla wa:qəf ɡəddɑ:m=u u ʃa:t^ɪi:=h/ [---]
 as.if stand;PTCP.ACT.M.SG in.front.of=3MSG and give;PTCP.ACT.M.SG=3MSG

 /ɡəddɑ:m=u u ʃa:t^ɪi:=h b d^ɛəhr=u
 in.front.of=3MSG and give;PTCP.ACT.M.SG=OBJ.3MSG with back=3MSG

 u l-a:xur kə-jfu:f li:=h f d^ɛəhr=u/
 and DET-other PRVB-see;IPFV.3MSG to=3MSG in back=3MSG

PO: /hi:ja ha:di:k/
 PERS.PRON.3FSG that;PRON.F.SG

Translation

J: *Where was the cloak left with respect to the victim of the prank?*

SDD: *It was left... it was left facing the victim [---]*

PO: *It was left...*

SDD: *...with its back, its back faces them.*

Ca. 1.5-s pause

J: *I mean... Er... The victim...*

SDD: *Bef... In front of them, and the back faces them, like it stands in front of them and faces them
[---] ...in front of them and its back faces them, they see its back.*

PO: *That's right!*

Most questions were aimed at eliciting particular lexemes: this one was expected to push the interlocutor to produce /Xədda:m/. The aim was not initially reached, as can be seen from **SDD**'s first answer; in cases such as this one, a strategy I frequently adopted was to pretend not to have understood the question correctly, hoping that my informant would reformulate his answer using the targeted lexeme. This is exactly what happened in 4.14: after a relatively long pause, I manifested my perplexity, which **SDD** interpreted as a need for clarification, which he readily fulfilled.

Like **GG**'s, **SDD**'s answer offers three synonymous forms (although one of them is truncated and, therefore, its identity cannot be ascertained), two of which contain the targeted lexeme.

- The first form appears to be the /ʔa:ma.../ introducing **SDD**'s reiteration of his answer, which might be a truncated /ʔa:ma:m=u/, a form not very frequent in colloquial Moroccan Arabic, as was observed above.
- The second form is /gədda:m=u/. If the first one is actually a truncated /ʔa:ma:m/, a form related to *fushā* more than to the colloquial register, then this can be seen as a case of spontaneous self-correction from *fushā* to *dārīza*. It may be one of those cases of metalinguistic intervention described above (cfr. § 4.2.4.1), which are aimed at producing speech that is more “useful” for the *dārīza* researcher; or it may be due to other, unclear reasons. In any case, **SDD** apparently considers /gədda:m/ to be more appropriate than the truncated word (whatever it is he intended to say), which is demonstrated by the very fact he truncated it. Once again, the change of form represents an adjustment to the fulfillment of the test task by using an appropriate register.
- The third form is /qədda:m=u/. Unlike in the previous example, this form occurs shortly (2 seconds) after the second one; however, this does not prevent **SDD** from replacing the initial phoneme. Also, as was the case in 4.13, the informant here produces this form in the context of a longer and more explicit articulation: this time,

he does this by saying /bħa:lla wa:qəf qədda:m-u/, “like it stands in front of [the victim]”, instead of merely /gədda:m-u/, “in front of [the victim]”.

An interesting parallelism may be observed between the sequence of utterances in which the forms used by **GG** and **SDD** are embedded, besides the fact that they occurred in an answer to the same question, related to the same video:

	1 st form	2 nd form	3 rd form
GG	/l-ləbsa bqa:t f l-ʔa:ma:m dja:l=[h]um/	/jəʕni gədda:m =[h]um/	/hi:ja f l- qədda:m dja:l=[h]um ʕla:=ħsa:b ma fhəmt/
SDD	/ʔa:ma.../*	/ gədda:m =u u ʕa:tʕi:=h b dʕ- dʕhər/	/bħa:lla wa:qəf qədda:m =u u ʕa:tʕi:=h (...) b dʕəhr=u/

*Meaning presumed.

Table 22 - Comparison between **GG**'s and **SDD**'s utterances in which /Xədda:m/ forms are embedded.

Below are reported the identifiable commonalities within the three couplets isolated in Table 22:

- It might be that both speakers start by using /ʔa:ma:m/ instead of the “more *dārīẓa*” /Xədda:m/. This is only true if the hypothesis that **SDD**'s first form is a truncated /ʔa:ma:m/ is correct.
- If the hypothesis is correct, then both speakers immediately replace the *fūṣḥā* related syntagm with a colloquial one. In any case, the second answer each of them gives involves the use of /gədda:m/.
- The third couplet deserves a lengthier explanation, as it presents several commonalities between the informants' respective forms: a) from the phonological point of view, both of them assigned /Xədda:m/ to /q/; b) from the syntactic point of view, they make use of a greater amount of material, through the use of analytic – instead of synthetic – forms (/f l-qədda:m **dja:l**=hum/) or by expliciting verbal elements that had previously been left implicit (/wa:qəf qədda:m=u/ instead of simply /gədda:m=u/); c) from the pragmatic point of view, both utterances nuance the messages conveyed through expressions such as /ʕla:=ħsa:b ma fhəmt/ or

conjunctions such as /bħa:lla/; d) finally, from the point of view of information structure, the word /qədda:m/ conveys both informants' final answers to the researcher's question "Where is the cloak left with respect to the victim?".

A parallelism in change of stances seems to accompany that in change of forms: from a formal evaluation of the communicative situation, to a meeting of the researcher's communicative expectations and, finally, to a settlement on an answer that not only conciliates both, but, more generally, seems to imply the speaker's maximum effort in making his speech suitable to the socio-communicative context. As for the phonological switch itself, it seems to occur in concomitance with the same kind of voicing contrast, and **SDD** – like **GG** – appears to judge the /q/ form to be more appropriate to the communicative situation, to the point that he reiterates it²⁵².

SWITCH NO. 8

Informant (co-participant): **IC** (SDG).

Lexeme: /wXəf/

Prank: "Red light"(6)

Summary: **IC** (the Narrator) initially switches from /wqəf/ to /wgəf/ while reproducing the voice of one of the prank characters (a policeman); after **SDG** poses a question and **IC** answers it, the latter returns to /q/ and maintains it, even in reported speech.

Key: Reported speech

4.15

IC : /kə-jtəmm	3a:j	bna:dəm	kə-jba:n		
PRVB-end.up;IPFV.3MSG	come;PTCP.ACT.M.SG	person	PRVB-appear;IPFV.3MSG		
li:=h	d ^ɕ -d ^ɕ u	l-ħmər	(t ^ɕ ənn)	kə-jjʃəl	kə-jwqəf
to=3MSG	DET-light	DET-red	ONOM	PRVB-turn.on;IPFV.3MSG	PRVB-stop;IPFV.3MSG
kə-jbqa	wa:qəf	wa:qəf	wa:qəf	wa:qəf	u
PRVB-stay;IPFV.3MSG	stop;PTCP.ACT.M.SG				and
					l-bu:li:si
					DET-policeman
ga:ləs	(da:jər)	bħa:la:kka	kə-jtʃət ^ɕ t ^ɕ əl/	[---]	
sit;PTCP.ACT.M.SG	do;PTCP.ACT.M.SG	like.this	PRVB-linger;IPFV.3MSG		
/kə-jtʃət ^ɕ t ^ɕ əl	zəʃma	d ^ɕ -d ^ɕ u	ħmər	bna:dəm	(kə-jbqa)

²⁵² However, this second /q/-occurrence was not counted in Table 4.3 as it was considered a repetition due to the speaker's hesitation.

PRVB-linger;IPFV.3MSG that.is DET-light red person PRVB-stay;IPFV.3MSG

tə-jfu:f mʃa kə-jbyi jzi:d
PRVB-see;IPFV.3MSG when PRVB-want;IPFV.3MSG proceed;IPFV.3MSG

tə-jsʰəffər ʃli:=h bu:li:si kə-jgu:l li:=h
PRVB-whistle;IPFV.3MSG on=3MSG policeman PRVB-say;IPFV.3MSG to=3MSG

wgəf/

stop;IMP.2MSG

SDG: / [kə-j]qəjjəd li:=h mu:xa:la:fa/
PRVB-write.down;IPFV.3MSG to=3MSG fine

Ca. Is pause

IC: /la ma:ʃi kə-jqəjjəd li:=h mu:xa:la:fa/ [---] /??? mu:xa:la:fa
no neg PRVB-write.down;IPFV.3MSG to=3MSG fine fine

kə-jgu:l li:=h rʒəʃ/ [---] / rʒəʃ
PRVB-say;IPFV.3MSG to=3MSG go.back;IMP.2MSG go.back;IMP.2MSG

wqəf/ [---] / kə-jzi:b li:=h ʃi d-dəfta:r zəʃma
stop;IMP.2MSG PRVB-bring;IPFV.3MSG to=3MSG just DET-notebook that.is

rʰa ya:di nqəjjəd=ləʔk mu:xa:la:fa i:la mʃi:ti/
ARG FUT write.down;IPFV.1SG=to=2SG fine if go;PFV.2SG

(Ending time: 5.56)

(...)

(Beginning time: 6.17)

IC: /u hu:wa jrʒəʃ l=tʰ-tʰu:nu:bʰi:lʰ ga:l li:=h
and 3msg go.back;ipfv.3msg to=det-car say;pfv.3msg to=2msg

bu:li:si la **wqəf** dʰ-dʰu ʰmər/ (...)
policeman no stop;IMP.2MSG DET-light red

Translation

IC: *The guy comes and sees the red light (boom) turn on, so he stops. And he stays and stays and stays and stays for a long time! And the policeman keeps sitting like this²⁵³, and the other*

²⁵³ Here **IC** probably changes his own way of sitting while he is talking, so as to mimic how the policeman is comfortably seated on a camping chair.

guy lingers. [---] He lingers, like, the light is red and the guy is left staring. As he wants to move, the policeman says: “Stop!”

SDG: *He gives him a ticket.*

Ca. 1s pause

IC: *No, he doesn’t give him a ticket [---] ??? ticket: he says: “Move back!” [---] “Move back and stop!” [---] He just draws out his ticket book, like: “I’ll give you a ticket if you go!”*

(Ending time: 5.56)

(...)

(Beginning time: 6.17)

IC: *And he goes back to his car, after the policeman’s said: “No, stay there, the light is red”*
(...)

In the middle of his resume, **IC** decides to “give his voice” to the policeman (or the actor that pretends to be one) trying to guess what the latter must have told the victim of the prank: as the hidden camera show is a silent one, all the speech reported by **IC** is a fruit of his imagination. The different voice used to report the imagined policeman’s speech is marked by prosodic cues (final, rising accent) expressing both the character’s commanding, authoritative stance and the voicing contrast with respect to the tonal segment preceding the reported speech, which was marked by an abrupt fall starting from the pitch accented syllable, then followed by a progressive rise that culminates on the last, final syllable. In conjunction with this prosodic signalling, /wXəf/ was assigned to the phoneme /g/.

mʃa kə-jbyi jʌ,zi:d tə-ʃsʰəffər ʃli:-h bu:ʌ'li:si || kə-jʌ,gu:l ʌli:-h ʌwʌ'gəf

The fact that the same lexeme had been assigned to /q/ a few seconds before suggests the participation of /g/ in signalling voicing contrast, although it is too early to venture any hypothesis on why and how exactly /g/ should indexicalise the policeman’s voice in **IC**’s use.

Right after **IC**’s vocal “staging”, **SDG** intervenes, trying to guess what follows to the last event described by the Narrator. As **SDG**’s try proves to be wrong, **IC** corrects him, and from then on a change in pitch and intonation seems to signal a change of attitude in the latter: from a previous, generally high tone indicating his involvement in the funny situation narrated, a switch to a generally low tone can be perceived, and stands out especially by effect of the relatively long (one second) pause that follows **SDG**’s floor-taking. **IC**’s involvement is suggested by prosodic signals

such as alternation of rises and falls and emphatic vowel lengthening, followed by a general rise in tone and acceleration of rhythm; all this in the few sentences leading up to his first use of reported speech:

[ki:ʎ'bqɑ::: wɑqf wɑ:qf ʎwɑ:qf ʎwɑqf] u l-bu:li:si ga:ləs (da:jər) [ʎbħɑ::ʎlʎakkɑ] ||
[ki:ʎ,ʎʎatʎ'ʎɑ:lʎ] || [---] ↑kə-jtʎətʎʎəl zəʎma || ^{acc}dʎ-dʎu ħmər || bna:dəm (kə-jbqɑ) tə-jʎu:f...²⁵⁴

The prosodic patterning offers a sharp contrast with respect to **IC**'s answer to **SDG**, in which all the prosodic signals mentioned above disappear (although the rhythm does not decelerate), and **IC**'s general tone falls sensibly: as background noise was reduced to a minimum, a comparative Praat analysis of sound frequency between the accelerated utterances leading up to the first use of reported speech (with the exclusion of the reported speech itself, in which, as we showed above, **IC** lowered his tone for rhetorical purposes) and **IC**'s utterances following his answer to **SDG** (ie. from /kə-jgu:l li:-h rʎəʎ/ to /i:la mʎi:ti/) was possible, and gave as a result a mean pitch of 147.41 Hz and 102.95 Hz for **IC**'s voice before and after **SDG**'s question respectively.

This general change of intonation in **IC**'s voice may be seen as indicating his having resumed his role of reporter of events, ie. what he was strictly demanded according to the test task, and that **SDG**'s attempt at guessing the following events was determining in such role resumption, as it signalled to the Narrator that the Listener did not have a correct picture of the situation in his mind. Again, as the Narrator changes “voice” and assumes a role which implies adherence to the scientific requirements that have brought him to the present context of interaction (the hidden-camera test), among the semiotic cues that signal this change is a quick switch from /g/ to /q/ for one of the lexemes examined, which is /wXəf/ in the case at hand. It should also be observed that the switch cannot be attributed to **IC** not staging the policeman's voice any more – quite the opposite: even the two /wqəf/ occurrences that follow his intonation shift are embedded in two “performances” of the same character's voice (cfr. parts highlighted in yellow in 4.15). It therefore seems that **IC** switched phonemes for other reasons, which may be interpreted as follows:

- while **IC** was – as it appears – getting emotionally involved in his own narration, he was assuming a role closer to that of a casual conversationalist happening to tell a prank to a friend of his; it was at this stage that he employed /g/ as a voicing device to report the policeman's imagined speech

²⁵⁴ Phonetic transcription (in square brackets) has been used where necessary.

- Before he gets emotionally involved – ie. before the first semiotic cue (the hyperlengthened vowel /kə-jbqa) appears – and after **SDG**’s question, he is assuming a mere role of “detached” narrator, as is required by the researcher’s instruction; while doing this, it also signals this stance of his through his use of /q/.

We shall now see the last case of phonological switch interpretable as a case of voicing contrast, before moving to the conclusions.

SWITCH NO. 9

Informant: DN (GM). **Auditor:** ST (friend of both participants)

Lexeme: /wa:Xəf/

The prank account-plus-verification during which this switch occurred followed **DN**’s viewing of the “*Unreturnable wallet*” prank – the first one I chose for that particular session. Among all the prank resumes of all the test sessions I completed during my study, this was the first and only one that the Listener did not manage to understand properly – or, at least, not enough to answer any of my questions – in spite of the Narrator having repeated the resume itself several times. Probably, this was partly due to a question I asked the Narrator (not the Listener) at the end of his resume concerning a detail of the prank that he had not mentioned. I rarely asked the Narrator questions at the end of their resumes, and when I did, it was in order to elicit details of the prank on which I would subsequently interrogate the Listener, as was the case here. However, my attempt unhappily failed in making clear to **DN** what I wanted him to recall and tell to **GM**, the Listener. The apparent, mutual misunderstanding that subsequently arose between the Narrator and me (which I will not report here) may have brought confusion to **GM**’s overall understanding of **DN**’s account, which would explain why he was unable to answer any of my questions afterwards.

In the course of his first resume, ie. before I asked my awkward question, **DN** had used the item /wa:gfa/ once:

4.16

DN: /tə-jdəwwər ^ɬ	wəʒh=u	bha:la:kka	ta:-tba:n	li:=h
PRVB-turn;IPFV.3MSG	face=3MSG	like.this	PRVB-appear;IPFV.3FSG	to=3MSG
r ^ɬ a:=hi:ja	wa:gfa	lhi:h/		
ARG=3FSG	stop;PTCP.ACT.F.SG	there		

Translation

DN: *He turns his face (like I'm doing) and he thinks he can see her standing there.*

Below is reported the entire account²⁵⁵:

DN: /da:ba ka:jən wa:həd ə... wa:həd xət-na ya:da hi:ja zə... la:b... wa:həd xət-na zəʃra u la:bsa l-yu:z [---] ka:-təbqa ya:da [---] ka:-tʰəjjəh bəztʰa:m fhəmti:-ni tə-jzi wa:həd xu:-na tə-jfu:f bəztʰa:m tə-jtəʃ-[h]a ʃa tə-jbyi jəʃtʰi:-ha l-bəztʰa:m hi:ja mənni (ka:-təmfi f-)wa:həd l-bʰlʰa:sʰa ki:fhə:la:kka tə-jdu:z wa:həd xu:-na b wa:həd l-kərʰu:sʰa [---] ka:-təmfi hi:ja mʃa:-dək... ka:-ddu:z l-kərʰu:sʰa fhə:la:kka hi:ja kə-tʰlʰəʃ f dək l-kərʰu:sʰa kə-jmfi tə-jzi jfu:f fhə:la:kka tə-jlqa:-ha ma ka:jna:-f ba:ʃ jəʃtʰi:-ha l-bəztʰa:m tə-jdəwwərʰ wəʒh-u bħa:la:kka ta:-tba:n li:-h rʰa hi:ja **wa:gfa** lhi:h u ha:da rʰa kə-jfu:f-ha a mən-dʰdʰər ta hi:ja ʃənd-ha l-/ [pə:ryk] /u la:bsa l-yu:z [---] məlli kə-jzi ʃə... tə-jbqa ya:di ʃənd-ha [---] ja:lʰlʰa:h kə-jbyi jəwsʰəl ʃənd-[h]a kə-j... təmm da:jəz wa:həd ə... mu:l ə... [---] da:fəʃ kərʰu:sʰa dja:l-l-hwa:jəʒ hi:ja ka:-təjjəd l-/ [pə:ryk] /u ka:-təjjəd d-dʒa:ki:tʰa [---] ka:-təjjəd lʰa:vi:sʰtʰ ka:-təbqa la:bsa yi:r ha:di:k f l-yu:z wa... u ti:ʃərʰtʰ sʰfər [---] u ʃʰər-ha khəl ka:-təbqa tʃu:f tə-jgu:l [---] la ʃa:wta:ni ma:ʃi hi:ja ha:d sʰ-sʰa:tʰ[a] fwi:ja kə-jgu:l wa:jl-i fi:na:hi:ja mʃa tə-jdəwwərʰ wəʒh-u bħa:la:kka tə-tba:n li:-h rʰa hi:ja ʃa:wta:ni xa:rʒa wa:hda bħa:l-[h]a [---] fhəmti[:ni] həmmqu:-h kull mərʰa tə-jdu:rʰ mən-wa:hda l-wa:hda [a] l-wa:hda [a] [---] f l-ləxxər tə-j... **(amused tone from here)** tə-jxruʒ li:-h rʰa:ʒəl *(laughs from here)* da:jər/ [pə:ry:k] *(breaks laughing)* /u la:bəs l-yu:z ??? [---] tə-jgu:l li:-h bəztʰa:m ki:fa:ʃ tə-jdi:r li:-h ha:h kulla mərʰa tə-jmfi li... həmmqu-u/

Translation

DN: *So, there's a er... A woman walking, she's fai... dre... A fair-haired woman dressed in pink [---]. She's walking [---] and drops her wallet, you get it? A guy comes, sees the wallet and follows her. He just wants to give her the wallet. When (she reaches) a certain spot, like that, another guy passes by with a cart [---]. She leaves with that... The cart passes by like that, she gets on that cart and [the cart guy] leaves. The other comes and looks, like that, and finds she's not there, to give her the wallet. He turns his face (like I'm doing) and he thinks he can see her standing there. And he can only see her from her back: and she's also got a wig and is dressed in pink, too [---]! When he comes to... He walks towards her [---]. When he's about to reach her, the... there passes a... guy with... [---] pushing a cart with clothes on it: she takes off her wig, takes off her jacket [---] She takes off her veste and only appears wearing that pink garment and... and a yellow t-shirt [---] and her hair is black! ?? He thinks: "No, she's not that girl, either!" After a while, he says: "Oh gosh, where could she be?" As he turns his face like this, he sees yet another identical woman come out [---]. Did you get it? They drove him crazy, every time he turns: from one to another and yet another one [---]. At the end, he... **(amused tone from here)** he's reached by a man (starts laughing) wearing a wig (bursts out laughing) and dressed in pink! ??? [---]. He says: "The wallet, how...?" He goes "hah", every time he went... He drove him crazy!*

After my above-mentioned, misleading attempt at guiding DN's exposition, the latter gave an uncertain answer in which he tried to recap several events from the video, without matching my

²⁵⁵ This, DN's second account of the same video and the short conversation between the two accounts are reported without morpheme-by-morpheme translation as this is not necessary.

question. What happened next is reported below: **ST**, a friend of the participants' who had happened to come over during the test (and had taken it a few days before), asked **GM** if he had understood; it was at that point that the Listener showed clear signs of confusion:

ST: /fhəmti/

GM: /?? txərbi:q/

(GM, DN and I burst out laughing)

ST: /ma fhəmti:-f wa r^əa:-h b l-ʃəks ha:da kə-jʃa:wəd məzja:n/

GM: /lla hu:wa kə-ʃa:wəd wa:la:ki:n ə.../

DN: /(hu:wi:ju) r^əa həmmq-u/

GM: /ha:dək xu:-na f l-ləxxər ma.../

DN: /həttə xrəʒ ʃla:-yəfla/

ST: /??? (ga:l lu r^əa ka:mi:r^əa)/

GM: /??/

DN: /ta xrəʒ ʃla:-yəfla ha:da:k xu:-na fhəmti:-ni [---] da:ba xu:-na f l-mu:l^ə/

GM: /da:ba hu:wa ka:n f l-ləwwəl ta:bəʃ [---] bna:t/

Translation

ST: *Did you understand?*

GM: *?? a mess!...*

(GM, DN and I burst out laughing)

ST: *You didn't get it? In fact, he was telling it well!*

GM: *Yeah, he was telling, but er...*

DN: *?? He drove him crazy!*

GM: *In the end, that guy doesn't...?*

DN: *...Until he comes out by surprise*

ST: *?? (he told him it's a hidden...)*

GM: ??

DN: *Until that guy comes out by surprise, did you get it? [---] See, that guy in the mall...*

GM: *So, in the beginning, that guy was following [---] girls?*

At this point, **DN** tries repeating the whole account to **GM**; during this second attempt, he uses the item /wa:qfa/ with the same referent (one of the hidden-camera actresses) as the previous /wa:gfa/:

4.17

DN: /mfa	da:k	s-səjjəd	da:jəz	b=kərʳu:sʰa	hi:ja
when	DEM	DET-sir	pass;ptcp.act.m.sg	with=cart	3fsg
wa:qfa	bha:l	hna:ja	wəsʰla:t	ʕənd=dək	l-kərʳu:sʰa
stop;PTCP.ACT.F.SG	like	here	arrive;PFV.3FSG	by=DEM	DET-cart
u	hi:ja	ttʰləʕ	f=l-kərʳu:sʰa/		
and	3FSG	go.up;IPFV.3FSG	in=DET-cart		

Translation

DN: *As that man passes by with his cart, and she's standing like here, as the cart comes close she gets on it.*

Below is the full account, which starts right after **GM**'s last speaking turn reported above:

DN: *(louder than the first account)* /da:ba hu:wa ka:n ɣa:di ba:nt li:-h sʰa:tʰa tʰa:h li:-ha bəztʰa:m/

GM: /sʰa:tʰa/

DN: /ka:-jfu:f-ha mən-l-lu:rʰ zəʕra u la:bsa l-ɣu:z [---] hu:wa həzz l-bəztʰa:m [---] u hi:ja ɣa:da ki bha:la:kka [---] u hu:wa jxruʒ l... [---] fhəmti:-ni/

GM: /ʔa:h/

DN: /təmm da:jəz u kə-jbəjjnu wa:həd s-səjjəd da:jəz f kərʳu:sʰa mfa da:k s-səjjəd da:jəz f kərʳu:sʰa hi:ja **wa:qfa** bha:l hna:ja wəsʰla:t ʕənd-dək l-kərʳu:sʰa u hi:ja ttʰləʕ f=l-kərʳu:sʰa [---] mu:l l-kərʳu:sʰa za:d kəmməl mfa da:z mu:l l-kərʳu:sʰa l-a:xur ma bqa:-f ka:-tba:n li:-h sʰ-sʰa:tʰa tə-jgul fi:na:hi:ja dəwwərʰ wəʒh-u bha:la:kka u jba:n li:-h rʰa hi:ja ʕa:wta:ni [---] wəhda mən-l-lu:rʰ ʕəʕer-ha zəʕer ki:fma ba:nt li:-h [---] zəʕer u la:bsa du:k l-hwa:jəz ka:-tfu:f f l-vi:tʰrʰi:na ki:fha:la:kka [---] *(quieter)* ja:lʰa:h təmm ɣa:di ʕənd-[h]a ki:fha:la:kka u hi:ja [---] da:jəz wa:həd a:xur ʕa:wta:ni b kərʳu:sʰa dja:l-l-hwa:jəz wəlla wsʰəl ʕənd-l-kərʳu:sʰa d l-hwa:jəz wsʰəl ʕənd-sʰ-sʰa:tʰa həjjda:t l-/ [pə:ryk] /u həjjda:t lʰa:vi:sʰtʰ [---] hətʰtʰa:t-hum lhi:h u dəwwrʰa:t wəʒh-[h]a bqa:t ka:-tfu:f

fha:la:kka [---] u mælli da:z [h]a:da:k mu:l l-hwa:jəz ba:n li:-h s'a:t'a fʃər-ha kʰəl [---] ma la:bsa:-f di:k l'a:vi:s'tʃ f l-yu:z [---] fhəmti[:ni] ʃla:f ha:di:k həjjda:t l-/ [pə:ry:k]

GM: /ʔəm ʔəm ʔəm ʔəm/

DN: (*amused tone from here*) /fwi:ja ʃa:wta:ni dəwwərʷ wəʒh-u fha:la:kka tə-jgu:l fi:na:hi:ja u tə-jdi:r bəzt'a:m fha:l-[h]a[:kka] [---] ta:-tba:n li:-h r'a hi:ja ʃa:wta:ni s'-s'a:t'a xərʒa:t mən-wa:həd l-b'l'a:s'a fhəmti:-ni tə-jdi:r li:-ha a:h l-bəzt'a:m bha:la:kka u hi:ja ka:-ddi:r bha:lla ma ʃa:ft-u:-f ka:-ddi:r [---] ʔa:h ʔa:-nt'ləʃ mən-lhi:h u ka:-tt'ləʃ f dək d-dr'u:ʒ b l... *elektrik* [---] bqa:t t'a:lʃa ki:fha:la:kka mʃa hi:ja t'a:lʃa kə-jʒəbdu wa:hda xra bha:l-ha ha:bt'a [---] fhəmti[:ni] ta hi:ja la:bsa nəfs l-hwa:jəz [---] ha:bt'a tə-jgu:l-l-[h]a kəllmi:-l-i [h]a:di:k kəllmi:-l-i [h]a:di:k ga:lt li:-h [---] ma ka:-nəʃrəf-ha:-f ta a:na u hi:ja təmʃi mʃa mʃa:t ki:bha:la:kka u hu:wa jxruʒ li:-h [h]a:dək l-qrəʃ la:bəs/ [pə:ryk] /ta hu:wa da:jər ha:h ʔli:dʃ/ (*bursts out laughing*)

Translation

DN: (*louder than the first account*) *See, he was walking, then saw a wallet fall from a girl's hands*

GM: *A girl*

DN: *He sees her from behind: fair-haired and dressed in pink [---]. After he's picked up the wallet [---] she walks away like this [---] and he goes out to... [---] Did you get it?*

GM: *Yes!*

DN: *There he goes... And they show a sir passing by on a cart. As that man passes by on his cart, and she's standing like here, as she gets by that cart she jumps on it [---]. The cart guy proceeds, and as he's gone the other guy can't see the girl any more, he thinks: "Where could she be?" As he's turned his face like this, there he sees again [---] a woman's back, with fair hair like the one he had seen [---], fair-haired and dressed in those clothes, looking at the shop window like this [---] (*quieter*). As soon as he starts walking towards her, she... [---] another guy passes by with a cart again, carrying clothes. As he's got by the clothes cart, as he's got by the girl, she's already taken off her wig and veste [---], put them in there and turned her face looking like this to the other side [---]. And as that clothes guy's gone, the other guy sees a black-haired girl [---] who's not wearing that pink veste [---], did you get it? Why? [Because] she took off her wig.*

GM: *Hm hm*

DN: (*Amused tone from here*) *After a while, as he's turned his face like this again, still holding the wallet like this [---] there he sees the girl again as she's come out of somewhere, did you get it ? He goes: "Hey, the wallet!" like this, and she acts like she hasn't seen him, she goes [---]: "Yeah, I'll go up there", and she goes up the... escalator [---] So she goes up, and while she does, they bring out another identical woman who goes down [---]. Did you get it? She's dressed in the same clothes, as well [---]. She's going down, and he says to her: "Call that woman! Call that woman!" She answers: "I don't know her, either!" and she leaves! As she's left like that, he's reached by this bald man who's also wearing a wig, and he's like this, fat!" (*Bursts out laughing*)*

Several observations may be made by comparing the two **DN**'s accounts of the same prank:

- From the purely linguistic point of view, the language use is almost identical; however, a greater use of perfect verbs may be noticed (in the original text) in alternation with imperfect verbs (eg.: /həzz/ on line 3, /həjjda:t/ on line 12, /za:d kəmməl/ on line 7) which contributes to a more accurate representation of the temporal order of the events²⁵⁶.
- From the pragmatic side, the second account is richer in phatic events, in which **DN** asks or, at least, waits for **GM** to confirm that he understood what he has just been told, and **GM**, in turn, gives short verbal feedbacks (whereas he had kept constantly quiet during the first account, except for occasionally laughter). In this sense, the two participants sound more connected now than they had been before.
- A quick look at the prosody may be added to what has been said so far (cfr. comments highlighted in yellow in the transcriptions of the two accounts). The first account may be divided into two segments: one in which **DN** maintains a regular, narrating tone and one in which he quickly escalates from an amused tone to bursting out laughing. On the other hand, the second account may be divided into three segments: one in which **DN**'s tone is sensibly louder than the first account, one in which his voice intensity lowers again and a long, final one in which his tone shifts (this time more gradually) from moderate amusement to the closing laughter provoked by the hilarity of the prank. If we exclude the moments in which **DN**'s tone is affected by such hilarity (ie. when it overtly expresses his amusement or breaks into laughing), his voice intensity appears to be quite louder at the beginning of the second account than elsewhere, as it is also confirmed by a Pratt measure of its mean and maximum intensity in the different moments:

Moment	1st account – 1st segment (before amused tone)	2nd account – General, before amused tone²⁵⁷	2nd account – 1st segment (before speaking quieter)	2nd account – 2nd segment (speaking quieter, before amused tone)
Maximum intensity	69.74 Db	75.61 Db	75.61 Db	67.11 Db

²⁵⁶ By contrast, all verbs expressing actions in the first account are imperfective; the only perfective verbs are /həmmqu:=h/ and /həmmq=u/ (which express emotional changes rather than actions) on lines 11 and 14 respectively.

²⁵⁷ The interval measured in this column is the sum of the two intervals measured in the two rightmost columns.

Mean intensity	55.65 Db	60.33 Db	61.61 Db	56.45 Db
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*Table 23 - Differences in **DN**'s maximum and mean voice intensities during the two accounts.*

If **DN**'s "laughing moments" are excluded from both accounts, his average tone appears to have been sensibly louder during the second one, and most peculiarly in its beginning, ie. right after **GM** manifested his lack of comprehension following the first account.

Alternation between perfective and imperfective verbal tenses, increase in phatic communication and louder tone seem to concur in signalling **DN**'s greater concern for his role as a narrator in the second rather than in the first account. This seems to be confirmed by the second account being more exhaustive, as it reports all the tricks that the actors play to the victims and that are shown in repetition in the video (the first one did not mention the escalator scene, which means **DN** probably had thought it unnecessary to mention all events during the first resume); even those tricks that **DN** had mentioned in the first account are explained with more wording and turns of phrase.

It thus seems that **DN** has used several semiotic cues to signal two stances very similar to those that were identified as signalled by **IC**'s voicing contrast: one of casual conversationalist telling a friend what happens in a hidden camera (particularly in the 1st resume) and one of designated narrator concerned with the fulfillment of a scientific task (particularly in the 1st segment of the 2nd resume). On this basis, **DN**'s replacement of /wa:gfa/ with /wa:qfa/ may be considered as connected to this contrast, with the /g/-item once again associated to a more casual stance and the /q/-item to a more "task-focused" one.

We may now compare the findings of the four voicing contrasts analysed in this section:

Switch	Speaker	Stance or role associated to /q/	Stance or role associated to /g/
6	GG	Accommodates to researcher (addressee)'s expectations and evaluates context as formal	Accommodates to researcher (addressee)'s expectations
7	SDD	Accommodates to researcher (addressee)'s expectations and evaluates context as formal	Accommodates to researcher (addressee)'s expectations
8	IC	Narrator designated for scientific purposes	Friend telling about a prank
9	DN	Narrator designated for scientific purposes	Friend telling about a prank

Table 24 - Stances associated to /q/ and /g/ in the four voicing contrasts analysed.

As can be seen, one common point may be discerned among the stances associated to /q/, ie. **an evaluation of the test situation as formal/official**. On the other hand, the stances associated to /g/ only seem to be characterised by **a temporary absence of such evaluation**, due to different reasons: in switches no. 6 and 7, the speakers seem to be too concerned accommodating their speech to their interlocutor's expectations to also make it suitable to the sociolinguistic requirements of the test situation (but it took them only a few seconds to regain awareness of the latter); in no. 8 and 9, they seem to deliberately let go of any preoccupation concerning such requirements in order to adopt a more casual attitude. It may thus be argued that, in the four examples analysed, *more context-related pressure on language use pushes the speaker towards the use of /q/, whereas less context-related pressure on language use pushes him towards the use of /g/*, where "context-related pressure" is intended to mean pressure derived from the linguistic constraints (or what the speaker perceives as constraints) of either the narrating or the answering task, ie. the scientific task that motivates the communicative act in which the speaker is intent. An early Labovian approach would have interpreted /g/ as occurring in concomitance with a lack of "attention to speech", ie. as the vernacular norm emerging in the absence of language norms imposed from above; however, as Milroy (1980) maintains, "attention paid to speech" is not a valid explanatory tool for language variation, as the same attention may be exerted by a speaker on any point of the continuum that goes from the "standard" to the "vernacular" varieties in his/her repertoire – if this continuum is the only range of variation that his/her speech is admitted to have. Therefore, a discussion of the social meaning of the two alternating features necessarily needs to account for the use of each one of them, rather than explaining one as occurring when the speaker is too "absent-minded" to choose the other.

4.2.5 - /q/ and /g/ as indexes

4.2.5.1 – The meaning derived from voicing contrast

We may now attempt to re-interpret the other cases of phonological switch that, as was said above, seem to be connected to how speakers structure information; more specifically, it was observed how /q/ tended to be associated with the expression of focused content and /g/ with that of presupposed content. The analysis of what have been interpreted as voicing contrasts putting into play the homolexical alternation of /q/ and /g/ has helped identify a regularity in the use of the two phonemes, whereby these appear as part of linguistic responses to different degrees of pressure that the "hidden-camera test" communicative situation imposes on the speaker (at least according to his supposed perception).

Given this regularity, we may posit that **the social meaning indexed by /q/ makes it suitable for use in situations that require a certain degree of learned exposition**, and that this explains its use as a semiotic cue signalling voices that index learned context-evaluating stances during the hidden-camera test. “Learned exposition” is intended here to indicate an order of situations in which the speaker is required to clearly verbalise his/her line of thoughts by adapting his/her speech to norms derived from his/her familiarisation (actively through participation, or passively through mere listening) with learned communicative contexts²⁵⁸ (eg. school, associations, scientific or political television debates, etc.). In other words, this hypothesis suggests that /q/ is in itself charged with an indexical value (Silverstein 2003), and that this may affect uses of this phoneme even in cases not (or not easily) readable as instances of voicing contrast²⁵⁹.

These norms, to be sure, can differ from (and even contrast with) those that the speaker derives from informal daily interactions with family, peers, neighbours etc., which we may call “in-group norms”. This could be the case at hand: it was noticed above how, out of the four analysed cases of voicing contrast through phonological switch, at least two (switches no. 8 and 9) implied the Narrator using /g/ in moments within the test in which the stance he was assuming did not completely adhere to the role that he was being assigned under the rules of the test – that of Narrator. Both **IC** and **DN** seem to (consciously or unconsciously) use a /g/-item in correspondence with an “emotional” rather than a “communication-oriented” mode of speaking – the latter being the one actually required by the test as a regulated communicative situation. Should this type of use be taken as signifying that /g/, in contrast with /q/, is derived from – or specifically indexes – equally contrastive norms with respect to those to which /q/ is associated? In other words, should /g/ be considered as being associated to in-group norms, and /q/ to (a certain kind of) out-group norms?

This conclusion seems acceptable only insofar as the fact that /g/ appears to have been acquired through informal networks is not taken to mean that /g/ is “employed in informal registers”; because this is clearly not the case. As emerges from the data of the hidden-camera tests, the alternation between /g/ and /q/ forms of the same lexeme is so tight that it cannot always be taken as a sudden switch from a formal to an informal register and/or viceversa – especially if we consider that no sensitive increase or decrease in formality could have reasonably been perceived by the participants in the monotonous course of the test. The link between the use of /g/ observed in the excerpts above and the fact that it may have been acquired through in-group interactions clearly has

²⁵⁸ It is implicit that the contexts at issue are those in which colloquial Moroccan Arabic is usually the unmarked code of communication; therefore, I am excluding contexts such as TV documentaries, which are often entirely in *fushā*.

²⁵⁹ It should always be remembered that with “/q/” and “use of /q/” is implicitly meant “in contexts in which use of /g/ is also found as an alternative for the same lexeme in that speaker’s repertoire”.

to be searched for elsewhere – and it is my view that the value of “solidarity” is the best candidate for this link. Forms learned from kins, friends and members of one’s intimate social networks in general can be associated with such value, if the ties constituting such networks are close-knit enough to function as vehicles of normative pressure on the individual’s behaviour, including language use (Milroy 1980).

Indeed, solidarity between members of a same group is what may have been signalled by **DN** in his *first* account of the candid-camera, as several prosodic and pragmatic cues seemed to signify his dealing with the narrating task more as a chat with a friend (whom the interlocutor, **GM**, really was) than as a scientifically motivated endeavour; hence the use of /wa:gəf/. **IC**’s treatment of the narrating task was similar to **DN**’s, although, in **IC**’s account, the use of reported speech may have constituted an additional motivation for the use of /g/ in /wgəf/. However, it may be perfectly compatible with the interpretation of the use of /g/ as a signal of same-group solidarity, if we take the assignment of /g/ to the policeman’s (Bakhtinian) voice as indicating that the speaker is adopting a certain stance towards the situation staged (a policeman exerting his authority on a common citizen), which he expects his interlocutor to understand.

The case is quite different for switches no. 6 and 7, as both **GG** and **SDD** used /g/ while talking to me, rather than their co-participant. It was hypothesised that their use of /g/ in /Xədda:m/ could be due to their intention of meeting the researcher’s expectation that all talk during the test would be in *dārīža*; in other words, according to this interpretation, their first choice when needing to provide me with an “adequately” *dārīža* level of speech went to /gədda:m/, although, soon afterwards, both of them switched to /qəddam/ on an apparent second thought. This appears to indicate that /gədda:m/ is the first form **GG** and **SDD** can think of when they need – for whatever reason – to adjust to a colloquial register. Again, this is somewhat compatible, if not with the value of same-group “solidarity” (which does not seem to find a place here), at least with the hypothesis that /g/ is acquired through verbal interactions with members of the family or the group of peers, which we expect to take place in colloquial registers.

To sum up the findings illustrated in this section, the phonological switches that can be analysed as voicing contrast allowed a first interpretation of the alternation between /q/ and /g/ as signalling the speakers’ response to two different sets of norms: one, which we may define as “out-group” norms, was triggered by the learned connotation of the context of the scientific hidden-camera test, and tended to push the informants towards the assignment of the three lexemes to /q/; the other, which we may define as “in-group norms”, emerged when the informant intended to

signal symbolic proximity, or solidarity, towards his interlocutor, or when he purposely adopted a colloquial register. The next section will clarify what are the implications of these conclusions on the findings derived from the phonological switches interpreted as signalling information structure.

4.2.5.2 – The meaning derived from information structure analysis

It was highlighted how /q/-items, when used in alternation with /g/-items for the same lexeme, prevalently signalled focused information in a great number of cases: it was therefore posited that the same indexical value that makes /q/ compatible with situations that require a certain degree of learned exposition also makes it suitable for this other, information-structuring-related purpose. The similarity of the two uses is easy to seize: when a speaker is intent in an exposition that has the aim of fulfilling what is perceived as a scientific task, then we will expect him/her to feel the pressure of that task more strongly in the most crucial moments in the accomplishment of that task. In the cases we analysed above, two types of task were involved, ie. narrating and answering the researcher's questions. Since both tasks mainly consist in the successful transfer of information from the speaker to the addressee, we may suppose that the most crucial moments were those in which the speaker was intent on the transfer of *new* (ie. focused) information, ie. information that increased the "common ground" of knowledge (cfr. Ward and Birner 2001: 120) between the two conversationalists, which was the ultimate goal of both tasks²⁶⁰. As a result, **a linguistic feature indexed as a response to requirements of learned exposition is more likely to be used in points of the exposition in which focused content is being conveyed**. The existence of links between register and signalling of information structure are rarely emphasised in the domain of Arabic sociolinguistics, and I am not aware of any work that identifies this type of association²⁶¹.

Nevertheless, this explanation alone does not explain why /g/ is used to signal *given* information structure, as no clear link seems to exist between this function and the relation of /g/ to in-group norms that was signalled above. However, we may observe that using an in-group feature as a tool for the distinction of presupposed from focused information – if this interpretation is correct – is arguably a rather creative exploitation of linguistic features, available in the speakers' repertoire, that would normally have a social (ie. extra-linguistic) rather than pragmatic (ie. linguistic) function. In this sense, **we would be facing an original case of reallocation of features from a socially to a pragmatically distinctive value**.

²⁶⁰ This is also applicable to the kind of information transfer occurring in the context of the Q&A session: in this case, the "common ground" already exists but the addressee is seeking confirmation of its existence from the speaker.

²⁶¹ Owens & Elgibali (2010) is a collection of works on information structure analysis applied to Arabic dialects; among them, Ziamari (2010), deals with the link between code-switching and information structure. Nonetheless, the type of variation described here (registers within the same variety) is arguably much more subtle than code-switching.

What has been said so far seems to be applicable to nearly all cases of phonological switches encountered during the tests²⁶². For this reason, we may be dealing with what Agha, in the same work dedicated to voices and voicing contrast (2005), calls “registers”. A register is defined as “a social regularity of recognition whereby linguistic (and accompanying nonlinguistic) signs come to be recognized as indexing pragmatic features of interpersonal role (persona) and relationship” (57, footnote no. 1). What distinguishes registers from voices, according to Agha’s use of these terms, is that the former have gone through “processes of *enregisterment*, (...) whereby distinct forms of speech come to be socially recognized (or enregistered) as indexical of speaker attributes by a population of language users” (38, my emphasis).

Given the regularity found in the indexation of the alternate use of /q/ and /g/, can we talk about this alternation as being “socially recognised” in our population of speakers? Again according to Agha, “[a] single individual’s metapragmatic activity does not suffice to establish the social existence of the register unless confirmed in some way by the evaluative activities of others” (46). As the present work adopts an approach that does not focus on the speakers’ explicit language evaluations, we may only base ourselves on language use to verify the enregisterment of /q/ and /g/. If language use is taken as the indirect reflection of how the speakers themselves evaluate language variation, **this interpretation of the speakers’ social evaluation only receives a partial confirmation, as 18 out of 34 speakers did not alternate between the two phonemes, not even to distinguish focused from presupposed information.** What are the implications of this on what may be inferred on the indexical value of /q/ and /g/? We shall see this in the next section, in which final considerations will be made on the Phonological Variable.

4.2.5.3 - /q/ vs /g/ among Temarese youth: between reallocation and linguistic insecurity

Before the final conclusions are drawn on what social meanings are associated to the alternation between the two phonemes, a summary of all the considerations that have been made so far is necessary:

- a. Following historical processes of migration of population, the preferential use of /q/ and /g/ has come to characterise, respectively, urban and rural/bedouin varieties at the pan-Arabic level (including in Morocco; cfr. § 4.1.1, 4.1.2 and 4.1.3)

²⁶² 18 cases of switch out of 21 may be straightforwardly explained in terms of information-structure and stance signalling. Of the remaining three cases, two may be explained in terms of stance-taking of a kind different from those seen above, whereas one may be interpreted as a case of grammatical reallocation. I argue that these, as well, may bring back to the same kind of indexical values found through my analysis; however, discussion of these three cases would be extremely lengthy and will be hopefully dealt with in subsequent work.

- b. In old Moroccan cities such as Rabat – whose administrative territory used to include Temara as well, and which forms with the latter an urban continuum – immigration fluxes from the countryside have led to a dramatic demographic growth, with sharp consequences on the the urban areas’ linguistic landscape: in this context, the varieties emerged from the mutual contact of rural migrants of different regions (*parlers urbains*) have been distinguished from the original city residents’ varieties (*parlers citadins*; Messaoudi 2003). The distinction between the ways of speaking of these two social groups is stereotypical (Labov 1972: 180) and is still supported by old city residents who moved to other cities (eg. Hachimi 2007). /q/ and /g/ fall within the framework of this distinction, whereby the former (in alternation with /ʔ/ according to the town and speaker) indexes *parlers citadins*, and use of both *parlers urbains*.
- c. In urban contexts similar to that of Temara (ie. characterised by strong country-internal migration), previous works have subsequently found that higher social class (Moumine 1990) and more frequent contact with big urban areas (Benthami 2007) are factors that encourage the use of /q/. However, works adopting more ethnographic and qualitative approaches (Hachimi 2007, 2011 and others) have demonstrated, among other things, that social values attributed to these two phonemes may vary according to the lexeme concerned, as well as according to the speaker’s social history and to some demographic characteristics (particularly age and sex; cfr. § 4.1.3).
- d. Concerning our data, which mainly included the speech of male speakers and were restricted to five lexemes varying between the /q/ and the /g/ phonological classes in the population under study, it has been shown how use of /g/ in Temara seems to be receding cross-generationally; this was also confirmed by empirical observations. While it has been shown that such recession does not have much to do with language-internal constraints (cfr. data on /Xbəl/ among other things), it has been observed that one of the most remarkable cases of phonological shift has been that of /lXa/. It has been demonstrated (Errington 1985) that language features of highly frequent use can be subject to quick formal evolution if they are salient in speaker’s evaluations of language use. Since it was specified above (§ 4.2.2) that /lXa/ is indeed a recurrent word in colloquial Moroccan Arabic as it has many multiple semantic uses, a verification of speaker’s evaluations towards the use of this lexeme

is still necessary to confirm if its frequency is related to its abrupt generational change²⁶³.

- e. Concerning the data collected through the hidden-camera tests, the analysis was furtherly restricted to the three lexemes whose variation appeared most significant. A semi-variationist analysis has shown a tendency for the opportunity of creating social ties with urban speakers from big cities to discourage choice of /g/, whereas, at least among the youngest sub-group of informants (the Students), a Southern regional origin may encourage the choice of this phoneme. However, the narrowness of the sample does not allow to generalise the tendencies identified for the time being.
- f. Concerning the same data, an interactionalist analysis focusing on cases of homolexical alternation between the two phonemes brought to the surface a certain regularity of correspondence between such alternation and information structuring for most /q/- and /g/-occurrences. It was then shown how at least four cases of phonological switch were connected to what could be interpreted as voicing contrast, whereby /q/ and /g/ were included within larger sets of semiotic cues that were used to signal different speaker's stances with respect to the communication framework. The stance associated to /q/ was then used as a point of departure to hypothesise that the indexical values underlying the semiotic use of the phoneme in voicing contrast were the same underlying its use in signalling information structuring. As the two uses were found to be compatible with each other, it was concluded that, in the hidden-camera test context, /q/ was used in reaction to situational pressure on language use; as for the indexical value of the use of /g/, it was defined negatively, ie. as taking place in the absence of situational pressure (but possibly in response to other kinds of pressure, eg. peer-pressure; cfr. Milroy 1980).

Given all the findings summarised above, we may now advance some tentative conclusions concerning macro-tendencies of language use in Temara.

First of all, **the analysis showed how “macro-” diachronic phonological change that proceeds through lexical diffusion within a community of speakers may be the product of a chain of acts of reallocation (Trudgill 1986) that occur at the “micro-” interactional level²⁶⁴,**

²⁶³ It has already been specified how cross-generational comparison of the data is biased by the different techniques employed for different generations of informants; however, empirical observation has confirmed that youth in general do prefer /q/ over /g/ even besides controlled situations of tape-recording.

²⁶⁴ This is intentionally reminiscent of Agha (2005: 47): “We cannot understand macro-level changes in registers without attending to micro-level processes of register use in interaction”, as well as Silverstein (2003: 202): “[T]he

whereby phonemes associated to different regional or social groups at the national (or international) level, but co-present in the community under study, can acquire new indexical values. These cannot emerge but through entextualisation (Agha 2005), ie. the concomitant use of both phonemes in the same text, each signalling different “voices”, or stances, through the co-occurrence with other semiotic cues²⁶⁵.

More precisely, it was shown how /q/ was preferred in the expression of focused and /g/ in the expression of presupposed information, and how this may be seen as an attribution of greater prestige to /q/, in the sense that the speakers seem to use a “/q/-voice” when conveying “prominent” content, and a “/g/-voice” when conveying “background” content. This impression is furtherly reinforced by a related observation, ie. that /q/ may be associated to contexts in which a learned (and, therefore, stereotypically “higher”) register is required. If this is the case, then we are faced with an apparent intra-communal paradox, in that, in the same community, several lexemes (such as /Xa:l/) are almost invariably assigned to /g/ independently from context, *even though the variant with /q/ is known and available for use*. **This seems to prove that speakers do not necessarily attribute prestige/stigma to phonemes as such, but may also attribute it to lexemes pronounced with a certain phoneme. Therefore, for cases such as this, a lexeme-by-lexeme analysis becomes essential**²⁶⁶.

Concerning the issue of language use, one first remark can be made by connecting the results with the urbanising process that has been underlying language change in Temara: as emerged from several interviews conducted with older informants, contacts with Rabat have been increasing exponentially in the last decades; below is what one of them reported about connections between the two cities in the 1950s-60s:

OULD3: /b n-ni:sba l tʰ-tʰu:nsʰpu:rʰ ma bi:n tma:ra u r-rba:tʰ ʃi l-ka:mju dja:l-l-ʃəskər (...) wa:həd l mudda ʃa:d wəlla tʰa:ksʰi ma ka:jən ʃi l-ka:mju d l-ʃəskər hu:wa lli ka:-təlga:-h (...) hu:wa lli ka:n kə-jddi:-na l r-rba:tʰ ʔa:mma zəʃma tku:n [=jku:n] ʃi wa:həd ʃi tʰ-tʰu:nsʰpu:rʰ ma ka:n-f (...) wa:ʔi:lla ila byi:ti ka:nu n-na:s l-kba:rʰ lli

macro-sociological is really a projective order from within a complex, and ever changing, configuration of interdiscursivities in micro-contextual orders”. Concerning the concept of “speech chain” through which indexical values of entire varieties may evolve, cfr. Agha (2003).

²⁶⁵ Besides Hachimi, the importance of studying the alternative use of reflections of old arabic /q/ as lexeme-dependent in colloquial Arabic varieties has already been highlighted by Amara (2005) and Gibson (2013) in Palestine and Tunisia respectively. The main differences between these works and the present one, besides (and connected to) their respective theoretical approaches, is that each of those authors gave a macro-description of all the intra-communal phonological alternation found in his community of study, specifying which lexemes varied between phonemes and which did not (with Amara also relating this to the social categories of sex and religious group). Neither of them focused on the use-in-context of the two phonemes for any of the lexemes mentioned.

²⁶⁶ This is not to say that phonolexical analyses are not old in sociolinguistics (cfr. for example L. Milroy (1980) and J. Milroy (1992), cited in L. Milroy (2002: 564)).

ka:nu kba:r^ɛ mən-na t^ɛ-t^ɛr^ɛu:ns^ɛpu:r^ɛ dja:l-hum hu:ma l-bha:jəm (...) ma jəm^ɛkən-f ʔa:nna:hu ma jəm^ɛfī:-f la xəs^ɛs^ɛ-u jəm^ɛfī b l-bha:jəm (...) la bya jtqədda fī ha:ʒa f r-rba:t^ɛ/

Translation

OD3: *As for transportation between Temara and Rabat, you only had military trucks. (...) It took a very long time before taxis came. There was nothing but the military trucks, that's what you could find. (...) That's how we used to go to Rabat. No one, no transportation was available. (...) Unless, if you wanted, there were old people, the people older than us: they used animals as their transportation. (...) They needed to travel, so they had to do it on animals (...) if they wanted to buy something in Rabat.*

By the time I conducted my field studies, taxis as well as several bus lines were travelling between the two cities continuously from early morning until 9 or 10 pm every day, without mentioning trains regularly coming from Rabat and Casablanca. So, if urban social networks do have a role in the Temarese male speakers' preference for /q/, then there is little doubt that **such increase in contact with nearby urban areas and, possibly, the greater prestige attributed to /q/ lie behind the cross-generational drop in /g/-rate that was observed in Table 9.**

But where could the prestige of /q/ arise from? Considering the history of the social values of /q/ and /g/ in Morocco (§ 1.2.4 and 4.1.2), two are the possible answers: **either it is associated to (ie. indexicalises) prestigious old city dwellers** (and, through recursivity – Irvine (2001) – their notorious cultural refinement), who seem to use /q/ more frequently (ie. in a greater number of lexemes²⁶⁷), **or it is associated to (ie. represents an accommodation towards) fuṣḥā and the daily social context in which Moroccan Arabic speakers most easily come into contact with it, ie. schooling.** While the connection of urban ties with a greater use of /q/ seems to encourage the first hypothesis, the use of /q/ as a response to situational pressure related to learned speech activities makes us incline towards the second one. At this point, we might either leave this issue unresolved, or posit a combined influence of the two, by venturing the following: **the sociolinguistic prestige of linguistic practices involving the use of /q/ (in lexemes admitting alternation with /g/), which used to be buttressed by (as well as associated to) traditional urban dwellers, may have lingered until after the latter's diaspora; meanwhile, the gradual spread of mass education may have contributed to the re-evaluation of such practices through what Silverstein would call an “indexical n + 1st order”, ie. through the overlapping of an additional indexical value on another value of nth order partially compatible with the overlapping one. In the**

²⁶⁷ “[W]hen two normatively recognized language varieties are in contact, the categorical absence of a feature in one and its presence in the other makes it salient to speakers and thus a relatively obvious candidate for iconization.” (Woolard 2008: 441). This can be applied to the present case if we admit that the feature in question is “/q/ in given lexemes”, which is a categorical absent feature in the rural varieties and present in the old urban ones.

case at hand, the “correctness” of /q/ as the official phoneme codified in *fuṣḥā* norms would be the “n + 1st order” that has overlapped on the sociolectal characterisation of /q/ as “urban” and “prestigious” (the nth order) through the work of the metalinguistic discourse promoted by educational authorities. The partial compatibility between the two values stands in the old urban norm as also indexing “correctness of use”, at least for an (influential) portion of the community; however, we may expect today’s Moroccan Arabic speakers to identify more easily the indexical value of n + 1st order (ie. correctness) than that of nth order (ie. urban prestige), since a) it has emerged more recently in time and b) it is associated to contexts of use still reproduced in the present time (although, here, confirmation from the speakers’ metalinguistic judgements would be essential).

The indexations illustrated above link the general history of the social value attributed to Old Arabic /q/ reflexes in what today is Morocco with the results obtained from the semi-variationist and the interactionalist analysis of the youth’s speech: according to such results, the factors that seemed to encourage use of /q/ during the test were, on the one hand, **the opportunity of building social networks connecting the individual with other urban areas** and, on the other, **situational pressure connected to requirements of learned exposition**. My view is that **both these factors may be described as vectors of influence of external, out-group norms on speech**: geographically external in the first case, situationally external (in the sense that they are derived from contexts other than those encountered by the speakers in daily interactions) in the second one. This exemplifies the type of process illustrated by Granovetter (1973 in Milroy & Milroy 1985) and applied to the study of language change by the Milroys, whereby new norms can spread among close-knit groups through people that are connected with more than one group through “weak ties”.

In spite of this, /g/ is not only still lingering in phonologically variable lexemes, such as those analysed, but is even the widely prevailing choice in a number of other lexemes, some of even high or relatively high frequency, such as /Xa:l/ (“to say”), /sa:X/ (“to drive”) or /Xbi:la/ (“before”, adverb). **This shows that /g/’s status is ambiguous, as it may be stigmatised in some lexemes and considered as “normal” in others**, with such evaluations prone to change according to communicational context. The latter point refers to the present analysis, in which lexemes that are available to the speakers as members of both the /q/ and the /g/ phonological class were shown to be often assigned to either class on the basis of contingent exigencies of communication, eg. information structuring or voicing contrast.

However, it was observed how 18 out of 34 informants chose *not* to make such “creative” use of the alternation between phonemes, even though they could have. Why is that? Concerning the “/g/-strong” speakers, it may be noticed from the data that it was the youngest informants (ie. the Students) from the *Hāyy n-Nāhḍa* district who tended to reach a higher /g/-rate than all other test-takers. As may be recalled, their district was issued from one of those projects of relocation of the slum dwellers launched after Temara’s acquisition of its status of urban municipality (cfr. § 2.3.2.3). Most of the slum dwellers were working migrants coming from rural areas across Morocco, which implies that these youth – whose networks are still mainly limited to family and neighbourhood – must have mainly been in contact with speakers of *rural* origin during their formative years of dialect acquisition, **and may therefore not be totally aware of the sociolinguistic prestige of /q/. This would partially explain their exclusive or prevailing use of /g/ for some lexemes.**

As for the “/q/-only speakers”, it should be observed that, given the strong presence of /g/-pronouncers of all ages in Temara, and given the fact that all test-takers have spent there at least a small part of their formative years for dialect acquisition, it is highly unlikely that they are unaware of the sociolinguistic value of the use of /g/ for the five lexemes analysed. We can therefore conclude that some informants’ exclusive use of /q/ during the test represented a *deliberate avoidance* of the other phonologic option. In § 4.2.3, the influence of ASN and urban networks were both proven as being associated to lower /g/-rates; however, the *total* avoidance of /q/ seems to suggest that **such influence is so strong on these informants that it causes linguistic insecurity** (Bennis 2002), as they seem not even to “dare” yield to a functional use of /g/ which, by converse, did not cause any problem to the other informants (some belonging to the same social networks). It could be that, for /q/-only speakers, working or being involved in other activities connecting them to other cities (Rabat, Skhirate, etc.) imply the building of social networks with more “upgraded” social environments than their neighbourhood in Temara, and that this represents for them an opportunity to “climb the social ladder”. **This engaging endeavour presumably causes them to provide an equally “upgraded” image of themselves, which, in turn, may reflect on their linguistic choices**, especially in situations – such as the hidden-camera test – in which the stakes of communication are not limited to in-group evaluations.

Each point of the argumentation above needs greater amounts of both linguistic and ethnographic data in order for its validity to be clarified. Nonetheless, the discussion conducted so far has aimed at identifying the following key factors and categories that may influence variation between /q/ and /g/ in relevant lexemes.

- **From the linguistic point of view:** information structure, voicing contrast and enregisterment
- **From the social point of view:** ASN (described as social networks developed as a consequence of first entry in the job market), social ties with other urban areas, social ties with “upgraded” (working or, possibly, educational) social environments, family’s urban/rural origin.

Further research will be able to take these as reference points to confirm or modify the conclusions drawn in the present chapter.

CHAPTER 5

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WHAT HAPPENS IN TEMARA: THE PHONETIC VARIABLE

The present chapter will deal with the Phonetic Variable, which includes several alveo-dental (eg.: [t^s] and [t^ʃ]) and alveo-palatal allophones ([t^ʃ] and [t^ʃ]) of Colloquial Moroccan Arabic /t/ as its variants. Even though the alveo-dental allophones are quite rare in my corpus, not only have they been attested in Moroccan colloquial varieties for a long time (cfr. below), but their emergence and that of the alveo-palatal reflections of /t/ also appear to be connected with each other, at least in Morocco, as will emerge from the analysis. For this reason, both the following historical sketch and the analysis (the latter whenever relevant) will include both types of allophones, as the description of one seems to be inseparable from that of the other.

5.1 – Affrication of /t/ as a universal process

The phenomenon of affrication, if seen diachronically, falls within the wider category of processes of lenition, which, according to Lass (1984: 177), includes any change that leads a phone to let out an increased amount of airflow, or to be voiced (if it was voiceless before). In Figure 8, the first kind of phenomenon is represented as a movement from the left to the right, and the second one as a descent from the top to the bottom level:

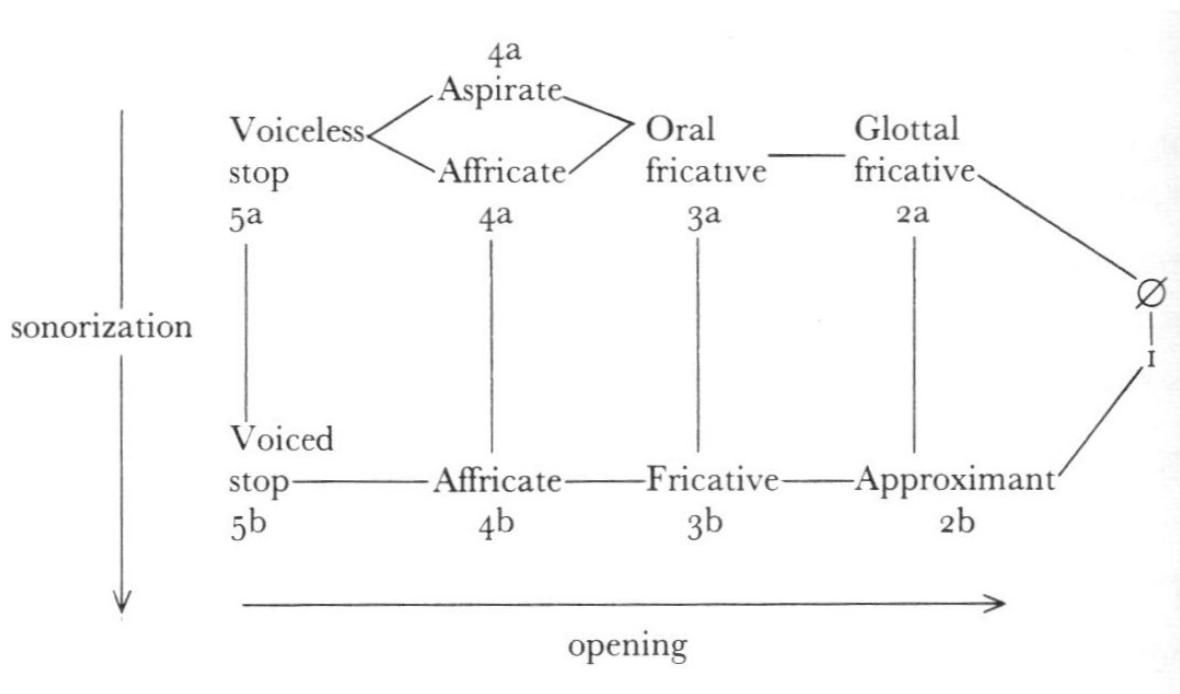


Figure 8 - Diachronic strength-changes occurring to a phone.

Source: Lass (1984: 178).

The fact that /t/ affrication in colloquial Moroccan Arabic represents a case of lenition, and not a possible maintenance of an original pronunciation of this phoneme in Classical Arabic, seems to be rather unquestioned among Semitists: Brockelmann (1910: 72) explicitly mentions the phenomenon of (alveo-dental) affrication in Northern Moroccan varieties as having occurred later than the merger of the two Classical Arabic phonemes /t/ and /θ/ into /t/ (occlusive). Therefore, in the framework of the above schema, the two affrication phenomena in colloquial Moroccan Arabic may be represented as follows:

- i. Alveo-dental: [t] > [tʰ] or [tʃ]
- ii. Alveo-palatal: [t] > [tʰ] or [tʃ]

The arrows in Figure 8 imply that movement may continue, and the phone from affricate may turn to oral fricative, glottal fricative and eventually be phonetically neutralised (Ø). As will be seen, the corpus data show that (especially young) Moroccan Arabic speakers have already gone one step beyond the sequence showed above for the alveo-palatal affrication.

5.2 - Affricated /t/ in Arabic dialectology

The phenomenon of the affrication of Classical Arabic /t/²⁶⁸ has received less attention than the alternation between [q] and other reflections of Classical Arabic /q/ in the literature on Arabic dialects and sociolinguistics; nevertheless, both the alveo-dental and the alveo-palatal affrication are widely spread at least across the Maghreb, where this phenomenon has been attributed to the Berber substratum (Fischer: 1914: 21n in Heath 2002: 135). In countries other than Morocco, it has been investigated eg. in the Jewish colloquial Arabic of Tripoli by Yoda (2005), who attests that, in this variety, [tʃ] (which he transcribes as [č]) is a “parallel phenomenon” to the dental affrication found “in sedentary dialects of various parts of northern Algeria and Morocco”. “Parallel” is intended here in the sense that “they show an analogous tendency” as far as the phonetic environments of occurrence are concerned, as “the non affricated [t] remains before *l, n, s* or *š*, and [d] before *z* and *ž*.” He then goes on saying that “[i]n the eastern part of the Maghrib, besides T[ripoli] J[ewish], only some dialects in eastern Algeria and Benghazi-Jewish dialect have the realization of [č] for C[lassical] A[rabic] *t* and *č*.” (10) The quality and phonetic constraints of the affrication of [t] (not

²⁶⁸ The fact that the original pronunciation of this phoneme in Classical Arabic was occlusive rather than affricate seems to be rather unquestioned among Semitists: cfr. eg. Brockelmann, quoted below, who explicitly considers the affricate as deriving from an old stop.

that of [d]) as they are described by Yoda are almost identical to those of the affrication of [t] I found in my own data.

The presence of (mainly alveo-dental) affrication has also been attested for Moroccan varieties since the first half of the XX century: the oldest voice is that of Brockelmann (1910: 72), who maintains that “[d]ans le nord-marocain et sur quelques points de l’Algérie *t* (issu de *t* et *p*) a passé à l’affriquée *tʰ* (z allemand).”²⁶⁹ This phenomenon was confirmed by several works in the following decades, eg. by W. Marçais (1911: xiv) for Tangiers and by Lévi-Provençal (1922: 19-20) for Ouargha²⁷⁰.

Several data are provided by Colin: in his description of the variety spoken north of Taza, he writes that “[d]ans les mots d’origine arabe, le *ﺕ* donne un *ṭ* affriqué ou un *tʰ* spirantisé (*t* plus un bruit de souffle)”²⁷¹ and that “le *ﺕ* affriqué sonne *ts* où les deux phonèmes sont bien distincts”²⁷² (1920: 39). On the other hand, he signals the presence of “[u]n *t* occlusif qui apparaît dans un certain nombre de vocables d’origine vraisemblablement berbère: *stīto*: petiot. *štītāš*: un petit peu”²⁷³ (38); however, in the two examples he gives, the occlusive pronunciation could be triggered by the proximity of the sibilants, which also discouraged alveo-palatal affrication in Tripoli Jewish (although, in that case, this occurred when they followed /t/). In unpublished notes, he signals how /t/ “en final, est suivi d’un élément sibilant (pas *ʃ*)”²⁷⁴ in *Dukkāla* (Fonds Georges Séraphin Colin: 28.7), whereas it is pronounced *t* or *t_s* by *Zṣīr* (Fonds Georges Séraphin Colin: 23.5); in the former case, one is left to wonder whether the sibilant element could be anything close to /j/.

Brunot, in his *Introduction à l’arabe marocain*, asserts that “*t* représente la dentale occlusive sourde du français chez les bédouins et les habitants de Marrakech; chez les autres citadins et chez les Juifs, il représente une affriquée: *t + s* en une seule émission”²⁷⁵ (1950: 37). A more complete account is provided by Cantineau in his *Cours de phonétique arabe*, who also mentions alveo-palatal affrication:

Dans certaines parties du Maghreb, plus précisément dans les parlers de sédentaires de l’Algérie et du Maroc, le *t* subit de curieuses altérations inconditionnées: probablement sous l’influence du substrat berbère, l’occlusion du *t* devient insuffisamment ferme, et la consonne tend à *se mouiller* en *tʰ* ou à *s’affriquer* en *tʰ*, *tʰ*, ou même à se

²⁶⁹ “...in Northern Morocco and a few spots in Algeria, *t* (deriving from [Classical Arabic] *t* and *p* [IPA [θ]]) has shifted to the affricate *tʰ* (German *z*)”.

²⁷⁰ For a fuller bibliography, cfr. Aguadé (2003a: 66) and Yoda (2005: 10).

²⁷¹ “...in words of Arab origin, *ﺕ* yields either an affricated *ṭ* or a spirantised *tʰ* (*t* plus a slight blowing noise)”.

²⁷² “...affricated *ﺕ* sounds *ts*, with a clear distinction of the two phonemes.”

²⁷³ “...an occlusive *t* appearing in a certain number of terms of presumably Berber origin: *stīto*: tiny. *štītāš*: a little bit.”

²⁷⁴ “...is followed by a sibilant element (not *ʃ*) when in final position.”

²⁷⁵ “...*t* represents the voiceless dental stop of French among the Bedouins and the people of Marrakesh; among the other urbanites and the Jews, it represents an affricate: *t + s* in a single breath.”

spirantiser en *t̥*. Ces phénomènes atteignent non seulement les *t* anciens, mais aussi les *t* venant de *t̥* suivant un processus courant dans ces parlers.²⁷⁶ (1960: 37; author's emphasis).

He then goes on to list in which spots across the Maghreb the different types of affrication are found: curiously, he only signals alveo-palatal affrication in certain Algerian areas (today's provinces of Constantine, Annaba and Skikda), whereas in Morocco he only affirms that "il semble que l'affrication par sifflement [*t̥s̥*/] soit de règle dans les centres urbains: Fès, Tanger, Rabat-Salé, Tétouan, etc."²⁷⁷ (37), a comment that does not account for the strong presence of the alveo-palatal affrication in our data.

More recently, affrication of /*t*/ (except before sibilants) has been signalled in *Ānžra* (Vicente 2000: 40). Heath has confirmed the presence of the alveo-dental affrication in Jewish dialects of Morocco, although some of his allegations about possible evolutions of the alveo-palatal fricative [*ʃ*] towards [*t*] in a few varieties suggest that, in some cases, the affrication can also be alveo-palatal (Heath 2002: 135). Also Aguadé exclusively mentions the alveo-dental allophone in his general description of Moroccan Arabic phonology, specifying that "[e]n los dialectos del norte de Marruecos esta africación es muy marcada y se atribuye a influencia del sustrato (a veces también adstrato) bereber" (Aguadé 2003a: 66)²⁷⁸. This matches an earlier remark made by Aguadé & Elyâacoubi according to whom, in Skoura, /*t*/ is affricated, but not as much as in the north (1995: 28).

Sánchez & Vicente (2012) provide a wider regional perspective to the distribution of affricated /*t*/ in Morocco. Concerning *al-haḍra š-šāmālīya*, they assert:

/t/ > [t̥]

Este es el rasgo fonético más representativo de la variedad noroccidental de la *dārīža* marroquí. La /*t*/ oclusiva se realiza africada en todos los contextos fonéticos, por todos los hablantes y en todos los tipos de dialectos, tanto de la ciudad, como rurales.²⁷⁹ (236)

²⁷⁶ "In certain areas of the Maghreb, more precisely in the sedentary varieties of Algeria and Morocco, *t* undergoes some peculiar unconditioned changes: probably under the influence of the Berber substrate, the occlusion of *t* becomes unsufficiently firm, and the consonant tends either to *palatalise* to *tʲ* or to be *affricated* to *t̥ʃ*, *t̥s̥*, or even spirantised to *t̥*. These phenomena affect not only ancient *t*'s, but even the *t*'s deriving from *t̥*, following a process that is common in these varieties."

²⁷⁷ "...affrication by whistling [*t̥s̥*/] seems to be the norm in the urban centres: Fes, Tangiers, Rabat-Sale, Tetouan, etc."

²⁷⁸ "In the Northern Moroccan dialects, this affrication is quite marked and attributed to the influence of the Berber substrate (sometimes even adstrate)."

²⁷⁹ "This is the most representative phonetic feature of the North-Western variety of Moroccan *dārīža*. Occlusive /*t*/ is affricated in all phonetic contexts, by all speakers and in all types of dialects, urban as well as rural." However, right afterwards, the authors specify that some contexts (similar to those mentioned by Yoda) do inhibit affrication in the North-West.

The authors do not seem to distinguish between alveo-dental and alveo-palatal affrication, which is problematic for us as the geographic diffusion of the two seems to be quite different: Caubet (personal communication to Schwartz, in 2019: 3), for example, attributes the occurrence of alveo-dental affrication to spoken varieties in the Meknes-Fes area, and that of alveo-palatal affrication to varieties of the Atlantic coast from Sale to El-Jadida. Given what had already been written by the studies cited above about /t/ in Northern Moroccan Arabic varieties, it seems obvious that the affrication mentioned here is alveo-dental; the same cannot – in my opinion – be said about what Sánchez & Vicente say about *la-hḍra l-marṛākšīya*:

/t/ >[t̪] y /d/ >[d̪]

La aparición de estos alófonos está constatada en el dialecto actual de la ciudad de Marrakech. Tanto su aparición como su intensidad dependen de factores sociolingüísticos y del entorno fonémico. (...)

Las personas de edad más avanzada la realizan con menor frecuencia (incluso algunos de ellos nunca) que los adultos no ancianos, jóvenes y niños, franja de edad esta última que se caracteriza por una mayor profusión de este rasgo. Por género, son las mujeres las que más frecuentemente y con mayor intensidad realizan /t/ y /d/ africadas.

Por otra parte, el timbre *i* favorece su aparición, en especial la secuencia /ti/. /t/ inicial tiende a aparecer con menor grado de africación (realización, por lo general [t̪]), en posición intermedia se africa con más intensidad y mayor frecuencia, mientras que en posición final es donde más se percibe [t̪].²⁸⁰ (237)

The remarks given on the influence of the phonetic environment suggest that affrication in Marrakesh is alveo-palatal rather than alveo-dental: from a phonetic point of view, *i* is palatal and is obviously expected to encourage alveo-palatal affrication (rather than alveo-dental), as it also does in many European languages to different extents (eg. French, English, Brazilian Portuguese...). This was also observed in the corpus for /t/²⁸¹, as was its greater markedness in final position (which Sánchez & Vicente mention as well). Apart from that, what the authors say about the social distribution of this phenomenon in Marrakesh is very important, and will be recalled in the final discussion.

²⁸⁰ “The presence of these allophones is confirmed in today’s dialect of the city of Marrakesh. Their occurrence as well as their intensity depend on sociolinguistic factors and the phonologic environment. (...) It is less frequently (if ever) found in the elderly people’s speech than in that of non-elderly adults, youth and children, and is particularly spread among the latter. Gender-wise, women affricate /t/ and /d/ more frequently and with greater intensity.

Apart from that, the timbre given by *i* favours its occurrence – particularly the /ti/ sequence. /t/ tends to be affricated to a lesser degree when word-initial (in general, it phonetically results in [t̪]), and more frequently and intensely when word-medial, whereas it is in final position that [t̪] is best perceived.”

²⁸¹ Conversely, no affrication was observed for /d/, except for a speaker who was born and raised in Marrakesh (where, by converse, /d/ affrication is found before /i/ and /j/; cfr. Sánchez 2014: 100-101).

Naciri (2014) confirms the presence of both alveo-dental and alveo-palatal affricate in “Rbati Arabic”; to this, he adds that “full spirantization, which is generally considered to be the last stage whereby /t/ changes into a palatal [ʃ] occurs very often in fast speech by some particular speakers”. (66) To my knowledge, this is the only explicit mention in the literature that the lenition process can go beyond affrication in colloquial Moroccan Arabic. Naciri’s observations are particularly interesting as his data were collected in Temara²⁸².

In Morocco, the first study analysing (among other features) the affrication of /t/ and the perception of its social indexation²⁸³ is Barontini & Ziamari (2013), who observe how, in the dubbing of the Mexican soap-opera *Ana* in Moroccan Arabic, the alveo-palatal affricate “[tʃ]” is mainly associated to characters of young age, or to the cool, tough masculine type (“le personnage masculin dur, branché”; 238-239). The association between alveo-palatal affrication and youngsters is also endorsed by Caubet et al. (forthcoming), who explicitly state that this originally regional feature now typically characterises youth’s speech in a wide range of cities, including Marrakech, Casablanca, Meknes and Tetouan, whereas it is considered as “broad” if employed by adults in, for example, Casablanca. Schwartz (2019) is the first inquiry into the social indexation of both alveo-dental and alveo-palatal /t/ affrication that makes use of an accurate phonetico-acoustic analysis (as well as the first acoustic analysis of these phenomena in Moroccan Arabic; 2019: 3). Her study provides an interesting focus on four rappers’ mostly unaware use of affrication, which she measures as a continuum (and not as a choice between two distinct features) based on the acoustic parameter of centre of gravity. Two of her informants come from Casablanca and Sale (ie. two supposedly “palatalising” cities) and the other two from Meknes (where the alveo-dental prevails): of the latter two, one (M1) had always been living in Meknes, whereas the other one (M2) had resided in Casablanca for several years. Even though the alveo-palatal affrication is the prestigious feature in the Moroccan rap scene – in that it is associated to the dominant Casablancon scene – Schwartz’s results show how the two Meknassi rappers’ speech does not clearly respond to such prestige, as their mean centre of gravity values are equally dissimilar from those of the two other rappers, despite Schwartz’s hypothesis that M1 would palatalise to a greater extent as a means of reconnecting with the Casablancon scene. The picture becomes even more complex when the two Meknassis are prompted to judge their own speech:

²⁸² Nonetheless, I have also observed the same phenomenon in the speech of youth from the city of Rabat itself, as well as from Sale.

²⁸³ I will not include an overview on studies on the social meaning of this variable in other Arabic countries; however, Haeri (1996), who deals with the affrication of /t/ and the social values associated to it in Cairo, is worth mentioning.

M1 alluded to the palatalized realization of /t/ when asked to imitate the Cassaoui accent, with very exaggerated [tʃ] pronunciation, but did not mention it outright. (...) M2 mentioned that he changed his speech to sound “more Cassaoui” when he moved, but in the previous few years he had tried to shift his accent back to what he evaluated as his native dialect. Finally, M1, who had never lived outside of Meknès long-term, did not mention shifting his regional pronunciation, but when questioned after the interview about his production of [tʃ] during the course of the interview, he responded, “Oh, I guess sometimes I try to sound more like my Cassaoui friends” (8).

Therefore, basing ourselves on the little amount of works conducted so far on the affrication of /t/ in Moroccan Arabic and its sociolinguistic value, we can only attempt to draw a first global picture in which a regional feature (the alveo-palatal affricate) is being reallocated as a marker of youth (and maybe Casablanca) speech and an index of youth culture in general. As for its alveo-dental counterpart, it appears as a possible competitor on the Moroccan (inter-)urban scene, although a much less talked-about one with respect to /q/ and /g/ (cfr. chapter 4); however, no study so far has tried to measure the variation between the two types of affrication across a whole community of Moroccan Arabic speakers.

5.3 - Affrication of /t/ in Temara

5.3.1 – *Phonetic inventory*

Below is a list of all allophones of /t/ identified during the analysis of the Temara corpus; for each of them, the IPA code, the code used in the individual informants’ tables (cfr. below) and the extended name is reported

IPA code	Analysis code	Short description
[t]	O	Occlusive
[tʲ]	P	Slightly palatalised
[tʃ]	PA	Alveo-palatal affricate
[tʃ̺]	PF	Alveo-palatal pseudo-fricative
[tʃ̺̞]	AA	Advanced alveo-palatal (intermediate) affricate
[tʰ]	S	Slightly spirantised occlusive
[tʰ̺]	DA	Alveo-dental affricate
[s]	DF	Alveo-dental fricative

[ʃ]	DR	Pre-stopped alveo-dental fricative
[θ]	I	Interdental

Table 25 - /t/ allophones identified during the analysis.²⁸⁴

Below is a short description of the sound that each of the items in Table 25 is intended to represent. Whenever possible, two examples are reported, one taken from a younger informant's speech and the second one from an older informant's²⁸⁵:

- **[t] / O – Voiceless dental stop.** It is the most common realisation of <t> in eg. French, Italian or Spanish (eg.: French: <table>; Italian: <conto>; Spanish: <tenedor>) as well as of the letter <ت> in spoken *fushā* (eg.: <تين> [ti:n])

Eg.:

PG: [mʃæ fi hæ:læ:to]; “he left”

MW: [kul ʃi tæ-'jæ:kul]; “everybody used to eat”

- **[tʃ] / P – Slightly palatalised voiceless dental stop.** It is an allophone whose palatalisation does not go as far as a full affricate, but is nonetheless clearly audible.

Eg.:

SO: [fə=z-zi:tʃi]; “coloured in lemon green”

HN3: [ma xdi:tʃj-ε:-ʃ]; “you didn't take it”

- **[tʃ] / PA – Voiceless alveo-palatal sibilant affricate.** It corresponds to the common pronunciation of <ch> in English <cheese>, or <c> in Italian <ciao>

Eg.:

GM: [l-bnæ::tʃu=ʃʳ-ʃʳa::bʳ]; “girls and alcohol”

LOUD3: [ʃæɪn=ætʃi:g]; “Ain Attig”

- **[tʃ] / PF – Voiceless alveo-palatal sibilant pseudo-fricative.** It represents an almost total opening of the alveo-palatal affricate to the continuous airflow which is typical of a fricative. It is not classified a simple “fricative” as a very slight obtrusion is often audible (unlike in realisations of the /ʃ/ phoneme), which is linked to the fact that it is actually an affricate whose opening has been brought to the extreme (a speaker's /t/ never goes as far as

²⁸⁴ The top six allophones were the most recurrent ones.

²⁸⁵ For the explanation of how I divide my sample of informants between “older” and “younger”, cfr. § 4.2.3.1.

this sound if the speaker him/herself does not also realise some affricates). For this reason, I use a small “t” as a diacritic in phonetic notations, to mark the slight difference between this allophone and the realisation of the /ʃ/ phoneme.

Eg.:

LT: [n-nu:kæʃ^t]; “jokes”

LOUD1: [tʰ-tʰrʰeg djæ::l smɪʃ^tu]; “the way to how’s-it-called”

Unlike the previous ones, the following allophones were almost exclusively recorded in older informants’ speech; therefore, the examples provided are extracted only from individual interviews with older speakers.

- [tʃ̟] or [tʃ̟̞] / AA – **Advanced voiceless alveo-palatal affricate**. It is an affricate in which palatalisation is still clearly audible, but it almost sounds like it is alveo-dental. My hypothesis is that this sound is due to the tongue being more advanced than in the “normal” alveo-palatal affricate, but an analysis based on the acoustic features of this allophone would be required to confirm my impression. I momentarily adopt the same transcription as the “simple” alveo-palatal affricate with the addition of a small plus “+” below or on the right of the letter ʃ, until a better phonetic description is made. This allophone is considered separately as it recurred several times among my older informants, whereas it is virtually absent among the younger ones.

Eg.:

HN3: [ʃæ:ʃ i:tʃ̟̞:i:m]; “he lives as an orphan”

OUL: [l-qəɪtʃ̟̞:æɪ]; “fighting”

- [tʰ] / SD – **Slightly spirantised voiceless dental stop**. It is very similar to [t], but lets out a very small amount of air, and is not characterised by palatalisation. In some occasions, it was unclear whether this slight spirantisation was in the direction of an alveo-dental affrication or a product of a hint of aspiration. This matter should also be better clarified with further, more accurate phonetic analyses.

Eg.:

LTm: [dək s-sa:ʃa:tʰ]; “that moment”

HN3: [læ=ʒi:tʰi: gəltʰi: li:]; “if you came and told him...”

- [t͡s] / DA – **Voiceless alveo-dental affricate**. It is equivalent to German <z> in <Leipzig>, or Italian voiceless <z> in <zucchero>.

Eg.:

LTm: [tlætsæ kilʕ]; “three kilos”

MH: [ʔəddɪtsɪ ʃwiːja]; “you took a little”

- [s] / DF – **Voiceless alveo-dental fricative**. It is equivalent to French <s> in <soleil>, or Italian <s> in <pasta>, or <س> in spoken *fushā*, as in <ناس> [næ:s].

Eg.:

AL: [tʰəbnæ:s]; “it was built”

OUD3: [lə-bnæ:s]; “girls”

Finally, the following two allophones were only recorded a very limited number of times (three each).

- [t͡s] / DR – **Voiceless pre-stopped alveo-dental fricative**. It is a plain voiceless dental stop “exploding” in a relatively long alveo-dental fricative; it is rare in the corpus, and was found exclusively in pre-pausal position.

Eg.:

SO: [tqəssmæ:t͡s]; “it was split”

- [θ] / I – **Voiceless interdental fricative**. It is equivalent to Spanish <z> in <zorro>, or English <th> in <three>. It is also found in several colloquial Moroccan Arabic varieties, especially in the *Žbāla* region. It is very rare in the corpus.

Eg.:

HN2: [təmmæ: θiːjaːkol]; “he eats there”

- An additional allophone found in the corpus was [tʰ], which occurs when /t/ is subject to pharyngealisation phenomena, especially under the influence of other pharyngealised consonants (such as [sʰ] or [rʰ]) or pharyngeals [ʕ] and [ħ]. When this happens, /t/ was never affricated or fricatised in the speech of most speakers, the only exception being **PG**, an informant from Marrakesh (cfr. below); only in the latter case, occurrences of palatalised, pharyngealised /t/ ([tʰʲ]) were grouped with those of non-pharyngealised [tʰ] in the counting.

The alveo-palatal allophones [tʃ] and [tʃ̥] are by far the most recurring ones across all age ranges, at least among males; when the phoneme is geminated (/tt/), the affrication affects the whole gemination, and a single sound ([tʃ̥]) is pronounced. [tʃ̥] is also very common among younger informants. In the latter's speech, alveo-palatal affrication occurs in every phonetic environment, except before [l], [n], [s], [ʃ], where affrication is lost (as in Jewish Tripoli). [tʃ̥] can also occur in the same range of environments, except in post-pausal position or when the phoneme is geminated (/tt/). In the older informant's speech, the stop sometimes alternates with the affricate, but there, too, the only environments that always inhibit affrication are the same as those identified for the youth. Below are found some examples in all phonetic environments; a (Y) indicates a younger informant, an (O) indicates an older one. As far as possible, at least one example of [tʃ̥] was added for each environment.

- Post-pausal (utterance-initial) position

- Followed by consonant

GM (Y): [tʃ̥bəwwɔχnɑ]; “we got high”

HN3 (O): [tʃ̥mæ:ra]; “Temara”

- Followed by an allophone of /i/ or /j/

SO (Y): [tʃ̥igulu l=fiɑ]; “they call it”

OUD2 (O): [tʃ̥i:kunɔ̃ ɪfwħɔ]; “they give wrong information”

- Followed by other vowel

GM (Y): [tʃ̥u:ni:=mʰɑ:dʳʰɛdʰ]; “a Real Madrid track suit”

OUD1 (O): [tʃ̥æ-bɪɪɔ̃=ɑ]; “they sell it”

- Utterance-medial position:

- between two consonants

ST (Y): [kɑ-ntʃ̥fəllæ ʃle:k]; “I’m mocking you”

DS (Y): [tʃ̥ʁɑrʰtʃ̥ ʃle]; “I met him”

OUD1 (O): [tʃ̥əntʃ̥æʃʃɑ]; “I have dinner”

- between a vowel and a consonant

MT (Y): [wəllitʃ̥ kɑ-nəfɪdʰərʰ mʃæ:]; “I began talking to him”

GS (Y): [hɛj^f mɔ-ɣmkən-ʃ]; “because it’s not possible”

OULD3 (O) [bqæ:tʃ bqæ:tʃ bqæ:tʃ bqæ:tʃ]; “it went on and on and on and on”

- between a consonant and an allophone of /i/ or /j/

LT (Y): [ædæk s^ftʰɑʒjɛr^f tʃi:tsəmma]; “that’s called an ‘intern’”

SC (Y): [fɦəmʃi:nə]; “did you understand?”

MH (O): [jæk=ɣr^fɑftʃi]; “you know, don’t you?”

- between a consonant and another vowel

GP (Y): [mən=tʃæ:za]; “from Taza”

SI (Y): [mækʃ^fæb]; “destiny”

HN3 (O): [mt^fu:r^fxa]; “date-stamped”

- between two vowels, the following one being an allophone of /i/ or /j/

FC (Y): [la=byi:tʃi ddi:r]; “if you want to put”

FG (Y): [tlæʃ^fin dqɛ:qa]; “thirty minutes”

LTm (O): [ulidætʃi]; “my children”

- between two vowels, in other cases

PT (Y): [wəl^fl^fæɪtʃə nmʃiɪ]; “I swear we can go”

DN (Y): [bdinæ ʃ^fɑ-n^fɦad^fr^fo]; “we started talking”

OULD4 (O): [mætʃ^fælæn]; “for example”

- pre-pausal (utterance-final) position

- after a consonant

GP (Y): [tlæh^ftʃ]; “it²⁸⁶ jumped”

GM (Y): [bənʃ^f]; “a girl”

- after a vowel

DS (Y): [ʃri:tʃ]; “I bought”

SO (Y): [wæhd əl-hæ:noj^f]; “a shop”

OUL (O): [nti:xa:bæ:tʃ]; “elections”

²⁸⁶ The implicit subject is /l-b^fa:l^fi:na/, “the whale”, which is feminine in colloquial Moroccan Arabic.

- geminated

PT (Y): [jəl^hɫ̥ɑː=ʃət̪t̪ʃaxud]; “you just take”

OLD1 (O): [kətt̪sænækul]; “I used to eat” (ie. /kənt ta:-na:kul)

In fact, the allophones occurring in each environment were highly variable, even in a single speaker's speech; among other factors, the quality of each adjacent vowel or consonant seemed to have different effects on the quality of the /t/ allophone, and a full analysis would require to analyse /t/ occurrences in over 170 environments for every informant. In alternative, one could analyse statistically the combined effect of each preceding or following vowel, consonant or pause on the /t/ phoneme. Paired with that, in order for the analysis to be maximally accurate, a phonetico-acoustic analysis similar to that of Schwartz (2019) would be necessary, in order to state with certainty which allophone is being uttered by the speaker. This is also due to the allophones not constituting clearly separable pronunciations, but rather being situated along a sort of multiple continuum, of the kind schematised in Figure 9.

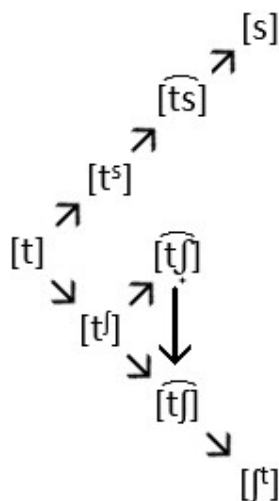


Figure 9 - Stop-to-fricative continua as identified in the informants' speech

Due to time limits, the allophones were manually noted in an impressionistic way after listening to the recording; the aim of further developments of this research will be to verify the correctness of these impressionistic notations by employing more systematic techniques. Therefore, it should not be forgotten that each of the allophones noted is a point arbitrarily identified along one of the continua shown in Figure 9, and that, in cases of ambiguous occurrences sounding

intermediate between two of these points, a final choice had to be made regarding how to classify that particular occurrence. For this reason, further research making use of more advanced techniques could also measure positions along the continua quantitatively (as was done by Schwartz 2019), rather than as a matter of choice between clear-cut allophonic categories. It seems certain that a quantitative description of that kind would reflect the linguistic reality more faithfully.

As it results, the corpus data confirm Naciri's (2014) data, according to which the alveo-palatal lenition process goes as far as fricatisation (which he calls "full spirantization"); however, he only distinguishes two allophones, [tʃ] and [ʃ]. In my analysis, besides specifying instances of palatalisation that do not seem to go as far as a full affricate ([tʃ]), I identify an allophone that, although close to a "West-European" palato-alveolar sibilant affricate [tʃ̠] (as this was described above), almost sounds like [ts̠], except that a palatalising feature can be heard. As I specify above, I posited that this could be due to a more advanced place of production (whereby the transcription [tʃ̠] was adopted²⁸⁷) and to the tongue letting out a smaller amount of air. The presence of this additional allophone in a speaker's repertoire is meaningful, as those who produced it among the other allophones never went as far as [ʃʰ] (the most extreme product of lenition in the alveo-palatal direction) as the youth did; conversely, none of the youth who produced [ʃʰ] showed to have also that "advanced affricate" in their allophonic repertoire (nor did the only young informant who did not produce [ʃʰ]; cfr. below).

For this reason, the descending arrows in Figure 9 actually represent two overlapping continua rather than a single one. These could be represented through the following scheme:

- a) [t] → [tʰ] → [tʃ̠] → [ʃʰ]
- b) [t] → [tʰ] → [tʃ̠] → [tʃ̠]

In other words, speakers appeared to have one of two kinds of continuum in their repertoire. Those who have continuum (a) push the lenition as far as a nearly-complete fricatisation; between this and the plain stop, two additional allophones were identified following the criteria illustrated above. Continuum (a) is a linear one, as it proceeds from the stop to the alveo-palatal fricative through increasing degrees of alveo-palatal spirantisation; the same is not true for continuum (b), which may involve a different kind of change (advancement of the place of articulation) in the transition from the second to the third allophone, and certainly involves it from the third to the last one. For this reason, the most appropriate way to represent continuum (b) seems to be that in Figure

²⁸⁷ This is obviously a temporary transcribing choice, which awaits acoustic measures allowing a more accurate description of this phone.

9, in which $[\widehat{tj}]$, rather than being intermediate between $[t^j]$ and $[\widehat{tj}]$, is shown as possibly forming a sub-continuum with each of the other two allophones. In my sample of informants, while continuum (a) is the one found almost without exceptions among the younger informants in my sample, continuum (b) is typical of my older informants.

From a phonetic point of view, the reason for continuum-(b) speakers to fail fricatising /t/ may reside in an inner difference existing between their type of /t/-affrication and that of continuum (a)-speakers, which, in general, seems to be more assibilated. This would explain why it is the affrication of continuum-(a) speakers that is prone to shift to a pseudo-fricative, as will be seen in the analysis, while that of continuum-(b) speakers never does so. It was observed before (§ 5.1) how lenition processes consist diachronically in the progressive weakening of stops to affricates and then oral fricatives (with possible, further e/involutions into glottal fricatives and, finally, total disappearance). It was also reported Brockelmann's diachronic reconstruction of an original merger between Classical /t/ and /θ/ having progressively given way to affrication in Moroccan Arabic. Now, considering the two continua in the light of these premises, it would seem that my younger informants (whose repertoire appears to include continuum (a)) are leading in the lenition process with respect to my older informants (the continuum (b)-speakers). However, what does not clearly emerge from the data is how (or at what diachronic point exactly) this inter-generational change in affrication has taken place, as the difference in allophonic repertoires between the two generational groups is very sharp with respect to the age difference between the informants. This goes to the extent that all informants younger than 40 showed continuum (a) in their repertoires (except that one of them did not fricatisé; cfr. below), whereas all informants older than 39 (except one, who shows continuum (a)) either showed continuum (b) or did not affricate at all.

Only two of my older informants (and no one among the younger) produced, in addition to continuum-(b) allophones, enough instances of alveo-dental affrication to discard the hypothesis that they were accidental. The analysis was expected to show that, alongside continuum (b), the repertoire of speakers who produced alveo-dental affrication would at least include the following allophones:

c) $[t] \rightarrow [t^s] \rightarrow [\widehat{ts}] \rightarrow [s]$

Similarly to continuum (a), continuum (c) represents a linear progression from the stop to the alveo-dental fricative through increasing degrees of spirantisation, with two intermediate stages counted for the purposes of the analysis. In fact, only the first three allophones were found in the two informants' speech; however, the analysis was limited to certain phonetic environments (cfr.

next section), and other environments should be considered in order to ascertain whether [s] also falls within their repertoire. What is curious is that the latter allophone, [s], did emerge in the environments analysed, but in the speech of other informants who did not produce any instance of [ts] affrication. This result will be commented during the exposition of the analysis. In the following section, examples of individual allophonic repertoires including each of the three continua identified above will be illustrated, together with how the linguistic environments in which the Phonetic Variable was to be analysed were chosen.

5.3.2 – *Relevant linguistic environments*

Since time limits did not allow to count the allophones occurring in every type of environment for each speaker, the counting was done (manually) only in those phonetic environments in which the allophone itself

- was not geminated
- was neither followed nor preceded by a phone other than a full vowel – where by “full vowel” I mean any vowel that is not [ə] or [ɐ] – or a semi-vowel. For the sake of practicality, I will henceforth call full vowels and semi-vowels with the single collective name Non-Neutral Vowels (NNVs).

In other words, the count involved only those /t/ allophones that:

- a. followed a pause and preceded a NNV (post-pausal, pre-vocalic environments²⁸⁸); or
- b. followed a NNV and preceded another NNV (intervocalic environments); or
- c. followed a NNV and preceded a pause (pre-pausal, post-vocalic environments²⁸⁹)

The aim of this selection was to choose those phonetic contexts in which the allophone is least affected by other consonants. However, as the realisation of /t/ seemed to be affected not only by its environment (pre-pausal, intervocalic or post-pausal) but also by the kind of contiguous vowel(s), different environments were distinguished according to the kind of NNV(s) immediately preceding and following /t/. During the analysis, the NNVs were grouped in three categories as shown below; NNVs belonging to the same category did not appear to affect the phonetic actualisation of /t/ much differently, and neither did their length (except in a few cases that will be specified).

²⁸⁸ From here on, these will be simply called “post-pausal environments”.

²⁸⁹ From here on, these will be simply called “pre-pausal environments”.

1. **a-category:** [ɒ], [ɑ], [a], [æ]
2. **i-category:** [ɛ], [e], [ɪ], [i] + [j]
3. **u-category:** [ʊ], [u], [ʊ], [ɹ], [o], [ɔ] + [w]²⁹⁰

The crossing of the kinds of phonetic environments from a. to c. and of the three categories of vowels from 1 to 3 gives sixteen possible phonetic environments in which to analyse the phonetic actualisation of /t/, as illustrated in Table 26.

/...t.../ ²⁹¹	/a:/	/i:/, /j/	/u/, /u:/ /w/	pause
pause	1	2	3	4 ²⁹²
/a:/	5	6	7	8
/i:/, /j/	9	10	11	12
/u:/, /w/	13	14	15	16

Table 26 - possible phonetic environments in which /t/ is contiguous to nothing other than a NNV.

So, for instance, the /t/ allophone (in bold) in the word [ʔæʒbæ:ʔ^t=u] (appeal.to;PFV.3MSG=3MSG; “he liked it”) would be classified as PF (alveo-palatal Pseudo-Fricative) in the phonetic environment no. 7 in the table. Allophones are also considered intervocalic if one of the two vowels is not in the same prosodic word but no pause separates the two words, as in [ʒitʃ ænɔ] (come;pfv.1sg – 1sg; “I came”), where the allophone would be classified as PA in the environment no. 9.

The aim of the analysis was, first, to figure out what was the most recurrent allophone for each of the environments in every informant’s speech, and then to compare the informants’ results. In order to do this, it was decided to limit the counting to a maximum of five tokens per environment, so as to obtain a statistical sample of an informant’s phonetic treatment of /t/ in a given environment. While five tokens proved to be a satisfying threshold for most of the environments, some of the latter appeared to recur too rarely for this figure to be reached; therefore, the analysis was limited to the unfilled environments in Table 27, ie. those which allowed to count a sufficient number of tokens for most informants:

²⁹⁰ The three categories roughly correspond to the allophones of /a:/, /i:/ and /u(:)/ respectively. Even though I do not consider them as allophones of the corresponding vowels (unlike Cantineau (1950)), I respectively group [j] and [w] among the /i:/ and the /u(:)/ allophones, as their influence on the actualisation of /t/ did not usually differ from that of the other allophones of the same category; again, when a different influence was found, this has been duly specified in the analysis.

²⁹¹ What precedes /t/ is indicated on the first column, whereas what follows is indicated on the first row.

²⁹² This is the logically possible case in which the speaker utters an isolated /t/ as to begin an utterance and stop immediately after the first consonant.

/...t.../	/a:/	/i:/, /j/	/u:/, /u:/ /w/	pause
pause	1			
/a:/	2	3	4	5
/i:/, /j/	6	7	8	
/u:/, /w/	9			

Table 27 - Phonetic environments retained for the analysis, limited to those involving pauses and NNVs

The analysis yielded a table such as 28 (which reports the informant **GM**'s results) for every single informant. In the tables, the allophones were indicated with one- or two-letter codes (rather than IPA symbols), for practicality reasons; cfr. Table 25 for the symbol-code correspondences. Two-letter codes are indicated in square brackets.

/...t.../ GM	/a:/	/i:/, /j/	/u:/, /u:/ /w/	pause
pause	[PA]P[PA][PA][PA]			
/a:/	[PA][PA][PA][PF][PA]	[PA][PA][PF][PF]	[PF][PA][PA][PF][PF]	[PA][PA][PA][PA][PA]
/i:/, /j/	[PF]P[PA][PA][PF]	[PF][PA][PF][PA][PF]	[PF][PF][PF][PF][PF]	
/u:/, /w/	[PA][PF][PF][PF][PF]			

Table 28 - Analysis of the Phonetic Variable in **GM**'s free speech.²⁹³

According to the results illustrated in the table, three /t/ allophones appear in GM's speech, as far as our eleven phonetic environments are concerned: /t^f/, /t^h/ and /t^h/ . More in detail: GM pronounced /t/ as an alveo-palatal pseudo-fricative (PF) most of the times in the environments filled with orange, all of which have /t/ contiguous to at least one allophone of the i- or u-categories; on the other hand, he pronounced an alveo-palatal affricate (PA) most of the times in the environments filled with green, ie. when the only contiguous vowel was an allophone of the a-category and in the word /fhəmti/. In two cases, ie. when the two contiguous vowels were one from the a- and one from the i-category, PF and PA were the most frequent allophones *ex aequo*: as neither of them prevailed, the cells are not filled. The fact that all cells have five tokens except for no. 3 (environment /a:ti:/ or /a:tj/) means that fewer than five tokens were found for this environment. As can be clearly seen, the continuum along which the /t/ allophones are distributed in GM's speech is continuum (a) (cfr. § 5.3.1).

Below are examples of tables illustrating the results of the analysis for individual informants: the first three informants are typical continuum-(a) speakers, the second three are

²⁹³ Ie. in recordings other than the hidden-camera test.

typical continuum-(b) speakers and the last two are the only two continuum-(c) speakers found. In all tables, a grey case indicates an environment that was not taken into account.

- continuum-(a) speakers

/...t.../ GP free	/a:/	/i:/, /j/	/u/, /u:/ /w/	pause
pause	[PA][PA][PA][PA][PA]			
/a:/	[PA][PA][PA][PA]P	[PA]P[PA][PF][PA]	[PA][PF]	[PA][PA][PA]
/i:/, /j/	[PA]O[PA][PA][PA]	[PA][PA][PA][PF][PF]	[PF][PF][PA]	
/u:/, /w/	[PA][PA][PA][PA][PA]			

/...t.../ DN free	/a:/	/i:/, /j/	/u/, /u:/ /w/	pause
pause	[PA]P[PA][PA][PA]			
/a:/	[PA][PA][PA][PF][PF]	[PA][PA][PA][PA][PF]	[PA][PA][PF][PA]	[PF][PF][PA][PF][PA]
/i:/, /j/	[PA][PA][PA][PA][PA]	[PF]O[PA][PA][PA]	[PF][PA][PA][PA]	
/u:/, /w/	[PA][PA][PA][PA]			

/...t.../ DS free	/a:/	/i:/, /j/	/u/, /u:/ /w/	pause
pause	[PA][PA][PA][PA]			
/a:/	[PF][PF][PA][PF][PA]	[PA][PA][PA][PA][PA]	[PF][PA][PA][PA]	[PF][PF][PA][PF]
/i:/, /j/	[PF][PF][PF][PF][PF]	[PF][PF][PF][PA][PA]	[PA][PF][PF][PA]	
/u:/, /w/	[PF][PF][PF][PF][PF]			

- continuum-(b) speakers

/...t.../ HN3	/a:/	/i:/, /j/	/u/, /u:/ /w/	pause
pause	PS			
/a:/	[PA][PA]PP[PA]	[AA]PP[PA]P	PSPO[PA]	S
/i:/, /j/	[AA]O[PA]	S[PA][AA][AA]P	[PF][PA][PA][PA]O	
/u:/, /w/	PP[PA]P[PA]			

/...t.../ OUD3	/a:/	/i:/, /j/	/u/, /u:/ /w/	pause
pause	OPOSS			
/a:/	[PA][PA][PA][PA]P	[PA][PA][PA][PA][PA]	[PA]I[PA][PA]O	P[AA][DR]P[AA]
/i:/, /j/	P[PA]P	OP[AA]OO	OOPO	
/u:/, /w/	PPP[PA][PA]			

/...t.../ OUL	/a:/	/i:/, /j/	/u/, /u:/ /w/	pause
pause	OO[PA][PA]O			
/a:/	[AA]O[AA]P[PA]	OOO[PF]O	[PA]O[PA][PA][PA]	[PA][PA][PF]O[PA]
/i:/, /j/	O[AA][PA][PA]P	P[PA][PA]O[PA]	[PA]O	
/u:/, /w/	P[PA]PO			

- continuum-(c) (+ continuum-(b)) speakers

/...t.../ LTm	/a:/	/i:/, /j/	/u/, /u:/ /w/	pause
pause	P[PA]PO[PA]			
/a:/	[PA][SA][SA][PA][PA]	O[SA]PPP	OO[SA]O[SA]	[SA]S[SA]S[SA]
/i:/, /j/	P[SA][SA]P[SA]	[SA][SA]P[SA][SA]	[SA][SA][SA][SA][SA]	
/u:/, /w/	[SA]OOS[SA]			

/...t.../ MH1	/a:/	/i:/, /j/	/u/, /u:/ /w/	pause
pause	OOOS			
/a:/	[PA]OPPO		[PA][SA]P[AA]	[PA][SA]O[PA][SA]
/i:/, /j/	[PA][PA][PA]	[SA][PA][PA]	OPPOP	
/u:/, /w/	S			

The analysis was limited to those informants who had been recorded in spontaneous conversations with other Moroccan Arabic speakers, in focus groups or in interviews²⁹⁴, as these were the contexts in which the greatest amount of speech was recorded for each of the speakers involved. In general, three of the environments (post-pausal /ta:/, /nta/ and /fhəmti/) appeared to slightly restrict the lenition of /t/, as this never went as far as /j^t/ in post-pausal /ta:/ and /nta/ for any informant, and rarely did in /fhəmti/ (with or without suffix). Therefore, the bulk of the analysis will be limited to the intervocalic environments and pre-pausal /a:t/.

As the length of speech recorded for each informant varies, the number of five tokens was not reached in every phonetic environment for most informants: all those for whom it was not possible to count at least three tokens for at least five of the phonetic environments selected (intervocalic plus pre-pausal /a:t/) were excluded from the analysis. 24 informants were thus retained: 13 of these belong to the younger group, ie. the one whose members (all younger than 39) were recorded in spontaneous conversations or in focus groups; the other 11 belong to the older group²⁹⁵, ie. the one whose members (all older than 38) were recorded in one-to-one interviews.

²⁹⁴ I.e., only the informants that were only recorded during a hidden-camera test session are excluded from this grouping.

²⁹⁵ However, a twelfth older informant was added at the end of analysis; cfr. below.

Unlike in the analysis of the Phonologic Variable (cfr. § 4.2.3.2), an additional token was counted even in cases of immediate repetition of the same item, as it appeared that the phonetic actualisation of /t/ could vary even in these situations, as in the following example:

5.1

GS:	[dæbə	dək	ʃi	ʈʃ-i-tʃʌ:wəd	bhæɪ=ilɑ
	now	DEM	[DET]thing	PRVB-be.repeated;IPFV.3MSG	like=if
	gəɪʃʰi	ʃʰi-tʃʌw[ɔ]			
	say;PFV.2SG	PRVB-be.repeated;IPFV.3MSG			

GS: *Those things get repeated, it's like they get repeated.*

In 5.1, **GS** repeats the verbal form /tə-ʃtʃa:wəd/ twice for explicative reasons. As can be observed, a very short time interval (about 0.74 seconds) suffices for **GS** to change his pronunciation of the same lexeme from the first occurrence to the second one: among other things, the /t/ of the aspectual prefix /tə-/ switches from an affricate /tʃ/ to a pseudo-fricative /ʃʰ/. As the two allophones are in the same phonetic environment (both are preceded and followed by two vowels of the i-category), the latter cannot be responsible for the switch. As this was not the only case recorded, /t/-allophone occurrences were counted regardless of instances of repetition due to this and other reasons. Conversely, as was noticed in the analysis of the Phonological Variable, the close repetition (such as the one shown in 5.1) of a lexeme that varies between /q/ and /g/ in a given informant's speech never entails a switch from /q/ to /g/ or vice versa, which seems to suggest that an informant's choice between /q/ and /g/ is more conscious than his/her movement along the affrication continuum/a – or, at least, that it is less subject to the influence of prosody.

In my exposition of the analysis results, I will not adopt a quantitative approach as I did in illustrating the results for **GM**'s /t/ in Table 28: as was observed previously, the nature of the variable would require an acoustic analysis in order for quantitative data to be meaningful. As the classification of each token was made in an impressive manner, my results are best suited for a qualitative analysis, in which the continuum present in each informant's speech will be taken into consideration, rather than how many tokens were classified as P, PA, PF, etc. for each environment. Quantitative data will only be mentioned as a support to the qualitative analysis.

5.3.3 – Affrication among the younger informants

The 13 younger informants included in this analysis covered an age span between 19 and 36 y.o. at the time of their recording, for an average of 25.38 y.o. 10 of them were also included in the analysis of the Phonologic Variable as they undertook the hidden-camera test with other Temarese informants; one of them (**SO**) undertook with informants residing in Rabat, and was therefore not included in the analysis of that variable. Conversely, he has been included in the present analysis as he was recorded in spontaneous conversations with other Temara residents.

Between 23 and 40 tokens were counted for each younger informant. The allophones recorded range from [t] to [tʰ] and cover all those constituting what was defined as continuum (a); besides them, only one token of [tʰ] appeared in the speech of one informant, who distinguished himself from the others in many respects as will be discussed below. In general, [t̪] and [tʰ] proved to be by far the most recurrent actualisations of /t/ within this group, as the following data show:

Allophones Informants	[t]		[tʰ]		[t] + [tʰ]		[t̪] + [tʰ] ²⁹⁶		[tʰ]		Total occurrences
		%		%		%		%		%	
DN	1	2.7%	0	0.0%	1	2.7%	36	97.3%	0	0.0%	37
DS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	37	100.0%	0	0.0%	37
FC	0	0.0%	1	3.7%	1	3.7%	26	96.3%	0	0.0%	27
FG	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	27	100.0%	0	0.0%	27
GM	0	0.0%	1	2.6%	1	2.6%	38	97.4%	0	0.0%	39
GP	1	3.0%	2	6.1%	3	9.1%	30	90.9%	0	0.0%	33
GS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	36	100.0%	0	0.0%	36
LT	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	31	100.0%	0	0.0%	31
PG	16	57.1%	1	3.6%	17	60.7%	10	35.7%	1	3.6%	28
PT	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	23	100.0%	0	0.0%	23
SI	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	30	100.0%	0	0.0%	30
SO	1	3.2%	3	9.7%	4	12.9%	27	87.1%	0	0.0%	31
ST	0	0.0%	3	7.5%	3	7.5%	37	92.5%	0	0.0%	40

Table 29 - Occurrences of the /t/ allophones in the younger informants' speech in the analysed environments and respective percentages on the total of tokens counted for an informant.

- [tʰ], ie. a palatalisation of the occlusive which does not go as far as affrication, did not occur more than once in the speech of 9 out of 13 informants (69%). As for the 4 remaining speakers, the highest percentage of [tʰ] tokens for a single informant only reached 9.68% and was recorded in **SO**'s speech.

²⁹⁶ The occurrences of the affricate and the pseudo-fricative have been grouped together, as it is not always possible to distinguish between the two of them without an acoustic analysis. However, some occurrences of pseudo-fricative have been found for all the younger informants, except when specified differently.

- plain, occlusive [t] was even rarer than [tʰ]: only one of the informants produced it more than once and 9 out of 13 (69%) never produced it at all. The only speaker who produced more than one [t] token, **PG**, constituted a notable exception (and will be discussed below, as 16 [t] out of 28 /t/ tokens were counted in his speech, ie. 57.14%.
- if the percentages of [t] and [tʰ] – ie. both the allophones for which the lenition does not go as far as affrication – are counted together for every single informant's speech, they do not go beyond 12.09% (which is again **SO**'s result) if **PG**'s corresponding datum (60.71%) is excluded. This means that the younger informants (excluding **PG**) either affricated or fricatised /t/ at least 87.91% of the times (ie. 100% - 12.09%) in the environments selected; six of them (46%) went so far as affricating or fricatising 100% of the times.

As will be shown later, these results are meaningful especially if compared with those obtained for the older informants. For now, we shall comment the cases of those who seem to be “marginal” speakers within the community and, following, the results obtained for each phonetic environment.

Results by phonetic environment

	[t]		[tʰ]		[tʃ]		[tʃ] ²⁹⁷		Total
		%		%		%		%	
a+/t/+a²⁹⁸	0	0.0%	1	1.9%	31	58.5%	21	39.6%	53
a+/t/+i	0	0.0%	4	7.7%	34	65.4%	14	26.9%	52
a+/t/+u	0	0.0%	1	2.9%	19	54.3%	15	42.9%	35
a+/t/[---]	0	0.0%	1	2.3%	19	44.2%	23	53.5%	43
i+/t/+a	1	1.9%	2	3.8%	23	44.2%	26	50.0%	52
i+/t/+i	1	1.6%	1	1.6%	30	49.2%	29	47.5%	61
i+/t/+u	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	13	28.9%	32	71.1%	45
u+/t/+a	1	2.0%	0	0.0%	35	70.0%	14	28.0%	50
Total	3	0.8%	10	2.6%	204	52.2%	174	44.5%	391

Table 30 - Global statistics for each allophone in each phonetic environment, for all younger informants except **PG**.

Table 30 shows the total allophone count divided by phonetic environment, in order to verify whether some environments favoured palatalisation more than others. As **PG** clearly emerged from the data shown in the previous section as an atypical case within the community studied (as far as this variable is concerned), he has been excluded from the statistics of this table, and will be discussed later.

As may be observed, alveo-palatal affrication and pseudo-fricative largely prevail in all of the environments, whether they are taken individually or collectively. In addition, combined percentages of the two allophones show minimum differences, ranging from 82.3% (for a+/t/+i) to 100% (for i+/t/+u). Curiously, both the highest and the lowest percentages cited above involve the contiguity of a vowel of the i-category, ie. of a high fronted vowel, which should be the most indicated type to induce to the palatalisation of the dental occlusive. In fact, the contiguity of an “i” vowel does not seem to particularly favour palatalisation, as the two environments in which most [t] and [tʰ] occurred (if the tokens of these two allophones are counted together) both present an “i” vowel immediately preceding (as in i+/t/+a: three occurrences) or following the /t/ phoneme (as in a+/t/+i: four occurrences). It is also unlikely that this type of vowel favours fricatisation more than the other vowel categories, as three out of four environments involving the contiguity of an “i” vowel do not show an unambiguous preponderance of [tʃ] (clear cases of prevalence of a single allophone are highlighted in yellow in the table).

²⁹⁷ In default of an acoustic analysis, the figures in this column only include those occurrences which could be clearly identified as presenting an opening greater than a mere affricate.

²⁹⁸ Vowels in this column indicate the vowel category of the allophone; cfr. above.

These observations lead to two main conclusions, which seem to be valid not only for these informants, but also for most young male speakers I got into contact with in Temara and nearby cities:

1. the basic allophone for the phoneme /t/ is a full alveo-palatal affricate [tʃ], which nevertheless often undergoes further lenition until it almost becomes a fricative [ʃ].
2. if all the allophones used by all the informants are considered, all the speakers' pronunciations of /t/ move along only one of the continua identified above (§ 5.3.1), ie. continuum (a).

Such further lenition seems to be mainly due to prosodic factors when /t/ is in one of the environments analysed, and a more accurate analysis of prosodic patterns will be required in order for these factors to be defined. Another element that may require further examination is pragmatics, in order to check eg. if allophonic variation plays the same function as /q/-vs-/g/ variation in information structuring or other pragmatic functions (cfr. § 4.2.4).

If other phonetic environments are taken into consideration, it may be easily observed how speakers who do not fricativise all the time, such as **GM** (cfr. Table 28), almost invariantly do so when, eg., /t/ occurs between a vowel and a voiced pharyngeal fricative. In the following excerpt, the 2nd person morpheme /t/ of the verb /kə-tʃa:jətʃ/ undergoes almost full fricatisation:

5.2

GM: [mərʃrʃa	x ^w rʃa	kə-ʃʃa:jətʃ=lʃ=e	kə-nʒi]
time	other;FEM.SING	PRVB-call;IPFV.2MSG=to=1SG	PRVB-come;IPFV.1MSG

GM: *Next time, when you call me I'll come for sure!*

This and many other similar examples seem to imply that the type of affrication found in most younger speakers' speech is easily prone to such instances of fricatisation if other consonants exert their influence; nonetheless, palato-alveolar affrication seems to be the "regular" pronunciation of /t/ when this is not affected by particular phonetic environments.

The influence of Temara

The four informants highlighted in yellow in Table 29 are the only ones who did not spend all their formative years for dialect acquisition (ie. from 8 to 18 y. o.; cfr. § 4.2.3.5) in the city:

- **FC**, who was 27 when he was recorded, was born in Temara but then grew up in Rabat; he moved back to Temara when he was 13 y. o. and lives in *Hāyy n-Nāḥḍa*. He often visits his mother's family in Doukkala.
- **GP** (also included in the analysis of the Phonological Variable), who was 22 at the time of his participation to one of the focus groups, was born in Taza and spent a few years in Meknes before moving to Temara with his family when he was 9 – 10 y. o. He also visits family there, in Fes and Meknes quite frequently, but regularly met with many people living in and around his neighbourhood (located in the area of the city which was developed by private real estate companies).
- **PG**, who participated to the same focus group as **GP** and was 29 y. o., was born in Marrakesh and lived between there and Aghmat (30 km to the south-east) before moving to Temara with his brother in 2012 (when he was 25 y. o.), four years before his participation to the present research. Although he had many friends in Temara (many of whom in common with **GP**), he left Temara for good one month later with his brother, and moved to Agadir.
- **SO** was 32 at the time of the spontaneous recordings. He was born in Yacoub El Mansour, a district in the city of Rabat, and moved to *Māsīra Žūž*, Temara, with his family when he was 18 y. o. Even after his change of residence, he still kept contacts with his friends in Yacoub El Mansour, while also making new friends in Temara whom he regularly meet. His family's origins are from *Dukkāla*, Sidi Bouknadel and Ouazzane, but never visits any of those areas.

Of these four informants, three (**GP**, **PG** and **SO**) are those for whom the lowest percentage of palato-alveolar affrication and frication tokens were counted. This would seem to suggest that growing up in Temara has a somewhat different influence on a speaker's pronunciation of /t/ with respect to growing up where these informants did before moving to Temara (respectively Meknes, Marrakesh / Aghmat and Yacoub El Mansour). The case of **PG** clearly stands out as a special one, as not only the statistics in Table 29 show: suffice it to take a look at the detailed analysis of the allophones he produced:

/...t.../ PG	/a:/	/i:/, /j/	/u:/, /u:/ /w/	pause
/a:/	OOOOO	[PA][PA][PA][PA][PA]	OOP[PA]O	OOSOO
/i:/, /j/	O	[PA][PA]O[PA][PA]	OO	
/u:/, /w/				

Table 31 - **PG**'s allophones in the analysed environments

As is immediately noticed, all but one instances of **PG**'s palato-alveolar affrication occurred in intervocalic environments in which /t/ was followed by a vowel of the i-category, as in the following examples:

5.3

[jakma	klitʃi	ʃi:	ʃi-lʃɪba	mn=həna]
Q	eat;PFV.2SG	INDEF	INDEF-game;DIM	from=here

Have you eaten some... some stuff from this plate?

5.4

[bb ^w α=æ	tʃ ^w -ɪʒ ^ɛ ər ^ɛ r ^ɛ	k ^ɛ r ^ɛ o:s ^ɛ a]
father=3FSG	prvb-drag;IPFV.3MSG	cart

Her father pulls a cart...

In every other environment, **PG** hardly, if ever, palatalises /t/ is hardly. Significantly, the only two instances of palatalisation are found in the a+/t/+u environment when, in fact, the “u” vowel is the allophone closest to [i], ie. [u], which suggests that the latter is fronted enough to have an influence on /t/ similar to the vowels of the i-category:

5.5

[ma-lqæ:tʃ=u-ʃ]
NEG-find;PFV.3FSG-NEG

She didn't find it.

5.6

[f=hjæ:tʃ=u]
in=life=3MSG

In his life...

5.7

In his life, those things he lives in his life...

We may thus conclude that **PG** preserved not only an affrication pattern, but even an underlying phonetic treatment of /t/ which is apparently typical of Marrakshi speakers, as he was born and raised in the Marrakesh area and had only very recently moved to Temara. The fact that **PG**'s affrication pattern is typically Marrakshi is demonstrated by the fact that all other informants, none of whom was raised in Marrakesh or the surrounding areas, show totally different patterns, much more similar to each other. If **PG** is not considered, the next least strong palatalisers of the younger group were **GP** and **SO**: as was shown above, both of them, like **PG**, did not spend all of their formative years for dialect acquisition in Temara. However, their context of (especially linguistic) raising is less divergent from that of speakers born and raised in Temara: **GP** spent most (although not all) of his formative years in the city, as he moved there when he was slightly older than 8, while **SO** was raised in Rabat, a place geographically much closer to Temara. Concordantly, their phonetic treatment of /t/ is also similar to that of the other informants, as they both customarily

palatalise /t/ to full affrication. However, the fact that they failed to do so in a few cases (more than the other informants), in phonetic environments which usually allow palatalisation in their speech, may be linked to this difference in their raising environment: how this may be will be discussed later, as will the fact that the fourth informant that was not entirely linguistically raised in Temara (**FC**) palatalised more than **GP** and **SO** (although the difference is a very slight one).

To resume the discussion on the results of the analysis of the Phonetic Variable in the younger informants' speech, palatalisation can be observed to occur almost invariably in the intervocalic and the post-“a” vowel pre-pausal /t/'s of the speakers in the sample. In the 96.7% of cases, palatalisation goes at least as far as full affrication, and it almost reaches the status of fricative in almost half of these cases (44.7%). This, connected to the fact that it is found in all the environments analysed, independently from which vowels are contiguous, clearly indicates that the basic, phonetically unmarked pronunciation of this allophone by these speakers is either [tʃ] or [tʃ̥]; it was therefore posited that the former is more likely to be the basic one, and that the latter occurs under particular phonetic or prosodic contexts (although more accurated data are needed to confirm the latter point). Finally, this situation seems to exclusively apply to those speakers who spent at least a part of their formative years for dialect acquisition in either Temara or Rabat, since the only speaker who was raised elsewhere (Marrakesh) shows a totally different pattern. In the next paragraph, we shall see if affrication patterns similarly for our sample of older informants as well.

5.3.4 – Affrication among the older informants

As was previously said, the informants of the “older” group retained for the analysis are 12, although the speech of one of them (**ODU5**) will only be used as a term of comparison, since the length of recording did not permit to reach the minimum amount of tokens in a sufficient number of environments. The group that makes the object of the main analysis is therefore formed by 11 informants aged between 39 and 70 y.o. ca., for an average between 57 and 58 y.o.; between 26 and 40 tokens were counted for each of them. If **ODU5** is also included (as in the following table), the group is constituted by 12 informants between 39 and 83 y.o., for an average of 60 y.o. ca. As was specified elsewhere in the present work, all of them had spent at least 10 years in Temara at the time of their interview.

Allophones Informants	[t]		[tʰ]		[tʃ·] + [tʃ] (or only [tʃ]) ²⁹⁹		[tʰ]		[tʰ]		[tʃ]		[s]		Tot
		%		%		%		%		%		%		%	
HN1 (w)	34	91.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	8.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	37
HN3	3	8.8%	9	26.5%	19	55.9%	0	0.0%	3	8.8%	1	2.9%	0	0.0%	34
AL	5	13.9%	5	13.9%	15	41.7%	6	16.7%	1	2.8%	0	0.0%	4	11.1%	36
LTm (w)	6	15.0%	6	15.0%	3	7.5%	0	0.0%	3	7.5%	22	55.0%	0	0.0%	40
MH	5	19.2%	6	23.1%	10	38.5%	0	0.0%	1	3.8%	4	15.4%	0	0.0%	26
MW	18	69.2%	2	7.7%	5	19.2%	1	3.8%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	26
ODU1	0	0.0%	1	2.7%	30	81.1%	5	13.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	2.7%	37
ODU2	6	16.7%	19	52.8%	9	25.0%	0	0.0%	2	5.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	36
ODU3	8	21.1%	10	26.3%	18	47.4%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	38
ODU4	5	16.1%	4	12.9%	22	71.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	31
ODU5	13	92.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	7.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	14
OUL	13	36.1%	5	13.9%	18	50.0%	2	5.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	36

Key: **orange** = continuum (a); **light blue** = continuum (b); **green** = continuum (c); no filling = no or other continuum identified; (w) = woman

Table 32 - Occurrences of the /t/ allophones in the older informants' speech in the analysed environments and respective percentages on the total of tokens counted for an informant.

A first glance at Table 32 suffices to see how the older informants' collective repertoire is twice as wide as the younger informants'³⁰⁰. Four types of speakers may be identified

- a) five informants (**HN3**, **ODU2**, **ODU3**, **ODU4** and **OUL**) appear to be continuum-(b) speakers. As their codes suggest, three of them are of *Wdīyi* descent (although **ODU3** only on his mother's side) and one is a *Wlīdi*, and all of them were born and raised in Temara (before it became a city); the remaining one, **HN3**, is of *Dukkāli* origin but was born and raised in Rabat's slums, then moved to Temara in 2000. None of them fricatises on a more than occasional basis³⁰¹, and all of them but one present some instances of the advanced alveo-palatal affricate [tʃ]³⁰²;

²⁹⁹ The occurrences of the two kinds of affricate have been grouped together, as it is not always possible to distinguish between the two of them without an acoustic analysis. However, some occurrences of advanced affrication [tʃ] have been found for most of the older informants; when none was found, this has been indicated by italicising the figure in the table.

³⁰⁰ This is also true if only older male informants are considered, thus avoiding gender-biased differences (all younger 1

³⁰¹ Here, by "occasional" is meant the use of an allophone more than once in a given phonetic environment.

³⁰² The only exception is **ODU4**, who otherwise presented a repertoire matching continuum (b). As the advanced affricate is hard to identify because of its similarity to the "simple" affricate [tʃ], my failure to identify instances of it in **ODU4**'s speech may be due to the fact that the place in which he was recorded was not a silent one. Many tokens of

- b) two of them, **AL** and **UD1**, present a repertoire very similar to that of the younger informants, as they produced all continuum-(a) allophones from [t] to [tʰ], with a clear prevalence of the affricate and the pseudo-fricative allophones. Such similarity is more easily explained for **AL**, who is the youngest member of the group (39 y. o. at the time of the recording) and was born and raised in Temara like most of the younger speakers. **MH**, who is just one year older, shows a quite different affrication pattern, as is examined below; however, unlike **AL**, he was born and raised in Taфраout, and settled in Temara when he was already 16 (it was already shown through the analysis of the younger informants' speech how the place in which dialect acquisition took place can affect a speaker's speech). All other informants were 47 y.o. or older, which means we may expect them to present affrication patterns different from their younger counterparts. The unexpected data are therefore those concerning **UD1**, a 57 y.o. *Wḍiyi* born and raised in Temara, whose speech resembles even more closely that of the younger speakers with respect to this variable. Indeed, it may be observed that **AL** produced more allophones tending towards alveo-dental affrication (alongside the continuum-(a) allophones), ie. three tokens (one of [tʰ] and two of [s], the latter both in pre-pausal position), against the single one registered (also in pre-pausal position) for **UD1**. Why is the latter's speech so similar to that of speakers younger than him, and so "deviant" from that of the speakers of the same cohort? In this case, a single speaker is insufficient to explain his peculiar repertoire, and data on many more informants of the same age and of similar and different origins are required; however, it is interesting to notice how none of the other *Wḍiyi* informants showed a similar repertoire, which suggests that the different social networks one develops during one's lifetime may again have proven crucial in affecting language use.
- c) the third type of speakers is represented by three elderly informants of rural origin: two of them, **MW** and **HN1**, were born and raised in the countryside and came to Temara when they were already grown-ups: **MW**, a *Tadlāwi* who has been living in the city since 1983, and **HN1**, who moved to Temara from the *Ġarb* between 1978 and 1982. The third speaker, **UD5**, is an 83-y.o. *Wḍiyi* who lived all this life in Temara. All three of them produced a plain stop most of the times, and this was certainly **HN1**'s and **UD5**'s basic pronunciation, as may be observed from the data above. Concerning the latter, his being the only informant from his tribe who consistently failed to affricate suggests that, even for the local tribes, affrication may be a recently phenomenon that only emerged among the first generation who grew in contact with Moroccan Arabic speakers from other regions (whereas **UD5** was between 20 and 30 y.o.

UD4's /t/ were discarded because of this inconvenient. In other cases of poor sound quality, the recording has not been used for the analysis.

when immigration fluxes started increasing); unfortunately, no data are available for other *Wdāya* (or *ʕrəb*) of the same generation as **ODU5**. On the other hand, **MW**'s pattern was more irregular, and while /t/ seemed to be affricated only when an “i” vowel was contiguous, this was not always the case even in this type of environments (cfr. Table 33), and affrication seemed to appear quite irregularly (even in the absence of a contiguous “i” vowel).

/...t.../ MW	/a:/	/i:/, /j/	/u:/, /u:/ /w/	pause
pause	[PA]O			
/a:/	OOOOO	OPO	OO	[PF]
/i:/, /j/	O[PA][PA]O	[PA]OOOO	P[PA]OO	
/u:/, /w/	O[PA]			

Table 33 - /t/-allophones found in **MW**'s speech.

d) the last two informants, **LTm** and **MH**, are the only ones who actually showed a consistent use of the allophones of continuum (c), ie. the one conducting towards alveo-dental affrication ([tʃ])³⁰³. No instance of [s] happened to be counted for either of them; in fact, they rarely seem to fricativise [t] to that extent, at least in the environments taken into consideration. **LTm** produced alveo-dental fricatisation more consistently than **MH**, although continuum-(b) allophones also frequently appeared in both informants' speech. The former, a lady in his fifties who was born and raised in Meknes but whose family is originally from Bzo (*Tādla*)³⁰⁴, almost invariably produced an alveo-dental affrication only in pre-pausal position (5.8). In many other cases, variation is so subtle that [tʃ] may alternate with either occlusive or palatalised /t/ in very similar contexts, depending on prosodic (eg. speed), situational or pragmatic factors (5.9-14)

5.8

[lqət mʕɑ=ʕumə ʔəs-solokætʃ]

find;PFV.1SG with=3PL DET-behaviour;PL

I found a way to get along with them.

5.9

[wəhɗɔ ʕɑʔtʃæni]

one;FEM.SING again

³⁰³ The full results of the analysis for these two informants are reported in § 5.3.2.

³⁰⁴ This is the mother of **LT** and **CT**, both of whom underwent the hidden-camera test. **LT** was also included in the present analysis, among the younger informants, and produced [tʃ] or [tʰ] 100% of the times.

Another woman...

5.10

[qəlʰəbʰts̃ ʃaʔtəni]

search;PFV.1SG again

I searched again

5.11

[ʔəna ts̃æ-ŋgul=l=u]

1SG PVB-say;IPFV.1SG=to=3MSG

I say to him...

5.12

[ʔæ:na: ɦa:kʰkʰa ts̃æ-ddir³⁰⁵]

1SG like.that PRVB-do;1SG

I do like that.

5.13

[ʃənd=i l-bni:ts̃æt u=dək ʃi]

POSS=1SG DET-girl;DIM.PL and=DEM [DET]thing

I've got my daughters and so...

5.14

[ʒuʒ də=l-bni:tæ:ts̃ u=ulijj[d]]

two of=DET-girl;DIM.PL and=boy;DIM

Two girls and a boy.

³⁰⁵ In this word, the [n] was assimilated to the following [d].

A sort of complementary distribution could be more credibly discerned in the speech of MH, a 40 y.o. clothing trader from Taфраout who settled in Temara when he was 16306. It was observed, for instance, that his /t/ tended to oscillate between [t], [tʃ] and [tʃ̥] when in word-initial position (5.15-16); on the other hand, it was almost invariably palatalised when in word-medial (5.17) or non-pre-pausal word-final position (5.18). Prosodic factors may guide his pronunciation of /t/ in pre-pausal position, whereby [tʃ̥] in this environment seems to be used before a longer pause and [tʃ] before a shorter one, as if MH felt that the tongue movement required for the alveo-dental affrication were less time-consuming (5.19-20)

5.15

[wæləkən ɦnæ ʃəmmæ tæ:ni:]

but 1PL there again

But, again, we, down there...

5.16

[waɦd l-mərʕa tʃæni]

one DET-time again

Once again...

5.17

[ʔæ:tʃ̥æ]

tea

...tea...

5.18

[l-ʕaqli:jæ:tʃ̥ u:: ʃhæ:l]

DET-mentality;PL and how.much

Mentalities and... much more!

³⁰⁶ However, he started currently speaking Moroccan Arabic while living in Agadir, before moving to Temara.

5.19

[dʰ-dʰa:rʰo:rʰi:jjæ:tʃ̥] (0.475s ca. pause) [w=əɪ-ʔækl...]

DET-essential;PL

and=DET-food

Essentials... (0.475s ca. pause) *...and food...*

5.20

[dʰ-dʰa:rʰo:rʰi:jjæ:tʃ̥] (0.1s ca. pause) [dʰ-dʰarʰorʰijjæt xɪna=ɔm...]

DET-essential;PL

DET-essential;PL

take;PFV.1PL=3PL

Essentials... (0.1s ca. pause) *We've already got essentials...*

It may be useful to have a look at the environments in which different degrees of affrication and fricatisation were found, as was done for the younger informants; in this case, we shall exclude **HN1** from the counting, as she is the only older informant whose phonetic repertoire did not seem to include any type of lenition (except for few cases of very slight spirantisation). As can be seen in Table 34, an apparently highly irregular distribution of figures emerges if the occurrences of each allophone for each phonetic environment are counted. Although the distribution is not homogeneous ([tʃ̥] is clearly the most recurrent allophone, as it was in the younger group), very few cells are left with a 0, meaning almost all the allophones were virtually produced in all the environments. The cells highlighted in yellow indicate the environment in which the allophone recurred the most; their distribution seems to confirm the absence of regular correspondences. Concerning these latter figures, one of them curiously reiterates a datum found among the younger informants, ie. how a preceding “i” vowel paired with a following “u” vowel (as in /smi:t=u/, “his name”) seems to relatively favour the pseudo-fricative [tʃ̥].

In order for the results to be more meaningful, all the allophones have been grouped into three phonetic categories in Table 35: dental stop, palatalisation (ie. all other continuum-(b) allophones) and alveo-dental spirantisation (ie. all other continuum-(c) allophones). One datum is surprising: the environment in which palatalisation would be expected the most (“i” vowel + /t/ + “i” vowel, ie. the orange row in the table) actually seems to be the second most unfavourable to it (the first being a+/t/+u), with 65.5% of palatalised /t/’s. Two conclusions may be drawn from this observation:

- a) as was the case for the younger speakers, palatalisation affects /t/ independently from which vowels are adjacent. This could mean that the palatalisation phenomenon is already generalised to all environments (except those that completely inhibit it, such as before coronals) in this generation of speakers, including both those who grew up in Temara and those who were raised elsewhere.
- b) the fact that palatalisation is found to recur the least in the environment in which it is most usually attested at a universal level may suggest that the speakers are trying to consciously avoid it: however, this does not seem to be likely, as the lower frequency of palatalisation between two “i” vowels may be explained otherwise, as will be seen below.

	[t]		[tʰ]		[tʃ] ³⁰⁷		[tʃ]		[tʃʰ]		[tʰ]		[tʃ]		[s]		Tot.
		%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%	
a+/t/+a	11	22.0%	11	22.0%	2	4.0%	20	40.0%	2	4.0%	1	2.0%	2	4.0%	1	2.0%	50
a+/t/+i	8	19.5%	12	29.3%	1	2.4%	17	41.5%	1	2.4%	1	2.4%	1	2.4%	0	0.0%	41
a+/t/+u	12	33.3%	4	11.1%	1	2.8%	15	41.7%	0	0.0%	1	2.8%	3	8.3%	0	0.0%	36
a+/t/[---]	2	4.9%	5	12.2%	3	7.3%	17	41.5%	4	9.8%	3	7.3%	5	12.2%	2	4.9%	41
i+/t/+a	4	10.5%	8	21.1%	1	2.6%	20	52.6%	1	2.6%	0	0.0%	4	10.5%	0	0.0%	38
i+/t/+i	11	24.4%	7	15.6%	3	6.7%	15	33.3%	11	24.4%	2	4.4%	6	13.3%	0	0.0%	45
i+/t/+u	10	22.7%	10	22.7%	0	0.0%	13	29.5%	10	22.7%	0	0.0%	5	11.4%	0	0.0%	44
u+/t/+a	5	13.5%	10	27.0%	0	0.0%	18	48.6%	5	13.5%	2	5.4%	2	5.4%	0	0.0%	37
Total	63	19.0%	67	20.2%	11	3.3%	135	40.7%	34	10.2%	10	3.0%	28	8.4%	3	0.9%	332

Table 34 - Global statistics for each allophone in each phonetic environment, for all older informants except *HNI*.

³⁰⁷ In default of an acoustic analysis, the figures in this column only include those occurrences of alveo-palatal affricate in which the air was perceivably obstructed more than in the ordinary affricate, to the point that the allophone almost sounded like [tʃ].

	O		Palatalisation		Alveo-dental spirantisation		Total
		%		%		%	
a+/t/+a	11	22.0%	35	70.0%	4	8.0%	50
a+/t/+i	8	19.5%	31	75.6%	2	4.9%	41
a+/t/+u	12	33.3%	20	55.6%	4	11.1%	36
a+/t/[-]	2	4.9%	29	70.7%	10	24.4%	41
i+/t/+a	4	10.5%	30	78.9%	4	10.5%	38
i+/t/+i	11	20.0%	36	65.5%	8	14.5%	55
i+/t/+u	10	20.8%	33	68.8%	5	10.4%	48
u+/t/+a	5	11.9%	33	78.6%	4	9.5%	42
Total	63	19.0%	247	74.4%	41	12.3%	332

Table 35 - Occurrences of three main phonetic phenomena per phonetic environment in the speech of all older informants except for HNI.

A further observation that may be made concerning Table 35 is that pre-pausal position (the light-blue row in the table) proved to be the least favourable environment for dental stops to occur, even among those speakers who produced them in several other environments. As the ending segments of utterances are more salient than other segments, we may posit that this may explain why affrication (both alveo-palatal and alveo-dental) seems to be so salient that younger generations in Morocco not only have adopted it, but have even been extending their use. However, in the case of Temara, some key differences between the older's and the younger's types of alveo-palatal affrication seem to question the idea that the young Temareses' model for palatalisation are actually the grown-ups of the city (cfr. next section).

In sum, the analysis of the speech of the older informants' sample has revealed a much more diversified picture than was the case for the younger informants. The two types of affrication, together with a sometimes consistent use of the dental stop, alternate in a complex way within the sample, to the extent that each speaker seems to treat /t/ differently from the others, and it is very hard to find general trends. However, it may be safely stated that most male speakers (the only exceptions being **MW** and **OD5**) seem to have [tʃ] as the unmarked phonetic actualisation of /t/ in intervocalic and post-“a” vowel, pre-pausal phonetic environments (like the younger speakers, who are all males), independently from which vowels are contiguous; on the other hand, the only two female speakers of the sample seem to diverge from this pattern, as the one who was raised in an urban area (**LTm**) seems to equally alternate between alveo-dental and alveo-palatal affrication,

while the one who grew up in a rural environment (**HN1**) did not even show one instance of affrication in the environments considered. Nonetheless, as will be discussed in the next paragraph, the difference found between the inner phonetic features of the younger's and the older's alveo-palatal affrications has important implications when it comes to identify the route that alveo-palatal affrication has been following in Temara (at least among male speakers) in the last decades, as well as its social indexation.

5.3.5 – *A comparison between older and younger speakers*

According to Kerswill & Williams's (2000) "principle 7" of koineisation and its outcomes, "from initial diffusion, focusing takes place within one or two generations" (84). The principles that the authors list are based on research conducted in a different world region and, by their own admission, there is no reason why they "should lead to categorical scaling, or to clear rule-governed relationships". Nevertheless, the applicability of principle 7 to cases of dialect mixing in Arabic-speaking areas has already been demonstrated notably by Al-Wer (2007) for Amman: here, as she illustrates, the variation among consonants and vowels which were competing in the dialects of the immigrant families' areas of origin becomes focused in the speech of the third generation of Amman residents, ie. the second generation of Amman natives.

The picture that emerged following the present analysis of the affrication of /t/ in Temara is somewhat reminiscent of the variation of (ou) in the town of Milton Keynes – as presented in the same article quoted above (101-102) – where this variable already shows an increase of focusing in the second generation, for whom the range of variation is sensibly narrower than for the first generation. Similarly, the younger informants proved to use a narrower set of /t/ allophones with respect to the older Temara residents: if only the allophones that were consistently used in at least one phonetic environment by at least one speaker are considered, the younger cohort used two of them and the older one six³⁰⁸.

However, two important elements differentiate the focusing of /t/ in Temara from that of (ou) in Milton Keynes. From the point of view of the samples of informants, Temara's younger and older groups both mix first, second and third generation migrants; in the older group's case, some of them may actually be considered natives, with the *Wdāya*'s families having lived in the area for at least 130 years, and the *Wlīdi*'s even longer than that. Nevertheless, since their respective places of upbringing are known, they still provide a picture of the influence that those places have on

³⁰⁸ The allophones excluded from this counting are [t] and [tʰ] for the younger group, and [tʃ], [tʰ] and [s] for the older one.

Moroccan Arabic speakers' dialect acquisition; also, since most of the informants in both groups have been born and raised between Temara and Rabat, some hypotheses can be made in apparent time on the evolution of /t/-affrication in the area in real time.

The second element of difference is that, while the Milton Keynes children's (ou) variants are a sub-set of those of their caregivers, it seems that the younger Temarese's /t/ allophones do not have exact correspondents in the older Temarese's repertoire. As was noticed during the analysis, two elements suggest that some inner phonetic features may differentiate the alveo-palatal affricate [tʃ] of the older from that of the younger informants: this, as we saw, is the key variant that "bonds" the two groups of informants, as it appeared to be the most recurring allophone for both of them.

- the first element, shown above, is the fact that the older informants' palatalisation very rarely leads to (pseudo-)fricatisation, unlike the younger's palatalisation (which gave way to fricatisation almost half of the times): this may be due to the process of lenition being less advanced in the older speakers' than in the younger speakers' /t/, with greater stricture being found in the former's than in the latter's affrication. A consequence of this would be that the older speakers' [tʃ] is less prone to be fricatised in given phonetic or prosodic contexts, which would explain the lower amount of [ʃ^t] tokens.
- the second element is the greater frequency of alternation of the older informants' affricate with a plain [t]. This, as well, is obviously an indication that lenition is at an earlier stage. In some cases (and especially among the continuum-(b) speakers), the emergence of intervocalic or pre-pausal [t] instead of [tʃ] occurs in the proximity of what seem to be affrication-inhibiting consonants, particularly alveo-palatal and alveo-dental fricatives. Singer (1973) brings several examples, taken from dialects across the Maghreb, of dissimilation of the interdental [θ] and [ð] to their corresponding stops caused by the presence of homo-radical alveo-palatal, alveo-dental and other types of fricatives. However, Singer's examples present quite different cases as he generally refers to lexemes that are phonetically invariable in the respective variety. On the other hand, the cases I found in my corpus are of speakers – who otherwise always affricate – not affricating if the preceding or following consonant is [ʃ], [ʒ], [s] or [z] (although affrication is not inhibited 100% of the times by these phones).

- Informant: **HN3**

5.21

[ʔilæ mʃi:ti: fsətti rʰa kul=ʃi mʃæ:=l=ək zʰe:rʰo]

if go;PFV.2SG be.corrupted;PFV.2SG ARG every=thing go;PFV.3MSG=to=2SG zero

If you give yourself over to intemperance, you lose it all.

5.22

[ʔæ:di:tʰi:[h] ka-ttəhsəb ʃli:=k]

hurt;PFV.2SG[3SG] PRVB-count;PASS.IPFV.3FSG on=2SG

If you hurt him, it's counted against you.

1. Informant: **UD4**

5.23

[n-næs li t-isijrʰo]

DET-people REL PRVB-manage;IPFV.3PL

...the people who ruled...

5.24

[kæn wæ:həd] [---] [lli tʰ-i:tʰkəlləf...]

be;PFV.3MSG one;M.SG REL PRVB-be.charged;IPFV.3MSG

One person [---] used to be charged...

2. Informant: **OUL**

5.25

[hrʰatʰ ʃlʰa:=ʃ gəddi:tʰi:]

plough;IMP.2MSG on=REL can;PFV.2MSG

...plough wherever you can...

[phællæ jalʰʰa ʒiti mən ʃi:-ʒi[h]ǣ=x^wrʰa]

as.if just come;PFV.2MSG from INDET-direction=other;F.SG

Like you've just come from another place.

This phenomenon (which we may call “occlusivisation” of a phoneme which is otherwise pronounced as an affricate by the same speaker) may explain the unexpected result yielded by Table 35, whereby the “i+/t/+i” environment seemed to be the most unfavourable to palatalisation. In fact, many occurrences that happened to be counted in this environment were of lexemes such as /mʃi:ti/, /ʒi:ti/, or negated perfective verbs such as /ma byi:ti:-f/ etc. If the frequency of these items is responsible for the low percentage of palatalisation tokens obtained for this phonetic environment, then the hypothesis that the older informants may have been correcting their /t/ to consciously avoid palatalisation does not hold.

is never found in the speech of the younger informants³⁰⁹, who only produced stops occasionally and for reasons independent from nearby consonants. This, again, seems to confirm the greater instability of the affricate in the older’s than in the younger informants’ speech, or, in other words, a fundamental difference in quality between the two affricates. Now, if we only consider the older informants who spent at least a part of their formative years for dialect acquisition between Temara and Rabat (**AL**, **HN3**, **MH**, **OULD1**, **OULD2**, **OULD3**, **OULD4** and **OUL**) we realise that all of them are continuum-(b) speakers, with three exceptions. One of them (**AL**) is the youngest member of the group (39 y. o.), which suggests that continuum-(b) allophones may have been acquired by those speakers who were born before the end of the 1960s, and at least as early as the end of the 1940s³¹⁰. The only exception in this picture would be **OULD1**, who was born in 1959 and curiously proved to be a continuum-(a) speaker (ie. like the younger speakers in my sample). Only one continuum-(b) speaker was raised elsewhere: this is **LTm**, the lady who was raised in Meknes and who was also the highest user of continuum-(c) allophones. The peculiarity of her profile within the sample (she is the only woman raised in an urban area) does not allow to make concrete hypotheses to explain her allophonic repertoire.

³⁰⁹ However, even among younger informants it seemed that a following alveo-palatal fricative could slightly reduce the degree of alveo-palatal affrication of /t/, which nonetheless still sounded like an affricate.

³¹⁰ The oldest continuum-(b) speaker is **OUL**, who was 68 y. o. at the time of his interview in 2016, whereas the youngest one was **HN3**, who was 47.

If Chambers's age of dialect acquisition (from 8 to 18 y.o.) is now kept in mind, we may observe that most continuum-(b) speakers were "linguistically raised" in Temara or Rabat until 1987 at the latest. After this interval, all the speakers that were raised in these two cities present a different type of alveo-palatal affrication, which differs both qualitatively and quantitatively from the older speakers' palatalisation: qualitatively, it resists much more to occlusivisation and often gives way to a sound that is almost identical to a full fricative in many prosodic and phonetic contexts; quantitatively, it seems to reach the status of full affricate an average of 96.7% of the times (against 68.4% in the older informants' speech) and of quasi-fricative almost half of these times (against very few occurrences in the older group's speech). As it seems, the younger palatalisers have not acquired their palatalisation pattern from the older Temarese palatalisers.

So where did this "extreme" type of palatalisation come from? The most obvious answer is that it may have spread from another city, which would suggest Casablanca as the most likely source for at least two reasons: first of all, if one follows Trudgill's gravity model (1974), its being a nearby, populous city increases the probability for a speaker from Temara or Rabat to come in contact with its speakers and accommodate to their speech; secondly, its cultural prestige has increased in the last decades thanks to the media and the development of a Moroccan youth culture. However, even if Casablanca were confirmed to have been the origin of the spread of continuum-(a) palatalisation in the last thirty years or so, we would be left with the following question: how did a feature that had not been attested by any dialectological work in Morocco before 2012 (and that even then it was first attributed to the variety of another city, ie. Marrakesh) become associated to the biggest city of the country at a given point of history? Two hypotheses seem to be most plausible, and are illustrated below:

1. This kind of palatalisation is found in other regions of the country that have not been investigated by dialectologists, or in which the pronunciation of /t/ has not been given particular attention. The families of many informants constituting my "younger" group are originally from *Tādla* or the Southern regions (*Tāfilālt*, *Sūs*, *Dərfa*) and it seems likely that a good portion of Temara population comes from these prevalently rural regions. Unfortunately, my "older" cohort of speakers only included two informants originally from *Tādla* (neither of whom was a continuum-(a) speaker) and none from the South. Further research should therefore aim at either investigating the colloquial Arabic varieties in those regions, in order to verify what kind of palatalisation (if any) is found there, or sampling a greater number of Temara residents so that each region is represented in the sample. If this type of palatalisation was actually initiated by a regional

group, this may give important clues on which one is the most likely source. Once this had been found, it would also be possible to state whether the affrication pattern of this group has spread in Casablanca first and from there to other cities, or it has simultaneously spread in all the cities where this kind of affrication is found today (ie. the Atlantic cities from El Jadida to Kenitra) by virtue of this regional group's demographic presence in all of them.

2. The second hypothesis is that this “extreme” type of palatalisation has developed from the “less extreme” type (ie. the one that follows continuum (b)) in one of the Moroccan cities that have constituted a “melting-pot” of Moroccan immigrants in the last decades. In this case, the development may have taken place in the form of a drift induced by a distinct social group, probably lower class (cfr. Caubet et al. forthcoming), who started accentuating the palatalisation of a phoneme which, as it appears from the data analysed above, was being already palatalised in the Atlantic cities (or, at least, in Temara and Rabat) in a time when these were already receiving important numbers of immigrants. The reasons that pushed the originating group to accentuate the palatalisation may have been pragmatic (adopting a “tougher tone”) or simply developmental (an “incorrect” imitation of the then more widespread continuum-(b) pattern of palatalisation). More historical data on the emergence of this phenomenon are needed in order to state when and where all this may have happened.
3. A further hypothesis may be advanced to explain where the “weaker” kind of palatalisation (the one following continuum (b)) has come from, as this, as well, is not attested in previous dialectological works. As was noticed above, continuum (b) includes an allophone that almost sounds like [tʰs], which I chose to transcribe as [tʰʃ]; it was also found (cfr. Table 32) that the only two speakers who produced alveo-dental affrication also produced alveo-palatal affrication of continuum-(b) type, and that both of them sometimes tended to assign each type of affrication to specific environments (cfr. § 5.3.4). All this seems to suggest either that the “weaker” kind of palatalisation originated from alveo-dental affrication or that the two emerged at the same time at a very early point of history (ie. before Brockelmann's first attestation of what he only defined as [tʰ] in 1910) as allophones that alternated according – again – to the phonetic or prosodic context. Later, for some reasons, the two may have taken different routes, spreading in different areas of the country or among different social groups in contact (eg. urbanites and rurals), possibly by the effect of conscious divergence.

In spite of the dynamic development that, under a linguistic eye, this phoneme seems to have been following in the last decades (at least in the Casablanca-Temara-Rabat area), it does not seem like the Temarese and Rbati speakers have the same perception that a real difference exists between the different pronunciations: suffice it to say that none of them abandons their own palatalisation pattern (whichever they have in their repertoire) even when speaking *fuṣḥā*, or when pronouncing such sacred formulas as /lʔʔa su:bħa:na u:=ta:ʕa:la/ (which is often heard as [lʔʔa subħa:na u:=tʃæ:ʕæ:la]).

This being said, it should not be forgotten that strong /t/ palatalisation is a phenomenon limited to a few urban areas in Morocco, and it is therefore highly likely that it is not equally perceived by speakers who are raised in the heart of the palatalising area (such as Casablanca, Temara or Rabat) and people who are raised elsewhere. An anecdote may be appropriate to illustrate this last point: while I personally always try to produce a plain [t] when speaking colloquial Moroccan Arabic, I once intentionally palatalised while speaking to one of my young informants (also a dear friend of mine) as a joke. As it happens, he was born and raised in Fes, but had spent two years in Casablanca before moving to Temara (where we met). Possibly for this reason, he used to alternate between the alveo-palatal and alveo-dental affrications. His comment to my clearly playful palatalisation was that I was speaking like someone from Casablanca. In another occasion, I mocked him for having palatalised by repeating the word the same way he had uttered it. After laughing at my imitation, he commented: “I need to stop talking like that!”

In light of the latter observation, as well as of the data, further research on this variable should also be aimed at identifying who are the core adopters of the palatalisation pattern that seems to be the most widespread in the Casablanca-Temara-Rabat area and which are the marginal ones, in order to define the current boundaries of the spread of this feature. When this has been found, it will be possible to clearly define for whom it represents an indicator and for whom a marker, and for the latter, what is indexed by it. As appears from Schwartz (2019), /t/ palatalisation is not an object of overt metalinguistic discourse yet, unless solicited; the few observations reported above do not seem to contradict this point. However, more has to be found on the speakers’ perception of this variable through further investigation involving greater amounts of speakers, either from Temara or from other cities.

CHAPTER 6

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WHAT HAPPENS IN TEMARA: THE LEXICAL VARIABLE

The following analysis is only intended to be an exploratory study of the variation between two semantically similar lexemes, the alternation of which appeared to be somewhat linked to the speaker's residence or, at times, to the kind of attitude he wanted to express through speech. As no specific elicitation test was elaborated for these items, the occurrences on which the analysis is based are those found in the corpus collected during the major fieldwork (September 2015 – July 2016), and are therefore fewer than those used in the analysis of the previous two variables possible; nonetheless, some interesting trends and situated uses emerged which allowed to make hypotheses on peculiar meaning attributed to these two verbs. As for the other variables, future, more targeted research will help clarify and possibly confirm or correct such hypotheses.

6.1 – Lexical analyses in Moroccan Arabic

Since the first dialectological works on Moroccan Arabic, the analysis of lexicon has always constituted an important part of the description of single varieties, as glossaries regularly integrated the early monographies (eg. W. Marçais 1911, Alarcón y Santón 1913, Loubignac 1952) or even constituted the entire work (eg. Brunot & Malka 1939). However, analyses of lexical variation have mainly been conceived in the diatopic dimension (eg. Behnstedt 2013): works that tried to investigate the differential use of semantically equivalent (or quasi-equivalent) lexemes have been rarer, and mostly embedded in studies that were not specifically dedicated to lexical or semantic issues³¹¹. The only exception that I am aware of is the analysis made by Boumans (2005) of the alternation between four genitive exponents (/nta:ʕ/, /d/, /dja:l/ and /mta:ʕ/) in the narrating performances of 96 Moroccan children from Tangiers, Casablanca, Oujda and Rabat. The results are also discussed with reference to the social indexation of the exponent associated to rural varieties (/nta:ʕ/), as Boumans attributes the urban children's use of this item to the fact that “[t]he covert prestige of rural dialects derives from their association with masculine virtues like toughness and roughness (Aitchison, 1991: 65 ff., Muumiin, 1995 [sic], on the dialect of Casablanca)” (133-134); also, a semantically-based differentiation is posited as he observes:

d is favoured in fixed and frequently occurring expressions, including counting, simply because it is shorter. Alternatively, one can hypothesise that in communities where one form is being replaced by another, fixed expressions retain the older form for a longer time period. (...) The later hypothesis could find support in communities where has *ntaʕ* been partly replaced by *dyaʕ* [sic]. (Boumans 2005: 134)

³¹¹ One example of this is Barontini & Ziamari (2013), who discuss the language choices made by Moroccan copy writers in translating a Mexican soap-opera into Moroccan Arabic: in doing this, and among other issues, they also discuss lexical choices, such as the use of /rqəs/ instead of /ʃta:h/ (both meaning “to dance”) for the more positive connotation of the former. Another example are works such as Caubet et al. (forthcoming), which

However, as Boumans himself underlines, his analysis is based on data collected in the framework of a previous research, which did not itself have dialectological purposes, and the influence either of the speakers' families' origin or of the researchers cannot be clarified.

6.2 – Previous semantic analyses of /dwa/ and /hdərʕ/

Behnstedt's *Wortatlas* (2014: 386) provides a map (Appendix C) of the distribution of the lexemes that bear the meaning of the German *sprechen* ("to speak" or "talk") over the whole Arabic speaking world. Unfortunately, neither the map nor the related comment provide substantial additional information with respect to what can be found from other sources; however, the former seems to suggest that, at least in Morocco, /hdərʕ/ has a wider diffusion, while the areas where /dwa/ is used are more limited and scattered.

Apart from the *Wortatlas*, all the data that I have been able to find on the use of /hdərʕ/ and /dwa/ in previous work on spoken Moroccan Arabic are taken from glossaries, dictionaries or, sometimes, from the texts forming the corpora of monographies, when these do not include a list of lexemes. Prémare (1993), my main written source for the semantic meanings of Moroccan Arabic words, shows the following acceptations for either lexeme:

- /dwa/
 - 1 to resound (*dull sound, gunshot*); to cause a sound to be heard (*especially a dull, long one*); to resonate (*hollow container*)
 - 2 to talk/speak, to express oneself; to chat (*person*)
 - 3 to twitter (*birds*)
- /hdərʕ/
 - 1 to talk/speak; *especially* to speak seriously / judiciously; to speak in order to demand st.
 - 2 to curse³¹²

Concerning /hdərʕ/, Abu Haidar provides an explanation for its derivation in Maghrebi Arabic spoken varieties; I have not been able to find similar explanations for the origin of /dwa/:

³¹² My translation from French.

Bedouin lexical terms can be found in nearly all sedentary and urban dialects, even in varieties that have not evolved from Bedouin dialects. In Maghrebi Arabic, for example, the term ‘to speak’ is *hdər*. The derived noun *hadr* or *hdāri* ‘idle chatter’ is common to Bedouin Arabic. (2006: 270)

It is likely that, at least in Morocco, the two lexemes do not have the same diatopic distribution³¹³: some of the earliest dialectologists only noted one of the two items for the variety they were studying, with /hdər^s/ being signalled for Larache (Alarcón y Santón 1913) and /dwa/ for the *Zŷir* (Loubignac 1952). Before them, Lerchundi had included both of them in his *Vocabulario español-arabico del dialecto de Marruecos* (1892); however, he specified that /dwa/ had been referred to him by a Don Manuel Colaço (a portuguese man who had been born and raised in Morocco), who was among his sources for Moroccan Arabic lexicon, from which we may infer that Lerchundi himself was only familiar with /hdər^s/. Since Lerchundi is known to have lived in Tangiers and Tetouan while in Morocco (González Vazquez 2017: 62), we may suppose that /dwa/ was not heard in those cities between the two centuries³¹⁴. So far, it would seem that the only variety for which /dwa/ was recorded in the early XX century is also the only Hilali one among those listed above; however, Brunot (1931b) definitely complicates the picture by recording both /hdər^s/ and /dwa/ for all of the cities of Rabat, Fes and Marrakesh (the first two centres being associated to non-Hilali varieties, and the third one to a mix of Hilali and non-Hilali features). Also, it should be kept in mind that some glossaries may only include the items which the author believes are most characterising of the variety he is describing, whereas other items judged of broader geographic distribution may have been omitted.

In more recent times, we find a Sefrou-born Jewish woman in her fifties using /hdər^s/ in one of the texts recorded by N. Stillman. In describing the illnesses that she is used to curing through a special recipe (the book is on folk medicine), she mentions one that has the following effects on people:

...ma-a-i’ dər la **hdər** ü-la iṭkellem minhüm...

...[people] are unable to speak or talk because of all this... (Stillman 1983: 487)³¹⁵

/hdər^s/ is then recorded by Moscoso (2003) for Chefchaouen, and is also found in Berjaoui (1997: 152), who describes El Jadida youth’s secret speech but does not mention any lexical

³¹³ Caubet (2000) provides a few lexical differences between non-Hilali and Hilali varieties; unfortunately, neither /dwa/ nor /hdər^s/ is mentioned.

³¹⁴ This, obviously, if we decide to rely on the scientificity of this and the other monographies of that time.

³¹⁵ I use here the author’s original transcription and translation, while the emphasis is mine.

change, the modification consisting in the insertion of an extraneous element in the middle of the original words:

fhənnərgəmt ġir hɔnnərgər³¹⁶

I got it, just keep on speaking

While Díaz Oti (2015) confirms both lexemes for today's speech of old, originally Fassi speakers, we “surprisingly” find /dwa/ (with an interdental, ie. /ɖwa/), and not /hdərʕ/, in the Moroccan Arabic of Anjra (Vicente 1998), an area arabised before the Hilali migration, whereas in Larache /hdərʕ/ still prevails, although /dwa/ can be heard from speakers of Bedouin origins, whose families have recently migrated to the city (Guerrero, personal communication).

6.3 – Connotations of the two lexemes

Prémare's definition of /hdərʕ/ as “to talk seriously/judiciously” and of /dwa/ as “to talk” or “chat” (if all other definitions are ignored for both items) seems to suggest a more positive – or “formal” – connotation for the former lexeme than for the latter; as we shall see, this is partially reflected in my informants' speech. However, no sharp semantic difference emerges from the examples provided by the author, and how he arrived at these different nuances of meaning is not clearly specified.

That his distinction may be derived by the etymological meanings of the two words can be ruled out, as both of them used to have a negative connotation, or even be referred to animals (cfr. also Prémare above): here is /hdərʕ/'s etymology explained by Alarcón y Santón:

En literal se encuentran los verbos هذر y هدر . Este significa, divagar, desatinar, hablar sin juicio, etc., y es más probable que sea él el que ha pasado al vulgar modificándose su sentido para venir a expresar la idea de hablar en general, sin ningún matiz especial, que no que se haya empleado هدر que tiene la acepción de mugir fel camello), rugir (el león), rebuznar (el asno), etc., para denotar el acto de hablar.³¹⁷ (1913: 188)

³¹⁶ Original transcription.

³¹⁷ “In Literary Arabic, both هدر and هذر are encountered as verbs. The latter means “to digress”, “to err”, “to talk with no good sense”, etc., and it is more likely to be the one that is now used in the everyday language with a modified meaning, expressing the general idea of speaking – with no particular nuance – than هذر – which carries the meanings of grunting (camels), roaring (lions), braying (donkeys), etc. – being used to denote the act of speaking.”

The connotation of senseless talking is also implied by /dwa/ according to Brunot, who quotes the sentence /ma ka:-ddwi yi:r l-xa:wja/ (my transcription), “only what is empty resonates”, as a pun playing on the double meaning of /dwa/ as “to talk/speak” and “to resonate” in order to shut up a chatterbox (1931b: 289). He also attributes the sense of “resonating” to /hdərʕ/ as well (800).

It therefore appears from the data available in the literature that, if a different connotation of the two items exists, it should be searched for in elements not related to their respective etymological meanings. As Moroccan Arabic dialectology suggests (cfr. previous section), there exists a certain difference in geographical distribution for the two lexemes; concordantly, Bennis (personal communication) suggests that /dwa/ has a rural connotation, which matches at least the findings of Loubignac for the *Zŷŷr*, as well as those of Guerrero in Larache. This makes the two lexemes candidates for reallocation, at least in those places where speakers using both of them are present. The analysis of the corpus will help us understand whether this is true, and to what extent.

6.4 – /dwa/ vs /hdərʕ/: analysis of the corpus

6.4.1 – *General differences between Temara and Casablanca*

As radical differences emerged between the differential use of /dwa/ and /hdərʕ/ in the data collected in Temara on the one hand, and in Casablanca from the other, it seemed interesting to also include the Casablanca corpus in the analysis, as a term of comparison with what was found in Temara. The Casablanquese speakers are a group of four young boys between 18 and 20 y. o., for an average of 18.75 y. o. at the time their speech was recorded; all of them were raised in the *L-Hārwyīn* slums, in the outskirts of the city. The techniques employed for this were that of the focus group, to which a 20-minute recording of spontaneous conversations recorded the day after the focus group was added³¹⁸. The Temarese speakers selected for this analysis are the same as those whose speech was analysed during the analysis of the Phonetic Variable (cfr. § 5.3.3 and § 5.3.4), plus two younger speakers, **SC** and **LIB** (the former was also among the test-takers)³¹⁹. Therefore,

³¹⁸ Unfortunately, the focus group has not been entirely transcribed to this moment, and priority was done to the spontaneous recording; nonetheless, clear trends emerged even from these partial data. Further development of this research will integrate the rest of the transcribed data in the discussion on this variable.

³¹⁹ Consequently, the resulting younger group considered for this analysis still covers from 19 to 38 y.o., but the average is slightly reduced to 24.87 y. o.

the analysis takes into consideration the speech of four Casablanquese informants and 25 Temara residents, 13 younger and 12 older informants³²⁰.

During the analysis, a taxonomy was tentatively made of all the semantic nuances that the speakers assigned to each of the two verbs during their interactions; while some of these meanings were based on those identified by Prémare (1993), most of the others were added on the bases of what I perceived to be my informants' use. This made it possible to simultaneously check not only how many times either lexeme was used by each informant, but also whether the two lexemes were used with exactly the same semantic meaning by different informants, or even by the same one. In general, it was found that all Temara residents except four (two younger and two older informants, whose specific cases are examined below) were constant /hdər^s/-users in every kind of communicative context; however, some of them did use /dwa/ in specific cases, which will also be examined below. On the other hand, all four Casablanquese regularly used /dwa/ and did not produce a single instance of /hdər^s/ in the data analysed so far. In order to illustrate the different use of Temareses and Casablanquese, examples are reported below for all the semantic meanings for which at least one instance of /hdər^s/ and one of /dwa/ were respectively recorded in Temara and in Casablanca. Since the purpose of the excerpts below is only to illustrate each semantic meaning, the morpheme-by-morpheme transcription is omitted.

1. **To talk to somebody about something.** In this context, the verb is used in the sense of dealing with a specific subject, usually with a specific person or group of persons. Whichever lexeme is used, the person(s) to whom speech is directed can be introduced by either the preposition /mʃa/ or /l/, and the subject either by /ʃla/ or /f/.

Temara

AL: /ka:-nəhdər^s-l-ək ʃla:-ʒ-ʒi:ra:n dja:l-na/

Translation

AL: *I'm talking to you about our neighbours.*

Casablanca

FR: /ka:n kə-jdwi ʃəl-d-dərri:ja:t byi:t ha:di la byi:t ha:di u:-ha:di/

Translation

³²⁰ For the explanation of how I divide my sample of informants between “older” and “younger”, cfr. § 4.2.3.1.

FR: *He was talking about girls: “I want this one... No, I want this one and this one...”*

- 2. To address one’s speech to someone** rather than to someone else. Here, only the person with whom the speaker is talking is specified.

Temara

SC: /sməŋ sməŋ ka:-nəhdər^ʔ mʕa:-k/

Translation

AL: *Listen, listen, I’m talking to you!*

Casablanca

DH: /ha:da r^ʕa ma-ka:-nədwɪ:-ʃ mʕa:-h/

Translation

DH: *I’m not talking to him.*

- 3. To speak a language** or a language variety of whatever kind; in this cases, the verb can either be transitive or introduce the variety spoken with the preposition /b/.

Temara

SO: /kull-ʃi kə-jhdər^ʔ b-d-da:ri:ʒa/

Translation

SO: *Everybody speaks dārīʒa*

Casablanca

MD: /gəlt li:-h r^ʕa ʕa f-ka:za gəlt li:-h r^ʕa təqdər [təlqa] wa:hdi:n tə-jdwi:w b-d-da:ri:ʒa u:-wəhdi:n məxta:lfi:n ʕli:-hum/ (...)

Translation

MD: *I said, even just in Casablanca, I said, you can [find] some who speak dārīʒa and some others, different from them [who speak it differently].*

- 4. To have an argument with sb.** In this case, the verbs express a kind of talk which is equivalent to an angry dispute.

Temara

OUL: /ʃi:-wa:həd tə-**jhdər**^ʕ hu:wa u:-ʃi:-wa:həd tə-jtna:gru hu:wa u:jja:-h tə-jbda jgu:l-l-u l-ʔa:lfa:d^ʕ l-xa:jba/

Translation

OUL: *Somebody's speaking, him and somebody else, quarrelling, and he starts using bad words.*

Casablanca

DH: /ʕa ʔa:-**tədwī** mʕa:-h hu:wa ma-ʔa:-təwħəl-ʃ mʕa:-h huwa/ (...) /tta:-dəwwa:r^ʕ l-xərbu:ʃ ka:məl jbda ʒa:j/

Translation

DH: *If you just argue with him, you won't just get in trouble with him. (...) The whole Dəwwār l-Xərbūš could rush to his aid.*

5. **To speak**, ie. the pure act of expressing oneself verbally, without specifying to whom or about what subject.

Temara

HN3: /mi:n kə-**jhdər**^ʕ kə-jtəmtəm f-l-hədr^ʕa/

Translation

HN3: *He mumbled as he spoke.*

Casablanca

MD: /u:-hna na:ʕsi:n u:-ka:-**ndwi:w** ma-f-xba:r-ək-ʃ/

Translation

MD: *We speak while we sleep, didn't you know that?*

6. **To blabber**, ie. to keep on talking without purpose.

Temara

GM: /ma:-təbqa:-ʃ **təhdər**^ʕ a:-s^ʕa:hb-i/

Translation

GM: *Don't keep on blabbering, mate!*

Casablanca

MD: /DH r^ʰa ma:-nəbqa:w-ʃ **da:wi:n** a:-s^ʰa:h[b-i] ku:l a:-s^ʰa:h**b-i**/

Translation

MD: *DH! Let's not keep on talking, ma[te]! Eat, mate!*

Other semantic categories were added which have not been included in the list above, as no instance has been found for them in the Casablanca corpus so far. Some of them will be mentioned below in the discussion of some of the /dwa/ occurrences found in the Temara corpus; the remaining ones will be ignored in that they did not bring interesting results concerning the Lexical Variable.

As far as the Casablanca corpus is concerned, the limited number of informants does not allow to state that /dwa/ is preferred over /hdər^ʰ/ among Casablanquese (male) speakers: according to Ziamari (personal communication), however, using /hdər^ʰ/ instead of /dwa/ in Casablanca is cause of stigmatisation and of immediate identification as an outsider, an observation which partially corroborates the findings of the present analysis. An enlargement of the sample of speakers will therefore be necessary in order to confirm whether this stigmatisation also finds correspondences in the actual linguistic choices of the Casablanquese in general.

As for the Temara residents, it was mentioned above that their use of /hdər^ʰ/ was not 100% constant, and that exceptions were encountered both at the intra-speaker and at the inter-speaker level. In fact, an older informant, **ODU1** (57 y. o.), constantly used /dwa/ throughout the interview (four occurrences), mostly with the meaning “to talk to somebody about something” (no. 1 in the list above), for which most Temara informants used /hdər^ʰ/; cfr. the following example:

6.1

/ta:-**ndwi**:=l=ək a:na ʃla:=s-səbʃi:na:t/

PRVB-speak;IPFV.1SG=to=2SG 1SG on=DET-seventies

Translation

I'm telling you about the 70s.

ODU1's lexical choices concerning these two verbs “deviate” from the general trend that can be found among Temarese speakers, just as his affrication pattern was found to be “deviant”

with respect to the other older speakers in the sample (cfr. § 5.3.4). Added to that, if we take a look back at Table 9 (/g/-rates calculated for the older Temara informants), we can observe that he also distinguishes himself for his use of /g/ instead of /q/ in four of the five lexemes analysed, as he is the strongest /g/-speaker of all the older cohort. Therefore, the results of the analysis of the three variables for this informant combine in an original way with respect to the rest of the speakers, as shall be discussed in the conclusions.

So far, a general picture has been provided about which informants prevalently used either /dwa/ or /hdər^s/ while being recorded: in the next section, all single cases of situated use of /dwa/ in the speech of otherwise /hdər^s/-favouring speakers will be closely examined; then, the three informants equally alternating between the two verbs will be discussed.

6.4.2 – *Marked uses*

The occasional use of a lexical item apparently synonymous to another one, which the speaker uses in the vast majority of his/her other utterances, is an interesting phenomenon from the semantic point of view, if the first item is used in contexts in which a particular nuance is added. In cases such as this, the more recurrent item may represent the unmarked choice with respect to semantics, and the speaker may resort to the other item because he/she attributes a specific nuance to it, ie. he/she considers it as semantically marked. Such nuance, in turn, can be indicative of a particular indexation associated with the item concerned, especially if other speakers are found to reproduce or accept this marked semantic use.

At least three of my informants from Temara, who otherwise always preferred /hdər^s/ over /dwa/, chose the latter in single episodes in which they apparently intended to add expressivity to their own speech. In the first of these episodes, **GM**, a 38 year-old shop-keeper (the oldest of the younger group), was arguing with a friend of his who was sitting in his shop (whom I shall code as **BG**), waiting for **GM** to join him and go watch an important match at the cafe. The argument was somewhat insoluble, as **BG** maintained that they had agreed on leaving for the cafe at 8.30 pm, whereas **GM** was positive about having told his friend to show up at 9 pm. Independently from who could be right between them, each of them had an interest in sticking to his own version, as **GM** (the owner of an informal commerce) wanted to keep his shop open as long as possible, while **BG** probably hoped to find seats in a favourable position to watch the screen. After they had tried to persuade each other for a while, **GM** finally said with a clearly overly annoyed tone:

/wa:f	fi:=ha	a:=BG	təbqa	da:ba	da:wi	u:la/ [---]
what	in=3FSG	VOC=BG	stay;IPFV.2MSG	now	speak;PTCP.M.SG	or
/təsʁu:d	s'a:fi/					
nine	clear					

Translation

Now what, BG, you really wanna keep talking? [---] At nine, period!

This seemed to succeed in making **BG**'s protests cease, as he briefly replied by murmuring a not very clear /nəbyi:w nəmfɪ:w f=ħa:l=na nətfərʁʒu lhi:h/ (“*We need to leave now, watch the thing there [= at the cafe]*”) – which sounded more like a comment to himself than an attempt to carry on the argument – before ultimately falling silent. To obtain this effect, **GM** appears to have employed, besides the already mentioned annoyed tone, at least two linguistic cues which may be defined as “marked”, in the sense that he was observed not to regularly use them: the first one is the use of /wa:f fi:=ha/ instead of /ʃnu ka:jən/, which he otherwise only used tropically³²¹; the second one is the verb /dwa/, which has only been recorded once in his speech³²².

The second case occurred during the interview Reda and I conducted with **MH**, the 40 year-old clothing trader from Tafraoute. Since **MH** is a native Tachelhit speaker, I needed to understand in which place he had begun learning Moroccan Arabic (in case this had influenced his way of speaking); and since he had lived in Agadir before moving to Temara, I asked him whether he used to speak *dārīža* in the former. As it seems, the aim of my question was not clear enough, as **MH**, while answering affirmatively, immediately added: /kull-ʃi bħa:l bħa:l/, “Everybody’s the same”, ie. interpreted mine as an inquiry on whether *people in general* are free to speak Arabic in Agadir as they are to speak Tachelhit. It is probably for this reason that, encouraged by my question, he started denouncing how a certain degree of racism affected the relationship between (people defining themselves as) Amazighs and Arabs in Rabat (and Temara); an issue that – he affirmed – he had not been able to find back in Agadir. This provoked the incredulous reaction of Reda – who rarely, if ever, questioned the validity of interviewees’ statements in general – and started a debate between the two of them on whether relationships between Amazighs and Arabs were actually more

³²¹ More precisely, he would say /wa:f fi:-ha/ (“what’s there” or “what’s up”) to fill in silences in conversations; he also taught me to answer /lli fi:-ha jkfi:-ha/ (“what’s there is enough”) whenever he said that to me. I have not found other cases of /wa:f/ used as an interrogative pronoun in my corpus.

³²² This datum is all the more important in that **GM** was my initial and main contact in Temara, the one with whom I spent most of my time and, moreover, the informant for whom I collected the greatest amount of recorded data.

tense there than in Agadir: **MH** based his position on episodes he had personally witnessed, whereas Reda brought evidence from his personal friendship with Moroccans of Amazigh origin. At a given moment, the discussion was briefly interrupted as **MH** had to talk to a customer (the interview was conducted next to a mosque, on the spot where he exposed his merchandise), after which he came back and resumed the debate by saying:

6.3

/gətt	li:=k	hna	hna	fi:=h	l-fərɣ	hna	ħəssi:t
say;PFV.1SG	to=2SG	here		in=3MSG	DET-difference	here	feel;PFV.1SG
b=l-fərɣ	ma:ʃi	a:na	a:na	ka:-nədwɪ	yi:r	ha:kka:k/	
with=DET-difference	NEG	1SG		PRVB-speak;1SG	just	like.that	

Translation

As I told you, here... Here it's different, here I've felt the difference, it's not like I'm... I'm just talking!

The semantic meaning attributed to the verb /dwa/ in 6.2 is similar to the one **MD** attributed to the same verb in the example no. 6 in § 6.4.1, ie. “to talk without purpose”. In other moments of the interview, **MH** regularly used /hdərʕ/, although never with this meaning; eg.:

6.4

MH: /hna	ka:-nhədrʕu	da:ba	ʕa:=f=l-lu:ɣa/
1PL	PRVB-speak;IPFV.1PL	now	only=in=DET-language

Translation

MH: *Now we're just talking about language.*

In this sense, the use of /dwa/ in 6.3 seems to be motivated by the different meaning that **MH** intended to express in that case; another explanation (which would not exclude the first one) could also be that he attributes more expressivity to /dwa/, and therefore preferred using it instead of /hdərʕ/ in the heat of the debate he was having with Reda. This would bring **MH**'s marked use of the verb closer to that of **GM** (excerpt 6.2), who also resorted to it in the middle of a verbal dispute.

A different case is that of **UD3**, a 58 y. o. man of half *Dukkāli* and half *Wdīyi* descent who was born and raised in Temara; one interview was conducted with him alone and one with a group of elderly Temareses, including him. During the one-to-one interview, he made a regular use of the verb /hdər^ʕ/, as in the following example:

6.5

/kənnə	ka:-nhədr ^ʕ u	a:na	u:=jja:h	ʕla:=tma:ra	u:=da:k	ʃ-ʃi/
be;PFV.1PL	PRVB-speak;IPFV.1PL	1SG	and=3MSG	on=Temara	and=DEM	DET-thing

Translation

He and I were talking about Temara and everything...

During the group interview, he did not talk much as he preferred giving space to the other informants, who were being interviewed for the first time. One of them was **UD5**, the 83 year-old half-*Wdīyi* half-*ʕarbi* whose speech, like **UD3**'s, also made the object of the analysis of the Phonetic Variable in the previous chapter. As he was the oldest in the group, the account he could give on social changes in Temara was very valuable, and **UD3** repeatedly encouraged him to report his experience to us by asking him questions about life in the 1940s (when **UD5** was young). In one instance, he used the verb /dwa/ to explicitly request him to take the floor, in what is probably a formulaic utterance:

6.6

/dwi	a:=l-ħa:ʕʕ	ka:nu	ʃi:-ʕa:ʔi:lt=ək	sa:kni:n	f...
speak;IMP.2SG	VOC=DET-pilgrim	be;PFV.3PL	INDET-family=2SG	live;PTCP.ACT.M.PL	in
qa:t ^ʕ ʕi:n	l-bħər	təmma	f=gi:vi:l/		
cross;PTCP.ACT.M.PL	DET-sea	there	in=Guyville		

Translation

Tell me, ħājj³²³, were a part of your family living in... across the beach there in Guyville³²⁴?

³²³ This epithet could be due either to **UD5** having completed his pilgrimage to Mecca or simply to his elderly age. As I can find no adequate English translation for it, I have left it in the original language.

³²⁴ Name of a beach in the Harhoura municipality, once part of Temara.

This was the only example in my corpus of /dwa/ being used with the purpose of calling the interlocutor's attention in order to address him/her, a function which is usually fulfilled through utterances such as /ʔa:zi/ or /ʔa:zi ngu:l=ɩ=ək/ (literally “come” and “come so I can tell you”), particularly used by younger speaker (although /dwi/ fulfills an additional function, in that it is literally a request for the addressee to take the floor). Therefore, such specific use could motivate the use of a marked verb, which does not seem to normally recur in the informant's speech – or at least in the context of the interviews. Another reason for the selection of a “special” verb could be OUD3's addressing an elderly, locally-born speaker rather than the two interviewers.

All the above cases present instances of marked uses of /dwa/ in the speech of prevailing /hdərʕ/-users; I could not find examples of the opposite case, ie. speakers that could be unequivocally said to be using /hdərʕ/ in marked and /dwa/ in unmarked contexts – at least in my corpus. Only one speaker from the younger cohort, **PT** (20 y. o.), did produce only two /hdərʕ/ tokens during the focus group, both of which seemed to fulfill the same pragmatic function, ie. that of exhorting his interlocutor to speak to me. The first time, this happened while he was jokingly encouraging **GG** to talk about his previous sentimental experiences, spontaneously replacing me in the role of asking questions:

6.7

PT: /ʕənd=ək	ʃi:-dəɾri:ja	kda	təbyi:=ha	kda/
by=you	INDET-girl	like.that	PRVB-love;2SG=3FSG	like.that
GG: /xəlli	l-ʔa:x	jəsʔəl	wa:la/	(Laughs)
let;IMP.2SG	DET-brother	ask;IPFV.3MSG	or	
PT: /ʔa:=hu:wa	bħa:lla	səwwɩ=ək	hu:wa	a:=si:rʕ
INTR=3MSG	as.if	ask;PFV.3MSG=2SG	3MSG	just=go;IMP.2MSG
a:=hdərʕ	a:=sʕa[:ħb=i]/			
just=speak;IMP.2SG	VOC=friend=1SG			

Translation

PT: *Have you got any, like, girlfriend you love and stuff?*

GG: *Won't you let the brother [ie. J.] ask...? (Laughs)*

PT: *Come on, it's like he asked you! Just go, just speak, ma[te]!*

The second occurrence of the verb came as **GS**, the last one to take his speaking turn during the focus group, had interrupted himself to explain to me the meaning of a colloquial expression (/ħəkm=ək/, ie. “he dominated you [with talking]”, in the sense of “to talk so much as to prevent somebody else to talk themselves”), to which everybody tried to contribute other colloquial synonyms. As the digression was getting long, we were standing outside in the public square and it was almost midnight, **PT** reminded everybody that Ismail (who incidentally is a friend of theirs) would help me understand what they were saying anyway, and that there was no need for linguistic explanations from their part, by saying:

6.8

/di:k	s-sa:ʃa	sma:ʃi:n	jəʃrəħ	li:=h	da:ba	nta	a:=hdər ^s /
DEM	DET-time	Ismail	explain;IPFV.3MSG	to=3MSG	now	2MSG	just=speak

Translation

Ismail will explain to him later; now just talk!

Apart from these two, quite similar instances of /hdər^s/, **PT** only used /dwa/ once at the very beginning of the focus group, while participating at a collective debate about the opportunity of studying French at the Moroccan school; here, the verb is used with one of its “ordinary” meanings (“to speak a language”) and is less pragmatically salient than was /hdər^s/ in 6.7 and 6.8:

6.9

/ka:-tʃu:f	ʔanna	l-a:nglʃi	r ^s a	ħsən	mən=ha	hi:ja	lli
PRVB-see;2MSG	that	DET-English	ARG	better	from=3FSG	3FSG	REL
mənta:ʃra	bəzza:f	fr ^s a:nsʃi	ʃku:n	lli	ba:qi	tə-jdwi	
spread;PTCP.F.SG	very.much	French	who	REL	still	PRVB-speak;IPFV.3MSG	
bi:=ha	da:ba	qli:l/					
with=3FSG	now	little.M.SG					

Translation

One clearly sees that English is better than [French], that's the most widespread language [in the world]. Who's still speaking French now? Few people!

Considering these three occurrences, it is theoretically possible that **PT**'s use of /dwa/ is unmarked, and that his use of /hdərʰ/ in 6.7 and 6.8 is specific to that particular pragmatic context, which is remindful of **UD3**'s (seemingly more idiomatic) marked use of /dwa/ in 6.6. However, one /dwa/ occurrence is obviously not enough to admit that it represents **PT**'s regularly preferred lexical option over /hdərʰ/, which means that data on his speech are insufficient to state if he attributes specific meanings to either verb. As far as we can infer from the data available in the corpus, his case could fall within those analysed in the following section, ie. informants who subsequently used /dwa/ and /hdərʰ/ with the same semantic meaning.

6.4.3 - /dwa/-/hdərʰ/ in co-presence

In the previous section, the discussion focused on those cases in which the use of /dwa/ was observed to be unusual and limited to specific semantic meanings in a single informant's speech. In at least two cases, the same informant seemed to equally alternate between the two verbs, independently from the specific meaning expressed through the verb itself. For these speakers, neither of the lexemes appears to signal a "marked" use, and the choice between them may be due to extra-linguistic factors; hypotheses can be tentatively advanced on what these factors may be, although their validity is limited to the specific cases analysed.

In the same focus group to which **PT** participated (cfr. previous section), **GS** (21 y. o.) also made an alternate use of /dwa/ and /hdərʰ/; however, in his case, the higher number of occurrences of the two verbs in his speech and the wider range of meanings they covered allow to state with more confidence that such alternation was irrespective of the semantic nuance he attributed to them. In the two following examples, **GS** respectively uses the two verbs with the same meaning, and in the third one he even produces the same utterance twice, switching the verb as he repeats it:

6.10

/ta:-tʃərʰu	ʃla:=ʃ	hu:wa	ʃla:=ʃ	tə-jhdərʰ	s'a:fi/
PRVB-know;IPFV.2MSG=3MSG	on=what	3MSG	on=what	PRVB-speak;IPFV.3MSG	clear

Translation

6.11

Translation

6.12

Translation

Considered in the context of the whole focus group, **GS**'s choice between the two verbs appears to be linked to situation and participant role stance (cfr. the brief illustration of Goffman's participation framework in § 4.2.4.2). As was mentioned before, he was the last of the five participants to take his speaking turn, although everybody was left free to interrupt any other participant's speech. During the focus group, he went for /hdər^s/ nine times and chose /dwa/ four times; however, the verb /dwa/ only emerged after he had taken the floor for himself³²⁵. If his lexical choices before the moment he took his turn are counted separately from those following that

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moment, he can be observed to have employed /hdər/ five times during the other participants' turns, and then to have used each verb four times while he was the "legitimate speaker".

In other words, **GS** seems to have only started recurring to /dwa/ once he was given prominence in the framework of the collective verbal interaction represented by the focus group. If the semantic nuance expressed by the two verbs is also taken into account, then we even find that /dwa/ completely supplanted /hdər/ in the two semantic uses exemplified in 6.11 and 6.12 – ie. "to talk to somebody about something" and "to speak a language variety" – when **GS** took the floor, and that although he still used /hdər/ afterwards, he did it to express different meanings, such as in the following example:

6.13

/fa:f	ta:-ŋfu:f	li:=ha	f=wʒəh=ha	fhəmti	
when	PRVB-see;IPFV.1SG	to=3FSG	in=face=3FSG	understand;PFV.2SG	
ta:-nʃkut	sʰa:fi	bha:l	i:la	ma...	ma:-ta:-nəʃrəf-ʃ
PRVB-shut.up;IPFV.1SG	clear	like	if	NEG	NEG-PRVB-know;IPFV.1SG-NEG
nəhdərʰ	bha:l	i:la	ta:-nwəlli		ma:-ta:-nəʃrəf-ʃ
speak;IPFV.1SG	like	if	PRVB-become;IPFV.1SG		NEG-PRVB-know;IPFV.1SG-NEG
nəhdərʰ	ma:-wa:lu/				
speak;IPFV.1SG	NEG-nothing				

Translation

When I look at her face, see, I keep quiet, that's it! It's like I... I can't speak, like I'm no longer able to speak or anything! (Meaning: to express oneself in a general sense)

Thanks to the greater number of occurrences of the two verbs in **GS**'s speech, we may therefore interpret his choices as a result of the combined influence of the stance taken by **GS** in the participation framework and a partial reallocation of the two lexemes in his idiolect. It is possible that the same results would emerge for **PT**, if he had happened to use the two verbs more frequently during the focus group.

Like **GS**, also **OD4**, a 63 y. o. *Wd̄iyi* who participated in the group interview with **OD3** and **OD5** (cfr. § 6.4.2), alternated the two verbs by prevalently using /hdərʕ/ in the beginning of the interview and then switching to /dwa/ as the conversation proceeded; in particular, he first employed /hdərʕ/ three times, and then /dwa/ three times as well, always with the meaning of “talking to somebody about something”. Interestingly, **OD4**’s alternation seems to parallel that of **GS**, as he also used /dwa/ in contexts in which the role of the speaker was more relevant to the verbal interaction: this time, however, this increase in relevance did not coincide with the acquisition of the “legitimate speaker”’s role, as in **GS**’s case (**OD4** maintained the main speaker’s role throughout the interview), but rather with morphologically expressed self-reference, as **OD4** always used /dwa/ when he was himself the subject of the speaking activity reported, and /hdərʕ/ when he referred to other people speaking (cfr. examples below).

6.14

/ʒa	wa:ħəd	l-qa:jəd	lli	hu:wa	l-qa:jəd	l-mərʕa:kʃi
come;PFV.3MSG	one	DET-qāyəd	REL	3MSG	DET-qāyəd	l-Mərṛākʃi
jəhdərʕ	mʕa:=kum	ʕli:=h	ʃi:-wa:ħəd	lli	hu:wa	d-da:rʕ
speak;IPFV.3MSG	with=2PL	on=3MSG	INDET-one	REL	3MSG	DET-house
dja:l=u	l-ħa:di:qa	s-sa:bi:qa/ (...)				
of=3MSG	DET-garden	DET-previous				

Translation

A qāyəd came, who was the qāyəd l-Mərṛākʃi; someone whose house is the former zoo may tell you about him...

6.15

/dəwwa:rʕ	sʕəħra:wa	lli	ka:-təhdərʕ	ʕli:=h	hu:wa	dəwwa:rʕ
Dəwwār	Şəhrāwa	REL	PRVB-speak;IPFV.2MSG	on=3MSG	3MSG	slum
kbi:r/						
big;M.SG						

Translation

The Dəwwār Şəhrāwa you're talking about was a big slum.

6.16

LOUD4: /ka:n l-ja:d l-ʕa:mi:la ka:nt kti:rʕa/
be;PFV.3MSG DET-hand DET-working be;PFV.3FSG much;F.SG

LOUD5: /qli:la/

little;F.SG

LOUD4: /lla ma:ʃi lli xədda:m wa:ʃ ka:n.../
no NEG REL working Q be;PFV.3MSG

J: (*Salaries?*)

LOUD4: /ka:n... lla ma:ʃi sʕ-sʕa:lʕi:rʕ [ma:-]ka:-ndwi:-ʃ
be;PFV.3MSG no NEG DET-salary [NEG]PRVB-speak;IPFV.1SG-NEG
ʕla:=sʕ-sʕa:lʕi:rʕ/ (...)
on=DET-salary

Translation

LOUD4: *Was manpower abundant?*

LOUD5: *There was little.*

LOUD4: *Not people working³²⁶; was...?*

J: *Salaries?*

LOUD4: *Was...? No, not salaries, I'm not talking about salaries...*

6.17

³²⁶ As **LOUD4** made clear right afterwards, he was asking if *the factory where **LOUD5** used to work* employed a lot of manpower.

J: (*So [the Šəḥrāwa] came [to Temara] after the Wdāya.*)

OULD4:	/hu:ma	lli	da:ru	ha:da:k	d-dəwwa:r ^s	lli	dwi:na
	3PL	REL	do;PFV.3PL	DEM.M.SG	DET-slum	REL	speak;PFV.1PL
	ʕli:=h	qbi:la/					
	on=3MSG	before					

Translation

J: *So [the Šəḥrāwa] came [to Temara] after the Wdāya.*

OULD4: *They're the ones who built up that slum we talked about before.*

To sum up, the few data available in the corpus on the Temarese residents' choices between these two lexemes show that /hdər^s/ is unequivocally the preferred choice in all situational contexts for the younger informants. As far as the older cohort is concerned, while /hdər^s/ seems again to prevail, it should not be forgotten that the recording context of virtually all the members of this group was the one-to-one interview, the influence of which on this variable cannot be gauged with confidence. Apart from that, 21 out of 25 informants showed a constant use of /hdər^s/, although some of them did prefer /dwa/ in single episodes in which they appeared to be using speech in a particularly expressive, informal manner.

The four remaining informants differed in that their use of /dwa/ did not appear to be occasional and semantically limited; for three of them, the occurrences of this verb were quantitatively sufficient to allow to state this with confidence. Taken separately, the two younger informants for whom /dwa/ seemed to be an unmarked lexical choice do have common features, and so do the older ones: the former (**PT** and **GS**) both have their family roots in Southern regions (**PT** from *Tāfīlālī* and **GS** from *Sūs*), have Amazigh-speaking parents (**PT** has one and **GS** has both) and are part of the same network of friends with whom they share relatively many common links; the latter (**OULD1** and **OULD4**) are both originally *Wdāya* and, as such, are likely to have many common links as well, considering that they both still live in Temara, where they were born and raised. However, all of these features (network, regional origin, possible influence of Amazigh) cannot explain alone their distinctive lexical choices, as other informants share them without sharing the same results in the use of /dwa/ and /hdər^s/ . Once again, personal motivation has to be singled out as the ultimate factor that can lead individual speakers to make particular linguistic choices, especially

in communicational contexts not typical of daily life, in which they may feel compelled to speak in a certain manner. On the basis of all these observations, what can be inferred regarding linguistic change and the social indexation of /hdər^s/ and /dwa/ will be shortly discussed in the final section of this chapter.

6.4.4 - /dwa/ and /hdər^s/: hypotheses on social meanings

It appears from the data that /dwa/ is a minority variant in Temara and could be at risk of disappearing: its use is often limited to specific semantic or pragmatic functions, and few informants under the age of 40 seem to consider it a semantically unmarked option (the same cannot be stated with confidence for older informants, as it was not possible to observe them speaking in contexts other than the interview). This would make /dwa/ resemble a “marker” of the Labovian kind, in that it “shows stylistic variation” (Labov 1972: 179) within the community of Temarese (male) speakers. In Silverstein’s terms, /dwa/ would be indexicalised with an “n + 1st” meaning indicating greater directness, toughness or any other social connotation associated to increased expressivity. By consequence, the question remains as to what is/was the “nth-order” indexation which was “conceptualized” in terms of this “n + 1st-order” indexation just described. Obviously, the same can be asked for /hdər^s/, which, conversely, appears to be generally accepted by Temarese male speakers as an unmarked lexical form to be used to express semantic meanings in “competition” with /dwa/.

The fact that the same verb seems to have a wider diffusion in Casablanca may suggest that Temarese have borrowed it from the speakers of this city: in this case, the limited use of it in Temara could signal the beginning of its spread in the community, rather than its disappearance. Since the two older informants that showed an unmarked use of /dwa/ (cfr. previous section) were both born and raised in the area, it may be posited that this allowed them to have more contacts with speakers from the economic capital, and their lexical choices would thus be motivated. However, the profiles of the two *younger* informants suggest quite the opposite, as both of them were still university students and, as was discussed during the analysis of the Phonologic Variable (cfr. § 4.2.3.3), they are not likely to have strong social ties out of Temara. Therefore, the seemingly unmarked valence of /dwa/ in *their* repertoire is harder to explain as a borrowing from Casablanca than as a reproduction of the language behaviour they have acquired in their respective households, both of which are of Southern, probably rural origin. In fact, if the same motivation is given for the use of /dwa/ by the two *older* informants, ie. that it derives from their natively acquired language behaviour rather than being a later borrowing from another city, then the presence of this verb in the

four informants' linguistic repertoire can be explained as due to their rural origin – which would be furtherly supported by Bennis's observation provided at the beginning of this chapter.

That /dwa/ has a rural-speech connotation and is only used by few speakers furtherly justifies the impression that it is a lexical option doomed to disappear in an increasingly urbanising social environment such as that of Temara. Nonetheless, two *caveats* are in order regarding this conclusion: the first one concerns the low representativity of female speakers in the sample, which prevents us from being assured that they are not keeping /dwa/ “alive” in Temara's linguistic landscape; the second one concerns the instances of marked use of this verb that were discussed above, and that, while indicative of the limited set of semantic functions attributed to it, still implies the possibility that it becomes fixed in the Temareses' vocabulary through a process of reallocation.

As far as /hdər^s/ is concerned, the data contained in the past dialectological literature do not allow to understand why, where or when this lexeme has acquired an unmarked semantic function. Further data on the use of the two verbs in cities other than Casablanca are needed to confirm how spread the preference for /hdər^s/ over /dwa/ is, and from these data more inferences on the history of the use of the two verbs could be done. Also, a specific elicitation test – similar to the one developed for the Phonological Variable – would help understand how the marked and unmarked uses of the two verbs are distributed across the Arabic-speaking population of Temara and other cities. These, together with the inclusion of female speakers in the sample, are the steps that further research on this variable should take in order to shed light on the diffusion and social indexation of /dwa/ and /hdər^s/ in Morocco.

CHAPTER 7

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CONCLUSIONS

7.1 – The social meanings of the three variables

As can be observed from the previous chapters, the three variables selected greatly diverge one from the other both for their distribution across uses and individual repertoires, and for the type of social meaning that they index. Before a short comment on what appear to be the social meanings associable to each variable, as they can be inferred from the data, it should be kept in mind that the sample of informants was characterised by the following biases:

- a. 58 out of 60 informants were men (with both women over 50 years old)
 - b. all informants younger than 39 were recruited through personal networks, which presumably entails a social bias
 - c. informants older than 38 were recruited either through friends' networks or through contacts provided by University students; this means that the bias in the recruitment of the older informants was different from that concerning the younger
- **Phonologic Variable:** For four of the five lexemes analysed, a sharp decrease in use is observed among speakers from 19 to 38 y. o., with respect to speakers from 39 to 83 y. o., which may suggest that /g/ is being abandoned; however, half of the participants to the candid-camera test, which were all under 39, still used /g/ at least once during the test session, and some of them did so consistently. Concerning the test-takers, the association of the preference for /q/ over /g/ with the individual's opportunity of developing social networks in other urban areas – and, possibly, with the social advancement connected to these networks – can be interpreted as a reallocation of the old /q/-urban and /g/-rural dichotomy, which particularly emerges in narratives provided in relatively learned communicative contexts. The clue of its emergence is provided by the informants' choice of creatively alternating the two phonemes in the signalling of voicing contrast and discourse function; such choice can ultimately be seen as signifying that the preference for /q/ (in the lexemes concerned) echoes out-group norms, while that for /g/ is associated to in-group norms.
 - **Phonetic Variable:** the affrication found in the speech of the informants under 40 y. o. (ie. the one following the phonetic continuum (a); cfr. § 5.3) appears to be a brand new feature that developed as a Neogrammarian type of change and spread very quickly in the community, which suggests it has been “borrowed” from (an) external group(s). In contrast

with that, continuum-(a) speakers do not seem to be overtly aware of this feature, which makes it more similar to an indicator than a marker (at least for them; the same may not be true for other speakers, including young Arabic speakers from other Moroccan cities). However, since the origin of this type of affrication may be low-class speakers, and since its appearance in the younger generation is quite abrupt, it may be that, during their formative years for dialect acquisition, this is just one of many possible variants available in the speaker's repertoire, and that the latter eventually focuses on it because of some type of indexation associated to it – possibly toughness (cfr. below).

- **Lexical Variable:** if /dwa/ is truly a rural variant (/dwa/), then it has been almost totally abandoned, at least by young speakers (but possibly by old speakers as well), and kept only for some specific semantico-pragmatic uses. However, since sources do not present a clear-cut /hdər^s/-/dwa/ division between urban and rural varieties, the possibility exists that the latter is a form exogene to Temara, or to the Temara-Rabat-Sale conglomerate, and that it has been introduced to the area later than the former (ie. with the intensification of immigration fluxes); in this case, /dwa/ should be seen as a new variant which, for some reasons, has been reallocated to specific uses. A third hypothesis is that the semantically distinct use found during the analysis was already widespread in Morocco before Temara's urbanisation.

In light of the above, the social value that most reflects on the younger's linguistic choices seems to be what we may call "social acceptability": a concept encompassing norms in and out of the "group" in which the informants build their informal networks (peers and family). If we should represent the evaluations that the speakers appear to attribute to the main features analysed on the basis of in- and out-group social acceptability, we would obtain the following scheme.

	Out-group acceptable	In-group acceptable
/q/ in alternating lexemes	Yes	Yes, but possibly not in all groups
/g/ in alternating lexemes	No, but may be used in some situations	Yes, but possibly not in all groups
[tʃ] --> [tʃ̥] (continuum-affrication)	Yes (but no data on formal contexts)	Yes
/hdər ⁶ /	Yes	Yes
/dwa/	No	Yes (but only in some contexts)

Table 36 - Evaluations of the features analysed in the young Temaresees' speech.

As emerges from Table 36, a complex relation seems to exist between linguistic norms “out of the group” and “in the group”. In no case do they entail a radically different use of any of these variables: this is obvious for the phonetic one, which does not index social acceptability (however, more data would be needed for formal contexts of use). Concerning the Lexical Variable, it is highly likely that /dwa/ is generally reserved for in-group communication, since it has been found to index directness and informality: however, even among intimates it seems to be used with parsimony, probably for its strong connotation. As for the Phonologic Variable, it was observed in §4.2.5.3 how the performances in the hidden-camera tests seem to split my informants' sample into two halves, at least concerning the three lexemes that show noteworthy variability between /q/ and /g/: one who chose to use the in-group variant in the test and one who chose to use the out-group variant. The former may be furtherly split into two sub-groups: those who consistently used /g/ in two or three lexemes, and those who alternated /g/ and /q/ in the same lexeme with functional purposes.

7.2 – Rural or urban?

Turning now to the concept of “out-group social acceptability”, one could notice how this factor pushes the informants to discard two variants, ie. /g/ and /dwa/, and how both of these were possibly associated to rural varieties, before being reallocated in the ways observed above. From this picture, one may conclude that local male speakers are gradually abandoning features associated to rurality. This statement would easily find a confirmation in the context of the recent history of Temara (cfr. chapter 2) and of its residents' employment opportunities: the first migrants

(ie. those that moved in before the end of the 1970s) were recruits who came to undertake their military duty in Temara's barracks, were attracted by local industries' labour demand, or settled to open shops that catered to this first nucleus of inhabitants; none of them was directly dependent from the city (ie. Rabat) as for their sustenance. As the population grew, its general economic conditions improved and connections with the capital intensified and became more regular, an increasingly greater percentage of Temareses (particularly the first immigrants' children) began travelling back and forth between the two towns more or less frequently, in order to study, work, entertain themselves and other purposes. As a consequence, the residents who have been born and/or raised in Temara in the latest decades have more diversified social networks with respect to the older generations and, insomuch as their networks extend to the socially more composite Rabat and as they depend on these networks in order to realise their personal goals (finding a job, evading from their town, etc.), they find themselves having to deal with an increasingly greater number of situations in which they need to adapt language to different norms. This obviously discourages from using features still associated to "rurality", and pushes towards replacing them with other features not carrying the same indexation.

But are these variants being abandoned just because they are (indexed as) *rural*? It is well known that several old urban variants have also been abandoned following the demographic and social changes that have taken place in Moroccan urban spaces in the latest decades (cfr. § 1.2.4): to confine ourselves just to the levels of the variables analysed (phonology and lexicon), at least three old-urban features appear to have been abandoned by my young informants:

- the /ʔ(ʕ)/ reflex of Classical Arabic /q/
- /ʕməl/ ("to do")
- /sʕa:b/ ("to find")³²⁷

In fact, this is in line with the picture that Messaoudi (2003) gives of the language dynamics taking place in the nearby city of Rabat, in which – she claims – a "new variety" (which she defines PUR, *Parler Urbain de Rabat*, as opposed to the *Parler Ancien de Rabat* or PAR, which is the old urban variety, and the *Parler de Zaër* or PZ, which is the rural variety whose territory is closest to Rabat) is emerging as a compromise between the old urban and the rural varieties. The point she makes is essentially that the features that form PUR have been chosen by the speakers on the basis

³²⁷ All these examples are cited by Caubet as pre-Hilali features (2000: 76-77); /ʔ/ as a reflex of classical /q/ is also reported as typical of the Old Rbati variety by Messaoudi (2003), and the two lexical features are found in Brunot's (1931a) texts, although /ʕməl/ alternates with /da:r/. The latter is today preferred to the former, as is /lqa/ to /sʕa:b/.

of linguistic (semantic) factors: more exactly, the forms that have “made the cut”, according to her, are the most semantically transparent, as in the case of, for example, distinct 2nd personal singular pronouns (/nta/ and /nti/), analytic constructions to express possession (through the genitive exponent /dja:l/) and number (through external plural forms, eg. /kta:ba:t/ instead of /ktu:ba/, “books”). Therefore, the selection of features would have followed ease of communication (“*fonction véhiculaire*”) as a rationale, rather than extra-linguistic factors such as identity and prestige. Apart from that, according to Messaoudi, rural features prevail over old urban ones.

Although it may explain a part of the recent language change in Rabat (and other urban areas), her account can hardly be generalised to all the phenomena concerned by such change for at least two reasons. First of all, Moroccan rural and urban varieties in contact are mutually intelligible, and *fonction véhiculaire* cannot be what was most at stake in communication between the old urbanites and the first rural migrants. It is true that the need to be understood quickly might explain the choice of analytic over synthetic constructions; however, even here, it should be emphasised that (citing Messaoudi herself) both PAR and PZ appear to have synthetic genitive constructions – although, incidentally, it is the urban construction (/dja:l) that is preferred over the rural one (/nta:ʕ/) today! As for gender-based distinctions, it might be observed that in other cases, such as the termination for the 2nd person singular of the perfective tense, gender merger has been preferred (eg.: /kmi:ti/, “Did you smoke?”, may be referred both to a man and a woman)³²⁸, to the detriment of semantic transparency.

Secondly, the theory of the alleged prevalence of rural features in the PUR needs to be validated through the collection of more extensive data, as many rural forms actually seem to be regressive or even absent in my young informants’ speech: and since most of them have been raised in families of rural origin in a recently urbanised, formerly rural centre, we may suppose that they have been even less closely in contact with non-rural forms than people living in Rabat. Besides /g/, /dwa/ and the above-mentioned /nta:ʕ/, several forms pertaining to rural varieties – such as /brək/ (“to sit”) or /rgud/ (“to sleep”), or PZ external plurals such as /kba:ri:n/ – appear to be completely avoided in my corpus (including by most old speakers). In fact, Messaoudi’s own data show that the rural gender merger (towards the feminine) of the 2nd person singular of the imperfective gives way to gender distinction in the PUR (and in my global corpus); a phenomenon also attested to in Casablanca, where the migrants’ children’s adoption of the distinction seems to be precisely due to

³²⁸ However, in this case it may be argued, as Hachimi (forthcoming) does, that a distinction between 1st and 2nd person singular has been made at the expense of that between genders, as “I smoke” would be /kmi:t/.

the rural connotation of the merger (Hachimi forthcoming). And obviously, the rural features analysed in the present research were shown not to enjoy great prestige, either.

In sum, it seems that the matter is more complex than being bound to a mere choice between “urban” and “rural” forms: in many cases, in the process of levelling, it rather seems that the speakers’ choice falls on a “neutral” form that avoids the other two polarising indexicalisations. Concerning my data and the variables analysed, two of the winning variants (/q/ and /hdər^s/) appear to be the most geographically “neutral” ones, in the sense that they are found both in the old urban variety and in the regional varieties brought by the immigrants to Temara. This is also true for the variants that won over the two lexemes cited above, /ʕməl/ and /s^ʕa:b/: the former gave way to /da:r/, which is also found in the old Rbati dialect (cfr. Brunot 1931a), whereas the second gave way to the more classic-sounding /lqa/ (or /lga/), less marked with respect to the old urban feature. It ought to be specified that the younger Temarese are not the first generation in the town that has adopted all these “neutral” linguistic forms: it was shown in chapter 6 how /hdər^s/ prevails in the older generations’ speech as well, and the same is true for /da:r/ and /lXa/ (although /s^ʕa:b/ was used by some of my old informants); in other words, it seems that all lexical “neutral” forms had already been promoted by previous generations (who were mostly immigrants), and that the youngest ones (mostly locally-born) are now innovating at the phonological level. This is in concordance with theories on dialect acquisition, according to which lexemes from other mutually intelligible varieties can be acquired at all life stages, unlike morphologic and phonetic/phonologic features, the acquisition of which is more complex and usually needs an earlier exposition to the target forms and the norms guiding their use (Kerswill 1996a).

Therefore, globally speaking, a picture emerges in which male speakers living in Temara are gradually “de-ruralising” their speech generation after generation. As was said before, it is unlikely that this is due to the mere need of facilitating communication among people of different regional origins: a question was asked during all the individual interviews as to whether any problem of intelligibility was found with the *dārīža*/dialect spoken by residents from other parts of the country. The following answer, given by a lady who lived in several cities during her childhood and had been living in Temara for 17 years, summarises well all the other interviewees’ reactions to this question.

LTm: /la l-ləhʒa kull-ha kə-ttfhəm/

SO: /a:-hi:ja ka:-tbəddəl/

LTm: /l-ləhʒa... ʔa:h/

SO: /a:-hi:ja ka:-tbəddəl gəlt li:-h rʕa təqdər tku:n ʕa f mdi:na/

LTm: /ʔa:h/

SO: /ʔəh ka:rʕtji mʕa:-ka:rʕtji kə-jku:n mbəddla l-ləhʒa u:-l-aksā/

LTm: /l-ləhʒa/

SO: /yi:r l-aksā u.../

LTm: /hi:ja l-məʕna/

SO: /mu:sʕʔa:la:ha:t/

LTm: /kull-ha ka:-ttfəhm ja:k yi:r l-mu:sʕʔa:la:ha:t ki:mma ga:l si:-mħəmməd ma... ka:-tku:n fwi:ja/ (...) /ʔa:mma hi:ja l-lu:ʔa l-ʕa:ra:bi:ja dja:l-na da:k f-ʔi məfhu:ma/ (...) /wa:xxa f r-ri:fi wa:xxa... yi hi:ja l-aksā dja:l-ha ka:-tku:n fwi:ja/

Translation

LTm: *No, the dialect is always clear.*

SO: *It just changes*

LTm: *The dialect... what?*

SO: *It just changes. I told him before, in one single town...*

LTm: *Oh yes!*

SO: *Er... Just from one district to another, the dialect and the accent can change*

LTm: *...the dialect.*

SO: *Just the accent and...*

LTm: *That is, the meaning...*

SO: *...some terms*

LTm: *...is always clear, right? Just specific terms, as the sir said, are not... are a bit hard. (...) But our Arabic language, so to say, is clear (...) Even though in Rifi [you find differences], even though... Only the accent can be a bit hard.*

Once the *fonction véhiculaire* has been discarded, it seems appropriate to posit that the speakers' preference for features indexing neither old urbanity nor rurality is due to identity

reasons; most probably, to the wish to be associated neither with the (perceived) backwardness of rurality, nor with the (alleged) obsolescence of *citadinité*. Presumably, the adoption of forms not specifically indexing the speaker's belonging to another social group (be they peasants or *citadins*) allows the speaker himself not to be excessively alienated from his own acquired linguistic repertoire, and thus makes accommodation to these forms desirable.

Another important point is that formerly rural features which are reallocated might be maintained across generations even if they appear to be regressive. In fact, the new meanings that these variants have acquired after reallocation (proximity between the speakers, directness or other particular stances) are 2nd-order indexicalisations of a 1st-order rurality index; as such, some of them are available for a future 3rd-order indexicalisation that may re-assess these feature positively, eg. as “authentic” *dārīža* features for their preexisting the modernisation of customs, or as “manly” in that they indicate in-group talk among male speakers, etc.³²⁹ This, if anything, warns from perceiving the phenomena of language change being witnessed in Moroccan urban spaces (and elsewhere) as linear and uni-directional, and reminds that some processes are always prone to become circular, with language forms and their indexes being re-abandoned and re-endorsed according to social dynamics.

On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that the data showed how the evaluation of each feature is not necessarily the same for everyone: concerning the Phonologic Variable, a part of the young informants' sample never assigned any of the five analysed lexemes to /g/ during the test. This is significant, as it indicates that they do not consider it appropriate to pronounce those words with /g/ in that specific context, while others do: in other words, it may reveal a rift internal to the young generation of male speakers, separating those who assess positively the use of /g/ in certain communicative situations and those who assess it negatively. It would be interesting to understand if, of the two groups, the speakers assessing /g/ negatively are also the most concerned with, and/or successful at, advancing their social positions through the networks they develop with socio-economically better environments.

³²⁹ A similar process has been signalled in the Arabic-speaking region by Serreli (2017) at the level of speakers' assessments of entire language varieties: in her work, Serreli shows how Siwi Berber, which has come to be associated to backwardness following the increase of contacts between the Siwa oasis and the rest of the world, is now being re-assessed by some speakers by virtue of its “authenticity”, ie. its being strictly tied to the local place. Cfr. also Johnstone *et al.* (2006).

7.3 – Youth raised in Temara: a double challenge?

In this global “quest of acceptability” that appears to guide (at least men’s) language choices in Temara, one feature stands out in seeming contrast, ie. the young speakers’ alveo-palatal affrication of /t/: if the hypothesis of its lower-class origin is correct, then it should represent a most “socially unacceptable” choice on the speakers’ part. However, several arguments can be brought showing how this phonetic innovation is coherent with the use of the other features analysed, although it may index a different order of values. First of all, as an innovative feature, it is neither associated to old urbanity nor to rurality: it can therefore be considered a “neutral” form to all means and purposes. Second, like the other features, it may also be seen as a response to the challenges posed by the new urban environment in which the young Temarese speakers are raised, ie. one of high demographic growth joint with social promiscuity, which favours competition for material resources and social acceptability. In this context, the recourse to a lower-class feature may constitute a strategy aimed at increasing one’s image of “toughness” – a value that could be associated to the alveo-palatal affrication, as was suggested above – especially if the members of the lower-class group indexed by this form *are* perceived as tough. In fact, a specific social category has come to the Moroccan media’s and public’s attention in the last eight years following the perceived increase of episodes of mugging, aggressions and other acts of violence occurring in urban centres, particularly (but not exclusively) in the proximity of disadvantaged areas. This group, called *mšərmlīn* in colloquial Moroccan Arabic³³⁰, are highly stereotyped for their dedication to this kind of criminal activities, but also for other aspects, such as clothing style and, obviously, way of speaking. The characters of the YouTube animated series Bouzebbal, which was analysed by Barontini & Ziamari (2016), are stereotypical *mšərmlīn*. A more sociological description of this group and of its denotations and connotations in Moroccan society is provided by Bennis (2014).

Therefore, the possibility exists that the lower-class group which was originally associated to this phonetic trait might be identified with *mšərmlīn*, and that the adoption of this trait might be due to covert prestige (Trudgill 1972). Now, if the incidence of the value of “toughness” on the young informants’ linguistic choices is considered together with that of “social acceptability”, the picture that emerges is the following: young Temarese men appear to be innovating their *dārīza* at least at the phonetic level – and maybe partly on the lexical level (cfr. the total abandonment of /sʰa:b/) – in order to respond to the challenge of affirming themselves in a new urban environment; “new” because of Temara’s recent urbanisation, but also because most of their families used to live

³³⁰ The colloquial word seems to also be used in press written in *fushā*.

in the countryside little time before. This challenge is a double one, as it requires for them to give a “tough” and a “socially (especially out-group) acceptable” image of themselves – two features that are likely to contrast with each other. This is reminiscent of Eckert’s (1990) group of young female informants, who had to manage the image they gave of themselves through discursive practices in order to conciliate two equally contrasting qualities, ie. “likability” and “competition”. However, while Eckert’s girls engaged in such an effort during the same communicative interaction, the challenge on the young Temarese men is probably a different one, as the situations in which they need to show to be “tough” are presumably not the same as those in which they need to be “socially acceptable” (in contexts out of their family and group of peers). Still, these contrastive influences seem to reflect on their linguistic repertoire: on the one hand, they modify their phonologic set by assigning a greater number of lexemes to a more prestigious phoneme (/q/) with greater frequency; on the other, they radically change the pronunciation of a particularly recurrent and salient phoneme (/t/), possibly by accommodating it to a stigmatised group. Further analysis of the data is likely to bring forward more innovative features that respond to what I see as a double urge of gaining the respect of peers within the individual’s place of upbringing and of winning the access to socially more favourable networks and positions.

7.4 – A further step in the understanding of convergence

The last question that needs be answered now is: are young Temarese’s linguistic choices “original” also with respect to the youth’s speech of other Moroccan urban centres? The data on which the present research is based are too limited in terms of both speakers’ sample and geographical area investigated to allow to provide a confident answer; however, a few hypotheses can be made with the support of empirical observations made both by myself during the fieldwork, and by other authors writing on Moroccan sociolinguistics. As the question revolves around the issue of uniformisation, there are two ways in which the latter can be intended: either as a uniformisation of linguistic forms, or as one of evaluations. Concerning the former, the data available so far seem to suggest that the mix of features found in the young Temarese’s speech is not very dissimilar from that found in other towns (although uses of the single features obviously vary from the quantitative point of view). Nonetheless, an extension of the sample to other towns (first to Rabat, Sale and Casablanca, then farther to cities like Fes, Meknes or Marrakesh) and an improvement of its social representativity (also within Temara) would allow to confirm if the forms

that appear to have been abandoned by my informants are still found among other groups, or if other innovations are being brought forward in other social contexts.

As for evaluations, the few data available from other works (especially Moumine's and Hachimi's) seem to be coherent with the findings reported in the present thesis regarding the alternation between /q/ and /g/. Moumine (1990) attests to a greater use of /q/ by speakers higher in the social pyramid, which matches the greater prestigious connotation found in the data for this phoneme. Hachimi (2007) emphasises how the use of /g/ is being re-interpreted by speakers of old urban (Fassi) origin from a feature indexing rurality to one indexing "urban smartness" and "folk-ness" (*təš'bi:t*), to the extent that they adopt it at least in the verb /Xa:l/, "to say": this may be seen as a reverse and complementary phenomenon with respect to the regression of /g/ in lexemes *other* than /Xa:l/ among young Temarese men, who aim at sounding less rural in order – also – to be more fit to life in the town; in a sense, it sounds like Casablančan Fassis and Temarese men are about to "meet halfway" in a place where both groups will assign the same lexemes to the /q/ and /g/ phonological classes respectively. Concerning the Phonetic Variable, the association between the alveo-palatal affrication of /t/ and youth speech of Moroccan urban areas in general is also confirmed by Caubet et al. (forthcoming). The only variable that seems to cause Casablančan speech to diverge radically from the speech of Temarese men from the perspective of both language use and evaluations is the Lexical one: contrary to Temara, the data suggest that people living in the economic capital consistently use /dwa/ – rather than /hdər^s/ – as a majority form. This single, radical difference may be a sign that at least some norms in colloquial Moroccan Arabic may change from one town to the other, if different reallocation processes emerge out of different social situations.

This last observation is aimed at letting complexity show through what looks like the homogenising trend of today's urban colloquial Moroccan Arabic. In his 1970 book *Sociolinguistics: a brief introduction*, J. Fishman already questioned (69-71) the common view that the uniformising power of urbanisation replaces the social and linguistic heterogeneity found in rural areas. Against this view, he argued that urbanisation does bring new social diversification, especially *within* the cities (while internal diversification of rural villages is much smaller). He then observed that "at the language level (...) [u]niformation pressures seem to be strongest in conjunction with *only certain* [standard] varieties within a speech community's verbal repertoire as well as in conjunction with *only some* of the interaction networks of that community" (my emphasis), and that even these varieties "[tend] to be adopted differentially, the degree of [their] adoption varying with the degree of interaction in these domains." (My emphasis). Finally, at the

social level, he emphasised how “new social differentiations and new occupational and interest groups normally follow in the wake of industrialization”, with consequent diversification of the linguistic repertoire available to the inhabitants of industrialised urban centres. Similarly, even when large-scale social phenomena – such as mass immigration and intensification of communications among an increasing number of people – seem to uniformise their linguistic habits, speakers usually find a way to create new differences out of a need for identification, competition or other human motives: this is what seems to be happening in Moroccan urban areas, in which what look like koineisation trends at the geographic level might in fact be creating other factors of differentiation at the social and (maybe) cultural level, which further research will be able to bring to the surface.

7.5 – Final remarks

Besides an account of Moroccan Arabic language practices in Temara, this sociolinguistic analysis aimed at bringing new – however limited – contributions and suggesting new developments for the study of Arabic dialects and sociolinguistic dynamics connected to them.

With the hidden-camera test, it attempted to propose techniques other than the questionnaire to obtain quality dialectological data from the field. While the questionnaire is undoubtedly the best method to collect large amounts of data from different areas in the smallest amount of time, its main shortcomings are that a) it does not bring evidence from language-in-use and b) the answers provided in it usually consist in forms that the informant utters to a member external to the community, rather than an internal one: therefore, it is always at risk of eliciting artificial data that do not correspond to the local speakers’ actual language practices – especially when it is administered in diglossic communities. For these reasons, my intention was that of introducing an indirect elicitation technique for the study of Arabic dialects; a technique which leaves the informant unaware of the items targeted and, at the same time, allows to record samples of speech in an “in-group” communicational context. However, since the amount of time required by this data-collecting method is considerably greater, it should arguably be chosen either when the target forms are only a few, or as a complement to the dialectological questionnaire.

From the sociolinguistic side, the investigation of variation has identified relevant factors of various kinds (such as connections with urban networks, time of upbringing with respect to the city’s urbanising process or semantic nuances) which further sociolinguistic works on this and

other, similar socio-cultural contexts (both in and out of Morocco) will be able to take as points of departure in order to verify their validity and obtain more solid data on linguistic variation – even in a shorter amount of time. In at least one case (the interactionalist analysis of the hidden-camera test results), this work has also identified dynamics of language use that are rarely investigated both in Arabic and in sociolinguistics in general, such as the signalling of information structure through phonological switch. From the dialectological side, three variable linguistic features (two of which have already made the object of previous studies) have been investigated to an unprecedented degree of detail for studies on Moroccan Arabic, although this has admittedly been to the detriment of the extension of the informants' sample. New contributions have also been brought to the study of Moroccan urban sociology, thanks to the historical sketch on Temara's urbanisation process.

More in general, this thesis has aimed at questioning and complexifying the existing approaches in the study of language in its social context, which, more often than not, easily fit the communities on which they are originally modelled, but then fail to adequately explain the variation found in other contexts, especially when correlations with classic social variables (gender, age, ethnicity, etc.) are less than overtly evident. By choosing to study Temara, a town to which no sociolinguistic work had ever been dedicated, and by recruiting my informants through the networks that I happened to have already built there in the previous years, I was implicitly testing the universal effectiveness of those approaches. What emerged is that the complexity of language use can be such that, as refined as the applied measurements and theoretical frameworks may be, important aspects of it will inevitably slip away: why did some of the Students never use /g/ during the test? Why did some of the EYS use /g/ and some not? Why did *no* older informant *at all* palatalise /t/ the way most of the younger did? While the randomness of the informants' recruitment and the low representativity of older generations are partly responsible for the failure to give a precise answer to these and other questions, it seems certain that even the finest sampling would have still left many uncertainties lingering after the analysis. This is why it should be the sociolinguists' common objective to assign a more determining role to qualitative analyses, and to let these always supplement quantitative data in sociolinguistic works that make use of both approaches; this, if sociolinguistics aims at becoming a discipline whose theories are able to claim universal applicability.

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Appendix A – Hidden-camera pranks³³¹

Beating the guard

The prank actors are a fake guard dressed like a Queen's guard, and a little kid. The victims are a group of tourists who take pictures of the guard, who is standing right in front of a sentry box. Suddenly, the kid appears from behind a tree, rushes to the guard shouting and holding a bat in his hands, and beats the guard's stomach with his bat. The guard, pretending to have been badly hurt, falls backwards into the sentry box, which falls to the ground with him inside. In the fall, an inner door closes on him hiding him, so that he cannot be seen from outside the box. As the tourists approach to check if he is alright, they are startled to see that he has disappeared. At that point, the guard suddenly pops out of his hiding place, surprising the tourists.

Time freeze

The prank actors are three men and a woman sitting in the waiting room of a surgery, and a fake doctor's secretary. The latter introduces the victims (one or two) into the room and has them take a seat. Hanging on the wall is a big clock whose hands make a clearly audible noise. At a given moment, a machinery inside the clock makes its hands stop, and the noise ceases. At the same time, all actors in the room freeze, and make absolutely no motion. This happens more than once. The victims are confused, as they are given the impression that, when the clock stops, time comes to a halt. Finally, the prank is revealed to them.

Homo Sapiens Sapiens

The prank actors are a little kid, a group of fake tourists and two people dressed as apes. The setting is a zoo. The kid, who had previously left a football in an open, empty cage, asks a stranger (the victim) to retrieve his ball for him. As the victim enters the cage, the door automatically closes and locks him/her inside. The kid runs away, claiming that he is going to ask for help; before leaving, he takes a cloth off a sign, revealing the writing on it: "HOMO SAPIENS SAPIENS". The writing is not visible to the victim. After the kid has left, the tourists come and, having seen the sign, start taking pictures of the victim like he/she is another animal of the zoo, and completely

³³¹ The following are the summaries of all the pranks mentioned in the analysis. Most of them were shown once in all the sessions. Two of them, *Fugitives in the lorry* and *Unreturnable wallet*, were discarded after being used in the first few sessions.

ignore his/her request for help. Eventually, the two men dressed like apes come to make fun of the victim, who has now taken their place, and eventually release him/her.

Fugitives in the lorry

The prank actors are an old man, two fake convicts and a fake policeman. The victim is a passer-by. The driver is standing behind what appears to be his lorry, and shows to be struggling to break open the lock of its rear door with a pair of claws. He then asks the victim for help. As the victim obeys, the door opens and the two convicts get out of the lorry and escape, together with the old man, leaving the victim standing there. Shortly afterwards, the policeman comes and accuses the victim of helping two outlaws break out. After a while, the prank is revealed to the scared victim.

The magician

The prank actors are a fake illusionist, a woman and two fake workers. The victim is a passer-by holding a bag or any other valuable object; the setting is the outside of a mall. The illusionist is wearing a hat with fake hair stuck into it, and a long cloak; both hide a wooden framework placed between the cloak and the magician. The latter shows himself having just played a trick to the actress, and invites the victim to come next. He asks him/her to draw a card and then gives him/her a pen for him/her to write something on it. As the victim needs both hands to that purpose, he/she hands his/her property for the illusionist to hold it. While the victim is writing, the illusionist turns around, apparently because he must not see what is being written, and frees himself of the cloak, hat and framework; these are left standing in front of the victim, so that he/she cannot initially notice that the illusionist has left. At the same time, the two workers pass by in front of the illusionist, carrying a plywood behind which he is able to hide and leave with them. When the victim realises that he/she has been duped, it is too late and he/she is left bewildered, until the magician comes back and reveals the trick.

Red light

The prank actor is a fake policeman, the victim is a driver. A rigged traffic light is placed in the middle of a long, straight road, with the policeman sitting right next to it. As the victim approaches on his/her vehicle, a woman hiding behind a tree turns on the red light with a remote control. The light stays red for a very long time, and the victim is left waiting while other drivers

are free to come the other way. At a given point, the victim gets tired of waiting, and since the policeman is wearing sunglasses and appears to be sleeping, he/she tries to jump the red light; however, he/she is soon prevented from doing so by the policeman, who is actually awake, and quickly draws his/her attention and threatens him/her by showing him/her a ticket book. If the victim gets out of the car to approach the policeman and complain, the light turns green again and the policeman shows that to the driver. Predictably, by the moment the victim is back in his/her car, the light has turned red again.

Voyeur child

The prank actors are a kid, his supposed mother and a woman. The victim is a man sitting in front of a counter. The “mother” asks the victim to watch her “son” as she is leaving for a few minutes. The kid sits next to the man and is busy playing videogames. At a given moment, a good-looking woman in a skirt comes and stops at the counter, giving her back to the kid and the victim. The former gives the latter a knowing look, and to the victim’s surprise, he stands up, lifts the woman’s skirt and goes back to sit before she turns. As she does so, she immediately blames the victim for doing that. If the latter blames the kid, the latter immediately blames the victim back and is believed by the woman. The man is thus left in great embarrassment until the prank is revealed.

Unreturnable wallet

The prank actors are a group of girls and a man, all wearing the same pink clothes and a fair-haired wig, plus a few workers. The setting is a mall. One of the girls drops a wallet while she is walking; a customer (the victim) notices it and tries to draw her attention. As she leaves without turning, the victim picks up the wallet and runs after her, meaning to return the wallet to her; however, as she gets out of the victim’s sight, she hides on a cart and is taken away. While the victim keeps looking for her, another actress appears wearing the same clothes and wig, and the victim tries to approach her, believing her to be the owner of the wallet. The same situation repeats several times, with the girl disappearing in different ways every time the victim is about to reach her, and another girl appearing instead of her. Eventually, the man, who wears the same stuff, approaches the victim and claims the wallet to be his; as a proof, he opens it and shows a picture of himself, also wearing the fair-haired wig. The prank is thus revealed.

Appendix B – Excerpts from the corpus

1 - Diplomacy

Type of recording: spontaneous conversation

Setting : Queen Mary Café (Temara), outside.

Context: morning. **GM** and **SO** are friends, have met with the researcher for the purpose of being recorded and are waiting for a third speaker to come and join. The subject of the discussion is a rich man who has made large amounts of money by co-investing in real estate with banks.

<p>GM: /kə-jʃərdʰu ʃli:-h/ SO: /ʔa:bna:k tə-ʃtəfqu mʃa:-h/ GM: /ʔa:bna:k kə-jʃərdʰu ʃli:-h fi:n ʔa:-tʰətʰtʰ L... kda hna nə3ʰi:w-ək tʰu:mu:bʰi:lʰ u:-da:rʰ kda u:-ha:di ʔi:la:- ʔa:xi:ri:-h ka:-dʒi l-bāk l-xʷra ka:-təʃtʰi:-k ta:-hi:ja da:rʰ u:- tʰu:mu:bʰi:lʰ ʔa:hsa:n-ma:-ka:jən u:-kda ʔi:la:-ʔa:xi:ri:-h l-mu:hi:mm ʔa:-t... tvərʰsʰi li:-na ha:d L... l-məljə:rʰ wa:həd l-mudda dja:l-ʃa:m/ (...) /xu:-na a:-sʰa:hb-i da:r prʰu:ji hətʰtʰ l-flu:s dja:l-u f-bāk f-ʃa:ʃbi/ [---] /tsʰa.../ SO: /ʃənd l-ha:ʒʒ mi:lu:d³³²/ GM: /mu:hi:mm bāk f-ʃa:ʃbi/ [---] /ʃrʰa ʃi:ma:ra.../ [---] /ʃrʰa ʃi:ma:ra/ [---] /bna:-ha kda u:-nəɖʰdʰa f-ʃyul d-d-d-da ba:ʃ f-ʃu:qa... ma:ʃi krʰa:-hum ʔəh ma:ʃi ba:ʃ-hum ja:- rʰəbb-i krʰa:-hum ʃu:qa:q (ʃha:l fi:-ha) fi:-ha tmənja krʰa:-hum l-təht dja:l-ha krʰa:-ha l-bāk f-ʃa:ʃbi/ SO: /mi:ti:n məlju:n u:-ʃəʃri:n a:lʃ dərħəm l-ʃ-ʃhər/ GM: /tsʰənnət li:-ja³³³ a:-xu:-na lli kə-jxəddəm d-dma:y məlʰja:rʰ ʒbəd bi:-ha l-ma:ʃa:ji:rʰ/ SO: /zi:d/ GM: /tsʰənnət-l-i wa:la:ki:n a:-xu:-ja ha:di:k rʰa:-h ʰra:m</p>	<p>GM: <i>They invite him.</i> SO: <i>Banks make agreements with him.</i> GM: <i>Banks invite him [saying] where the... thing will be placed, so an so: “We’ll give you a car and a house”, and so on, et cetera. The other bank comes and they also give him a house and a car, the best available, and so on, et cetera, “as long as you... you deposit this... this billion [francs] into our account for one year.” (...) The guy made the project, mate, and put his money into the Banque Populaire! [---] And li... SO: <i>At the old Miloud’s.</i> GM: <i>Anyway, the Banque Populaire [---] bought [land for] a building. [---] They bought [land for] a building, [---] built it, and put up the business: one-two-three-four! They sold the fla... Not “rented them”... Er, not “sold them” – good Lord – they rented them out! Flats, (how many were there), eight. They rented them out, and the Banque Populaire leased the ground floor. SO: <i>200 million and 20,000 dirhams a month.</i> GM: <i>Listen to me very well, bro! When someone makes their head work, they take one billion and make more billions out of it!</i> SO: <i>Go on!</i> GM: <i>Listen to me... But hey, that is sinful, we don’t know,</i></i></i></p>
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³³² Owner of Banque Populaire

³³³ Some vowels are lengthened for dramatic effect ([tʰsʰa::nnətʰ li::q])

<p>ma:-fɾəfna:-f a:-xu:-ja ha:di:k xəsʰsʰ-ha t-təhli:l/</p> <p>SO: /zi:d... ma:ʃi su:q-na da:ba xəlli:-na f-l-mənja:r³³⁴/</p> <p>GM: (<i>laughing</i>) /xəlli:na f-l-məlʃju:rʰ da:ba l-qa:dʰi:ja... məlʃju:rʰ ka:-ja:kul l-ʃsʰa/ [---] (<i>serious</i>) /hi:ja ha:di:k a:-xu:-ja/</p> <p>SO: /xəddəm l-flu:s l-flu:s xədma:t/</p> <p>GM: /l-flu:s xədma:t u.../</p> <p>SO: /trʰəwwʒa:t l-qa:dʰi:ja/</p> <p>GM: /tba:rək-lʃʰa:h lʃʰa:-jba:rək/</p> <p>SO: /ha ha/</p> <p>GM: /xərrəʒ ʒu:ʒ tʰu:mu:bʰi:lʰa:t ʔa:xi:r-ma:-ka:jən/</p> <p>SO: /zi:d/</p> <p>GM: /kə-ʒi:ʃ bi:-hum xda vi:lʃʰa f... f-ha:jj r-ri:ja:dʰ³³⁵/</p> <p>SO: /ha ha/</p> <p>GM: /xda ʃi:ma:ra hna f-n-nəmsi:ja/</p> <p>SO: /ha ha/</p> <p>GM: xda da:r f... f... smi:t-u f-n-na:wa:hi dja:l.../ [---] /ʃa:jn ʃa:ti:g dək... hda wa:həd sʰ-sʰbʰi:tʰa:rʰ ha:da:k sʰ-sʰbʰi:tʰa:rʰ təmma/ [---] /xda da:rʰ f... l-wi:fa:q/ [---] /gu:l li:-ja a:-xu:-ja ʃnu ʔa:-ndi:r mʃa:-ha:d s-səjjəd a:na:ja/</p> <p>SO: (<i>laughing</i>) /ki:-ʔa:-ddi:r mʃa:-h u:-nta ma:-l-ək a:-sʰa:hb-i/</p> <p>GM: /ʔa:h/</p> <p>SO: /u:-nta fi:n ʃənd-ək l-mu:ʃki:l/</p> <p>GM: /wa:-rʰa fi:h dʰ-dʰi:fu ha:d s-səjjəd/</p> <p>SO: /ki:fa:ʃ fi:-h dʰ-dʰi:fu/</p> <p>GM: /ga:j/</p> <p>SO: /ʔi:wa³³⁶/</p> <p>GM: /f-l-ləxxər xɾəʒ.../</p> <p>SO: /wa:-rʰa:-ta:-təʃtʰa ʃa:-l-ha:du:k/</p>	<p><i>bro! It needs sanctioning!</i></p> <p>SO: <i>Go on... That's not our business now, let's focus on the "binion".</i></p> <p>GM: (<i>laughing</i>) <i>Let's focus on the "billyeen", now the issue... "billyeen" is complicated! [---] (serious) That's what it's about, bro!</i></p> <p>SO: <i>He made money work. Money worked.</i></p> <p>GM: <i>Money worked, and...</i></p> <p>SO: <i>The thing was made operative.</i></p> <p>GM: <i>It really was, God bless!</i></p> <p>SO: <i>Huh-uh!</i></p> <p>GM: <i>He got two cars, the latest thing!</i></p> <p>SO: <i>Go on!</i></p> <p>GM: <i>He's always driving them. He got a villa in... in Ḥāyy r-Riyād.</i></p> <p>SO: <i>Huh-uh!</i></p> <p>GM: <i>He got a building in n-Nəmsīya.</i></p> <p>SO: <i>Huh-uh!</i></p> <p>GM: <i>He got a house in... in... what's it called... in the surroundings of... [---] Ain Attig, that... near a hospital, that one hospital down there. [---] He got a house in... l-Wiḥāq. [---] Now, tell me what I should do about this sir, bro!</i></p> <p>SO: (<i>laughing</i>) <i>Whatever, mate, what's wrong with you??</i></p> <p>GM: <i>Huh?</i></p> <p>SO: <i>What's the problem for you?</i></p> <p>GM: <i>This sir is sort of flawed...</i></p> <p>SO: <i>What do you mean, "flawed"?</i></p> <p>GM: <i>He's gay!</i></p> <p>SO: <i>OK...!</i></p> <p>GM: <i>Eventually, it came out he's...</i></p> <p>SO: <i>Well, all is given to them!</i></p> <p>GM: <i>A guy came telling me he was spending the night out. [---] He chanced upon him while they were sitting somewhere. [---] The other one kind of liked him, and</i></p>
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³³⁴ **SO** is probably mocking uncultivated manners of pronouncing this word; **GM**'s reply also plays on this mockery.

³³⁵ The most upper-class district in Rabat. The following names are also of areas of districts in Rabat, Temara or surrounding centres.

³³⁶ The first vowel is emphatically lengthened ([ʔe::wa]) to mark how **SS**'s astonishment is not as strong as **GM**'s.

<p>GM: /ta:-rʕa:-ʒa bna:dəm ga:l-l-ək ka:n səhra:n/ [---] /tsəʔtʕʕəh mʕa:-h bna:dəm mrəjjhi:n f-wa:ħəd l-ʕa:la:m kda ha:di/ [---] /ʕəʒb-u bna:dəm kda sʕdəq ʕrədʕ ʕli:-hum ga:l li:-hum gəlsu mʕa:-ja f-wa:ħəd l-ʕi:ba tʕa:bʕʕa kda nta mu:l l-xi:r bʕa ʕənd ku:nʕu:ma:sʕju xu:d ra:ħt-ək/ [---] /bʕa xəlləsʕ tʕ-tʕa:bʕʕa ka:mla/ [---] /tʕa:bʕʕa məqju:ma b-ʕi:-ʒu:ʒ dra:həm u:-xəmsi:n/</p> <p>SO: /hm hm/</p> <p>GM: /ʒ-qra:ʕi rʕ-rʕwi:na kda rʕa:-k ʕa:rəf/</p> <p>SO: /ʒu:ʒ dra:həm u:-xəmsi:n hi:ja dø-mil-sə-sā diram/</p> <p>GM: /ʔa:h wa:-tsʕənnət li:-ja a:-bra:hi:m³³⁷ ʕwi:ja xu:-na grən f.../</p> <p>SO: /xu:-na/</p> <p>GM: /grən f-wa:ħəd sʕ-sʕa:tʕ ʔa:-h grən f-ʕ-ʕra:b/</p> <p>SO: /wa:ʕ hu:wa ga:j mən ha:du:k lli kə-jtka:lu³³⁸ u:la lli kə-j.../</p> <p>GM: /ʔa:h ʕu:f ʕu:f ʕu:f/ [---] /grən f-xu:-na/ [---] /ga:l li:-h mu:hi:mm/ [---] /gəl li:-h a:na rʕa kə-jʕəʒbu:-ni sʕha:b ʕ-ʕʕər kda u:-ha:di ʕəʒbtʕi:-ni kda ???/ [---] /ʔi:la ʔa:xi:ri:-h xu:-na ga:l li:-h ʕəʕma jʕha:b-u ʕa:di jəʕni kə-jʕəʒb-u/</p> <p>SO: /sʕ-sʕtʕi:lʕ ʕa:di/</p> <p>GM: /jəʕni xu:d ra:ħt-ək jəʕni ʕa:di/</p> <p>SO: /ha ha/</p> <p>GM: /bqa kə-jhdərʕ mʕa:-h kda ha:di ga:l li:-h/ [---] /ga:l li:-h ʕrəfti gəl li:-h mu:hi:mm ʕəʒba:t-ək l-gəlsa ga:l li:-h bi:xi:r lʕʕa:ħa:fdʕək xu:-ja ʕu:krʕa:n u:-ha:di mu:hi:mm bqa kə-jhdərʕ mʕa:-h ʕa:di kda da:k ʕ-ʕi d-sʕ-sʕwa:b³³⁹/</p> <p>SO: /ʔa:h a:-jʕəkrʕ-u/</p>	<p>invited [him and his friends] out of nowhere, he said: “Come sit with me” in a thing, table, like this, like he’s got money, he ordered, “Take whatever you want!”... [---] He went and paid the whole table. [---] A complete table for two and a half dirhams.</p> <p>SO: Hm hm!</p> <p>GM: Two bottles, frenzy and so on, you know what I’m saying.</p> <p>SO: Two and a half dirhams means 2,500.</p> <p>GM: Yeah! And listen here, Brahim: soon enough, the guy fell for...</p> <p>SO: ...the other guy.</p> <p>GM: He fell for one of the guys, yeah, under the influence of the alcohol.</p> <p>SO: Is he one of those gays who get eaten <u>or who...</u></p> <p>GM: Yeah, listen, listen, listen! [---] He fell for the guy. [---] He told him, whatever... [---] He said: “I like people with long hair”, and so on, “I like the way you look”, and so on ??? [---] et cetera. The other guy answered... I mean, he thought it normal, I mean, that he liked...</p> <p>SO: ...His style, nothing weird!</p> <p>GM: Like “no problem”, like nothing weird!</p> <p>SO: Huh-uh!</p> <p>GM: He went on talking to him and so on, he told him... [---] He said: “You know...” Anyway, he said: “Do you like all this?” He answered: “Very nice, thank you, bro, thanks a lot!” and so on. Anyway, he went on talking to him like in a regular way, to be polite with him.</p> <p>SO: Of course! He was supposed to!</p> <p>GM: Yeah! [---] Then he said to him, he said: “Come with me, I want to talk to you about something.” [---] He said: “Follow me, I’m going out to my... car. [---] I’ll go get something and...”</p> <p>SO: ... “Meanwhile we’ll talk”.</p> <p>GM: ... “Meanwhile we’ll talk”. [---] He went out to his car with the guy. [---] When he opened the boot... [---] He</p>
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³³⁷ The name is used playfully, as **SO**’s real name is not Brahim.

³³⁸ Metaphor to indicate a gay “playing the woman”.

³³⁹ Politeness

<p>GM: /ʔa:h/ [---] /gəl li:-h rʕa gəl li:-h a:ʒi mʕa:-ja byi:t nəhdərʕ mʕa:-k f-ʃi:-ħa:ʒa/ [---] /ga:l li:-h tβəʕ-ni a:na nəxrəʒ bərʕʕa l... tʕ-tʕu:mu:bʕi:lʕ/ [---] /nəbʃi nʒi:b ʃi:-lʕi:ba u.../</p> <p>SO: /nəhdərʕ u a:na u:-jja:k/</p> <p>GM: /nəhdərʕ u a:na u:-jja:k/ [---] /xrəʒ mʕa:-xu:-na l-tʕ-tʕu:mu:bʕi:lʕ/ [---] /mni həll l-ku:fərʕ/ [---] /həll l-ku:fərʕ ʒbəd bʕa:lʕi:za da:r li:-ha tʕrəq/ [---] /həll bʕa:lʕi:za ga:l li:-ja z-zərqa:t³⁴⁰ msəttfi:n bʕa:ndʕa:t da:k ʃ-ʃi dja:l-l-ʔa:fla:m wəlla:hi l-ʕa:dʕi:m a:-xu:-ja bħa:l-lli ʃtti:-ha b-ʕi:ni:-k a:-xu:-ja/</p> <p>SO: /ʔʔʔ ma:-ʕli:-na/</p> <p>GM: /tsʕənnət li:-ja bʕa:ndʕa:t məhtʕu:tʕi:n ga:l li:-h xu:-ja xu:d lli byi:ti/</p> <p>SO: /hna l-a:xur ʔa:-jbda jdu:rʕ li:-h ʃ-ʃəkk f-rʕa:s-u/</p> <p>GM: /wa:-tsʕənnət li:-ja ga:l li:-h həzz lli byi:ti a:-xu:-ja/ [---] /mʕa xu:-na ʕa:rf-u dʕi:ʒa la:ba:s ʕli:-h dʕa:rəb l-lʕi:ba u:-ʕənd-u.../</p> <p>SO: /f-rʕa:s-u.../</p> <p>GM: /ma:ʃa:ri:ʕ/</p> <p>SO: /ʕənd-u l.../</p> <p>GM: /ʔa:h/</p> <p>SO: /ʕənd-u sʕ-se-ve ndja:l-sʕ-sʕa:tʕ/</p> <p>GM: /ʔa:h mi:n da:r li:-h tʕrəq həll bʕa:lʕi:za ʒbəd li:-h wərʕʕa:-h l-lʕi:ba:t xu:-na bʃa:t ʕi:n-u dəxla:t f-l-flu:s u:-rəʒʕa:t/ [---] /wa:jl-i ki:fa:ʃ xu:-na bya j-ha:kka mʕa:-ja ma:-fħəmt-ʃ/</p> <p>SO: /ma:-jəmkən-ʃ ʃi:-ħa:ʒa bi:du:n mu:qa:bi:l/</p> <p>GM: /ʔa:h/ [---] /ga:l li:-h xu:d ra:ħt-ək/ [---] /ga:l li:-h b-ʃħa:l-ma:-byi:ti həzz xu:d ra:ħt-ək/ [---] /ga:l li:-h xu:-na ma:-ʕəndi ma.../</p> <p>SO: /mu:qa:bi:l ha:-ndi:r ha:kka ja:k/</p> <p>GM: /fħəmti ga:l li:-h bqa jdhək xu:-na jəʕni ʒa:t-u bi:za:rʕ jəʕni ma:-jəmkən-ʃ rʕa la:ju:mki:n bəʕda bə-n-nəʕba li:-h hu:wa/</p> <p>SO: /əpəʕibl jwərʕʕi:-k bna:dəmə (GM: /ʒa:t-u.../) l-flu:s lli</p>	<p><i>opened the boot and took out a suitcase; he did like this, “*tluck*”! [---] He opened the suitcase. The guy told me there were blue notes ranged, in strips, like in the movies! I swear to God the Almighty, <u>bro, it’s like I’ve seen it with my own eyes!</u></i></p> <p>SO: <i>??? Nevermind!</i></p> <p>GM: <i>Hear what I’m telling you: strips all over, and he said to him: “Take all you want, bro!”</i></p> <p>SO: <i>Here the other guy probably started suspecting...</i></p> <p>GM: <i>Listen! He said: “Take all you want, bro!” [---] Since the guy already knew he was rich, had made the thing, and had...</i></p> <p>SO: <i>He knew...</i></p> <p>GM: <i>...a lot projects.</i></p> <p>SO: <i>He had the...</i></p> <p>GM: <i>Yeah!</i></p> <p>SO: <i>He had the guy’s CV.</i></p> <p>GM: <i>Yeah! After he did *tluck*, opened the suitcase and took out, showed him the stuff, the other guy’s eyes went straight into the money and returned! [---] “Gosh! How come this guy wants to do this for me, I don’t get it!”</i></p> <p>SO: <i>You don’t get something for nothing.</i></p> <p>GM: <i>Yeah! [---] He said: “Help yourself!” [---] He said: “As much as you want, take, help yourself! [---] The other guy said: “I don’t need...”</i></p> <p>SO: <i>[The rich guy would say] “In exchange, I’ll do so and so, OK?”</i></p> <p>GM: <i>You see, he said... The guy started laughing, I mean, it seemed weird to him, I mean, it couldn’t be, in fact it was not possible in his view.</i></p> <p>SO: <i>It’s impossible for <u>the guy</u> (GM: <u>To him...</u>) to show you the money he’s got <u>in the case...</u></i></p> <p>GM: <i><u>To him</u> it was like... like humiliation, like “the guy’s humiliated me... to tell me: ‘Take!’”</i></p> <p>SO: <i>He interpreted it like that, but the first thing I would picture in his shoes [---] is...</i></p> <p>GM: <i><u>Instead, he wanted to...</u> In some garage... We don’t know!</i></p> <p>SO: <i>I’d think of two possibilities.</i></p>
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³⁴⁰ It refers to two-hundred-dirham banknotes, the biggest denomination.

<p>tənʃəs mʃa:-ja da:k f-ji/ [---] /tənʃəs mʃa:-ja ha:kka fəssər- <u>ha li:-h f-l-ləxxər/</u></p> <p>SO: /ʔa:h jgu:l-ha li:-h ma... ma:-jəhʃəm-f mən-nu a:- sʰa:hb-i/ [---] /ma:-kə-jhəʃmu:-f ha:du:k n-na:s a:-sʰa:hb-i/</p> <p>GM: /xu:-na/ [---] /gəl li:-ja l-ma rkəb li:-ja f-r-rka:bi³⁴³/</p> <p>SO: /ha:da:k xəsʰsʰ-u jku:n da:ba ba:rəd/ [---] /ma xəsʰsʰ- u:-f i.../</p> <p>GM: /gəl li:-ja rkəb li:-ja l-ma f-r-rka:bi gəl li:-ja wəlli:t ka:-nfu:f fi:-h/ [---] /ma... gəl li:-ja/ [---] /ma:-f-rəft-f ki:fa:f bqi:t ka-nfu:f fi:-h di:k l-ləhdə ga:l li:-ja ha:-l-flu:s <u>ha:-l- ma:fa:ri:ʃ/</u></p> <p>SO: /ra:dda:t l-fi:ʃl hna xəsʰsʰ-[h]a tku:n ʃənd-u wa:ʃra/ GM: /ga:l li:-ja wa:həd l-ləhdʰa/ [---] /fəkkərt nənʒəl l- mm-u ʃla ha:di:k f-fka:rʰa ka:m̩la (SO: /lla lla/) <u>wa:la:ki:n</u> ʔa:-jqtəl-ni jdi:r li:-ja ʃi:-ha:ʒa/</p> <p>SO: /lla ma:-jəʃqəl-f ʃli:-k/ GM: /ʃwi:ja ga:l li:-ja w-a:na n... ga:l li:-ja/ SO: /bʃətti/ GM: /ʔa:h/ SO: /ʔa:h̩sa:n ha:ʒa da:r dki/ GM: /bʃa b-ha:l-u ga:l li:-ja/ SO: /di:ma d-diplu:ma:si:ja təxdəm mʃa:-hum/ GM: /ga:l li:-h xu:ja ma:-jəmkən-f gəl li:-h da:ba da:jər mʃa d-dra:ri u:-kda ba:ʔi nəʃhər mʃa:-d-dra:ri hna ga:l li:- h sʰa:fi mərʰrʰa xra u:-kda hu:wa i ga:l li:-h dʰri:ba b-l- qa:ləb səll rʰa:s-u <u>mən-ha...</u></p> <p>SO: /təbqa təbqa.../ GM: /bla ʃja[ʔ:qa]/ SO: /sʰ-sʰu:ra zwi:na i:wa rʰa ha:di:k hi:ja l-wʃu:ri:ja/ GM: /bʃa ga:l li:-ja rʒəʃt l... l.../</p>	<p>GM: <u>He said:</u> “My legs were trembling!” And he said: “I kept staring at him [---] I don’t...” He said [---] “I don’t know how I kept staring at him in that moment!” And he said: “That’s what the money and the projects <u>were all</u> <u>about!</u>”</p> <p>SO: <u>His reaction needed to be really cool at that point!</u></p> <p>GM: He said to me: “At one point [---] I thought about fucking jumping on him and getting the whole bag, (SO: <u>No, no!</u>) <u>but he</u> would have killed me, or done something to me.</p> <p>SO: Yeah, he wouldn’t give a damn about you!</p> <p>GM: “Then – he said – I...” He said...</p> <p>SO: You moved away.</p> <p>GM: Yes!</p> <p>SO: He did the best thing! <u>He was smart!</u></p> <p>GM: <u>He left. He said...</u></p> <p>SO: Diplomacy always works with them.</p> <p>GM: He said to him: “I can’t, bro!” and he said: “I agreed with the guys” and so on, “I want to spend the night here with the guys!” He answered: “Alright, maybe next time!” and so on. He just told him some excuse and stepped <u>away...</u></p> <p>SO: <u>So he... so he...</u></p> <p>GM: ...without arrogance.</p> <p>SO: ...kept up appearances. Yeah, that’s what being cool is about.</p> <p>GM: He left. He said to me: “I went back to... to...”</p> <p>SO: ...their table.</p> <p>GM: “I went back to our table, took my coat and said to my friend: ‘Let’s leave!’” He said to his friend who was with him: “Come on, let’s lea...” (Laughing) He said: “Come on, let’s leave!” And then he passed him the information.</p>
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³⁴³ Prémare has /brəd-l-u l-ma f-r-rka:bi/ for the same meaning.

<p>SO: /tʰ-tʰa:bʰlʰa ndja:l-hum/</p> <p>GM: /rʒəŋt l-tʰ-tʰa:bʰlʰa həzzi:t l-mu:ntʰu dja:l-i gəlt l-xu:-na ja:lʰlʰa:h bha:l-ək xu:-na lli mʰa:-h gəl li:-h ja:lʰlʰa:h nəbʰi... (<i>laughing</i>) gəl li:-h ja:lʰlʰa:h nəbʰi:w ʃa:d fəssər li:-h l-məʃlu:ma/</p>	
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2 - Life at the textile factory

Type of recording: spontaneous conversation

Setting : Queen Mary Café (Temara), inside.

Context : GM and SO are friends, as are SO and FG. All three of them have met with the researcher for the purpose of moving to his place and being recorded.

<p>GM: /ʃmən pu:sʰtʰ xədda:m nta:ja/</p> <p>FG: /bha:lʰa ba:yi tgu:l rʰi:sʰpu:nsʰa:bʰlʰ ʃi l-wa:həd ʰa:-zu:n ha:d r-rəbʰa ha:du [---] ʃa:tʰi:n-ni wa:həd z-zu:n u:-mkəlləf b-d-dra:ri/</p> <p>GM: /xədda:m ku:ntʰrʰu:lʰ ʃli:-hum/</p> <p>FG: /ha:di:k l-<i>prodyksjō</i> lli kə-jxərrʒu d-dra:ri... l-<i>prodyksjō</i> lli kə-jxərrʒu d-dra:ri <u>mən lʰi:-ma:ʃi:n...</u>/</p> <p>GM: /ka:-tra:qb-u nta/</p> <p>FG: /nta mkəlləf bi:ha nta xa:sʰsʰ-ək ddəwwəz-ha f-sʰ-skanər xəsʰsʰ-ək təsʰka:ni:-ha f-wa:həd.../ [---] /f-wa:həd l-mi:za:n/ [---] /u:-tʰəʰtʰ-<i>ha</i> f-wa:həd l-mmi:dʰəʃ wa:həd l-mu:dʰəʃ dja:l-ha dja:l-sʰ-sʰtʰu:k/ [---] /l-bʰlʰa:sʰa lli kə-jsʰtʰu:ki:w fi:-ha t-tu:b/ [---] /u:-mən-bəʃd mənni ka:-tʰutʰ-<i>ha</i> f-ha:di:k l-bʰlʰa:sʰa lli kə-jsʰtʰu:ki:w fi:-ha t-tu:b kə-jʒi wa:həd xu:-na b-l-klʰa:rʰk³⁴⁴ dja:l-u kə-jhəzz t-tu:b dja:l-u kə-jddi:-h l-wa:həd l-bʰlʰa:sʰa smi:t-ha l-<i>preparasjō</i>, <u>kə-jprʰi:parʰi:w-h ???</u>/</p> <p>SO: /ʃa:la:m ha:d (<i>la-sosjete</i>)/</p> <p>GM: /wa:la:ki:n nta mən l... bəlla:ti nta mən l-ləwwəl ʃʰa:w-ək ha:d... (...) nta u:-dʰi:pa:rʰ ʃʰa:w-ək ha:d z-zu:n mən l-ləwwəl u:la dʰa:ru:ri ʃa:ni:ti ta:-nta/</p>	<p>GM: <i>What's your position?</i></p> <p>FG: <i>You could say I'm in charge just of one department: these for people... [---] They assign me to a department, where I'm responsible for the guys.</i></p> <p>GM: <i>You work as their supervisor.</i></p> <p>FG: <i>The product that the guys make... The product that the guys make from the machines...</i></p> <p>GM: <i>...you're the one who monitors it.</i></p> <p>FG: <i>You're the one responsible for it, who has to pass it in the scanner. You have to scan it in a... [---] in a scale [---] and place it in a small space, in its proper space, for stocking [---] the place where the fabric is stocked. [---] Then, when you've put it in that place where the fabric is stocked, a man comes with his forklift, lifts his fabri, takes to a place called "preparation", <u>they prepare it, ???</u></i></p> <p>SO: <i>That (company) is something crazy!</i></p> <p>GM: <i>But from the... Wait, from the start you've been given this... (...) At the beginning, have you been assigned to this department from the start or did you, too, have to struggle?</i></p>
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³⁴⁴ The name of this vehicle, as well as the name of its operator (/klʰa:rʰi:sʰtʰ/), are derived from a well-known brand, Clark.

FG: /ʔa:na f-l-ləwwəl dxult klʰa:rʰi:sʰtʰ a:na/ [---] /dxult xədda:m f-l-klʰa:rʰk/

GM: /hm/

FG: /dəwwəzt fi:-ha wa:həd l-wqi:ta wa:həd l-wqi:ta ga:lo li:-ja **FG** rʰa ɣa:di t.../ [---] /ʕa:-jəʕtʰi:w-ək wa:həd lʰa:-zu:n u:-tkəlləf b-wa:həd d-dra:ri/ [---] /u:-sʰa:fi ma:ʃi mu:ʃki:l/ [---] /tʰa:hu fi:-ja a:-d-dra:ri u:la:d tma:ra/ [---] /ɣa:li:bi:jət-hum u:la:d... dra:ri u:la:d tma:ra/

GM: /hm/

FG: /dra:ri ka:-nəʕrəf-hum/ [---] /ha:kka:k ka:-ttla:qa b-ʃi:-wa:hdi:n.../ [---] /ʕa:la:m xəsʰsʰ-ək tsʰəyɣər (ʕəql-ək) ʔa:h ka:-ttla:qa b-na:s bəzza:f ka:-ttla:qa.../

GM: /dʰa:ru:ri ʔa:h ʔa:h/

FG: /b... b-ʕa:qli:ja:t f-ʃ-ʃkəl xa:sʰsʰ-ək ha:da təhdərʰ mʕa:-h b-tʰa:ri:qt-u u ha:da xa:sʰsʰ-ək təhdərʰ mʕa:-h b-tʰa:ri:qt-u tma:rʰi ma:-ka:-təlqa:-f mʕa:-h mu:ʃki:l ka:jən ka:za:wi xa:sʰsʰ-u jəhdərʰ mʕa:-h mən-l-fu:q xəsʰsʰ-ək ta:-nta tʰa:wəl təh... təʕrəf ki:fa:ʃ təhdərʰ mʕa:-h wəld sxi:ra:t ta hu:wa bbuhdi:t-u xa:sʰsʰ-ək təʕrəf ki:fa:ʃ təhdərʰ mʕa:-h/

GM: /hm/

FG: /wa:həd l-ʕa:la:m xa:sʰsʰ-ək təmʃi təmma xa:sʰsʰ-ək trəkkəb bəzza:f dja:l-l-ʕqu:la ma:ʃi ɣi ʕqəl wa:həd/ [---] /xa:sʰsʰ-ək təʕrəf ki:fa:ʃ təhdərʰ mʕa:-ha:da u.../

GM: /jəʕni nta ka:-t... ka:-ttfu:rʰma ʕla:-wa:həd l-ʕa:la:m ka:-twəlli ddi:r-u/ [---] /j[əʕni] ka:-twəlli... ka:-t... sʰa:fi ʔa:jj wa:həd ka:-təmfɪ li:-h ʕla:-hsa:b ʕəql-u/ [---]

FG: /ʔa:h/

GM: /jəʕni xəsʰsʰ-ək tərɖʰi kull-ʃi u:- (mən-tʰ-tʰu:r) ɣa:-jərɖʰi:w-ək ta:-hu:ma jəʕni ɣa:-təʕtʰi:-hum da:k ʃ-ʃi lli xəsʰsʰ-hum j.../

FG: /ka:-twəlli ʕa:rəf ʕa:rəf ki:fa:ʃ xdəmt-u hu:wa u:-ki:fa:ʃ kə-jdi:r.../

GM: /hm/

FG: /ʔəh ʃnu kə-jbɣi ʔəh xdəmt-u ki:fa:s da:jra wa:ʃ ka:-

FG: *I started as a forklift driver. [---] When I came, I started from the forklift.*

GM: *Hm!*

FG: *I spent a while on it, until one day they said: “FG, now you’ll... [...] they’ll assign a department to you and you’ll be responsible for a group of people. [---] And that’s how it was, no big deal. [---] I only happened to have people from Temara. [---] Most of them from... people from Temara.*

GM: *Hm!*

FG: *People I know. [---] At the same time, you meet some characters... [---] such weird ones! You need to adapt (your mind), yeah, you meet unbelievable people, you meet...*

GM: *Of course, yeah, yeah!*

FG: *You meet... strange mentalities; this one needs to be talked to in a way, the other one needs to be talked to in another way... A Temarese won’t give you problems, but there’s a Casablanquese that needs to be talked to like you’re superior, you, too, need to try and ho... know how to talk to him; people from Skhirate are also peculiar, you need to know how to talk to them...*

GM: *Hm!*

FG: *That thing’s crazy! You have to go there, you have to wear many brains, not just one... [---] You need to know how to speak with this one and...*

GM: *You mean, you... You get trained on some stuff that you start doing. [---] I mean, you start... you... That’s it, you deal with each guy according to his mentality. [---]*

FG: *Yes.*

GM: *I mean, you need to please everyone and they (in turn) will also please you. I mean, they’ll give you what they have to...*

FG: *You end up knowing, knowing how is his way of working and how he does it...*

GM: *Hm!*

FG: *Er... What he wants, er, what his way of working is like, whether you can have problems with him or not...*

GM: *Hm!*

FG: *And even if you have problems with him, you try and gix it between the two of you, without the two of you*

<p>təlqa mʃa:-h mu:ʃki:l u:la:-lla/ GM: /hm/ FG: /u:-ta:-la ka:-n ʃənd-ək mʃa:-h ʃi:-mu:ʃki:l ka:- tha:wəl tsʰa:wəb nta u:-jja:h bla:-ma:-təwsʰəl l-ʃ-ʃi:f nta u:- jja:h/ GM: /ka:jən lli kə-jtʰəsʰəb u:-ka:jən lli kə-j.../ FG: /ʔa:h/ GM: /kə-jxdəm u:-kə-jtnərʰvəz mʃa:-l-ma:ki:na u:la ʃi:- ħaʒa kə-jtnərʰvəz ka:-dʒi ka:-təlqa:-h nta:ja/ [---] /ka:- təlqa:-h mʰəwwən mʃa:-lʰa:-ma:ʃi:n dja:l-u ka:-dʒi ka:- təhdərʰ mʃa:-h ka:-tgu:l li:-h ʃnu wa:qəʃ-l-ək ???/ [---] /ʃəqdər jku:n mʃəsʰəb ʃəqdər jgu:l li:-k ʃi:-kəlma u:la ha:di bō nta ka:-tha:wəl <u>ʔannak tsa:ʃd-u...</u>/ FG: /nta xa:sʰsʰ... nta təʃrəf ki:fa:ʃ.../ GM: /ʔa:h/ FG: /??? tətʰərrəf.../ GM: /ʔa:h ka:-tsa:ʃd-u f-dək l-ləhdʰa ka:-tsa:ʃd-u nta:ja/ FG: /hi:t ma:ʃi xədda:m mʃa:-k ʔi:r nha:r u:la ju:mi:n/ GM: /ʃrəft ʔa:h ʔa:h/ FG: /xədda:m mʃa:-k di:ma/ GM: /da:ba hu:wa ʃnu kə-jwqəʃ li:-h kə-jqdər jtplʰu:ntʰa f- wa:ħəd l-ləhdʰa kə-jktər ʃli:-h.../ FG: /ʔa:h dʰa:ru:ri/ GM: /kə-jtplʰu:ntʰa li:-h di:ma:ʔ-u ʃ-kə-jgu:l hu:wa kə- jbqa jfəkkər li:-k ta:-nta:ja mənni ʔa:di dʒi ddir li:-h ku:ntʰrʰu:l ʔa:-tʃu:f da:k ʃ-ʃi təqdər t... tənʒəl ʃli:-h b-ʃi:- ha:kka u:la ma:ta:la:n/ [---] /kə-jgu:l hu:wa... hu:wa kə- jfəkkər fi:-k/ [---] /u:-kə-jfəkkər f-l-xədma rʰa:-ha trʰəwwna:t ʃli:-h ma:-mxərrəʒ wa:lu ma:ta:la:n/ FG: /kə-jfəkkər ʃa:wtə:ni lʰi:-ma:ʃi:n dja:wl-u xa:sʰsʰ-u jxəlli:-hum məzja:ni:n l-ha:da:k lli ʔa:di jʃədd ʃli:-h/ GM: /lli ʔa:-jʃədd ʃli:-h/ FG: /hi:t ha:da:k lli ʔa:-jʃədd ʃli:-h mənni ʔa:-jdxul ʔa:- jdi:r lʰu:di:tʰ u:-ʔa:-jəqəlləb lʰi:-ma:ʃi:n ki:fa:ʃ da:jri:n <u>wa:ʃ</u> <u>mnitʰwa:ʃi:n u:la lla</u> (GM: /ʃi:-mu:ʃki:l/ [---] /ʔa:- jʃu:ndʰi:-h/) jəqəlləb t-tu:b wa:ʃ... ki:fa:ʃ xəlla:-h.../ [---] /ʔi:la lqa ʃi:-ħa:ʒa əh ha kə-jdʰi:klʰa:rʰi.../</p>	<p>having to talk to the boss. GM: Some get nervous and some... FG: Yeah! GM: ...get mad at the machine while they're working, or something like that; they get mad and when you go, you yoursel find that [---] you find he's upset with his machine, you go talk to him, you ask him: "What happened?" ???[---] He may be nervous, he may tell you some bad word or something, and you say: "OK", and <u>try</u> <u>to help him...</u> FG: <u>You nee...</u> You know how... GM: Yes? FG: ??? you manage... GM: Yeah, you help him, in that moment you help him. FG: Because it's not like he's just working one or two days with you... GM: I know, yeah, yeah! FG: He does every day! GM: Now, what happens to him is that he can get stuck at a given moment, and it becomes too much for him... FG: Yeah, of course! GM: His head gets stuck, and what does he say? He starts blaming it on you, too! When you come and supervise him, you see that, you may... take some measure against him or just an example [---] then he says... he blames it on you [---] and he blames it on his job, on how it's all messed up and he won't get to do anything, for example... FG: He'll also blame it... he needs to leave his machines in a proper condition for the one who'll replace him. GM: Exactly! FG: Because when he comes, the guy who replaces him will carry out an audit and check the state of the machines, <u>whether they've been cleaned or not</u> (GM: [<u>If</u> <u>there's</u>] <u>some problem</u> [---] <u>he'll report it.</u>"), he'll check if... in what conditions he's left the fabric... [---] If he finds something wrong, he reports that... SO: He files a complaint to the boss. GM: Yeah! (FG: ...to the boss) So he won't be blamed. FG: He writes a report and pam! Hey you, when you're working, you, fellow, when you left the last time you did this and this and this.</p>
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<p>SO: /r^si:kl^a:mi l-f-fi:f/</p> <p>GM: /ʔa:h (FG: /...l-f-fi:f/) ba:f ma:-təlsəq-f fi:-h hu:wa/</p> <p>FG: /kə-jdr^əb r^s-r^a:pu:r^s t^ss^sət^s t^ss^sət^s t^ss^sət^s xu:-na mənⁿi ka:ddxul nta xu:na s^s-s^a:t^s r^a mni:n xrəʒti n-nha:r l-a:xra:ni r^a ha:-fⁿu xəlli:ti u:-ha:-fⁿu xəlli:ti u:-ha:-fⁿu xəlli:ti/</p> <p>GM: /hm/</p> <p>FG: /wa:həd l-xədma f-ya:-ngu:l li:-k r^a a s^a:bi:ru:na ma:ʕa:hu:m³⁴⁵ u:-s^a:fi/</p>	<p>GM: <i>Hm!</i></p> <p>FG: <i>Such a job! What can I tell you? We can't but tolerate them.</i></p>
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³⁴⁵ Phonotactic adaptation of the *fushā* /s^a:biru:na maʕa-hum/, “[we are] forbearing with them”. I could not find out whether it is an idiomatic expression to mean anything different from my translation.

3 - Sunday morning at *L-Hrāwyīn*

Type of recording: spontaneous conversation

Setting: MD's living room

Context: sunday morning, breakfast time. All speakers (except for **J**, the researcher) are old friends. **AD**, **DH**, **FR** and **MD** are from and live in *L-Hrāwyīn*, a slum in Casablanca, and are all attending the last high school year in the same school. **CDS** is from Fes and lived and worked in *L-Hrāwyīn* for two years (where he became friends with the other informants), until he moved to Temara two months before the recording was made. All participants (including the researcher), except for **DH**, spent the previous night at **MD**'s place. At the beginning of this excerpt, **DH** announces he is going and attending some Maths private classes (the teacher's name, Bouzidi, is a fake one) which, apparently, his three schoolmates also usually attend; however, none of them seems to be willing to join **DH** today.

<p>DH: /ʔa:di ʕənd-bu:zi:di a:na/ FR: /wa:jl-i/ DH: /wəlʕʕa:h ʔa:ʔəb kta:b-i u:-ʔa:ʔəb ʃ.../ FR: /wa:-sʕa:fi ʔəjjəb mʕa:-na/ [---] /məzja:na/ [---] /ʕla:-qra:jt-ək z-zi:na/ (laughs) DH: /t-ta:ma:ri:n d-da:lla l-ʔu:ssi:ja u:-ntʕa:nn/ FR: /tta:-d-da:lla l-ʔu:ssi:ja tta:-ma:-l-u ʔa:-jdi:r fi:-ha hi:sʕsʕa tta:-rʕa ma:-nzəglu:-ʃ hna ʔa:sʕla:n ʔa:-ngu:lu li:-h ʃi:-gru:p ba:qi ma:-da:ru:-ʃ u:-ndi:ru:-h/ DH: /tta:-rʕa kull-ʃi da:r bqi:na ʔa:-hna a:-wəld l-mkəlləx/ AD: /ʃʕa:wəd li:-na hna l-rʕu:s-na/ FR: /tta:-ha:ʔa ma:-sʕi:ba/ DH: /sʕi:ba wəlʕʕa:ʔta sʕi:ba/ FR: /ʔa:ʔi a:na (ngu:-l-ək)/ [---] /ʃu:f xu:-ja ʔa:-nʔi:-k mən-l-ləxxər ʔa:-tʔəjjəb mʕa:-na/ [---] /ʔəjjəb/ [---] /ma:-byi:ti:-ʃ si:r lʕʕa:-ʔsa:həl ʕli:-k l-hdʕa:ʃ u:-nəsʕsʕ ha:di/ CDS: (to FR) /ma:-l-ək ka:-tʔurʕrʕ bna:dəm l-l-xla/ [---] /s-</p>	<p>DH: <i>I'm going to Bouzidi's class.</i> FR: <i>Really?</i> DH: <i>I swear! I've brought my books and...</i> FR: <i>Come on, play truant with us! [---] Fine? [---] As much as you're good at school! (laughs)</i> DH: <i>What about the exercises, the exponential function, and so on?</i> FR: <i>What about it? Do you think he'll give us a whole lesson just about that? Anyway, we won't fail! In fact, we'll tell [the school professor we want to take the test with] some group that hasn't taken it and take it!</i> DH: <i>Everybody's taken it, we're the only ones left, son of a stupid man!</i> AD: <i>He'll let us alone repeat it.</i> FR: <i>Besides, it's nothing hard.</i> DH: <i>It's hard, I swear it's hard!</i> FR: <i>(Tell you) what... [---] Look, bro, I'll tell you what we'll do: you'll play truant with us [---] play truant [---] if you don't want, just go and may God be with you. It's already half past eleven!</i> CDS: (to FR) <i>Why do you make people do the wrong thing? [---] The guy wants to study, what's the problem with you?</i> FR: <i>Yeah, 'cause he's so good at school! He's stupid!</i></p>
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<p>səjjəd ba:ʔi jqra nta ma:-l-ək/</p> <p>FR: /tta ʕla:-qra:jt-u z-zi:na rʕa mkəlləx/</p> <p>AD: /skut a:-sʕa:hb-i ma:-təbqa:-ʃ tgu:l l-bna:dəm mkəlləx/</p> <p>FR: /ma:-l-i ma:-ʕa:rfu:-ʃ/</p> <p>DH: /ni:vu ʕli:-k/</p> <p>AD: (<i>laughing</i>) / (tta ma:-l-ək rʕa a:-fəkkərna:-k)/</p> <p>FR: (<i>laughs; probably referring to CDS</i>) /ma:za:l ma:-ʕa:rəf-ha:-ʃ/</p> <p>MD: /CDS/</p> <p>FR: /tta:-rʕa lʕ-isʕʕwa:rʕ d-ni:vu ʕli:-k/</p> <p>CDS: /ta:-nədʕhək a:-ʕla ni:vu ʕli:-k nəfs n-ni:vu/ [---] /ma:-ka:-nədʕhək-ʃ ʕla:-ʃi:-ha:za xʷra/</p> <p>FR: /a:-skut a:-mkəlləx dja:l-l-xla/</p> <p>CDS: /si:r.../</p> <p>FR: /gu:l/</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>(<i>after DH has left for the private course</i>)</p> <p>AD: /tta:-rʕa nəmjɪ:w a:-nəlqa:w-əh mɣa:bəl mʕa ʒ-ʒu:ʒ a:-ngu:lu li:-h ʃi:-gru:p ma:za:l ma:-dəwwəz-ʃ nəmjɪ:w ndəwwz-u mʕa:-h/</p> <p>MD: /ʔəh hu:wa ʔa:sʕla:n ʔa:-jdi:r li:-na mu:rʕa:ʒa:ʕa ga:l li:-na qbəl ma ddəwwz-u l-fərdʕ a:-ddi:ru mu:rʕa:ʒa:ʕa/</p> <p>FR: /bna:dəm ʕa:tʕi:-ha l-z-zərba a:-sʕa[:hb-i]/</p> <p>MD: /rʕa kull-ʃi ʕla:-l-qa:ʕi:da ja:k ʃədd tta:-l-ʔi:ksʕpu l-ʔi:kspu ʔa:-ddəxxəl mʕa:-h l-ʔi:lʕi:n ha:-hu:wa sʕa:fi/</p> <p>FR: /ʔa:na rʕa xa:jəf ʔa mən l-ha:nda:sa l-fa:dʕa:ʔi:ja l-i:ksʕpu:nsʕi ga:ʕ-ma xa:jəf mən-ha wəlʕʕa:h/</p> <p>MD: /ta:-a:na l-ha:nda:sa l-fa:dʕa:ʔi:ja mʒərʕi mən-ha sʕ- sʕa:ra:ha/</p> <p>AD: /ta:-a:na ??? ma:-xəddəmt-ha:-ʃ/</p> <p>FR: /nxəddmu:-ha a:-d-dra:ri nxəddmu:-ha/</p> <p>AD: /jxəddəm-ha mʕa:-na CDS/</p> <p>FR: /ta:-jmʃi CDS w-jmʃi b-ha:la:t-u u:-nxəddmu:-ha/</p>	<p>AD: <i>Shut up, mate! Stop calling him stupid!</i></p> <p>FR: <i>Why? Don't you think I know him?</i></p> <p>DH: <i>"I'm one step ahead of you"</i></p> <p>AD: (<i>What's wrong with you? We've just reminded you!</i>)</p> <p>FR: (<i>laughs; probably referring to CDS</i>) <i>He doesn't know that yet.</i></p> <p>MD: <i>CDS!</i></p> <p>FR: <i>There's a whole story behind "one step ahead of you"!</i></p> <p>CDS: <i>I'm just laughing about "one step ahead of you" when you're both at the same level! [---] I'm not laughing about something else.</i></p> <p>FR: <i>Shut up, stupid wrong thing!</i></p> <p>CDS: <i>Go...</i></p> <p>FR: <i>Come on, say it!</i></p> <p>(...)</p> <p>(<i>after DH has left for the private course</i>)</p> <p>AD: <i>We'll just go and meet [the school professor] at two, ask him if there's any group that hasn't taken [the test] yet and take it with them.</i></p> <p>MD: <i>Er he'll make us revise anyway. He said: "We'll do revision before you pass the test".</i></p> <p>FR: <i>The guy [= DH] wants to <u>rush, mate!</u></i></p> <p>MD: <i><u>It's all about the rule</u>, isn't it? You get the function, you insert the "ln" and you've got it, that's it!</i></p> <p>FR: <i>I'm just afraid of Geometry. I'm not afraid of the exponential function at all, I swear!</i></p> <p>MD: <i>Honestly, I'm scared <u>of Geometry, too!</u></i></p> <p>AD: <i><u>Me, too ???</u> I haven't practised on it.</i></p> <p>FR: <i>Shall we do some practise guys? Shall we?</i></p> <p>AD: <i>CDS will join us!</i></p> <p>FR: <i>We'll do some practise after CDS has left and he's gone.</i></p> <p>AD: (to CDS) <i>He's urging you!</i></p> <p>CDS: <i>Yesterday's... yesterday's... yesterday's pics, where are they?</i></p> <p>AD: <i>I've got them in my phone.</i></p>
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<p>AD: (to CDS) /kə-jɜri ʕli:-k/</p> <p>CDS: /t-tsʰa:wər t-tsʰa:wər t-tsʰa:wər dja:l-l-ba:rəh fi:n rʰa:-hum/</p> <p>AD: /ʕənd-i f-t-ti:li:fu:n/</p> <p>FR: /ʕənd-ha:da f-t-ti:li:fu:n/</p> <p>CDS: /sʰi:ftʰ-hum li:-ja/</p> <p>AD: /f-a:ʃ/</p> <p>FR: /?? tsʰəwwərna/</p> <p>CDS: /f-wa:tʰsʰa:p/</p> <p>AD: /ki:-ɣa:-ndi:r li:-hum/³⁴⁶</p> <p>FR: /la ɣa:-ddi:r ɣa:-ddi:r wa:həd l-həll a:-si.../</p> <p>CDS: (to AD) /fi:n ʕənd-ək t-ti:li:fu:n/</p> <p>AD: /f-d-da:rʰ dja:l-xət-i hu:wa ma:ʃi dja:l-i dja:l-xət-i/</p> <p>FR: /ʕa:-jlu:h-hum f-t-ti:li:fun ʕənd-DH w:-a:h sʰa:fi ɣa:-jsʰi:ftʰ-hum-l-ək sʰa:fi wəlla ɣa:-jlu:h-hum.../</p> <p>AD: /ʔa:na ɣa:-nlu:h-hum l-ha:da u:-ha:da ɣa:-jlu:h-hum-l-ək/</p> <p>FR: /sʰa:fi w-a:na ɣa:-ndi:r rʰa:s-i ɣa:-nsʰa:jəb ʃi:-ha:ʒa ʕənd-ha:da... da:rʰ-hum xa:wja mʃa da:ba da:rʰ-hum xa:wja nəmjʃi ndi:r rʒəl fu:g-rʒəl u:-n... ʕənd-u l-wi:fi ma:-nətxa:sʰəm-f mʃa:-h da:ba/</p> <p>AD: /FR kə-jɜi mən-l-ləxxər kə-jɜu:l-l-u ʕənd-u l-wi:fi u:-ma:-nətxa:sʰəm-f m[ʕa:-h]/</p> <p>FR: /ta:-lla ha:da:k rʰa hu:wa ha:kka:k³⁴⁷ ʕa nta ta:-tʃədd ʕli:-h rʰa:-hu:wa ha:kka:k/ [---] /hja:-hu:wa MD mʃa:jər mʃa:-h MD ki:-kə-jɜi:-k DH/ [---] /rʰa hu:wa.../</p> <p>MD: /sʰbur li:-h ʕla:-hba:l-u/</p> <p>FR: /rʰa hu:wa ha:kka:k rʰa ma:-ʕədd-ək ma:-ddi:r li:-h a:na rʰa qa:ri mʃa:-ja ʕa:m/ [---] /ʔa:na rʰa ka:n jdi:r-ha w-jɜi l-usta:d jɜu:l li:-h ʃku:n-lli da:r-ha jɜu:l li:-h ha:da/ (referring to himself)</p> <p>CDS laughs</p> <p>FR: /ha:qq-rʰ-rʰəbb/ [---] /ʃnu ɣa:-ttʰa:jəf mʃa:-h bqi:na ka:-nttʰa:jfu d-du:rʰa l-ləwwla ka:m̩la u:-hna ka:-nttʰa:jfu/</p>	<p>FR: <i>He's got them in his phone.</i></p> <p>CDS: <i>Send them to me!</i></p> <p>AD: <i>Where?</i></p> <p>FR: <i>??? we took pictures.</i></p> <p>CDS: <i>On Whatsapp</i></p> <p>AD: <i>How should I?</i></p> <p>FR: <i>No, I'll do, <u>I'll do one thing, just go...</u></i></p> <p>CDS: (to AD) (<i>Where's your phone?</i>)</p> <p>AD: <i>At home. It's my sister's phone, it's not mine, it's my sister's.</i></p> <p>FR: <i>He'll copy them in DH's phone and then he'll send them to you, that's it! Or he'll copy them...</i></p> <p>AD: <i>I'll copy them in his phone and he'll send them to you.</i></p> <p>FR: <i>Alright, I'll pretend I'm doing something at [DH's] place... No one's in his house, so I'll go and sit with my legs crossed and... You know, he's got wi-fi, so I won't have arguments with him for the moment.</i></p> <p>AD: FR is so direct! He said: "He's got wi-fi and I won't have arguments with him"!</p> <p>FR: <i>In fact he's just like that! You take him seriously but he's just like that! [---] See, MD hangs out with him: MD, what do you think of DH? [---] He's just...</i></p> <p>MD: <i>You have to close an eye on his craziness!</i></p> <p>FR: <i>He's just like that! You can't do anything to it. We were in the same class for a year. [---] He would do something, the professor would come and ask him: "Who did this?" and he'd say: "He did!" (referring to himself).</i></p> <p>CDS laughs</p> <p>FR: <i>By the Lord's right! [---] What would you do, fight with him? We did keep on fighting, we kept fighting for the whole first semestre!</i></p> <p>MD: CDS, do you want a croissant?</p> <p>CDS: <i>I swear <u>I'm full!</u></i></p> <p>MD: AD! AD! <i>Have a <u>croissant!</u></i></p> <p>CDS: <i><u>Do you think I'd</u> wait for you to tell me to eat, mate?</i></p>
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³⁴⁶ Apparently, **AD** has no internet connection.

³⁴⁷ From here on, **FR** refers to some previous argument that occurred between him and **DH**.

<p>MD: /kr^swa:s^sa a:-CDS/</p> <p>CDS: /wəl^fl'a:jta kli:t a[:na]/</p> <p>MD: /AD AD kr^swa:s^sa/</p> <p>CDS: /nətsənnə:-k ta tgu:l li:-ja nta ku:l a:-s^sa:hb-i/</p> <p>MD: /ta a:-d^srəb-ha mfa.../ (shouting, to his mother) /l-wa:li:da ʔa:ta:j/</p> <p>CDS: /tta ma:za:l ma:-ts^sa:jb-u:-f ha:da mri:d^s/³⁴⁸</p> <p>AD: /wa:jl-i wa:jl-i fku:n-lli ʔa:-j^frəb-u ha:d a:ta:j ʔa:-j^frəb-u FR/</p> <p>FR: /n^frəb-u u:-l-ft^su:r hu:wa lli məzja:n/</p> <p>AD: (to CDS, who is about to beat FR for being greedy) /ʔtⁱ:-h ʔtⁱ:-h/</p> <p>CDS beats FR³⁴⁹</p> <p>CDS: (laughing, referring to FR, who apparently did not think CDS would actually beat him) /ma:-təjjəq-ʃ/ [---] /ma:-təjjəq-ʃ fnu wqəʃ/</p> <p>FR: (referring to CDS) /ʔa:na xu:-h wəlla:hta ʔziz ʔli[:ja]/</p> <p>CDS: /ma:-nəbqa:-ʃ ʔzi:z ʔli:-k/</p> <p>AD: (to FR, who is apparently about to beat AD) /lla l-fu:g la ʔa:h ʔa:h/ (he gets beaten; to CDS) wəl^fl'a:jta tta lli ka:-təʃbər ʔli:-h ga:ʔ ka:n kə-jtəfəʔs^s ʔli:-na ka:-dʒi tta ka:-thədd-hum li:-h/</p> <p>FR: (to CDS or AD, who may have beaten him back) /l-ʔa:mu:d l-fi:qa:ri d^srəbti a:-s^sa:hb-i/</p> <p>CDS: /na:r-i wa:ħəd n-nha:r tta ʃ-ʔa:-ndi:r-l-u/ [---] /mu/ kila maʔa:-h/</p> <p>FR: /ʔʔʔʔ/ (to AD, referring to CDS) /tə-j^fxur a:-s^sa:hb-i/</p> <p>AD: /wi:l-i u:-bəzza:f a:-s^sa:hb-i/</p> <p>CDS: /tta:-r^sa t-tərwi:ha a:-s^sa:hb-i/</p> <p>FR: /lla ka:-təʃxur a:-s^sa:hb-i qhərti:-ni a:na:ja/</p> <p>AD: /wəl^fl'a:jta jəʃqu:b³⁵⁰ kə-jnʔəs s^si:l^su:ns^s/</p>	<p>MD: <i>Just have it with some...</i> (shouting, to his mother) <i>Mother! Some tea!</i></p> <p>CDS: <i>She's not even making it yet! He's sick!</i></p> <p>AD: <i>Oh dear, oh dear! Who's going to drink that tea?</i></p> <p>FR?</p> <p>FR: <i>No problem! Breakfast should always be the best meal!</i></p> <p>AD: (to CDS, who is about to beat FR for being greedy) <i>Hit him, hit him!</i></p> <p>CDS beats FR</p> <p>CDS: (laughing, referring to FR, who apparently did not think CDS would actually beat him) <i>He didn't believe! [---] He didn't believe what actually happened!</i></p> <p>FR: (referring to CDS) <i>I'm his brother, I swear I love him!</i></p> <p>CDS: <i>I'll make you stop loving me!</i></p> <p>AD: (to FR, who is apparently about to beat AD) <i>No, not above... Ouch! Ouch!</i> (he gets beaten; to CDS) <i>I swear you're the one who can stand his ground! Usually, he crashes us; when you come, you contain him!</i></p> <p>FR: (to CDS or AD, who may have beaten him back) <i>You hit my spine, mate!</i></p> <p>CDS: <i>Good grief! One day he'll see what I'll do to him... [---] He'll be in big trouble!</i></p> <p>FR: ??? (to AD, referring to CDS) <i>He snores, mate!</i></p> <p>AD: <i>Yeah, mate, and how!</i></p> <p>CDS: <i>I've got a cold, mate!</i></p> <p>FR: <i>No, you really snore, mate! You totally wore me out!</i></p> <p>AD: <i>I swear Yacoub sleeps in silent mode.</i></p> <p>CDS: ?? <i>What is he, a device?</i></p> <p>AD: <i>I swear he sleeps in silent mode!</i></p> <p>FR: <i>I didn't hear AD, MD or him [= J.], but you: *roooooon*! I turned on the other side but still heard: *roooooon*! You know, I didn't want to stand up and start beating you like this and this and this</i> (stands up and beats AD, who is not sitting next to him, every time he says</p>
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³⁴⁸ **MD** has already brought food and one full teapot and everybody has been drinking tea and eating at this point, so **CDS** does not think **MD** should have his mother make too much effort and bring more to the table.

³⁴⁹ This and other non-verbal events were retraced by one of the informants, **CDS**, who listened to the whole recording with the researcher.

³⁵⁰ **CDS**'s friends would call me with my Arabic name.

<p>CDS: /?? ma:-l-u ma:ki:na/ AD: /wəɫʰa:jta kə-jnʃəs sʰi:lʰu:nsʰ/ FR: /AD u:-MD u:-ha:da ma:-sməŋt-hum-f nta *xu:ʃ*³⁵¹ ka:-ndəwwəɾʰ wəʒh-i u:-nəlqa ʃa:wta:ni *xu:ʃ* ʃrəfti ma:- byi:t-f nnu:dʰ li:-k f-l-li:l u:-nəbqa nəŋtʰi:-k ha:k ha:k ha:k/ <i>(stands up and beats AD, who is not sitting next to hi, every time he says /ha:k/)</i></p> <p>AD: <i>(laughing)</i> /ʃtʰa:-ni tsʰərʃi:qa kunt ga:ləs hda:k wəɫʰa:jta nsʰərʃq-ək ???/ MD: /tta l-ba:rəh ma:-nʃəst ta:l-ʃi:-tla:ta ʃa:da ʒa:-ni n- nʃəs wəɫʰa:h/ FR: /wəɫʰa:hta a:na ʒa:-ni n-nʃəs dəyja wa:la:ki:n ha:- hu:wa lli tʰəjʃr-u li:-ja *xu:ʃ* tə-ʃʃxur/ MD: /wa:-tta rʰa ma:-ʃərt ʃku:n-lli ka:n kə-jdi:r wa:həd sʰ- sʰəwt mʃa:-sʰ-sʰba:h ta:l sʰ-sʰba:h/ [---] /rʰa kə-jdʰi:ma:rʰi/ FR: /ha:da.../ <i>(laughs)</i> MD: /wa:-tta.../ [---] /tta:-rʰa n-na:s bda:w ʃli:na ma:- dʰdʰi:ma:rʰi:w-ʃ ha:di:k tʰ-tʰu:nu:bʰi:lʰa bda:w kə-jduqu f- d-da:rʰ ma:-təbqa:w-ʃ dʰdʰi:ma:rʰi:w-ha wəlli:w ʃa ddəʃʃu:- ha/ CDS starts beating MD. FR: /na:r-i na:r-i/ FR joins CDS. AD: <i>(laughing)</i> /MD tʰəwwəltu:-h/ FR: /CDS, CDS, ha:-hu:wa ba:qi ???/ MD: <i>(laughing)</i> /ʃa:d dʰrəbt rʰa:s-i/ [---] /jəʃqu:b ta:-hu:wa jəʃqu:b l-ba:rəh ka:n ʃa:di tʰa:ləʃ mən d-drʰu:ʒ/ <i>(laughs)</i> /w-jdʰrəb rʰa:s-u mʃa:-ha:di/ <i>(indicates a low point on the ceiling over the stairs)</i> <i>Everybody laughs</i> FR: <i>(to J.)</i> /tʰləŋti f-l-li:l/ MD: /lla məlli ka:n (ba:ʃi).../ J: /qbəl ma nənʃəs/ MD: /ma:-ʃa:f-ha:-ʃ ma:-ʃa:f-ha:-ʃ/ AD: /wa:la... w-l-ba:rəh nʃəs MD nʃəs/ MD: /ta ʒa nəwwədʰ-ni ha:da ma:-hməlt-u:-ʃ sʰa:fi kun nəwwədʰ-ni jəʃqu:b ʃa:-nədʰhək tta.../ <i>(beats AD)</i></p>	<p>“this”) AD: <i>(laughing)</i> <i>He slapped me! If I had been sitting next to him, I swear I would have slapped you back! ???</i> MD: <i>Well, yesterday I didn’t sleep earlier than three, then I got sleepy, I swear!</i> FR: <i>I swear I got sleepy quickly, but here’s the one who made me wake up! Snoring *roooooon*!</i> MD: <i>That’s why I couldn’t get who was making that noise in the morning, until morning! [---] He was powering up!</i> FR: <i>This guy... (laughs)</i> MD: <i>And... [---] People came to tell us: “Stop pressing the gas on that car!” They started knocking at our door: “Stop pressing the gas, just push it!”</i></p> <p>CDS starts beating MD. FR: <i>Oh dear, oh dear!</i> FR joins CDS. AD: <i>(laughing)</i> <i>MD’s been overwhelmed!</i> FR: <i>Look, CDS, he’s still ???</i> MD: <i>(laughing)</i> <i>I’ve just beaten myself! [---] Yacoub, too! Yesterday, Yacoub was going up the stairs... (laughs) and his head hit this thing! (indicates a low point on the ceiling over the stairs)</i> <i>Everybody laughs</i> FR: <i>Did you go upstairs during the night?</i> MD: <i>No, when he (wanted)...</i> J: <i>Before sleeping.</i> MD: <i>It’s alright, he didn’t see it.</i> AD: <i>Wala... yeah, MD slept alright!</i> MD: <i>He came and got me up, and I so hated him, that’s it! If it had been Yacoub I would have just laughed; but you... (beats AD)</i> CDS: <i>(laughing; to AD)</i> <i>Did you wake him up?</i> MD: <i>“Wake up! MD! MD!” I thought Yacoub had jumped on him, I swear to you by my right hand! (laughs)</i> CDS: <i>What?</i> <i>Everybody laughs</i> MD: <i>When I opened my eyes, I found he was alright and I</i></p>
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³⁵¹ This transcription is supposed to reproduce **FR**’s imitation of **CDS**’s snoring; in the translation, I have chosen the French onomatopoeia “*ron*”, which resembles more closely the sound produced by **FR**.

<p>CDS: <i>(laughing; to AD)</i> /fəjjəqti:-h/</p> <p>MD: /u:-fi:q MD MD ka:-nsəhb-u ʕa jəʕqu:b tə-jgləb ʕli:-h³⁵² ʔuqsim l-ak jami:[nan]/ <i>(laughs)</i></p> <p>CDS: /ʃna:-hu:wa/ <i>Everybody laughs</i></p> <p>MD: /məlli fəqt lqi:t-u hu:wa ha:da:k sʕa:fi rʕa:-h gəlt li:-h zi:d/</p> <p>AD: /gəl li:-ja tʕfu nu:dʕ bəkri nu:dʕ gbi:la gəlt-l-ək nu:dʕ/</p> <p>[---] /wa:la:ki:n a:h tta:-rʕa:-dzəjjərʕt w-a:na nnu:dʕ u:-nədʕhək/</p> <p>MD: /təjjəq u:la lla təjjəq ta da:k n-nha:r mənni bətt mʕa:-k lhi:h/</p> <p>CDS: /ta a:na dzəjjərʕt sʕ-sʕba:h u:-ma:-byi:t-ʃ nfəjjq-u/</p> <p>MD: /wəlʕʕa:hta mʔəjjərʕ u:-ma:-gəddi:t-ʃ/</p> <p>FR: /u:-ma:-ngu:l-ha:-ʃ li:-k/</p> <p>MD: /bqi:t ʕa:bəs-ha ʕa:bəs-ha ʕa:bəs-ha ta sʕba:h l-ʕa:l/</p> <p>CDS: /ta a:na wəlʕʕa:ʔla kunt mʔəjjərʕ sʕ-sʕba:h u:-ma:-byi:t-ʃ... ma:-byi:t-ʃ nfəjjq-ək/</p> <p>FR: /xsa:ra ʕrəfti ʃti... wəlʕʕa:h wa:-ʕəqq-rʕ-ʕəbb.../</p> <p>AD: /ʃti məlli kə-jtla:ga:w f-ʃi:-da:rʕ a:-lʕʕa:jhfədʕ u:-sʕa:fi ʔa:-təlqa ha:da na:ʕəs u:-tə-jbu:l/</p> <p>MD: /wəlʕʕa:h məʕga:z AD məʕga:z/</p> <p>FR: /bəzza:f a:-sʕa:hb-i/</p> <p>AD: /u:-bəzza:f ma:-kdəbtu:-ʃ f-ha:di sʕ-sʕa:ra:ʕa/</p>	<p>said: “OK, go ahead!”</p> <p>AD: He said: “Ptui! Get up [to go to the toilet] before, get up, I had told you to get up before [sleeping]. [---] Instead I waited till I was bursting, then I got up laughing.</p> <p>MD: Believe it or not, that day, when I stayed there overnight with you...</p> <p>CDS: I was also bursting in the morning and didn’t want to wake you up.</p> <p>MD: ...I swear I was bursting, and couldn’t keep it!</p> <p>FR: Tell me about it!</p> <p>MD: I kept it and kept it <u>and kept until morning came</u>.</p> <p>CDS: <u>Me too, I swear I was bursting in the morning and didn’t want... didn’t want to wake you up.</u></p> <p>FR: Too bad, you know, imagine... I swear, by God’s right...</p> <p>AD: Imagine if they shared a house: only God could save them! You’ll find him peeing while he’s sleeping!</p> <p>MD: Lazy, I swear! AD is lazy!</p> <p>FR: He’s so lazy, mate!</p> <p>AD: Yeah, I’m so lazy! Honestly, what you said is the bare truth!</p>
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4 - Studying: a means or a goal?

Type of recording: Group interview

Setting: Temara, central square (*Şāntər*)

Context: **GG** has gathered four youthsters from his neighborhood for the researcher to interview them about their life in Temara; he is well acquainted with **PT** and **SI** and knows **GS** and **DS** through the former two. His four co-participants all study together at the Faculty of Judicial,

³⁵² According to CDS, this utterance has an implicit sexual meaning, which explains why **MD** laughs right afterwards.

Economic and Social Sciences of Rabat and three of them (**SI**, **PT** and **DS**) also attended high school together. **GG** attends another institute, as he specifies during the interview, but used to attend the same faculty before dropping out of it. The following excerpts is a development of a collective question asked by the researcher: what are your ambitions?

<p>SI: /l-mu:ʃki:l lli ka:jən f-l-ma:ʔri:b hu:wa bna:dəm ma... l-ha:da:f... ma:-mrʕəbbi:n-ʃ fi:-na wa:həd l-ħa:za dja:l-ʔannak tku:n ʕənd-ək wa:həd l... wa:həd l-ha:da:f f-l-ħa:ja:t ʃi:-nha:r təlga l-ha:da:f f-l-ħa:ja:t dja:l-ək rʕa ta:-ʃi:-ħa:za... ki:mma ta:-ngu:l-l-ək rʕa ʔa:jj ħa:za xa:ləq-ha rʕəbb-i li:-k nta:ja ʔa:jj ħa:za rʕa jəmkən-l-ək nta təstəʃməl-ha ba:ʃ ddi:r-ha tʕri:q l-da:k l-ha:da:f ʔi:r tku:n ʃi:-ħa:za zəʃma ʃi:-ħa:za f-l-xi:r a:w ʃi:-ħa:za f... ʔi:za:bi:ja u:-kda ma:ta:la:n ha:da:k lli kə-ʃfəkkərʕ f-ʔu:rʕu:ppa jəmʃi... kull-wa:həd kə-ʃfəkkərʕ f-ʔu:rʕu:ppa a:na ma:-nəkdəb-ʃ ʕli:-k a:na nha:r fəkkərʕt nəmʃi l-ʔu:rʕu:ppa zəʃma nəmʃi l-ʔa:lʕma:nja.../ [---] /hi:t a:na ba:ʔi nəmʃi l-ʔa:lʕma:nja ?? ka:nt ʕəndi wa:həd l-fi:kra dja:l-l-la:ʔi:ʔi:n s-su:ri:ji:n kə-jmʃi:w kənt ka:-nfəkkərʕ ta:-a:na nəmʃi mʕa:-hum u:-kda... kənt ka:-nfəkkərʕ... kənt ka:-nfəkkərʕ (DS: /jəmʃi jħərrəg/) ndəwwəz.../ [---] / ndəwwəz təlt sni:n təmma u:la rəbʕ-sni:n.../ [---] /ma:-nəkdəb-ʃ ʕli:-k n-nha:r ha:da:k da:k ʃ-ʃi lli... ma... a:-nəqra ʃi:-ħa:za lli ʔa:-nʔi:b-ha l-l-bla:d³⁵³ lli ʔa:-nənfəʃ bi:-ha du:k n-na:s hi:t ka:jni:n ʃi:-ħwa:jəz.../ [---] /bħa:l da:ba ma:ta:la:n ħna nəmʃi:w l-wa:həd aplikasjə plʕa:jsʕʔu:rʕ ka:-ntla:ga:w mʕa:-wa:həd d-dərri... ʕrəfti aplikasjə plʕa:jsʕʔu:rʕ/</p> <p>J: /ʔa:h/</p> <p>SI: /ka-nəʕrəf wa:həd d-dərri sʕa:ħəb-na ka:-nʕərfu:-h a:na u:-ha:da/ [---] /xa:rəʒ mən t-ta:sʕa ʕrəfti t-ta:sʕa ħna lli ʕədd-na/</p> <p>PT: /t-ta:sʕa/</p> <p>J: /t-ta:sʕa/</p> <p>PT: /ʔʔʔʔ/</p> <p>DS: /ka:tʕrʕja:m a:ni/</p> <p>GG: /mu:sta:wa... na:zəl ʃwi:ja ʔʔʔʔ/</p> <p>SI: /na:zəl tʕa:jəħ ʃwi:ja ma:za:l ma:-wsʕəl-ʃ l-l-bʕa:k</p>	<p>SI: <i>The problem in Morocco is that people don't... goals... We don't get used to the idea of having a... a goal in our life; one day you realise that you have no goal in your life... As I was telling you [before], everything is created for you by the Lord. Everything can be used by you and turned into a path towards that goal, as long as it's something... I mean, something good or something... positive and so on. For example, those who aim for Europe, going there... Everybody aims for Europe, I'm being honest with you: one day, I thought about going to Europe, I mean going to Germany... [---] because I'd actually like to go to Germany ?? I used to have the idea of the Syrian refugees, they go there, and I thought that I could go with them, and so on... I thought... I thought (DS: <i>Emigrating illegally</i>) I could spend three years over there, or four years... [---] I'm being honest with you! The day that thing that... I don't... I would have studied something, something I could have brought back to my village, to help those people. Because there are some things... [---] like, for example, let's take the Playstore app: we always meet a guy... Do you know the Playstore app?</i></p> <p>J: <i>Yes, I do!</i></p> <p>SI: <i>I know a guy, a friend of ours, he and I know him [---] He's just finished 9th Grade. Do you know what our 9th Grade is?</i></p> <p>PT: <i>9th Grade.</i></p> <p>J: <i>9th Grade?</i></p> <p>PT: <i>ʔʔʔʔ</i></p> <p>DS: <i>4th year.</i></p> <p>GG: <i>A bit of a... mediocre level ʔʔʔʔ</i></p> <p>SI: <i>A bit mediocre, low, he hasn't got his diploma yet.</i></p>
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³⁵³ **SI** refers to the village from which his mother's family originally comes from, which is located near the town of Tata, next to the desert. His father comes from another village, near Marrakesh, but he is only familiar with his mother's.

<p><u>bəzza:f l-ʔi:ʕda:di/</u></p> <p>DS: /ʔi:ʕda:di s-sa:na t-ta:lta ʔi:ʕda:di/</p> <p>SI: /s-sa:na t-ta:lta ʔi:ʕda:di/</p> <p>YS: /kolɛʒ³⁵⁴ kolɛʒ/</p> <p>SI: /ʔa:h ha:da xa:rəʒ... kə-ʒsʰa:wəb aplikasjō plʰa:ʒsʰtʰu:rʰ xa:rəʒ mən t-ta:sʰa u:-ka:-nəʕref bna:dəm fa:jət l-bʰa:k u:-bʰu:tʰu:n dʰərʰwa f.../ (bursts out laughing) /bʰu:tʰu:n dʰərʰwa f-s-su:ri di:k s-su:ri ka:jna bʰu:tʰu:n dʰərʰwa ma:-kə... ma:-kə-ʒrəf-ha:-ʃ ha:da hu:wa... ha:da hu:wa l-mu:ʃki:l nha:r ʔa:-t... bha:l da:ba a:na ma:ta:la:n nəʕəlləm aplikasjō plʰa:ʒsʰtʰu:rʰ nəʕəlləm b-ʃi:-tʰa:ri:qa hti:ra:fi:ja nəqra b-wa:həd tʰ-ʰa:ri:qa hti:ra[:fi:ja] nəʔəqqa... nəʔəqqa bha:l da:ba.../</p> <p>DS: /d-dəʕm/</p> <p>SI: /...s-su:hu:la s-su:hu:la dja:l-ʔannaka... da:ba hna t-təʕli:m kə-ʒəʕtʰi:-k l-məʕri[:fa] kə-ʒtʰi:-h[a] li:-k sʰi:b/ [--] /s-su:hu:la lli ʔa:-ntəʕəlləm bi:-ha a:na f-ʔu:rʰu:ppa ʔa:-nʒi:b-ha ʔa:na:ja/ [--] /u:-nəʕəlləm bi:-ha bna:dəm lli ʔa:-jwəlli jərbəh bi:-ha l-flu:s wa:xxa jku:n ma:-qa:ri:-ʃ/</p> <p>DS: /kull-ʃi ʔa:-jsta:fəd mən-ha/</p> <p>SI: /kull-ʃi ʔa:-jsta:fəd mən-ha/ [--] /fa:f ʔa:-[j]ttʰəwwər l-mu:sta:wa l-ma:ʕi:ʃi ʔa:-jttʰəwwər l-fi:kr dja:l-ək ʔa:-jttʰəwwru tʰ-tʰu:mu:ha:t dja:l-ək nta ʔa:-j... l-mu:hi:tʰ dja:l-ək ʔa:-jttʰəwwər/ [--] /zi:d a:-xu:ja GS³⁵⁵/</p> <p>GS: /lla da:ba hi:t l-mu:ʃki:l ma:ʃi təmma:ja bha:l da:ba nta:ja hi:t... da:ba nta ʃnu gəlti li:-h/ [--] /gəlti li:-h nta aplikasjō plʰa:ʒsʰtʰu:rʰ u:la ʃi:-lʕi:ba bha:la:kka da:ba ʕla:ʃ da:ba hi:t... ʔa:na... ʔa:na ngu:l-l-ək... ʔa:na ʔa... mi:ta:l mi:ta:l da:ba a:na a:-ngu:l-l-ək ta:-nəqra ʕənd-i bəzza:f dja:l-l-hwa:jəʒ bəzza:f dja:l-l-hwa:jəʒ lli ʕənd-i ʔa:na... mumkin... mumkin nəxdəm-hum mumkin nəxdəm ha:di ?? nəxdəm ha:di/ [--] /wa:la:ki:n b-dʰ-dʰəbtʰ ʃku:n-lli ʔa:di n... ʔa:na nəxdəm fi:-ha məzja:n ma:-ʕrəft-ha:-ʃ fəmti ʃku:n-lli ʔa:-nəta:h fi:-ha.../</p> <p>SI: /ʔa:h/</p> <p>GS: /nta rʰa ʔi... bha:l-i:la gəlti ta:-ddu:rʰ f-wa:həd d-dəwwa:ma ʕənd-ək bəzza:f dja:l-l-hwa:jəʒ u... ma:-ʕrəfti:-</p>	<p><u>that's too bad! Middle school!</u></p> <p>DS: <u>Middle school, third year of middle school.</u></p> <p>SI: <u>Third year of middle school.</u></p> <p>GS: “Collège”, “collège”.</p> <p>SI: <i>That's it! This guy's just finished... He can fabricate the Playstore app, and he's just finished 9th Grade! And I know another guy who's got his diploma and the right button of... (Bursts out laughing) The right button of the mouse... The mouse, there's a right button, and he... he doesn't know it, that's... that's the problem, one day you... Like, for example, I can learn how to fabricate the Playstore app, learn it in a professional way, study to become professional, enjoy... enjoy like...</i></p> <p>DS: <i>...some support.</i></p> <p>SI: <i>...the smoothness, the smoothness of... [Where] we [live] school gives you knowledge, it gives it to you in a hard way. [---] So I could bring here the smooth way with which I'd learn that in Europe [---] and use it to teach people, who'd start earning money thanks to it, even if they're uneducated.</i></p> <p>DS: <i>Everybody would benefit from it.</i></p> <p>SI: <i>Everybody would benefit from it. [---] When you develop the standard of living, your mindset will develop, your ambitions will develop, you'll... your milieu will develop. [---] Go ahead, brother GS.</i></p> <p>GS: <i>Actually, that's not where the problem is. Like you, since... Now, what did you tell him? [---] You told him about yourself, the Playstore app or some stuff like that. But why? Well, because... I... I'll tell you... I'll... An example, an example. Now, I'll tell you: I study, I've got a lot of things. And a lot of things that I've got I... I can... I can work with. I can work with this ?? I can work with that... [---] But which one exactly I'll... I'll work with really well, that I don't know. You understand? Which one will make me feel at ease...</i></p> <p>SI: <i>Sure!</i></p> <p>GS: <i>You just... It's like you're caught in a whirlpool: you've got a lot of things and... You don't know what you</i></p>
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³⁵⁴ French translation for “middle school”.

³⁵⁵ **GS** manifested his will to intervene several times during **SI**'s talk.

<p>f.ɣnu:-lli.../</p> <p>DS: /xəsʰsʰ lli jwəʒʒh-ək/</p> <p>GS: /ma:-ɣrəfti:-f ɣnu:-lli tʃədd f... hi:t fəʃ... fəʃ ʔəh ha:d... hi:t ha:da:k l-wəld lli ɣa:wəd li:-k hu... lli ɣa:wəd li:-k ɣli:-h da:ba hu:wa tə-jdi:r le-zaplikasjō plʰa:jsʰtʰu:rʰ hu:wa ma:-m... msa:li/ [---] /msa:li ma:-ɣənd-u ma:-jdda:r/</p> <p>SI: /ki:fa:f ma:-ɣənd-u.../</p> <p>GS: /ʔa:h mu:hi:mm/</p> <p>PT: /ma:-ɣənd-u ma:-jdda:r ma:-kə-jqra ma:-da:jər lʰi:tʰi:jja³⁵⁶ ma:-da:jər wa:lu</p> <p>GS: /ma:-ɣənd-u ma:-jdda:r da:ba ma:fi... ma:fi da:k f-ɣi.../</p> <p>SI: /ma:fi b-da:k l-məɣna dja:l-ma:-ɣənd-u ma:-jdda:r/ (laughs)</p> <p>GS: /ʔa:h ma:-ɣənd-u ma:-jdda:r da:ba hi:t hu:wa ma:fi... xrəʒ mən-d-di:rʰa:sa.../</p> <p>DS: /ma:-ɣənd-u:-f fi:-ha:ʒa m... fhəmti mʃəmmra li:-h l-wəqt dja:l-u/ [---]</p> <p>SI: /ʔa:h ma:-ɣənd-u:-f ba:f jʃəmmər.../</p> <p>DS: /hna mʃəmmra:-l-na d-di:rʰa:sa mʃəmmra:-l-na... jəʃni ma:-jəmkən-f nta:ja təstəyɲi ɣla:-qra:jt-ək u:-nta dʰəjjəʃti fi:-ha ma:-ɣrət fi... tna:ʃərʰ ɣa:m u:la təltʰa:ʃərʰ ɣa:m u:-nta ta:-təqra f-l-ləxxər ɣa:-təsməh fi:-ha ɣa:-təbfi l-da:k f-ɣi/</p> <p>J: /hm/</p> <p>DS: /fhəmti xəsʰsʰ-ək bha:l da:ba hna a:-nna:xdu lʰi:sʰu:nsʰ ʔəjjə:h ha:da a:-jja:xud lʰi:sʰu:nsʰ jəqdər nətfərrəy l-da:k f-ɣi bi:-mma lqi:t ɣi:-xədma/</p> <p>J: /hm/</p> <p>DS: /wa:f fhəmti:-ni u:la:-lla nəqdər nətfərrəy l-da:k dʰ-dʰu:mi:n u:-ɣa:-nəʃtʰi fi:-h bi:-mma lqi:t ɣi:-ɣa:ma:l ta:-ʔa:na:ja/ [---] /bha:la:kka/</p> <p>SI: /u:-d-da:li... u:-ʔakbar dali:l li-ʔanna da:k f-ɣi lli... ʔakbar dali:l li-ʔannak da:k f-ɣi lli ka:-t... da:k f-ɣi lli ka:-t... l-qra:ja lli ka:-təstəʃməl-ha ka:-tʃədd-ha b-z-zərba hu:wa l-i:sʰtʰi:ja³⁵⁷ da:ba hna ɣədd-na l-i:sʰtʰi... t-təkwi:n l-mi:ha:ni ka:-tkəwwən b-da:k f-ɣi lli ɣa:-təxdəm ma:fi ka:-</p>	<p>should...</p> <p>DS: <i>You need to be oriented.</i></p> <p>GS: <i>You don't know what you should stick to as for... because when... when er this... because the guy that he told you no... that he told you about now, that makes Playstore apps... he's not... he's free. [---] Free, he's got nothing to do.</i></p> <p>SI: <i>What do you mean he's...</i></p> <p>GS: <i>Yeah, anyway...</i></p> <p>PT: <i>He's got nothing to do: he doesn't study, he <u>doesn't go to ITA</u>, he <u>does nothing!</u></i></p> <p>GS: <i><u>He's got nothing to do! In fact, it's not...</u> It's nothing so...</i></p> <p>SI: <i>I didn't mean to say he had nothing to do... (laughs)</i></p> <p>GS: <i>But he does have nothing to do! Because, you know, he's not... He dropped <u>out of school</u>...</i></p> <p>DS: <i><u>He hasn't got something to...</u> you know, to fill his own time with. [---]</i></p> <p>SI: <i>Sure, he's <u>got nothing to fill</u>...</i></p> <p>DS: <i>We fill it by... We fill it by studying... I mean, you can't give up your studies after wasting, I don't know, some... twelve or thirteen years studying, and in the end you give them up and start that other thing.</i></p> <p>J: <i>Hm!</i></p> <p>DS: <i>You get it? You need, like... I'll get my BA, that's right, he'll get his BA, and then I could find the time to do that until I find a job.</i></p> <p>J: <i>Hm!</i></p> <p>DS: <i>Did you get what I'm saying? I might find the time to dedicate myself to that field and put my efforts in it, until I find an occupation, too. [---] <u>That's how</u>.</i></p> <p>SI: <i><u>And the proo...</u> And the best proof that the thing that... the best proof that the thing that you... that thing that you... that you learn more quickly the knowledge that you put into practice is ISTA. We've got ISTA... Professional</i></p>
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³⁵⁶ Vocational institute that does not require a high school diploma.

³⁵⁷ The public vocational school of the Moroccan educational system.

<p>təqra təqra ʕi:r-təqra ka:-tkəwwən b-da:k f-ʕi lli ʕa:- təxdəm/</p> <p>GG: /ʕi:ni... ʔa:h a:na ka... a:na mi:ta:l/</p> <p>PT: /ha:-hu:wa ha:da tə-jqra... GG tə-jqra f-l-i:sʕi:ja/</p> <p>GG: /ʔa:na ka:-nəqra da:ba tʕ-tekni:k djal-l-vāt/ [---] /ki:fa:f.../</p> <p>PT: /tekni:k d-vāt/</p> <p>SI: /ki:fa:f (ta:-tbi:ʕ)/</p> <p>GG: /ki:fa:f ʕa:-nbi:ʕ u:-ki:fa:f ʕa:-nəʕri/</p> <p>PT: /l-ma:rʕku:ti:n.../</p> <p>GG: /d-dərri lli ʔa:b li:-ja t-ti:li:fu:n...³⁵⁸/</p> <p>PT: /fa:f kəntu wa:gfi:n/</p> <p>GG: /ʔa:h kun ga:l li:-ja bəlli ʕənd-i r-rbəh fi:-h ʕənd-i l- fəʕəl ʕa:-nəʕʕi na:xd-u mən-ʕənd-u u:-ʕa:-nbi:ʕ-u.../</p> <p>PT: /ma:-ʕa:di:-f... ma:-tsʕəddr-u:-f/</p> <p>GG: /...kun rʕa xdi:t-u wa:la:ki:n ʕa:rf-u smi:t-u... ha:nja b-ba:sa:tʕa dhəkt mʕa:-h gətt li:-h lla ma:-ʕəb-ni:-f fi:-h f- ʕəqqa ha:di.../</p> <p>SI: /hi:t ʕa:ri hu:wa ʕla:-da:k f-ʕi/</p> <p>GG: /sʕa:fi ʕa:ri l-pja:sʕa ʕa:rəf-ha ʕa:-ttba:ʕ li:-ja u:la ma:-ttba:ʕ-f li:-ja nəʕri ha:d l-ka:sʕki:tʕa nbi:ʕ-ha kda... jəʕni ka:-ttkəwwən jəʕni ʕa:-ttkəwwən f-ma:ʔa:l ti:ki:n:k dja:l l-bi:ʕ wa-f-fira:ʔ/</p> <p>SI: /wa-f-fira:ʔ ʔa:h.../</p> <p>GG: /ta:-ngu:l wa:həd n-nha:r [jə]qdər da:k sʕ-sʕi:bʕi:rʕ ma:-jəbqa:-f...³⁵⁹ la:həʕti sʕ-sʕi:bʕi:rʕ ma:-bqa:-f di:k l- ħaraka fi:-h bna:dəm tə-jdxul bəzza:f kull-ʕi (wəlla ʕa f)-t- ti:li:fu:n/</p> <p>PT: /kull-ʕi ʕənd-u pi:sʕi f-da:rʕ-hum ti:li:fu:n kda/</p> <p>GG: /jəqdər wa:həd n-nha:r tʕəssər li:-ja nəhjjəd da:k sʕ- sʕi:bʕi:rʕ u:-ndi:r wa:həd l-məʕru:ʕ xu:r djal-l-bi:ʕ u:-f-fra bħa:l ma:ta:la:n GM³⁶⁰ da:r l-hwa:jəʔ nəqdər ndi:r ʕi:-</p>	<p>training, you get trained in the thing that you'll work with, you don't study and study and just study, you get trained in the thing you'll work with.</p> <p>GG: <i>Give me... yeah, me as... I'm an example!</i></p> <p>PT: <i>There he is, he studies... GG studies at the ISTA.</i></p> <p>GG: <i>I'm studying the techniques of selling now [---] How...</i></p> <p>PT: <i>Sales Techniques.</i></p> <p>SI: <i>How (you sell).</i></p> <p>GG: <i>How I'd sell and how I'd buy.</i></p> <p>PT: <i>Marketing...</i></p> <p>GG: <i>The guy who brought me the telephone...</i></p> <p>PT: <i>When you guys were standing?</i></p> <p>GG: <i>Yes. If he had told me that I'd have some profite out of it, some earning, I would have gone, got it from him and sold it...</i></p> <p>PT: <i>You wouldn't... You wouldn't have dismissed him.</i></p> <p>GG: <i>...I would have taken it; but I know that he [was not offering a good deal]... But it's OK, I joked with him with naturalness, saying: "No, I don't really like it, there's a crack on it" and so on.</i></p> <p>SI: <i>Because he studies that.</i></p> <p>GG: <i>And that's it. I study the item, I know whether it will or will not sell, I can buy this cap, sell it and so on...</i></p> <p><i>Bottom line, you get trained, that is, you get trained in the field of the techniques of selling and purchasing.</i></p> <p>SI: <i>And purchasing, yeah!</i></p> <p>GG: <i>I tell myself that, one day, our cyber cafe may close...</i> <i>You've already noticed that there's not much bustle in the cafe any more, people no longer come very often, everybody (just started using) telephones.</i></p> <p>PT: <i>Everybody's got a computer at home, a telephone and so on.</i></p> <p>GG: <i>One day, I may find the means, get rid of that cafe and start another commercial project; like for example GM who started selling clothes, I may do something else.</i></p>
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³⁵⁸ **GG** will now refer to an event that occurred before the interview, while he was taking me to the place where the other informants were gathered.

³⁵⁹ **GG** used to work in a family-owned internet point at the time; when I went back to Temara 16 months after this interview, they had converted the place into a cosmetics shop.

³⁶⁰ **GG** and **GM**, who did not participate to this interview, live and work in the same street.

<p>hɑ:ʒɑ x^wra/ [---] /nbi:ʃ u:-nəʃri jəʃni ha:da t-txɑ:s^sus^s dja:l-i bi:ʃ.../</p> <p>PT: /...u:-ʃi:ra:ʔ/</p> <p>GG: /u:-ʃi:ra:ʔ/ [---] /jəʃni ʒəks l-ʒɑ:miʃɑ l'a:-fa:k jəʃni ka:-təbqɑ ha:di:k xəs^ss^s-ək ??/</p> <p>DS: /u:-ʃi:-ha di:k l-avāʒ ma:ʃi ka:-təbqɑ ʒi:r-təqra/ [---] /hm ka:-təqra u:-ka:-təbʃi təs^st^sa:ʒi/</p> <p>SI: /ka:-təbʃi ka:-təs^st^sa:ʒi/</p> <p>DS: /ka:-təbʃi ka:-təs^st^sa:ʒi jəʃni fhəmti/</p> <p>PT: /fəhra:jən dja:l-l-qra:ja fəhr[a:jən].../</p> <p>DS: /fəhra:jən dja:l-l-qra:ja u:-fəhra:jən dja:l-s^s-s^st^sa:ʒ wa:f fhəmti:-ni/</p> <p>GS: /l-mu:ʃki:la ma:ʃi təmma ta:-l'a:-fa:k məzja:na ta:-l'a:- fa:k məzja:na/</p> <p>SI: /lla ma:-ka:-nəhdər^s-ʃ ʃla:-l'a:-fa:k a:-s^sa:hb-i/ <i>Many participants start speak altogether in response to SI; the only clearly understandable words are PT's, reported in the next line.</i></p> <p>PT: /ʔa:h zəʃma (kə-jhdər^s) mən-n-na:hja dja:l.../ [---]</p> <p>SI: /l-ma:ʒja:l dja:l... l-ma:ʒja:l dja:l.../</p> <p>PT: /...t-təwʒi:h t-təwʒi:h/</p> <p>GG: /jəʃni mənni ka:-ddi:r jəstjð ka:-təmʃi ?? jəstjð/</p> <p>PT: /wəjja:h mətta:fəq mʃa:-k/</p> <p>GG: /ha:di... ha:di... ??/</p> <p>SI: /hna ka:-nhədr^su f-l'a:-fa:k l'a:-fa:k... l'a:-fa:k ka:- ddi:r-ha... hna ngu:l-l-ək... l'a:-fa:k n-na:s ʃnu kə-jdi:ru kə- jdi:ru-ha ba:ʃ ma:za:l jəqra:w mən mu:r^sa:-ha.../</p> <p>GS: /...mən-mu:r^sa:-ha l-ma:s^st^si:r^s/</p> <p>SI: /ʔa:h mən-mu:r^sa:-ha l-ma:s^st^si:r^s u:-la təbʃi təxdəm u:la.../</p> <p>GS: /l-ma:s^st^si:r^s spəsja:ʒə təmma fi:n ta:-ttxəs^ss^səs^s/</p> <p>SI: /ʔa:h/</p> <p>GS: /təmma fi:n ta:-ttxəs^ss^səs^s ʒa:d təmma fi:n ta:-twəlli ʒa:rəf nta ʃnu ʒa:di ddi:r/ [---] /hi:t ma:-jəmkən-ʃ da:ba</p>	<p>[---] <i>Selling and buying, so this is my specialisation, sale...</i></p> <p>PT: <i>...and purchase.</i></p> <p>GG: <i>...and purchase. [---] So it's the opposite of university, "la fac". So in the end you have to ??</i></p> <p>DS: <i>And [ISTA] has the advantage that you don't just keep studying. [---] Er you both study and take an internship.</i></p> <p>SI: <i>Take an internship.</i></p> <p>DS: <i>You take an internship, I mean, you get it?</i></p> <p>PT: <i>Two months of classes and two months...</i></p> <p>DS: <i>Two months of classes and two months of internship. do you understand?</i></p> <p>GS: <i>But that's not where the problem is, university's also good, university's also good!</i></p> <p>SI: <i>No, I'm not talking about university, mate!</i></p> <p>Many participants start speak altogether in response to SI; the only clearly understandable words are PT's, reported in the next line.</p> <p>PT: <i>Yeah, I mean, (he's talking) about... [---]</i></p> <p>SI: <i>The scope of... the scope of...</i></p> <p>PT: <i>...the orientation, the orientation.</i></p> <p>GG: <i>I mean, if you study Management you go ?? management.</i></p> <p>PT: <i>Yeah, I agree with you!</i></p> <p>GG: <i>This... this... ??</i></p> <p>SI: <i>Shall we talk about university? University... University's for... I'm telling you we... University, what do people do? They attend it in order to go on studying after it.</i></p> <p>GS: <i>...[they take] a Master's degree after it.</i></p> <p>SI: <i>Yeah, a Master's degree after it, or you start working, or...</i></p> <p>GS: <i>A specialised Master's, that's when you start doing something specific.</i></p> <p>SI: <i>Yeah!</i></p> <p>GS: <i>That's when you start doing something specific. That's the point when you understand what you're going to do. [---] Because you can't... In fact, if you take a</i></p>
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<p>ʔənta ʔi:la kənti ta:-təqra <i>lisās</i> ta:-təqra l-ʔi:za:za xa:sʰsʰ jku:n ʕənd-ək wa:həd r-ra:sʰi:d ma:ʕri:fi kbi:r bəzza:f fhəmti jku:n ʕənd-ək ʃi:-ha:za lli hi:ja fhəmti u:-tku:n mtəqqəf bəzza:f u:-ma:ʃi... ma:ʃi... da:ba hna... hu:wa təjdwi... jəʕni... da:ba hu:wa ga:l-l-ək t-təkwi:n l-mi:ha:ni t-təkwi:n l-mi:ha:ni məhdu:d/ [---] /məhdu:d sʰa:fi jəʕni <u>rʰa</u> <u>hədd-ək təmma:ja/</u> SI: /<u>ʃi:n məhdu:d/</u> [---] /lla/ GS: /hədd-u ha:da:k ʃ-ʃi lli tə-jqra/ [---] /hədd-u ha:da:k ʃ- ʃi lli tə-jqra:-h.../ DS: /ʕa:ma:jən dja:l-u ʔa:-ja:xud dʰ-dʰi:plʰu:m.../ GS: /<u>ʕənd-u</u> ʕa:ma:jən ʕənd-u ʕa:ma:jən dja:l l-qra:ja/ <i>Many voices overlap again, the only discernible words</i> <i>being SI's below.</i> SI: /jəmkən jzi:d mu:rʰa:-ha ʕa:m dja:l lʰ-lisās <i>profesjonel</i> <u>ka:-ddi:r.../</u> GS: /<i>lisās</i> <i>profesjonel</i> (DS: <i>teknisiē spesjalize</i>) <i>f-teknik d-</i> <i>vāt a:-sʰa:hb-i</i> ma:-ka:jna:-ʃ ʕədd-na f-l-ma:ʔri:b <u>ni:ha:ʔi:jən/</u> DS: /<i>teknisiē spe[ʃ]alize/</i> GG: /<i>teknisiē spesjalize jəqdər jdi:r-ha/</i> GS: /<i>teknisiē spesjalize</i> [ka:jna] a:mma tgu:l li:-ja <i>lisās</i> <i>profesjonel</i> ma:-ka:jna:-ʃ a:-sʰa:hb-i/ GG: /<i>bha:l ʒəstjō bha:l.../</i> [---] /lli kə-jqra:w b-l-bʰa:k æ³⁶¹/ GS: /ʔa:h le³⁶² ʒəstjō de zātrəpriz (SI: /<i>bha:l dʰ-</i> <i>dʰi:plʰu:m... hm/</i>) jəʕni ta:-tʃa:wəd dʰ-dʰi:plʰu:m mən-l- ləwwəl (GG: /<i>devləpmā d-rezo.../</i>) ma:-ʕli:na:-ʃ da:ba hi:t da:k ʃ-ʃi lli da:ba ta:-ngu:l ki:f-ma gəlt-l-ək da:ba lʰa:-fa:k xa:sʰsʰa tk... jku:n ʕənd-ək wa:həd... da:ba nta ʃəddi:ti l- ʔi:za:za xa:sʰsʰ-ək tku:n mtəqqəf xa:sʰsʰa tku:n ʕənd-ək l- lu:ʔa u:-xa:sʰsʰa tku:n ʕənd-ək wa:həd r-ra:sʰi:d ma:ʕri:fi kbi:r dja:l-l-ma:ʕlu:ma:t...)</p>	<p>licence, a BA, you need a huge amount of knowledge, you get it? Something that... you get it? And you need to be really cultivated, and not... not... In fact, we... He's talking... I mean... Now, he said: "Professional training"; but professional training is limited. [---] Limited, that's it! I mean, <u>that's your final limit.</u> SI: <u>How is it "limited"?</u> No, it isn't! GS: <u>The things that [those who attend ISTA] study there</u> <u>are their final limit. [---] The things they study there are</u> <u>their final limit.</u> DS: <u>After they've finished their two years, they get <i>their</i></u> <u>diploma...</u> GS: <u>They study two years, they study two years.</u> Many voices overlap again, the only discernible words being SI's below. SI: <u>They can go on taking one year of professional BA,</u> <u>you do...</u> GS: <u>Professional BA (DS: [They can become] specialised</u> <u>technicians) in Sales Techniques? There's no such thing</u> <u>anywhere in Morocco, mate!</u> DS: <u>[They can become] specialised technicians.</u> GG: <u>But specialised technicians, they can do!</u> GS: <u>Sure, specialised technicians! But there's no</u> <u>professional BA, mate!</u> GG: <u>Like Management, like... [---] those who study "bac</u> <u>+1"</u> GS: <u>Yes, Business Managements, (SI: Like the diploma...</u> <u>hm.) so you restart a BA course from scratch. (GG: Like</u> <u>Network development...) Whatever. In fact, what I'm</u> <u>saying now, as I told you, is that university requires for</u> <u>you... for you to have a... Now, if you've got a BA, you're</u> <u>supposed to be cultivated, to master the [French]</u> <u>language, and to have a big amount of knowledge and</u> <u>information...</u> SI: <u>Yeah!</u> GS: <u>In order for you to... Why, in fact...? The thing is...</u> <u>the things is that we're studying these things, but how are</u></p>
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³⁶¹ He may mean "bac +1", ie. having completed one year of university after one's high school diploma ("bac" or "baccalauréat").

³⁶² **GS** uses a plural French article like the name of the subject "Gestion des entreprises" were plural, whereas it is usually singular.

<p>SI: /ʔa:h/</p> <p>GS: /ba:f ʔannaka... ʕla:f da:ba... da:ba hna rʔa da:ba ta:-neqra:w ha:d f-ʃi wa:la:kin ha:d f-ʃi f-a:f ʕa:di jnəfʃ-ək/ [---] /f-a:f ʕa:di jnəfʃ-ək hu:wa n-nha:r lli ʕa:di ddi:r l-ma:sʔi:rʔ n-nha:r lli ddi:r l-ma:sʔi:rʔ f-a:f ʕa:di ttwəʒʒəh ʕa:di ddi:r l-ħa:ʒa lli tta ʕa:di təʒb-a... lli ta:-tʕəʒb-ək u:-ʕa... ta:-təxdəm fi:-ha məʒja:n... u:-ta:-təxdəm fi:-ha məʒja:n ta:-təʔqa bəlli rʔa mu:rʔa:-k rʔa f-ha:di:k lʔ-lisās lli qri:ti ta:-təʔqa bəlli rʔa:-h ʕənd-ək³⁶³ wa:ħəd l... wa:ħəd l-bʔa:ga:ʒ/</p> <p>J: /hm/</p> <p>GS: /wa:ħəd l-bʔa:ga:ʒ dja:l l-ma:ʕlu:ma:t nta xdi:ti:-hum u:-sta:fətti fi:-hum təmma fi:n ʕa:di twədʔdʔəf-hum fhəmti hna fi:n ka:jən l-mu:ʃki:l da:ba hi:t da:ba... hi:t da:ba ha:d l-mu:ʃki:l... hu:wa l-mu:ʃki:l l-kbi:r ʔannaka ka:-tta:xud l-wəqt/ [---] /xəms-sni:n ma:ʃi bħa:l ʕa:ma:jən/ [---] /ʔi:la kənti ka:-təqra xəmsa dja:l-l-ʔa:ʕwa:m ma:ʃi bħa:l i:la kənti ka:-təqra ʕa:ma:jən ka:-təbʃi ka:-təqra ʕa:ma:jən təqdər təbʃi ddəbbəʔ ʕla:-rʔa:s-ək fhəmti ta:-təqdər təbʃi təxdəm təqdər təbqa bi:tʔa:li/</p> <p>SI: /ʔaw b-sʔa:lʔi:rʔ m.../</p> <p>GS: /...ʔəh... zi:rʔu/ [---] /u:-lʔa:-fa:k ka-da:lik ta:-hi:ja fhəmti jəʕni da:k f-ʃi ħa:l u:-ʔa:ħwa:l mu:hi:mm lli məkta:ba xdəmti hu:wa ha:da:k l-mu:hi:mm wa:ħəd l-ħa:ʒa di:ma bna:dəm ma:-jgu:l-f di:k l-ħədrʔa bəlli.../</p> <p>X: /ma:-jməll-/</p> <p>GS: /ʔa:h ma:-jməll-/</p> <p>DS: /ʕa:-nəqra u:-sʔa:fi ma:-ʕa:-nəxdəm-f f-l-ləxxər di:ma xa:sʔsʔ-ək tħu:tʔt.../</p> <p>GS: /ʔa:h ʕa:di nəqra ma:-ʕa:-nəxdəm-f.../</p> <p>SI: /lla lla/</p> <p>DS: /fhəmti/</p> <p>GS: /b-l-ʕəks b-l-ʕəks/</p> <p>PT: /u:la tsa:jən d-dəwla ʔanna hi:ja txəddm-ək di:ma qəlləb sʔtʔa:ʒi di:r ʃi:-ħa:ʒa/</p> <p>GS: /b-l-ʕəks nta qri:ti... b-l-ʕəks b-l-ʕəks b-l-ʕəks qri:ti.../ [---] /qri:ti sta:fətti sta:fətti bəzza:f dja:l-l-ħwa:ʒəʒ da:ba</p>	<p><i>we going to benefit from them? [---] How are we going to benefit from them? When you take your MA. When you take your MA, when you're oriented, when you do the thing that you li... that you like and you... you're good at... and you're good at, you'll realise that you, that thanks to the BA that you've taken, you'll realise that you have a huge baggage!</i></p> <p>J: <i>Hm!</i></p> <p>GS: <i>A huge baggage of knowledge that you've taken and availed yourself of. And there's where you're going to employ them! You get it? That's where the problem lays! Because in fact... Because in fact this problem... The biggest problem is that it takes time. [---] Five years is not like two. [---] Studying five years is not like studying two years. If you study two years, you can go and stand on your feet, you get it? You can work or be unemployed.</i></p> <p>SI: <i>Or with a salary that's...</i></p> <p>GS: <i>Er.. that equals zero. [---] And university as well, also university, you get it? It goes with chance. Well, destiny is destiny. If you work, everything's fine. Just one thing's important: one should never make <u>the argument that...</u></i></p> <p>X: <i><u>One shouldn't get bored.</u></i></p> <p>GS: <i>Yeah, one shouldn't get bored.</i></p> <p>DS: <i>[One shouldn't say:] "I'll study and that will be it, <u>in the end I'll never work.</u>" You always need to put...</i></p> <p>GS: <i>Yeah, "I'll study and I'll never work".</i></p> <p>SI: <i>No, <u>no</u>!</i></p> <p>DS: <i><u>You get it?</u></i></p> <p>GS: <i><u>It's the opposite, it's the opposite!</u></i></p> <p>PT: <i><u>Or wait for the State to make you work: never stop searching, doing internships or anything else.</u></i></p> <p>GS: <i>It's the opposite: you've studied... It's the opposite, it's the opposite. It's the opposite: if you study... [---] If you study, you benefit, you benefit from a lot of things. Like, for example, at the university, well, I... I'm talking about myself. <u>At the university...</u></i></p>
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³⁶³ This word is pronounced with particular emphasis and by lengthening, raising and rounding the last vowel ([ʕand-æ:k]). The purpose is to emphasise the amount of knowledge that a *licence* (Bachelor's Degree) allows you to acquire.

<p>ma:ta:la:n f-l'a:-fa:k ?a:na da:ba... ?a:na ndwi:-l-ək i ʕla:-r'a:s-i f-l'a:-fa:k.../</p> <p>DS: /sməh li:-ja da:ba hi:t ka:jən wa:həd ʒ-ʒu:ʒ dja:l-l-hwa:jəʒ ka:jən lli kə-jja:xud l-qra:ja ka:-wa:si:la... fhəmti:-ni/</p> <p>PT: /...ka:jən lli kə-jja:xud-ha.../</p> <p>DS: /...u:-ka:jən lli kə-jja:xud-ha (PT: /...ka:-ha:da:f/) ka:-ha:da:f/</p> <p>J: /hm/</p> <p>DS: /fhəmti nta i:la səwwəlti ?a:yla:bi:jt d-dra:ri tgu:l ki:fa:f ka:-tta:xud l-qra:ja wa:f ka:-wa:si:la u:la ka:-ha:da:f jgu:l-l-ək ka:-wa:si:la kə-jja:xud:-ha ba:yi jqra ba:yi jəws'əl ja:xud wa:həd d'f'i:pl'u:m jəmfi jəxdəm bi:-h ma:jfi kə-jja:xud-ha ka:-ha:da:f jtəqqəf bi:-h r'a:s-u (PT: /jəfərəf ʃnu.../) jst... fhəmti jsta:fəd bi:-h mən-bəʕd jəqdər ʔa:-jzi ʔi:r jəswəl-ək ʃi:-wa:həd f-z-zənqa bha:l da:ba nta tla:qi:ti mʕa:-ja tsəwwəl-ni f-z-zənqa nəqdər fhəmti ʔa:-ntha:wər mʕa:-k u:-ʔa:-nəhdər mʕa:-k] fhəmti ma:jfi bha:l wa:həd ma:-qa:ri:-ʃ/ [---] /wa:f fhəmti:-ni ka:jən lli da:ba tə-jja:xud-ha ka:-wasi:la u:-ka:jən ha:da:f ha:du hu:ma ʒu:ʒ dja:l-l-hwa:jəʒ lli tə-j.../</p> <p>GS: /ki:f-ma gəlt-l-ək... ki:f-ma gəlt-l-ək l'a:-fa:k... da:ba ?a:na... ?a:na ʕənd-i tla:ta dja:l-l-ʔa:ʕwa:m... ?a:na ʕənd-i tla:ta dja:l-l-ʔa:ʕwa:m lli da:ba ta:-nəqra f-l'a:-fa:k ha:da hu:wa l-ʕa:m t-ta:lət/ [---] /l-ʕa:m t-ta:lət wa:la:ki:n ?a:na ba:qi dəzjem a:ni/ [---] / ba:qi dəzjem a:ni f... f-l'a:-fa:k wa:xxa qri:t fi:-ha təlt-sni:n l-ʕa:m l-ləwwəl ʕa:wətt-u ʕla:f hi:t ?a:s'la:n ma:-kənt-ʃ ka:-nəqra u:-ma:-kənt-ʃ fhəmti u... a:h fhəmti...</p> <p>SI: /ta:-ʔa:na:ja ta:-a.../</p> <p>GS: /mtəbbəʕ l-bna:t d-dərri:ja:t u:la t-ti:ti:z³⁶⁴ u.../</p> <p>PT: /...l-lʕa:qa t'f'u:nu:b'i:l'a:t.../</p> <p><i>Everybody laughs</i></p> <p>GG: /jes jes l'a:s'vi:ga:s/ (laughs out loud)</p> <p>GS: /fhəmti ma... l-mu:hi:mm.../</p>	<p>DS: <i>Excuse me, because, in fact, you've got two things: you've got those who take studying as a means... you understand?</i></p> <p>PT: <i>...And those who take it...</i></p> <p>DS: <i>And you've got those who take it (PT: ...as a goal) as a goal.</i></p> <p>J: <i>Hm!</i></p> <p>DS: <i>You get it? If you ask most guys, saying: "How do you take studying? As a means or as a goal?" He'll answer: "As a means." He takes it as he wants to study, he wants to reach the end, take a diploma, work with it; he doesn't take it as a goal, to become more erudite, (PT: He wants to know what...) av... you get it? He wants to make use of it afterwards. Someone may just come and address you randomly, like you've met me and you address me randomly, and I can – you see – discuss with you and talk to you, you get it? It's not like with someone uneducated. [---] You get what I'm saying? Now, some take it as a means and some as a goal. These are two things that...</i></p> <p>GS: <i>As I was telling you... As I was telling you: university... In fact, I... It's been three years... I've been studying at the university for three years now, this is the third year. [---] The third year, but I'm still completing the second year. [---] Still completing the second year of... of university, even though I've been attending for three years. I repeated the first year, and why? Because, as a matter of fact, I wasn't studying and I wasn't... you get it? And... yeah, you get it?</i></p> <p>SI: <i>Me, too. Me, t...</i></p> <p>GS: <i>I used to pursue girls, "chicks", or "hotties", and...</i></p> <p>PT: <i>...money and cars...</i></p> <p><i>Everybody laughs.</i></p> <p>GG: <i>"Yes, yes! Las Vegas!" (laughs out loud)</i></p> <p>GS: <i>You get it? I... Anyway...</i></p> <p>SI: (laughing) <i>We want more!!!</i></p> <p>J: (laughing) <i>Yeah, it's hard!</i></p> <p>GS: <i>It's not hard... The thing is that something happened to me: I used to love a girl...</i></p>
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³⁶⁴ The use of so many synonyms may be aimed at helping the researcher, whom **GS** knows to be a student of *dārīza*. The same informant also did something similar when he participated to the hidden-camera test (cfr. § 4.2.4.1, section "On the researcher's influence")

<p>SI: (<i>laughing</i>) /zi:d-ni/</p> <p>J: (<i>laughing</i>) /ʔa:h hi:ja sʕi:ba/</p> <p>GS: /ma:ʃi sʕi:ba hi:t ka:n tʔa:ri li:-ja wa:həd l-bʔlʔa:n kənt ka:-nəbyi wa:həd l-bənt.../</p> <p><i>All the other participants cheer and applaud</i></p> <p>PT: /wa:-ʔa:xi:ra:n/</p> <p>GG: (<i>to another informant</i>) /səʒʒl-u l-xa:li:d ha:da l-bba:-xa:li:d/</p> <p><i>Follows GS's account of his failed love story with a girl, which made him also fail the first year of his BA.</i></p>	<p>All the other participants cheer and applaud</p> <p>PT: <i>Finally!</i></p> <p>GG: (<i>to another informant</i>) <i>Record him for Ba Khalid, this is for Ba Khalid!</i></p> <p>Follows GS's account of his failed love story with a girl, which made him also fail the first year of his BA.</p>
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5 – Moving to Temara

Type of recording: individual interview

Setting: a bedroom in the house of **LT**, one of my younger informants. The interviewee is **LTm**, his mother, a woman in her fifties, who was raised in several cities but is originally from Bzo, a village near Beni Mellal (*Tādla*).

<p>LTm: /ʔa:na dxəlt hna:ja/ [---] /ʔəh a:lf u:-təsʕmi:ja u/ [---] /təsʕu:d u:-təsʕi:n wa:qi:la/</p> <p>Reda: /təsʕu:d u:-təsʕi:n/</p> <p>LTm: /təsʕu:d u:-təsʕi:n.../</p> <p>Reda: /ʔa:na a:lfi:n u:-tla:ta/</p> <p>LTm: /...dø-mil-æ/ [---] /dø-mil-æ ha:kka... ma.../ [---] /ʒi:na lqi:na wa:həd l-ha:la.../</p> <p>Reda: /tbəddəl dək l... mʕa.../</p> <p>LTm: /ʒi:na mən-mərʔa:kəʃ/ [---] /u:-kənnə f-tma:na:rʕ ʔa:wwa:la:n u:-kənnə n-na:s ki:-kə-jrəhhbu bi:-k u:-kə-jʕərʔu:-k <u>bi-ʔanna-k ?? ʒi:ti ʕəʃti ʔa:h/</u></p> <p>Reda: /u:-ʒ-ʒwi:da w-jdʕəjjfu:-k w-jʒi:w l-ʕənd-ək <u>jtʒəmfu... ʔa:h/</u></p> <p>LTm: /w-jdʕəjjfu:-k w-jʒi:w ʕənd-ək.../</p>	<p>LTm: I came here [to Temara] [---] Er in nineteen [---] ninety-nine maybe.</p> <p>Reda: <i>Ninety-nine</i></p> <p>LTm: <i>Ninety-nine...</i></p> <p>Reda: <i>I came in two thousand and three.</i></p> <p>LTm: ...or two thousand and one. [---] <i>Two thousand and one, something like that... I don't... [---] When we came, we found <u>a situation...</u></i></p> <p>Reda: <u>You changed...</u> Since...</p> <p>LTm: <i>We came from Marrakesh. [---] And first we stayed in Tamarar, and we found welcoming people who are pleased to know about you, <u>since ?? you came, you lived there, yeah...</u></i></p> <p>Reda: ...and that nice generosity, and they receive you, and come to visit you, gather... yeah!</p> <p>LTm: ...and they receive you, and come to visit you...</p> <p>Reda: <u>And you didn't find that here?</u></p> <p>LTm: <i>When we came here to Temara [---] we didn't see</i></p>
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<p>Reda: /ma:-lqi:ti:-f ha:d f-fi hna/</p> <p>LTm: /mølli zi:na l-hna:ja l-tma:ra/ [---] /ma:-fəfna:-ha:-f Səmmər ji:-hədd dəqq ʕli:-na tsəwəwər hna kənna sa:kni:n f-l-mədrʕa:sa mʕa bba:-hum mu:di:r.../</p> <p>Reda: /ma:ʃa:lʕa:h/</p> <p>LTm: /...u:-sa:kni:n hna f-l-mədrʕa:sa ma:-Səmmər ji:- hədd dəqq ʕli:-na/ [---] /ʒi jgu:l li:-k... tə-ngu:l-l-u wəf n- na:s ma:-ka:jni:n-f ʒəʕni k... hu:wa hu:ma... n-na:s kull wa:həd ha fi:n ka:jna bʕa:d ʒi hna ʒi hna ʒi hna u:-l- fi:rʕma:t u:-da:k f-fi wa:la:ki:n rʕa:-h.../</p> <p>Reda: /kã-mem kə-jbqa ha:da:k ʔa:-ʒi jsəwwəl fi:-k/</p> <p>LTm: /ʔa:h ʔa:-ʒi... ha:da:k mu:di:r xəsʕsʕ-u tʃu:f-u dʕa:ru:ri fnu.../</p> <p>Reda: /??? ha:di ʔa:ha:mm nu:qtʕa/ (LTm: /ʔa:h/) /l- mu:di:r rʕa tə-jku:n qri:b l-l-ʕa:ʔi:la:t ktərʕ/</p> <p>LTm: /ʔa:h l-mu:di:r ha:da:k mu:di:r.../ (Reda: /tama:man/) /hu:ma l-mu:di:r ʕənd-hum ʕi:-təmma ʕi:- ha:kka/ [---] /wa:la:ki:n/ [---] /mənni ma:t wa:həd l-ʔusta:d ʕənd-na/ [---] /ma:t ʕənd-na mən-l-mədrʕa:sa/ [---] /u:- ʃa:fu:-na hna ki:f... nədʕna u:-ki:f dərna.../</p> <p>Reda: /təmma ʕa:d.../</p> <p>LTm: /...u:-fnu dərna ʕli:-h u:-fnu dər... fnu... ftəhna d- da:rʕ dja:l-na u:-ftəhna l-ba:b dja:l-na u:-ftəhna/ [---] /ʕa:d³⁶⁵ n-na:s/ [---] /tfa:ʒʔu fi:-na ga:lu xsa:ra lli ma:- ka:n... lli.../</p> <p>Reda: /ma:-ʕrəfna:-f ʕrəfna mʕətʕʕli:n/</p> <p>LTm: /hm ʕrəfna:-k.../</p> <p>Reda: /wa:la:ki:n hi:t ntu:ma a:-xa:lt-i ʒi:tu l-tma:ra... hna ta:-nhədrʕu ʕla:-tma:ra ta:-nrəjjəh mʕa:-d-dra:ri ʔa:na ʒi:t-</p>	<p><i>that. No one ever knocked on our door. Imagine: we used to live in the school, as their father was a school principal...</i></p> <p>Reda: <i>God's good will!</i></p> <p>LTm: <i>...we lived in the school, and no one ever knocked on our door [---] to come and say... ["welcome"] I used to say to [my husband]: "Is this place deserted?" I mean... It's true that... each person [who worked at the school] lived in a different place, they were far: some here, some there, in farmsteads and everything... but it's...</i></p> <p>Reda: <i>Still, one could come and ask about you!</i></p> <p>LTm: <i>Right! One could come... He's your principal, you have to come and <u>see him, what...</u></i></p> <p>Reda: <i>??? <u>this</u> is the most important matter! (LTm: <u>Yeah!</u>) A school principal is closer to families!</i></p> <p>LTm: <i>Yeah, a school principal, <u>that's a principal...</u></i> (Reda: <i><u>That's right!</u></i>) <i>But they don't give importance to the school principal, they just have one. [---] But [---] when one of our professors died [---] he worked in the school [---] and they saw how we... bustled about, and <u>how we acted...</u></i></p> <p>Reda: <i>...at that point...</i></p> <p>LTm: <i>...and what we did for him, and what we... what... we opened our house, and we opened our door, and we opened [---] Only then people [---] were surprised by us, saying: "Too bad it wasn't... it..."</i></p> <p>Reda: <i>"We didn't know it! We knew it late!"</i></p> <p>LTm: <i><u>Er we knew that you...</u></i></p> <p>Reda: <i><u>But ma'am, that's</u> because you came to Temara... We're talking about Temara, I personally see my friends [and talk about it], I came (in 2003), I'm from... from Yacoub El Mansour, born and raised. [---] Er Temara is... It's always changing. The time, maybe since you came in nine... nineteen ninety-nine [---] <u>it was...</u></i></p> <p>LTm: <i><u>People</u> were afraid. (...) You know, they wouldn't... [---] They wouldn't see, they wouldn't have mercy on you, like "hello", you say that to them and <u>they... they don't</u> <u>even answer to it!</u></i></p> <p>Reda: <i><u>You look weird to them.</u></i></p>
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³⁶⁵ The vowel is extremely lengthened for emotional charge: [ʕæ::d]

l-ha (f-ʔa:lfi:n u:-tla:ta) a:na wəld... wəld jəʃqu:b l-mənsʊ:r zja:da u:-xlu:q/ [---] /ʔəh tma:ra rʰa... rʰa:-ha ʔa:-da u:-ka:-ttəjjer l-wəqt ru:bba:ma zi:tu ntu:ma f-təsʃ... təsʃu:d u:-təsʃi:n/ [---] /rʰa ka:n.../

LTm: /n-na:s ka:nu xa:jf[in] (...) ʃrəfti rʰa ma:-kə-j.../ [---] /ma:-jʃu:fu:-ʃ ma-jʃətqu:-k-ʃ ssi [=ʃti] s-sa:la:mu ʃa:li:-kum tgu:l-ha-l-hum ma:-jgu... ma:-jrʰəddu:-ha:-ʃ/

Reda: /ta:-dʒi:-hum bʰi:za:rʰ/

LTm: /ta:-dʒi:-hum... ta:-dʒi:-hum f-ʃi:-ʃkəl wa:la:ki:n mi:n dərna ha:kda:k mi:n dərna l-ʃza ʃla:-da:k s-səjjəd u:-za:w n-na:s fi:-sa:bi:l-lʰa mən... hu:wa l-ʃa:ʔi:la dja:l-u [mən] qəlʃət s-sra:ʔna/ [---] /ʔu:-smi:t-u... mrʰa:t-u ta:-hi:ja za:t hna u:-da:k ʃ-ʃi/ [---] /ʃa:fu:-na da:k... da:-k ʃ-ʃi dərna:-h ʃa:d³⁶⁶ n-na:s/ [---] /ndʰəmmu ʔila:... za:w ʃənd-na u:-ha:di/

Reda: /tama:man/

LTm: /tsʰəwwər a:na wəld-i mrədʰ xəmsʰa:ʃər ju:m u:-hu:wa f-sʰ-sʰbʰi:tʰa:rʰ ʃəmmər ʃi:-wa:həd dəqq ʃli:-ja/ [---] /ʔu:la... ʔa:na ka:-nba:t mʰa:-wəld-i b-n-nha:r ka:-nqəjjəl b-n-nha:r u:-s-si:-ju:səf³⁶⁷ lʰa:-jrəhm-u kə-jqəjjəl b-l-li:/

Reda: /tə-jbqa mʰa:-wəld-u/

LTm: /tə-j... ʔa:h b-l-li:/ [---] /ʔu:-ma:-ʃəmmər ʃi:-hədd ga:l li:-ja s-sa:la:mu ʃa:li:-kum mən-ʔi:r l-ʃa:ʔi:la lli ka:-dʒi mən-sla wəlla mən-məkna:s wəlla/

Reda: /sʰʃi:ba/

LTm: /wa:la:ki:n n-na:s ʒ-za:rʰ hi:t ʒ-za:rʰ hu:wa l... hu:wa ʔəwwəl ha:ll/

Reda: /ʒ-za:rʰ rʰa:-h... bəʃdʰ l-mərʰa:t ka:jni:n ha:la:t [kə-jw]əlli ktərʰ mən-ʃa:ʔi:lt-ək kə-jwəlli/

LTm: /u:-mənni zi:t hna zi:t hna ʃəddi:na smi:t-u xɾəʒna

LTm: *You look... You look peculiar. But when we did that, when we did the funeral for that sir and people came as an act of charity from... His family is from El Kelaâ des Sraghna [---] and everything... Her wife came here, too, and so on [---] they saw us, that.. that thing, we did it, and only then people [---] affiliated with... came to us and so on.*

Reda: *That's good!*

LTm: *Imagine: my son was sick, he was hospitalised for fifteen days, and no one ever knocked on our door [to ask about his health]! [---] Or... I would stay with my son by day, I would spend the day with him and the late Mr Youssef would spend the night.*

Reda: *So he'd stay with his son.*

LTm: *He... Yeah, by night. [---] And no one ever said hi to me, except for my relatives who came from Sale or Meknes or whatever.*

Reda: *It's tough!*

LTm: *But people, neighbours! Because neighbours are... are the first relief!*

Reda: *Neighbours are... Sometimes, there are cases in which they become more important than your own family!*

LTm: *And when I came here, I came here and we took, how do you say that? We moved out, my husband moved out of the school and so on, and I came here [---] I found such people, I found them impolite, too. But...*

Reda: *It was em... This place was empty, this man who told me about this...*

LTm: *Hm!*

Reda: *Ḥāyy l-ʃəbbādi and...*

LT: *Yeah, yeah, it was...*

LTm: *There was just this... no...*

Reda: *It was... There wasn't...*

LT: *(Yes, it was) empty.*

Reda: *...??? you're talking about ??*

LTm: *Yes, there was this, only this district was there, this street going this way and this other thing were not, they were empty. Anyway, those people, again, (I) knocked*

³⁶⁶ Cfr. previous footnote.

³⁶⁷ **LTm's** husband, whose name here is a fake one.

<p>xrəʒ r^əʔa:ʒəl mən-l-mədr^əa:sa u:-da:k-f-ʃi zi:t hna/ [---] /lqi:t wa:həd n-na:s lqi:t-hum ta:-hu:ma xa:jbi:n wa:la:ki:n.../</p> <p>Reda: /ka:nt xa... ka:nt xa:wja ha:d l-b^əl^əa:s^əa ha:da lli ka:n ʃa:wəd li:-ja a:na ha:d l.../</p> <p>LTm: /hm/</p> <p>Reda: /ha:jj l-ʃəbba:di u.../</p> <p>LT: /lla lla ka:n.../</p> <p>LTm: /ka:n ʃi ka:n had s^ə-s^ə... lla.../</p> <p>Reda: /ka:nt hi:ja... qli:l.../</p> <p>LT: /(?a:h ka:nt) xa:wja/</p> <p>Reda: /...??? ka:-təhdər^ə f??/</p> <p>LTm: /ʔəh ka:n ha:da ha:d s^ə-s^əi:kt^əu:r^ə lli ka:n ha:d f- ja:rəʃ ha:kka u:-ha:d f-ʃi ha:da³⁶⁸ ma:-ka:nu:-ʃ ka:nu xa:wji:n mu:hi:mm a:na ha:di:k n-na:s ʃa:wta:ni ta:-(a:na) dəqqi:t ʃli... skənna ʃənd-hum/ [---] /skənna ʃənd-hum/ [---] -/ ta:-hu:ma xa:jbi:n/ [---] /ta:-hu:ma f-ʃi... nha:r^ə... jəws^əəl nha:r l-kr^əa kə-jwəqfu ʃli:-k/</p> <p>Reda: /ʃəqli:ja/</p> <p>LTm: /tə-jwəqfu ʃli:-k/</p> <p>Reda: /l-āturaʒ.../</p> <p>LTm: /sa:wa:ʔa:n ʃənd-ək wəlla ma-ʃənd-ək-ʃ u:la.../ [---] /ta:-ngu:l ʔa:na ʔa:na hta/ [lə-və]³⁶⁹ /ʃa:d ka:-ntxəlls^əu/</p> <p>Reda: /...ka:-ntxəlls^əu tama:man/</p> <p>LTm: /dʒi:-ni qbəl/ [lə-və] /ma:-nəʃqəl-f ʃli:-k/</p> <p>Reda: /...nəʃt^əi:-k-ʃ/ [---] /lə-və lə-və/</p> <p>LTm: [lə-və lə-və] [---] /s^əa:fi ka:n ka... s^əa:fi ka:tt.../ [---] /ʃi:-fwi:ja.../ [---] /bda:t tə-txa:sər mʃa:-ja l-hədr^əa u:-da:k</p>	<p>on... we rented their house. [---] We rented their house [---] and they were impolite, too. They, too, were... The day... When the payment day comes, they badger you!</p> <p>Reda: <i>It's their mentality.</i></p> <p>LTm: <i>They just badger you!</i></p> <p>Reda: <i>Their milieu...</i></p> <p>LTm: <i>No matter whether you have the money or not or... [---] I said to them: "Me, I wait till the 20th, then <u>we pay</u>.</i></p> <p>Reda: <i>"...we pay", that's right!</i></p> <p>LTm: <i>If you come before the 20th, I don't care.</i></p> <p>Reda: <i>...[I won't] give you. [---] The 20th means the 20th!</i></p> <p>LTm: <i>The 20th means the 20th! [---] That's the story, it was... That's how it was, it was... [---] After a while... [---] [the landlady] started saying swear words and the like to me. I said: "Look..."</i></p> <p>Reda: <i>I don't stoop to this level.</i></p> <p>LTm: <i>"If you won't mind! If you won't mind!" Because her name's Karima, too: "If you won't mind, Karima!"</i></p> <p>Reda: <i>My mother's <u>name</u> (LTm: <u>Yes?</u>) Karima, too!</i> (laughs).</p> <p>LTm: <i>I'm Karima, too! I'm Karima, myself!</i></p> <p>Reda: (laughing) <i>God's good will!</i></p> <p>LTm: <i>My name's... I said to her: "Karima, if you won't mind..."</i></p> <p>Reda: <i>"...I'm not like that!"</i></p> <p>LTm: <i>"...I'm not keen on quarrelling, I'm not keen on whatever. Now, look: do speak politely to me, with the children... (she's called out, resumes after few minutes) Yeah, that's the story, as I told you... [---] She, too... [---] As she kept doing that to me, and when (she came) I gave her her money and so on... [---] Er one day she went into trouble. [---] So human beings...</i></p> <p>Reda: <i>Time is unpredictable!</i></p> <p>LTm: <i>Yeah, it's unpredictable, that is, it took... How was it? It's unpredictable. As she went into trouble, we paid immediately! [---] When we moved to her house, we had just left the previous one for [my husband's] voluntary redundancy, but hadn't given us the money!</i></p>
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³⁶⁸ Apparently refers to places surrounding her house.

³⁶⁹ Apparently, this was the agreed-upon payment day.

<p>ƒ-ƒi ka:-ngu:l-l-ha ƒu:ƒi/</p> <p>Reda: /ʔa:na ma:ƒi mən-da:k l-mu:sta:wa/</p> <p>LTm: /lʔa:-jəŋtʰi:-k r-rdʰa lʔa:-jəŋtʰi:-k r-rdʰa hi:t ta:-hi:ja smi:t-ha ka:ri:ma lʔa:-jəŋtʰi:-k r-rdʰa a:-ka:ri:ma/</p> <p>Reda: /ta:-l-wa:li:da ndja:l-i smi:t-ha (LTm: /ʔa:h/ ka:ri:ma/ (laughs)</p> <p>LTm: /hətta ʔa:na ka:ri:ma a:na b-rʰa:s-i ka:ri:ma/</p> <p>Reda: (laughing) /ma:ʃa:ʔəlʔa:h/</p> <p>LTm: /ʔa:na smi:t-i... ta:-ngu:l-l-ha ka:ri:ma lʔa:-jəŋtʰi:-k r-rdʰa.../</p> <p>Reda: /...ʔa:na ma:ƒi dja:l-l-ha:da:k ƒ-ƒi/</p> <p>LTm: /...ʔa:na ma:ƒi dja:l-l-mda:bza ma:ƒi dja:l-a:smi:tu hna ƒu:ƒi ʔa:-thədrʰi mʃa:-ja b-l-ʔa:da:b u:-d-dra:ri.../ (she's called out, resumes after few minutes) /ʔa:h gətt l-ək sʰa:fi.../ [---] /ha:di:k ta:-hi:ja.../ [---] /mənni bqa:t ta:-ddi:r mʃa:-ja ha:kka:k mni (wesʰlət) ta:-nəŋtʰi:-ha flu:s- [h]a u:-dək ƒ-ƒi.../ [---] /ʔəh wa:həd n-nha:r ʒa:t-ha ʔa:zma/ [---] /jəŋni l-ʔi:nsa:n rʰa:-h.../</p> <p>Reda: /l-wəqt dəwwa:rʰ/</p> <p>LTm: /ʔa:h ta:-ddu:rʰ jəŋni dda... smi:t-u ta:-ddu:rʰ ʒa:t-ha ʔa:zma u:-hna:ja ha:di:k s-sa:ʃa:t txəlləsʰna/ [---] /hna fa:ʃ ʒi:na ʃənd-ha kənna xɾəʒna dʰ-dʰi:pa:rʰ vu:lʰu:ntʰi:rʰ ma:-xərrʒu:-li:-na:-ʃ l-flu:s/</p> <p>Reda: /tə-jxərrʒu ha:di:k s-sa:ʃa l-flu:s/</p> <p>LTm: /ma:-xərrʒu:-li:-na:-ʃ l-flu:s da:k ƒ-ƒi b-a:ʃ ka:-n... ka:-nədʒəjjər tsʰəwwər bəʃt ma:rʰju ʃla:-qədd-ha:kda/</p> <p>Reda: /l-ha:ʒa ʃa:-ttʰa:rr ʔannak tbi:ʃ ʃa:di ʔa.../</p> <p>LTm: /u:-dja:l-l-ʃ-ʃu:q u:-dja:l-l-ʃ-ʃu:q bəʃt-u [b-]ʃəʃra:la:f</p>	<p>Reda: <i>Whereas they normally pay immediately.</i></p> <p>LTm: <i>They hadn't given us the money, that's why I... I was in a tight spot! Imagine: I sold a wardrobe this big!</i></p> <p>Reda: <i>Necessity forced you to sell. It's alright, you'll...</i></p> <p>LTm: <i>And it was a good one! And in spite of that I sold it for 20,000 ryal [---] to make ends meet! [---] You know, that day when she came [---] and said: "Please, LTm, I need a million [francs]! I need one million!" [---] I said to her: "Sure, sure, you can take it! [---] Don't... don't..."</i></p> <p>Reda: <i>[You would say:] "Don't... don't... don't...", right!</i></p> <p>LTm: <i>Right?</i></p> <p>Reda: <i>I get you, you didn't inquire: "Why...?" If you want it, take it!</i></p> <p>LTm: <i>Yeah! I said to her: "Sure, you can take it, why not? We... we are sisters." I mean, one... one shows people how they should learn!</i></p> <p>Reda: <i>...Behave!</i></p> <p>LTm: <i>...How they should behave!</i></p> <p>Reda: <i>You teach them in an indirect way.</i></p> <p>LTm: <i>Yeah, I mean [---] She'll... She thought about it!</i></p> <p>Reda: <i>She must have absorbed it.</i></p> <p>LTm: <i>I asked her: "When do you need it?" She said: "God bless you!" I paid a bounced check and so and so and that was it!</i></p> <p>Reda: <i>It's tough!</i></p> <p>LTm: <i>Yeah, I swear I put on my jəllābija, I went and brought it to her, I immediately gave her [the money].</i></p> <p>Reda: <i>She must have been surprised.</i></p> <p>LTm: <i>I gave it to her... [---]</i></p> <p>Reda: <i>And that must have surprised her!</i></p> <p>LTm: <i>And they totally changed! And they still come and ask about me! [---] I left their place, and when she makes a wedding or anything, I'm the first one ??? she calls.</i></p> <p>Reda: <i>The link (has remained).</i></p> <p>LTm: <i>That is, I've become family, I've become a relative. So here's how one asserts oneself as a human being: with your behaviour!</i></p>
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<p>rja:l/ [---] /ba:f nkømmøll-[h]a/ [---] /ʃræfti dæk n-nha:r fa:f za:ja/ [---] /u:-ga:lt li:-ja ʃa:fa:k³⁷⁰ a:-LTm byi:t mælʃu:n/ [---] /gøtt li:-ha ʔa:h ʔa:h mrəhba/ [---] /ma... ma.../</p> <p>Reda: /ma... ma... ma... b-s^s-s^səhh/</p> <p>LTm: /ʔa:h/</p> <p>Reda: /fhømt-ək ma:-kømmølti:-f mʃa:-ha ʃla:f... byi:ti ha:-hi:ja/</p> <p>LTm: /ʔa:h gøtt li:-ha ʔa:h mrəhba ʃla:f lla hna hna xu:t... jəʃni ka:-t... ta:-twərri l-n-na:s ki:fa:f xəs^s-u jətʃølləm/</p> <p>Reda: /...jətʃa:məl/</p> <p>LTm: /ki:fa:f xəs^s-u jətʃa:məl/</p> <p>Reda: /ta:-tʃøllmi:-h b-l-ēdirekt/</p> <p>LTm: /ʔa:h jəʃni/ [---] /hi:ja ʔa:di t... hi:ja dəwwr^sa:t-ha f- r^sa:s-ha/</p> <p>Reda: /ʔa:-təstəwʃəb/</p> <p>LTm: /gøtt li:-ha fu:qa:f byi:ti:-ha ga:tt-l-i l^fʃa:-jsa:həl ʃli:-k r^sa dʃəʃt f-ʃi:k b-du:n ra:sⁱ:d u:-r^sa ha:di u:-r^sa ha:di s^sa:fi/</p> <p>Reda: /ta r^sa s^si:ba/</p> <p>LTm: /ʔa:h wəl^fʃa:jta lbəst ʒølla:bi:jt-i mʃi:t ʒəbt-u li:-ha di:k s-sa:ʃa ʃtⁱ:t-ha li:-ha/</p> <p>Reda: /ʔa:-ttfa:ʒəʔ/</p> <p>LTm: /ʃtⁱ:t-ha li:-ha.../ [---]</p> <p>Reda: /ʃa:-ttfa:ʒəʔ s^sa:fi/</p> <p>LTm: /s^sa:fi tðøddlu u:-l-da:ba tə-ʒi:w ʒsəwwlu ʃli:-ja/ [-- -] /rħəlt mən-hda:-hum kə-ddi:r l-ʃərs u:la kə-ddi:r ʃi:- ha:ʒa ʔa:na l-ləwwla ?? ka:-tʃəjjət^s ʃli:-ja/</p>	<p>Reda: <u>Not with wealth.</u></p> <p>LTm: <u>When one is respectful, one respects oneself to begin with!</u></p> <p>Reda: <u>When you res... yes!</u></p> <p>LTm: <u>If you respect yourself, then people respect you, too!</u></p> <p>Reda: <u>That's true, that's right!</u></p> <p>LTm: <u>Always! And this is what I teach my children, I say: "Look!..."</u></p> <p>Reda: <u>Thank God, thank God!</u></p> <p>LTm: <u>"...Respect yourselves, so that... so that people will respect you, too", and all that goes with it.</u></p>
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³⁷⁰ The second last vowel is lengthened ([ʃæ:::fæk]) to express how LTm's former landlady must have charged her request emotionally.

<p>Reda: /γ-rəlasjō (<u>bqa:t</u>)/</p> <p>LTm: /jəʃni wəlli:t mən-lʰa:-fa:mi wəlli:t mən-l-ʃa:ʔi:la jəʃni xəsʰsʰ-ək l-ʔi:nsa:n ba:f ʔa:di təfrədʰ l-wu:ʒu:d dja:l- ək b-l-mu:ʃa:ma:la/</p> <p>Reda: /ma:ʃi b-l-ma:dda/</p> <p>LTm: /l-ʔi:nsa:n məlli kə-jku:n jəhta:rəm kə-jhta:rəm nəfs-u ʔa:wwa:la:n/</p> <p>Reda: /mənni ka:-təht... ʔa:h/</p> <p>LTm: /məlli ka:-təhta:rəm nəfs-ək kə-jhta:rmu:-k n-na:s/</p> <p>Reda: /vrʰi <u>tama:man</u>/</p> <p>LTm: /di:ma:n u:-ha:d ʃ-ʃi ʃla:-ʃ ka:-nrʰəbbi a:na wli:da:ti <u>ta:-ngu:l-l-hum ʃu:fu</u></p> <p>Reda: /l-ħa:mdu:-li:-lla:h l-ħa:mdu:-li:-lla:h/</p> <p>LTm: /hta:rmu nfu:s-kum ʔa... ʔa:-jhta:rmu:-kum n-na:s u:-ʔa:jj ħa:ʒa/</p>	
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6 - We've become a minority

Type of recording: individual interview.

Setting: the living room of **OUL**, a man in his sixties from the *Wlālda* fraction of the *ṣrāb*, one of the tribes who originally inhabited the area of Temara. The house is close to the *Ṣānṭar*, on the part of the city that was formerly *Wlālda* land. The period is Ramadan, the time is after the *ʿiṣṭār*.

Context: Reda is questioning **OUL** about differences in Temara's social life between the past and the present.

<p>Reda: /b-ḥukm nta wəld l-ʔərdʰ/ [---] /ki:-wəlla:t ta:-tba:n-l-ək tma[:ra] nta ɣa:-tku:n ka:-tla:ḥəðʰ ktərʰ mən-wa:ḥəd ma:-ṣa:f f-ha:di:k l-hi:qba nta kənti wəld u tə-jba:n-l-ək n-na:s ʒa:ji:n ma:ta:la:n mən-ka:za t-ta:qa:fa:t kə-jtbəddlu l-ləḥʒa l-aksā ha:da ʒa:jəb mṣa:-h ʕa:da:t l-a:xur ʒa:jəb mṣa:-h ʕa:da:t ma:t.../</p>	<p>Reda: <i>Since you're originally from this place [---] what do you think about today's Tema[ra]... You must be able to see more than somebody that didn't live that time: you were a boy, so you must have seen people coming, say, from Casablanca, cultures changing, the dialect, the accent, some bringing certain traditions, some bringing different ones, li...</i></p>
<p>OUL: /ʔa:h u:-ha:du... had l-xa:li:tʰ ha:di lli wəlla... dəwwbu:-na ḥna/</p>	<p>OUL: <i>Yeah, and those... This mix ended up... We've been diluted³⁷¹!</i></p>
<p>Reda: /bi-maṣna:/</p>	<p>Reda: <i>In what sense?</i></p>
<p>OUL: /bi-maṣna: ʔənn-a:ḥna twəddərʰna wəstʰ mən-hum wəlli:na ʔa:qa:lli:ja ma:-bqi:na:-f ta:-nba:nu/</p>	<p>OUL: <i>In the sense that we've scattered among them, we've become a minority. <u>We don't stand out any more.</u></i></p>
<p>Reda: /[ma:-]bqa:t-f ka:-tba:nu ʔa:h/</p>	<p>Reda: <i><u>You don't stand out, yeah!</u></i></p>
<p>OUL: /ma:-bqi:na:-f ta:-nba:nu/</p>	<p>OUL: <i>We don't stand out any more.</i></p>
<p>Reda: /nu:rʰma:lʰ/</p>	<p>Reda: <i>That's normal.</i></p>
<p>OUL: /da:ba ta:-txrəʒ ma:-ta:-tsʰi:b-f wəld l-bla:d/</p>	<p>OUL: <i>Now you go out there, you can't find locals any more.</i></p>
<p>Reda: /na:di:ra:n fi:n a:-ttla:qa ʃi:-wa:ḥəd təmma/</p>	<p>Reda: <i>You rarely find one.</i></p>
<p>OUL: /ta:-ttla:qa mṣa:-h b-sʰ-sʰu:dfa/ [---] /b-sʰ-sʰu:dfa/</p>	<p>OUL: <i>You just meet him by chance. [---] By chance!</i></p>
<p>Reda: /hi:t ktər l-ʔi:nsa:n/</p>	<p>Reda: <i>Because the population increased.</i></p>
<p>OUL: /ʔa:wla ma:t ʃi:-wa:ḥəd mən-l-ʕa:ʔi:la tə-tsa:ndu/</p>	<p>OUL: <i>Or someone in your family has passed away <u>and you go help them.</u></i></p>
<p>Reda: /l-ʕza təmma fi:n kə-jdʒa:mʕu/</p>	<p>Reda: <i><u>Funerals.</u> That's where they reunite.</i></p>
<p>OUL: /a-par sa wəlli:na ḥna ʔa:qa:lli:ja ʔəh wa:ḥəd n-nha:r əh wa:ḥəd sʰ-sʰa:di:q ta:-hu:wa/ [---] /ʕa:di məski:n</p>	<p>OUL: <i>Apart from that, we have become the minority! Er... One day er... A friend, too [---] the poor guy was walking there, in the midst of the garbage, he... he turned the</i></p>

³⁷¹ The literal translation of the Arabic word is “they melted us”. As Reda's request for further explanation seems to suggest, the Arabic original word is ambiguous in this context; in the translation, it has been attempted to maintain the same ambiguity.

<p>hna f-z-zba:la tə-j... tə-jdu:r⁶ u:-da:z hda ʃi:-wəhdi:n/ [---] /u:-hu:ma ga:lu ʃli:-h hu:ma ga:lu ʃli:-h (ha:d xa:j-na ta:n) ma:-ʃ[rəʃt mni:n ʒa ha:d s-səjjəd/ [---] /bqa bna:dəm ʒi tə- jtk[a:tər]/ (laughs)</p> <p>Reda: /ktər/ (laughs)</p> <p>OUL: /wəlla hu:wa ma:-məʃru:f-ʃ f-l-bla:d/</p> <p>Reda: /wəlla tə-jba:n bərʳa:ni/</p> <p>OUL: /bərʳa:ni/</p> <p>Reda: /tama:man ka:-ttʳa ha:di/</p> <p>OUL: /tqəllba:t əh.../</p> <p>Reda: /ta:-ttʳa ka:-ttʳa b-s⁶-s⁶əh h da:ba nərʒəʃ l-jəʃqu:b l- mənsʳu:r a:-nba:n a:na etrəʒ/</p> <p>OUL: /hna da:ba məlli ta:-nətlaga:w mʃa... mʃa:- bəʃdʳi:ja:t-na ta:-nwəlli:w nhəsbu rʳa:s-na bərʳa:ni:ji:n/</p> <p>Reda: /ma:ʃi ki:sʳʳju:n bərʳa:ni ʃi:r ha:da:k l-fi:kr... ʔəmma l-həmdu:li:lla:h rʳa:-h.../</p> <p>OUL: /lla ha:di.../</p> <p>Reda: /ta:-təhdər⁶ nta hdəʳti b-wa:həd l-fi:kra lli hi:ja da:ba hi:ja lli k.../</p> <p>OUL: /ta... ta:-nəhdər⁶ a:na ʒi:r ʃala-ħasab... ħasab jəʃni l.../ [---] /ʔəh/ [---] /ħasab ki:fa:ʃ jaʃi:f l-ʔinsa:n f-ħa:ja:t-u l-ja:wmi:ja/</p> <p>Reda: /tama:man/</p> <p>OUL: /jəʃni du:k n-na:s lli ka:-tətʔəlləf l-wu:ʒu:h dja:l- hum u:-ha:di ma:-bqa:w-ʃ ʔi:dən ʃ-tə-twəlli thəss b-rʳa:s- ək nta.../</p> <p>Reda: /...ʒa:ri:b/</p> <p>OUL: /...bħa:l-ək bħa:l ha:d n-na:s bħa:l-la ja:lʳa:h ʒi:ti məh ʃi:-ʒi:ha x^wra/ [---] /ma:-ka:jən ta:-ʃi:-fərq ma:-ʃənd- ək-ʃ fərq bi:n-ək u:-bi:n-hum/</p> <p>Reda: /tama:man/</p> <p>OUL: /ma-ʃənd-ək-ʃ fərq rubbama: hu:wa ʃənd-u ʃəʃbi:ja ktər⁶ mənn-ək nta/</p> <p>Reda: /ma:-jkun-ʃ ʃənd-ək tta ʃ... k.../ (laughs) /a:-tku:n ʃənd-u ʃəʃbi:ja ktər⁶ mənn-ək/</p> <p>OUL: /???/</p> <p>Reda: /hi:t hu:wa t... ʃa:ʃ mʃa:-wa:həd n-na:s txəlləʳ⁶ mʃa:-hum wəlla:w ʃərfu:-h u syrtu b... b-ħukm lʳ-lʳa:ʒ ba:qi sʳʳi:r/ [---] /ʒa:-jnda:məʒ ki:fa:ʃ wəlla ʃənd-u ʃəʃbi:ja</p>	<p>corner and passed by some people [---] And they said, they said about him: “(Now, this one), who knows where this man has come from! [---] This place has become really crowded!”</p> <p>Reda: ...crowded! (laughs)</p> <p>OUL: Now he’s the unknown one here.</p> <p>Reda: Now he looks like a stranger!</p> <p>OUL: ...a stranger!</p> <p>Reda: That’s right! These things happen!</p> <p>OUL: It’s the reversing of er...</p> <p>Reda: They happen, they do happen, that’s right! Now, if I go back to Yāʃqūb l-Mənsʳūr I look like a strange[r].</p> <p>OUL: Now, when we meet ea... each other, we consider ourselves strangers.</p> <p>Reda: It’s not a matter of being strangers, it’s just that way of thinking... Whereas, thank God, it’s...</p> <p>OUL: No, this...</p> <p>Reda: You’re talking, you talked with an idea in mind which, in fact, is the <u>one that</u>...</p> <p>OUL: I’m... I’m just talking with regards to... regards to like... [---] Er [---] Regards to how the human being lives its daily life.</p> <p>Reda: That’s right!</p> <p>OUL: I mean, those people whose faces are familiar to you and so on are not there any more. So you start feeling like you’re...</p> <p>Reda: ...a stranger.</p> <p>OUL: ... the same as those people, like you’ve just arrived from some other region. [---] There’s no difference, you’ve got nothing different from them.</p> <p>Reda: That’s right!</p> <p>OUL: You’ve got nothing different; perhaps he’s more popular than you!</p> <p>Reda: It could be you’re not as p... (laughs) He could even be more popular than you!</p> <p>OUL: ???</p> <p>Reda: Because he... He’s lived with certain people, he’s mixed with them, they’ve familiarised with him, and most of all by... by virtue of his age, ‘cause he’s still young [---] he’ll integrate himself: this is how he’ll become more popular than you. He’ll end up saying: “I know this guy,</p>
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<p>ktər⁶ mən⁶-ək tə-jwəlli jgu:l ha:da:k ka:nfər⁶-u u:-ha:da... wa:j u:-məlli ka:-tʒi tqəlləb ka:-təlgə ha:da:k s-səjjəd r⁶a:- h/ [---] /ʔaban ʕan-zadd ʕan-zadd ʕan-zadd r⁶a wəld tma:ra/</p> <p>OUL: /u:-ha:-hu:wa wəlla ma:-məru:f f-l-bla:d/ Reda: /ʔa:h nu:r⁶ma:l⁶ ha:da:k ma:ʃi mu:ʃki:l kə-jdʒa:wəz kə-jdʒa:wəz/ OUL: /lla lla ha:di ʔəh ha:di zəfma ʔi:r gətt-l-ək əh.../ Reda: /hu:wa wa:həd l-i:hsa:s ʕa:-thəss bi:-h nu:r⁶ma:l⁶ ʕa:-thəss bi:-h/ OUL: /la la ha:d l-ʔi:hsa:s/ [---] /jəʕni fi:nma mʃi:ti f-l- mana:t⁶iq d-l-ma:ʔri:b.../ Reda: /l-ma:ʔri:b b-s⁶i:fa ʕa:mma/ OUL: /...l-wəqt lli tta... da:ba hta:-ʔu:ru:ppa fr⁶a:ns⁶a/ [---] /fr⁶a:ns⁶a n-na:s l-fa:r⁶a:nsi:ʒi:n kə-jtʃəkkə:w tə-jgu:l-l-ək hna wəlli:na ʔa:qa:lli:ja hna:ja hna wəlli:na ha:d n-na:s t⁶ʔa:w ʕli:-na/ [---] /hna ma:-wəlli:na:-f ta:-nba:nu hna wəlli:na msa:jt⁶ri:n ʕli:-na ha:d n-na:s/ Reda: /gəlt li... ʒami:ʕ l-ʔaʒna:s/ OUL: /ʔʔʔ... la le-zimigre ma:ta:la:n tmənja wəlla ʕəfra:- t-l-məlju:n ta:-twəlli f-l-bla:d dja:l le-zimigre r⁶a ma:ʃi səhla ʔa:h/ Reda: /u:-ma:ʃi mən... mən⁶a... mən-bla:d wəhda/ OUL: /r⁶a ta:-twə... tə-jwəlli:w n-na:s s-su:kka:n l- ʔa:s⁶li:ʒi:n tə-jwəlli:w md⁶əjjqi:n ʃa:ʒəʔn-ma/ [---] Reda: /mən-wahəd n-na:hja/ OUL: /wa:xxa ta:-tku:n wa:həd n-nu:ʕ... ʔa:h/ Reda: /ʔa:h tama:man/ OUL: /mən wa:həd n-na:hja l... l.../ Reda: /naʕam/ OUL: /l... l... jəʕni i:ʒti:ma:ʕi:ja u:-da:k ʃ-ʃi r⁶a tə-jwəlli:w mdəjjqi:n ʃa:ʒəʔn-ma/ Reda: /ka:j... mətta:fəq mʕa:-k/ OUL: /ha:di r⁶a fi:nma mʃi:ti ka:jna/ Reda: /l-ʕa:lam partu/ OUL: /ʔa:h/ Reda: /l-ʕa:lam/ OUL: /naʕs f-fajʔ/</p>	<p>and so on... wow!” And when you check, you find out that sir [whose popularity he’s outdone] [---] has been an original Temarese for generations!</p> <p>OUL: And now no one in the town knows him any more!</p> <p>Reda: Yeah, that’s OK, it’s not a problem! It can be overcome!</p> <p>OUL: <u>No, no</u>, this er this, I mean, I just told you er...</p> <p>Reda: That’s something you always feel, of course you feel it.</p> <p>OUL: No, no: this feeling [---] I mean ,wherever you go in the different areas of Morocco...</p> <p>Reda: Morocco in general.</p> <p>OUL: ...as soon as you... Now even Europe, France! [---] France, the French are complaining, they say: “We’ve become a minority here, we’ve started being oppressed by these people! [---] We don’t stand out any more, we’ve started being dominated by these people!”</p> <p>Reda: It’s been sai... <u>By all the races!</u></p> <p>OUL: <u>???</u> No, immigrants, for example: immigrants reaching eight or ten million in the country. That’s no easy matter! <u>Right?</u></p> <p>Reda: <u>And they’re not from...</u> an ar... a single country.</p> <p>OUL: It en... The people who originally lived there end... they end up feeling pressed somehow. [---]</p> <p>Reda: <u>From one aspect.</u></p> <p>OUL: <u>Even if you’re a kind...</u> what?</p> <p>Reda: Yeah, that’s right!</p> <p>OUL: From one aspect, the... the...</p> <p>Reda: Yes.</p> <p>OUL: The... the... I mean, from the social aspect and so on. They start feeling pressed somehow.</p> <p>Reda: Tr... I agree with you.</p> <p>OUL: And this is the case wherever you go.</p> <p>Reda: Around the world, everywhere.</p> <p>OUL: What?</p> <p>Reda: Around the world.</p> <p>OUL: The same thing.</p>
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7 - Hidden-camera test: LPI's account of "Beating the guard"

Type of recording: hidden-camera test

Setting: Queen Mary café (Temara), inside

<p>LPI: /da:ba ha:d l-bərhu:f ??? ka:jn wa:həd l-ga:r'i:tʰa wa:qəf fi:-ha wa:həd ?? wa:həd ə bha:l l.../ [---] /ka:jna wa:həd l... ka:jna wa:həd l-ga:r'i:tʰa wa:qəf fi:-ha wa:həd... bha:l l... bha:l l-ʕəskri bha:l/ [---] /l-ʕəssa:s wa:qəf fi:-ha/ [---] /ma:ta:la... bha:l tə-jbqa:w jzi:w n-na:s tə-jbyi:w jsʕəwwru/ [---] /ja:k/ [---] /hu:ma tə-jbyi:w jsʕəwwru u:la jtsʕəwwru mʕa:-h tə-jzi wa:həd... bərhu:f wa:həd d-dərri sʕi:r tə-jzi bha:l ha:da:k ja:lʰa ba:yi jsʕəwwr-u tə-jzi wa:həd d-dərri sʕi:r ha:zz wa:həd l-ʕsʕa dja:l-bʕi:zbʕu:lʰ tə-jwərʕək ʕla ha:da:k/ [---] /ha:da:k lli f l-ga:r'i:tʰa dək l-ʕəssa:s/ [---] /lli nurʕma:lʰmu hu:wa rʕa wa:qəf u:-l-bna:t ba:yi:n jtsʕəwwru fi:-h/ [---] /jtsʕəwwru mʕa:-h tə-jwərʕək ʕli:-h tə-j... (laughs) ?? ʕəl kərʕ-u tə-jʕi:h... ha:da:k xa:j-na tə-jʕi:h mʕa:-l-ga:r'i:tʰa dja:l-u l-l-lu:rʕ bha:lla rʕa... n-na:s kə... fhəmti ha:da:k lli kə-jtsʕəwwər da:jri:n li:-h l-ka:mi:rʕa xa:fi:ja tə-jbd[a] jtyərr jgu:l a:jnu.../ [---] /ʔəh tə-jhrəb da:k d-dərri sʕ-sʕi:r/ [---] /tə-jzi tə-jzi ma:ta:la:n f-l-ləxxər kə-jzi ha:da:k lli ka:n kə-jsʕ... lli ka:n ba:yi jsʕəwwr-u/ [---] /tə-jzi jʕu:f ha:da:k tə-jlqa ma:-ka:jən-f ?? f-l-ga:r'i:tʰa u:-rʕa ha... bha:l ha:lli:n li:-h wa:həd l-ba:b fa:j jʕi:h ta:-txəbba/ [---] /a f-l-ləxxər tə-jwqəf u:-tə-j...səlləm ʕli:-hum u:-tə-jgu:l li:-hum ʕa:rəktu f l-ka:mi:rʕa/</p> <p>EMK: /lli kə-jsʕəwwr-u u:-lli kə-jtsʕəwwər.../</p> <p>LPI: /da:ba lli kə-jtsʕəwwər hu:wa.../</p> <p>EMK: /ʔʔ lli kə-jsʕəwwər-u u:-lli kə-jtsʕəwwər mʕa:-l-a:xur nəfs ʕ-ʕəxsʕ u:la mʕa ka:mi:rʕa <u>xa:fi:ja</u>/</p> <p>LPI: /la kul... kulla mərʕa tə-jzi ʕi:-wa:həd ja:-ʔi:mma tə-jsʕəwwr-u/ [---] /u:-lla tə-jzi u:-l...ja:-ʔi:mma hu:wa lli tə-jsʕəwwr-u ʔəh ha:da:k lli qədda:m-u f-l-ga:r'i:tʰa/ [---] /u:-lla ta:-dʒi ʕi:-wa:həda ma:ta:lan dʒi ʕi:-wa:həda (twəqqfa:t)</p>	<p>LPI: <i>Now, this brat ??? There's a booth, and in this booth there's a... A er... like a... [---] There's a... There's a booth, and in this booth there's a... like a... Like a soldier, like [---] a watchman, he's standing in it. [---] For exam... like people keep on coming, they want to take pictures. [---] OK? [---] They want to photograph him, or to be photographed with him. A... brat, a little kid comes, he comes like that. As he wants to photograph him, a little kid comes holding a baseball bat, and hits that [---] that guy who's in the booth, that watchman [---] who theoretically has to stand still, and girls want to be photographed in him... [---] photographed with him. He hits him and he... (laughs) ?? on his stomach and he falls... The guy falls back together with his booth, as if he... People... You've got it? The one who's taking pictures, who's being pranked, starts being deceived, saying: "What...?" [---] Er... That little kid runs away [---] That guy... that guy... For example: eventually, that guy who was pho... who wanted to photograph him [---] comes to look for him and finds that he's not there ?? in the booth. In fact, they o... [---] Eventually, he just stands up and says... says hi to them and tells them: "You've been pranked!"</i></p> <p>EMK: <i>The one who photographs him and the one who gets photographed...</i></p> <p>LPI: <i>Now, the one who photographs is...</i></p> <p>EMK: <i>?? Are the one who photographs him and the one who gets photographed the same person or are they with the <u>prank</u>?</i></p> <p>LPI: <i>No, ev... Every time someone comes, they either photograph him [---] or they come and the... Either they photograph him, er the one in the booth in front of them [---] or some girl, for example, comes... some girl comes and (stands) by the booth wanting to be photographed. [---] In any case, that brat comes and... (laughs) <u>beats him</u>.</i></p>
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<p>mʃa:-l-ga:rʃi:tʃa bya:t ttsəwwər/ [---] /f-ga:ʃ l-ħa:la:t tə-jʒi da:k l-bərhu:ʃ tə-j.../ (<i>laughs</i>) /tə-jxəbtʃ-u/</p> <p>EMK: /ʔʔʔ l-mu:sʃa:wwi:r ʃku:n/</p> <p>LPI: /mu:sʃa:wwi:r hu:wa lli da:jri:n li:-h l-ka:mi:rʃa xa:fi:ja/</p> <p>EMK: /sʃa:ʃi:fi/</p> <p>LPI: /u:-tə-jʃu:f-u ttədʃrəb b-l-ʃsʃa/ [---] /tə-jʒi jqəlləb u:-tə-jhrəb li:-h l-bərhu:ʃ tə-jtxləʃ jʒi jqəll... jqəlləb ʃli:-h u.../</p> <p>EMK: (<i>chuckles</i>)</p> <p>LPI: /tə-jlqa:-h txəbba tə-jlqa ha:da:k lli fi:-ga:rʃi:tʃa ma:-ka:jən-ʃ/ [---] /fhəmti/ (<i>starts laughing</i>)</p> <p>EMK: (<i>laughing</i>) /f-l-ləxxər kə-jʒi ʔʔʔ/</p> <p>LPI: /sʃa:fi fhəmti/ (<i>laughs</i>)</p> <p>EMK: (<i>laughing</i>) /ha:h/</p> <p>LPI: (<i>To J.</i>) /sʃa:fi gəl-l-ək fhəm/</p> <p>J: /sʃa:fi/ (<i>to EMK</i>) da:ba ʃku:n lli ka:jən f-ha:d l-ka:mi:rʃa ka:ʃi/</p> <p>EMK: /ka:jən s-si:d lli f-l-ka:rʃi:tʃa³⁷²/</p> <p>J: /hm hm/</p> <p>EMK: /ka:jən wəld sʃyi:r/</p> <p>J: (<i>Hm</i>)</p> <p>EMK: /ka:jən lli kə-jdi:ru (li:-h) ka:mi:rʃa xa:fi:ja/</p> <p>J: /u:.../ [---] /bħa:l-la ʃku:n lli kə-jtqu:ləb/</p> <p>EMK: /lli kə-jtqu:ləb/</p> <p>J: /ʔa:h f-l-ka:mi:rʃa... ʃnu kə-jdi:r hu:wa/</p> <p>EMK: /normalmā hu:wa lli kə-jʃəwwər/</p> <p>J: /u:-ha:da:k lli kə-jʃəwwər fi:n ka:jən par rapor l-da:k s-si:d lli f-l-ga:rʃi:tʃa/</p> <p>EMK: /hu:wa ka:jən qədda:m-u/ [---] /ka:jən s-si:d lli f-l-ga:rʃi:tʃa wa:qəf (q/g)ədda:m-u/</p> <p>J: /məzja:n ʃnu:-lli kə-jʒi l-ləwwəl wa:ʃ d-dərri sʃ-sʃyi:r u:la s-si:d lli kə-jʃəwwər/</p> <p>EMK: /mu:hi:mm s-si:d lli kə-jʃəwwər hu:wa l-ləwwəl ta:-kə-jʒi bya jʃəwwərʃ kə-jʃu:f l-aksjō məlli ʒa d-dərri sʃ-sʃyi:r ʔʔʔ/</p> <p>J: /sʃa:fi/ [---] /da:k ʃ-ʃi lli ka:jən/</p>	<p>EMK: ʔʔʔ <i>Who takes the picture?</i></p> <p>LPI: <i>The one who's getting pranked.</i></p> <p>EMK: <i>Alright!</i></p> <p>LPI: <i>And is watching him get hit with the bat. [---] He comes to search for him, the kid runs away, he gets scared and comes to sear... search for him and...</i></p> <p>EMK: (<i>chuckles</i>)</p> <p>LPI: <i>...Finds out he hid, finds out that the one who was in the booth is no longer there. [---] Got it? (starts laughing)</i></p> <p>EMK: (<i>laughing</i>) <i>Eventually, there comes ʔʔʔ</i></p> <p>LPI: <i>That's it, you've got it? (laughs)</i></p> <p>EMK: (<i>laughing</i>) <i>Yeah!</i></p> <p>LPI: (<i>to J.</i>) <i>Alright, he said he's got it!</i></p> <p>J: <i>Alright! (to EMK) So who's in this prank?</i></p> <p>EMK: <i>There's the sir in the booth...</i></p> <p>J: <i>Hm hm</i></p> <p>EMK: <i>...There's a little boy...</i></p> <p>J: <i>Hm</i></p> <p>EMK: <i>...And there's the one who's being pranked.</i></p> <p>J: <i>And... [---] Like, who gets fooled.</i></p> <p>EMK: <i>Who gets fooled?</i></p> <p>J: <i>Yeah, in the prank... What's he doing?</i></p> <p>EMK: <i>Theoretically, he's the one who's taking pictures.</i></p> <p>J: <i>And that guy who's taking pictures, where's he standing with respect to the sir in the booth?</i></p> <p>EMK: <i>He's in front of him. [---] You've got the sir who's in the booth and he's standing in front of him.</i></p> <p>J: <i>Good! Who comes first, the little kid or the sir who takes pictures?</i></p> <p>EMK: <i>Anyway, the sir who takes pictures is the first one, and when he comes and wants to take pictures he sees what happens when the little kid comes ʔʔʔ</i></p> <p>J: <i>Alright, that's it!</i></p>
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³⁷² The word, usually /ga:rʃi:tʃa/, is uttered with /k/ here, possibly for an accidental mistake.

8 - Hidden-camera test: DC's account of "Red light"

Type of recording: hidden-camera test

Setting: Queen Mary café (Temara), inside

<p>DC: /FG ʕərti ha:d l-vi:dʃu ha:da/</p> <p>FG: /hm/</p> <p>DC: /wəlʃlʰa:jta tʰ-tʰu:p a xa:j wa:ʕər/ [---] /wa:ħəd l-fi:ru:ʒ/</p> <p>FG: /ʔa:h ??/</p> <p>DC: /fi:n ʒa fi:n ʒa ʕi f-wa:ħəd tʰ-tʰri:q/ [---] /wa:tʰa:ni:ja/</p> <p>FG: /ha:di:ja/</p> <p>DC: /tʰri:q wa:tʰa:ni:ja/</p> <p>FG: /ʔa:h/</p> <p>DC: /ʒa wəsʰtʰ ʃ-fa:ntʰi/ [fu:ru:ʒ] [---] /u-l-bu:li... ka:jən wa:ħəd l-ʕəskri/ [---] /bu:li:si/ [---] /msʰtʰa:sʃju:ni tʰ-tʰu:mu:bʰi:lʰ dja:l-u xa:rəʒ f-lʰa:-pi:sʰtʰ u:-ga:ləs f-l-kursi bħa:la:kka/ (mimics the policeman's sitting position) /u:-ga:ləs kə-ʃfu:f ka:jən mqa:bəl mʕa:-dək l-fi:ru:ʒ/ [---] /wa:ħəd l-bənt ka:-tthəkkəm fi:-h mən bʕi:d/ [---] /ʒa:j wa:ħəd fu:rʰdʰ/ [---] /fu:rʰdʰ kbi:ra ʒa:ja wa:-dʰ-dʰu l-hmər/ [---] /bqa da:k mu:l fu:rʰdʰ ga:ləs kə-jtsənnə kə-jtsənnə kə-jtsənn... u:-kə-jdʰrəb ʕli:-h dək l-bu:li:si dək l-bu:li:si kə-jba:n bħa:l-lli na:ʕəs/ [---] /kə-jba:n bħa:l-lli na:ʕəs xu:-na ja:lʰlʰa kə-jthərrək kə-jbda ʒsʰəffər ʕli:-h ha:da:k l-bu:li:si/ [---] /rʒəʕ³⁷³/</p> <p>FG: (laughs)</p> <p>DC: /kə-jhəzz li:-h l-wərqa/ [---] /l-a:xur kə-jbda jʕəwwət/ [---] /ʒa wa:ħəd xu:-na ʕa:wta:ni/ [---] /nəfs l-bʰlʰa:n ʕa:wta:ni tʰu:mu:bʰi:lʰa həmra da:zt u:-hi:ja twəqqəf f-l-fi:ru:ʒ bqa:t wa:gfa wa:gfa u:-kə-ʃfu:fu u:-kə-jshəb-hum na:ʕəs ja:lʰlʰa kə-jthərrku kə-ʒsʰəffər ʕli:-hum ʕa:wta:ni kə-jgu:l rʒəʕ³⁷⁴ ʕa:wta:ni/ [---] /ha:-lmu:dəkki:ra nqəjjəd-l-ək wa:ħəd xu:-na ʕa:wta:ni/ [---] /bya jdi:r fi:-ha wa:ʕər/ [---] /ʕənd-u wa:ħəd... dək ʒ-ʒa:m³⁷⁵ kbi:r/ [---] /fu:rʰdʰ kbi:r ʒa hu:wa jhbətʰ di:k l-ləʕba jhbətʰ ʕənd-u/ [---] /hu:wa ba:qi ʕənd-u u:-jgu:l li:-h l-bu:li:si ʃu:f rʰa:-hu:wa dʰ-dʰu l-xdʰər</p>	<p>DC: FG, you see this video?</p> <p>FG: Hm?</p> <p>DC: It's top, bro, amazing! [---] There's a traffic light...</p> <p>FG: Yeah ??</p> <p>DC: Where did they place it? They just placed it along a [---] national route.</p> <p>FG: A quiet one.</p> <p>DC: A national route.</p> <p>FG: OK.</p> <p>DC: It's in the middle of it. A traffic light. [---] And the poli... There's an officer. [---] A policeman [---] who's parked his car out on the path and is sitting on his chair like this (mimics the policeman's sitting position), he's sitting and watching. He's opposite that traffic light. [---] A girl's controlling it from a distance. [---] A Ford comes. [---] A big Ford, coming towards the red light. [---] The driver stops and keeps waiting, on and on and o... And that policeman keeps his eyes on him. That policeman looks like he's sleeping. [---] He looks like he's sleeping. As soon as the guy moves a little bit, that policeman starts whistling at him. [---] "Go back!"</p> <p>FG: (laughs)</p> <p>DC: He lifts a paper in his face. [---] The guy starts shouting. [---] Another guy comes [---] Same thing again: a red car, it comes and stops before the red light. And it stays and stays, and the people look at him and they think he's sleeping. As soon as they move, he whistles at them, too, and he says, once again: "Go back! [---] Here's the ticket book, I'm fining you!" Another guy [---] wants to act bold. [---] He's got a... one of those big GM's. [---] A big Ford. He comes and gets out – you know – he gets out to talk to the policeman. [---] While he's still standing by</p>
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³⁷³ The vowel is here lengthened [rʰʒæ::ʕ] for expressive purposes.

³⁷⁴ Cfr. previous footnote.

³⁷⁵ "GM", a US car brand

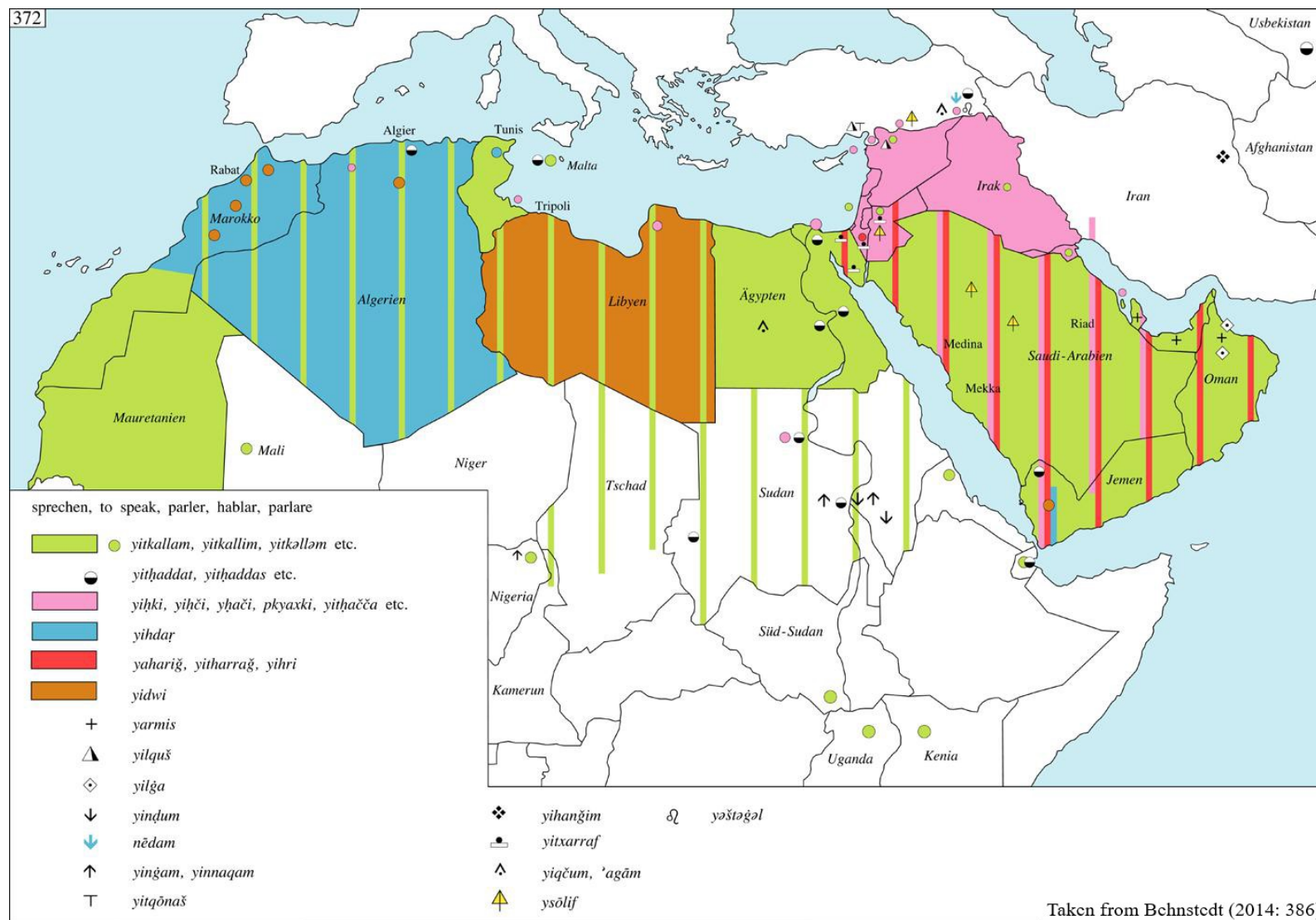
<p>ja:lʰa tʰlɔʃ u:-hu:ma jdʰərbu li:-h l-ħmər/</p> <p>FG: (laughs)</p> <p>DC: (laughs) /u:-jsʃər/ (laughs) /ha:da ma:-ka:n/</p> <p>J: (To FG, after he's stopped laughing) /ka:jən wa:ħəd l-fø ruʒ/ [---] /wa:ħəd l-fø ruʒ wa:la:ki:n ma:-xədda:m-ʃ məzja:n/ [---] /ki:fa:ʃ/</p> <p>FG: /fø ruʒ ma:-xədda:m-ʃ məzja:n ha:d l-fø ruʒ f-wa:ħəd tʰ-tʰri:q ʃa:di:ja/</p> <p>J: /ʔa:h ʃnu hi:ja l-ħa:ʒa lli f-ʃ-ʃkəl f ha:d l-fø ruʒ/</p> <p>FG: /lli f-ʃ-ʃkəl/ [---] /hu:wa da:k l-bu:li:si mrəjjəħ f... ħda ha:da:k l-fø ruʒ/ [---] /ħha:lla kə-ʃʃa:jən kə-j... kə-ʃsa:jən kə-ʃsa:jən da:k mu:l tʰ-tʰu:mu:bʰi:lʰ hi:ja jdi... hi:ja lli jdi:r wa:ħəd l-pa/ [---] /ʒi:d ʃla:-l-ħmər u:-la:-j... la:-j... la:-jxruʒ mən tʰ-tʰu:mu:bʰi:lʰa baʃ ddi:r li:-h l-xdʰər fħəmti:-ni/</p> <p>J: /u:-ʃla:ʃ da:k l-ħmər/ [---] /di:ma tə-jbqa/</p> <p>FG: /di:ma kə-jbqa ʃfu:fu rʰ-reaksjō dja:l-ʃ-ʃi:fu:rʰ tʰ-tʰu:mu... ʃnu ʔa:di jdi:r/</p> <p>J: /la zəʃma ʃla:ʃ ʃnu hu:wa s-sa:ba:b/</p> <p>FG: /ʔa:h s-sa:ba:b ka:-tə.../</p> <p>DC: (in a low voice) /l-bənt/</p> <p>FG: /smi:tu ha:da:k hu:wa l-məqləb ha:da:k l-fø ruʒ hu:wa l-məqləb/ [---] /ʔəħ hu:wa lli kə-jt... kə-jthəkkəm fi:-h wa:ħəd l-bənnu:ta b-wa:ħəd tʰ-telekomā kə-tʃʃəl l-ħmər f-wqi:t ma bya:t u:-tʃʃəl l-xdʰər f-wqi:t ma bya:t/</p> <p>J: /u:-fi:n ka:jna ha:di:k l-bənt/</p> <p>FG: /l-bənt mxəbbi:ja/ [---] /ma kə-tba:n-ʃ/</p> <p>J: /fu:qa:ʃ txəbba:t wa:ʃ f-wəstʰ l-ka:mi:rʰa ka:ʃi/</p> <p>FG: /lla qbəl qbəl ma ka:mi:rʰa ka:ri... ka:ʃi qbəl mən l... qbəl ma:-jdi:ru l-məqləb zəʃma qbəl mən ka:mi:rʰa ka:ʃi l-bʰlʰa:sʰa dja:l-[h]a xəsʰsʰ-[h]a tku:n mxəbbi:ja ma:-ka:-tba:n-ʃ u:-jku:n ʒənd-[h]a tʰ-telekomā ba:ʃ tthəkkəm f... f da:k l-fø ruʒ ə.../ [---] /l-ħmər f-wqi:t ma:-bya:t u:-l-xdʰər f-wqi:t ma bya:t/</p> <p>J: /u:-da:k xu:-na lli kə-jsu:q wa:ʃ/ [---] /wa:ʃ f-wa:ħəd l-wqi:ta/ [---] /wa:ʃ kə-jħa:wəl jəthərrək mən tʰ-tʰu:mu:bʰi:lʰ/</p> <p>FG: /lla b-l-ʃəks la... i:la ka:n ħmər xəsʰsʰ-u jəwqəf kə-jbqa</p>	<p>him, the policeman says: "Look, it's green!" As soon as he gets back on, they switch it back to red!</p> <p>FG: (laughs)</p> <p>DC: (laughs) And he goes mad. (laughs) That's the story!</p> <p>J: (To FG, after he's stopped laughing) There's a traffic light. [---] A traffic light, but it doesn't work properly. [---] How's that?</p> <p>FG: A traffic light that doesn't work properly, right? That traffic light is on a regular road...</p> <p>J: Yeah... What's weird about this traffic light?</p> <p>FG: What's weird? [---] That that policeman's sitting in... next to that traffic light [---] like he's observing he's... he's waiting, he's waiting for that driver, that is, to... to make a move. [---] To jump the red light or to... to... to get off the car so that she switches it to green. Got it?</p> <p>J: And why does that light [---] always stay red?</p> <p>FG: Always stay red? To see the driver's reaction, the car... what he'll do.</p> <p>J: No, I mean, why, what's the cause?</p> <p>FG: Oh, the cause? She...</p> <p>DC: (in a low voice) The girl!</p> <p>FG: How do you say that... That's the trick! That traffic light's the trick. [---] Er... That's op... operated by a girl with a remote control, she turns on the red light whenever she wants to and the green light whenever she wants to.</p> <p>J: And where's that girl?</p> <p>FG: The girl is hiding. [---] She can't be seen.</p> <p>J: When did she hide? During the prank?</p> <p>FG: No, before! Before the prar... prank, before the... I mean, before they play the trick, before the prank. Her place, she has to hide from their view, and hold a remote control to operate that... that traffic light er... [---] the red light whenever she wants to and the green light whenever she wants to.</p> <p>J: And the guy who's driving, does he [---] does he, at a given moment [---] does he try and move from the car?</p> <p>FG: Quite the opposite³⁷⁷! If... If the light's red, he must</p>
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<p>wa:qəf ʕi:r hu:wa l-ħmər kə-j... kə-jlqa b-ʔanna-hu rʕa wa:qəf bəzza:f³⁷⁶ mən bəʕd kə-jbyi jtʔəkkəd/ [---] /u:-la... mənni kə-jhəss b-rʕa:s[-u] b-ʔanna rʕa wa:qəf bəzza:f kə- jztʕəm kə-jzi:d/ [---] /mənni kə-jzi:d/ [---] /təmma kə-jfi... kə-jfi:q li:-h da:k l-bu:li:si/ DC laughs FG: /lli shəb-l-u rʕa na:ʕəs u:la ʕi:-ħa[:za]/ J: /sʕa:fi hu:wa ha:da:k/</p>	<p><i>stop, he stays still, although the red light... He ends staying there a very very long time. Then he wants to make sure [---] or... When he feels he's been staying there too long, he advances carelessly. [---] When he advances [---] that's when that... that policeman wakes up on him!</i> DC laughs FG: <i>While he had thought he was sleeping or something like that.</i> J: <i>Ok, that's correct!</i></p>
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³⁷⁷ Here it seems that my question is not clear, as **FG** answers like I have asked him if the driver moves the car (rather than *out of* the car, which is what I meant to say). Even so, **FG**'s question brings more tokens of the lexemes desired.

³⁷⁶ The last vowel of this word lasts over one second ([bəzzæ:::f]).

Appendix C – Behnstedt’s map of lexemes meaning “*sprechen*” (“to talk” / “to speak”)



Taken from Behnstedt (2014: 386)