

The voices of Morocco: linguistic variation in Moroccan radio speech

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By analysing a corpus of approximately two hours of radio news bulletins and call-in programs from three Moroccan radio stations (MFM, MED Radio and Radio Atlantic), a number of phonetic, morphologic and morpho-syntactic features are identified as relevant to the will of the speaker to adopt a more formal or less formal speech style. The variation of said variables are thus analysed in the different communicative contexts (News, call-in monologues and dialogues with experts, dialogues with audience on the phone) in order to determine the level of formality of such contexts.

Moreover, the aim of the paper is to apply the concept of functional diglossia, (Albirini 2011) to the Moroccan environment, to try and determine whether the presence of features of more formal and less formal speech styles can be interpreted by means of the will of the speaker to perform a determinate communicative function (as lending a tone of seriousness to what is being said, giving explanations, performing an indirect quote).

Linguistic variation is thus inquired giving more attention to individual varieties than to a theoretical framework that assumes discrete boundaries between one variety and another, focusing instead on the relationship between the individual variants selected by speakers and the meaning these choices have at the sociolinguistic level.

Keywords: functional diglossia, Morocco, linguistic variation, radio, sociolinguistics, Arabic.

1. Introduction¹

This paper analyses sociolinguistic variation in Moroccan radio broadcasts by transcribing and analysing news bulletins and call-in programmes, in order to describe a limited set of phonetic, morphological and morpho-syntactic variables used by the speakers to signal their will to adhere to a more or less formal speech style. Speakers' behaviour is thus studied with the main aim of determining how variation reflects

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the speaker's wider representation of how they think they should speak in order to communicate in a certain variety of the language.

Moreover, the present paper aims at applying to the Moroccan linguistic environment the concept of *functional diglossia* as discussed by Abdulkafi Albirini (2011) showing the consistent use of both Standard and Dialectal Arabic in the same context, the selection of one or the other depending solely on the communicative function the speaker wants to perform. More precisely, speakers would use Standard Arabic to signal the transition to a light to a more serious tone, to adopt a pedantic style, to communicate pan-Arab of Muslim identity or in idiomatic expressions (Albirini 2011: 541). Dialectal Arabic, on the other hand, would be used to minimise a segment of speech, for indirect quotations, explanation and exemplification or the shift to a lighter tone (Albirini 2011: 547).

The aim of this paper is then twofold: firstly, to determine whether there is a limited set of variables that are used by the speaker to recur to a more formal or less formal speech style in radio broadcast, and what these variables are.

Secondly, to determine whether the presence of features of both the speech styles in the same utterance signals the will to perform a determinate communicative function, according to Albirini.

In the next paragraphs, a brief discussion of the evolution of studies on Arabic diglossia will be provided (2.1 and 2.2); 2.3 is concerned with the brief exposition of the concept of *functional diglossia* as intended by Abdulkafi Albirini (2011); 2.4 summarises the main features of Moroccan Spoken Arabic, while the following section 3 introduces the methodology and dataset used for the present study. Section 4 concerns the findings and discussion, and in section 5 conclusions are drawn.

2. State of the art: some theoretical tools

2.1. Charles Ferguson and the concept of diglossia

The first tool is the concept of diglossia, as applied to the context of Arabic by linguist Charles Ferguson in 1959. The term indicates “one particular kind of standardisation where two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play” (Ferguson 1959: 325).

The central point of this concept lies in the characteristic roles of the two varieties, called H and L² and constituting two poles of the diglossic axis; the selection of one or the other is dictated by the

² ‘High’ and ‘Low;’ ‘Standard’ Arabic occupies the H pole in Ferguson’s work, while colloquial Arabic forms the L pole.

communicative context and the content of the message itself (Ferguson 1959: 328). The H variety (in the present case the *fuṣḥā* language) pertains to more solemn and formal spheres, and is the only one used in the sphere of writing; the L variety (the ‘dialect’), on the other hand, is only used in the domestic sphere, of affection and of everyday, informal communication. The contents of Ferguson’s essay formed the basis for subsequent critiques and in- depth studies on the issue of Arabic diglossia.

One central point of said studies is the lack of clear boundaries between varieties, and how to place such varieties along the Diglossic axis: while in *Diglossia* Standard Arabic was considered the most prestigious one (Ferguson 1959: 329-330), many subsequent studies (see Palva 1982 and Ibrahim 1986) have problematised this point. In fact, there is often “a prestige variety of L, the identity of which depends on many geographical, political and social factors within each country, and which may influence speech” (Bassiouney 2020: 19).³ This point is of great importance in delineating the deep and dynamic reality of Arabic orality.

2.2. “There is no third pole:” towards the linguistic *continuum*

The article published by Charles Ferguson in 1959 led to a rich debate, and to the progressive zooming in on the diglossic axis, describing the linguistic variation in terms of intermediate varieties. Many studies have focused on the description of these intermediate levels, naming and numbering them variably (Blank 1960, Badawi 1973, Meiseles 1980), without however really succeeding in proposing a valid alternative to Ferguson's original description. The author of *Diglossia*, in a 1996 article in which he reacts to the critiques towards his seminal article, states in fact

I recognised the existence of intermediate forms and mentioned them briefly in the article [Ferguson 1959], but I felt then and still feel that in the diglossia case the analyst finds two poles in terms of which the intermediate varieties can be described; there is no third pole. Also, the users of the language in a diglossia situation typically deal with it attitudinally as a two-term relation and use metalinguistic labels that refer to the two poles and ‘mixed’ or ‘in- between’ varieties (Ferguson 1996: 59).

The direction taken by *post-diglossia* research in fact often describes linguistic reality in terms of intermediate levels or mixed styles (Mejdell 2006), thus implicitly referring to the poles outlined by

³ With regard to this point, however, it is necessary to specify that in his essay Ferguson envisages the possibility of 'the adoption of H or one form of L as the standard', thus admitting the possibility of a high prestige variety that is different from *fuṣḥā*.

Ferguson, which seem to be undeniable; however, subsequent studies have increasingly moved towards the *continuum* view, with interesting results.

Among the most significant works is the analysis of El-Said Badawi (1973), who identifies five levels “ranging from ‘pure’ *fuṣḥā* to plain *‘āmmiyya*” (Mejdell 2006: 51) without, however, presenting them as discrete elements, i.e. adopting the aforementioned linguistic *continuum* perspective. As pointed out by Mejdell, anyway, it is not clear in Badawi’s work “what exactly are the linguistic elements that are perceived to affect the change of level” (Mejdell 2006: 52). In fact, levels are in fact in Badawi largely overlapping, and some traits are not exclusive to one variety, but shared between the two adjacent ones. There is therefore no clear-cut boundary between them. Despite these shortcomings, indeed Badawi’s work is of great interest as it proposes that the shift between levels, although linked to the communicative context (there are certain levels that are used in both writing and speaking, i.e. *fuṣḥā al-‘āṣr* and *fuṣḥā al-muṭaqqafin*), are realised through the selection of linguistic traits that shared between varieties or ‘levels,’⁴ loosening the tight separation proposed in Ferguson’s *Diglossia*, although not quite yet going beyond its view of *high* and *low* variety.

In other words, some contextual distinction of use of each variety still exists in Badawi’s study, but such compartmentalisation can be seen not in terms of a formal and abstract distinction, but in its realisations in living linguistic reality, “pinpointing the mechanism through which language codes are organised in the brains of bilinguals” (Albirini 2016: 216). In other words, the manifestation of linguistic variation can be seen as an effect of what variety speakers assess as appropriate in a certain context and realise through the selection of variants that they consider more adherent to said variety. In so doing, “speakers negotiate the mapping of a linguistic system of representation onto the real world” (Brustad 2000: 9). The idiosyncratic nature of such evaluation is realised (also) in the commonality of traits found by Badawi at the boundaries of the intermediate levels he describes, “allowing room for speaker variables to determine where between the S[tandard] A[rabic] and QA [Colloquial Arabic] poles a certain word, sentence, or piece of discourse may fall” (Albirini 2016: 24).

2.3. Abdulkafi Albirini’s Functional Diglossia

Albirini’s (2011) study considers linguistic variation no longer as linked to context, but by assigning Standard Arabic and dialectal Arabic precise communicative functions, which guide speakers’

⁴ In contrast to the strict separation in the contexts of use of H and L described by Ferguson in *Diglossia*.

selection. His work is based on “thirty-five audio and video recordings in the domains of religious lectures, political debates, and soccer commentaries” (Albirini 2011: 537).

As a starting point, we consider that “S[tandard] A[rabic] is used to lend a tone of seriousness and importance to the topic, whereas D[ialectal] A[rabic] is used for narration and giving concrete examples” (Albirini 2011: 539). Developing this point, Albirini identifies eight communicative functions performed by Standard Arabic, among which are the use of idiomatic expressions, signalling the transition from a light to a more serious tone, the production of rhythmic speech, the adoption of a pedantic style and the communication of pan-Arab or Muslim identity (Albirini 2011: 541). Dialectal Arabic, on the other hand, is associated by Albirini with parenthetical phrases and fillers, the minimisation of a segment of speech, indirect quotations, explanation and exemplification, the transition to a lighter or comical tone, the treatment of taboo subjects, the introduction of sayings related to everyday life and, finally, to bring personal attacks and insults (Albirini 2011: 547). What the study shows is the consistent use of both Standard and Dialectal Arabic in the same context, the selection of one or the other depending solely on the communicative function the speaker wants to perform. What is not explicitly stated in the study, however, is the rationale followed in assigning each linguistic trait the H or L label.

Below are some phonological and morphosyntactic traits from the examples proposed by Albirini’s study as evidence of code-switching towards the standard variety (SA). Although Albirini’s data come “from educated speakers of the Egyptian, Gulf, and Levantine dialects of Arabic” (Albirini 2011: 540), it is worth analysing the examples provided in his study in order to understand which linguistic traits are the most likely to signal the switch between Standard Arabic and Dialectal Arabic, taking them as the starting point to the study of linguistic variation in Moroccan Arabic. The numbering adopted by Albirini in *The Sociolinguistic Functions of Codeswitching* (2011) is maintained.

At the phonological level, the main trait is the retention of *hamza*, as in example 11 [...] *man yaṣnaʿūnʹ inḡāzāt al-kura s-suʿūdiyya* [...] (Albirini 2011: 545-546).

As far as morphology is concerned, the use of *ʿirāb* is limited to example 10 (Albirini 2011: 545), which reports the oral recitation of a poem, and example 5, where the use of *tanwīn fatḥa* can be noted: *naḥnu lam na-dbaḥ farrūḡan wa lam naksur zuḡāḡan* (Albirini 2011: 543); the verbal morphology of *muḡāriʿ*, moreover, corresponds to the standard, including the construction of the subordinate sentence through the use of *ʿan* followed by *maṣūb* in example 3 ([...] *ʿan tuʿallima l-qurʿān li-ḡair-ik* [...]; Albirini 2011: 542).

With regard to the dialectal variant, the realisation of the uvular occlusive /q/ is reported in its two variants [g] and [ʔ]. Regarding phonology, deletion of *hamza*—with the sole exception of the first-

person singular pronoun *ʔana* (in example 19)—is found, as much as the monophthongalisation of the diphthongs /aw/>[ō] and /ay/>[ī], and the use of variants for the third person singular masculine suffix pronoun; one has /hu/>[a], >[u] or >[h].

Moving on to considering the examples provided by Albirini and concerning the switch towards Dialectal Arabic, a comparison will be provided between the outcomes drawn from said examples and the patterns of variation of the same variables in Moroccan Arabic. The variables gathered through the analysis of Albirini's work constitute here the possible relevant features of linguistic variation in contemporary Morocco: the hypothesis here is that the variables involved in the switch in Albirini's study will also be involved in switch in Moroccan Arabic.

Realisations of /q/ are attested in Moroccan Arabic as [q], [g] or [ʔ^s] (Hachimi 2011: 30); monophthongalisation results in /aw/>[ū] and /ay/>[ī], but diphthongs are attested mostly among Berber-influenced Moroccan speakers (Caubet 2008: 276). Also at the phonological level, the loss of the interdental *ṭ* (in the *kaṭīr>ktīr* realisation) and *ḍ* (in *naḍbaḥ>dābḥīn*; Albirini 2011: 542), and several occurrences of short vowel deletion in unaccented syllables, are found; both traits are common, in general, to Moroccan speakers (Caubet 2008: 275). Finally, since Albirini's study includes data from Egyptian Arabic speakers, it is not surprising to find several occurrences of /ǧ/>[g], typically Cairene but also found in Morocco (Caubet 2008: 275). Unknown to Moroccan phonology, on the other hand, is the retention of the interdental emphatic *ḍ* ([...] *bi-taḥayyul l-ʔaḥīra di muš wighit-naḍar-i* [...]; Albirini 2011: 543), the latter converging into *ḍ* in said dialect (Durand and Ventura 2022: 15). It must be noted, though that the retention of *ḍ* is equally uncommon in the varieties analysed by Albirini.

Regarding morphology, there is an almost total absence of *ʔīrāb*, with the sole exception of example 26 (Albirini 2011: 552), reporting nevertheless a lexicalised adverbial element. The use of non-standard aspectual particles can also be noted, i.e. the imperfective prefix *bi-* and the future particle *rāḥ*; Moroccan Arabic uses similar tools: aspectual prefixes such as *ka-* or *ta-* and the particle *ǧādi* to indicate the future.

As far as syntax and lexicon are concerned, an obvious aspect is the use of the pseudo-verb *bidd*, not common in Moroccan Arabic, where the verb *bǧā* and, albeit less frequently, *ḥabb* (Durand and Ventura 2022: 191) are found instead. The circumfixed negative structure *ma-š* signalled in Albirini's examples are also found in Moroccan Arabic (Durand and Ventura 2022: 200).

Another relevant syntactic structure is the realisation of juxtaposition hypotaxis, as in example 16 (Albirini 2011: 248): *ma bād-na-š nā-nsa*; the same structure is found in Moroccan Arabic. Non-standard use of demonstratives and pronouns is also found: the relative pronoun is realised through the indeclinable *lli/illi*, also common in Moroccan Arabic, as is the particle *wāḥad* used as a

marker of indefiniteness (Brustad 2000: 20). The use of *wāḥed* is also attested in the Egyptian and Levantine areas, but in these areas its usage differs from Morocco, where it is usually followed by a definite noun, e.g. in *šrā-w wāḥed d-dār* (Durand and Ventura 2022: 95).

From a lexical point of view, the verb *ʾaʿmal* and the related *mašdar ʾiʿmāl* used with the meaning 'to do' instead of the standard *faʿala* are found.

2.4. Colloquial Moroccan Arabic

Colloquial Moroccan Arabic indeed possesses a great degree of differentiation; however, in this paper reference will be made to the attempted description of a koine reported in the *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* (Versteegh *et al.*: 2006).

The koine described in the *Encyclopaedia* (Versteegh *et al.* 2006: 273-278) mainly refers to Casablanca speech. Its phonology shows the shift of interdental fricatives, towards occlusives (/t̪/>[t] and /d̪/>[d]); the uvular occlusive is realised as a velar occlusive (/q/>[g]). Also, pharyngalisation (also referred to as 'emphasis') extends to phonemes that lack it in *fuṣḥā* (/ʔ/, /m̤/, /b̤/ and /z̤/), both as an independent feature or as a result of assimilation. Other common cases of assimilation regard sibilants /s/ and /z/ in proximity to palato-alveolar affricates /dʒ/ (e.g. the root z-w-ž, from which the term 'pair,' *zawž>žūž* 'two' is derived as a result of this phenomenon). The affrication of the phoneme /t̪/>[ts] is also widespread. As far as the vowel system is concerned, the most characteristic feature is the monophthongalisation leading to the realisation /aw/>/ū/ and /ay/>/ī/.

At the morphological level, an interesting trait is the presence of particles indicating 'intermediate' degrees of determination: beside the presence or absence of the determinative article, the use of the particle *ši* and *wāḥad* is in fact attested. These are not, however, exclusive features of Moroccan Arabic. On the contrary, "Moroccan and Syrian employ the particle /šši/ some, and all four dialects [Moroccan, Egyptian, Syrian and Kuwaiti] permit limited use of the article /wāḥid/ (Moroccan /wāḥed l-/ 'one,' and a 'potential' article /šī/ 'some'" (Brustad 2000: 20).

Other recurring features in Moroccan Arabic concern the realisation of the genitive construct by means of the particle *dyāl*, also realised as *d-*, the use of *kāyn/kāyna* as existential particles, and the *ma-š* negation structure (e.g. *ma keyn-š* 'there is no'). Finally, verbal morphology admits the use of the particle *gadi/ga-* to indicate the future, while the prefix *ka-/ta-* is applied to the *muḍāriʿ*.

3. Data and methodology: the voice of Morocco

3.1. Why radio data?

Data acquired through radio broadcasts made it possible to test what previously discussed regarding the works by Badawi (1973) and Albirini (2016: 23) through the study of linguistic variation through the identification of variables used by the speaker to indicate the use of more or less formal speech, and the variants associated with said speech style.

Alongside the structural perspective, we would then like to test the further hypothesis that the possible co-presence of standard (*MSA*) and dialectal (*dāriža*) realisations in the same context (e.g., the news) can be explained according to Albirini's *functional diglossia*. This will be done by trying to identify any association between the choice of a particular variant and the communicative function (e.g. the sudden recourse to *fuṣḥā* features corresponding to an increased seriousness of tone, as stated by Albirini 2011: 537).

3.2. Preparation of the analysis

The recording, transcription, annotation, translation and analysis of broadcasts from several Radio stations in the area of Casablanca constitute the dataset of this study. The complete dataset is constituted by approximately two hours of material, and includes recordings from *call-in* programmes and news broadcasts. Focussing on broadcast stations based in Casablanca is linked to its closeness to the above discussed role of koine (Caubet 2008: 273) of the city's spoken variety.

This paper presents excerpts coming from two of the three radio stations that compose the dataset.

The first one is Radio Atlantic. This station features economic-financial programmes such as *nwaḍaḥ līk* ('let's make things clear'), where listeners can intervene and benefit from experts' advice. Atlantic Radio also hosts programmes dealing with more generalist topics: civic initiatives, health, sports but also cultural news, using a language "between modern standard Arabic and Darija" (Zaid and Ibarhine 2011: 6).

The second broadcaster is Med Radio. This radio's programming is also quite varied with regard to social and relational issues, including topics such as mental health and marriage.

One of the programmes dealing with these topics is *naṣīḥat ʿamal* ('Amal's advice'), which deals with mental health in the usual call-in format. Some of the topics covered in the programme concern depression, self-esteem and panic attacks.

3.3. Methodology: the theoretical framework

The analysis of the linguistic features of news broadcasts is aimed at describing the speech style used in a formal broadcasting setting. At the same time, the choice of call-in programmes aims at describing how the speech style varies in a dialogical context and what variables are the most affected. Attention is dedicated mainly to those linguistic features identified in Albirini (2011) and discussed previously. Finally, an attempt is made to connect linguistic choices to the communicative functions identified by Albirini. The hypothesis is that linguistic variation is connected to the communicative function of the utterance, thus admitting the co-occurrence of *fuṣḥā* and *dāriẓa* in the same context following Albirini's claim that the choice of *fuṣḥā* and *dāriẓa* is driven by a functional division "by designating issues of importance, complexity, and seriousness to C[lassical] A[rabic] and aligning less important, less serious, and accessible topics with D[ialectal] A[rabic]" (Albirini 2011: 537).

The data here presented were retrieved by listening to various radio stations via the Radio Garden website, an online resource that allows to tune in to numerous radio stations by selecting the geographical area of interest (in this case, the city of Casablanca). The data were recorded using *Audacity*, a freeware that allowed basic audio manipulation.

A quantitative method is adopted for the analysis: occurrences of each variant of the linguistic variables discussed in 2.3 and 2.4 are counted in order to determine which variants characterise news broadcast speech style. The same analysis is then carried out for data pertaining call-in programmes, both for monologues (mostly introduction speech given by hosts) and dialogues with listeners and the experts).

4. Discussion

This chapter will finally put into practice what has been discussed so far. After examining the language of news broadcasts, attention will be dedicated to *call-in* programmes. Due to space limitations, only a few excerpts exemplifying the elements surveyed are given in this chapter.⁵ The tabular data instead refer to the entire database analysed.

⁵ Each line of the excerpts is numbered in order to allow readers to better locate the discussed linguistic element in the text. Numbers in square brackets indicate the line where the discussed element(s) or occurrence(s) are found in the excerpt under scrutiny.

4.1. News reports

Arabic radio news contains realisations associated with both *MSA* and *dāriža*. In this sense, it is perhaps useful—for terminological clarity—to define the variety of news Arabic as H-radio, borrowing Ferguson’s terminology. Broadly speaking, H-radio would be “the formal speech adopted in radio broadcast:” the oral realisation of higher adherence to the standard, as described by Mejdell (2006: 33), but not completely matching the structure of *MSA*, as it also incorporates *dāriža* features.

4.1.1. MED Radio news

An example of such co-presence occurs in the following excerpt:⁶

1. *ṣaḥīyyatan la-kum ā mustamāʿīna ahlan bi-kum fi muḏāzī-na li-ahāmmi l-anbāʿ*
2. *yušariku l-maḡribu ilā žānibi l-ūlāti l-muttaḥida l-amerikīya wa-ḥamsāʿisrīna*
3. *dawlatan uḥra fi munawarāti l-ḥašša dyəl mutāhib at-tamrīnāti l-ʿaskariya*
4. *s-sanawīya llati taḥṣaḏīnu-ha l-urdun fi mažali mukafaḥati l-irhāb*

Greetings, and welcome to our summary of the most important news. Morocco is participating alongside the United States of America and twenty-five other states in the manoeuvres concerning the preparation of annual military exercises held by Jordan as part of the fight against terrorism.

From a phonetic point of view, the retention of short unstressed vowels is found in [1], [2], [4] in accordance with Albirini’s data; on the other hand, we find the realisation /ǧ/>[ž] in [1], [2], [4] absent in Badawi and Albirini’s profiling⁷ but found in the phonologic inventory of the *Dāriža* language compiled by Durand and Ventura (2022: 2), as well as in the notes published by Aguadé (2003: 2).

Turning to morphology, the retention of *ʿiʿrāb* is worth mentioning: it is found in the first instance as an indeterminate accusative in the initial greeting formula (*ṣaḥīyyatan*) in [1] and in the second case as the object of a numeral (*dawlatan*) in [3]. While the first is identifiable as a fossilized form, instead of living use of *ʿiʿrāb*, the second one raises some questions. It is assumed here that the use of *ʿiʿrāb* here is more tied to rules concerning numerals than to actual selection of case endings.

⁶ All the following excerpts report a phonetic transcription.

⁷ The absence of this trait from the profiling of the two scholars should not be surprising, however, given the different areas covered by their studies. As mentioned, certain specificities of Moroccan speech (and, in the specific case of the affricate realisation of ǧ, of North Africa in general) are necessarily outside the scope of the works considered and must be included *ex novo*.

Different is the case with the apparent [?]*rāb* use after verb forms (both *muḍāriʿ* conjugations found in lines [2] and [4] seem to have the ending vowel *-u* of the *marfūʿ*) and in nouns, where the word-final *-u* is interpretable as case-ending (*yušariku l-mağribu*) and several *-i* endings indicating the genitive case.⁸

A quick view at verbal morphology confirms its adherence to MSA norms, with the use of the verbal prefix *yu-* (*yušariku*) in the *muḍāriʿ* without the additional prefix *ka-/ta-* that characterises Moroccan Arabic.

Finally, syntax shows the use of the pseudo-preposition *dyāl* ([3]) in *munawarāti l-ḥaṣṣa dyāl mutāhib*, a distinctive feature of Moroccan Arabic which often substitute Standard Arabic [?]*idāfa*, while as far as morphosyntax is concerned, the use of the standard relative pronoun (*a*)*llati* (line [3]) is found (Moroccan Arabic uses instead the invariable form (*a*)*lli*).

Turning to the following extract:

5. *Fāza fariqun min al-madrasati l-mağribīya li-^ʿulūmi l-muhandisa allati tumattīlu*
6. *l-mamlakata fi ma^ʿridi Iṣṭanbul ad-dawlīy li-l-iḥtirā^ʿāt bi-midalyateyni dahabīya*
7. *wa-mdālya fəddīya bi-l-idāfa ^ʿilā l-žā^ʿiza l-kubrā li-afḍal iḥsārā^ʿi d-dawlīy*
8. *tusēllamu min qibali l-ittihādi d-dawlīy li-žāmi^ʿiyati l-muḥsari^ʿin wa-yušāriku fi had*
9. *al-ḥadaṭ al-ibtikārīy fi turkia akṭar min arba^ʿina dawlatan wa-^ʿazad min ^ʿalf iḥtirā^ʿ*

A team from the Moroccan Institute of Engineering Sciences, which represented the Kingdom at the Istanbul International Inventional Fair, won two gold medals and a silver medal, in addition to the first prize for the best international invention, received from the International Federation of Inventors' Associations. More than forty countries and more than a thousand inventions participated in this innovative event in Turkey.

In this further extract, retention of unstressed vowels ([5], [6]) is once again found, as well as several interdental realisations in *tumattīlu* ([5]) and *ḥadaṭ* ([9]). In other instances of the same extract, however, unstressed vowels are elided, as in *mdālya* ([7]) or more frequently neutralised, as in *iḥsārā^ʿi* ([7]) and ^ʿ*azad* ([9]). Still on phonetics, a few word-final vowels can be categorised as phenomena of

⁸ One possible interpretation is to assume that such vowel realisations are conditioned by the contact with *alif waṣla*, thus driving the presence of the final vowel as an epenthetic vowel, and not as [?]*rāb* proper.

epenthesis ([5], [8]) as discussed above (see note 8), while initial *hamza* is deleted in *aḵtar* ([9]) but maintained in *ʔalf* and *ʔazəd* ([9]).

Turning now to morphology, we again find the presence of *ʔiʔrāb* ([5], [6]).

Finally, the verbal voices: both the sentence-initial *māḍī* (*fāzā*) and the two instances of *muḍāriʕ* ([5], [8]) follow the MSA morphology.

4.1.2. Atlantic Radio news

1. *Fi nhayat hadihi an-našra ižrātu taḥfiḥ al-quyūd aš-šahḥiyya awqafat aš-šin al-yōm*
2. *əl-šamal bi-taḥbiqi l-mustaḥdam li-tatabuḥ ay ṭharrukāt is-sukkān w-tašaqqud min*
3. *šada l-mužūḍīn fi mantaqati intašad-u išābātīn bi-l-kōrōna at-taṭawwur*
4. *w-šaklu-h ḥuṭwa žadīda fi-h atari l-ḥurūž w-istrātīžiyāt šefr kuvid*

Concluding this bulletin are the relaxation of the health restrictions. China today suspended the operativity of its citizens movements tracking app, and the return of those who are in the area where Covid infections are spreading is becoming more difficult. The development and its modality are a new step that has implications for expatriation and the 'zero Covid' strategy.

Dropping of unstressed short vowel is found at the beginning of the extract ([1]) alongside a dental realisation of the phoneme /d/, which converge into a voiced dental occlusive in the demonstrative *hadīhi* ([1]). Here the speaker uses dialectal phonology inside a morphological environment that is substantially MSA: the *dāriža* repertoire would in fact realise the feminine singular proximity demonstrative as *hādi*.

Interdental convergence is also found in the word *atari* (standard *ʔatār*) ([4]), showing /t̪/>[t̪]. We also note, again at line [1], the reduction of the diphthong into *yawm*>*yōm*.

4.2. General summary of news speech data

The following table presents all occurrences of the variables most likely to be involved in *fušḥā-dāriža* codeswitching, as discussed above (see 2.3. and 2.4.). The results drawn from this table will give a description of what has been previously defined as “H-radio.”

Short unstressed vowels		hamza	
Maintained	18	Maintained	30
Neutralised	24	Deleted	11
Deleted	5		
Total	47	Total	41

/t/, /d/		/ğ/	
[t], [d]	16	[ğ]	0
[t], [d]	3	[ž]	22
Total	19	Total	22

ʔiʔrāb		Suffixed pronouns	
Grammar ⁹	60	MSA	9
Crystallised	3	Dāriža	3
Epenthesis	43	Relative pronouns	
Absent	32	MSA	5
Absent (female) ¹⁰	27	Dāriža	1
Total	165	Total	18

Diphthongs		Verbal morphology	
Maintained	2	MSA	15
Simplified ¹¹	6	Dāriža	0
Total	8	Total	15

Table 1. News speech data

⁹ ‘Grammar’ here refers to the realisation of ʔiʔrāb bearing the proper case ending, whereas ‘crystallised’ refers to its realisation in formulas. Finally, all the occurrences in which a final vowel is found in contact with ʔalif waşla and not bearing the proper case ending is listed among ‘Epenthesis.’ Therefore, ‘grammar’ ʔiʔrāb only include occurrences of proper case ending, whether in contact with ʔalif waşla or not.

¹⁰ The absence of ʔiʔrāb in context of contact between a feminine term and ʔalif waşla is signalled for the sake of precision, and included in the count of absence of ʔiʔrāb. In such contexts, in fact, it would be impossible to determine whether a word-ending *a* be in place of epenthetic ʔiʔrāb or if given a similar context—contact between a masculine term and ʔalif waşla – epenthetic ʔiʔrāb would be found.

¹¹ The term here refers to monophthongisation of diphthongs, regardless of the resulting vowel.

Based on the data summarised here, it is possible to try and briefly describe H-radio.

H-radio favours the maintenance of *hamza* and interdental phonemes, and admits the neutralisation of short unstressed vowels, which are nevertheless rarely deleted. As for morphology, the maintenance of *ʔiʔrāb* is attested, with word-ending vowels coherent with standard grammatical rules but occurrences strongly influenced by the presence of *alif waṣla*. The role of *ʔiʔrāb* in this variety is therefore mainly epenthetic. H-radio also shows the exclusive use of standard verbal morphology. The collected data do not allow any final conclusion about the pronominal repertoire and the realisation of diphthongs, given the small number of occurrences. Finally, the data show a clear tendency towards the maintainance of interdentals *t̪* and *d̪*, and the realisation of *ǧ* as *ž*.

4.3. Call-in programmes

The type of data examined in this part includes monologic and dialogic speech. In this second category are interviews with guests and interaction with listeners on the phone.

4.3.1. Radio Atlantic

The first text presented comes from the 19 January episode of *Nwaḍeḥ lī-k*, and offers clarification and advice regarding the working sector.

4.3.1.1. Introductory dialogue

1. *Šuruq: ʔdən nəbdaʔ mn eyna ntəhey-na l-ḥalqa l-māḍiya w-kēn bzəff*
2. *dyēl l-meʔlumāt l-mušir lə-ha w-hadi furša tafadḍal kul ma kəyrtabaṭ bi-l-ʔuqūbāti*
3. *l-basīta wə-l-žsīma w-mēda naqṣəd bi-masʔalāt at-tadarruž fi-l-ʔuqūba*
4. *wa-eyna tabdaʔ wa-tantahi sulṭat al-mušajǧil wa-dawr w-ʔahammīyēt*
5. *taʔāmul ayḍən f-kull ma kərtabaṭ bi-l-ʔamal l-ʔāžir w-ʔadēʔ al-ʔamal w-šǧul*

Šuruq: So, I'll start from where we ended the last episode. There is a lot of information mentioned, and this is an occasion. Please tell us about everything related to light and serious sanctions, what is meant by the issue of gradualness of sanctions and where the power of the employer begins and ends, and the role and importance of relations with co-workers and also in (everything) related to paid employment and work performance.

Some systematicity can be drawn in the host's speech. The phonology shows a clear tendency towards vowel retention or neutralisation, while cases of deletion ⁽¹⁾ are much rarer: two cases are *mn* ([1]) ⁽¹⁾ and *šǧul* ([5]). *Hamza* is also retained in almost all cases ([1], [3], [4], [5]), with only one deletion at the standard

particles *ʾayna* ([1], [4]) and *ʾaydan* ([5]). The presence of standard particles constitutes an interesting point: *ʾayna* in its variant *eyna* ([1], [4]), *māḍā* realised as *mēda* ([3]) and *ʾaydan* > *aydan* ([4]) are standard elements realised following the phonology of *dāriža*. Besides that, the frequent use of standard verbal conjugation, counting for four instances out of seven in the present excerpt ([1], [3], [4]) makes room to the *dāriža* verbal system in several occasions ([1], [2], [4]). Finally, the pseudo-preposition *dyāl* ([1]) and the adverb *bzəf* are also part of the *dāriža* repertoire.

From a functional point of view, the use of the above-mentioned standard particles ([1], [3], [4], [5]) realised following the phonology of *dāriža* can be interpreted as the will of the speaker to use a formal style mitigated by a phonetic realisation conforming to a lighter speech, as is the dialectal one, according to Albirini (2011: 547). It can be assumed that such a style, corresponding to the use of standard grammatical material with *dāriža* phonetic realisation, is used to mediate between the required formality of H-radio and the will to present the topic in a light-hearted way.

4.3.1.2. Intervention of the listener

The transcript of the live intervention of a listener follows.

1. Šurūq: *naḥdu selwa l-ʾēn tfaḍḍli selwa anti mubašara f barnāmaž nwdəḥ lī-k alo*
2. *Selwa: alo w-ʾley-kum s-salām w-rahmatu ʾlāh*
3. Š: *marḥban tafaḍḍal swwēl-ik*
4. S: *suʾal dyīl-ni hwa ʾanna kəntʿ ḥddāma f wāḥd la klīnik*
5. *kandīr fī-h stāž l-mudd stt šhōr*
6. *bḡət ḡīr nsəwwl wēš l-mudda l-qānūniya lī-ha ḍarūri tkūn stta šhōr awla aqall*
7. *w-wəš ʾnd-i š ḥaqq f-dīk l-wəqt yʾṭaw-ni šī sālēḡ w-la fhəmti*
8. *ḥīt mlli dərt s-stāž tmma šāfi ḡālw lī-ya səri tnʾiṭw lī-k w-šāfi*
9. *mā bqāw-š ʾiṭw w-mā ʾtū-nī-š ḥtta šī ḥēža*

Šurūq: Let's hear from Selwa now, please Selwa, you are live on the programme *Nwdəḥ lī-k*. Selwa: Hello good morning, may God's mercy be with you.

Š: Please proceed with the question.

S: My question concerns the fact that I worked in a clinic where I did an internship lasting six months. I just wanted to ask whether the legal duration [of the internship] should be six months or less, and whether I am entitled to a salary for that period of time. Do you understand? Because when I did the internship, I was told, "OK, go until we call you" and then that's it. They never called me again and they didn't give me anything.

The first relevant features here are vowel maintenance in *rahmatu llāh* ([2]), and *ʔiʔrāb* (one instance, line [2]); these are the only standard variants (also present in H-radio). These realisations can be interpreted in a functional sense, since the listener realises crystallised expressions of greeting that, in line with Albirini's theorisation, require the use of the H variant (Albirini 2011: 541). Except for the above-mentioned points, the listener's speech is substantially dialectal. More specifically, there are several cases of deletion of short unstressed vowels ([4], [5], [6], [7], [8], [9]) and *hamza* ([4], [5], [6], [8], [9]). Further dialectal features are the realisation /q/>[g] found in line [8] and the monophthongalisation *ay>ī* in the term *ǧayr* in line [6].

The verbal morphology is fully *dāriža* ([5]); even when no *ka-/ta-* preverb is found in the *muḍārīʕ*, the preceding verb *bǧa* ([6]) signals projective function ([7], [8]); in other cases, circumfixed negation leads to interpreting the verb conjugation as coming from the *dāriža* grammar ([9]).

Several dialectal morphosyntactic elements are also found: pronouns and particles ([4], [6], [7], [8]), the usual pseudo-preposition *dyāl* ([4]) and lexical elements and dialectal expressions such as *šāfi* ([8, [9]]) ('enough') and *ḥatta šī ḥēža* ('nothing'); the use of *ǧayr>ǧīr* with the meaning 'only' ([6]) is also reported. Also at the lexical level, there are numerous terms borrowed from French ([4], [5], [7], [8]). These are relatively common and hint at the sociolinguistic meaning of interlinguistic codeswitching between Arabic and French; an issue that goes beyond the scope of this work.

The next excerpt shows more clearly the diversity in language choices made by the host, the listener and the guest (ʕAdil).

10. Šurūq: *idən taqribiy dākri-ni šḥāl qḍiti f-t-tdrib*
11. Selwa: *stt šḥōr*
12. Š: *sittat ašḥōr ʕinda-k li-ha šī swwēl hna*
13. ʕAdil: *w-mn baʕd ǧēlw misʕēl al-ʕaqdi*
14. *wāš ʕtō-k ʕaqd dyēl fatrat iḥtibār*
15. S: *la mā keyʕtō-k la ʕaqd w la*
16. *qālw ila bǧiti tāḥdim maʕ-na ǧādūzi wāḥd l-muddati l-tadrib sī mwā [six mois]*
17. *w-mlli tkmlī ʕād ngūlw ilē-k waš tbqi w-la tmšī*

Šurūq: so, remind me more or less how long was the internship you did? Selwa: Six months.

Š: Six months. Do you have any questions here [ʕAdil]?

ʕAdil: Did they tell you about the contract issue afterwards? Did they give you a certificate for the internship?

S: No, they don't give you a certificate or anything. They told me, "If you want to work with us you have to do a six-month internship and when you finish it, we tell you whether you stay or leave."

A more formal speech on the part of the host (Šurūq) and the expert (ʿAdil) than the listener is signalled by the general tendency of the two speakers to retain short unstressed vowels ([10], [12], [13], [14]). Lines [11] and [12] greatly show this difference: the strong vowel elision characterising the listener’s speech is contrasted by the more controlled elocution of the host: the utterance *stt šhōr* by the intervening listener is repeated by the expert (ʿAdil) as *sittat ašhōr*. This passage can be interpreted from a functional perspective: the fact that what the listener says in a very colloquial speech is repeated by the host in a more formal style can be traced back to the desire to emphasise the importance of the passage itself, in accordance with Albirini (2011: 539; see 2.3.). Still from a functional perspective, the quotation at lines [16] and [17] is realised with formal variants: above all, line [16] shows several instances of vowel maintenance (*ma^ʿ-na*, *muddati*, *tadrīb*) and neutralisation (*təḥdim*, *ġadūzi*). This is consistent with Albirini’s theorisation that direct quotes are realized by means of the formal variety (Albirini 2011: 543). On the other hand, though, in the very next line and during the same direct quotation, the speech returns more markedly dialectal, with frequent vowel deletions and the presence of particles from the *dāriža* grammar; some examples are the adverb *mlli* ‘when’ and the generic interrogative particle *wāš* [17]. On this basis, then, it remains unclear whether there is a systematic shift to a more formal register for direct quoting.

Finally, it is noted here that the French term *stage*, pronounced several times by the listener in the previous excerpt [5] and [8], is replaced by the Arabic *tadrīb* after the latter term is used by the programme host in [10]. Again, though, interlinguistic switching is not considered in the present study.

4.3.2. Some final comparisons

4.3.2.1. H-radio features in *call-in* programmes

Table 2. summarises all data collected in the area of monologic and dialogic speech in *call-in* programmes that involved anchors’ speech.

Short unstressed vowels		<i>hamza</i>	
Maintained	65	Maintained	61
Neutralised	33	Deleted	31
Deleted	45		
Total	143	Total	92

/t/, /d/		/ǧ/	
[t], [d].	0	[ǧ]	0
[t], [d].	10,8	[ž]	36
Total	10,8	Total	36

ʔiʿrāb		Suffixed pronouns	
		MSA	2
Grammar	0	Dāriža	10
Crystallised	8	Total	12
Epenthesis	6	Relative pronouns	
Absent	130	MSA	0
		Dāriža	7
Total	144	Total	7

Diphthongs		Verbal morphology	
Maintained	3	MSA	14
Simplified	6	Dāriža	25
Total	9	Total	39

Table 2. Anchors’ speech

The data reported in this table will now we compared with those of Table 1 (see 4.2.) in order to highlight similarities between what has been defined as ‘H-radio,’¹² and the speech in call-in programmes, in order to define whether the same set of variables constitute a shared repertoire of tools used by speakers to engage in functional code-switching, i.e. the systematic recourse to a more formal variety (H-radio in the context of this study) or a less formal one, depending on the communicative function of the utterance, as described by Albirini and previously discussed (see 2.3.).

¹² The Fergusonian-like labelling is not intended to imply any claim to identify any new “in-between” variety whatsoever: the description of H-radio only serves to identify which linguistic variables are subject to variation in the act, on the part of the speakers, of realising a formal radio style, and which variants are preferred.

The first major difference concerns the presence of *ʔiʕrāb*: while this phenomenon characterises H-radio in 106 cases (65%), its presence is completely negligible in call-in programmes, where 8 instances (5%) are found in correspondence with crystallised expressions, against 3 (2%) in H-radio, and 6 cases (3%) are linked to epenthetic phenomena—against 43 (27%) in H-radio. Another significant finding is the total absence of “grammatical” *ʔiʕrāb*¹³ in call-in programmes, in contrast to its significant percentage of realisation in H-radio, amounting to 60 instances (36%).

A second observation regards the retention of short, unstressed vowels: in H-radio, this marker shows 29 instances (61.7%) of retention, on a total of 47 occurrences. As far as call-in programmes speech style is concerned, data show 65 occurrences of retention (45,5%) on a total of 143 occurrences. It seems therefore quite safe to affirm that vowel retention or elision/deletion constitute a relevant variable in linguistic variation of radio speech in Moroccan Arabic.

A similar observation can be made with regard to *hamza*, the retention of which is shown in H-radio in 30 instances (73%), while decreasing to 60% (61 instances) of call-in programs realisations. On the other hand, the realisation /ǧ/>[ǰ] in almost all instances and in both contexts considered is completely identical. The only divergent phonetic indicator concerns the realisation of the interdental /t/ and /d/:¹⁴ a strong tendency to maintain them in H-radio is found, whereas call-in programmes records present a systematic shift to occlusive [t] and [d].

Except this last indicator, anyway, the phonetics of the two varieties is fundamentally the same, albeit with a more pronounced predilection for more formal variants. This could be interpreted as an actual lower degree of formality in the monologic and dialogic speech adopted in the call-in programmes seeking closeness to the everyday speech of the listeners.

Moving on, observations become more interesting: apart from the common tendency towards the simplification of diphthongs, realised as long vowels in 6 instances (75%) in news programmes and 6 cases (67%) in call-in programmes,¹⁵ the choices regarding morphology are in fact clearly divergent.

As far as the remaining morphological markers are concerned, call-in programmes show a strong preference for pronominal *dāriža* suffixation: 10 cases (83%) against 3 (25%) in H-radio. Moreover, a more composite behaviour with regard to verbal morphology can be noted, drawn from the dialectal

¹³ I.e. *ʔiʕrāb* used according to standard grammar, with case endings and *tanwīn*, as opposed to fossilised forms.

¹⁴ The exclusion of /d/ from the analysis is linked to the very limited number of instances recorded, which showed a systematic confluence towards /d/.

¹⁵ However, the limited number of occurrences recorded suggests caution in drawing conclusions concerning this feature.

repertoire in 25 cases (64%) while H-radio excludes it completely. Finally, as far as relative pronouns are concerned, the number of tokens is not sufficient to draw reliable trend lines.

What emerges, in conclusion, are clear differences between H-radio and the speech of anchors and experts in call-in programmes. The latter can be described by the absence of grammar *ʔiʔrāb*, the use of *dāriža* verbal morphology as well as an increased use of *dāriža* pronominal suffixation. As far as phonology is concerned, call-in programmes speech style presents a more marked tendency towards deletion or neutralisation of short, unstressed vowel and increased *hamza* deletion with respect to H-radio. It can thus be affirmed that the linguistic variables described in this last paragraph are all relevant markers that can signal the switch towards a less formal radio speech style.

Albirini's categories suggested in the framework of *functional diglossia* are again useful to try to explore such switch in more detail: he sets up his study on the premise that, in general, topics of greater importance, seriousness and complexity are realised through the use of the more formal variant (Ferguson's *H* pole), whereas speech associated with more accessible topics is realised through a dialect variant, ideally comparable to Ferguson's *L* pole (Albirini 2011: 537). This provides a generic formal structure: it is possible to associate radio news speech with the character of seriousness and importance that the use of more formal speech requires. On the other hand, however, the monologic and dialogic speech of call-in programmes often deals with topics of moderate importance and complexity: the partial overlapping of *fušḥā* and *dāriža* linguistic choices by the hosts and guests of such programmes is thus read here as a desire to maintain a controlled but not overly formal linguistic style, as demonstrated by the presence of dialectal phonetic realisations (vowel and *hamza* deletions, merging of interdental fricatives into occlusives). These choices are decidedly more pronounced in morphology, without however going so far as to make *dāriža* variants completely exclusive.

As noted during the qualitative analysis, moreover, in realising communicative functions (see above 2.3.) both phonetic (mainly vowel and *hamza* maintenance) and morphological variants (mainly verbal morphology and *ʔiʔrāb*) are relevant.

In conclusion, this initial comparison shows how linguistic variation in radio involves both phonetics and morphology structurally and functionally. Since the communicative functions recorded in the examined data were mainly realised by means of vowel and *hamza* maintenance and the use of *ʔiʔrāb* and verbal morphology, the conclusion is that these are the main phonetic and morphological markers of code-switching in the context of call-in programmes. These same markers, then, constitute the elements generally most used by hosts to realise controlled but not overly formal speech.

4.3.2.2. The listeners

Finally, a summary table containing the speech data of the recorded live interventions of listeners is presented.

Short unstressed vowels		<i>hamza</i>	
Maintained	20	Maintained	4
Neutralised	2	Deleted	15
Delete	47		
Total	69	Total	19

/t/, /d/		/ǧ/	
[t], [d].	0	[ǧ]	0
[t], [d].	1,0	[ǧ̣]	1
Total	1,0	Total	1

<i>ʔi rābʰ</i>		Suffixed pronouns	
		MSA	0
		<i>Dāriža</i>	6
		Total	6
Grammar	0	Relative pronouns	
Crystallised	1	MSA	0
Epenthesis	0	<i>Dāriža</i>	1
Total	1	Total	1

Diphthongs		Verbal morphology	
Maintained	0	MSA	0
Simplified	11	<i>Dāriža</i>	17
Total	11	Total	17

Table 3. Audience speech

As can be seen from the table, most of the phonetic and morphological indicators report the exclusive presence of *dāriža* variants, with the exception of 22 cases of short, unstressed vowel retention (32% of tokens) and 4 cases of *hamza* retention (21%). These data describe a less controlled speech compared to that of hosts and guests in call-in transmissions; for instance, the total absence of MSA verbal morphology and the exclusive presence of *dāriža* pronominal suffixation can be noted; the percentages for short vowels and *hamza* also decrease compared to the data shown in the previous section. The analysis thus shows the relevance of phonological and morphological variables as markers of linguistic variation. The measurement of these traits in three different contexts of use (radio news, monologue/dialogue in call-in programmes and listeners' speech on the telephone) made it possible to show how these three communicative contexts stand in order of decreasing formality. In addition, different realisations of functional variation realised by the speakers through the selection of different variants of one or more of the considered variables were found. Linguistic variation in Moroccan radio speech thus showed a systematicity in variation: call-in programmes demonstrated the existence of their own ideal register, which mixes *H* and *L* features in functional perspective through the variation in the selection of very specific phonetic and morphological traits: vowel and *hamza* maintenance or their deletion, use of *ʔrāb* and variation in verbal morphology.

5. Conclusions

In spite of the limited number of occurrences of some variables, it was possible to detect a small number of markers in which linguistic variation is appreciable. As evidenced by the data, these markers are used by speakers both in the more general realisation of a more or less formal style of orality as deemed appropriate, and to realise different communicative functions as described by Albirini in a functional perspective. Some examples of such 'functional variation' are the will to present a topic in a light-hearted way, thus adopting a less formal speech style (4.3.1.1.) or communicating the importance of a piece of information (4.3.1.2.). Besides that, a partial correspondance with Albirini's theorisation was found regarding direct quotation, realised with both *H* and *L* features (4.3.1.2.). It can thus not be affirmed, on the basis of the data analysed, whether this function complies with Albirini's theorisation when tested on Moroccan Arabic.

In spite of the detected systematicity, however, one must always consider an inescapable idiosyncratic element: that is, the speakers' choices are not always ascribable to the same system and the same perception of speech: there is inevitably a pragmatic dimension that has a reflection in the

selection made by the speakers regarding certain linguistic variables. However, much remains to be said about the systematic nature of such selections, which cannot be detected through a structural approach alone, but must be investigated in the perception that speakers have of each variant, according to the perspective of *perceptual linguistics*. In addition to providing useful information about how speakers ‘feel’ different regional varieties of Arabic, as noted in the excellent work of Hachimi (2015), such perspective can be of great use in the detection of any variables that carry particular pragmalinguistic value, and whose variation serves speakers to communicate different attributes of their orality.

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