LANGUAGE PLANNING, STANDARDIZATION AND DYNAMICS OF CHANGE IN MOROCCAN ARABIC

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to analyze the processes of standardization and language planning currently being experienced by Moroccan Arabic, and focuses on the following aspects: firstly, the creation of a theoretical and methodological framework for the concept of standardization; secondly, various sociolinguistic and ideological considerations on the debate regarding the need to establish a standard variety for Moroccan Arabic; thirdly, the different aspects of a sociolinguistic perspective (which I consider an urgent issue in the process of Moroccan Arabic standardization) are examined in more detail. Some models of the standard variety of Moroccan Arabic, found in the linguistic market in Morocco, are also discussed. Finally, some conclusions, derived from the data analysis made, are drawn.

Key words

AMENAGEMENT LINGUISTIQUE, STANDARDISATION ET DYNAMIQUES DE CHANGEMENT DANS L'ARABE MAROCAIN

Résume

L'objectif de cet article est d'analyser les processus de normalisation et de planification linguistique que connaît actuellement l'arabe marocain. Plus précisément l'article traite les aspects suivants: premièrement, nous présentons notre cadre théorique et méthodologique a propos de la notion

de normalisation. Deuxièmement, nous mettons l'accent sur diverses considérations sociolinguistiques et idéologique sur le débat concernant la nécessité d'établir une variété standard de l'arabe marocain. Troisièmement, nous examinons plus en détail les différents aspects d'un point de vue sociolinguistique (considérés comme une question urgente dans le processus de normalisation de l'arabe marocain). Nous analysons et nous discutons également certains modèles du standard de l'arabe marocain, qu'on a trouvé dans le marché linguistique au Maroc. Et enfin, certaines conclusions serons tirées a partir de l'analyse des données.

Mots clés

l'arabe marocain, l'aménagement linguistique et la standardisation

1. Historical and socio-political contexts

The analysis and study of language planning, and in particular of language standardization, cannot be developed without a prior examination of the conditions of political and economic change, at both macro and micro levels. Moreover, a study of linguistic practices also requires an analysis of the context in which these are implemented, and of related social, political and even discursive practices that are relevant and which may be of assistance in performing the analysis of any language planning process.

Firstly, as regards the standardization process for Moroccan Arabic, this began to take place within a context of social and political change that coincided with an evident evolution and expansion of its use. Secondly, this standardization process is directly influenced by the practices of revitalization and empowerment of Moroccan Arabic that have arisen in recent years. This empowerment is made apparent in two main ways: through the appearance of a discourse that reasserts Moroccan Arabic as the national language, and through the expansion of its sphere of use.

With respect to the discursive aspect, let us remark that in June 2002, the magazine *Telquel* published its issue number 34, considered historic, entitled "Darija langue nationale". From this date on, and especially following the terrorist attacks in Casablanca on 23 May 2003, the question of Moroccan Arabic, a subject that until then had been the subject of much controversy, began to appear prominently in the social and political scene. Furthermore, it began to be championed by independent publications

such as *Khbar Bladna*,[1] *Nichane* and *Telquel*, while a parallel discourse also began to appear, in the form of protest songs that demanded recognition of Moroccan Arabic as a symbol of language and identity in Morocco, irrespective of the identity represented by the *fusha* or Standard Arabic. Certain discourses and linguistic practices were also produced in academic circles, and to some extent these, too, participated in the process of empowerment.

At the linguistic level, empowerment is directly related to the language itself, insofar as Moroccan Arabic continues to be a construct that is vital, dynamic and in constant flux. These features have favoured its use in some aspects of everyday life, and even as a *lingua franca* of communication between the three Amazigh-speaking communities. Moreover, this has facilitated the process of transmitting and reproducing Moroccan Arabic as a native language.

Another linguistic feature that plays an important role in the empowerment of Moroccan Arabic is the question of its script. There can be no doubt that the evolution from a language that is fundamentally oral to one that is written, even when such a process was historical, dating back to ancient times, is currently a fact that could ensure its effective standardization and allay possible criticisms of local speech forms. Thus, the written existence of Moroccan Arabic confers a prestige on this language form, and breaks down a series of prejudices related to a "common sense" view of what is meant by a language or dialect; this form is available both to speakers of Moroccan Arabic and to anyone who wishes to approach this language variant.

In recent years the use of Moroccan Arabic has extended to areas where previously *fusha* or French were employed, for example in the press, radio and television. Moreover, Moroccan Arabic is now being used in certain aspects of institutional life, such as in some speeches by individual members of Parliament. The existence of courses in Moroccan Arabic as a foreign language, offered by the different Instituto Cervantes schools (in Tetouan, Tangiers, Fez, Rabat and Marrakech), together with others at Moroccan universities, is a very significant reflection of the increased interest in learning this language. The above-mentioned phenomena all contribute to breaking down the historical relations of diglossia and subordination that have tended to characterise the standard varieties — *fusha* and French — and Moroccan Arabic.

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[1] This is a newspaper that was published only in Moroccan Arabic, and was distributed, free of charge, in the city of Tangiers. But it ceased publication more than 3 years ago.

Nevertheless, the process of empowerment of Moroccan Arabic faces a number of difficulties: firstly, its prestige and value in the linguistic market and in that of symbolic and material goods in general. This value is closely related to the position occupied by a large proportion of the Moroccan Arabic-speaking community in the economic hierarchy and in the control of economic resources; a community that is considered by the national authorities to be working class, illiterate and, having Moroccan Arabic as its mother tongue, with few possibilities of social, economic or political improvement. In this respect, let us also recognise the existence of a relation of powers, as defined by Pierre Bourdieu, the French sociologist, between the language varieties considered to be of low prestige and others with a much higher economic and social position in the language exchange market. This circumstance could represent a further difficulty. Accordingly, the linguistic field, to some extent, reflects the relations existing among different linguistic communities, where each one possesses its own linguistic capital. Thus, the sociolinguistic situation would become, according to (Bourdieu 1977), a market whose products or symbolic goods are displayed as the languages or linguistic varieties that occupy a situation of competence and predominance, expressed as the privileged position held by products bolstered by social relations, especially the national cultural and language policy, or by the predominant economic and socio-cultural groups (Boukous 1999: 11).

Nevertheless, and despite this linguistic imbalance that is reflected in the economic sphere, a system of socially pertinent linguistic oppositions tends to be created, one that no longer has anything in common with the system of linguistically pertinent linguistic oppositions (Bourdieu 1975: 4). Such a system of oppositions could present diverse manifestations; in the present case, such as the emergence of a standard variety of Moroccan Arabic, which is beginning to acquire prestige and independence with respect to the historically prestigious varieties that are promoted by the State's own policies on language. Let us now analyse some sociolinguistic and ideological aspects of this complex process of the standardization of Moroccan Arabic.

2. Sociolinguistic and ideological considerations

2.1 Theoretical framework

All languages present significant variations in speech forms, and levels of inequality. In consequence, the process of language standardization is an extraordinarily complex one. As remarked above, standardization is the result of a historical evolution, which might result from planned interventions, more or less intense in different cases. Thus, the creation of a standard is, in the first place, and from a critical macro-social standpoint, a linguistic evolution provoked by intentional developments aimed towards a specific goal, which speakers or institutions carry out as conscious, deliberate actions taken within specific political, cultural and ideological situations — or what has traditionally been termed as language planning. According to Cooper (1989: 34), "language planning is typically carried out for the attainment of non-linguistic ends such as consumer protection, scientific exchange, national integration, political control, economic development, the creation of new elites or the maintenance of old ones, the pacification or incorporation of minority groups, and mass mobilization of national or political movements". In this respect, the concept of language as an instrument of access and control of power implies that standardization as a language planning policy must be a multifaceted activity, including diverse factors — social, political, ideological and economic — that are crucial to the success or otherwise of such a policy.

The selection of the language variety, which could provide the basis for the standard, is an intentional act that also involves political, demographic and economic factors. Therefore, the process of standardization, from a socio-political standpoint, according to Moreno Cabrera (2008: 50), involves the choice of the language varieties associated with high-prestige centres of power. Moreover, only the most powerful social groups will be capable of imposing language codifications, promoting and ensuring the use and dissemination of the standard. Thus, standardization, as well as being a complex process in linguistic terms, is an ideology (Milroy 1991), the goal of which is to ensure that a given linguistic variety is codified via the selection of a series of grammatical, orthographic, lexical and phonetic rules in order to create a common language, intended to become the standard, and to expand its sphere of use.

On the other hand, from a linguistic standpoint, standardization, according to Herbert (1995: 2), "concerns the establishment and promulgation of language norms. The norms typically concern issues of 'correctness' in matters of orthography, word voices, and usage. In this regard, language standardization is closely associated with linguistic prescription". In other words, any standardization processes must undergo five stages: selection, codification, the assignation of functions, elaboration and social dissemination (Castellanos 2000). With respect to selection, this must be grounded upon a pre-existing variety (or combination of varieties), which may or may not be associated with a given social elite. The selection made must also take into account the question of whether the baseline variety is fundamentally an oral one or not. The second stage is that of codification, which consists in establishing orthographic and grammatical rules. To do so, there normally exists an official body that takes responsibility for determining these rules and for ensuring compliance within an evolving society. The third stage concerns the process of matching the selected language variety to the different uses it may be called upon to fulfil, from literature to the press, and from economic life to the radio and television, without overlooking aspects of everyday communication. This phase would not become firmly established without prior generalised acceptance (the fifth phase of standardization). Such an acceptance would be expressed as a social consensus expressed on the standard variety chosen. However, due to diverse factors, both intralinguistic and extralinguistic, the standard sometimes fails to fully satisfy the needs of certain communities or social groups with an interest in the creation of such a standard. This circumstance could lead to sociolinguistic and/or ideological conflicts, with possible consequences in the political field. Finally, we have the dissemination of the language variety, the normalisation and consolidation of the social use of the standard in diverse situations.

From a macro-linguistic standpoint, standardization is a process that is characterised by a high degree of levelling, in which dialectisms are eliminated (Moreno Cabrera 2008), thus creating a model capable of spanning several varieties that fit linguistically (in grammatical, lexical and phonetic terms) in this model. From a macro-social and political point of view, the standard is a national reference point representing a koine or power centre, which in turn represents an identity, a space, and even a State, with political and economic interests.

2.2 Why have a national standard? The case of Moroccan Arabic in the Maghreb

The standardization of Moroccan Arabic has been the object of debate from various angles — social, linguistic, political and ideological. In discussions that took place in a class I taught ("Moroccan dialect") during the present academic year, one of the students questioned the need for a standard in Moroccan Arabic, and inquired as to the linguistic, communicative, social and political factors that might influence the development of such a standard. The same student referred to the existence of two standardized languages, *fusha* and French, which are used in formal communicative contexts, both oral and written. Therefore, the student argued, it would be futile to strive to create an artificial national standard in Moroccan Arabic, which would not correspond to the genuine, natural use of such a variety in Moroccan society. This student's comments would fit perfectly with the arguments currently being put forward in this respect, but at the same time they coincide with various conditions and factors that might convert the above-mentioned process into a real necessity.

As regards the socio-linguistic dimension, and that of inter-community communication, the national standard could be of use in expanding the use of Moroccan Arabic, by means of inter-community communication, with the other countries of the Maghreb. The existence of political frontiers among these countries did not and does not preclude the existence of a series of common linguistic features among the different language varieties, or that of a degree of mutual intelligibility, which has ensured, and continues to ensure, easy comprehension among the Arab-speaking communities in these countries (see El imam, 2003). It is a fact that with respect to the formal language register there could be said to exist a standard, although within this standard, the absence of certain aspects of phonetic, morpho-syntactic and lexical standardization can be observed.

What is undeniable is that the establishment of Moroccan Arabic as a *lingua franca* for supranational official communication would involve a linguistic substitution, as such a function is already fulfilled, perfectly, by *fusha* and French. In the same way, this linguistic policy would involve more expense for the countries in question, requiring a complex series of actions, interventions and changes of a socio-linguistic and political nature. Such a change, in the present context of the Maghreb countries, would be difficult to bring about, although some commentators have argued the need to

convert regional varieties in the Maghreb into national languages, especially in Algeria and Morocco. This would break with the traditional mode of communication in political and diplomatic circles, not just among the Maghreb countries, but also in the heart of each country. Therefore, the change would generate socio-linguistic and political-ideological conflicts.

Another point to bear in mind, considering the standardization of Moroccan Arabic from linguistic and educational standpoints, is that the standard would support the process of scholarization in early childhood, taking into account that the education policies implemented since the first National Plan, in 1963, until the most recent, have failed. Moreover, the rate of illiteracy has remained unchanged, despite the application of diverse language and education policies since national independence. This includes certain educational experiments in which literacy campaigns and child-centred education have been based on the use of Moroccan Arabic.[2] Similarly, the use of Moroccan Arabic in schools as a vehicular variety for the teaching of various items of the curriculum might improve the students' learning capacity, in view of the fact that the latter language, together with Amazigh, constitutes their native form of expression. Establishing a standard variety, furthermore, would facilitate the teaching of Moroccan Arabic as a foreign language, and this is urgently required in the commercial world today.

In political terms, the establishment of a Moroccan Arabic standard, officially recognised by the State of Morocco as its national language, would legitimate the existence of an independent Moroccan-Arab identity, one that is not subordinate to that represented by *fusha*. In the same way, it would break down the process of socio-linguistic subordination and hierarchization that has historically existed among the different language communities of Morocco. Expanding the use of the standard would guarantee a basic linguistic and cultural right, namely access to education in one's own language. This recognition would also respond to one of the demands of the "alternative linguistic-identitary" discourse in favour of Moroccan Arabic, based on the language-identity axis, a key element for its production and social representation legitimation. In addition, the expression of the language-identity phenomenon was and is a central

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[2] Regarding the question of education for literacy in the mother tongue, see the success of the Zakoura Foundation. See www.zakourafondation.org

feature of the socio-political construction of the state-nation of Morocco, and of the role played by language in the construction of new identities, new forms of belonging and new models for managing material and symbolic goods. A fact that well illustrates this reality is that in Morocco today, initiatives for local and regional development (political, economic, social and educational) are based fundamentally on the language, identity and ethnicity axis.[3]

In the following section, we analyse some models of a standard variety of Moroccan Arabic; although this is not officially recognised as standard, the dissemination process taking place in diverse areas leads us to believe that it probably represents, *de facto*, the standard variety, or should be so considered, in view of the factors discussed below.

3. Models for a standard or standards in Moroccan Arabic: a proposal for analysis

A written and oral linguistic corpus was selected for the following analysis, in the understanding that the existence of a standard language is necessarily related to the appearance and propagation of writing. With respect to the written form of the language taken as standard, we believe this would be the form most widely disseminated in the media; on the one hand, this tends to enjoy a high status, and on the other, in our opinion it is the most systematised, setting the rules previously determined in the process termed "elaboration" in the previous section.

In our analysis, an example is presented of a possible morpho-syntactic, lexical and phonetic-orthographic standardization. We selected for the first of these types an example of a verb conjugation, that of the present continuous (which is the form presenting the most variation).

The first example analysed also belongs to popular Moroccan poetry of the type "زجل" (zajal). What first strikes our attention about this corpus is the title:

"يلعتبــة وســـادة فـــ بـــلاد".

'In my country, the step is a pillow'.

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[3] See Moustaoui (2010).

Note the use of the apocopated preposition ف 'fi' and the elimination of "ا" 'alif' from the word "العتبـــــة" 'the step', this being a very common pattern in the Moroccan Arabic of the Maghreb. However, the poems in the book present characteristics that are much closer to those of the standard register of *fusha*, as can be seen in the following verses.

"بغيت نحكي ليكم حكاية.........واضحة كيف الصورة في المرايا"

'I would like to tell a clear story as the image in the mirror'

If we attempted to follow the norm used by the author in writing the title, we would have "ف لمرايا" 'in the mirror'. Thus, there is some ambiguity with respect to the use of the expression "المعرفة" 'determination' and to that of the preposition "في" 'fi'. Perhaps, with this use, the author wished to give the title a dialectal, regional reference, for attention-seeking purposes. But on the same page, we see that the author also uses an apocope for the definite article ال 'al' in the word لـواد 'the river'.

"حكايات الغالية ومنصور"

'The history of the Ghalia and Mansour'

"وعايشة ولواد"

'The story of Aisha and the river'.

We also observed a tendency to maintain the "ث / ذ" 'thal / th' as in the following examples: "تابـــث/هذي/الـذات" 'fixed / this / the body'. It is well known that, in the Maghreb, the "ث / ذ" 'thal / th' disappears in real phonetic production. As regards the morpho-syntactic aspect, we found no case worthy of analysis, as the rules are applied strictly.

The next example analysed concerns a narrative, a compilation of tales from the oral tradition. Specifically, we examine part of a story entitled[4] "هاينـة" 'Hayna'. With respect to the first aspect, the morpho-syntactic content, we see that the author uses "ك" 'kaaf' for the present continuous and applies it to all the verbs, as shown in the following examples: "كتقـــول/ كتلعـــب/ كيعيـــط" "كتبكــــي" 'She says, She plays, He calls, She cries'. In the lexical field, all the actions are expressed with verbs that are

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4 متفق، نادية. **لسان جدّتي (حكايات من عبدة)**. مؤسسة التنوخي للطباعة والنشر والتوزيع. آسفي. 2008.

commonly employed throughout Morocco, and especially in the centre of the country, corresponding to the urban speech form: "مشى/ لقى/ جا/ ركب/ عيط" 'He was, He found, He has been, He has mounted, He calls'.

In the same way, in phonetic-orthographic terms, the author maintains the use of "لقـا" 'to say' "ق" 'qaaf' and of "فـي العسـكر" "فـي ظهرها" 'On his back, In the Army' The use of this morpho-syntactic, lexical and phonetic standard is accounted for by the fact that she originates from the city of Sale (in the Rabat region). Moreover, it should be noted that the story-telling tradition in Morocco has always been characterised by its linguistic variability, as this activity is generally of an oral nature, requiring the speaker to maintain the features of phonetic production corresponding to each area and its speech patterns. Nevertheless, the author applies the normal rules, and even raises the register to approximate it as much as possible to *fusha*.

The third example to be analysed is the section entitled "تقرقيب الناب" 'Celebrity Tabloids', in the magazine "نيشــــان" 'Nichane'. This is one of the publications to pioneer the exclusive use of Moroccan Arabic in some of its sections, as well as mixing it with *fusha* in others, although sometimes placing this text within inverted commas, as in the following examples.

"كنعرف ندير الأفلام وما كنعرفش نسوقها"، "عاش نطيح على شي وثيقة نشر باباها"، تعراو درت بحالهم آش غادي ندير؟"، خرجت من الجنب ودابا بديت كنتّگاد"، "الدعم المسرحي هرّبْ الجمهور من القاعات".

'I know how to make movies but I dont know how to sell, I hope you find a document for publication. They undressed, I like them, what can I do?, I'm the black sheep, now I started to correct my behavior, The support of the theatre made people flee from it'.

The text selected is the section dedicated to an interview carried out entirely in Moroccan Arabic, with a Moroccan personality from the world of the arts. This section is entitled "تقرقيب الناب " 'Celebrity Tabloids'.

The aspect that strikes our attention is that the title of the interview in this section is given in inverted commas, although sometimes it is unclear whether the title corresponds to a register of Moroccan Arabic or to *fusha*, as in the following example.

" الدعم المسرحي هرّبْ الجمهور من القاعات."

'The support of the theatre made people flee from it'.

There are many possible examples in "نيشان" 'Nichane' for the analysis of morpho-syntactic standardization, but we shall focus, as stated above, on the use of the present continuous. In all the verbs, the conjugation with the prefix "ك" 'Kaaf' is maintained, i.e. the rule is established and at no time can we find the alternative use of "تا" 'taa' or of "كا" 'Kaa'. As regards the lexical aspect, note, too, the choice of the sophisticated vocabulary in Moroccan Arabic, reflecting the fact that most of the journalists working at "نيشـــان" 'Nichane' are from Rabat, Casablanca and Meknes, that is, from urban areas. See the following example.

"نسوقها، استعملتي، سيارة، رغم أنني، كنسمح لنفسي، المؤسسات، صارم."

'To conduct it, You used, A car, Although I'm, I allow myself, The institutions, Strict'.

With respect to the phonetic-orthographic aspect, we observed the normalised use of "گ" 'ghaa' rather than that of "ق" 'qaa' or "ج" 'jeem' both in Arabic words and in loan words "لعگـــارب، گـــاع، الكاسـتينگ" 'He Says, Seated' ، "كيگّول گالسين" (Scorpions, Never, Casting) together with the maintenance of the"ث/ ظ" 'tha / THaa' and the "ذ" 'thal' in some words. It should also be noted that "نيشـــان" "Nichane" has normalised the use of "ڤ" (va) "التلڤيزيون، البولڤار" 'Television, boulevard' and also of the "پ" 'pa' like "الجيپ، الپاطيرا، الپام" 'Pocket, Open boat, PAM'.

This analysis of the different examples leads us to the following conclusion: the publication "Nichane" one of the most widely read of the type analysed above, presents the highest degree of systematisation. This is due to the fact that in any process of standardization it is the media that, in the end, produce a social normalisation of the use of the standard model, sometimes created by the media themselves. Moreover, the linguistic scheme, or the Moroccan Arabic models that present "Nichane" are characterised by a very high degree of levelling, with respect to *fusha*. This is shown, on the one hand, by the vocabulary employed and the structure of some sentences and, on the other, by the retention of the sounds "ث/ذ/ ظ" 'THaa/ thal, thaa', which in the phonetic production of Moroccan Arabic disappear completely. Finally, we believe that this scheme provides the closest approximation to the model used in certain contexts by official institutions, although we have also observed a certain degree of variety among the different models that could be considered official. The examples given below reflect this reality.

64

The first example shown, which could be considered part of the official model, corresponds to the highway code transport jointly published by the Ministry of Transports and the Ministry of Interior. Concerning the morpho-syntactic aspect of the present continuous, we perceive the switch between "تا" 'taa' and "كا" 'kaa' in the use of present continuous "تتكون، كيكون، تتمشي" 'To be, To be, To go'.

Furthermore, at the lexical level, a great deal of vocabulary in the Moroccan Arabic register comprises loan words from French, as in "الطـــوبيس ،الكـــار ،البوليســـي" أنـــتردي" "الكلاكصـــون، لافليـــش" 'Prohibited, the bus, the coach, the police man, Honk, One-way'. What is striking about this model is that it includes vocabulary belonging to *fusha*, which is relatively infrequently used. For example: "العربــة، الســيارة" ".المحـلات" التجاريــة، المكــان" 'Shops, Place, Cart, The car'.

An example of a phonetic-orthographic nature is the inclusion of the letter "پ" "سطوپ "الپاسي، لپيست" 'Stop, Track'.

We also observed this model to contain a mixture of registers, and thus there was some ambiguity regarding whether the model used is exclusively Moroccan or whether it belongs to *fusha*. Evidence of this mixing can be seen in the following phrase:

"في الطرق الراقية في المدينة وممرات تحت الأرض."

'On a urban thoroughfare, in the city and the underpass'.

We think that this model is the closest to a standard, both as regards its natural use of Moroccan Arabic and in its phonetics; moreover, it is intended for the whole population of Morocco, irrespective of the region in which they live and of the linguistic variety spoken, including Amazigh speakers. The question which must then be posed is: can this be considered a standard model? Basing our reply on the definition of a plural, compositional standardization given by Castellanos (2003), we conclude that it comes closest to this type of standardization. In the same way, in linguistic and usage terms, this model would be the least artificial.

The other model we shall examine, this time an oral one, corresponds to a publicity campaign carried out by the Health Ministry and broadcast by different TV channels in Morocco. It constituted a series of recommendations and advice on how to

avoid receiving or transmitting the H1N1 virus. This is the script for the broadcast:[5]

"الإنفلونزا مرض كايعادي وُكايتنقل من شخص مصاب إلٰى شخص آخر بطريقة مباشرة وغير مباشرة.

كيفاش؟

بطريقة مباشرة مثلا منين كاتسلموا أو كاتعنقوا شخص مريض.

وُبطريقة غير مباشرة بحال منين كانقيسوا شي حاجة فات إلٰى شي مريض قاسها.

وُباش تفداو العدوى غسلوا يديكم مزيان وُعدة مرات فاليوم بالما وُالصابون.

إلا عطستوا أوسعلتوا، غطيو نفكم وُفمكم بمنديل وُرميوه فبلاصة اللي كاتسد.

وُإلا ماعندكمش، استعملوا الكم ديالكم.

ما تقيسوا عينكم، نفكم أو فمكم حتى تغسلوا يديكم مزيان بالما وُالصابون.

وخليوا المكان ديالكم ديما نظيف.

وديما مهوي.

إلا حستوا بالسخانة، العطسة، الكحة وآلام فالعضلات، ما تقربوش من الناس باش ما تعادوهمش.

استشروا الطبيب أولا زوروا المركز الصحي القريب منكم.

وُتبعوا النصائح ديال الطبيب.

للمزيد من المعلومات اتصلوا بالرقم صفر ثمن مئة واحد صفر صفر سبعة وربعين سبعة وربعين.

صحتنا فسلوكنا."

'The H1N1 virus is a contagious disease and is transferred from one person to another directly and indirectly.

Directly, for example when we greet or hug an infected person

An indirectly, as when we touch something that has previously been touched by an infected person

To avoid infection, wash your hands several times a day with soap and water

If you sneeze or if you cough, cover your mouth with a tissue and throw it somewhere after it closes.

If you don't have a tissue, use your sleeve.

Do not touch your eyes or your nose or your mouth until after washing your hands with soap and water.

Let always clean the place where you have been.

And it ventilated.

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[5] This script has been transcribed on the basis of the model proposed by Aderrahim Youssi in his translation of The Little Prince:

"دو سانت إيكزوبيري، أنطوان. **الأمير الصغير**. ترجمة عبدالرحيم اليوسي. منشورات عيني بناي. الدارالبيضاء. 2009."

If you feel that you have a fever, sneezing, cough or muscle pain, don't approach the people for not to infect them.

Consult your doctor or visit the nearest Hospital.

And follow the doctor's advice.

For more information, contact the following number: zero, eight, hundred and one, zero, forty-seven and forty-seven'.

At the morpho-syntactic level, it follows the same norms for the conjugation of the present continuous, i.e. the use of the prefix "ك" 'kaa'. At the lexical level, we find there is a range of vocabulary that is closer to *fusha*, together with other terms that belong specifically to Moroccan Arabic, but in a relatively high register. Phonetically, there is a tendency to simplify the pronunciation.

'Fii/ f, in'ف / فـي'' ، 'Ila / il, to' إل / إلـى ، 'Thaa/ taa' ت / ث ".

This model presents a high degree of systematisation and of normalisation, in comparison with the other examples analysed. Finally, we found this model to present a higher level of aspects of urban Arabic (i.e. Rabat, Casablanca, Meknes, Fez and Marrakech), with a fairly high register. We also observed indications that this model is plural insofar as it contains features that are typical of Moroccan Arabic together with others belonging to the register of *fusha*.

4. Conclusions

The analysis of the different examples proposed above leads us to draw the following conclusions. We are witnessing the initial phases of the creation of a possible written and oral standardization, which is not directed or controlled by any institution. In these phases, it could be said that the standardization is not unitary, but plural, presenting diverse uses in the morpho-syntactic, lexical and phonetic-orthographic fields; neither is it compatible with the conception and employment of a single, standard variety.

In addition, we believe this possible standardization is characterised by the existence of a process of linguistic levelling, from a spoken form — the urban

variety — to one conferred greater prestige, a process in which the media play an important role. The existence of this greater significance of urban speech patterns, corresponding to the central area of the country, is due, in our opinion, to its economic and geographic weight, or in Castellanos' term, its *aire gravilectale*. The other speech forms to be found, with eccentric characteristics, are situated in relation to this central zone.

Finally, with increasing standardization, there might occur a more marked decrease than that already apparent (and inevitable) of the differentiation among the different speech forms of Moroccan Arabic. This could result in a process of koineization, which in turn would give rise to social and linguistic stratification among the different speech forms to be found within Moroccan Arabic as a language variety that is used in a wide-ranging territory and which presents a considerable degree of linguistic variation.

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