

**English in the Expanding Circle of Morocco:  
Spread, uses, and functions**

**by**

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## **Abstract**

Research using Kachru's (1984) World Englishes theoretical framework and Three Circles model has produced a wealth of knowledge about the spread and functions of English to speech communities around the world. However, there is a recognition that disproportionate attention has been accorded across these spheres. The most compelling argument outlining this gap in the literature was offered by Berns (2005) over a decade ago and was reiterated by Elyas and Mahboob (2020) just recently. Berns (2005: 85) concluded that while the bulk of academic research has focused on the use of English in Inner and Outer Circle contexts, the Expanding Circle remains mostly overlooked. Elyas and Mahboob (2020: 1), who co-edited a special journal issue on the North African and Middle East contexts, underscored that the topic of English in these regions 'is largely under-studied and undertheorized.' Following Berns' remarks, numerous studies have focused on this underrepresented context. Nevertheless, despite their solid contributions, these investigations remain insufficient for constructing a comprehensive understanding of the distinct dynamics of the Expanding Circle.

To contribute to the Expanding Circle literature, this exploratory, qualitative, macrosociolinguistic study employs Kachru's (1984) World Englishes theoretical framework to investigate in greater depth the spread, functional range, and domains of English use in the multilingual country of Morocco. Specifically, this study initially provides an overview of the various languages used in Morocco, then outlines the history of its contact with the English language. It next explores English use in Moroccan media, examining in detail the language's wide-ranging uses in broadcast, digital, print, and film media. This is followed by an in-depth examination of the linguistic landscape of the metropolitan city of Casablanca, with a focus on shop signs and outdoor advertisements.

Whilst the users and uses of the English language are the major focus of analysis, additional attention is given to what such a spread means for the other four historically well-established languages of use within this Expanding Circle context: Arabic, French, Spanish, and the indigenous language Tmazight. A further aim of this study is to contribute new perspectives to the existing literature on the distinct dynamics of the Expanding Circle in general.

**Keywords:** English; Morocco; World Englishes; Expanding Circle; media; shop signs; advertising; linguistic landscape

To:

My father, Belkassem Kachoub

My mother, Houria Bouziane

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# Chapter 1.

## Introduction

The linguistic complexity of the North African kingdom of Morocco offers sociolinguists a fertile ground for original research and expanded study. One of the areas that has received comparatively minimal attention in sociolinguistic research despite its paramount importance in today's globalized world is the impact of the English language in Morocco. For instance, it was not until 1991 that Fatima Sadiqi, a Moroccan linguist, conducted the first study ever on the spread of English in Morocco, in which she addressed domains of use such as education (i.e., secondary school, university, private language schools) and mass media (i.e., newspapers, books, radio, television) (Sadiqi, 1991: 105). Twenty years later, Buckner (2011: 218), in what is seemingly a brief update of Sadiqi's study, published a chapter with a section on the continuing growth and exposure to English in Morocco, also in the domains of media (i.e., abundance of English television programs in comparison with previous years, DVD market, Internet, satellite dishes) and education (further spread of private language schools such as AMIDEAST<sup>1</sup>). The most recent study on the diffusion of English in Morocco was conducted by Soussi (2020). Through his analysis, Soussi (2020) provided more updates on the continuing spread and uses of English, especially in the domain of education.

Sadiqi (1991), Buckner (2011), Zouhir (2011), and more recently Soussi's (2020) findings generally highlight the pioneering academic interest in the expansion of English to traditionally less explored sociolinguistic regions, such as Morocco, and specifically document the earlier uses of English in a few domains such as education and mass media. Today, however, English is utilized and encountered more widely, in different types of advertising (i.e., billboard, television, radio, magazines, newspaper, websites, flyers, etc.), business corporate communication, commerce (i.e., shop signs, product labels), foreign and locally produced television programs (i.e., series, films, talent competitions), materials on the Internet (i.e., blogs, vlogs, videos, articles, website

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<sup>1</sup> AMIDEAST is a leading American non-profit organization engaged in international education, training, and development activities in the Middle East and North Africa ([www.amideast.org](http://www.amideast.org)).



components, social media), education (i.e., establishment of private English medium primary, secondary and tertiary institutions; implementation of a new educational reform that calls for earlier introduction of English), music, newspapers, demonstration banners, and much more.

These recent developments in the various uses of English within the Moroccan context appear to have surpassed the scope of research covered by Sadiqi (1991), Buckner (2011), and Zouhir (2011) who laid the preliminary foundation for a sociolinguistic discussion of English in Morocco. As a result, a widening chasm between the social reality of English use in Morocco and the sociolinguistic research published on this subject calls for academic attention, especially now that the functional uses of English are diverse, purposeful, and pervasive across numerous domains and social strata.

This dissertation seeks to bridge the gap between existing research and the new sociolinguistic reality generated by the spread of English into various domains in Morocco. In this quest, this research looks into the subject of English in Morocco from the lens of World Englishes theoretical framework in order to better understand the further spread, functional range, and domains of English use in this multilingual, Expanding Circle context.

## **1.1. Outline**

This dissertation is divided into seven major chapters: Chapter one introduces the issue under investigation; it discusses the relevance of this research to the general field of sociolinguistics and more specifically to the field of World Englishes. This introductory chapter also reviews the literature pertaining to the spread and use of English in Morocco. Chapter two presents the theoretical framework of this study and reviews the methodology adopted for investigation and analysis. Chapter three provides an extensive historical overview of languages in Morocco along with an update on the status of English in Moroccan education. Chapter four explores the history of Moroccans' first contact with English speaking communities with a focus on political, educational, social, and economic ties with English-speaking countries, especially the United States. Chapter five considers the use of English in the media industry by examining the spread and use of English in traditional media platforms such as television, radio, print materials

(books, newspapers, and magazines), cinema, and music. This chapter additionally investigates the uses of English in new digital media platforms including social networking websites, as well as online newspapers and magazines. Chapter six is devoted entirely to the linguistics landscape of the major city of Casablanca. The chapter focuses more narrowly on the use and functions of English in the outdoor advertisements and shop signs of this urban domain. Finally, chapter seven is a combination of a summary of this research findings and some final remarks pertaining to the significance of English in Morocco as an Expanding Circle context.

## 1.2. Goals of the study

The aim of this research is threefold. First, to investigate, utilizing the World Englishes theoretical framework, the impact, spread, and uses of the English language in the historically non-native context of Morocco. Second, to contribute to the further understanding of the dynamics of the Expanding Circle of English based on the characteristics of the multilingual context of Morocco, in which several historically indigenous and colonial languages are already established. Third, to gain a greater insight into the significance of using English as an additional language by members of the Moroccan speech community<sup>2</sup>.

The first aim of this study centers on the functions and uses of English in Morocco. Such aim will be undertaken and guided by the World Englishes theoretical framework, since there are not yet enough in-depth studies of English in Morocco utilizing Kachru's (1984, 1988, 1990, 2008) model. To date, there have been only a few articles focusing more broadly on North African contexts (i.e., Egypt: Schaub, 2000; Abouelhassan and Meyer, 2015. Tunisia: Battenburg, 1997; Abdeljaoued & Labassi, 2020. Morocco: Kachoub & Hilgendorf, 2019a; Soussi, 2020) which tackle the issue of

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<sup>2</sup> This dissertation adopts Firth's (1959) general definition of a speech community, which recognizes that a group of language users may exist on large and small scales, include mono- and multilinguals, and extend across a narrow or broad geographic area. Speech community membership can be singular and exclusive, but more commonly is multiple and simultaneous. In this dissertation a speech community refers to Moroccans living in Morocco who as a group use multiple codes that include distinct languages as well as different varieties with varying degrees of mutual intelligibility. The term therefore also includes smaller-scale communities of the country, such as those of the city of Casablanca, or online communities that interact through social media. See Hilgendorf (2015) and Hudson (1996) for further discussion on the various definitions of a speech community.

English from a World Englishes perspective. Therefore, the fact that there is such a lack of research and marginal focus, which Berns (2005), Schneider (2014), Schaub (2000), Elyas and Mahboob (2020) agree on, suggests that more research is needed in order to contribute to the understanding of the patterns of English use in the Expanding Circle as well as to 'contribute to the development of new theoretical perspectives' (Berns, 2005: 92).

Next, the emergence of English in various domains within this developing nation is of unique relevance to the field of World Englishes in general and to the Expanding Circle of the Kachruvian Three Concentric Circles in particular (Kachru, 1984, 1988, 1990, 2008). According to Berns (2005: 90) and Schneider (2014: 9), the Expanding Circle, which garners less attention than the Outer Circle and is not well understood in its dynamics and functions of English use, is still 'in the early stages of formation' (Berns, 2005: 90) and therefore necessitates more focus and investigation. Morocco is a former colony of France and Spain and a multilingual country par excellence where Tmazight, Arabic, French, Spanish, and now English all compete for users and uses. Therefore, Morocco constitutes an outstanding and intriguing context that deserves examination with the aim of contributing, with novel insights, to the understanding of the functions and uses of English in the Expanding Circle.

The last issue that this research addresses goes along the lines of Hilgendorf's (2001) study on the spread of English in the German context. That is, in addition to investigating the domains (i.e., advertising, shop signs, media) where English is utilized, this dissertation answers 'the question of *why* a non-native language like English is at all used' (Hilgendorf, 2001: 3, emphasis in the original) in a country with such a high degree of multilingualism and what such use means to the new users of English. Through the investigation of these aims, this research contributes to the literature of the field of World Englishes with findings of a different perspective given the nature of the multilingual, Expanding Circle context of Morocco.

In researching the issue of English in Morocco, a qualitative, macrosociolinguistic approach addresses the following points:

1. The history of first contact with English
2. The contemporary uses of English in

- a. Traditional and new digital media: print, broadcast, and online media
- b. The linguistic landscape: outdoor advertising and shop signs.

An exploratory discussion of these points affords a thorough understanding of the increasing spread and growing status of English within this complex, historically multilingual context. In the process of analysis, this research further addresses the status and functions of other languages used within the Moroccan context, especially the historically foreign language of French. Besides the highly specialized insights to the Expanding Circle that is obtained through the analysis in this dissertation, findings can be informative to the business industry, advertisement copywriters, language policy makers, media professionals, education specialists, and social media gurus. In other words, by understanding the role of English in the outdoor advertising and shop signs of the city of Casablanca as well as the Moroccan media industry in general, the emerging linguistic behavior of the Moroccan multilingual speech community becomes better understood.

It is important to highlight that throughout the discussion of this dissertation, there is going to be a regulated and frequent reference to what the spread and the functional uses of English mean to the other existing languages. In other words, the discussion will not displace the issue of English from its sociolinguistic context. Rather, the main goal of the discussion is to highlight the spread and the functional range of uses of English within the multilingual context of Morocco.

### **1.3. Rationale**

One of the fundamental rationales of this research stems from the background theory, or the lack thereof, in the previous studies reviewed for this research (i.e., Sadiqi, 1991; Buckner, 2011; Soussi, 2020) and which addressed the issue of the spread of English in Morocco. Sadiqi (1991) did not apply any theoretical framework to her research analysis, but argued that her study 'touches on areas of considerable theoretical significance for the sociology of language such as language attitude' (99). Meanwhile, Buckner (2011) applied the social identity theory, which according to her is a combination of Schmidt's (2000) concept of identity and Taylor's (1992) concept of recognition, to examine the growth of English in Morocco and how the Moroccan youth

construct their cultural identities through the languages available to them<sup>3</sup>. Contrary to Sadiqi and Buckner, the more recent study of Soussi (2020) adopted a World Englishes framework in investigating the spread of English in Morocco. Similar to Soussi's analysis, this dissertation relies on World Englishes as a theoretical framework which is more specialized, contemporaneous, and widely employed to examine the spread and use of English as an additional language within this and other various contexts.

The second major rationale of this study relates to the nature of the linguistic sphere under investigation, which is the Expanding Circle context of Morocco. While the majority of research on the Expanding Circle focuses on countries that were never subjected to any form of colonialism, such as Germany, France, Japan, Russia, etc., there are to date scarce studies that explicitly focus on the unique dynamics of the impact of English in countries that were subject to the rule of non-English speaking European nations, such as France, Portugal, or Spain. The emergence of the uses of English in countries that were not subject to Anglo-Saxon colonial dominance is, in itself, distinct and warrants focused consideration. In other words, countries that were subject to French or Spanish control, for instance, are expected to continue to be influenced by the languages of their colonizers. However, this is not how the linguistic development of these countries, taking Morocco as a case in point, is unfolding. It appears that English is encroaching on the turf of other European languages in Africa and is decolonizing the tongues of the Expanding Circle contexts that were once colonized by non-English speaking European nations. This interesting phenomenon demands further research, and the country of Morocco, where multiple languages are used, makes an excellent candidate for study.

The third rationale relates to the data and the methodology that will be applied in this research. Sadiqi (1991) was able to collect diverse and rich data from a number of sources (i.e., television and radio programs, newspapers, education, commercial products, surveys, etc.), especially at a time when such material was limited due to the restricted usage of English. Today, however, with the further expansion of English in

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<sup>3</sup> It is important to note that Buckner (2011) dedicated only a small portion of her research to the spread and domains of English use. The majority of her study looks at how Moroccan youth construct their identities given all the languages available to them. The study also explores attitudes of Moroccan youth towards the languages used in Morocco, including English.

Morocco and the growth of uses and users of the language, a wide range of new English-content materials are available, such as Internet videos, websites, advertisements, online newspapers, social media, television, and radio programs. In line with this preliminary observation, Berns (2005: 85) previously concluded that the availability of materials indicates an increase in the number of uses and users of English in general, and this suggests a similar increase within the Moroccan national borders in particular. Besides the various types of data that are going to be used, the methodology and the tools of analysis are also of significant importance. While the majority of studies, especially outside the field of World Englishes, tend to quantify their examinations of the status of languages through questionnaires administered to students in schools and universities, the present research focuses mainly on qualitative data that is up-to-date, novel, and diverse. More importantly, this research makes use of a wealth of information and data accessible in English for the first time.

At this point of discussion, it becomes clear that the above stated points of relevance underpin and steer the direction of this research towards a qualitative, in-depth study of the functional, non-native uses of English in various domains (i.e., media, advertising, shop signs) within the Expanding Circle context of Morocco.

## **1.4. Literature Review**

To date, previous sociolinguistic studies on language use in Morocco have largely focused on four main topics:

1. attitudes towards Tmazight, Arabic, French, Spanish, and English (Buckner, 2011; Chakrani, 2013; Errihani, 2008; Marley, 2004);
2. multilingualism and the issue of diglossia (Youssi, 1995; Sayahi, 2004; Marley, 2005; Benmamoun, 2001; Ennaji, 2005, 1991; Abbassi, 1977; Daniel & Ball, 2010; Hannaoui, 1987);
3. language policy and planning in education (Buckner, 2012; Errihani, 2006; Marley, 2004; Zouhir, 2014; Boukous, 2001; El Aissati, 2001; Elkhfaifi, 2002; Ennaji, 1988; Redouane, 2010; Todd, 2011; Hassa, 2012; Bouziane & Rguibi, 2018; Moustouai, 2019; Soussi, 2020; Bouziane, 2020); and
4. language ideology (Hoffman, 2006; Alalou, 2006; Chakrani, 2013; Ennaji, 1999).

While publications on these topics have been prolific, research on the spread and use of English in Morocco remains limited in number. The five sections that follow summarize the contributions of the existing primary studies (Sadiqi, 1991; Soussi, 2020) that dealt with the issue of English in the Moroccan context as well as a few relevant secondary studies (Buckner, 2011; Ennaji, 1991, 2005; Zouhir, 2014) that made a brief reference to the same subject matter.

#### **1.4.1. Sadiqi's 1991 study**

Sadiqi's 1991 research is one of the three most holistically devoted studies to the issue of the spread and use of English in Morocco. Sadiqi's (1991) study provided an insightful overview of the impact of English in Morocco thirty years ago, focusing on the users and uses of the language in the domains of education and mass media. The following paragraphs summarize Sadiqi's (1991) findings in regard to these domains of English use (education, mass media) and critically discuss the contributions and the limitations of this preliminary study.

According to Sadiqi (1991), education is one of the vital domains for language contact because 'it places individuals at points of entry to many cultures and countries around the world' (Sadiqi, 1991: 113) as it also contributes to the spread of English to other domains. Sadiqi (1991) recorded an increase in the number of Moroccan secondary school English teachers, university professors, and students with interest in learning English as a foreign language or studying it as a subject of specialization at the university level. In addition, Sadiqi (1991) observed that commercial English schools (i.e., American Language Center, the British Council), public higher education institutions for science (i.e., the Institute of Statistics, the Institute of Agronomy, etc.), and private business schools (i.e., for training students to perform jobs of a secretarial nature, import and export, or computer science) (Sadiqi, 1991: 102) where English is used as a subject of study or a medium of instruction (MOI) were also on the rise.

Another domain that was impacted by the spread of English is the media industry, such as newspapers, radio, and television. According to Sadiqi (1991: 103), among the newspaper copies that were imported to Morocco, for example, are '*The Times, The Guardian, International Herald Tribune, Financial Times, The Wall Street Journal, The Sun, and Saudi Gazette*' (103, italics in original). While all these

newspapers now have online platforms, it is possible that their distribution in Morocco has ebbed or in some cases ended. This will be discussed further in Chapter 5. As far as local publications are concerned, Sadiqi (1991) recorded a local newspaper, *Morocco Today*, written in English for enthusiastic readers who sought English content; however, such a newspaper no longer exists and records of its issues could not be found. Bookshops and second-hand bookstores that sold books in English were on the rise. Additionally, libraries in the American Language Center, the British Council, and the Media Book Service were a further resource for Moroccans who wished to broaden their knowledge and polish their English skills (Sadiqi, 1991: 103-104). Other domains that incorporated the use of English in their programs are radio and television channels.

Based on some examples that Sadiqi (1991) employed in her study, such as the allocation of television airtime for English content and the purchase of foreign television programs to broadcast in the national television channel, it seems that Moroccan authorities and language policy makers realized early enough that interaction with the world could not happen solely in French. In order to communicate with the English-speaking world and the non-English speaking world, Moroccans had to nurture and strengthen their English linguistic competence (Sadiqi, 1991: 106).

Since Sadiqi's (1991) study on the spread and uses of English in Morocco, there have been significant developments in the sociolinguistic reality of this North African Kingdom, especially with the advent of the internet, digital media and their subsequent cross convergence and synergy in the Moroccan market. Hence, by addressing the most recent linguistic developments, this study aspires to position itself in the sociolinguistic dialogue of the spread and use of English in Morocco. Although the uses and users of English have increased dramatically since Sadiqi's study in the early nineties, sociolinguistic research of a similar interest and especially research that is informed by the World Englishes theoretical framework remain scarce.

#### **1.4.2. Zouhir's 2011 study**

Similar to Sadiqi, Zouhir (2011) conducted a study that employed perceptions of students and faculty from the department of English to examine the status of this language in Morocco's higher education. Generally, all the interviewed students showed positive attitudes towards English, but their stated reasons for learning this language



varied. While there were students who learned English for better future job prospects, there were also students who viewed the knowledge incentives this language offers as beneficial. Students were additionally questioned about the impact of English on their identity compared to students of the department of Arabic. Some female English students viewed themselves to be acculturated to the Western culture given their clothing style which was perceived as more liberal. Male students, on the other hand, did not view themselves differently. One student shared that 'language is a means of communication. I might have more information than a student from the department of Arabic. However, this does not mean that I am better than him' (Zouhir, 2011: 80). Another male student added:

'[w]hen I speak English, it does not mean I am influenced by American or British culture. There are other countries which speak English. South Africa, for instance, speaks English. Speaking South African English does not mean that I am affected by South Africans. What is important is that I benefit from another culture.' (Zouhir, 2011: 80)

When asked about the challenges they encountered in their English studies, students mainly complained about the lack of books in English. However, it is interesting that despite such scarcity of books, students stated that English was easier to learn compared to French. This observation requires further elaboration because the study does not clarify whether the books referred to are those of English learning or of linguistics and literature, which are two pathways offered by the departments of English in Morocco. Another challenge reported pertains to the communication competencies of students. Given the multiple languages Moroccans use in various domains, both students and their professors shared that there is little room for communication in English outside of the classroom. Not only that, but Zouhir (2011) also pointed to the teaching methods adapted in Moroccan universities which focus more on structure than on fluency.

As far as faculty members' motivation to learn English is concerned, they stated that they were influenced by their peers and by their own English teachers, some of whom were native speakers of English. A professor noted that her interest in learning English was a result of the importance and status of this language on the global scale. To exemplify this importance, this same professor referred to occasions where she was requested by her colleagues in other departments to translate to Arabic articles written in English. Similar to students' response concerning the learning of English, one of the

professors openly stated that 'she had a hard time in learning French [sic] and that's why she chose to learn English because, for her, English is easier than other Western languages' (Zouhir, 2011: 78). When asked about the challenges that their students might be facing, professors confirmed the lack of communicative practices due to crowded classes and the scarcity of books.

Both students and professors were questioned about their preferred English variety. The majority of professors reported their preference of British English because it is the variety they were exposed to in their training in addition to the geographical proximity of Britain to Morocco. As for the students, they reported their preference of American English with respect to their increased exposure to American popular culture and media. When professors were inquired about their opinion regarding students' imitation of American English, some showed no objection, while others did. For instance, one of the professors stated: 'I tell my students or somebody who would speak like an American, I would say to him why do you have to speak like an American, why do not you speak like yourself' (Zouhir, 2011: 86). When asked to elaborate on the 'speak like yourself' notion, the professor 'made it clear that he referred to Moroccan English' (Zouhir, 2011: 86). Zouhir (2011) elucidated that speaking about Moroccan English is a whole issue related to the field of World Englishes which goes beyond the scope of his study.

Generally, Zouhir (2011) found that English continues to spread in the Moroccan education system. He noted that the number of British and American schools are on the rise. Similarly, an increase was also noted through the establishment of higher education institutes in which English is the main MOI. Zouhir (2011) also scored that student enrollments in the department of English in Moroccan universities increased by double between 1995 and 2005. Ten years after Sadiqi's 1991 study, Zouhir (2011) documented the further gains this language has achieved in the education system through interviews with students and faculty from the department of English of a Moroccan university.

### **1.4.3. Soussi's 2020 study**

In addition to Sadiqi's (1991) and Zouhir's (2011) studies, another recent primary study that is fully dedicated to the investigation of the growth of the learning and use of

the English language in Morocco was conducted by Soussi (2020). Following the tradition of many sociolinguistic studies, Soussi (2020) started off his research with a sociolinguistic profile of Morocco followed by a brief historical account of Moroccans' first contact with English. This account provides a concise background on the first historical contact of Moroccan sultans with British monarchs who at that time sought help against other foreign powers. The account also touches upon Moroccans first contact with American officials with the intention to establish bilateral political and economic ties. For example, contact occurred when Morocco recognized the U.S. independence in December 20, 1777 and when U.S. ships were granted the freedom to sail along Moroccan shores and dock in Moroccan ports. The more recent contact of 1942, when the U.S. military landed in Morocco also marks an occasion that led to further contact with English speakers. With a total of 35,000 soldiers deployed to different cities in the country, Moroccans started to learn English to communicate with the newly arrived military. While Soussi (2020) highlighted the several contact opportunities that Moroccans had with English-speaking communities, he did not elaborate on the language of communication that Moroccan employed during these interactions. These points are discussed further in Chapter 4 on the first contact with English.

Another medium of language contact which allowed for the reach of a number of Moroccans is the educational system. Initially, English was formally introduced for the first time ever in schools during the French protectorate. Since then, the teaching and use of English have expanded within and beyond the educational domain. In his discussion of the educational domain, Soussi (2020: 6-8) provided an update on the recent laws and reforms which have widened the uses and status of English In Morocco. For example, while English was previously introduced as a foreign language to students in their secondary education, it is now introduced as a foreign language in the fourth year of primary education and as a MOI, mainly for scientific subjects, in the last three years of secondary school. In tertiary education, English has become a prerequisite for Moroccan doctoral studies. That is, doctoral students are now required to read references in English and produce knowledge in this language, too. Such increased focus on English in the educational system is triggered by the fact that the current job market is increasingly requiring proficiency in the foreign languages of French and English.

#### **1.4.4. Buckner's 2011 study**

In addition to Sadiqi (1991), Zouhir (2011), and Soussi's (2020) research, one of the secondary studies that partially investigated the growth of the learning of the English language in Morocco was conducted by Buckner (2011), and it deserves highlighting in this literature review. While the primary focus of Buckner's (2011) study is dedicated to the identity construction of Moroccans given all the languages available to them, a secondary focus is devoted to the growth of English use in Morocco. Buckner (2011: 218) exemplified such expansion with the earlier introduction of English in schools; and the spread of commercial private schools (i.e., the American Language Center, the British Council and AMIDEAST), which led to an increase of more than 20% in enrollment between the period of 2005 and 2007.

Aside from the spread of English through language schools, Buckner (2011: 218) attributed the spread of English to the telecommunication revolution, which brought the Internet and technology to the homes of Moroccans. Additionally, Buckner (2011) argued that instrumental motivation among the users was a factor contributing to this spread. For example, English was reportedly seen as a requirement and an important linguistic capital for 1) standing out in the labor market, 2) interacting with tourists and native speakers, and 3) pursuing higher education, either abroad or at Al Akhawayn University because it is an English-medium university in Morocco that requires proficiency in the language.

#### **1.4.5. Other studies on the spread of English in Morocco**

Other studies, prior to Sadiqi, Zouhir, Buckner, and Soussi's, that had briefly touched upon the use of the English language in Morocco should also be acknowledged in this literature review for a comprehensive overview of the subject matter. Unfortunately, these studies were merely a brief reference to the short history of English at the time, since the spread and use of the language were in the early stages. For example, in one of the first doctoral dissertations on multilingualism in Morocco, Abbassi (1977) refers to English as a marginal language with limited domains of use (in education from 10th to 12th grade or from the age of 16 to the age of 18 and in tourism). At the same time, Abbassi (1977) refers to it as 'an emerging language which is likely to exert a considerable influence upon the educated people' (34). Within the same journal

issue of Sadiqi's 1991 publication, Ennaji (1991) investigated the language situation in Morocco referring very briefly to the use of English in education, technology, mass media, finance, and tourism (20-21).

In order to be comprehensive in this review, it is important to also mention that Ennaji (2005) discussed the spread of English in his book *Multilingualism, Cultural Identity, and Education in Morocco*. In fact, Ennaji (2005) reiterated most of Sadiqi's (1991) findings, but he also added that few academic journals were published in English, the exceptions being *Offshoot* (for translation), *Chalk Face* (ELT), and *Languages and Linguistics* (linguistics), in addition to a newsletter by the Moroccan Association of Teachers of English, known as MATE (Ennaji, 2005: 119). The first two publications have ceased, however. Ennaji (2005: 118) also cited some private higher education institutions that employ English as a MOI, such as the International Institute of Higher Education (IHEM), Ecole Supérieure Internationale de Gestion (ESIG), and Hautes Etudes en Management (HEM).

In his brief, but noteworthy reference to the use of English in Morocco, Zouhir (2013: 274) highlighted other factors that have contributed to the spread of English. One of these factors is the influence and contact of Moroccans who live in the United States with Moroccans residing in Morocco. Another factor is the continuity of Moroccans (i.e., students, academicians, professionals) who had lived temporarily in the United States to utilize American products and maintain what is perceived as an American lifestyle. An additional function is the role of globalization 'in promoting and exporting American beliefs, values, and practices' (Zouhir, 2013: 275). An interesting remark that emerged in Zouhir's (275) discussion pertains to how the spread of English is viewed in comparison to the spread of Spanish and French. Whilst these two colonial languages were forced on the Moroccan speech community and are seen as 'symbols of colonialism' (274), English was seen to be 'imposed in a different way' (275) that does not carry any 'colonial overtones for Moroccans' (274).

Now that previous research on English in Morocco has been outlined and reviewed, it becomes clear that there is a need for a further in-depth study that explores the increasing role, uses, and users of English in the Moroccan linguistic landscape (i.e., outdoor advertising and shop signs) as well as in traditional and new media (i.e., television, radio, print books, and the Internet).

## **Chapter 2.**

### **Theoretical framework and methodology**

#### **2.1. Introduction**

The analysis and discussion of this qualitative, macrosociolinguistic research is primarily framed and guided by Kachru's (1984, 1988, 1990, 1992, 2008) World Englishes model. However, prior to embarking on the discussion of this theoretical framework, it is imperative to acknowledge and briefly discuss some of the other theories that have been employed in previous research to study the phenomenon of the use of English around the world. Therefore, this section will first initiate the discussion by addressing a variety of conceptual frameworks that deal with the spread of English such as Seidlhofer's (2011) English as a Lingua Franca and Pennycook's (2010) Language as a Local Practice. This section will then proceed to the full discussion of the theoretical framework that is of fundamental interest to this research, Kachru's World Englishes model.

#### **2.2. English as a Lingua Franca**

The theoretical framework of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), which is largely advocated by Barbara Seidlhofer and Jennifer Jenkins, approaches English as a contact language used for communication between speakers who a) do not share the same first language or culture (Seidlhofer, 2011: 7; Seidlhofer, 2005: 339; Seidlhofer, 2004: 211; Meierkord, 2013: 1; Jenkins, 2000: 11); b) do not belong to the same speech community; and c) 'do not live in immediate physical proximity with each other' (Seidlhofer, 2011: 83). Indeed, throughout a long discussion of what ELF is and what it is not, Seidlhofer (2011) confirmed that ELF should be 'functionally and not formally defined; it is not a variety of English but a variable way of using it: English that functions as a lingua franca' (77). In her definition, Seidlhofer (2011), along with Meierkord (2013: 1), suggested that ELF is not a variety of English used by non-native speakers of different language backgrounds, but a function that English serves as a contact language.

Unfortunately, this definition of ELF is inconsistent with actual ELF research practices (Berns, 2015: 300), which strive to investigate what English ‘actually looks like when it is used in diverse constellations among ‘non-native’ speakers’ (Jenkins et al., 2001: 14). To illustrate, ELF studies that have been conducted since the end of the 1990s have formally described ELF on different linguistic levels, such as phonology, morphology, pragmatics, and lexico-grammar (Seidlhofer & Jenkins, 2003: 139; Seidlhofer, 2004: 215, 2001: 134; Jenkins, 2000). With such type of ELF research, Seidlhofer (2001: 151, 2011: 175-208) argued that the findings deduced from ELF descriptions should be incorporated into English language teaching (i.e., ELF curricula design; ELF textbooks development; and ELF teachers training). This suggests defining ELF in terms of form, as opposed to function, thus contradicting Seidlhofer’s earlier statement. The remaining of this section discusses how Jenkins and Seidlhofer described ELF in their respective fields of expertise.

Jenkins’ (2000) research interest evolves around understanding ELF pronunciation through the examination of segmentals and suprasegmentals produced by non-native speakers of English (136-156). To achieve such a research objective, Jenkins (2000: 123) relied on data she calls Interlanguage Talk (ILT)<sup>4</sup> to extract a list of phonological features, called Lingua Franca Core (LFC), which are considered *essential* for intelligibility. For example, consonant cluster simplification by means of deletion causes intelligibility issues for Taiwanese speakers of English, as illustrated in the word ‘product’ [ˈprɒdʌkt] which becomes ‘*poduc*’ [ˈpɑdʌk] (Jenkins, 2000: 142). The reduction of /pr/ to /p/ and /kt/ to /k/ results in a different meaningless word, ‘*poduc*’ [ˈpɑdʌk]. Therefore, because this phonological process disturbs intelligibility, it is considered a feature of LFC that needs to be addressed while teaching ELF. On the other hand, phonological features that do not cause any intelligibility problems, such as the interdental pair /θ/ and /ð/, are considered lingua franca non-core and do not need any special attention while teaching. ‘Substitutions of these phonemes [/θ/ and /ð/] did not cause phonological unintelligibility on a single occasion in the data,’ Jenkins reported (2000: 137). While LFC may please a community of researchers and language teachers, it may be unnecessary because the context where the word is employed could

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<sup>4</sup> Interlanguage Talk (ILT) is a combination of data extracted from two studies, an experiment, and a corpus of field observations.

compensate for the claimed unintelligibility. Moreover, reduction of clusters is not a feature of non-native speakers' speech only. Reduction is also present in some varieties of native English speakers talk, such as in 'student' [studɛn], 'international' [ɪnərnæʃənəl], or 'equipment' [ɪkwɪpmɛn].

Seidlhofer's research centers on how ELF users regulate their interactions (Seidlhofer, 2011: 50, 98; Meierkord, 2013: 2) using repetition, synonymy, rephrasing, etc., and how ELF is morphologically adaptable and creative, as shown in some verbs such as 'pronunciate', 'examine', and 'financiate'. To investigate such interest, Seidlhofer (2005: 340; 2011: 23; 2004: 219) developed the VOICE (Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English) project, which is a one million word corpus of reciprocal non-native English face-to-face interactions in a variety of settings (Seidlhofer, 2004: 215, 2001: 146). According to Seidlhofer (2011: 149-150), since ELF does not have native speakers with intuition, the VOICE project functions as a source for consultation (Seidlhofer, 2001: 149-150). This type of research confirms an ambiguous view towards ELF being a variety of English used by non-native speakers who speak different L1s.

### ***Criticism of ELF***

The paragraphs above show that Seidlhofer's and Jenkins' view of English as a lingua franca is problematic. For example, in arguing that ELF is a code used by speakers of different first languages, one is basically making the point that English is not and cannot be used by speakers who share the same L1. While this might have been possible long ago, it is no longer valid as there are many examples where speakers of the same L1 communicate in English as an additional language (Berns, 2009: 196). A good example for illustration is German business corporations where employees who share the same L1, German, conduct a large portion of their communication in English (Swift & Wallace, 2011; Hilgendorf, 2010). As far as the physical proximity of the users of ELF is concerned, it is also no longer valid since there are many universities in Europe, for example Germany, that use English as a MOI with students who live within the same speech community and are part of a close-knit network (Hilgendorf, 2005).

In response to Seidlhofer and Jenkins' (2003) position on the need to describe ELF as a variety used by non-native speakers of English, Mollin (2007) argued that describing ELF is a failed project as there are 'hardly any common features that [unite]



lingua franca speakers, even in contexts such as the EU, where speakers use English frequently to interact with each other' (48). Friedrich and Matsuda (2010: 20) reinforced the previous point by adding that considering ELF as a variety of English is basically a step towards concealing the plurality that World Englishes is about. As MacKenzie (2014) put it: '[u]nlike nativized World Englishes, ELF is not, and will almost certainly never become, a stable variety, because of the range of participants in the international use of English' (2). While Seidlhofer believed that ELF description works towards the increase in intelligibility, Kubota (2015) argued that the desire to communicate is what 'makes intelligibility possible and not necessarily a lingua franca' (36). Moreover, Kubota (2015: 31) claimed that searching for common features of intelligibility will only create another (prescriptive) variety of English.

At this point, it seems that ELF received criticism from various scholars; however, Berns (2009, 2015) has been the most critical of all. Berns (2009, 2015) has made the following remarks concerning ELF.

Berns (2015: 300) argued that, first, Seidlhofer's definition of ELF does not differ from the common traditional and functional definitions found in sociolinguistic research. Second, the actual practice of ELF research does not match the definition provided by Seidlhofer (2011: 77). That is, while research focuses on the formal properties of the ELF 'variety', the definition focuses on its functional use and the nature of users. Third, the common ELF interaction features (i.e., synonymy, rephrasing, repetition, paraphrasing, backchanneling, completion of interlocutor's utterances) that Seidlhofer (2011: 99-100, 148) deduced from her corpus are features which are certainly employed by speakers who share the same L1 of any given language around the world, (Berns, 2015: 300), a fact that Seidlhofer (2011: 98) stated herself. Fourth, ELF does not capture the various uses of English within the Expanding Circle, which means that ELF can be used intra-regionally within the same speech community as big as the EU (Berns, 2009: 195-196). Finally, Berns (2009: 195) viewed the VOICE project as restricted and not representative of all language uses. While the corpus includes face-to-face interactions, it ignores other types of interactions where technology functions as a medium (chats, emails, text messages, memos, calls, etc.).

At this stage of discussion, it seems that this theoretical framework does not address the needs of this dissertation, which centers on the analysis of the spread and

the range of functional uses of English *within* the Moroccan speech community, that is, on an intranational level, rather than on ELF as a variety of English employed by Moroccans to communicate with speakers of different L1s alone.

### **2.3. English World-Wide**

The second theoretical framework that also deals with the English language around the world is Manfred Görlach' English World-Wide (Schneider, 1997a, 1997b). According to Omoniyi (2006: 172) and Schneider (1997a: 15), research in the English World-Wide perspective adopts a quantitative, micro-analytical approach to diachronically and synchronically describe changes in the grammar of nativized varieties of English. This framework seeks to identify and 'describe the nature of deviation or difference from "default" native-speaker Englishes' (Omoniyi, 2006: 172) by means of specialized corpora of Englishes around the world, specifically in the inner and outer circle contexts. By focusing attention on the nativized varieties of English, the framework of English World-Wide does not in fact treat the issue of English around the globe, as the name suggests, since the many non-nativized varieties that exist do not receive any attention.

Another aim of English World-Wide research is the employment of corpora to 'quantify recent changes in a range of grammatical categories, including modal auxiliaries, progressive, subjunctive, passive, genitive and relative classes' (Collins, 2015: 1). In addition to the description of post-colonial English varieties, English World-Wide is also concerned with the comparison of the structural features of old and new Englishes (Schneider, 1997a: 15). Based on the nature of English World-Wide research, it appears that this framework derives its principles from historical linguistics and variationist sociolinguistics (see D'Arcy, 2015).

#### ***Criticism of English World-Wide***

It is clear at this point, without further discussion, that the focus of English World-Wide is far from the focus of this dissertation, since the purpose of this research is not to quantitatively describe the grammar of the English used in Morocco and the extent to which it deviates from the native speaker's 'model', but to qualitatively discuss the uses and functions that English serves within this historically non-native context. Furthermore,

the present research examines a relatively new context of English use, Morocco, which is in the Expanding Circle, and therefore would not be included in the areas of study considered valid for the English World-Wide framework.

## **2.4. Language as a Local Practice**

The third theoretical framework that also deserves to be acknowledged in this research is Pennycook's (2010) view of language as a local practice. This view towards the use of language stems originally from Pennycook's (2010: 2) opposition to the Chomskyan (i.e., Chomsky, 1965) conceptualization of language as a system, a structure, or as an abstract entity (2). In lieu, Pennycook (2010: 6), first, believed that any study of language should not be isolated from its social context and from its users; and second, extended an invitation to linguists to shift their understanding of language from a broad and an abstract system (9) constituted of 'rules ... deemed to be responsible for the language we produce' (27) to a 'local activity ... [that is] part of everyday life' (1). Along with his disapproval of the formal and structural view of language, Pennycook (2010: 3) argued that there is no such thing as language spread, therefore, opposing what the World Englishes theoretical framework is about. The suggested alternative is that language is inherently local and it is the product of the environment where it emerges (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010: 240).

Pennycook's (2010) theoretical framework, which seeks to clarify 'how language operates' (3), centers on the notions of locality and practice. What Pennycook (2010) means by language as a practice is that language is a social and a cultural activity (2, 8), not a function (8) or an abstract entity (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010: 248), which reflects the local environment. The local environment is thought to be the creator and the producer of language; that is, language emerges from different local activities and interactions (Pennycook, 2010: 1; Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010: 240, 248). According to Pennycook (2010), while the locality, or the context, where the activity of language practice is taking place is crucial and influential to the process of language production, locality as reflected in language use is 'a result of ... [the user's] interpretation' of 'physical, institutional, social and cultural spaces' (2).

Two additional notions that cannot be disregarded when discussing Pennycook's framework are fluidity and fixity, which were imported from the field of music. According

to Connell and Gibson (2003), fluidity means the flow and movement 'of music, people, capital, commodities and money across space' (9), while fixity means that continuity and stability are favored over change (19). Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) employed these concepts, non-dichotomously, to the practice of language in multilingual and multicultural contexts. Through their study of the speech of an Australian speaker of Japanese, Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) provide examples of how this user insists on using Japanese 'to claim his Japaneseness' (250) which illustrates his fixity. They also provide other examples where there is a shift back and forth between his Japanese and Australian identities to demonstrate the move between fixity and fluidity, known as metrolingualism<sup>5</sup> (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2014: 98) or hybridity<sup>6</sup> (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2014: 87), and to display that the interviewee 'challenged, attested, compromised and sometimes ignored the issues of linguistic and cultural borders' (249).

### ***Criticism of Language as a Local Practice***

Criticism of Pennycook's language as a local practice framework has been limited either because his philosophical ideas are not accessible to everyone, as Saraceni (2011: 452) and Sanjaya (2012: 438) reported, or his theoretical framework did not trigger many scholars' interest. Language has many facets and it would be of little explanatory value to claim that it is a local practice only. Language has a function (i.e., communicative) and a form, which allow for the understanding of why some languages are spoken beyond their focal points; why languages change over time and across generations; and what their formal characteristics are. Claiming that language is *primarily* a product of the environment and a social practice is too limited in perspective and does not lead to an understanding that is comprehensive, inclusive, impartial, and well developed in all aspects.

In fact, Pennycook's framework could be seen as controversial since his rejection of the formal study of language as a structure 'discard[s] entire traditions of linguistic study' (Saraceni, 2011: 454) which might be difficult to defend against a plethora of

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<sup>5</sup> 'Metrolingualism is the creative linguistic practices across borders of culture, history and politics. It is the product of modern and often urban interactions, describing the ways in which people of different and mixed backgrounds use, play with and negotiate identities through language' (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010: 240).

<sup>6</sup> Hybridity 'suggests the mixing of different and recognizable entities' (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2014: 85).

existing literature. In addition to Pennycook's apparent strong attachment to his arguments, Arnold (2011: 217) believed that focus should not be on urban areas only. Consideration of rural areas would have strengthened Pennycook's theoretical framework, as it would demonstrate the extent to which the theory of 'language as a local practice' can account for other local practices, which are not necessarily urban. This theoretical framework does not acknowledge the spread of language nor does it have the tools to discuss the functional uses of English in different domains in the Expanding Circle context of Morocco. Therefore, it does not fit the purpose of the analysis of this study.

## **2.5. Models on the life cycle of English**

There are other secondary theoretical frameworks that deal with English as a global language, such as Llamzon (1986) and Moag's (1992) life cycle of English and Schneider's (2003) Dynamic Model. These models attempt to describe the developmental stages of English in contexts that were subject to Anglo-Saxon colonial rule starting from the first contact between the colonizer and the colonized through the phases of rejection, acceptance, and to the emergence of the localized variety of English. While such models are of great use to the Outer Circle contexts, they are in fact not applicable to the Expanding Circle, as it is explained in the paragraph that follows.

The reason why Llamzon (1986), Moag's (1992), and Schneider's (2003) models are not suitable for this study is because countries in the Outer and the Expanding Circles undergo different political, social and economic experiences, which make their composition and language realities distinct from each other. Therefore, theories and models of the Outer Circle cannot necessarily be applied to the analysis and understanding of the Expanding Circle. In light of this, Schneider's (2014) application of the Outer Circle's Dynamic Model to the Expanding Circle serves as an outstanding illustration. In his introduction of the Dynamic Model, Schneider (2003) initially showed that the life cycle of a given variety of English in the Outer Circle actually passes through five successive stages<sup>7</sup>. Through such stages, one can identify the extent to which

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<sup>7</sup> Schneider's Dynamic Model proposes that Englishes in the Outer Circle context proceed through five stages, which are: 1) foundation, 2) exonormative stabilization, 3) nativization, 4) endonormative stabilization, and 5) differentiation (Schneider, 2003: 241-256).

English is institutionalized. A decade later, Schneider (2014) researched the extent to which the Dynamic Model is capable of explicating the life cycle of a given variety of English in the Expanding Circle (i.e., China, Korea, Japan, the ASEAN, Thailand, Namibia, and Rwanda) and he concluded that ‘despite some similarities ... [the Dynamic Model] is not well suited to grasp the vibrant developments of the Expanding Circle’ (9).

The purpose of reviewing and examining the relevance of all these theoretical frameworks, which have been debated ‘with increasing vehemence and aggressiveness’ (Kachru, 2008: 568), is to justify why World Englishes has been selected as the principal theoretical framework for this study.

## **2.6. World Englishes model**

The World Englishes theoretical framework was primarily developed by Braj B. Kachru (1932-2016), along with other academicians such as Larry E. Smith (1942-2014), to position the study of the spread and the functional uses of English within a polymodel approach that views the English spoken by speech communities around the world as diverse, in functions and uses, and dependent on the political, historical, and cultural constructs of the ‘*context of situation*’ (Kachru, 1992: 66). What this means is that the central point that World Englishes evolves around relates to ‘the concept of pluralism, of linguistic heterogeneity, of cultural diversity, and of dramatically different theoretical and methodological foundations for teaching and research in English’ (Kachru, 1984: 26). Such concepts that promote plurality (see Hilgendorf, 2015) and pluricentricity have in fact pushed aside the traditional view of the English canon or world English and has superseded it with the inclusive notion of ‘new canons’ or world Englishes (Kachru, 1988: 4). Therefore, according to Seargant (2012: 33), English varieties around the world, which are distinct from each other, but ‘linguistically stable and firmly embedded in the culture of the communities that use them’ (33), should be considered as legitimate linguistic codes that can stand by themselves.

World Englishes is an inclusive, non-divisive term that aims to recognize, in addition to native ‘models’, non-native varieties of English and their functions around the world (Kachru, 1997: 67). That is, the term seeks to place the native-English varieties

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and the other non-native-English varieties on an equal footing to demonstrate that 'English no longer has one single base of authority, prestige, and normativity' (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008: 3), but it rather has as many bases as the varieties that exist. Similarly, Bhatt (2001: 528) argued that World Englishes came to demolish the dichotomy of 'us' versus 'them' and give rise to the unifying concept of 'we', which indicates that, in reality, English does not have one source where the 'us' variety, as a focal point, is developed and diffused to the 'them' speech community. Instead, English now has many sources where it is adopted, adapted, and acculturated to express the various needs of a number of speech communities around the world (Kachru, 1988: 3). In sociolinguistic terms, all varieties of a language, regardless of their history, status, or prestige, are equally valid as codes of communication within their speech communities. Far from the sociolinguistics realm of the matter and to illustrate the concept of acculturation, Chinua Achebe (1975) wrote of his literary work: 'I feel the English language will be able to carry the weight of my African experience. But it will have to be a new English, still in communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit its new African surroundings' (103). Through his writings, Achebe confesses to the reader that in order for English to express the Nigerian identity and concern, it has to adapt to the uses and social reality of the Nigerian individual and community, but at the same time maintain 'an English which is at once universal' (Achebe, 1975: 100) and intelligible to the world.

Given the numerous varieties of English that exist around the world, Kachru (1984: 25; 1988: 5; 1990: 4; 2008: 568) introduced the macro-level Three Concentric Circles model, which is a simple, yet comprehensive conceptual framework that classifies these varieties in terms of 'the types of spread, the patterns of acquisition, the range of functional domains, and the societal penetration of the language' (Kachru, 1988: 5). The Three Concentric Circles model is composed of three groups of countries, which are known as the Inner, the Outer, and the Expanding Circle (Kachru, 1984: 25).

The Inner Circle refers to geographical regions where English is not only the primary language of the speech community (i.e., the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand) (Kachru, 1984: 25), but also the focal point and origin of diffusion (Kachru, 2008: 568). The Outer Circle, less commonly known as the Extended Circle (Kachru, 1984: 25), refers to the geographical regions (e.g., Nigeria, India, the Philippines) to which English has extended through colonial settlement, marking the initial stages of the spread of English (Kachru, 1984: 25) 'beyond the

traditional English-speaking Britain' (Kachru, 2008: 568). According to Kachru (1984: 25), the Outer Circle is distinguished from the Inner Circle by the fact that the speech communities 1) are either bilingual or multilingual due to the presence of more than one linguistic code; 2) employ English in a wider range of domains with different functions in the "unEnglish" cultural contexts' (25); and 3) elevate the status of English *further* by adopting it as an official language or a language of major, important uses such as in the education domain. The last circle in Kachru's model, which is of importance to this study, is the Expanding Circle. This circle 'brings to English an entirely different dimension' (Kachru, 1984: 25) through a number of functions, uses, and acquisition (Kachru, 2008: 570). The Englishes of Expanding Circle countries (e.g., China, France, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, etc) are not the result of colonial influence or contact, but the outcome of the local uses and functions of English, whether large or restricted (Kachru, 1984: 25).

The varieties of English in the Outer Circle countries are referred to as institutionalized varieties, while the varieties of the Expanding Circle countries are called performance varieties (Kachru, 1986: 89; 1992: 55). According to Kachru (1992), '[a]n institutionalized variety of English always starts as a performance variety' (55), which indicates that the transition from a less established variety of English to a more established variety depends on the process of nativization. In fact, Kachru (1992: 56-57; 1986: 91) described in stages how a variety of English becomes institutionalized<sup>8</sup>.

The first stage, non-recognition of institutionalization, is characterized by the rejection of the local variety of English in favor of the colonizers' variety. At this early stage of institutionalization, the Outer Circle's individual variety is described by Kachru (1992: 56) as 'more English than the Englishman' (56) because the ultimate goal of the Outer Circle individual is to emulate the speech and behavior of the native speaker. Such a choice of codes is desirable because it gives the speaker an elitist status as well as political and social power. However, in the eye of the speech community, the individual might look as anti-nationalist (Kachru, 1992: 56). The second stage is when the diffusion of English becomes wider resulting in 'the development of varieties within a variety' (Kachru, 1992: 56). What is important to note at this stage is that although the

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<sup>8</sup> Along with the description of the institutionalization stages, Kachru (1986: 91; 1992: 55) drew attention to the fact that these stages are not as precise and 'clear-cut' because 'they are primarily related to the extent of the diffusion of bilingualism and to the institutionalization of a variety' (Kachru, 1986: 91).



members of the speech community recognize the undesirable local varieties of English (i.e., Indian English, Ghanaian English) available to them and utilize them to a very limited degree of awareness, there is a belief at the level of the individual that 'it is always the *other* person who uses it' (Kachru, 1986: 91, emphasis in the original). More importantly, Kachru (1992) stated that, in such a stage, labeling one's English as Indian English, for example, is viewed as 'an ego-cracking linguistic insult' (Kachru, 1992: 57). This indicates that despite the fact that the English variety starts to become familiar to the ears of the speech community, there are attitudinal issues and 'a clear disparity between the norm and behavior' (Kachru, 1986: 91) of the speakers. The third stage is when the localized variety becomes accepted and negative attitudes towards it are reduced (Kachru, 1992: 57; 1986: 91). The fourth and last stage is characterized by the recognition of the new English variety and its placement in equal footing with the native varieties. At this stage, attitudes towards the non-native varieties are positive, which result in the use of teaching materials that reflect the sociocultural environment where the non-native variety has developed (Kachru, 1992: 57; 1986: 91).

As far as the performance varieties of English are concerned, these are varieties of English employed as a foreign language in the Expanding Circle countries. Contrary to the institutionalized varieties of English where the uses are diverse, performance varieties have much more limited functional uses restricted to domains such as 'tourism, commerce, and other international transactions' (Kachru, 1992: 55). The performance varieties of English are not nativized and therefore not institutionalized (Kachru, 1992: 55). In today's world, English has gone beyond the widely known international use between speech communities to include intranational uses within the same general speech community. With such expanded usage, interactions in English can occur between a native speaker and another native speaker; a native speaker and a non-native speaker; and a non-native speaker and a non-native speaker (Kachru, 1988: 3). Within these diverse multidirectional interactions in and between circles, communication occurs between speakers of genetic nativeness, that is native speakers, and speakers of functional nativeness, non-native speakers (Kachru, 1997: 68). For this research, functional nativeness is discussed.

## ***Criticism of World Englishes***

Similar to the other theoretical frameworks discussed above, Kachru's Three Concentric Circles model has received criticism, too. For example, Seidlhofer (2011) claimed that World Englishes 'does not capture [the fact] ... that people engage in [communication] across all three 'concentric circles'' (4). Such a claim is not correct because Kachru (1988: 3), himself, clarified in his early writings on the issue that by the use of English around the world, speakers of different levels of proficiency and acquisition are engaged in interactions, which indicates that the speakers (native and non-native) within the three circles certainly communicate with each other.

Kubota (2015: 35), on the other hand, criticized Kachru's World Englishes paradigm for its concentration on English at the expense of multilingualism and linguistic diversity. In other words, Kubota (2015) viewed that scholarly research of World Englishes draws its 'symbolic power' (35) from the fact that English is its subject matter. Kubota's claim could have been accurate if there were languages with the same international status and expanded usage as English, but did not receive equal attention in academic research. Today, English is the language that is most used in international communication (i.e., aviation, scientific publications), which explains why Kachru's paradigm is occupied with English only. In the future, if other languages, such as Spanish or Chinese, emerge and spread to the same extent as English, Kachru's model could probably be employed. However, the countries in which these future languages originate and the countries to which they spread must undergo the same historical, political, social, and economic experiences for such a model to account for their spread, functions, and uses.

## **2.7. Methodology**

The methodology of this research draws much of its core principles and ideas from the fields of the social sciences (i.e., the sociology of language and World Englishes) and qualitative research methods. To justify the appropriateness of this methodology for the present study, the following points are discussed: First, the type of research approach that is adopted for this dissertation. Second, examples of data that

have been employed in past research. Third, examples of studies that employed such data. Fourth, potential data sources that are exploited for this dissertation work.

### **2.7.1. Research approach**

This is an exploratory, qualitative, macrosociolinguistic study that deals with the recent phenomenon of the spread and functional uses of English in the Expanding Circle context of Morocco. Exploratory research, according to Stebbins (2001: 3, 5-6), employs data as a fundamental means to generate broad descriptions of social facts, of which little is known, leading to the development of grounded theory (Stebbins, 2001: 9; Goulding, 2002: 42). Based on the descriptions generated from the different types of the collected data, conclusions can be reached through inductive thinking and reasoning, which are, according to Walliman (2006: 9, 16), forms of observational methods in the social sciences.

Along with its exploratory nature, this research adopts a qualitative approach, which refers primarily to the 'methodology and the actual collection of data' (Stebbins, 2001: 6). The qualitative methodological approach framing this research is known in the social sciences as unobtrusive measurement, which is a method to examine social phenomena through a type of data collection that does not involve contact or 'elicitation of information from research participants' (Lee, 2005: 909). The absence of the investigator's interaction with the participants warrants *nonreactivity*, which is a core characteristic of unobtrusive measures (Webb et al., 1966: 53). In other words, nonreactivity permits participants' output which is free of any bias or reactivity (Lee, 2005: 909) that could be triggered by the researcher or the research objectives (Webb et. al., 1966: 138). The literature on unobtrusive measurement notes that the majority of the selected data are normally produced for non-academic purposes; however, they 'can be exploited by social scientists' (Webb et. al., 1966: 53) who aim to employ information that is less affected by other external factors.

In line with the purposes of exploratory research, the philosophy of unobtrusive methods is based on the notion that describing, explaining (Hesse-Biber, Nagy, & Leavy, 2006: 289), and learning about society and social phenomena can be performed by extricating information from different types of artifacts and materials which were produced at some point in the target context, leading to a 'macro social' understanding

of the world (Hesse-Biber et al., 2006: 286). It is important to note that this research will not rely on data generated by participants in the form of qualitative responses (i.e., open-ended questionnaires, interviews), following one of the principles of qualitative research which argues that “what people say” is often different from “what people do” (Hodder, 1994: 395), meaning that people’s evaluation and estimates of their use and exposure to English, for example, may not reflect the actual usage and exposure.

Primary and secondary qualitative data are going to be employed in this study to allow a detailed description and a greater understanding of the phenomena under investigation (Walliman, 2006: 55). Generally, the qualitative primary and secondary data employed in this research can be defined as nonliving materials, according to Hesse-Biber et al. (2006: 280), because they constitute texts and artifacts that have been produced by other parties whether for research or general purposes.

As far as the collection of primary data is concerned, the outcropping model is adopted. According to Hesse-Biber et al. (2006: 286-310), the outcropping model is a type of unobtrusive measurement which is traditionally utilized in the field of geology to study the local geology of the earth, based on the nature and composition of the rocks that surface. This concept of deducing and drawing conclusions of a phenomenon based on available points of observation has been transferred to other fields of study such as the sociology of language (i.e., Fishman et al., 1977) and World Englishes<sup>9</sup> (i.e., Bhatia, 1987, 1992, 2001, 2007; Martin, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2007; Dimova, 2012). Through the process of outcropping data collection model, researchers opportunistically manipulate the points of observation that are apparent and mostly on the surface (i.e., public signage) (Webb et al., 1966: 28; Campbell & Russo, 2001: 162) to generate broad descriptions and understanding of a certain social practice, such as the use of English.

Similar to all research approaches, unobtrusive measurement has its drawbacks and shortcomings. According to Lee (2005: 910), unobtrusive methods of data collection are not considered substitutions to the methods where there is direct contact with the participants, as in questionnaires and interviews. Instead, unobtrusive methods are viewed as complementary tools that strengthen and validate the findings of data collected from participants. Despite such a claim, numerous studies utilizing classic

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<sup>9</sup> The outcropping model has been used in World Englishes research; however, the acknowledgement of such a data collection model has never been explicitly articulated.

qualitative research approaches have employed unobtrusive measurements as the principal data collection source.

Another weakness that is envisioned in this research methodological approach is the validity and reliability of *secondary* data. Walliman (2006) argued that the employment of secondary data in research has its benefits and disadvantages. For example, while a particular data is produced for other specific research purposes and is free of the researcher’s bias (84), the fact that a second party collected the data raises questions about their accuracy and their method of collection (87). It is imperative to be aware and to acknowledge such strengths and weaknesses in order to analyze the data with more caution and skepticism. The following section lists examples of various data sources that have been employed in previous studies.

### 2.7.2. Data employed in past research

Examples of the types of data that have been used for previous unobtrusive research, according to Webb et al., (1966: 76-80), Hesse-Biber et al. (2006: 286), Harper (1994: 403-411), and Walliman (2006: 52-55, 85), are many and a few examples are listed in the table that follows:

**Table 2.1: Examples of data employed in previous studies**

Document category	Examples
Mass media	Newspapers, magazines, broadcasts, documentaries, films, radio programs, recordings, commercials, audiovisuals, webpages, cartoons, plays, books, diaries, textbooks, advertising, the Internet.
Official documents	Historical records, state documents.
Illustrations	Photographs, maps, drawings, comics, artistic output.
Information/research	Official statistics, sales data of books, journal papers, journal papers, refereed journals, conference papers, research reports, literary texts, databases.
Communication	Minutes of meetings, message boards, memos, commercial or organizational documents.

The utilization of these data sources has been exemplified in a number of previous sociolinguistic studies.

### 2.7.3. Examples of data used in previous research

Fishman et al. (1977) edited book on the spread of English contains studies of high importance to qualitative, macrosociolinguistic research. For example, in their study

of the spread and functions of English in Israel, Nadel and Fishman (1977) relied on census statistics, interviews, secondary analysis of data from previous research, observations, the education system, radio, television, films, theater, shop signs, books, newspapers, and periodicals. The way Nadel and Fishman (1977) benefited from published media material is interesting. For example, in order to know how wide-spread the use of English is in Israel, they searched for the number of English newspaper copies sold. This technique should be treated with caution though since copies could be passed to other readers, meaning that the spread of English might be much larger than it appears. However, such type of data is more or less indicative of the spread of English given the number of copies sold.

In a similar study that deals with the spread of English in Israel, Conrad and Fishman (1977: 6) extracted evidence from different sources such as the role of English in diplomacy; the status of English in primary and secondary education; the percentage of students who go abroad to English and non-English speaking countries for tertiary education; the use of English in the press; and the publication of books in English. Conrad and Fishman (1977: 7) also consulted statistics of schools that use English as a MOI; schools that teach English as a subject; and production of literary genres. UNESCO is also one of the common databases that has been used for various types of information concerned with the use of English in Israel.

In more recent studies, there is a combination of traditional data sources and modern data sources which are much more diversified given the availability and emergence of new types of information outlets. For example, while Cohen (2005: 208) employed the Survey of Mongolian Ministry of Education Statistical Data 2000 to investigate the number of students enrolled in English classes in Mongolian schools, he also consulted popular music, lyrics of songs, television programs, advertisements, and business signs to identify the functions of English in the Mongolian context. As for Dimova (2005), in studying the Macedonian context, she relied on the British Council library, in-service teacher training seminars and lectures, testing results, and scholarships to study abroad in Anglophone universities. She also used the Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Macedonia, media titles of television programs, findings from previous studies, store signs, and websites (192-199). Among other data sources that were used to investigate the spread of English, in Tunisia for example, Battenburg (1997) exploited media and US embassy reports, minister quotes, historical and political

events. Such reports and events were employed to illustrate how English was competing with French for space.

Additionally, in her studies of the diffusion of English in the German context, Hilgendorf (2013) employed film titles to examine the relationship between transnational media and the diffusion of English. In another study, Hilgendorf (2005) incorporated government statistics on student enrollment in English classes and ministerial announcements related to the use of English to examine the spread of English in the German educational domains. She also made use of job advertisements to examine the function of English in attracting job candidates (Hilgendorf, 1996). Finally, to examine the functional range and depth of English in Germany, Hilgendorf (2007) made use of statistics on the use of English at the workplace, brand advertisement, academic publications, surveys, pop music, and anecdotal examples (2007).

In this research, both primary data, based on unobtrusive measurement, and secondary data, drawn from past research and databases, are combined in investigating the issue of English in Morocco.

#### **2.7.4. Data used in this research**

Data sources that have been employed in this dissertation are the Moroccan education charter (Charte de l'Education et de Formation 2000), the most recent educational reform (Vision Stratégique de la Réforme 2015-2030), a variety of ministerial websites and decrees, Haut Commissariat au Plan (HCP, Census) website, media (television program titles, magazines, newspapers, news articles), advertisements, shop signs, restaurant menus, published material on the internet (videos, articles, images, etc.), the U.S. Homeland Security yearbook, historical letters of royals, scholarships to study in the U.S., the yellow pages, UNESCO Institute for Statistics, trade agreements, anecdotal examples, film titles, surveys of scholarly articles, books, media interviews with state officials (minister quotes), literary work, historical and political events, YouTube videos, social media (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube), and music.

## Chapter 3.

### Historical overview of languages used in Morocco

Morocco is linguistically rich and complex as it hosts, according to Lewis et al. (2015), varieties of Tmazight and Arabic as well as French and Spanish. Although the 'linguistic complexity and diversity [of Morocco] is slighter than the sociolinguistic situation in most African countries' (Zouhir, 2013: 271), such as Nigeria (527 languages) and Cameroon (285 languages) (Lewis et al., 2015), the fierce and simultaneous competition for space by Berber, Arabic, French, especially, and Spanish, to a lesser extent, ascribes an added value to this research as to how English paves its way through this multilingual Expanding Circle context. Therefore, it is of utmost importance to understand the multilingual reality of Morocco to appreciate this study on the Expanding Circle.

It has been the norm in sociolinguistic research to touch upon the linguistic practices of a country before addressing the issue of investigation. For example, in their study of multilingual contexts, Nadel and Fishman (1977: 137) argue that three questions ought to be considered for a better understanding of the issue at hand: 1) under what circumstances are each of the languages learned? 2) when are they used? and 3) what are the attitudes of the government and of the people towards each language? This traditional approach to investigating multilingual contexts has been maintained and employed in today's research, as well. For example, Kasanga (2012), in his study of English in the Democratic Republic of Congo, argued that 'any discussion of the use of English ... would be incomplete without a consideration of the country's complex macro-sociolinguistic structure' (49). Similarly, in his study on the use of English in Colombian advertising, Martinez (2015) 'offer[d] an overview of the status of English and other languages in Colombia' (602) to understand such advertising practices. Along the same practices, the present section discusses the language situation of Morocco in accordance with the following points:

1. The history of the language
2. The varieties of the language
3. Spread and domains of use



#### 4. Status and attitudes

The organization of the subsequent sections on the language situation of Morocco follows a historical account of languages as they were introduced to the Moroccan linguistic context. The purpose behind such organization is to illustrate how Morocco shifted from a monolingual speech community to a multilingual one. While the sociolinguistic profiles of Morocco are numerous (i.e., Abbassi, 1977; Elbiad, 1985; Ennaji, 2005), the following overview incorporates some of the most recent developments and debates pertaining to the sociolinguistic reality of the country.

### 3.1. Monolingual Morocco: Tmazight<sup>10</sup> in Morocco

#### 3.1.1. History of Tmazight

Tmazight<sup>11</sup> is an Afro-Asiatic language (Brett & Fentress, 1996: 14) and its speech communities live in geographically scattered regions within Morocco (Figure 3.1)<sup>12</sup> and across North and Sub-Saharan Africa. Morocco started its early linguistic history as a Tmazight monolingual North African territory where the indigenous inhabitants, called Imazighen (sg. Amazigh), are recorded to be the early settlers (Sadiqi, 1997: 8; Abbassi, 1977: 10; Benmamoun, 2001: 98; Zouhir, 2013: 271). Unfortunately, the period of settlement is not known, but the historical account of Ibn

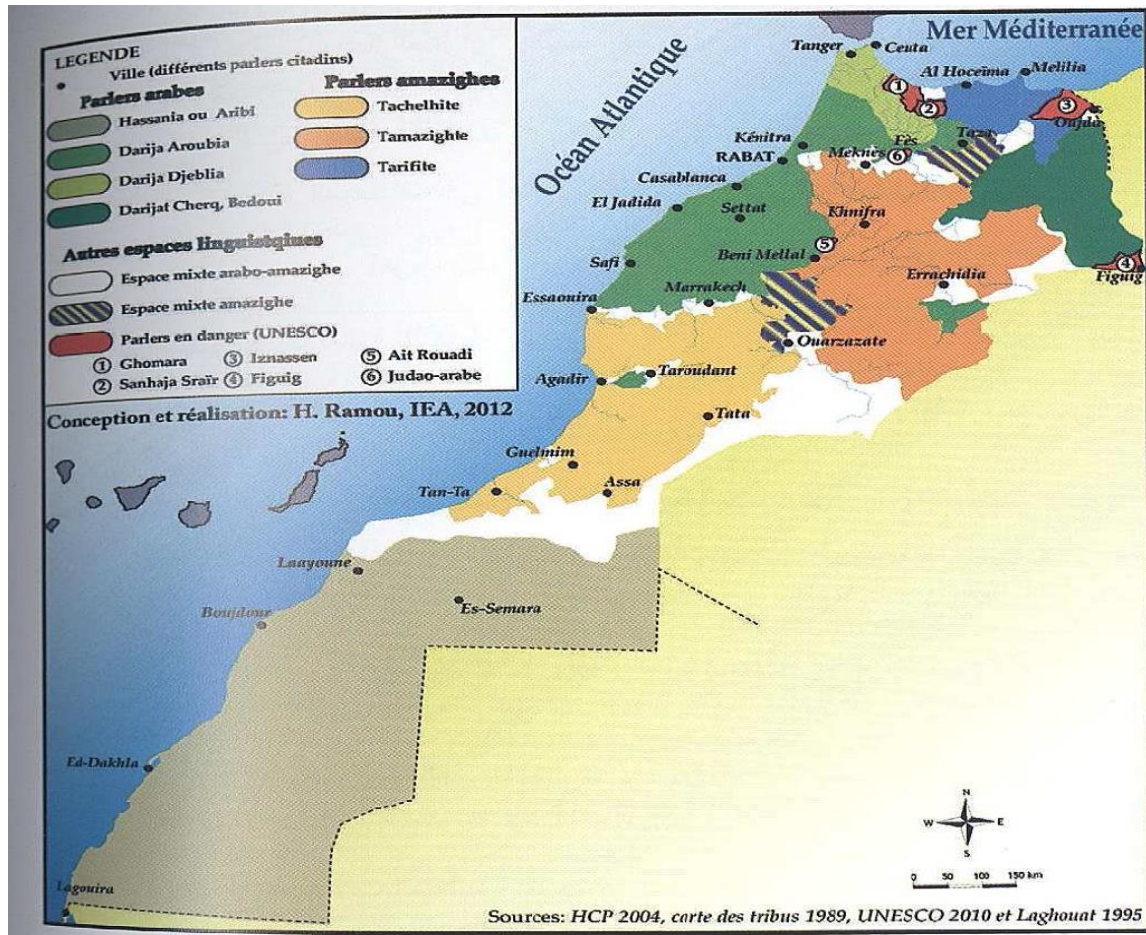
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<sup>10</sup> In his PhD dissertation on teachers' perceptions towards the use of technology to teach Berber in Morocco, Amar Almasude (2000) refers to Berber in his Tarifit dialect as Thmazight. In my dialect of the Oasis of Figuig, I say Tmazight which I will be using throughout this dissertation. Tamazight is another variation, which is the most commonly used in academic research.

<sup>11</sup> Berber is another term for Tmazight that is widely used in the West, and was not so long ago used in Morocco, too, to refer to the Amazigh people and their language. However, with the rise of the notion of political correctness and the harsh criticism of the Amazigh activists and NGOs, a shift towards employing the terms Tmazight, to refer to the language, and Amazigh (pl. Imazighen), to refer to the people, has been observed in the discourse of the Moroccan media (for example, *Le Matin*, *TelQuel*, *L'Economiste*, *Assabah*, etc.) and some research in linguistics (i.e., Redouane, 2010; Errihani, 2006; El Aissati, 2001; Buckner, 2012). Despite such a move, there still remains Moroccan linguists such as Ennaji (2005) and Errihani (2008) who chose to employ the term Berber over Tmazight claiming that such a term is already familiar to the academic community in the West. In this dissertation, the term 'Tmazight' will be maintained to refer to the language family and 'Amazigh' to refer to the people.

<sup>12</sup> The following map shows how Tmazight speech communities are scattered in the Moroccan territory. The major Tmazight communities are in yellow, orange, and purple (Ramou, 2013: 124).

Khaldun states that the Amazigh 'have inhabited the Maghreb since the beginning' (cited in Brett & Fenress, 1996: 1).



**Figure 3.1** Regions where dialects of Tmazight are spoken  
 Source: Ramou (2013: 124)

### 3.1.2. Varieties of Tmazight

Tmazight has about five documented dialects, which are Tashlhiyt (15%), Tamazight (7.6%), Tarifit (4.1%) (HCP, 2015), Taznatit (25,000 speakers, Moseley, 2010) and Tansahajit (50,000 speakers, Lewis et al., 2015). First, Tashelhiyt speakers are located in the west of the High-Atlas, Souss region, and part of the Dra Valley (Boukous, 2012: 22). Since Tashelhiyt is the most linguistically researched dialect, Boukous (2012: 22) classified this Tmazight variety into rural and urban Tashelhiyt. The second largest Tmazight dialect is Tamazight which is spoken by the Imazighen of the Middle-Atlas, Eastern part of the High-Atlas, the valleys of Ghris and Ziz, between Ayyachi Mountain and Saghro Mountain (Boukous, 2012: 22) and in the surrounding

cities such as Taza, Khemisset, Azilal, and Errachidia (Lewis et al., 2015). The third largest dialect is Tarifit which is spoken by people in the Rif Mountains stretching across the north of the country and overlooking the Mediterranean Sea (Boukous, 2012: 22). Fourth, Senhaja dialect, which is also known as the Berber of the mountain (Tmazight n jbala), is located in Ketama, west to the Tarifit speaking region (Lewis et al., 2015). Finally, the Taznatit dialect is spoken in the east of Morocco, specifically in Figuig, Ain Chiir, and Ich, which are small towns bordering Algeria.

The Tmazight varieties in Morocco are mutually intelligible only when the speech communities are located in proximity to dialectal isoglosses. For example, native speakers of Tarifit, in the north, may find difficulties understanding speakers of Tashelhiyt in the south. This unintelligibility is the result of lexical and phonological variations that occurred over time (Ennaji, 2005: 80). Although Ennaji (2005: 80) states that the Tmazight speakers of Morocco and Algeria may not be mutually intelligible, this is not generally true for speech communities in close geographical proximity. For instance, the speakers of Taznatit located in the Moroccan town of Figuig and the Algerian town of Bousmghoune speak almost the same variety and do not have problems of intelligibility. However, with the current limited contact between the two speech communities, due to the establishment of firm, closed political borders in the mid-90s, the two Taznatit varieties are beginning to diverge.

### **3.1.3. Spread and domains of use**

In Morocco, while Tmazight is widely spoken in villages and medium-sized cities, it is less dominant in cosmopolitan areas. In rural areas Tmazight is used in various domains such as at home with family members and relatives, in the street with friends, and in administrative offices. It is also used in informal educational settings, such as schools and universities, market transactions, hospitals (given the doctors and nurses are Tmazight speakers), banks, post offices and NGOs. In urban regions, Tmazight is restricted to home usage with family members or relatives, and with other Tmazight speakers in market transactions and in the streets. In general, the Tmazight speech communities do not seem to shrink in rural areas; however, a shift is clearly noticeable in urban areas where competition with the High (H) languages, Arabic and French, is fierce (Sadiqi, 1997: 7).

In addition to the traditional domains where Tmazight is spoken, there are other new, contemporary domains where its usage is observed. For instance, a codified and standardized Tmazight is now used in radio and television series, films (original and synchronized), documentaries, cultural programs, radio and television advertising, music, news (i.e., *Maghreb Arabe Presse*), and awareness campaigns. Tmazight, written in its special character alphabet called Tifinagh, is also observed in names of ministries at building entrances, official government document headers, and websites. Written Tmazight is also observed in conference stands, festival banners, textbooks, television, and more recently in road (highway and city entrance) signs (Morocco World news, 2015).

In using Tmazight, speakers discuss matters related to everyday life (Sadiqi, 1997: 15; Youssi, 1995: 38) and more advanced topics in politics, economics, culture, or philosophy. As far as the users of Tmazight are concerned, Youssi (1995: 38) claimed that Tmazight is used with uneducated citizens. However, this is not accurate. Tmazight is spoken by uneducated as well as by educated citizens, such as doctors, journalists, researchers, university professors, human rights activists, and artists, given that their interlocutors are also Tmazight speakers.

#### **3.1.4. Status and attitudes**

The status of Tmazight has institutionally improved, but acquisitionally declined. On the one hand, Tmazight has moved in status from a spoken language to a standardized and a written one (Zouhir, 2013: 272). It now has much more visibility in public signage and it is culturally stronger than before on the national and the international level (Marley, 2005: 1487). On the other hand, in the Moroccan linguistic pool, Tmazight, as a Low (L) language, has been in a triglossic relationship with Arabic and French, which are H languages (Marley, 2005: 1487). The covert prestige of this language discouraged a number of Amazigh children living in big cities from learning Tmazight as it has encouraged children in few Amazigh villages to shift to Arabic (Ennaji, 1997: 28).

As far as attitudes towards Tmazight are concerned, studies have reported different results. For example, in examining the language that makes Moroccan university students look modern, Tmazight scored the lowest, while French and English

scored the highest (Chakrani, 2013: 433-434). Similarly, Buckner (2011) examined the attitudes of Moroccan students towards Tmazight, Arabic, French and English and she reported that students have negative attitudes towards Tmazight and positive attitudes towards French and English (229, 232). In a slightly different study, Marley (2005) consulted teachers on their attitudes towards Arabic-Tmazight bilingualism and towards the teaching of Tmazight. While 40% of the participating teachers stated that they agree with Arabic-Tmazight bilingualism, 48% reported that they do not (1497).

While these studies uncover interesting findings about attitudes towards Tmazight, the results cannot be claimed as accurate due to problems inherent in the sampled populations. Marley (2011) and Chakrani's (2013) participants were selected from major cities where Arabic is the most dominant language. Buckner (2011) who seemingly conducted her study in the Amazigh town of Ifran also encountered the same issue since the students she interviewed in the elitist, private Al Akhawayn University come from large cities as well. Therefore, such negative attitudes towards Tmazight cannot be generalized.

Unlike Buckner (2011), Marley (2005), and Chakrani's (2013) studies, Ennaji (1997) administered a questionnaire to students in a university populated by both Arabic and Tmazight native speakers and he reported that 94% of Tmazight speakers and 72% of non-Tmazight speakers showed their desire to learn Tmazight (34). Such a question is in fact not relevant to Tmazight native speakers because people cannot learn a language they already speak. However, what this study indicates is that Tmazight speakers usually do not have negative attitudes towards their mother tongue.

Although studies show that attitudes towards Tmazight are negative, it is important to highlight that this cannot be the case on a national level. The Moroccan population values Tmazight, as one of Chakrani's (2013) respondents said:

Some people in Morocco think that to appear modern and to belong to the elite, one should speak nothing other than French, or better, English. Others, on the contrary, really like the Amazigh [Berber language] more, and even fight for it to be taught. (Questionnaire respondent 136)' (439).

Despite the negative attitudes reported, Tmazight dialects continue to survive which indicates that positive attitudes do indeed exist within the Amazigh speech communities. As for Glubb (1963), he described the Amazigh as 'a stubborn race'

because they were able to 'preserve their distinct race and language' (232) after years of colonization and contact with other languages. Along the same lines, Warthon (1920) recounts that the Amazigh impose their habits while they also 'adopt those of their invaders' (232).

## **3.2. Bilingual Morocco: The Arab conquest and the spread of Islam and Arabic**

### **3.2.1. History of Arabic**

After centuries of Tmazight monolingualism<sup>13</sup>, the first Arab conqueror, Uqba Ibn Nafi, arrived in Morocco in 682 (Sadiqi, 1997: 9; Chtatou, 1997: 101; Glubb, 1963: 353-355; Ilahiane, 2006: 152) from the Arabian Peninsula (Glubb, 1963: 14) for the purpose of spreading Islam and eventually Arabic as it is considered the language of the sacred text, the Quran (Chtatou, 1997: 101; Benkharafa, 2013: 203). While the Amazigh people accepted Islam as a religion by the year 711<sup>14</sup>, according to Chtatou (1997: 103), and the twelfth century, according to Sadiqi (1997: 10), the Arabic language required a longer period of time to be added to the Amazigh linguistic repertoire (Marley, 2005: 1487; Sadiqi, 1997: 10) and which actually extends to date regarding rural areas and the Arabization policy.

### **3.2.2. Varieties of Arabic**

There are four varieties of Arabic in Morocco (Marley, 2005: 1488; Ennaji, 2005: 49; Youssi, 1995: 29-30; Sadiqi, 1997: 17). First, Classical Arabic (CA) is the language in which the Quran was revealed to the Prophet Mohammed and the language of 'a large body of classical literature, classical poetry, and grammar books which reflect

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<sup>13</sup> A humorous anecdote that shows the monolingualism and the beginning of the bilingualism of the Amazigh people is that of Youssef Ibn Tashfin. This Almoravid dynasty ruler received a letter from al-Mutamid ben Abbad, a ruler of Andalusia and a poet, praising the reign of Youssef Ibn Tashfin in verse. Because the latter did not speak or understand Arabic, '[h]e ordered his scribe to draft a reply merely saying "Thank you, we miss you" which was not a tradition prescribed in such situations' (Chtatou, 1997: 104).

<sup>14</sup> At the beginning of the Arab conquest, the Amazigh pretended to embrace religion; however, they often recanted from this new faith. Therefore, the Arabs threatened of killing the disbelievers if they denounce Islam as a religion. This shows that the process of adopting Islam was not an easy one (Glubb, 1963: 353).

ancient periods of glory in the history of Arabs and Muslims' (Ennaji, 2005: 50). Second, Standard Arabic (SA) is the closest version to CA and it is the language of newspapers, magazines, and contemporary literature (Zouhir, 2013: 273). Third, Moroccan Colloquial Arabic<sup>15</sup> (MCA, also known as Darija) is spoken by 89.8% (HCP, 2015) of Moroccans and it is used as a lingua franca between native Tmazight speakers and their Arabic-speaking compatriots (Zouhir, 2013: 273). Fourth, Moroccan Medial Arabic (MMA) is a mixture between SA and MCA (Marley, 2005: 1488; Ennaji, 2005: 49).

CA and SA, as H varieties, are learned in schools, which indicates that they have never been the native language of any of the Arabic speakers in Morocco or elsewhere (Zouhir, 2013: 272); and it also indicates that the users of these dialects have a certain level of education (Benkharafa, 2013: 202). As far as MMA is concerned, it usually develops in the linguistic repertoire (Youssi, 1995: 40) of Moroccans early in their adulthood when a better command of SA is reached. The two categories of formal (CA and SA) and colloquial (MCA, MMA) varieties vary greatly in vocabulary, grammar, and phonology (Marley, 2005: 1488), resulting in weak intelligibility, especially for Arabic speakers in the Gulf and the Middle East. This urges interlocutors from the Maghreb countries<sup>16</sup>, specifically Morocco, Algeria and to a lesser extent Tunisia, to resort to the Egyptian dialect<sup>17</sup>, mixed dialects (MCA and SA), and sometimes to SA, for successful communication (Chtatou, 1997: 105).

### 3.2.3. Spread and domains of use

The spread of the Arabic language began in the 7<sup>th</sup> century with the Arab conquest and continues to the 21<sup>st</sup> century with the Arabization policy. The massive immigration of Bani Hilal and Bani Maakil tribes from the Arabian Peninsula to 'establish

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<sup>15</sup> According to Chtatou (1997: 105), the imposition of Arabic on the Amazigh community resulted in an almost complete change in Arabic. As a case in point, the Amazigh speakers retained the grammatical, phonological, phonetic, and morphological rules of their mother tongue and applied them to the new language. The language variety that resulted of such a mix is what is today known as Moroccan Colloquial Arabic and which Chtatou (1997) described as 'a dialect that sound[s] familiar to an Arab ear but difficult to understand' (104).

<sup>16</sup> The Maghreb countries are Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Mauritania. Due to the Maghreb countries' limited production of television series and films, speakers of Arabic in the Middle East do not have much exposure to the Maghrebi dialects. This is one factor that explains why the Middle Eastern community cannot fully understand the Maghrebi dialects.

<sup>17</sup> Because of prolific film and soap opera production, Egyptian Arabic is the most understood dialect of Arabic.

themselves in many Moroccan plains'<sup>18</sup> (Sadiqi, 1997: 13; Benmamoun, 2001: 98) explains why the Amazigh communities, today, exist in discontinuous geographical regions forming little islands.

The varieties of Arabic mentioned above are used in different domains. For example, Youssi (1995: 38) lists that SA is employed in modern literature, radio programs, television programs (i.e., news, interviews, reports), round tables, prayers and religious sermons, university lectures, classroom discussions, political speeches (i.e., king speeches), administrative, and family correspondence. Zouhir (2013: 273) further added that SA is also used primarily in newspapers, magazines, and product descriptions and instructions.

MMA is generally used in television programs of a cultural and literary nature, some university lectures, conference discussions, films, television series, work setting, sport reports, and political speeches (i.e., campaigning). Nowadays, MMA, which is not normally a written language, is used in some Moroccan newspapers ([www.goud.ma](http://www.goud.ma)), advertising, conference and seminar debates (Zouhir, 2013: 276), synchronized soap operas, religion programs, entertainment, and cultural programs.

The domains of use of MCA and CA are much more restricted. For example, MCA is used in conversations with friends in the street, with family at home, blue collar employees, uneducated citizens, some television programs, television series, and films (Youssi, 1995: 3). On the other hand, CA is used in legal documents with religious tones, classical poetry and literature, or when reading the Quran (Zouhir, 2013: 273; Sadiqi, 1997:14).

#### **3.2.4. Status and attitudes**

In the past, even before the coming of Islam, the Arabs were known for their pride and attachment to their language. Their linguistic prowess was displayed in poetry fairs, one of which is called *suq ukad*. Skillful poets from different tribes gathered and exchanged linguistic and poetic fights, which were feared more than 'the actual fighting

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<sup>18</sup> This example illustrates how 'the Arabs inhabited the broad central plain between the Atlantic and the mountains, while the Berbers inhabited the mountains' (Burke, 1976: 3).



that took place in the battlefield ... [as] a military defeat can easily be excused and forgotten but not a verbal one, in so much as it remains vivid in the minds of the community forever' (Chtatou, 1997: 102). The status of Arabic as a literary language has become even stronger with the coming of Islam which gave it a character of sacredness and holiness (Hoffman, 2008: 23; Chtatou 1997: 102-103).

Attitudes towards Arabic in Morocco are not static, but they are rather changing and dynamic depending on the domains of use in which the language is placed. For example, in Buckner's (2011: 238) study, students showed to have positive attitudes towards Arabic only when it was related to national identity, religion, or culture, but not to job opportunities in the future. In a different study exploring what Moroccans think of their linguistic future given a new language policy, Marley (2005) reported that students think that Arabic represents the Moroccan national identity. Since there are several varieties of Arabic, Moroccans actually show different attitudes towards each of them. On the one hand, Marley (2005) reported that students like to learn CA; on the other hand, Ennaji (2005) reported two different attitudes towards MCA.

While the conservative Arabists hold negative views towards MCA as they consider it to be corrupt, the progressive intellectuals express positive attitudes towards MCA because it expresses the daily experiences of Moroccans and it is also a vehicle of oral tradition (Ennaji, 2005: 169). There are recent anecdotes that show the changing attitudes towards MCA. For example, Abderrahim Belahmed and Imane Belabbas created a Facebook page where they initially published fictitious stories in MCA about poverty, drugs, corruption, and prostitution. Later, the Moroccan online newspaper [www.goud.ma](http://www.goud.ma), known for MCA headlines and articles, published one of the stories on its platform. In a statement to Telquel (Zaireg, June 17, 2014), Belahmed declared '*[a]vant la creation de la page, j'écrivais en arabe classique. Je n'étais pas très lu. Dès que je me suis tourner [sic] vers la darija, l'engouement a été immédiat*'<sup>19</sup>.

Contrary to the encouragement of the use of MCA in writing, there is an example that shows the opposite. Towards the end of 2014 and beginning of 2015, there was a media uproar on a proposal presented by Nouredine Ayouch, an advertising guru, a

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<sup>19</sup> Translation: I used to write in Classical Arabic before the creation of the Facebook page, but I was not well read. However, as soon as I shifted to writing in Darija, readers enthusiasm and interest was immediate (Author's translation).

supporter of mother tongue education, and member of the Higher Council of Education, to use MCA as a medium of instruction in pre-elementary and the first two years of elementary schooling<sup>20</sup>. Ayouch received intense criticism from the intellectual elite, laymen, as well as members of the current governing political party, Justice and Development Party. For example, Abdelali Hamieddine, the Secretary-General of the said party, shared that '*la darija ne réunit pas les conditions pour devenir une langue. La bataille pour l'installer dans les programmes scolaires est déjà perdue d'avance*'<sup>21</sup> (Charrad, 2014). Moreover, the former head of the government, Abdelilah Benkirane, said that '*l'intégration de la darija dans les manuels scolaires est une ligne rouge à ne pas franchir*'. He added that '*les instigateurs de cette proposition cherchent à frapper de plein fouet notre identité ainsi que la langue arabe*'<sup>22</sup> (Charrad, 2015).

### **3.3. Multilingual Morocco: French and Spanish colonial languages**

#### **3.3.1. History of French and Spanish**

Morocco was a French and a Spanish protectorate<sup>23</sup> from 1912 to 1956. The official presence of the French Protectorate came into effect upon the signature of the Treaty of Fez<sup>24</sup> on March 30, 1912 between the Moroccan Sultan and the French

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<sup>20</sup> Calls for the use of colloquial Arabic is not new. There have been many European orientalist who supported the use of spoken Arabic in writing. For example, William Wilcox, who was a British engineer composed and delivered a number of articles and presentations in which he incited for the use of colloquial Arabic in literary writings because he considered Classical Arabic to be the reason why the Arab world is backward (Benkharafa, 2013: 204). According to Benkharafa (2013: 205), '[a]ll this can be accounted for by the fact that such a call would deepen the problem of diglossia in Arabic. Accordingly, the unity among Arabic countries would seem impossible to attain.' Supporters were not just Europeans, but Arabs as well, such as A. Fahmi.

<sup>21</sup> Translation: Darija (MA) does not combine the conditions to become a language. The battle to introduce this language in school programs is already lost.

<sup>22</sup> Translation: The integration of MCA in school textbooks is a red line not to cross. The instigators of this proposal are looking to destroy our identity as well as the Arabic language.

<sup>23</sup> According to Collin's dictionary of politics and government (2004), a protectorate is 'a country which is being protected or governed by another more powerful country'. According to the Chambers 21<sup>st</sup> Century Dictionary (2001), the term means 'protectorship of a weak or backward country assumed by a more powerful one without actual annexation.'

<sup>24</sup> In the 9 articles of the Treaty of Fez signed on March 30<sup>th</sup>, 1912, the French power states officially its involvement, along with the Moroccan Sultan, in the management of the country. The first article starts as follows: 'Government of the French Republic and His Majesty the Sultan, have agreed to the creation in Morocco of a new regime involving administrative, judiciary,

Resident-General, Louis Hubert Gonzalve Lyautey (Scham, 1970: 209-211; Miller, 2013: 88; Burke, 1976: xxii). While France signed the Treaty of Fez with the Moroccan Sultan in 1912, the Spanish signed an agreement called the 'treaty between France and Spain regarding Morocco' on November 27 of the same year. In this agreement, the Government of the French Republic 'recognizes that, in the Spanish zone of influence, Spain has the right to maintain peace ... and to assist the Moroccan Government in introducing all the administrative, economic, financial, judicial, and military reforms which it requires' (Article 1, Treaty between France and Spain regarding Morocco, 1912, published in the American Journal of International Law, 1913: 18).

In terms of geographical positioning, while the Spanish Protectorate took control of Ceuta, Melilla (currently under the Spanish occupation), Tetouan, Nador, Elhuceima in the north, and the Sahara in the south (Ennaji, 2005: 12), the French Protectorate controlled the center of the country<sup>25</sup>. In 1956, the French left Morocco (Zouhir, 2013: 273); however, independence from the Spanish colonial force was gradual. The northern part of the country gained independence in 1956, too, the city of Ifni in 1958, and the Sahara region in 1975 following the Green March<sup>26</sup>.

The reasons that led the French in the early 1900s to expand their control over Morocco are many. According to Scham (1970: 1) the French government 1) was keen on maintaining the Algerian border as well as protecting North Africa from the Spanish, the German, and the British control; 2) took the role of providing security for Europeans and Christians who were spreading the French culture, under what is known as *mission civilisatrice*; 3) ensured political and economic stability in the Moroccan market where French products could be sold (Figure 3.2 shows billboard advertisements written in French which supports the idea that the French Protectorate was mainly established for economic reasons); and 4), as the Treaty of Fez mentions, the French aimed for major reforms to build and develop the country. According to Hoisington (1984: 104), while the

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scholastic, economic, financial, and military reforms which the French Government will judge useful to introduce in Moroccan territory' (Scham, 1970: 209).

<sup>25</sup> Historical accounts mention that the French Resident-General aim was 'not to possess all of Morocco, but only le Maroc utile, or those areas that were "useful" by dint of their military, economic, or strategic importance' (Miller, 2013: 97).

<sup>26</sup> Green March is a peaceful march of 350,000 Moroccans to the Sahara to claim ownership of the territory from Spain. 'A human flood surged across the frontier on November 6, 1975, uprooting border signs to demonstrate their belief that the Western Sahara should be Moroccan' (Miller, 2013: 181).

French presence and governance of Morocco was labeled a protectorate, it in fact functioned more like a colonial force. Such a practice was portrayed in the French control over the ministries that constitute the backbone of the Moroccan state and economy, such as 'agriculture, commerce, education, health, communications, and native affairs' (Miller, 2013: 91). In order not for the Treaty of Fez to look out of place, the Sultan was made in charge of 'religious, cultural and educational affairs' (Miller, 2013: 91).



FIGURE 8. Bab al-Suq, gate to the main market in Casablanca, c. 1907; French soldiers, European housewives, Jews in traditional garb, and small children mingle with the crowd. Note the advertisements for European manufactured goods posted on the walls of the madina surrounding the gate. (Postcard Collection, Gérard Lévy, Paris)

### Figure 3.2 Illustration of a business district with posters advertising for foreign products

Source: Miller (2013: 73)

As far as the reasons that led the Spanish Protectorate to conquer Morocco are concerned, the Moroccan market presented an excellent environment for selling Spanish products (Miller, 2013: 24); 2) the Rif region was a hot bed of mineral reserves and source of 'raw materials, cheap manpower, and unobstructed markets' (Miller, 2013: 105); and 3) the Spanish viewed that such exploitation is necessary for their international status. Since Spain lost dominance over the New World, colonization of Morocco was a strong factor that pushed the Spaniards to bring back their imperial outlook and re-establish their greatness in front of other European powers (Miller, 2013: 104).

### **3.3.2. Varieties of French and Spanish**

Just as Ennaji (2005) distinguished between four varieties of Arabic spoken in Morocco (CA, SA, MCA, MMA), he also distinguished between three varieties of French. The first variety of French is used by people who were educated in France and who hold high-level positions in the government. While this variety resembles the Parisian Standard French to a great extent, it in fact may be slightly distinct in the pronunciation of the uvular /r/ which may be produced as an alveolar flap. The second variety of French that Ennaji (2005) defined is used by people who were educated in bilingual or francophone schools in Morocco. This variety is morphologically, syntactically, and stylistically less complicated than first variety described above. The last variety is spoken by Moroccans with limited schooling, usually primary, or by illiterate Moroccans who interacted with the French people in work environments (Ennaji, 2005: 98; Youssi, 1995: 30). Some of the distinct features of this variety is 'interference of Moroccan Arabic and Berber pronunciation (French vowels are often dropped or replaced by Arabic or Berber vowels), grammatical errors, telegraphic style, short and unfinished sentences' (Ennaji, 2005: 98).

Parallel to French, Spanish varieties have also developed in the Moroccan context. Sayahi (2004: 60) classified Spanish varieties in Morocco into Spanish spoken by native speakers who are immigrants in Morocco. Another Spanish variety is spoken by proficient speakers who are Moroccans educated in Spanish schools or carried their higher studies in Spain. A further variety is that of non-proficient Spanish speakers who pick up Spanish from their exposure to media and interactions with tourists in the streets.

### **3.3.3. Spread and domains of use**

In 1912, when the French Protectorate took control of different political and economic spheres in Morocco, French was imposed as the sole official language of the country (Buckner, 2011: 215; Ennaji, 2005: 97) while Arabic became a foreign language. French had swiftly replaced Arabic in education and in domains, such as commerce, finance, science, technology, and media (Marley, 2005: 1488; Ennaji, 2005: 16; Elbiad, 1991: 42, 35; Alalou, 2006: 409). Besides the use of French in education, nowadays,

French is used in banks, shopping malls of a western type, notaries<sup>27</sup>, companies, advertisement, news bulletin, television programs (i.e., cultural, economic), sport reports, documentaries, job interviews, cinema, news, conferences, newspapers, and magazines.

As far as the users of French are concerned, Youssi (1995: 38) reported that French is used with family members, friends in formal or informal settings, colleagues at work, foreigners from France, Belgium, or the Maghreb countries, French expatriates, educated citizens, clients, patients, among teachers, tourists, and teenagers.

While the initial introduction of French in the early 1900s took place in schools, Sayahi (2005) reported that Spanish was introduced by 'Sephardic Jews and the *Moriscos* several centuries before it saw its maximum strength with the installation of the Spanish Protectorate' (96). That is, the presence of the Spanish in Morocco goes back to the fifteenth century (Sayahi, 2004: 54) before the Spanish Protectorate set foot on the Moroccan territory.

As far as the use of Spanish is concerned, Chahhou (2014) reported that Spanish is used in 'different societal domains (the Moroccan educational system, a good number of private schools, cultural centers, Instituto Cervantes<sup>28</sup> and more than a thousand businesses, Radio and TV channels, tourism, etc.)' (11). Spanish is used for daily purposes in the streets and shops (Ennaji, 2005: 111). Although the official use of Spanish retracted, people continue to use it in their daily transactions (i.e., street, shops) between the Rifian Amazigh and Arabs in the north and among the Sahrawis in the south (Ennaji, 1991: 20).

#### **3.3.4. Status and attitudes**

After the departure of the French and Spanish colonial forces more than half a century ago and the adoption of Arabic, then Tmazight in 2011, as the official languages of the country, the French language continues to maintain the status of the *de facto*

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<sup>27</sup> Notaries compose contracts in French while the Ministry of Justice and Freedom requires such documents to be written in Arabic (Article 42 of l'organisation de la profession de notaire, Dahir n 1-11-179, page 16).

<sup>28</sup> Instituto Cervantes is a Spanish curriculum school which promotes Hispanic language and culture around the world

official language (Buckner, 2011: 221), while Spanish 'has lost its official status and prestige as the language of administration and education' (Ennaji, 2005: 112). Just as competency in French was a requirement for professional prosperity in the past (Marley: 2005: 1488), it is still a tool for obtaining and maintaining power in the public/private sectors (Zouhir, 2013: 273; Buckner, 2011: 217). Specifically, French draws its power and status from the fact that it is perceived as a window to the Western world and to cultural, scientific and technological advancement (Rosenhouse, 2013: 904; Benkharafa, 2013: 204).

To investigate attitudes towards French, Marley (2004: 37) administered a questionnaire to 159 Moroccan students aged 14 to 19 and she reported that the overall attitudes towards French are positive. In a different study of the correlation between social class and overt/covert attitudes towards Arabic varieties, French, and English, Chakrani (2013) discovered that attitudes towards these languages change depending on the socioeconomic status of the students. For example, while students from all socioeconomic classes showed positive attitudes towards French, the upper and middle classes' attitudes are in fact slightly higher than those of the lower class (435). Based on this finding, Chakrani (2013) concluded that '[t]he elite class, as brokers of the ideology of modernity, plays a trendsetting role in influencing the Moroccan linguistic profile, by promoting positive attitudes towards French' (438). Also, similar to Rosenhouse (2013), he argued that since French and other foreign languages are viewed as currencies of modernity and upward mobility, the middle and lower classes strive to learn these languages to reach similar positions of power that the upper class enjoys.

While the Moroccan population seems to be open to other languages and cultures, there are cases where the use of French is counter-intuitive. For example, in a 2007 article published by Aljazeera, Moussa Chami, a university professor and teacher-trainer of French, but also the founder and president of the Moroccan Association for the Protection of the Arabic Language (MAPAL), expressed his discontent about receiving commercial flyers written in French. Chami commented to Aljazeera: 'I felt so humiliated when I received these commercials and I said to the distributor that we are Arabs and not French and your companies should address people in their language if they want to market their products' (Aljazeera, 2007). He explained that one of the reasons that led to the creation of MAPAL was the pervasive use of French. More importantly, the French professor does not mind openness to other foreign languages and cultures for the

purpose of exchanging ideas and knowledge; however, he does mind any openness that jeopardizes the status of the Arabic language.

Unlike the pervasiveness and *de facto* use of the French language in the Moroccan administration, television, radio, commerce, education, and daily life interactions, Spanish' official status and popularity started to gradually diminish upon independence in 1956 (Ennaji, 1991: 20). With such withdrawal in the use of Spanish, French started to be employed in domains and regions where Spanish was prominent (Ennaji, 1991: 20). What is more, Spanish has become merely a foreign language subject, similar to English and German, which students choose to study in secondary or tertiary levels (Ennaji, 1991: 20). This is of course along the presence of Spanish curriculum schools that promote the Spanish language and culture.

### **3.4. Language in the Education Charter of 2000 and Strategic Vision of 2015-2030**

The *Charte Nationale d'Education et de Formation* (National Charter for Education and Training, NCET henceforth) of 2000 and the *Vision Stratégique de la Réforme 2015-2030*<sup>29</sup> (Strategic Vision of the Reform 2015-2030, SVR henceforth) are two education reform documents that outline the objectives and foundations of the Moroccan school system. The SVR 2015-2030 came in response to the challenges encountered in implementing the NCET between 2000 and 2014. A quick overview of the language sections of these two documents are informative for understanding the contemporary language situation of Morocco, especially the teaching of foreign languages.

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<sup>29</sup> The Conseil Supérieur de l'Education, de la Formation et de la Recherche Scientifique (CSEFRS) [High Council of Education, Training, and Scientific Research], headed by Omar Azziman, issued to the King, Mohamed VI, on May 20<sup>th</sup>, 2015 a proposal containing a strategic vision for education (*Vision Stratégique de la Réforme 2015-2030*) pertaining to educational reforms. The goals of the strategic vision are first to form citizens useful for themselves and their communities. Second, to respond to the expectations and needs of the citizens. Third, to contribute to the integration of Morocco in the economy and society of knowledge and reinforce its position among other countries. Fourth, to transition Morocco from a consumer to a producer of knowledge, through the development of scientific research and innovation as well as mastery of technologies (*Vision Stratégique de la Réforme 2015-2030: Résumé*, 2015: 8).



In the 2000 NCET, the ninth foundation/pillar (Levier) opens with the idea that ‘according to the constitution of the Moroccan Kingdom, the Arabic<sup>30</sup> language is the official language of the country, in which its use in different domains of knowledge and life was, is, and remains a national aspiration’ (Author’s translation from French) (NCET, Levier 9, 2000: 44). This excerpt, available both in Arabic and French, indicates that the Arabization policy has not been generalized in the way that it had been planned fifty years back as the statement conveys ambitions to continue the spread and generalization of Arabic. Along with the promotion of Arabic, the charter of education encourages the ‘training of an elite of specialists mastering different fields of knowledge in Arabic and other languages’ (translated from French, NCET, 2000: 45). Regarding the introduction and teaching of languages, the charter makes the learning and teaching in Arabic compulsory for all children. The charter also calls for the introduction of the first foreign language, French, in the second grade of elementary education and the second foreign language, English, Spanish or German, in the fifth grade<sup>31</sup>. Besides the teaching of languages for the purpose of communication, the education charter also calls for the use of foreign languages in teaching high school cultural, scientific, and technological units or modules to facilitate transition to the university in which scientific (i.e., biology, mathematics, physics, etc) and some social sciences (i.e., economics, communication) disciplines are taught in French. This illustrates how the Arabization policy has not affected higher education and also exemplifies that Moroccan students have to shift their use of Arabic to French in higher institutions.

The recently introduced strategic vision proposes an even earlier introduction and teaching of local and foreign languages, Arabic, Tmazight, French, and English. In this new context, Arabic is considered a principal language; Tmazight as a language of communication; and French as ‘*une langue d’ouverture*’. These languages are introduced from the first year of primary education. As far as English is concerned, the SVR requires its introduction in middle school (seventh grade) for the academic year of 2015-2016 and then in the fourth grade of primary school by 2025, when more English teachers are trained and resources are developed. In addition to these four languages, an additional foreign language, preferably Spanish, will be introduced in the first year of

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<sup>30</sup> Arabic here refers to Standard Arabic

<sup>31</sup> Second foreign languages (i.e., English, German, Spanish) were never introduced in the fifth grade in public schools, but in the ninth grade.

high school. To recapitulate, the Moroccan student is required to learn Arabic, Tmazight, French, English and another foreign language, desirably Spanish.

The recent strategic vision of education is different from the previous NCET in its treatment of languages. For example, while the NCET refers to foreign languages as 'first foreign language' (French) and 'second foreign language' (English, Spanish, or German), the 2015-2030 SVR treats all foreign languages equally and without labels as 'first' or 'second', which indicates that students are expected to develop balanced proficiency in these foreign languages.

Another example is the change in the status of English. Previously, students were able to choose between English, Spanish and German as a second foreign language; however, in the new educational reform, students will be required to take compulsory English courses. Similar to the 2000 charter of education, the recent reform stresses the use of the said foreign languages as media of instruction. Additionally, to ensure the equal use of these languages in classrooms, the strategic vision calls for adopting the method of linguistic alternation<sup>32</sup> which aims at diversifying the MOI in teaching scientific and technical courses. In order to bring the SVR recommendations into effect, a new bill (Law 51.17) was passed emphasizing that the Moroccan educational system ought to train students in the two official languages of the country, Standard Arabic and Tmazight. The new law also encourages plurilingualism by accentuating the teaching of foreign languages and their use as MOIs.

### **3.5. English medium education in Morocco**

The recent earlier introduction of foreign languages in the Moroccan education system was in fact initiated by an increased interest in English medium education. For example, in 2014, a year prior to the inception of the SVR, the Ministry of Education, Vocational Training, Higher Education, and Scientific Research launched the

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<sup>32</sup> The strategic vision goes as 'diversifier les langues d'enseignement en introduisant progressivement l'alternance linguistique comme moyen de perfectionnement des langues' (SVR, 2015: 17) (diversifying the languages of instruction by gradually introducing linguistic alternation as a means to attain language mastery).

international Moroccan baccalaureate program<sup>33</sup> (IMB) which enables high school students to undertake their humanities or science courses in one of the foreign languages of French, English, or Spanish. The use of these foreign languages as MOIs means that IMB students receive more contact hours of foreign language instruction than traditional baccalaureate (TB) students.

Early in the Moroccan TB system, grade 10 students traditionally choose a literary or a scientific program of emphasis. These programs are generally broad in their focus in the first year of high school, grade 10; however, they branch out to fourteen subspecialties by grade 12. In such traditional pathways, core courses are normally allocated more contact hours. For example, students specializing in humanities and literature take more hours of Arabic, French, English, and History & Geography. As for students specializing in the sciences, they are offered more hours in Mathematics, Physics & Chemistry, and Earth & Life Sciences. With the recent introduction of the IMB program, the hours of foreign language instruction are increased and core courses are delivered in these foreign languages. For the sake of clarity and conciseness, the focus here is limited to the English option of only three pathways: Humanities & Literature, Experimental Sciences, and Mathematics.

Table 3.1 below lays out the hours of English language instruction and core courses for grade 10 and 11 of secondary education<sup>34</sup>. In order to appreciate the increased hours of instruction in English for the IMB program, hours of traditional baccalaureate (TB) courses are also provided. For example, in the Humanities and Literature pathway, grade 10 and 11 IMB students take eight hours of English language instruction per week compared to only four hours for the TB option. Content courses such as Mathematics (two hours), Earth & Life Sciences (one hour), and IT (two hours and only in grade 10) are delivered in English for the first time ever as these subjects are normally delivered in Arabic in the TB.

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<sup>33</sup> The international option of the Moroccan baccalaureate (IMB) is not related to the worldwide International Baccalaureate Diploma Program known as IB and administered by a non-profit organization in Geneva, Switzerland.

<sup>34</sup> Hours of contact for grade 12 are the same as grade 11.

**Table 3.1 Hours of English use in the international option of the Moroccan baccalaureate program (IMB)**

Courses	Humanities & Literature				Experimental Science				Mathematics			
	10 <sup>th</sup> grade		11 <sup>th</sup> grade		10 <sup>th</sup> grade		11 <sup>th</sup> grade		10 <sup>th</sup> grade		11 <sup>th</sup> grade	
	TB	IMB	TB	IMB	TB	IMB	TB	IMB	TB	IMB	TB	IMB
Arabic	5	5	5	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
French	4	4	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
English	4	8	4	8	3	5	3	8	3	5	3	8
Philosophy	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Math	2	2*	2	2*	5	5*	5	5*	5	5*	7	7*
Physics & Chemistry	-	-	-	-	4	4*	4	4*	4	4*	5	5*
Earth & Life Sciences	1	1*	1	1*	3	3*	4	4*	3	3*	2	2*
IT	2	2*	-	-	2	2	-	-	2	2	-	-
History & Geography	4	4	4	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	-	2

\*Content courses taught in English as a MOI

As far as the Experimental Science pathway is concerned, grade 10 IMB students take five hours weekly of English language instruction which is higher by two hours compared to the TB pathway. In addition to that, IMB students are instructed in English for five hours of Mathematics, four hours of Physics & Chemistry, and three hours of Earth & Life Sciences. In grade 11 of the same science pathway, IMB students are offered eight hours of English language instruction compared to only three in the TB. Mathematics and Physics & Chemistry are delivered in English for five and four hours respectively. Meanwhile, the subject of Earth & Life Sciences is instructed in English as a MOI for four hours per week compared to only three hours per week in the previous year.

The 10<sup>th</sup> grade of the IMB Mathematics pathway is identical to that of Experimental Sciences, however, there are differences in the hours of instruction of some grade 11 subjects that are taught in English. For instance, IMB students in grade 11 receive eight hours of English language instruction compared to five hours in the previous year of IMB and to only three hours in both grades of the TB. IMB grade 11 students of Mathematics also take their core courses in English. These subjects where English is employed as a MOI include seven hours of Mathematics, five hours of Physics & Chemistry, and two hours of Earth & Life Sciences. Based on reports of Moroccan media, the IMB, in both its French and English versions, is growing in popularity as some

43,781 candidates sat for the most recent baccalaureate examination of 2020 (Le Site Info, 2020). Unfortunately, the exact number of students who are enrolled nationally in the English option of the IMB has not been reported.

Apart from the IMB program introduced in the Moroccan public school, there is an increasing number of private elementary and secondary schools that offer an English language-based curriculum. There are schools such as The American School of Tangier that was established as early as 1959 and the most recent ones such as the British Academy School Marrakech and the London Academy (Rabat campus) that opened their doors in 2019. More examples of these English medium schools are listed in Table 3.2.

**Table 3.2 Examples of English medium schools in Morocco**

School	Year of establishment
The American School of Tangier	1950
Rabat American School	1962
Casablanca American School	1973
Khalil Gibran School	1986
Al Akhawayn School of Ifrane	1995
The American School of Marrakesh	1995
George Washington Academy	1998
International School of Morocco	2011
American Academy Casablanca	2015
London Academy (Casablanca campus)	2017
British International School of Casablanca	2017
British Academy School Marrakech	2019
London Academy (Rabat campus)	2019

These PreK-12 English medium private schools are located mainly in cities with a considerable population such as Casablanca, Rabat, and Marrakech. Students enrolled in these schools are the children of foreign expats working in Morocco, children of Moroccans who used to live abroad and returned to settle in Morocco, and children of Moroccan families with stable and adequate financial resources. Besides the English medium curriculum of these schools, the teaching of other languages such as Arabic and French is also offered. In its vision statement, George Washington Academy states that it ‘inspires students to become multilingual, lifelong learners who pursue excellence,

model integrity, and honor cultural diversity'<sup>35</sup>. For that, students receive two hours of French instruction daily during their first year of elementary schooling. From grade two through grade five, the hours of French instruction decrease to 50 minutes per day. As for Standard Arabic, it is introduced third in rank in this school's curriculum. Initially, it is taught twice a week in grade one and then increased to three times a week in grade four and five. The duration of instruction is unfortunately not specified. At the high school level, students take five credit hours of Arabic and/or French; however, students who are Moroccan citizens are required to take at least two compulsory hours of Arabic, as per Law 51.17 requirement for foreign schools.

Not only is there a growing interest in English medium education at the primary and secondary levels, but there is also a comparable interest in higher education. A case in point is Al Akhawayn University in Ifrane which is the first public higher education institute in Morocco to adopt an American university model that employs English as a MOI. Established in 1993, Al Akhawayn University offers undergraduate and graduate programs in Communication Studies, International Studies, Computer Science, Engineering and Management Science, Business Administration, Information Systems Security, and Sustainable Energy Management. There are other public universities across Morocco that offer programs that are entirely in English. These are the universities of literature and humanities hosting departments of English where students work towards completing a bachelor in English Studies. The fourteen departments of English currently operating across the country have always offered students the option to major either in Literature or Linguistics. However, there are now new fields of study that were added more recently. These fields comprise Cultural Studies, Gender Studies, American Culture Studies and Communication Studies (Jebbour, 2019: 6). Based on these options that students now have, it appears that the Moroccan departments of English are diversifying their programs instead of maintaining a focus on language and literature. This could potentially result in the establishment of new English medium departments that specialize in new fields of study within the humanities and social sciences.

In his investigation of the validity of the claim pertaining to the popularity of English among university students (i.e., Buckner, 2011; Ennaji, 2005), Jebbour (2019: 7)

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<sup>35</sup> Link to school vision webpage <https://www.gwa.ac.ma/discover-gwa/vision>

compared between the total number of students enrolled in English and French departments of public universities across the country. In the 2013-2014 academic year, there was a total of 26,823 students in the English departments compared to 19,891 in the French departments. Within just a couple of years, that is in the 2016-2017 academic year, the English departments saw an increase of 10,588 students, reaching a total number of 37,411 students. Within the same period, students in the French departments increased by merely 2804 students to attain a total of 22,695. These figures indeed show Moroccan students' increasing preference to study English.

In Morocco, there are additionally many private higher education institutes that offer programs entirely or partially in English. These institutes include, for example, the Superior Institutions for Science and Technology (SIST) which offers British bachelor's degrees solely in English in International Business Management, Marketing Management, Finance Management, and Human Resources Management. The International Institute for Higher Education in Morocco (IIHEM) is another example of a private institute awarding students bachelor and master's degrees in fields such as Industrial Engineering, Software and Network Engineering, Civil Engineering, Finance, Marketing and Communication and many more<sup>36</sup>. Université Internationale de Rabat is an additional private university administering programs fully or partially in English such as bachelor's and master's in Management or in Aerospace and Automotive Engineering. A further higher education institute offering programs both in English and French is Mohammed VI Polytechnic University. In this university, students are awarded degrees in Industrial Operations and Digitalization, Industrial Process Engineering and Digitalization, Medical Equipment Maintenance, Hospital Management and Logistic, Data Science, and Architecture. This same university also grants degrees that are entirely in English such as a bachelor's in Hospitality Business and Management. These are only a few examples of private universities that employ English as a MOI. The number of this type of higher education institutes is on the rise, especially in considerably larger cities such as Casablanca, Rabat, Marrakesh, Agadir, and Tangier.

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<sup>36</sup> IIHEM curriculum can be accessed through [http://iihem.ac.ma/en/general\\_info.html](http://iihem.ac.ma/en/general_info.html)

### 3.6. Remarks on multilingualism in Morocco

The various sections above show that Morocco is a pool of languages with the capacity to hold Tmazight, Arabic, French, English and other foreign languages. While French is an established language in Morocco today, Moroccans are gradually weaving English threads to the already existing exotic patterns of the Moroccan linguistic tapestry. What holds this colorful linguistic mosaic together is the functions that each language performs. For example, Tmazight and Arabic are languages related to the identity of Moroccans, while French and English constitute social and economic boosters to the status of speakers (Buckner, 2011: 231-233). It is important to note that the languages that relate to the identity of Moroccans are the languages that are considered low in status and symbolic capital, while the other foreign languages that are crucial for economic prosperity, French and English, enjoy a high status and a strong social capital (Zouhir, 2013: 271; Benmamoun, 2001: 95).

Since each pair of languages serves certain or different functions, code switching is one of the necessary daily spontaneous practices of Moroccans (Rosenhouse, 2013: 906). For example, Marley (2005: 1492) explained in her study that educated Moroccans have the tendency to switch from Arabic to French and vice versa in their everyday interactions, but the degree of code-switching depends on the topics discussed and on the interlocutors. Youssi (1995: 39) further elaborated that in discussing topics of different nature, Moroccans usually switch to the language in which they received their formal training.

Bilingualism and multilingualism are the norm in the Moroccan context (Rosenhouse, 2013: 906). In fact, being a monolingual in Morocco means 'to live on the edge of society' (Marley, 2005: 1496) and to reduce one's chances for economic prosperity and social status. According to Benkharafa (2013), 'colonization is one of the most factors that gives birth to bilingual as well as to multilingual communities' (203). However, colonialism alone is not sufficient to adopt a language. Colonialism has to be coupled with the policy of exclusion where citizens who do not master the language of the masters are 'excluded from spheres of power and decision making' (Gonzalez, 2015: 276). Does this apply to English, which is a non-colonial language and without a master?



In general, the status of languages in Morocco is puzzling to sociolinguists (Benkharafa, 2013) as it is puzzling for media intellectuals. For example, one of the columnists of the online francophone newspaper *Telquel* writes:

Moroccans have an official language, Standard Arabic, which no one uses for everyday interactions; they have a language that everyone uses, Moroccan Arabic, but cannot write in it for professional or official written communication. There is also a third language, which is divided into three dialects, Tmazight, which is official, but barely used. Finally, there is a language which is not official, French, but is used for professional communication. The conclusion is that the languages which are written are not spoken and the languages which are spoken are not written (translated from French) (Allali, 2014).

### **3.7. Summary and conclusion**

This dissertation seeks to contribute with new insights to the existing literature on the Expanding Circle context and to strengthen our understanding of its development, characteristics, and dynamics. To carry out such a study, the multilingual country of Morocco has been identified, first, as a regional context that warrants more in-depth investigation, since the North African territory has been neglected to date and, second, as a highly multilingual environment that is quite distinct from the ones that have been researched previously. The remainder of this dissertation reveals the expanded uses and functional range of English in Morocco, which will serve in drawing conclusions pertinent to the theoretical understanding of the Expanding Circle.

## Chapter 4.

### History of contact with English

The previous chapter presenting a profile of the languages used in Morocco offers the reader a comprehensive overview of how the indigenous Amazigh speech community of this Expanding Circle country acquired Arabic, French, and Spanish across the years. Such a linguistic development, from monolingualism to multilingualism, is clearly attributed to contact with speech communities that settled in Morocco either temporarily (i.e., French and Spanish) or permanently (i.e., Arabs). While the circumstances of contact with Arabic, French, and Spanish have been adequately discussed in previous research (for example Abbassi, 1977; Ennaji, 2005), the Moroccan speech community's contact with English has not been granted similar attention.

The existing literature on the early contact of Moroccans with English (e.g. Abbassi, 1977; Ennaji, 2005; Loutfi & Noamame, 2014; Soussi, 2020; Belhiah et al., 2020) points in a generic and broad manner to few events. These are the political contacts of British and Moroccan monarchs dating back to the thirteenth century, the landing of the American and British military in 1942 (Abbassi, 1977; Ennaji, 2005; Soussi, 2020), in what is known as Operation Torch (Baida, 2014: 518), and the educational system established by the French Protectorate (1912-1956) (Sadiqi, 1991). While this literature acknowledges the existence of the two earlier contacts, it does not illustrate how communication was conducted and most importantly through which medium. In response to this, the present chapter is an initial effort to synthesize such information based on historical accounts of past events, diaries, treaties, letters, agreements, magazine reports, and literary work. Although not all of these diverse resources discuss the issue of language in a direct manner, they still provide valuable materials for drawing significant facts and conclusions about how contact with the English-speaking community occurred.

Based on the historical materials available, the subsequent sections of this chapter argue that contact of Moroccans with English occurred initially as a result of political interactions with English-speaking communities. These included interactions of

1) the Barbary States<sup>37</sup> pirates with American and British sailors; 2) US military with Moroccan locals; and 3) Moroccan monarchs and state officials with other foreign monarchs and state officials. Following these initial political contacts with English speakers, social, educational, and economic interactions also came to place. For example, trade has been one of the activities through which Moroccans interacted with English speakers. Moreover, Peace Corps volunteers began their services in Morocco as early as 1963 and Moroccans started to be more open to traveling abroad for tourism (Lahsini, 2017). Furthermore, for Moroccans who seek the betterment of their economic lives abroad, North America, Asia, and Australia have become some of their preferred destinations (Berriane et al., 2015: 503, 508).

#### **4.1. Political aspect of Moroccans' contact with English speakers**

This section on contact of Moroccans with English investigates historical records that describe the meaningful bilateral cooperation and confrontations that occurred as early as the 13<sup>th</sup> century between the Moroccan and English-speaking communities. Generally, this section aims to demonstrate that although contact did occur between these speech communities, not all of these politically and economically triggered early interactions were necessarily conducted in English because this language did not enjoy the international status it boasts today. However, what is important to note is that these interactions did exist and they involved other communication strategies such as translations from and to English or other European languages; use of gestures; and use of local (i.e. Arabic) as well as other foreign languages (i.e. French, Spanish, Italian). While they may have been limited, these interactions nevertheless provide insights on Moroccans' contact with the English language.

##### **4.1.1. Morocco's early contact with the British 1200-1700**

This section explores the contact Moroccans had with the British speech communities, giving closer attention to the era of Queen Elizabeth I (1558-1603). The very first recorded contact between Morocco and Britain occurred at the beginning of the

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<sup>37</sup> The Barbary States refer to modern day Algeria, Libya, Morocco, and Tunisia. In this chapter Barbary States is also used as a term to refer to the Barbary pirates of Morocco.

1200s, when King John (1167-1216) sought 'Moroccan support to counter French threats' (Ben-Srhir, 2004: 13). However, the nature of the geopolitical affairs then did not lead to frequent interactions between the British and the Moroccans. It was not until the beginning of the sixteenth century that the two speech communities interacted on a more recurrent fashion for commercial and military purposes (Matar, 2003: 39; Brown, 2008: 603).

On the commercial level, Moroccans supplied the British Empire with materials such as sugar, carpets, ostrich feathers, dates, and saltpeter, in exchange for fabrics and firearms (Ben-Srhir, 2004: 13; De Castries, 1907: 91; Stone, 2012: 16-23; Matar, 2011: 147). As for political interactions, British monarchs sought cooperation with powerful leaders who could assist them in confronting foreign threats. For example, Queen Elizabeth I (1558-1603) approached Sultan Ahmed al-Mansur al-Dhahbi (1578-1603) for help against her adversary, King Philip II of Spain (Matar, 2011: 147-148, 157; Stone, 2012: 16-23; Ben-Srhir, 2004: 13). Additionally, and given its geographical proximity, Morocco played a crucial role in the British quest to take over the Strait of Gibraltar in 1704 as it provided British settlers there with 'food supplies and other provisions' (Matar, 2003: 38-39).

Commercial and political interactions of the Moroccan and British speech communities, involving both monarchs and the masses, are documented in historical accounts and records (e.g. State Papers Online). These resources reveal that British and Moroccan monarchs, such as Queen Elizabeth I (1558-1603), Sultan Abd al-Malik Saadi (1575-1578), and Sultan Ahmed al-Mansur al-Dhahbi (1578-1603), exchanged a good number of letters during their reign (see De Castries, 1907 and State Papers 71 & 104). Queen Elizabeth I and Sultan Ahmed al-Mansur al-Dhahbi 'wrote repeatedly to each other and frequently exchanged envoys and ambassadors. To no other European monarch did al-Mansur write more letters than to Queen Elizabeth' (Matar, 2011: 160).

## **Contact between Moroccan and British monarchs**

De Castries' (1907) compilation of letters exchanged between the Moroccan and British royals shows that most, if not all, of the Moroccan correspondences were conducted in Arabic and other European languages such as Spanish, French, and Portuguese (68). For example, in one of the letters that Sultan Ahmed al-Mansur al-

Dhahbi wrote to Elizabeth I on 23 June 1590, the original text appears in Arabic, appended with Spanish, English, and Portuguese translations (De Castries, 1907: 18-25). In all foreign interactions, interpreters were indispensable, especially in face-to-face negotiations (Routh, 1912: 232, 252, 275-276). Tazi (1986: 36), a Moroccan historian who wrote volumes on the diplomatic history of Morocco, recounted that although Moroccan state officials, such as ambassadors, were proficient in the language of their host countries, they still employed interpreters who would sit next to them to ensure that conversations were not misunderstood.

As for Queen Elizabeth's letters to the Moroccan sultans, she wrote them on different occasions, such as to request the release of British captives or the merchandise of British tradesmen (De Castries, 1907: 154; Stone, 2012: 16-23). The language that the Queen employed in one of the letters sent to Sultan Ahmed al-Mansur al-Dhahbi in 1598 was a Spanish translation of an English written text (State Papers 71/12/168). A similar language approach was used in an earlier letter (2 September 1577) from Queen Elizabeth I to Sultan Abd al-Malik of Morocco (State Papers 104/12/179). It is observed that both the British and Moroccan monarchs adopted roughly identical practices. They wrote messages in their official languages and provided translations mainly in Spanish, as their lingua franca, in addition to other European languages as required.

### **Contact between Moroccan and British masses**

These contacts with the English speech community did not occur at the time only within royal circles, but involved people from the masses as well. Based on State Papers of the British Public Record Office, Matar (2003: 38) offered the anecdote of 'three groups of Moors arriving in England.' These groups included sailors, merchants, and ambassadors. While ambassadors spoke the language of the host country as Tazi (1986: 36) noted, the other two groups may have known only a few words in English in order to complete their trade transactions. It is understood from these records that it is possible that a few members of the British speech community spoke some Arabic, too. Matar (2003: 38) illustrated this with an example of some Moroccan merchants purchasing their supplies in London while they 'were accosted by academics eager to perfect their mastery of North African Arabic' (38).

During this contact of the Moroccan and British speech communities, there was a strong interest in Arabic because the North African nations were militarily and economically powerful at the time. Also, as is the case today with English, Arabic used to be a language of knowledge. For example, Pope Sylvester II (999-1003) 'is said to have learnt the decimal system ... and its Arabic numbers' at the University of Al Quaraouiyine in Fez, Morocco, which 'he later introduced to Europe' (Weiss, 2016: 53). The Pope would have had to learn about Arabic numerals in Arabic in order to introduce them to the West. This example is provided here to show that although there was contact with the English speaking community, English was not yet a language of influence or international communication.

### **Contact between Moroccans Barbary pirates and British captives**

Another type of contact with the English speech community occurred directly on Moroccan soil, when the Barbary pirates captured British vessels, detained their crews, and seized their goods. The Barbary pirates are known as North Africa's sixteenth and seventeenth century sea powers constituting of sea men from Morocco, Tripoli, Tunisia, and Algeria (Murphy, 2013: 29). While the last three countries were annexed to the Ottoman Empire, Morocco was independent and carried its own sea raids under the reign of its emperor (Woodward, 2004: 600; Murphy, 2013: 27). The Barbary States' crews, whose practices of maritime raiding were quite common in the Mediterranean region (Rojas, 2003: 164; Murphy, 2013: 28), were viewed by early Americans as corsairs (Oren, 2007: 18). However, these so-called corsairs were not considered as such at home because they were legitimate soldiers and pirates who were supported by their heads of states. The latter feared that their soldiers and pirates would overthrow them in response to the derisory allowances they received (Garrity, 2007: 397).

In the North African region, there were about 12,000 British captives between 1660 and 1730 (Colley, 2000: 172). In Morocco alone, according to Matar (2014: 24), there were around 150 and 270 captives between 1626 and 1629<sup>38</sup>. The British captive Thomas Pellow (1890) narrated in his biography his twenty-three-year long experience of captivity. Pellow, who was captured at a young age, learned Arabic (Pellow, 1890: 36;

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<sup>38</sup> According to Matar (2014: 24), the number of captives remains problematic because there are not enough records that confirm such estimations.

Nordman, 1986: 1397) and became an elite as he was 'employed at the court of Mawlay Ismail' (Colley, 2000: 170). Not only did Pellow learn Arabic, but he also 'acquired various European languages' (Colley, 2000: 171) in order to communicate with other captives. In describing the hardship of the enslaved captives, Pellow (1890) remembered that they were verbally abused 'in any language of which the drivers happened to have picked up a few words' (21). Again, this demonstrates that contact with the English speech community did not necessarily lead to the immediate use of English by Moroccans.

Besides the presence of the British in Morocco as captives, British soldiers also landed in the city of Tangier, in the northern part of the country, as occupiers<sup>39</sup> in 1662 (Routh, 1912: 12; Colley, 2007: 25). Because the British Empire adopted an expansionist agenda across the world, Tangier constituted a strategic location from which it could 'make further commercial and colonial advances into the North African interior' (Colley, 2007: 25). In addition, the city's landscape and British-built infrastructure were great assets to 'monitor the fleets of richer and more powerful European rivals' passing through the Mediterranean (Colley, 2007: 25). The occupation of Tangier by the British speech community involved the settlement of more than 3000 British civilians, soldiers, and their families (Routh, 1912: 12; Colley, 2007: 26). Based on Colley's (2007: 28) description of the city, however, it seems that the British settlers were isolated from the Moroccan inhabitants, which suggests that interactions did not happen as often.

#### **4.1.2. Morocco's early contact with Americans 1700-1942**

Another early recorded contact of Moroccans with English dates from the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Gallagher, 1963: 232), when American ships sailed to the Mediterranean Sea in order to secure peace treaties with the Barbary States (Gallagher, 1963: 232) of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya in North Africa (Oren, 2007: 18). Morocco's pirates, similar to those of the other Barbary States, captured foreign ships, seized their merchandise, and imprisoned their crews, who were either released after their families

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<sup>39</sup> Tangier was initially occupied by Portugal and was then given to King Charles II as a dowry for his marriage with the Portuguese Princess Catherine de Braganza (Brown, 2008: 602; Majid, 2014; Stone, 2012).

paid ransoms (Rojas, 2003: 164; Garrity, 2007: 395; Oren, 2007: 18; Bow, 2016: 692) or sold at Moroccan slave markets (Oren, 2007: 22).

During the thirty years between 1785 and 1815, Morocco captured some five American vessels, while the other north African countries captured thirty (Allison, 1995: 110; Rojas, 2003: 165). The total number of the captured crew members for all vessels is known to be over 700 men (Allison, 1995: 107, 110); however, the number of those captured by Moroccan pirates is not known. The number of captives and vessels seized during this 30-year period (1785 -1815) may not seem significant in today's world; however, at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, such a number speaks volumes, especially at a time when the United States' population was still small (3,929,215 according to 1790 census).

### **Means of communication with American captives**

Despite their initial contact with British captives and monarchs in the early 1200s, Moroccans did not seem to have learned some English. During their initial contacts, Moroccan pirates did not use English with their American captives, but had to use other means to communicate. According to one American sailor and another witness onboard an American ship, the pirates 'made signs' and talked in 'several languages' (Oren, 2007: 22) to give directions to or threaten the captives. The testimonies of these witnesses do not reveal what languages the Moroccan pirates spoke. However, the fact that the first victims of the Barbary States were European vessels suggests that the languages the pirates employed were most likely French, Spanish, Portuguese, and/or Italian.

Supporting the above argument regarding the languages that the Moroccan pirates employed to communicate with their English-speaking captives is the case of the neighboring country of Algeria. Algeria seized more ships and carried more attacks than the three other Barbary States combined. This means that Algeria had more contact opportunities than the other Barbary States, including Morocco. Therefore, given its cultural, social, and linguistic similarity to the Moroccan context, its geographic proximity, and the fact it seized a larger number of vessels, Algeria serves as a significant example to shed more light on the common languages of communication then. As a case in point, the American sailor James Leander Cathcart, who was captured by the Algerian



privateers, shared in his personal diary that the captives were not spoken to in their native language. Instead, they were addressed in the local languages of the pirates, which the captives eventually learned (Rojas, 2003: 171-172).

Through the testament of Cathcart, it appears highly unlikely that initial contacts with English speakers was carried out in English, since the pirates apparently had not had enough exposure to the language to enable them to communicate in it successfully. What becomes clear at this point is that contacts with English speakers were conducted in other languages, such as French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Arabic, and even with gestures.

### **Morocco's recognition of America's independence**

As a recently established country that had declared independence from Britain in 1776, the United States possessed neither a navy to defend itself against foreign threats nor enough funds to pay tribute to the Barbary States (Garrity, 2007: 399; Gallagher, 1963: 233; Schindler, 2018: xi). However, despite its modest means, the United States sought to open up to new markets, secure safe maritime routes, and expand its commerce partners (Oren, 2007). Such ambitious goals to become a state participating in global economic and political affairs (Schindler, 2018: xi), coupled with the seizure policy of the Barbary States, created opportunities for contact and negotiations between the two speech communities. This resulted in Morocco's recognition of the independence of the American states from Britain in 1777. (Wright & Macleod, 1945: 22; Woodward, 2004: 601; Robert, 1995: 110; Moroccan-US exhibition, 2017; Oren, 2007: 28; Yost, 2014; White, 2005: 614-615). Subsequent to this recognition is signing of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship of the Barbary Treaties 1786-1816 that sought to end any conflicts with the two nations.

### **Communication with monarchs and language of treaties**

In investigating the language of correspondence of Moroccan monarchs, Tazi (1986: 23) stated, based on a review of various documents (i.e., letters, treaties, conventions, accords, declarations, protocols), that Arabic was generally the preferred language for official correspondence (Tazi, 1986: 31). Moroccan sultans refused letters that were not accompanied by official translations in Arabic despite the fact that the

palace had a team of competent translators (Tazi, 1986: 31) and even some of the sultans, such as Marwan Abd al-Malik (1576–1578), spoke foreign languages (Tazi, 1986: 35) such as French, German, Italian, Spanish, and Turkish (Tinniswood, 2010).

An interesting anecdote from Tazi's compiled correspondence is that of the sultan Mohammed III, who asked his vizier to return a letter to Turkey. The letter was written in Turkish and it was requested that it be written in Arabic (Tazi, 1986: 31). Again, these rejections of correspondence happened despite the fact that the Moroccan palace had its own team of translators. Unlike some of the incoming correspondence, official letters sent by Morocco were written in Arabic and accompanied by translations into the languages of their recipients (Tazi, 1986: 31).

Besides the exchange of letters, treaties were also written in Arabic and joined with English translations. For example, the historical Treaty of Peace and Friendship sealed on June 28, 1786 between Morocco and the United States was originally written in Arabic and appended with an English translation (see The Barbary treaties 1786-1816: Treaty with Morocco June and July 15, 1786)<sup>40</sup>. At the end of the treaty manuscript, the sender, the Moroccan Emperor, assures the recipient, Thomas Barclay<sup>41</sup>, 'that the annex'd is a true Copy of the Translation made by Issac Cardoza Nunez, Interpreter at Morocco, of the treaty between the Emperor of Morocco and the United States of America.' These examples of contact are a window to the linguistic practices that were common in the 1700s and 1800s, and they mainly illustrate how the Barbary States, particularly Morocco, aimed to display, through language, their sovereignty to other nations; dominance of the North African coast; and pride in imposing their demands on the less powerful.

## **Openness of Moroccans to foreign languages**

The language policies and practices of the time indicate that Morocco seemingly intended to impose its language on other nations; however, the necessity to interact with foreign states and maintain Moroccan national security challenged such a strategy and promoted the learning of foreign languages (Tazi, 1986: 36). For instance, the translation

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<sup>40</sup> Link to the treaty [https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th\\_century/bar1786t.asp](https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/bar1786t.asp)

<sup>41</sup> An American Agent who negotiated peace treaties with Morocco.

of letters and treaties to other foreign languages required the recruitment of foreign translators<sup>42</sup>, who had access to the palace (Tazi, 1986: 36). The fear that these translators would spy on the internal affairs of the palace created awareness for a need to train Moroccans in other foreign languages.

Besides security reasons, training in other foreign languages was necessary to acquire and transmit knowledge. For example, Moroccan students were sent to study abroad (i.e., in England, France, Italy, the United States, Belgium, Spain, Germany) to learn languages and skills in different disciplines (Tazi, 1986: 211-222). Also, the need to translate knowledge from other languages to Arabic for intellectual purposes played a role in training and recruiting Moroccan translators, who were recruited only after being evaluated by native speakers of the target languages. This was viewed as a way of ensuring linguistic competency, which in return is vital for accuracy (Tazi, 1986: 35).

The examples that have been listed thus far reveal that, although in the past Morocco maintained a strict language policy when in contact with other speech communities, the dire need for openness to the world and participation in regional politics required training in other foreign languages. The Moroccan state therefore gave much importance to the success of its interactions with foreign bodies by encouraging competency in their spoken languages. Ranking languages in terms of their importance for the Alaouite monarchs of the 1700s-1800s, Tazi (1986: 36) positioned Spanish first, followed by Portuguese and then English.

#### **4.1.3. Morocco's contact with U.S. military 1942-1963**

This overview of contact with English speech communities has shown this far important facts about language practices and uses between the thirteenth century and up to the end of the nineteenth century. The remaining sections of the political interface leading to contact of Moroccans with English speaking communities is devoted to the 1942 U.S. military landing in Morocco, also known as Operation Torch. Although this was a joint military operation with the British military aiming to encompass North Africa, only U.S. troops were deployed to Morocco (Hart, 2018: 13; Stevens, 1962: 13).

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<sup>42</sup> Some of the translators were captives (Rojas, 2003: 171-172).

## **U.S. military bases in different regions of Morocco**

One of the most important and more influential contacts that the Moroccan speech community experienced on a larger scale was the American military presence in Morocco beginning in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Torres-Garcia, 2013: 325; Ennaji, 1991; Abbassi, 1977: 34), when the American military arrived in the country on November 8, 1942 (Baida, 2014: 518). Although Ennaji (2005) and Soussi (2020) acknowledged such contact in their research, they did not delve into details of the interactions that occurred. The following paragraphs list the purpose of the military presence in Morocco and how that presence exposed the Moroccan population to the English language and American culture.

American military personnel were gradually deployed to newly built military bases in Morocco during the 1940s and 1950s (Ennaji, 1991: 20; Bargach, 1999: 61; Karl, 2014: 367; Zartman, 1964: 27; Torres-Garcia, 2013: 325). These bases were crucial to the U.S. military because they allowed for the operation of communication systems and permitted B-47 bombers to refuel, change their crews, and fly constantly within proximity of their opponents in North Africa (Life Magazine, 1957: 41). Moreover, these military bases were also used as storing facilities for nuclear weapons and they hosted a good number of American staff (Zartman, 1964; Blair, 1970; Torres-Garcia, 2013: 325).

The purpose of such deployment and selection of Morocco and the whole of North Africa as a site for bases was primarily to protect the United States from potential 'Axis Power countries attacks' (Azzou, 2003: 126) and limit the growing influence of the Soviet Union in the region (Zouak, 2015; Torres-Garcia, 2013: 325). To better protect American territory in North America, the U.S government installed communication systems and ammunition depots in different regions across Morocco (Zartman, 1964: 27). For example, the installation of one of the Strategic Air Commands was in the Moroccan cities/regions of Ben Guerir, Nouasser and Sidi Sliman. An Air Force material depot and fighter units were located in Nouasser, while the Naval Air Station was in Kenitra (formerly known as Port Lyautey). Navy communication systems were based in Sidi Yahya (to the east of Kenitra) and Sidi Bouknadel (to the south of Kenitra), and an Air Force Radar Warning system was located along the Atlas Mountains (Zartman, 1964: 27; Torres-Garcia, 2013: 325). These installations show the distribution of the American military across the different regions of the country (Figure 4.1).



**Figure 4.1 Map of the northern part of Morocco showing instalations of US military bases**

Source: <http://www.geographicguide.com/africa-maps/morocco.htm>. Base signs and names were added to the original map.

## U.S. military personnel in Morocco

For a better understanding of the extent to which Moroccans were exposed to the English language, it is important to identify the number of American military personnel deployed to Morocco. More precisely, a high number of troops suggests greater interaction with the Moroccan speech community. It is understandable however that contact does not happen at the level of every single individual of the Moroccan speech community, but with a portion of the population that should not be underestimated.

The figures of the deployed U.S. military to Morocco have appeared in a few resources; for example, Zartman (1964), Azzou (2003), and Kane (2006); however, Kane's figures, which he compiled from the Department of Defense records, remain the most comprehensive covering the period from 1950 to 2005. According to the broad dataset presented in Kane's (2006) report, the number of American troops that were deployed to Morocco rose steadily from 1950 to 1959, as shown in Table 4.1.

**Table 4.1**      **Number of American troops deployed to Morocco from 1950 to 1959**

Year	Number of American troops
1950	1,377
1951	6,953
1952	6,953
1953	12,528
1954	14,775
1955	13,336
1956	11,709
1957	12,141
1958	12,282
1959	10,727

Source: Figures from Kane (2006)

The population of the deployed military started to decrease drastically by 1960. The number decreased to 8,031 that year, to 7,559 in 1961, 7,176 in 1962, 2,378 in 1963, 1,820 in 1964, ... etc. The total number of the U.S. military reached 102,780 in the 1950s; 35,305 in the 1960s; 9,369 in the 1970s; and 484 in the 1980s (Kane, 2006). The figures reported by Kane (2006) can be doubled to include the dependents of these military personnel.

## **U.S. military contact with Moroccans**

There is no doubt that contact between the U.S. military and the Moroccan population occurred in different forms, even though some sources argue that this contact was generally minimal and not encouraged. In a *Life Magazine* article (*Life Magazine*, 1957: 42) reporting on the life of the military abroad, it is mentioned that the American military bases in Morocco offered US culture-related activities, such as bowling and dancing, to keep the soldiers on the bases. Despite such efforts, Americans nevertheless were occasionally invited by Moroccans for a meal featuring local cuisine<sup>43</sup>.

An example of how the US military contributed to Moroccans' exposure to English relates to the services that the soldiers' and officers' families needed for their

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<sup>43</sup> See pictures in *Life Magazine*, Aerial Protector Around the World (1957: 42). <https://books.google.ae/books?id=yFUEAAAAMBAJ&pg=PA39&lpg=PA39&dq=life+Aerial+protector+around+the+world&source=bl&ots=VbCPnpBX0i&sig=ACfU3U08g5A5mPqxNkXw5husOIQoilmH4w&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjZ5NKSIP3pAhUHA2MBHZVkBvkQ6AEwE3oECA8QAQ#v=onepage&q=life%20Aerial%20protector%20around%20the%20world&f=false>

accommodations<sup>44</sup> on the bases (Chicago Tribune, 1963: 10; Naval communications, n.d., para. 5). Work as domestic helpers and gardeners<sup>45</sup> granted some of the Moroccan population access to the bases (Naval communications, n.d., para. 5), where English was the medium of interaction. Abbassi (1977) stated that ‘local people went to work on these bases and intermingled with the English speakers. Because daily activities on American bases were carried out in English, the natives who worked there, or had contacts with them, had to learn the language’ (34). According to a former resident of Sidi Yahia military base, some domestic helpers even spoke good English (Naval communications, n.d., para. 5) presumably because of their interaction with American families in matters related to the services they offered. In addition to the Moroccan citizens who worked as domestic helpers and gardeners for the American families on the military bases, a telegram sent from the U.S. Department of State to the U.S. Embassy in Morocco speaks of some 519 Moroccans hired to provide services to the military (Vance, 1977: 356).

In the weekly magazine *Actuel* (Quand le Maroc, 2012), Zahra, a Moroccan native, shared in an interview her experience working as a domestic helper in one of over 400 U.S. military base households in Morocco (Vance, 1977: 356). She spoke positively of her time working for the Americans and expressed her gratitude for the promotions and recommendation she received due to her hard work. Zahra stated that ‘I even learned how to communicate with those Americans, me who was illiterate’<sup>46</sup> (Quand le Maroc, 2012). Zahra was eventually offered a job at the American consulate in Morocco, then later granted a work visa to travel to the United States<sup>47</sup>. Zahra is one example that shows the result of the intermingling and contacts that the U.S. military personnel and their families had with local Moroccans. More importantly, the example of Zahra illustrates that individuals who had frequent and prolonged contact with English

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<sup>44</sup> There were more than 1000 buildings constructed on the bases (Chicago Tribune, 1963: 10).

<sup>45</sup> This is a link to a picture of a Moroccan maid and gardener who worked for an American family at the Nouasseur military base: <http://www.larryandjane.com/basephotos/basepict6.html>

<sup>46</sup> Translated from French ‘J’ai même appris à communiquer avec ces Américains, moi qui étais analphabète’ (Quand le Maroc était Américain, issue 145, Friday, June 8th, 2012).

<sup>47</sup> Zahra continued to work for her employer in Los Angeles before they moved to South Carolina, where she worked at a military base in Charleston. She worked in several other jobs before she was recruited for a good position in a factory. Then, she started taking English lessons so that she could learn to write English as well as she spoke it.

speakers, the U.S. military and their families in this case, did indeed acquire the English language for instrumental and integrative purposes.

Another example of how the presence of the American military in Morocco had an impact on Moroccans is that of contact with cultural products, ideas, and practices. According to Karl (2014: 368) and Zouak (2015), cultural products and concepts became plentiful during the U.S. military presence in Morocco. This is shown through the narrative of the 1944 popular song *Lmarikan* ('the Americans'), by the Moroccan singer Housine Slaoui (1921-1951), which was composed after the American landing of November 8, 1942 in North Africa. The song describes how Moroccans sought American products (i.e., chewing gum, be-bop, nylons, foundation, lipstick, ...). This is supported by Zouak (2015) who stated that the Americans gave Moroccan children clothes, chocolate, and candies. Unlike how the *Life Magazine* article (*Life Magazine*, 1957) claimed that the military personnel refrained from leaving their bases, Slaoui's song communicates how the streets, public transportation, and souks or outdoor markets were packed with Americans. In his own words, Slaoui says: 'The beautiful and blue-eyed came to us with abundance' (*Lmarikan* lyrics translated by Bargach, 1999), which signifies that it was easy to spot the American military and/or their families in public.

The fact that the theme of a popular Moroccan song was the presence of Americans suggests that contact was noticeable and experienced by a significant segment of the population. Also, singing about such a theme demonstrates that Moroccans were concerned, either negatively or positively, with the military presence and their influence. In his analysis of Slaoui's lyrics, Karl (2014) argued that the 'song depicts a local world of customary behaviors and social relationships turned upside down, where not only superficial styles of fashion and consumption had become unsettled, but where by implication the customary moral basis for society was changed forever as well' (369).

Although Slaoui criticized the changes that happened to Moroccan society, as Karl's (2014) analysis of the lyrics<sup>48</sup> of the song showed, Slaoui himself employed English words which were commonly heard in the streets, such as 'okay,' 'bye bye,' 'come on,' 'chewing-gum' and 'give me dollar' (Luna Paloma De La Paz, 2010). It is

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<sup>48</sup> Translation of the lyrics of Houssine Slaoui's song 'Lmarikan' can be found at Jamila Bargach' article (1999: 62-64).



interesting that Moroccans stored these words and expressions in their mental lexicon during a time in which they were inundated with the colonial French and Spanish languages and cultures.

Once Morocco gained its independence in 1956 from the Spanish and French colonial powers, members of the nationalist movement started planning to request that the American bases be evacuated and that the exploitation of the Moroccan territories cease (Zouak, 2015; Torres-Garcia, 2013: 326). Such a request was the result of Moroccans' lack of participation in negotiating the establishment of the American military bases. At that time, whilst still under the French Protectorate, neither King Mohammed V nor the nationalist movement members were consulted in matters concerning the country, as agreed upon in the Treaty of Fez of March 30, 1912 (Chapter 3) (Mangi, 1987: 97). Departure of the military started gradually in 1959 after an agreement between US President Dwight D. Eisenhower and King Mohammed V (Mangi, 1987: 98). According to an article that appeared on Chicago Tribune (1963), the last combat units withdrew from Morocco on September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1963 while military personnel were gradually departing from the country with only 164 remaining in 1978 (Kane, 2006). Although the U.S. military left, the teaching of English, which started under the French Protectorate, remains to this day part of the educational curriculum (Section 3.5 in Chapter 3, Language in the Education Charter of 2000 and Strategic Vision of 2015-2030).

## **4.2. Social and economic aspects of Moroccans' contact with English speakers**

What has been discussed thus far relates to the early political contacts that Moroccans had with English speakers. The subsequent sections briefly review social, educational, and economic contacts that followed the earlier contacts discussed above.

### **4.2.1. Contact with Peace Corps volunteers and Fulbright Program grantees**

Contact with English was not only a result of political interactions, but also of social, educational, and economic ones (Baida, 2014: 520). Four years after the American military began to withdraw from their bases, Morocco invited the U.S. Peace Corps in 1963 to establish their volunteer programs in the country (Miller, 2013: 202).

According to the Peace Corps volunteer assignment description of 2016-2018 (4), the primary duty listed for the country is the teaching of English to Moroccan youth, especially girls in rural areas. A secondary duty is to lead more general learning and community projects and activities. According to the Peace Corps website, Morocco has had 5,262 volunteers since the program was introduced in 1963. Although the numbers may not seem significant given the country's total population of about 35 million, the fact that the volunteers are placed in remote rural areas has a big influence on the learning of English by the locals who live in scattered, small communities.

Another opportunity that has brought Moroccans into contact with the American people since 1952 is the U.S. funded Fulbright Program (Moroccan American Commission for Cultural and Educational Exchange, n.d.). The aim of this merit-based educational and cultural exchange program which was first incepted in 1946 is to establish contact and mutual understanding between Americans and citizens of over 100 foreign countries. The Fulbright Program offers scholarships to American students and scholars to conduct research or teach in Moroccan educational institutions. The same program also grants Moroccans scholarships to pursue their graduate studies, conduct research, or teach in schools and universities across the United States (The Fulbright Program, n.d.). Between 1949 and 2017, a total of 1595 Moroccans were granted Fulbright scholarships to participate in cultural and educational exchange in the United States (The Fulbright Program, 2017). Of these 1595 Moroccan Fulbright participants, 981 were graduate students, 389 were scholars, 163 were exchange teachers, mainly for teaching Arabic, 59 were Hubert H. Humphery fellows for a 10-month non-degree graduate-level study, and 3 were for special study of the U.S.<sup>49</sup> (The Fulbright Program, 2017). During the same period, American citizens were also awarded scholarships to travel to Morocco for cultural and educational exchange. Of the 850 participating Americans, 440 were students, 268 were scholars, and 142 exchange teachers (The Fulbright Program, 2017). Just recently, between 2018 and 2021, 60 Americans were awarded the Fulbright scholarship for either research or for teaching English in Morocco<sup>50</sup>.

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<sup>49</sup> Fulbright report does not specify the type of study of the U.S. by Moroccan participants.

<sup>50</sup> A detailed report for both Moroccans and Americans is not yet available. However, preliminary statistics can be accessed through the interactive online platform <https://us.fulbrightonline.org/study-research-eta-statistics>

Through the Fulbright English Teaching Assistant Program, Americans teach in the Department of English of Moroccan public universities. This certainly allows Moroccan English students to learn from and interact with Inner Circle speakers of English to improve their language skills. In Morocco's webpage of the Fulbright U.S. Student Program, U.S. applicants to the Fulbright English Teaching Assistant Program in Morocco are required to 'be articulate and accurate speakers of English who can serve as a fluent-speaker source' (Morocco, n.d.)<sup>51</sup>. In the same webpage, applicants are equally informed that 'Moroccan students of English have generally never had a native speaker of English teach them before and they tend to be highly appreciative.' This scholarship program description informs American applicants about the importance and value of their English skills which they will share with Moroccan students. In the same manner, the description promises applicants to work with students who are enthusiastic and appreciative of them. With such contact between Fulbright English teachers and Moroccan students, the English language becomes the medium of communication, a different language exchange from that reviewed in the previous sections on the early history of contact with English speakers.

Upon checking the Fulbright grantees directory, it seems that English was not the only specialty of American Fulbright recipients. American Fulbright grantees who were accepted under other programs, such as Fulbright U.S. Student Program, Fulbright U.S. Scholar Program, and Fulbright Distinguished Award in Teaching Program, specialized in other fields including architecture, geology, religion, social sciences, biology, history, sociology, urban planning, ... etc<sup>52</sup>. It is not clear, however, whether these U.S. Fulbright lecturers conducted their classes in English or in one of the two dominant languages in Morocco, Arabic and French.

#### **4.2.2. Contact with tourists and Moroccans living abroad**

Another element of contact with English is tourism (Abbassi, 1977: 35). Contact involving tour guides, waiters, hotel receptionists, bazaar keepers, and other tourism

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<sup>51</sup> Access to application webpage: <https://us.fulbrightonline.org/countries/selectedprogram/64>

<sup>52</sup> This is the link to an interactive website of Fulbright grantees directory [https://eca.state.gov/fulbright/fulbright-impact/fulbright-grantees?field\\_state\\_value=All&field\\_fulbrights\\_program\\_value=teacher&field\\_field\\_of\\_study\\_value=All&field\\_country\\_tid=All](https://eca.state.gov/fulbright/fulbright-impact/fulbright-grantees?field_state_value=All&field_fulbrights_program_value=teacher&field_field_of_study_value=All&field_country_tid=All)

professionals with visitors from English and non-English speaking countries contributes to an emphasis within the country on functional mastery of English. Recent statistics on tourism in Morocco show that the U.K. and U.S. are the two English-speaking countries providing the largest number of tourists. 510,516 British tourists arrived at the Moroccan national borders in 2018 compared to 304,960 American tourists (Observatoire du Tourisme, 2018: 12).

Contact with English does not only occur through interactions with native speakers of English, but also through interactions with speakers of other languages. For example, tourists from countries such as the Netherlands, China, or Italy will most likely interact in English if they do not have a basic knowledge of Arabic, French or Spanish. In this case, where the speakers do not share the same L1, L2, or L3, English is employed as a lingua franca (Abbassi, 1977: 34).

In addition to the presence of tourists in Morocco, Abbassi (1977: 34-35) highlighted that outbound tourism, that is Moroccans traveling abroad, has become affordable to the middle class. This lifestyle trend has become more accentuated in recent years (Lahsini, 2017). Therefore, when Moroccans travel to a non-French speaking country, such as Turkey or Italy, they most likely employ English as a means of communication. Even when Moroccans travel to Arabic speaking countries, such as the United Arab Emirates, they communicate in English, too, given the diverse expatriate population residing there (Al Khatib, 2010). An example to support this argument is that of the former Prime Minister of the Moroccan government, Abdelilah Benkirane (2011-2017), who stated that he uses English 'even when [he goes] to Saudi Arabia' (Arbaoui, 2015).

Another means of contact occurs with Moroccan family members who live or study abroad. Moroccan students who study in English-speaking countries share their experiences with their parents, siblings, friends, and extended family members. In telling about their experiences abroad, these students inevitably use foreign words that describe cultural practices, customs, and systems. Therefore, such foreign words are adopted and cultural practices become familiar. Table 4.2 shows the number of

Moroccan students enrolled in British and American<sup>53</sup> universities between 2013 and 2017 (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2020). While French universities have always been the preferred choice for Moroccan high school graduates for decades, Inner Circle universities in the U.K. and the U.S. are starting to attract relatively more students from Morocco than in previous years.

**Table 4.2 Moroccan student enrollment in U.K. and U.S. universities (2013-2017)**

Country	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
United Kingdom and Northern Ireland	404	526	607	689	669
United States	1237	1259	1393	1477	1578

Source: Data retrieved from UNESCO Institute for Statistics database (2020)

As for Moroccan family members who live in English-speaking countries, their contact is even more influential and continuous than that of students. Permanent residents of a given English-speaking country often remain connected to their relatives back home through phone calls or other communication options over the Internet. More importantly, most Moroccan families who chose to work and live in Inner Circle countries organize annual summer visits, which allow for more interaction between family members, especially the younger generations. The two English speaking destinations where Moroccans settle the most are the United States and the United Kingdom. Moroccans began to settle in the United Kingdom since 1830s; however, considerable number of migrants started to flow only in the 1960s. This led to the accumulation of a community of some 50,000 Moroccan as of 2009 (Communities and Local Government, 2009: 6).

**Table 4.3 Moroccan permanent residents in the U.S. from 1910 to 2009\***

Country	1910-1919	1920-1929	1930-1939	1940-1949	1950-1959	1960-1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-1999	2000-2009
United States	-	-	110	1,463	3,293	2,880	1,967	3,471	15,768	40,844

Source: Data retrieved from U.S. Department of Homeland Security (2019: 9, 11)

\*These figures are based on immigrants for whom Morocco was their last country of residence

<sup>53</sup> According to the U.S. Office of Immigration Statistics, this number is higher when student dependents are included. For example, in 2017, the number of students and their dependents reached 3,034 (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2017: 78).

Moroccans' settlement in the United States, on the other hand, started in the 1930s. Based on statistics of U.S. Department of Homeland Security (2019: 9, 11), the number of lawfully admitted Moroccans to the United States reached momentum between 1990 and 2009, where tens of thousands of Moroccans were granted permanent residency (Table 4.3.). According to Zoubir and Ait-Hamdouche (2006), the U.S., 'where religious freedom and tolerance are anchored in the Constitution and where secularism is less extreme than it is in France, appears an alternative solution to Maghribis who can afford to get into the country' (50). While this has been true for several years, as shown in immigration figures in Table 4.3, such a trend is starting to revert. Table 4.4 shows a steady decrease in the number of legally admitted permanent residents of Moroccan origin in the past ten years. Generally, while migration to the U.S. has witnessed an increase in recent years, France remains a top destination.

**Table 4.4 Moroccan permanent residents in the U.S. from 2010 to 2018\***

Country	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
United States	5,013	4,399	3,656	3,336	3,605	3,710	4,586	4,229	3,077

Source: Data retrieved from U.S. Department of Homeland Security (2019: 14)

\*These figures are based on immigrants for whom Morocco is their country of birth

### 4.2.3. U.S.-Morocco Free Trade Agreement

As was mentioned earlier in section 1.3.5 (Other studies on the spread of English in Morocco), contact with English may occur through interactions with individuals or products. In the case of Morocco, contact with English also occurs through the exchange of products and services. For example, in 2004, Morocco and the United States signed a Free Trade Agreement that aims to increase and diversify trade between the two countries by eliminating duties for 95% of all goods and services (Office of the United States Trade Representative, n.d.). Becoming effective in January 2006, the agreement marked an impressive overflow of American products to the Moroccan market. According to the U.S. Census Bureau<sup>54</sup>, the value of U.S. goods exported to Morocco increased from 480.8 million dollars in 2005 to 3.49 billion dollars in 2019. To show some examples of the growing economic ties between the two countries, Table 4.5

<sup>54</sup> Link to figures related to trade in goods with Morocco <https://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/balance/c7140.html>

outlines U.S. companies that were established in Morocco before and after the signing of the Free Trade Agreement.

**Table 4.5 U.S.-Morocco economic relations from 1947 to 2017**

<b>Year</b>	<b>U.S. Companies</b>
1947	Coca-Cola established in Morocco
1960	Procter & Gamble opened first facility in Casablanca
1966	American Chamber of Commerce in Morocco was established
1966	Royal Air Maroc ordered its first Boeing 707
1967	Citibank opened offices in Casablanca
1985	Morocco and the U.S. signed the Trade and Investment Framework Agreement
1992	First McDonald's in Africa opened in Casablanca
1999	Delphi established a production unit at the Industrial Zone of Tangier.
2001	Polydesign opened a facility in the Free Zone of Tangier
2003	Dell opened the first offshoring operation in Morocco
2004	U.S.-Morocco signed a Free Trade Agreement
2006	Free Trade Agreement became effective
2011	Morocco Mall designed by the U.S. company Wet Design and ICM opened in Casablanca with several retailers from the U.S.
2014	Lear Morocco opened a fourth facility in Kenitra Free Zone
2015	Hexcel invested \$20 million in the aeronautic sector in Casablanca
2016	Boeing signed a \$1 billion partnership with Morocco to establish a sourcing platform for more than 120 Boeing suppliers creating over 8000 jobs
2017	Red Chili's and Papa John's Pizza opened stores in Morocco

Source: Moroccan American Chamber of Commerce annual directory of 2017<sup>55</sup>

Besides the flow of American goods to Morocco, the agreement has also facilitated job creation in various areas, primarily in business (DELL) and information technology (Logica, Capgemini)<sup>56</sup>. In a study analyzing online job ads related to those two areas, Khaouja, et al., (2018) employed data mining techniques to extract some of the requirements of this specific job market. Among the requirements included are the level of education, years of experience, programming languages, natural languages, and contract types. The study revealed that while the offshoring sector places a great demand on French, English is the second most required language in call centers, for example. In fact, even jobs in the IT sector that require proficiency in French also require proficiency in English. This is because most IT jobs demand competency in

<sup>55</sup> Link to the annual directory [https://issuu.com/amchammorocco/docs/amcham\\_annual\\_2017](https://issuu.com/amchammorocco/docs/amcham_annual_2017)

<sup>56</sup> Offshoring is a type of outsourcing where businesses relocate some of their organizational functions to another country to reduce costs and increase efficiency (Oxford English Dictionary).

programming languages which are mainly in English. The study also found a relationship between salaries and the languages spoken. For example, salaries of jobs requiring languages such as English, Spanish, and Dutch are relatively higher. In the case of English, this was reported a few years earlier in Euromonitor International (2012). The report stated that a salary gap of 12% exists between Moroccan speaker and non-speakers of English (24). Generally, while this free trade between the United States and Morocco seems to be promising in increasing contact with English users, goods and services, Hasnaoui and Dkhissi (2013: 82) believe that language is a barrier that stands in front of creating more job opportunities.

Free trade with the United States disappointed France (Buckner, 2003). The French Foreign Trade Minister, François Loos, addressed Morocco stating: 'You cannot say you want a close partnership with the EU and at the same time sign a free trade agreement with the US. You have to decide which one you choose' (White, 2005: 608). François' response indicates that France sees that the trade with the U.S. may interrupt the economic, cultural and political dominance that the Élysée Palace has had on Morocco. Mr. Zoellick, a U.S. Trade Representative, stated that France does not want to 'recognize that Morocco is no longer its colony (Buckner, 2003). What is important to highlight here is that the reaction of France towards the U.S.-Morocco trade agreement demonstrates worries that such trade may weaken economic ties between France and Morocco and may challenge the presence of the French language and culture in Morocco.

### **4.3. Summary and conclusion**

The Moroccan speech community's contact with English goes back to the thirteenth century, when the Moroccan and British Empires captured each other's seafaring vessels; exchanged goods and captives; and provided political support to one another. Centuries later, the Inner Circle of English speech communities expanded geographically and the newly founded U.S. government joined the international negotiations in an effort to secure safe trade channels. At that early time, written correspondences were composed in each country's respective native language and



translations were appended to the original documents<sup>57</sup>. These early contacts did not have a noticeable influence on most of the Moroccan speech community, as the available documents that have survived to date show that such correspondences mainly occurred among the royals. It is not until the beginning of the twentieth century that Moroccans' contact with the English language became more significant. First, contact started in the education domain during the period of the French Protectorate, which began in 1912. Contact next intensified during World War II, when the American military landed on the Moroccan coasts and established military bases across the country. Subsequently, English has spread to other domains such as media and business and advertising, which will be discussed in the coming chapters.

The introduction of this chapter is a reminder that the evolution of Morocco from a state of monolingualism to one of multilingualism occurred as a result of the settlement of Arabic, French, and Spanish speech communities. Such settlements allowed for contact with these languages and their speakers, thus contributing to the acquisition of additional languages to the Moroccan community's linguistic repertoire. In the case of English, however, there was no significant settlement of Inner Circle speakers. The presence of American troops in Morocco during World War II and British soldiers in Tangier in 1662 was not done for the purpose of linguistic and cultural influence. The presence of these English-speaking communities in Morocco was merely to serve their own geopolitical and economic agendas. To sum up, the natural adoption of English by the Moroccan speech community was pushed forward by English use in various domains (i.e. media, business), which will be discussed in-depth in the next chapters.

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<sup>57</sup> Assuming that English was a common language then, state leaders (i.e., monarchs, presidents, and ministers) would still use their native languages and rely on translations as part of the international protocol of official conversations and, more importantly, national pride.

## **Chapter 5.**

### **English in the media**

#### **5.1. Introduction**

The two previous chapters dealing with the language situation in Morocco and the first contact with English offer an in-depth discussion and a thorough description of the codes that constitute the linguistic tapestry of this North African country. Now that ample linguistic background of this emerging Expanding Circle context has been provided, the remainder of this dissertation centers on the study of English use in two domains. While the present chapter focuses more narrowly on the current spread and uses of English in the Moroccan media industry, the subsequent chapter shifts focus to the spread and uses of English in the linguistic landscape of the city of Casablanca.

In the present chapter, the media industry is divided into two parts: traditional and digital. The first section in this chapter is dedicated to traditional media, a term employed in this research as an umbrella reference for print (books, newspapers, and magazines) and broadcast entertainment media (television, radio, cinema, and music). The second section explores the uses of English in recent digital media, including four of the most popular social networking platforms (Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, and Twitter) as well as online newspapers and magazines. It is important to note early in this chapter that private communication media, such as text messages, emails, chats, and the like are beyond the scope of this dissertation, although they may be avenues for future research.

Before delving into the discussion of the use of English in each of these media categories, the following section provides an overview of the data sources and the method of investigation employed for this chapter.

#### **5.2. Data sources and method of investigation**

The main purpose of this exploratory, qualitative, macrosociolinguistic study is to generate broad descriptions of the spread and functional uses of English in Moroccan

media. In order to formulate these general descriptions relating to the uses of English in this Expanding Circle context, both primary and secondary data are employed. The primary media data analyzed here are materials in English that are produced by Moroccan media professionals primarily for the domestic population and also for audiences abroad. For example, in examining the use of English in Moroccan broadcast media, program guides of domestic radio and television stations were downloaded and scanned for any program titles that appear in English. Another illustrative example of primary data is found in Moroccans' use of English in digital media. Specifically, the uses of English in titles and videos on YouTube channels; titles of Instagram accounts and post captions; tweets and hashtags; Facebook group names; and online magazines and newspapers offer valuable insights into the actual uses of English online.

As far as secondary data is concerned, these were obtained from various organizational sources, such as the Arab Social Media Report, Centre Cinématographique Marocain ('Moroccan Center for Cinematography'), and Centre Interprofessionnel d'Audimétrie Médiatique (CIAUMED). This last organization is responsible for providing biweekly and monthly reports of Moroccan audience behavior by installing measurement devices in 1037 Moroccan households' television sets. Secondary data retrieved from these types of sources provide further information and evidence in support of primary sources.

The methodological approach used in this exploratory research is known in the social sciences as unobtrusive measurement, which relies heavily on observing points of interest without having to interact with the users of the language. For instance, exploring the functional uses of English in Moroccan digital media focuses mainly on publicly available material that is published on different online media platforms. This is also known as netnography, which is a form of ethnographic unobtrusive measurement that is appropriate for investigating computer-mediated content that is publicly available in the web (Zhang, 2015: 235; Kozinets, 2002: 62). Therefore, the use of digital media content produced by Moroccan users of English makes it possible to do a 'naturalistic data analysis, which is both unobtrusive and free from researcher [and participant] bias' (Costello et al., 2017: 6).

It is worth mentioning that netnography has been employed by some researchers in different ways. Kozinets (2002: 65-66), for example, suggests a principled application

of this research method by ensuring that it follows certain steps, one of which is interacting with members of the studied group. However, in Zhang's 2015 study of English use in China and Dovchin's 2017 study of English in Mongolia, for instance, the scholars employed a simplified version of netnography that does not require interaction or checking findings with participants. In fact, Costello et al., (2017) argued that netnography is a flexible approach 'offering a specific set of steps and analytical approaches, applicable across a wide spectrum of involvement, from lurking to active participation in online conversations and activities' (9).

## **Section One: Traditional media**

### **5.3. Print media**

Section One proceeds with a discussion of the spread and functional uses of English in several platforms of traditional media, which include print (books, newspapers, magazines) and broadcast media (television, radio) as well as cinema and music. This section on print media explores the spread and uses of English in print books, newspapers, and magazines. It starts first with investigating Moroccan authors whose work uses English as an instrument of communication, and then proceeds to examining print newspapers and magazines that make use of English to varying degrees.

#### **5.3.1. Print books**

The Moroccan community of writers, i.e., novelists, poets, scholars, academicians, journalists, university professors, researchers, etc., has long been engaged in writing in the locally well-established languages of Standard Arabic and French. Writings in other languages such as English, Tmazight, and even MCA are not as prevalent, but they have been growing steadily over the past few years. Based on the modest body of Moroccan English literature that has accumulated so far, this section provides a few examples of Moroccan authors who have adopted English as their language of literary writings. These authors are characterized by their high proficiency in this language and their creativity in composing long textual content specific to the Expanding Circle. The examples of writers provided in this section are only for illustrative purposes and they are by no means comprehensive.

Laila Lalami, a contemporary novelist and a professor of creative writing at the University of California at Riverside, USA, is an author of Moroccan origin and is ‘the most successful Anglophone Moroccan writer to date’ (Idrissi Alami, 2015: 150). Lalami completed her primary, secondary, and undergraduate education in Morocco before studying at University College London and the University of Southern California for her master’s and doctoral degrees, respectively, in Linguistics. Lalami has written and published five novels in the English language: *Hope and Other Dangerous Pursuits* (2005), *Secret Son* (2009), *The Moor’s Account* (2014), *The Other Americans* (2019), and *Conditional Citizen* (2020). In recognition of the quality of her writing, she has been listed as an award finalist on many occasions, i.e., for the Oregon Book Award, Orange Prize, Man Booker Prize, and Pulitzer Prize. For her novel *The Moor’s Account*, she in fact won the American Book Award, Arab American Book Award, and Hurston/Wright Legacy Award. Lalami has also had her essays, opinion pieces, book reviews, and short stories published in many respected American media, including *The Nation*, *Los Angeles Times*, *The New York Times Magazine*, *Harper’s*, *The New Yorker*, *The Washington Post*, *National Public Radio (NPR)*, *Newsweek*, *The Boston Review*, and *The Boston Globe* (lailalalami.com).

While her very first amateur writings were in French, Lalami began to write professionally in English upon completing her doctoral degree. ‘I never expected to become an immigrant or to be writing fiction in English,’ she stated in her website (lailalalami.com). Lalami moved between Kachru’s Circles and no doubt spending years undertaking her graduate studies in the English language and settling in the United States not only strengthened her proficiency in English, but has also made English her primary and daily language of use. While this example does not relate to the use of English in the geographical location of Morocco, it nevertheless represents the use of English by individuals originally from this Expanding Circle context. In fact, the media has often referred to Lalami as a Moroccan (see Beyoud, 2010), Moroccan-born (see Freeman, 2019), and Moroccan-American<sup>58</sup> (Hankir, 2019) novelist/writer. Not only is she referred to by her Expanding Circle background, but the Hurston/Wright Legacy Award that she received for her historical fiction novel *The Moor’s Account* is awarded to ‘black writers’ (Brown, 2015). This suggests that Lalami’s writing, although produced in

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<sup>58</sup> This is when Lalami became a naturalized U.S. citizen.

an Inner Circle context, is seen by the North American literary community as a work of a 'Black' African that originates in the Expanding Circle of Morocco. Lalami's example is also a great illustration of English users' movement across and within Kachru's concentric circles.

Hassan Zrizi, a professor in the Department of English Studies at Hassan II University in Mohammadia, Morocco, is the author of the English language novels *Jomana* (2006) and *Back to Bahja* (2010). Unlike Lalami, whose work has reached readers across the world as a result of being translated into six foreign languages (Lalami, 2009), Zrizi's *Jomana* was published in Morocco and did not receive much attention, if any. This is not meant to depreciate the literary work of Zrizi, but rather to show that English literary writing exists in the country, although it may not receive media coverage or benefit from a wider distribution. This point will be discussed further towards the end of this section on print books.

Anissa Taouil is another professor in the Department of English Studies at Hassan II University in Mohammadia, Morocco. She is a polyglot (English, French, Arabic, Bahasa Indonesia, Spanish) poetess and writer who was awarded The Prize of Creativity and Tolerance at the Indonesia Poetry Day in 2018 (Ani Ortega, 2018). Taouil published in English *Rhapsodies: Poems and Paintings* (2000) and *My Book of Many Colors* (2017) in addition to other work she wrote in the other languages she has mastered. In an interview with the public television channel Al Aoula, Taouil stated 'I write in five languages because I would like that the Moroccan literature becomes part of the universal literature' (translated from French) (Ani Ortega, 2018). Taouil is a distinct example of a highly multilingual individual showcasing her discourse-level competence in multiple languages which are not native to her.

There are other Moroccan university professors who also published their literary work in English. For example, in 2000, Abderrahmane Lakhsassi, a professor in the Department of Philosophy at Mohammed V University in Rabat, Morocco, published his short story *Mint Tea* in English in *Mediterraneans* magazine (volume 11)<sup>59</sup>. In the same year, Abdelmajid Hannoum, a professor at the Department of Anthropology at the University of Kansas, also published his short story *The Storyteller* in the same literary

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<sup>59</sup> Link to Abderrahmane Lakhsassi's *Mint Tea* [http://mediterraneans.mmsh.univ-aix.fr/Pdf/Mediterraneans\\_11\\_39.pdf](http://mediterraneans.mmsh.univ-aix.fr/Pdf/Mediterraneans_11_39.pdf)

platform for Mediterranean literary genres<sup>60</sup>. There are many other Moroccan writers of English-language novels and short stories such as Jilali El Koudia who is a short story writer and a professor of English at Sidi Mohammed ben Abdallah University in Fez. Anouar Majid is a novelist and a professor of English at the University of New England (UNE). He is also the co-founder of the English-language magazine *Tingis* ([www.tingismagazine.com](http://www.tingismagazine.com)). Abdellatif Akbib is also a short story writer and a professor of English at Abdelmalek Essaadi University in Tetouan. These authors' selection of English is mainly inspired by their 'career choices,' as Idrissi Alami (2015: 150) argued. In other words, these authors' profession in academia in either the Inner or Expanding Circle, i.e. Lakhsassi in Morocco and Hannoum in the United States, allows for great exposure to English input and also daily opportunities for English output. The amount of English projected from these writers' academic careers prompts them to produce their literary work in English, too.

In addition to university professionals who write in English, there are other Morocco-based young rising authors such as Imad Afdam and Zakariaa Aitouraies who adopt English as a vehicle to transmit their thoughts and ideas. Imad Afdam is a young Moroccan poet and writer who published in 2017 his first book of poetry, *Then the Dawn Returns*, which includes 63 English poems. Prior to writing in English, Afdam used to write his poetry in Arabic as it was 'the only language ... [he] mastered back then' (Laghssais, 2017). In an interview with the online English newspaper *Morocco World News*, the young poet showed awareness of the various linguistic resources (Arabic, French, English) available to him and confessed that English reigns over all the languages he has mastered (Laghssais, 2017). Although Afdam can use all his languages in writing, he believes that he is 'more eloquent' in English which he sees as a language to mirror successfully his feelings and memories. While Afdam is convinced that English is the language that suits him best in expressing his emotions, he is also aware that writing in such a language comes at a cost. To frame this differently, writing in the English language does not allow Afdam to share his work with the majority of Moroccans since the spread of English is still in its early stages and proficiency is not yet well widespread across generations and social classes. Despite such linguistic barriers,

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<sup>60</sup> Link to Abdelmajid Hannoum's *The Storyteller* [http://mediterraneans.mmsb.univ-aix.fr/Pdf/Mediterraneans\\_11\\_42.pdf](http://mediterraneans.mmsb.univ-aix.fr/Pdf/Mediterraneans_11_42.pdf)

Afdam is optimistic that his generation's exposure to social media and English will allow them to increase their proficiency and access his work more easily.

Zakariaa Aitouraeis is also a young Moroccan English writer with a bachelor's degree in English literature. In 2019, he published his first book titled *When the Night Sleeps*, consisting of poems and short stories. In the online blog he maintains in English, Aitouraeis shares similar views with Afdam concerning the issue of writing in English in Morocco. In one of his blog articles discussing English writing, Aitouraeis mentions a conversation he had with his professor, Hassan Zrizi mentioned above, when he handed him his book manuscript seeking feedback. Zrizi informed this aspiring writer that it is a challenge to publish a book in English in Morocco and have a good portion of the population read it. 'You would publish it, have a few people, students, and colleagues read it and then you would be forgotten. People here in Morocco are just not that interested in English books,' Zrizi explained. However, similar to Afdam, Aitouraeis holds an optimistic view towards writing and reading in English. He believes that, unlike older generations, the younger generations of Moroccans are now more interested in reading in English. He continues to explain in his blog that the younger generations

need a voice that they can relate to. Someone who can speak for them, about them, and to them. I'm not denying the fact that it's going to be a challenge for me to publish my books and get people to read them. It certainly will. But challenges are what make us grow.

In an interview with a local newspaper, Safi Now, Aitouraeis was asked about the motivation behind his choice of English in writing. In his words, Aitouraeis tells Safi Now:

I always get this question, and I usually have two answers. The first is the fact that I believe English is the best way to get my work to people around the world. English is a dominant language all over the globe, and writing something in that language would make it easier to reach more people. The second answer is that's all I know. I'm not really that good in French and I don't think I have what it takes to write in Arabic. I fell in love with English at a young age and I felt I didn't have to learn how to write in any other language. (Cherkaoui, 2019)

Aitouraeis believes that writing in English allows his work to cross national borders and reach wider audiences. He also believes that his English writing skills surpass those of Arabic and French. The example of Aitouraeis is a prototype of some of the new Moroccan generation that is starting to show less discourse level proficiency in the historically well-established languages, mainly French. What seems to be the beginning



of a linguistic shift for some young Moroccans is compelling and poses the question of whether the colonial language of French is retracting for the wider spread and use of English. This example links to the argument that many scholars have reiterated over the years. The argument evolves around the idea that the expansion of English to various domains across Morocco threatens the maintenance of French (Bentaouet-Kattan, 1999: 97; Tomaščík, 2010: 16; Zouhir, 2014: 44; Ennaji, 1999: 21) and therefore the proficiency of its users. A more recent argument is that of Soussi (2020) who argued in his study that English is replacing French in Morocco, especially among the young generations.

Reaching an audience in Morocco is also a challenge even for acclaimed writers such as Lalami. According to Idrissi Alami (2015), Lalami's choice to write in English 'has not been without consequences in terms of her readership in the Maghreb' (150). This opinion goes hand in hand with the advice Zrizi gave to Aitouraeis concerning Moroccan readers of English literary work. From Afdam and Aitouraeis, it can be seen that there is a changing behavior towards writing and reading in English. Both aspiring writers believe that their generation and the younger generations are more likely to read Moroccan literature in English given their improved English proficiency. In his blog, Aitouraeis acknowledged that writing in English in Morocco is growing, but at a slow rate.

Confirming Afdam and Aitouraeis optimistic views are the testimonies of Belhaj, a 77-year-old Moroccan who owns an English bookstore in the capital city of Rabat (Delgado, 2019). Belhaj has been in business since 1985 and he has acquired valuable insights regarding the reading behavior of Moroccans for more than thirty years. Belhaj recalls that earlier most of his customers were foreigners; however, since the 9/11 terrorist attacks that hit New York City in 2001, most of his customers are now local Moroccans (Delgado, 2019). The English bookstore owner Belhaj stated that '[t]he world is getting smaller and English is becoming more popular in Morocco. It already is popular. I can see it in my sales' (Delgado, 2019).

The anecdote of the bookstore owner is incorporated here in support of Afdam and Aitouraeis' claims that readership of English literature and books is on the increase. Using English in writing Moroccan literature probably will continue to grow because of the early introduction of English to the Moroccan curriculum in the education system (3.5. Language in the Education Charter of 2000 and Strategic Vision of 2015-2030.), the growing use of English in different domains across the country, and the improving

level of proficiency with constant exposure to various types of media input. Such arguments strengthen the notion of the shift of English from a foreign language to an additional linguistic resource (Hilgendorf, 2007: 144) that Moroccans use to write their literary work.

### 5.3.2. Print newspapers and magazines

Print newspapers and magazines are media platforms where the use of English occurs the least in Morocco. The leading distributor of domestic and international press in Morocco, Sapress, lists in its website foreign magazines imported from Inner Circle countries that are available for purchase. The magazine titles include *The Economist*, *Time Magazine*, *Harvard Business Review*, *The World of Interiors*, and *Newsweek*. In the same Sapress website, domestic magazines with English titles are listed as well. They include *Stadium*, *Food Magazine*, and *Autonews*<sup>61</sup>.

As for foreign print newspapers, Sadiqi (1991) recorded in the early 1990s the distribution of several daily publications from the Inner and Expanding Circles such as '*The Times*, *The Guardian*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Financial Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Sun*, and *Saudi Gazette*' (103, italics added). With the exception of the *International Herald Tribune*, the distribution of these prominent foreign newspapers ceased due to the availability of the same content in the online platforms of these newspapers (Sapress, personal communication, August 17, 2020). While print copies of most of these newspapers are still available in the regions where they are printed out, the English-language *Saudi Gazette* has shifted fully online after 43 years of print services (Saudi Gazette, 2019). Distribution of foreign print magazines may also come to a halt with the increasing digitalization of print media (Bludov, 2018). Readers' desire for instant access to the most recent magazine issues is also a factor that may lead to the discontinuation of print magazine distribution.

Domestic newspapers in Morocco appear in a variety of languages. In 2017, the Haute Autorité de la Communication Audiovisuelle (High Authority for Audio-visual

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<sup>61</sup> While there are many Autonews magazines published around the world, this one is owned by a Moroccan media agency called MJA Conseil.

Communication, henceforth HACA<sup>62</sup>) issued a report documenting the languages used in domestic print newspapers. Table 5.1 below lists those languages (Arabic, Tmazight, French, Spanish, English, Hassaniyya<sup>63</sup>) and the number of newspaper titles appearing in each<sup>64</sup>. According to the figures presented in the table, Standard Arabic (SA) remains the most used language followed by French, English, Spanish, and Hassaniyya. While the report provides such statistics, it unfortunately does not list the titles of these print newspapers, and it has not been possible to identify the name of the newspapers that are printed in English.

**Table 5.1 Languages of print newspapers**

<b>Language</b>	<b>Number of titles</b>
Arabic	328
Tmazight	5
Hassaniyya	1
<b>Language</b>	<b>Number of titles</b>
Arabic and Spanish	1
Arabic-French-English	1
Arabic-French-Spanish	2
French	87
English	1
French-English	1
Total	448

Source: HACA (2017: 20)

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<sup>62</sup> HACA is the national agency that issues licenses for radio and television stations to operate legally in Morocco.

<sup>63</sup> Hassaniyya is a dialect of Arabic spoken in the southern part of Morocco and it is the closest to Standard Arabic (SA).

<sup>64</sup> The languages included in the HACA report do not show the use of Moroccan Colloquial Arabic (MCA) in print newspapers. As the spoken dialect of Moroccan Arabic, it does not have a standardized orthography.

## 5.4. Broadcast media: Television

According to the HACA, there currently is one private<sup>65</sup> and nine public<sup>66</sup> terrestrial television channels in Morocco (HACA, n.d.). In 2017, two additional Moroccan private satellite television channels, Chada TV and Télé Maroc, were founded and headquartered in Jordan and Spain, respectively (Bigo, 2017; Media Ownership Monitor: Morocco, 2019). With their offices overseas, Chada TV and Télé Maroc are received via satellite dishes, which every Moroccan household owns, and they are neither under the control of the 'Moroccan law nor the HACA oversight' (Media Ownership Monitor: Morocco, 2019). Télé Maroc broadcasting covers North Africa, South Europe and the Middle East, while Chada TV covers North Africa and the Middle East only. Despite the fact that Télé Maroc and Chada TV are registered abroad, they are still considered Moroccan channels in this research since their content is directed at Moroccan audiences and Moroccan Colloquial Arabic (MCA) is their default dialect.

Moroccan media programs are broadcast in several languages and their colloquial varieties. The languages that are predominantly used in Moroccan broadcast media are Standard Arabic (SA), Moroccan Colloquial Arabic (MCA, also known as Darija), Moroccan Medial Arabic (MMA), French, Tmazight, and, to a limited extent, Spanish<sup>67</sup>. Public television channels, such as 2M and to a greater extent Al Aoula, Arriyadiya, and Medi1 TV, most often employ formal registers such as Standard Arabic and Standard French, which are more likely directed towards 'male, urban, wealthy, and highly educated classes' (Zaid & Ibaqrine, 2011: 36). It is obvious that the choice of languages, which is mitigated to some extent by the degree of formality of the broadcast, is an influential factor in attracting or repelling television viewers. As is the case in other parts of the world, the majority of the Moroccan population is interested in content that is not only linguistically accessible, but also innovative, entertaining, and informative. Although Moroccan television channels already broadcast their programs in Arabic and French with various levels of formality, and, to a lesser extent, in Tmazight, one cannot fail to notice the use of English in program titles, advertising, and in the dialogues of

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<sup>65</sup> Medi1 TV. Although Medi1 TV is a private channel, 50% of its shares are owned by the government ([www.sat.tv](http://www.sat.tv)).

<sup>66</sup> 2M, Al Aoula, Tamazight TV, Al Maghribiya, Athaqafiya, Arriyadiya, Assadissa, Aflam TV, and Laâyoune TV

<sup>67</sup> News in Spanish are broadcast daily in Al Aoula TV

numerous television programming genres, including domestic soap operas, reality-tv shows, game shows, magazines, and talk shows.

#### **5.4.1. Users of English in Moroccan television channels**

This section discusses more in-depth the users and uses of English in the titling practices of television programs. Then, it addresses the functions that the English titles serve aside from their explicit usage, and, finally, acknowledges other exposures to English through foreign television channels.

The users of English in Moroccan television programming include a wide range of media professionals. These are presenters, moderators, reporters, correspondents, producers, and editors, or any media professional involved in the development of television material. However, it is important to highlight that the discourse of television programs is of course not produced only by media professionals. Television discourse is on many occasions co-produced with invited guests, who also employ English to varying degrees. This means that there are television program hosts and guests that employ single English words in their talk, but also those that employ common English collocations.

#### **5.4.2. General description of the selected English program titles**

For analyzing the practices of program titling, a total of six television channels were selected. Three are privately-owned (Medi1 TV, Chada TV, and Télé Maroc) and three are government-owned (2M, Al Aoula, and Arriyadiya). Selecting these television channels was based mainly on the fact that these particular channels provided examples of program titles that appear fully or partially in English upon scanning their program schedules. The program guide of the public channel Al Maghribiya, for example, did not display at the time of data collection any program titles in English. As a result, this television channel was not considered in this analysis. Since television programs often appear in a series format that generally runs over a limited time period, the English titles of programs also have a life span. Therefore, the excluded channels could have qualified had the study's data collection timeframe been different.

After reviewing the program schedules of the six television channels between August 2018 and April 2019, 32 English titles were identified from the hundreds of the total number of program titles. These occasionally occurring titles illustrate how English is used in texts within television programming. Table 5.2 below displays these titles, showing that the private television channels of Chada TV, Medi 1 TV, and Télé Maroc exhibit the use of both English-monolingual and English-mixed program titles. The program titles of the three public television channels 2M, Al Aoula, and Arriyadiya appear mostly in monolingual English. Based on this preliminary observation, there seems to be a tendency for both private and public television channels to incorporate English in their program titles.

**Table 5.2 English program titles in public and private television channels**

TV channel	Private or public	Program original Title	Program title translation	Program title transliteration
Chada TV	Private	(1) Chada Asks	-	-
		(2) Chada Beauty	-	-
		(3) Chada Cover	-	-
		(4) Clap	-	-
		(5) The Kotbi Tonight	-	-
		(6) Followers	-	-
		(7) Talk بالمغربي	Talk in Moroccan Dialect	Talk bi al-maghribi
		(8) Funny m3a nani	Funny with nani	Funny m3a nani
		(9) Live Music	-	-
2M	Public	(10) The Artist	-	-
		(11) Meditel Morocco Music Awards <sup>68</sup>	-	-
		(13) ماستر شيف Celebrity	-	Master Chef Celebrity
		(14) جمال كوميدي كلوب	-	Jamal Comedy Club
		(15) كاميرا شو	-	Camera Show
		(16) رشيد Show	-	Rachid Show
		(17) Econews	-	-
Medi 1 TV	Private	(18) Talk Afrique	Africa Talk	-
		(19) Vox شباب	Youth Vox	Chabab Vox

<sup>68</sup> Méditel stands for Medi Telecom. Therefore, it is placed within the English-French mixing category.

TV channel	Private or public	Program original Title	Program title translation	Program title transliteration
		سبورت تايم (20)	-	Sport Time
		سبورت week (21)	-	Sport Week
Al Oula	Public	(22) Stand Up	-	-
Arriyadiya	Public	(23) Fight Spirit	-	-
		(24) Saga Africa	-	-
		كوتش (25)	-	Coach
		(26) VIP	-	-
		هالو ماروك (27)	Hello Morocco	Hello Maroc
Télé Maroc	Private	سطار شاف (28)	-	Star Chef
		راب (29)	-	Rap
		(30) Réalité Selfie	Selfie Reality	Reality Selfie
		(31) Relooking Express	-	-
		بودكاستر (32)	-	Podcaster

Although public television channels demonstrate the use of monolingual English titles, such a language choice seems to occur less frequently compared to private television channels. One possible explanation for the reluctance in using English by Al Oula and Arriyadiya as well as the other television channels not included in this data set is the fact that these public channels abide by Article 5 of the Moroccan constitution and the recommendations of the 2016 audio-visual law, n° 77.03 (HACA, 2017). These call for using, maintaining, and developing the only two official languages of the country, Arabic and Tmazight. Another plausible reason is that these television channels are monitored and examined annually in terms of their adherence to the guidelines provided by the licensing authority HACA. As for the private channels Chada TV and Télé Maroc, producers take the liberty of titling their programs in the languages they wish since their headquarters are located outside Moroccan territory and they therefore are not subject to HACA specifications.

The languages of delivery of the selected English-titled programs are mainly SA, MCA, MMA, or French. Aside from programs that are solely in French or SA, the discourse of television programs is often multilingual, as reflected in the code-switching that occurs constantly, especially by the educated presenters, moderators, and guests.

Based on the televised discourses of the selected television channels, a few general preliminary observations on code-switching can be made:

- Switching to French in Arabic discourse is common; however, switching to Arabic in French discourse did not occur even once.
- Program hosts and their guests may each use a different language while interacting. In some cases, the hosts spoke in Arabic and the guests responded in French or in both Arabic and French.
- English is now emerging in the Moroccan televised discourse. It is not uncommon to hear English words, phrases, and sentences of various lengths; however, there are no television programs in the selected data set that are delivered solely in English.

Worth mentioning are the Arabic and Roman scripts used in program titles shown in table 5. 2. There are a number of monolingual English program titles that are written entirely or partly in the Arabic alphabet, such as (12) *Junior* (‘Master Chef Junior’); (13) *Celebrity* (‘Master Chef Celebrity’); (14) *جمال كوميدى كلوب* (‘Jamal Comedy Club’); (15) *كاميرا شو* (‘Camera Show’); (20) *سبورت تايم* (‘Sport Time’); (21) *سبورت Week* (‘Sport Week’); (26) *كوش* (‘Coach’); (28) *هالو ماروك* (‘Hello Maroc’); (29) *سطار شاف* (‘Star Chef’); (30) *راب* (‘Rap’); and (33) *بودكاستر* (‘Podcaster’). These monolingual program titles with the Arabic and Roman alphabet may be confusing to read. However, there seems to be a tendency to place the Arabic script and the Roman script in parallel position. For example, *سبورت* (‘sport’) in the program title *سبورت Week* appears in the top position, as shown in Figure 5.1, and it is read first from top and then followed by *Week* in the bottom.



**Figure 5.1 Monolingual English program title in Arabic and Roman scripts<sup>69</sup>**

<sup>69</sup> Program logo from <https://m.medi1tv.ma/ar/%D8%B3%D8%A8%D9%88%D8%B1%D8%AA-week-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A8%D8%B1%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%85%D8%AC-235>



Similarly, the cooking show *ماستر شيف Junior* ('MasterChef Junior') also displays the Arabic and Roman scripts in parallel position. However, in this example, *ماستر شيف* ('MasterChef') in the bottom position comes first in the reading followed by *Junior* in the Roman script.



**Figure 5.2 Monolingual English program title in Arabic and Roman scripts<sup>70</sup>**

The writing of Arabic words using the Roman script occurred only once for the preposition '*m3a*' ('with') in the code-mixed example (8) *Funny m3a Nani* ('Funny with Nani'). The preposition '*m3a*' was written not only in the Roman alphabet, but with a number as well. The use of number '3' here is a substitute for the voiced pharyngeal fricative [ʕ], which does not exist in the Roman alphabet. This writing practice is especially common amongst young adults in text messaging, and its use is steadily growing in Moroccan advertising.

### 5.4.3. Patterns of titling television programs

The English titles in Table 5.2 above reveal recurring patterns in the titling practices of television programs. These patterns can be compared to a continuum that ranges from minimal to full English use (cf. Hilgendorf, 2013). Generally, most television program titles were found to be partially in English as they were mixed with Arabic or French. Titles that were completely in English were also found. While program titles mix English with SA and French to a greater degree, mixing of English with MCA remains

<sup>70</sup> Program logo from the official Facebook page of Master Chef Junior <https://www.facebook.com/masterchefmarocofficiel>

scarce. As for the mixing of English with Tmazight, not a single example was found. It is noteworthy that television program titles are always either monolingual or bilingual, and that despite the availability of additional linguistic resources, there are no trilingual examples in the data. Given the above, these English mixing patterns of television program titles reflect a high degree of multilingualism in this emerging Expanding Circle country.

#### 5.4.4. Lexical complexity and intelligibility

The lexical categories employed in titling the 32 television programs are quite limited. Most titles are composed of nouns or noun phrases with few occurrences of verbs, prepositions and articles. The use of nouns in titling television programs is not a practice found in the Expanding Circle alone. Such a practice is also common in program titles for Inner Circle television channels and cinema films. For example, a pattern which is usually common in Hollywood movie titles is that of 'ARTICLE + ADJECTIVE + NOUN' (Bumstead, 1981: 158). However, a commercially successful film that employs a distinctive grammatical pattern in its title can encourage the use of a similar distinctive title form in other movies (Bumstead, 1981: 158-159). For Moroccan television programs that currently use English, the grammatical patterns are still quite basic and limited to nouns and noun phrases. In many of the noun phrase titles in the data set, the initial noun functions as an adjective modifying the following noun, such as in (15) *كاميرا شو* ('Camera Show').

There is only one example, (1) *Chada Asks*, where the verb *to ask* is used. The use of the inflectional morpheme /-s/ for the third person singular is quite significant since it shows knowledge of subject-verb agreement in English. The use of prepositions was done mostly in Arabic, as shown in example (7) *Talk بالمغربي* ('Talk in Moroccan dialect) and (8) *Funny m3a nani* ('Funny with nani'), and occurred only once in English as part of the noun (22) *Stand Up*, which is a talent show. The use of articles is observed in examples (5) *The Kotbi Tonight* and (10) *The Artist*, although the host of *The Kotbi Tonight* show does not state the definite article '*the*' in his routine episode introductions. In contrast, one of the co-presenters of the competition show *The Artist* does pronounce the show title including the definite article '*the*' with an American accent, while the other presenter pronounces it with an accent influenced mainly by French.

In addition to the choice of the lexical categories, intelligibility of the used English words, or lack thereof, provides further insights into the range and depth of the functional uses of English in Moroccan television programs. The great majority of the English words used, such as *music*, *sport*, and *talk*, are not uncommon to Moroccans with beginner level proficiency in English. However, there are a few words which pose intelligibility difficulties. For example, the noun *clap* in figure 5.3 is not easily intelligible even for Moroccan viewers who use English regularly. *Clap* is the name of a program that talks about a variety of topics related to local, regional, and international cinema. To understand this program before watching an episode or the teaser, viewers are required not only to comprehend the different semantic meanings of the word *clap*<sup>71</sup>, but also to have knowledge of how films are made. Here, the word *clap* refers to the sound made by the clapperboard used at the beginning of recording a movie scene. To assist the Moroccan audience in understanding what the program title means, the logo of the program *Clap* employs one clapperboard stick in black and white diagonal stripes placed in the background of the word, as shown in figure 5.3. This process is called visual glossing and will be discussed more in-depth in Chapter 6.



**Figure 5.3** Illustration of the television program *Clap*<sup>72</sup>

By using unintelligible English words in program titles, the television media challenges even Moroccan viewers with some English proficiency. However, in general, this use of English titles encourages and assists non-English speaking viewers, too, to acquire some random English words. That is, viewers acquire new English vocabulary by means of guessing and creating relationships between the content of the programs and the English words in their titles. Such uses of English in the broadcasting media signify reaching out to the ‘various societal levels’ (Kachru, 1992: 59) of the country,

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<sup>71</sup> *Clap* is a double entendre and it could refer to clapping with palms of hands or the sound made by clapperboards.

<sup>72</sup> Program logo capture screened from the program teaser on YouTube  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=umYt5sm5AvY>

among whom are illiterate citizens who have not mastered some of the country's already established languages such as SA and French (Zaid, 2014: 296). These examples emphasize how the spread and uses of English in television broadcasting is reaching a wider audience composed of different ages, genders, and social classes.

There are a couple of insightful conclusions that can be drawn so far from the examples of titles under study. First, while the lexical categories in the selected English program titles may be simple, as they are limited largely to nouns, the vocabulary may not be. Second, the languages used in naming television programs are seen as complementing each other. There is no single example of glossing, where the Arabic translation of an English word is provided in a program title, as there is no use of two language versions of the same title placed in juxtaposition to each other. This shows that the Expanding Circle country of Morocco continues along the historical path of additive multilingualism, which signifies that the spread of English does not occur at the expense of other local or foreign languages, as is speculated by some scholars.

#### **5.4.5. Functions of English program titles**

The titling of television programs is comparable to the branding and packaging of commercial products and services. Viewers take show titles and teasers/announcements as starting points for deciding whether or not to watch a particular show. For a television program to garner viewer interest, its title should center around two main objectives: To catch the attention of the audience (Stanley, 2013) and 'encapsulate the content and tone of a show' (Guthrie, 2012). Employing English in contemporary television program titles has become a trend in the Moroccan broadcast television media because English now seemingly functions as a new instrument for catching the attention of the Moroccan audience.

In addition to attention-getting, incorporating and employing English in the titles of Moroccan television shows assists in constructing an image and an identity that makes a show stand out and look interesting. Through the medium of English, producers and television channels try to convince the audience that their shows are worth their time, that the shows are entertaining, of good quality, and higher standards. Another motive behind the use of English in program titles suggests the introduction of new show concepts, such as the live talk show شباب Vox ('Youth Vox') in (19), where politicians and

government officials sit together with young adults and answer their questions regarding recent developments in the country. A different example that introduces a new show concept is *Followers* in (6), which is a talk show that hosts Moroccan social media influencers. The title of this talk show is incongruous since one could argue it would be more appropriate to use the term *Influencers* instead of *Followers* because the show hosts influencers and not their followers. However, the term *follow* is perhaps a much more common word since it is used in several social media platforms (i.e., Facebook, Twitter or Instagram) and is, therefore, more easily understood.

In the Moroccan Expanding Circle context, program producers already have abundant linguistic resources to employ. In order to create attention-grabbing program titles; they obviously have more ways than monolingual producers to be creative. They can make monolingual use of MCA, SA, French, and Tmazight, or combine these languages in a way that serves them best. The more recent use of English in television program titles, along with the other existing languages is remarkable as it highlights the growing functional range and depth of English in Moroccan society. More importantly, the choice of English to serve as an attention getter mirrors the status that English enjoys in the Moroccan speech community and also confirms the idea that English is seen as a more powerful and persuasive instrument to serve the purpose of attention-getting.

#### **5.4.6. Types of programs where English is used and the targeted audience**

The 32 program titles collected from the schedules of six television channels between August 2018 and April 2019 are a combination of talk shows, news magazines, game shows, and reality-tv shows which serve an entertainment, informational, and educational purpose. However, there seems to be a greater inclination towards the use of English in the entertainment genre. Examples (17), (18), (19), (20), (21), (24), and (27) are informational and educational programs dedicated to the educated social class in Morocco. They discuss topics related to politics, economics, sport, and culture. The remainder of the programs are of an entertainment nature, focusing on celebrity interviews, beauty, social media influencers, cinema, comedy, competition reality-TV, and lifestyle themes. Many television programs with English titles are directed at the younger population of the country that obviously already has some knowledge of

English. This illustrates the awareness of the program producers in choosing their program titles accordingly. However, this does not stop the older population from being exposed to these programs with English titles.

#### 5.4.7. Examples of the use of English by program presenters/hosts

The spread of English has also transcended the titles of television programs, and the language is now easily found in the content of locally-produced shows. As mentioned before, English use in Moroccan television programs ranges from single words and phrases to full sentences. For example, in viewing the public television channel 2M, the English acronym *DIY* ('Do it yourself') was used in at least two different television shows. In Morocco, the term has gained popularity through YouTube videos that show the methods for 'carrying out a task oneself as opposed to relying on or employing other people or resources' (Oxford English Dictionary, 2019). A different example was observed on the private channel Chada TV, where the host of the music show *Chada Cover* asked her artist guest if she regretted giving up an administrative profession for a career in singing. In a combination of French and MCA the guest responded that she does not regret this switch and she added in English '*we artists like to be free.*' The host followed by saying in English '*yeah, because I speak English, too.*' The English follow-up comment of the host adds no informational value to the conversation; it is a non-sequitur, as it is not a logical response to the singer's comment in English. Instead, the host makes this statement to show that she understands what the guest said and to highlight that she also can speak English well<sup>73</sup>.

This last example illustrates how psychological factors may govern the use of English by hosts and invited guests on television shows. A desire to appear knowledgeable, eloquent, modern, cool, sophisticated, and respected may trigger using English. There are also pragmatic factors that may motivate English use, such as when the concept being discussed is new to the culture of the speaker and does not have a specific equivalent in Arabic or French. An illuminating example of using English to talk about a newly introduced concept was observed in a daily morning show, *صباحيات 2M* ('2M Morning Show'), which airs on the public television channel 2M. The presenter was

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<sup>73</sup> This show segment can be found in minute 1:42 on [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1G7OpI8hU\\_I](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1G7OpI8hU_I)

interviewing her guest about various pregnancy and post-pregnancy issues, and she asked about postpartum depression using the English term '*baby blues*.' Although this term is common in Western culture, it has not been widely known in the context of Morocco as this health condition has been overlooked. Therefore, talking about this issue required the use of its English term since it is the only one available to the speaker.

#### **5.4.8. Exposure to English through foreign television channels**

The amount of English that Moroccans are exposed to through their national television channels is relatively modest as compared to the amount used by foreign broadcasting stations. Given the modest amount of current local TV channels and the limited choice of quality shows they broadcast, Moroccan television viewers commonly seek other alternatives<sup>74</sup> (Chtatou, 2016). According to a press release issued by the audience measurement agency CIAUMED (2019), a daily average of 53.6% Moroccan television viewers watched foreign channels during the 12 months of 2018. In contrast, the Moroccan public channels held an audience share<sup>75</sup> of 46.4%. Among the Moroccan public channels, 2M TV attracted 32.3% of the Moroccan audience followed by Al Aoula (9.7%), Al Maghribiya (2.1%), and the remaining of the national channels (2.3%) (CIAUMED, 2019)<sup>76</sup>.

In previous years, reports of CIAUMED included a list of the most watched foreign television channels<sup>77</sup> by Moroccan viewers. For example, in 2014 the Saudi-owned satellite television channels MBC 1, MBC 2, MBC 4, and MBC Action, currently broadcasting from Dubai but soon moving to Riyadh in Saudi Arabia (Serrieh, 2020), came at the top of the list<sup>78</sup> (Assahraa, 2014). These and over a dozen other MBC

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<sup>74</sup> Alternative channels are foreign channels which are captured via satellite dishes installed on the roof of almost every household across the country (Salih, 2003: 122).

<sup>75</sup> Audience share refers to 'the percentage of households viewing or listening to a particular television or radio during a specific period of time' (Collins Dictionary, 2020)

<sup>76</sup> Note that these statistics exclude Moroccan private television channels headquartered in Morocco and abroad.

<sup>77</sup> These reports are no longer available on the CIAUMED website, but such statistics can be found on the online news websites that published articles on the matter. Also, detailed lists of foreign channels are not provided in the most recent reports.

<sup>78</sup> Emirati channels were ranked second and Qatari channels were ranked third (Assahraa, 2014).

entertainment channels air 24 hours per day with no fee and broadcast a substantial variety of shows. These include regional adaptations of international shows, such as *Arabs Got Talent*<sup>79</sup>, *Arab Idol*, *The X-Factor*, *The Voice* *أعلى صوت* ('The Best Voice'), *The Voice Kids*, and *Project Runway*. They also air a number of famous original American series and shows, such as *House of Cards*, *Southland*, *Ridiculousness*, *Game of Thrones*, *The Carbonaro Effect Specials*, *What Went Down (WWD)*, *Caught on Camera with Nick Cannon*, *Crazy Wheels*, *The Real Housewives of Orange County*, *Oprah*, *Dr. Phil*, *Dr. Oz*, and *The Doctors*. There is in addition 24-hour/day broadcasting of Hollywood blockbuster movies, such as *The Dark Knight*, *Inception*, *Mission Impossible*, *The Fast and Furious*, *The Lord of the Rings*, and many more. These channels mostly target young Arab males and females as well as families in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA)<sup>80</sup>.

These English-language programs expose the Moroccan audience to a significant amount of English. This exposure occurs through the original soundtrack of these English-language productions, which generally are supplemented with subtitles in Arabic (Alabbasi, 2009: 181; Sakr, 2007: 130). According to Qasim and Yahiaoui (2019: 76), subtitling is the preferred method for English movies broadcast in the MENA region. Such a favoured choice can be explained by the fact that a significant number of viewers already have some knowledge of English and therefore prefer the original version of movies with supplementary subtitles to refer to occasionally when needed. This point will be discussed further in the coming cinema section.

Aside from Inner Circle productions that are broadcast in their original English soundtrack with Arabic subtitles, there are also television programs which are broadcast in other languages. These productions are generally from Expanding and Outer Circle countries (i.e., Turkey, Brazil, Mexico, South Korea, India) and are dubbed into one of the Arabic varieties that is intelligible to all Arabic speakers from Morocco to Oman, such as the Egyptian or Syrian dialect. Dubbing is more common for non-English programs because the languages of the original soundtracks are not intelligible to the majority of Arab viewers. Concerning children's television shows and programs, they are mostly

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<sup>79</sup> Note that the plural /s/ in *Arabs Got Talent* is not used as a possessive with an apostrophe similar to the American version, *America's Got Talent*.

<sup>80</sup> <https://www.mbc.net/en/corporate/about-us.html>



dubbed in SA or Egyptian dialect regardless of their original language. Dubbing has been the preferred method for children programs since the 1980s (Qassim & Yahiaoui, 2019: 76) due to the fact that these young viewers' reading pace might not be as fast as that of adults.

The fact that almost 20 million (CIAUMED, 2019) Moroccan viewers who are aged five years and older turn their TV sets on to watch one of these MBC channels is meaningful. This means that a significant portion of Moroccan society is exposed to a wide array of contemporary, aural, authentic English input that is supported by Arabic subtitles. This certainly contributes to the English proficiency of the Moroccan viewer, who can read Arabic subtitles while listening to English input.

The migration of the Moroccan audience, especially young viewers, to foreign channels can be attributed to several reasons. In a recent UNICEF report concerning Moroccan youth (aged 15-34 years) and their use of television and social media, it was shown that there is a preference for foreign channels, Western or Arab, over Moroccan ones (UNICEF, 2018: 4). This is due to the good quality of foreign channel productions and content; the quality of the language used; and the messages conveyed (UNICEF, 2018: 35). The report does not elaborate on what is meant by quality of language, but it is understood that Moroccan youth are conscious of the languages used in the programs they watch and they seek a discourse that is interesting and informative. A similar attitude is also seen in a different Arab context that is geographically remote from Morocco. In a study on the motives of Emirati university students for watching English programs shown on MBC channels, Ankit (2014: 5) reported that interest in improving English proficiency is the primary motive, and is more important than learning about Western cultures or leisure and entertainment.

Despite such positive attitudes towards increasing one's proficiency in English, the Western content that is broadcast in an uninterrupted fashion in the Saudi MBC channels stirs controversy in some Arab Muslim communities. In a number of publications (i.e., Alhimi, 2006; Alabbasi, 2009), there has been reference to the language and cultural content of some Western, mainly American, productions that were deemed offensive to Arab Muslim viewers<sup>81</sup>. This concerns in particular swear words in

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<sup>81</sup> Saudi clerics have also criticized local productions that deviate from the teachings of Islam.

English and culturally inappropriate scenes showing affectionate and intimate moments<sup>82</sup>. The criticism was not directed towards the use of English as a language, but towards the poor translation and cultural filtering of the editing agencies. For example, Alabbasi (2009, 186) expressed his concern over the translation of English swear words into milder and less offensive Arabic equivalents. In his opinion, '[y]oung viewers may think that the uttered swear words mean exactly what was written on the screen' (186) in translated subtitles. As a result, he feared that these young viewers 'may use these swear words thinking that they are not so offensive' (186).

In spite of such disapproval, MBC channels continue to use Arabic subtitles with less offensive translations for a considerable portion of the Inner Circle productions they broadcast (i.e., movies, talk-shows, series, reality-tv). The fact that MBC channels broadcast original English-language soundtracks that sometimes carry content that would be censored in Arabic is in fact mind-boggling considering that they are owned by one of the most conservative Muslim communities in the world. An alternative option to solve the issue of subtitles is the use of dubbing, which according to Yahiaoui (2016) replaces the original soundtrack with a more local one that 'suit[s] better the target audience' (197). However, the 'cost-effective treatment of subtitling' (Hilgendorf, forthcoming) coupled with the appeal of the English language and the need to fill in air-time generally are prioritized. They tend to be favored over concerns Muslim Arabs have over inappropriate ethics and foreign cultural practices. In any case, families in the MENA region have a heightened awareness of the greater degree of risqué nature of foreign productions and therefore exercise greater discretion in choosing which productions to view. As mentioned, there is fierce criticism of the content MBC channels broadcast; however, they remain the most widely watched channels in the MENA region.

Moroccans' consumption of French television media is also relevant for this research, as it is imperative to consider this linguistic context in its entirety. European channels, mainly the French channels TV5 Monde and France 24, are viewed by a good portion of the Moroccan audience. A separate study reveals that TV5 Monde and France 24 hold an audience share of 15.8% in Morocco (Yabiladi, 2019), which is less than the share of viewers enjoyed by MBC channels. What remains particularly interesting here is

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<sup>82</sup> Note that vulgar language and embarrassing scenes can also be found in the local cinema of the MENA countries.

the fact that the use of English is also encountered on French television channels. Similar to the titling practices of the Moroccan television outlets discussed above, French channels also make use of English in titling their programs. For example, France 24 broadcasts a show titled *French Connections* and another one titled *Reporters*. In TV5 Monde, a music show titled *Acoustic* is also found in the program schedule<sup>83</sup>. These examples of English titles in television programming produced in France reveal how other languages and media outlets from other Expanding Circle contexts are in fact carriers of English. In other words, besides their exposure to English through Inner Circle productions, Moroccans are also presented with English via productions in other languages, mainly French and Arabic.

Clearly, while Arabic and French have been used in Morocco for over a century, English has been gaining space in the Moroccan linguistic repertoire more recently. Such additive multilingualism is common in the Maghreb countries (Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia), although among them there are differences in the degree of English spread and use. The Moroccan speech community certainly has a unique profile that makes a meaningful contribution to the bigger context that constitutes Kachru's (1984: 25) Expanding Circle.

## **5.5. Broadcast media: Radio**

There are significantly more radio stations in Morocco today than a decade ago (Zaid, 2011: 6). After the 'partial liberalization and modernization' (Zaid & Ibahrine, 2011: 6) of the Moroccan audio-visual sector in 2004, 16 public and 23 private radio stations have been licensed to transmit their programs across the country. The emergence of private radio stations in 2006 initiated 'the use of a language that is accessible to their listeners, somewhere between modern standard Arabic and Darija' (Zaid & Ibahrine, 2011: 6). The growing number of radio stations has facilitated the use of a diversified discourse that is accessible to the majority of Moroccans (Zaid & Ibrahim, 2011: 6). In other words, sustaining these recently established radio stations requires diversifying and widening their audience to include all social layers of the Moroccan community. To

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<sup>83</sup> The names of these television shows are cognates in French and English.

attract a larger audience population, these emerging radio stations began using varieties of Arabic, Tmazight, and French with their different degrees of formality.

Adopting multiple varieties of the local languages ensures listeners receive radio programs that speak to them in the languages they understand the best. Despite the use of varieties of Arabic, Tmazight, and French, codeswitching to other foreign languages, mainly English, has also been observed. As a case in point, hosts and presenters of private and public radio station programs make spontaneous use of English in their broadcasts. Not only that, but radio stations also employ English in titling their programs, which is a practice observed in the discussion of television channels as well.

### **5.5.1. English use and users in Moroccan radio stations**

#### **English uses in Moroccan radio stations**

One of the uses of English in Moroccan radio is in the titling of radio programs. To examine the use of English in radio program titles, websites of the 39 existing radio stations in the country were consulted and their program schedules were downloaded and scanned for titles that appear partially or completely in English. The 11 English-using radio stations that qualified for selection led to the gathering of 27 program titles in English from hundreds of titles in Arabic, French, and English (Table 5.3). This occurrence counts as occasional when compared to the total number of the existing radio programs. The data set shows titles that are English-mixed and also titles which are English-monolingual. Consulting the schedules of these radio stations gave access to the written form of the program titles, which also revealed the type of script employed. Titles in English that were written in the Arabic script appear in examples (4) باور دانس ('Power Dance'), (8) روك يونائتد ('Rock United'), (17) ايكو بيزنيس ('Eco Business'), and (24) لايف شاباب ('Live Chabab'). Based on these radio program titles, it seems that the use of the Arabic script to transcribe the English titles is becoming common practice, similar to the television program titles discussed earlier. One reason that explains the transcription of English titles in Arabic script is the projection of the pronunciation of English words that may not be known to some audiences. However, this is not necessarily important for radio broadcasting since this aural media platform traditionally does not employ any visuals. Therefore, instead of relying on the Arabic script to read the English words in their correct pronunciation, listeners can hear these program names on their radio

channels. This practice of Arabic script transcription of English program titles is new and seems to be consistent across broadcast media.

**Table 5.3 English program titles in public and private radio stations**

Radio station	Private or public	Program original title	Program title translation	Program title transliteration
Medina FM	Private	(1) Good Weekend Medina	-	-
		(2) Arts Mag	-	-
		(3) On Air	-	-
MedRadio	Private	(4) باور دانس	-	Power Dance
Chaine Inter	Private	(5) Hit Parade Weekend	-	-
		(6) Sport Weekend	-	-
		(7) Family Mag Weekend	-	-
Radio Mars	Private	(8) روك يونائتد	-	Rock United
شدى Chada FM	Private	(9) #up_n_snap	-	-
		(10) Paparazzi	-	-
Radio 2M	Public	(11) Campus	-	-
		(12) Jazz Time	-	-
		(13) Musique Non-Stop	Music Non-Stop	-
		(14) Pop Rock Collection	-	-
		(15) Feeling	-	-
Atlantic Radio	Private	(16) Le Grand Morning	The Grand Morning	-
Mfm Radio	Private	(17) ايكو بيزنيس	-	Eco Business
Hit Radio	Private	(18) Momo Morning Show	-	-
		(19) Hit List	-	-
		(20) Clash List	-	-
		(21) Hit Radio Party Mix	-	-
		(22) Top 10 Morocco	-	-
Cap Radio	Private	(23) Week-end Chabab	Youth weekend	-
		(24) لايف شباب	Life Youth	Life chabab
Medi 1	Private	(25) Café Weekend	-	-
		(26) Magic Vibes	-	-
		(27) Génération Hashtag	Hashtag generation	-

The titles in Table 5.3 are English titles of entertainment programs directed to the younger population of the country. Hearing some English on the radio captures the attention of the listener and signals entertaining and fun content to the younger audience. English makes radio programs look “cool” in the eye of the younger audience and also suggests that the content is selected exclusively to appeal to their taste.

The use of English in program titles seems to differ in public and private radio stations. Table 5.3 shows that there is a tendency for private radio stations to use more English in their program titles than public ones. With the exception of Radio 2M, the majority of state-owned radio stations appears to employ English to a lesser extent in program titling. One of the motives to explain the difference in the use of English by radio stations may be funding. Since private radio stations are free-to-air commercial platforms relying mainly on external funds such as advertising, they use English as a tool to magnetize and maintain a considerable audience share, which in return draws more businesses to advertise with them. As for the public radio station Radio 2M, it shows a different practice as compared to the other public radio stations. According to the Media Ownership Monitor (2019: 508), the significant audience share of the public Radio 2M attracts important advertising contracts from the government, telecommunication firms, and other big corporations. It appears that private radio stations’ use of English in program titles is done intentionally to attract more listeners and subsequently generate more income through advertising contracts. Image polishing and a desire to be perceived as trendy, modern, sophisticated and entertaining are also motives that urge private radio stations to use English to a greater extent. In addition, the use of English shows creativity in developing content and an effort to stand out among the other competing radio stations.

The greater use of English by private radio stations does not mean that public radio stations refrain from any use of English. On the contrary, public radio stations transmit programs that are entirely in English. For example, the public radio station Chaîne Inter transmits daily news in English and Spanish for 15 minutes each. Mohammed VI Radio for the Holy Quran, also a public station, broadcasts in English every Saturday for 13 minutes a program on the stories portrayed in the Quran. These English language programs are directed to foreigners in the country who do not speak any of the established local languages. Nonetheless, this does not prevent the Moroccan speech community from tuning in to these radio stations and listening to these programs.

In addition to radio programs that are broadcast entirely in English or that display titles in English, there are other programs where the use of English surfaces in talk shows, program signature tunes, and advertising. The successful radio talk show *Nakhl wa Rumman* ('Palm Trees and Pomegranate')<sup>84</sup> aired by the public radio station Mohammed VI Radio for the Holy Quran is an illustrative example. *Nakhl wa Rumman* hosted the Moroccan nutrition specialist Mohamed El Faid<sup>85</sup> to discuss various nutrition topics. In his talks, which are also widely available online, El Faid switches between the High and Low varieties of Arabic while at the same time incorporating a range of French and English technical terms for nutrition and health conditions. What is further intriguing is that El Faid also integrates in his speech common, non-specialized English words such as *physician*, *fast food*, *sweeteners*, and *inflammation*, which all have equivalents in Arabic and French. While the audience, even those with good English proficiency, may not certainly understand some of his technical terminology, such as when he speaks of "bovin serum albumin"<sup>86</sup>, his English use conveys the message that El Faid's knowledge comes from Western scientific sources.

El Faid's radio show was followed by a broad spectrum of the population with various linguistic, educational, and geographical backgrounds. The radio station Mohammed VI Radio for the Holy Quran that hosted him had the highest audience share of 14.40%<sup>87</sup> during the airing of the program (Zainabi, 2019). El Faid is very popular among Moroccan women, who are the principal cooks in Moroccan families, because he shares information about better ways for healthy cooking and about appropriate ingredients to boost the health of children and adults. The example of the El Faid radio show reveals that exposure to a talk that incorporates English, although minimal, is inevitable.

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<sup>84</sup> Despite its apparent popularity, this radio show was cancelled in 2015 (Meknespress, 2015).

<sup>85</sup> Mohamed El Faid produces YouTube videos in English, French, and Arabic. His verified Dr Faid Channel on YouTube of 1,34s million subscribers has videos in English, French and Arabic. This is a link to one of his videos in English on the lack of research in the nutrition science (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h7fACZU1YNc>).

<sup>86</sup> Bovin serum albumin is a protein derived from cows and used for laboratory experiments.

<sup>87</sup> During the time when *Nakhl wa Rumman* was aired, the audience share was higher. For example, in 2014, the audience share reached 16,61% (IPSOS, 2014: 24).

## English users in Moroccan radio stations

Similar to the users of English in Moroccan television corporations, the users of English in Moroccan radio stations are program hosts, guests, and participating listeners. For example, in the private radio station Hit Radio, the host of *Momo Morning Show*, Mohamed Bousfiha, often incorporates French, English, and Spanish<sup>88</sup> utterances of varying length into his MCA discourse. Similarly, some of the guests and listeners calling to participate in Bousfiha's show make use of English. For example, in one of the 2019 discussions on diet, a listener who called into the show used the English phrase 'free day' in talking about going off the diet for a day. In a different segment of the same show, another listener sent a WhatsApp audio-message expressing her love for Bousfiha's show. Towards the end of her message, the listener made a code-mixed utterance in both French and English: '*Bonne continuation, you are the best.*' '*J'étais trop excited*' ('I was very excited') is another code-mixed example used by one of the call-in participants.

According to the Media Ownership Monitor (2019: 6), more than half of the Moroccan population listens to the radio for about 3 hours a day on average. English is penetrating domains in which it was never used before and its users include Moroccans of different ages as well as educational and social backgrounds. This reflects the organic growth of the uses of English, which in broadcast media arises out of the need to attract the attention of the audience; to make media content appealing, and to highlight the modern and sophisticated identity of the users of English and their shows.

## 5.6. Cinema

It has been demonstrated above that the spread of English is present in many spheres of the Moroccan media. Although there are differences in its degree of use, English nevertheless has become a language of online news consumption and production; a language of preference and choice for many literary writers; and an additional linguistic resource for television and radio professionals. The following section

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<sup>88</sup> Spanish is also a language of daily use for Momo because his wife is a Spanish native speaker.



discusses audio-visual media. More specifically, the rest of this narrative pertains to the spread and uses of English in Moroccan cinema and music.

### **5.6.1. The screening of the original version of Hollywood movies**

Since the inception of Moroccan movie theaters in the early twentieth century (Zine, 2019; Le Matin, 2002), the main movie productions that were screened in the Kingdom were of French and Spanish origins (Benzaken, 2014; Amine, 2018). These colonial movies that were presented to the Moroccan community for over four decades were aimed at facilitating the settlement of the French and the Spanish authorities by instilling moral principles that benefited the colonizers and more importantly by ingraining a behavior of French consumerism (Alhihi, 2019). By the time Morocco gained its independence in 1956, however, Egyptian and Hollywood movies started to occupy a larger portion of the cinema market share (Brève histoire du cinéma à Tétouan, n.d.). As far as the language of use of these giant movie productions is concerned, Egyptian movies have always been screened in their original versions in the Egyptian Arabic dialect, while Hollywood movies traditionally have always been dubbed into French.

In recent years, however, there has been a growing trend of showing Hollywood movies in their English original versions (OV). These are the same versions of the films screened in the Inner Circle, that is, for an L1-English speaking audience. In Morocco, the screening of the original audio track of Inner Circle film productions is sometimes accompanied by subtitles in French. Some movie theaters offer a couple of original version screenings per week, while others offer daily original version viewing opportunities. For example, IMAX, which is available only in the city of Casablanca, shows some movies in their original versions every Tuesday and Thursday. In Marrakesh, the Cinéma Le Colisée used to offer original version screenings three times a week (Friday, Saturday, and Sunday), but now displays movies in their original versions on a daily basis. The movie theater chain Megarama, which has several cineplexes across the country, shows selected Hollywood movies in their original versions every Saturday and Sunday, with the exception of the Tangier branch, which offers original version screenings of all Hollywood movies daily. Similarly, Cineatlas, in the capital city of Rabat, screens original versions of Hollywood films on a daily basis. Despite such daily screenings, movie-goers still demand more original version screening opportunities. In response, the management of the movie theater Cineatlas posted on its

Facebook page an announcement that states ‘Vous l’avez demandé! Plus de séances VO sont au programme cette semaine, de nos deux nouveautés.’ (‘You asked for it! More original version screenings of our two new movie releases are programmed this week’) (Cineatlas, 2019).

There seems to be a growing number of Moroccan movie-goers who prefer to watch the original version of Hollywood movies. In fact, one movie-goer posted a comment on the Cineatlas Facebook page wondering how people could watch French-dubbed Hollywood films and asked if the issue of screening more original versions could be raised with the management of the movie theater. It is highly likely that these movie-goers find the French versions lacking in authenticity. This is because most Hollywood movies are produced by Inner Circle film companies in English and by taking out the English element, movies lose some of their charm and appeal.

It was mentioned earlier in the television section that most Moroccan youth watch Hollywood movies in the 24-hour Saudi channels of MBC’s television network. In fact, Moroccans also have other opportunities to watch the original version of Inner Circle movies such as in Moroccan movie theaters. What this increased exposure to English signifies is that the younger population of the Moroccan speech community is developing advanced proficiency in English which allows them to enjoy the original version of Inner Circle movies, with or without subtitles, and allows them to acquire further linguistic and paralinguistic aspects of contemporary English.

### **5.6.2. Exposure to Inner Circle movie titles**

Besides the original version screening of movies just discussed above, the titles of Hollywood movies are also a source of English to which Moroccan cinema enthusiasts are exposed. In a study dedicated to examining the use of English in the German context, Hilgendorf (2013) examined the modifications that US film titles undergo to become sellable in this European Expanding Circle country. The study is based on a corpus of over 300 titles of Hollywood blockbusters spanning three decades (1986 to 2005). The analysis of these titles adapted for the German context reveals a continuum ranging between the two poles of monolingual German and monolingual English titles used in the German context. In between the two monolingual poles are varying degrees

of transition between the two languages as well as varying degrees of autonomy in titling the film. Hilgendorf (2013: 177) identifies 14 categories along the continuum:

- New German title
- Titles translated into German with additional elaboration in German,
- Titles translated into German with slight modification,
- Titles translated word-for-word into German,
- New German titles with English innovation,
- Title with German gloss plus original English title,
- Pure mixing,
- Original English title with German elaboration,
- Original English title with German translation,
- Original English title with German gloss,
- Titles retaining original English title,
- Modified original English title,
- Original English title with English elaboration,
- New title using English (Hilgendorf, 2013: 177).

While Hilgendorf's (2013) continuum examines movie titles in the German context, it is an excellent tool in guiding a discussion of examples of Inner and Outer Circle movie titles screened in Moroccan movie theaters in April of 2018 and 2019. In the case of Morocco, the language use for film titles ranges along a continuum between the poles of monolingual French and monolingual English<sup>89</sup>. A preliminary review of films screened in 2018 and 2019 shows examples for 10 of the 14 categories on Hilgendorf's 2013 continuum:

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<sup>89</sup> Inner Circle film titles are never in Arabic

**Table 5.4 Inner and Outer Circle film titles and their modifications for Moroccan cinema**

	Category on the continuum	Examples [original English title follows in brackets]
Title in French	New French title	Le Jour de Mon Retour [The Mercy]
	Titles translated into French with additional elaboration in French	Alex, Le Destin d'un Roi [The Kid Who Would Be King]
	Titles translated into French with slight modification	Dragon 3: Le Monde Caché [How to train your Dragon: The Hidden World]
	Titles translated word-for-word into French	Parc des Merveilles [Wonder Park]
Code-mixed title	New French title with English innovation	n/a
	Title with French gloss + original English title	La Forme de l'Eau – The Shape of Water [The Shape of Water]
	Pure mixing	Ant-Man et la Guêpe [Ant-Man and the Wasp]
	Original English title + French elaboration	Green Book: Sur les Routes du Sud [Green Book]
	Original English title + French translation	n/a
	Original English title + French gloss	n/a
Title in English	Title retaining original English title	Dumbo Captain Marvel Pacific Rim Uprising
	Modified original English title	Apprentis Parents [Instant Family] Escape game [Escape Room] Cro Man [Early Man]
	Original English title + English elaboration	n/a
	New title using English	The Passenger [The Commuter]

The first monolingual category to consider here is that of Inner Circle movie titles translated into French. *The Mercy* (2017) underwent a complete modification in the Expanding Circle of Morocco and was released with the new French monolingual title *Le Jour de Mon Retour* ('the day of my return'). An example of a title translated into French with additional elaboration in French is *Alex, Le Destin d'un Roi*, which has the original English title of *The Kid Who Would Be King*. Another example of a French monolingual title is the 2019 movie *How to Train your Dragon: The Hidden World*, which was translated into French with slight modification. *The Hidden World* was translated word-for-word to *Le Monde Caché*, while *Dragon 3* is the slight modification added to the title

to show that the movie is a sequel. The film *Wonder Park* (2019) provides an example of a word-for-word translation from English to French, with the film being released in Morocco as *Le Parc des Merveilles*.

The second collective category on the continuum is that of code-mixed titles using both English and French. The 2018 movie *Green Book* was altered to *Green Book: Sur les Routes du Sud* ('Green Book: On the southern states road'). This is an example of the use of the Inner Circle original title in English followed by an elaboration in French (original English title + French elaboration). The original English title alone does not provide enough background on the story of the movie for Expanding Circle viewers. *Green Book* refers to a popular road guide for African American travelers during the racial discrimination era in the United States. The book provided a list of hotels, restaurants, businesses, auto-repair shops, etc. in the southern United States that would provide services to African Americans during the peak of racial segregation. The French elaboration, therefore, adds more context to the title, indicating to the audiences that the story revolves around a road trip in the southern United States.

Another example within the code-mixed category is of a title with French gloss plus the original English title (title with French gloss + original English title). *The Shape of Water* (2017) was screened as *La Forme de l'Eau – The Shape of Water*. Another code-mixed movie title is that of pure mixing between the two languages. The movie *Ant-Man and the Wasp* (2018) was released in Morocco as *Ant-Man et la Guêpe*. While part of this English movie title was maintained, the second half of the title was translated into French. Expanding Circle movie goers are not necessarily familiar with the wasp insect in English. This intelligibility issue calls for a translation of this word to French.

The third category of the continuum represents English monolingual movie titles. A modification strategy that is quite common both in the German and Moroccan contexts is the maintenance of the English original titles (title retaining original English title). Inner Circle movie titles which were not altered for the Expanding Circle context of Morocco consist of proper names such as *Dumbo*, 2017; *Captain Marvel*, 2019; *Alita: Battle Angel*, 2019; *Red Sparrow*, 2018; *Black Panther*, 2018; *Tom Raider*, 2018; and *Ralph 2.0*, 2018.

Another example within the English monolingual category is the creation of an entirely new English title (new title using English). This practice of changing original English titles to context-specific English titles is intriguing, as it demonstrates the indispensable value of English in marketing a movie. This is best illustrated through the use of a new English title for the Inner Circle movie *The Commuter*. Instead of maintaining the original title, it is in fact simplified by changing it to *The Passenger*. The title could have been *Le Navetteur* in French, but it seems that the Inner Circle title *The Passenger* is more appealing for Moroccan movie-goers.

In addition to the categories Hilgendorf (2013) identifies on the continuum for the German context, there are examples of English film titles with a proper name that are released in Morocco with the French translation or equivalent of that proper name. This occurs with the films *Mary Magdalene*, which was released in Morocco as *Marie Madeleine*, and *Robin Hood*, which was released as *Robin des Bois*. Otherwise, it is common for film titles consisting of English proper names to maintain those original titles in Morocco. A similar practice is also noticed in Morocco as shown in the examples of *Captain Marvel* and *Black Panther*. However, the translation of proper nouns to their French equivalents, if available, is a peculiarity in this set of Morocco's movie titles.

The recycling and re-titling of Inner Circle movie productions is a practice that is performed in the cinema industry around the globe. The use of the English language in particular for the purpose of re-titling movie productions is viewed as a 'means for reaching out to movie-goers' (Hilgendorf, 2013: 182). This is well noted in Germany and Morocco, which serve here as examples for the European and African contexts, respectively. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the maintenance of Inner Circle movie titles may not be equally pervasive in other Expanding Circle countries. For example, a study conducted on the use of English in movies in Istanbul, Turkey reports an increased use of the Turkish language in re-titling movies from different countries in Kachru's circles (i.e., US, UK, Australia, France, Germany, Spain, Canada) (Arik & Arik, 2019). Unlike the Moroccan context, where almost the majority of movie titles are seemingly in English, movies screened in cinemas in Istanbul with original Turkish titles or translations to Turkish made up 90% of the 353 collected movie titles (Arik & Arik, 2019: 3). Only 5% of the titles were not translatable to Turkish because they were proper names and 1% of the titles were retained in their original form for their simple and common lexicon (Arik & Arik, 2019: 3). What is compelling is that although the titles of

movies screened in Turkish theaters were less prevalent than those offered in English, 'about four-fifths' of movies which were originally in English were screened in their original versions with Turkish subtitles (Arik & Arik, 2019: 5). What is concluded from such Expanding Circle contexts is that the diffusion of English in the cinema industry may differ from one country to another and the degrees of spread and uses may be developing and unfolding differently.

### 5.6.3. The use of English in Moroccan movie titles

The use of English in movie titles is not restricted to the movie productions of Inner Circle countries only. It is also present in the movie productions of Expanding Circle countries, as noted in Hilgendorf's (2013: 175) study. This section offers an overview of the use of English in the Moroccan cinema by examining the use of English in the titles of domestically produced movies.

Moroccan national cinema productions started a few years after gaining independence from France (Dwyer, 2004: 3). Just as the Moroccan context is multilingual in nature, Moroccan cinema reflects such linguistic diversity as well, in the sense that Moroccan movies can be in Arabic, Tmazight, French, or a mix of Arabic and French, principally. Records of national movie productions for a recent six-year period, from 2013-2018<sup>90</sup>, reveal remarkable uses of English in movie titles for Moroccan productions. Over this period, 67 Moroccan movies titles out of a total of over 100 titles were released in English, even though the films were in the languages of Arabic and French. Some movie titles were released only in English, such as *Burnout* (Figure 5.4), directed by Nour-Eddine Lakhmari, while other movies were released with both Arabic and English titles, such as *A Mile in my Shoes* مسافة ميل (Figure 5.5), s director Saïd Khallaf. In fact, the poster of this last movie (Figure 5.5) contains more content in English. Under the Arabic title مسافة ميل, there is the English gloss of the title. The English title is preceded by the English phrase *You do not know me until you walk a MILE in my shoes*. Of the title's English gloss, only the noun phrase 'A Mile' appears in larger, prominent font.

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<sup>90</sup> Titles of movies are available in the website of the Moroccan Center of Cinematography (<https://www.ccm.ma/en/>).



Figure 5.4 Burnout<sup>91</sup>



Figure 5.5 A Mile in my Shoes<sup>92</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Movie poster taken from <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt5209478/>

<sup>92</sup> Movie poster taken from <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt6052982/>





Figure 5.6 Road to Kabul poster<sup>93</sup>

One blockbuster movie that deserves mentioning in this section is *Road to Kabul* *الطريق الى كابول* directed by Brahim Chkiri. This code-mixed Moroccan movie title appearing in Arabic and English succeeded in selling over 1 million tickets in the country, which is unprecedented in the history of Moroccan cinema (Challenge, 2014). *Road to Kabul* is a comedy about the desire of a group of four unemployed friends to immigrate illegally to the Netherlands for better job opportunities. Due to a lack of funds, the friends decide to contribute money to send only one of them to the Netherlands, Hmida, who after his arrival is supposed to work to earn enough money to pay for the trip for the rest of the friends to join him. The illegal immigration smuggler cheats the group and ends up sending Hmida instead to Afghanistan. The remaining three friends then have to go to Afghanistan to save their friend from the war in Kabul. Since the movie takes place largely in Afghanistan, a country where over 90% of the population speaks either Dari or Pashto and in which there is a significant American military presence, there are many scenes where the use of English occurs. This movie has become part of the younger generation's collective memory and there are popular quotes from the movie, both in Arabic and English, which have become part of Moroccan youths' discourse.

<sup>93</sup> Movie poster taken from <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt2331169/>

Similar to what was mentioned earlier about the use of English in television to grab the attention of the audience and summarize the content of the shows (section 1.4.5. Functions of English program titles), titles of movies are viewed as ‘the brands or the trademarks of the films’ (Yu, 2018: 1658). They are the first contact the audience has with a given movie. They offer a glimpse of the story (Yu, 2018: 1658) and it is based on their quality and appeal that movie-goers frequent box offices. In addition, the titling of movies in English perhaps springs from the desire to compete in international film festivals. While translating movie titles is a widely used option, as seen with Hollywood movies, many film industry professionals (i.e., filmmakers, writers, producers, directors, or marketing companies) opt for an English title because it also reduces the cost of developing new advertising titles and eventually posters.

## **5.7. Music**

The use of English in Moroccan contemporary music (i.e., hip hop, fusion, R&B, rai<sup>94</sup>, Moroccan modern music, and many other new genres) has become especially recurrent in recent years. While centuries-old genres such as Malhun, Tmazight, Chaabi, Ayta, and Sufi music preserve their pre-colonial monolingual lyrical discourse, more recent contemporary music genres, such as hip hop, rai, chaabi-groove, fusion, and Moroccan pop, reflect the multilingual everyday reality of the Moroccan speech community, in which speakers switch and mix as many as four languages. In this section, examples of English use in several Moroccan contemporary music genres are provided to show the diffusion of English in the domain of Moroccan music.

### **5.7.1. Hip hop**

Moroccan hip hop emerged in the 1990s (Almeida, 2016: 116) as an underground music style that circulated among young Moroccans through cassettes, CDs, MP3 files<sup>95</sup>, and later YouTube. It was only in 2004 that this music genre received media attention and started to be broadcast to the public in the national media (Almeida,

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<sup>94</sup> Rai is a music genre that originated in Algeria and spread to Morocco.

<sup>95</sup> MP3 files were shared using MSN Messenger chat platform.

2016: 41, 116)<sup>96</sup>. Hip hop in Morocco developed in such an interesting manner. It combines American hip hop beats and Moroccan musical sounds with lyrics in MCA and a variety of additional languages, such as French, English, and Spanish. This mixing of local and foreign languages is attested in many hip hop songs, such as Don Bigg's<sup>97</sup> *Mgharba Tal Mout* ('Moroccan until Death,' 2006), *Ifriqia* ('Africa,' 2009), and *Casanegra* (an antonym for Casablanca, 2009), to name just a few. An example of the use of English in Don Bigg's *Mgharba Tal Mout* ('Moroccan until Death,' 2006) song is provided in the following code-mixed excerpt. The original code-mixed lyrics of the song appear on the left-hand side with the English text bolded, while the right-hand side provides an English translation of the same code-mixed excerpt<sup>98</sup>.

<u>Original</u>	<u>English Translation</u>
<b>New style new shit</b>	New style new shit
Musiqa 100% Maghribiya	100% Moroccan music
<b>Lbeat</b> man lhil	The beat's from there
<b>W rap</b> man hna	And rap's from here
W nayda!	And it is on fire!

As seen in these lines, it is clear how the rapper Don Bigg code-switches from Arabic to English. Such a switch to English instead of French is interesting in the sense that this Moroccan rapper not only grew up in a milieu where French is widely used, but is also a proficient user of French, as is seen in his interviews in the French language with H24 Info, (H24Info.ma, 2013), Hit Radio (Hit Radio, 2015), and TV5 Monde (TV5MONDE, 2019). In fact, in his early music career, this hip hop artist was rapping in English only before switching to MCA (Almeida, 2017: 119). Such a switch to this local variety of Arabic undeniably enables Don Bigg to reach a wider audience from different social and economic classes. Not only that, but Don Bigg's launch as a new rapper in the late 1990s required him to gain a larger crowd to secure invitations to participate in

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<sup>96</sup> Hip hop in Morocco secured 'a smoother entrance' (Almeida, 2017: 4) to the national media and the Moroccan cultural scene when songs of '[p]atriotic themes with lyrics and music videos that defend and claim love and pride for the nation' (Almeida, 2017: 60) became dominant. Fnaire and Don Bigg were among the artists who released albums centered around nationalism, pride, and love of the country. Such patriotic songs usually do not make use of vulgar language, which guarantees their broadcasting on Moroccan radio stations.

<sup>97</sup> Don Bigg is the stage name of Taoufik Hazeb.

<sup>98</sup> All song excerpts in this section are presented in the same format, where the use of English in the original version is on the left-hand side and bolded. On the right-hand side is a translation of the code-mixed original version.

local, regional, and national concerts and festivals. Despite years of rapping chiefly in MCA, Don Bigg's attempts to rap in English did not fade as he released in January 2019 a song entirely in English, titled *Psycho Wrecking*. This song, also produced with a video clip, had over eight million views on this artist's YouTube channel as of August 21, 2020.

Another influential rapper belonging to the new generation of Moroccan hip hop artists is Dizzy DROS (Almeida, 2017: 16). Similar to Don Bigg, Dizzy DROS also makes use of English in his song lyrics. In his *RDLBAL* ('Be Careful,' 2018) song that was viewed by over 30 million YouTube users as of August 21, 2020, Dizzy DROS says:

<u>Original</u>	<u>English Translation</u>
Goulou <b>welcome back</b> I jouj 3wazza dassrine	Say welcome back to two naughty blacks

And, in another verse of the same song:

<u>Original</u>	<u>English Translation</u>
(Allo), <b>baby sorry</b> nti ma 3ajbanich	Hello, sorry baby I don't like you

Similar to other hip hop artists, Dizzy DROS employs up to three languages in his rapping. For example, in his *L'Kora 7na Maliha* ('We own the soccer game' 2018) song that has accumulated over 19 million views on YouTube, Dizzy DROS says:

<u>Original</u>	<u>English Translation</u>
Echarpe f lyed	Scarf in hand
flama f jib	Flare in pocket
<b>Yeah yeah</b>	Yeah yeah
<b>N'followi team</b>	Following the team
Tanjibou titre	Until we get the title

This Dizzi DROS excerpt is meant to show the dominant use of Arabic and the insertion of French (*écharpe*, *titre*, *flama*<sup>99</sup>) and English (*yeah yeah*, *n'followi*<sup>100</sup> *team*) words. What is interesting in these verses is that the use of French or English is not intended for rhyming or creating pleasant audibility. The use of French and English seems to come naturally. In studying youth's use of English in Finnish media (hip hop lyrics, fiction, blogs), Leppänen (2007: 160) argued that English is not a novel language

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<sup>99</sup> *Flama* is a borrowed word from French (*flamme*) that has undergone inflectional modification. *Flama* refer to the handheld flare that soccer fans carry to stadia to cheer their teams. The word has been modified by adding the feminine suffix /a/.

<sup>100</sup> *Nfollowi* is the English verb follow that has been inflectionally modified with the prefix /n/ for the future tense and the suffix /i/ for the first person singular marker.

for hip hop artists, but an additional resource that is used for the flow of expressions. Similar to the Finnish context, English has been used in rapping since the inception of Moroccan hip-hop, indicating that this language 'has already lost its foreignness' (Leppänen, 2007: 160) amongst hip hop artists and their fans. This suggests that media in general and music in particular is one of the domains where English is used to a greater extent and spreads in the shortest period of time.

Moroccan hip hop has been the subject of study for several researchers (i.e., Boum, 2013; Almeida, 2017). In her book, Almeida (2017) noted that although the use of swear words is prohibited in Moroccan official platforms such as television and radio, Moroccan rappers such as Don Bigg, Dizzy DROS, and Masta Flow still opt for the use of vulgar language 'especially in English' (106). This is due to the fact that most of these hip hop artists are inspired by their American counterparts. This is affirmed by Almeida (2016: 98) who interviewed the Moroccan rapper Muslim. He stated that Moroccan hip hop music is not inspired from French rap, but 'from the first school, the big school' (Almeida, 2016: 98), referring to American hip hop. A similar use of English swear words was also noted in Asian contexts. For example, in Lee's (2007) study of South Korean hip hop music, she argued that Korean rappers use of swear words in African American English is a way to 'authenticate their credentials as hip-hop artists' (60).

What is worthy to mention here before moving to examine the use of English in another music genre is the names that rappers choose for themselves. While not all rappers adopt artistic names in English, the majority do. Examples of rappers' names that are entirely in English include Don Bigg, Masta Flow, Dizzy DROS<sup>101</sup>, Mobydick, Casa Crew, Casa System, Mr. Crazy, and Psychoqueen. Chaht Man (Thrifty Man), Zan9a Flow (Street Flow), Rwapa Crew (Rappers Crew) are illustrations of Arabic and English mixed names. As for Arabic-monolingual names, two popular groups, Fnaire (Lanterns) and H-Kayne (What's up), top the list of rappers that maintain their artistic names exclusively in Arabic.

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<sup>101</sup> DROS stands for Da Rhymes of Streets.

### 5.7.2. Rai music

Another music genre that exemplifies the use of English is rai music, which developed in Algeria before spreading to Morocco, France (Jones, 2013: 474) and the rest of Europe. Given the historical use of French and MCA in everyday speech in Morocco and Algeria, lyrics of rai songs reflect such everyday language use. Thus, it is common for rai singers to code-switch between Arabic and French, and it is also common to code-switch into English or Spanish, as noted by Bentahila and Davies (2002: 190) almost two decades ago.

A trending rai singer in Morocco called YouNess has released a song titled *I Love You* (2018). This song has been viewed by more than 71 million YouTube users as of August 21, 2020. Similar to hip hop artists, and reflecting the tradition of everyday code-switching in the Maghreb countries, YouNess usually employs up to three languages (Arabic, French and English) in his song lyrics. The English portion in his *I Love You* song falls in the chorus and it says:

Original

Ila tabghini **tell me I love**  
**Tell me I love you**, goulili rani nabghik

English Translation

If you love me, tell me I love you  
Tell me I love you, tell me I love you

### 5.7.3. Chaabi-groove

Another contemporary Moroccan artist is Issam Kamal, who founded a new music genre called chaabi-groove. According to his website<sup>102</sup>, which he maintains solely in English, this music genre combines traditional singing and urban sounds by maintaining lyrics in MCA and music of modern music instruments and beats. Issam Kamal produced a couple of songs where he employed English to limited degrees. For example, in his song *Okey* (2016) which scored over 2.7 million views on YouTube as of 21 August, 2020, Issam Kamal's chorus goes:

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<sup>102</sup> <http://issamkamal.com/>

<u>Original</u>	<u>English Translation</u>
<b>Okay</b>	Okay
<b>Okay</b>	Okay
<b>Everything is okay</b>	Everything is okay
Baraka matshkey	Stop complaining
Ya Imousiba	You disaster

In his *Made in China* (2018) song with over 1.5 million views (as of 21 August 2020), the chorus is:

<u>Original</u>	<u>English Translation</u>
<b>Made in China</b>	Made in China
Al hub al yum	Today's love
<b>Made in China</b>	Made in China

#### 5.7.4. Fusion

In the music genre of fusion, a local band called Hoba Hoba Spirit produced with the rapper Don Bigg a duet titled *Goulou Baz* (2007) ('Say what a shame!'), where the use of English is made to a greater degree. In this particular song, there is a considerable amount of code-switching between English and MCA at the beginning of the song:

<u>Original</u>	<u>English Translation</u>
<b>I was made in Morocco</b>	I was made in Morocco
<b>A long time ago</b>	A long time ago
a-system shwiya flow	The system is a little blurry
Ou hawelt nfahmou	And I tried to understand it
<b>And When I realized that</b> Mafhamt walou	And when I realized that I did not understand anything
Hatit slah oughanit had l morceau	I put down my weapon and sang this piece

In another song called *Maricane* (2003) ('America'), the lead singer of Hoba Hoba Spirit switches between Arabic, English, and French. The following verses show code-switching between Arabic and English:

Original

**It's a wonderful party here in Beverly**

Ou khliqa marikania jaya el ʕandi:

**"Hi baby! Wanna have some fun with me?"**

Mʕaya ka thadri! Ouuuh! Allah yaoudi

....

**Where you from?**

**I said Casablanca**

**Where is that?**

**In Africa**

**Oh! I know, it's close to Cuba!**

**I love Reggae, I love Samba!**

English Translation

It's a wonderful party here in Beverly

And an American creature came to me:

"Hi baby! Wanna have some fun with me?"

Are you talking to me! Oh! Of course!

....

Where you from?

I said Casablanca

Where is that?

In Africa

Oh! I know, it's close to Cuba!

I love Reggae, I love Samba!

### 5.7.5. Modern popular music

The use of English in Moroccan popular music is also common, especially amongst the younger generation of singers. One of the artists known for his use of English is Saad Lamjarred. In his *Let Go* (2017) song, which was viewed by more than 182 million people as of August 21, 2020, part of the chorus is sung in English:

Original

**I know you're gonna love this one**

**One of a kind**

While Saad Lamjarred and many other pop stars such as Khawla Moujahid, known as Jaylann, sing some of their lines in English or French, there are others who code-switch to Spanish, such as the rising stars Zouhair Bahaoui and Nouaman Belaiyachi from the city of Tangier, in the north of the country. So far, three of Zouhair Bahaoui's song titles (*Dinero*, 2019; *Muchas Gracias*, 2018; *Favor*, 2019) and two of Nouaman Belaichi's song titles (*Mi Amor*, 2018; *Adios*, 2019), are in Spanish. Contrary to these two northern Moroccan artists, Amine Temri, whose stage name is Aminux, who is also from northern Morocco, has employed English in his song lyrics instead of Spanish.

The use of Spanish in other genres is also present. For instance, the hip hop artist Muslim, who is also from northern Morocco, employs Spanish as well. Almeida (2015) highlighted that such 'usage of Spanish is absent in the songs of rappers from other parts of Morocco like Casablanca, Meknes or Marrakech' (127). This is due to the linguistic heritage left by the colonial settlers who were present in Morocco from 1912 to



1956, when northern and southern Morocco were occupied by Spain and the center was occupied by France. With the reversing usage of Spanish across the country and its dominance only in some Spanish medium schools and language centers managed by an NGO established by the Spanish government, it remains to be seen whether the use of Spanish is a passing trend or a surviving language of use reflecting the multilingual reality of the northern cities of Morocco

Across all the music genres reviewed in this section, singers and songwriters do not hesitate to incorporate some English in their lyrics. In fact, as the above examples illustrate, there are songs that are in two or more languages or more, reflecting the day-to-day multilingual reality of a number of Moroccans. Although songs that employ English may not seem to be significant in number, there is an enormous number of songs from Inner Circle countries transmitted daily on various radio stations. This was documented in Sadiqi's study (1991: 103) more than two decades ago and the same practice continues to date.

## **Section Two Digital Media**

### **5.8. Background**

Digital media has become an essential communication tool for people around the world, and the Moroccan community is no exception. With the advent of social media platforms (i.e., Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, and Instagram) in the last decade and a half, more communication has been taking place within and across speech communities. Such increased online interaction can be attributed to the spread and affordability of the Internet and digital devices.

In order to understand the extent to which Moroccans are engaged in local and global digital communication, an overview of Moroccans' access to the Internet is necessary. According to the Internet World Statistics (2020) website, there are approximately 23 million Internet users in Morocco. This number is quite significant, as it translates to over half (64.3%) of the Moroccan population. In a survey conducted in 2018, the Agence Nationale de Réglementation des Télécommunications (ANRT) ('National Agency for the Regulation of Telecommunications,' 2019: 7) found that 74.2% of all Moroccan households have Internet access. More specifically, 82.4% of

households in urban areas have Internet access, while a smaller percentage, 56.8%, have it in rural areas. Mobile Internet access is also popular amongst Moroccans, as 66.5% have access to this service. In addition, 16% of the surveyed population reported to be 'doubly equipped' with both mobile Internet and fixed-home Internet (ANRT, 2019: 19). Almost a decade prior to the 2019 ANRT report, Zaid and Ibrahine (2011: 30) stated that 'Moroccans deserve the label of mobile i-reporters' because acquiring mobile cameras has allowed them to share content related to issues (i.e., economic, political, cultural, educational, social) which are due to censorship not commonly reported in state-owned media. For Moroccans, the Internet is considered as an alternative to traditional media where users can look for information that is overlooked for various reasons in official media platforms.

Moroccans' online presence indicates that there is a consumption and production of online content in a variety of languages. According to the ANRT (2019: 42), a total of 51% of Moroccan Internet users employ the national languages of Arabic and Tmazight while navigating the Internet. An almost equal percentage of users employ French (47%), while only 2% use English<sup>103</sup>. As far as geographical differences are concerned, Internet users in urban areas employ French almost to the same extent as the national languages. That is, 50% of urban users employ the national languages, 48% employ French, while only 2% employ English. In rural areas, 53% of users employ Arabic and Tmazight, 45% use French and only 1% employ English (ANRT, 2019: 42).

In a separate survey conducted by ANRT in 2017, the use of English in relation to the level of education was measured. English and other foreign languages were used for navigating the Internet mainly by students attending secondary and higher education (ANRT, 2018: 54)<sup>104</sup>. To be more specific, English was used by 6.9% of Internet users who completed a graduate degree; by 3.9% of Internet users who completed their undergraduate studies, and by 1.4% of high school diploma holders.

Based on these figures, it seems that a small percentage of Moroccan Internet users employ English while surfing the net. Throughout the Arab region, from Morocco to

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<sup>103</sup> The use of Spanish on the Internet was not included in the most recent report because of its low percentage of usage. In the 2017 report, for example, the ANRT (2018) stated that Spanish was ranked last as it was used by merely 0.4% of Moroccan Internet users.

<sup>104</sup> These statistics are from the survey of the previous year, 2017. Statistics relating the use of English to the level of education were not included in the survey of 2018.

Oman, however, there seems to be a higher preference for Arabic and English in navigating and interacting with content on the Internet. Over half (58%) of the total Arab population prefers to interact with content in Arabic, 32% prefers to use English and only 9% prefers French<sup>105</sup> (Salem, 2017b: 13). The fact that almost one third of the Arab population uses English to surf the Internet suggests that people in the MENA region also are producing content in English to some degree. The production of online content by the Arab population, especially in the Middle East and the Gulf countries, reiterates the exposure of the Moroccan speech community to localized English use within these regions. This signifies that the spread of English in Morocco stems not only from the Inner Circle, but also from other Expanding Circle contexts.

Now that ample background has been provided on the spread and use of the Internet in Morocco, the rest of this section on digital media explores the use of English in a combination of social media and online news platforms. The focus here is on Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, Twitter, online magazines, and news websites. Social media platforms such as LinkedIn, and Google+ are not considered here because they are not especially popular in Morocco.

The four selected social media platforms of Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, and Twitter have been designed to allow instant and increased interactions between users within the same country and across the world. These online interactions are characterized by the sharing of multimodal content accompanied, or not, by a text (i.e., posts, captions, descriptions, entries, comments, tweets, ...etc.) that is usually concise. This brevity of online discourse encourages Moroccan social media users to produce texts that are completely or partly in English. The modest length of a text gives even a less proficient user confidence and control over its accuracy and complexity.

## **5.9. Users of English in social media**

Investigating the use of English in the four popular social media platforms Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, and Twitter provides greater insights into the uses of English in Morocco, which will be discussed thoroughly in this section. Unlike the carefully defined users of English in radio and television media in Section One of this

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<sup>105</sup> Use of French is preferred mostly in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Lebanon.

chapter, the users of English in social media are challenging to describe. In general, the users of English in social media platforms are Moroccan males and females coming from different educational, linguistic, professional, socioeconomic, political, and geographical backgrounds. An ANRT (2019) survey indicates that most Internet users are social media network users. Moroccans of all ages, from 5 to over 75 years old, make extensive use of social networks (ANRT, 2019: 46). The age group that makes the most use of social networks, nearing 100%, are those between 12 and 18 years of age. Other age groups' use of social media networks is also considerably high, suggesting that social media platforms are the main go to online resources for most users of the Internet in Morocco.

## **5.10. Facebook**

### **5.10.1. Popularity of Facebook among Moroccans**

The Moroccan Facebook community counts as one of the largest in the Arab world, ranking third after Egypt and Saudi Arabia (Zaid & Ibrahine, 2011: 7, 41; Carrington, 2010: 10). In 2013, there were only 5,384,720 Moroccan Facebook users, making up 10% of the Arab population (Salem, Mourtada, & Alshaer, 2013: 17). This number increased by another five million new users between 2014 and 2017 (Salem, 2017a: 37). As of December 2019, 18 million Moroccan Facebook users were recorded (Internet World Statistics, 2020). As far as language use is concerned, in 2014, 13% of Moroccan Facebook users were reported to use English in their posts, compared to 75% using French and 33% using Arabic (Salem, et al., 2014: 31)<sup>106</sup>. These figures on language use on Facebook posts reflect the fact that English has become an everyday linguistic resource for a number of Moroccan Facebook users.

The popularity of Facebook among Moroccans is due to it being one of the platforms where users can disseminate up-to-date information without restrictions. Facebook is considered an online gathering point where the users can discuss public policies, social issues, economic concerns, and general life matters without censorship. According to Aboubakr Jamaï, the co-founder of the Moroccan news magazine *Le*

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<sup>106</sup> The percentage of the users of Arabic, French, and English combined is over 100%. This is because users of Facebook usually employ more than one language.

*Journal*, 'people have to go to Facebook to know what is going on in Morocco. They can't read or watch the TV station to know what is going on' (Spinner, 2018).

To Moroccans, Facebook has become an alternative media outlet that in fact has proven to be a powerful tool for political and social change. For example, the wave of the Arab Spring that hit Morocco in 2011 was a result of heated interactions that took place on Facebook (Brouwer & Bartels, 2014: 14) and, to a lesser degree, other social media platforms (i.e., Twitter). Facebook groups such as 20 February Movement (named after the date of the first protest) mobilized people to go to the streets and denounce social and economic inequality, injustice, and corruption.

Almost a decade after the uprising, Facebook is still employed as a tool to seek collective support for action. For example, just recently in 2018, the Moroccan community started a boycott of milk, water, and fuel products sold by specific foreign brands (Masbah, 2018) and companies owned by a couple of business tycoons (Eljechtimi, 2018) with strong ties to the government. The boycott caused these monopolizing companies such serious financial damage that the foreign milk company Centrale Danone, for example, offered for the first time ever discounts on its staple dairy products (i.e., yogurt and milk) (Masbah, 2018). What is more, the company also responded by creating advertisements that sought to repair its relationship with customers. These advertisements were broadcast nationally in 2M TV, the most viewed Moroccan television channel. These examples illustrate the impact of the Facebook platform in Morocco, how widely it is used, and how effective it has been in diffusing information.

### **5.10.2. Facebook as a diffuser of linguistic influence**

Facebook is a compelling means for social interaction, not only within traditional local, regional, and national borders, but also beyond. Given the fact that this form of social media readily can be used for interacting with members of foreign speech communities, it serves as a diffuser of languages as well. The choice of Facebook English interface is an example of how Moroccans are further exposed to this language. For instance, common English Facebook terms such as *like*, *post*, *share*, *comment*, and a growing number of universal hashtag expressions have become part of the Moroccan social media discourse. In 2012, the Arab Social Media Report (2012) noted that 3.25%

of Moroccan Facebook users preferred to use English as the interface language, while 18.65% preferred Arabic and 77.83% preferred French. A year prior to that, a slightly higher percentage of preference for English was recorded. For instance, 4.19% of Facebook users preferred the use of English in their Facebook interface, while 76.55% preferred French (Salem & Mourtada, 2011).

Although the proportion of users who chose English as their Facebook language interface is relatively small, it is in fact a significant percentage for a multilingual speech community where other national and foreign languages are well established and authoritative in their respective domains. The mere 3.25% of the then 5 million Moroccan Facebook users in 2012 is in fact a relatively high number for a language only in the initial stages of spreading on a larger scale in this historically multilingual context. In addition to choosing English as the language for the interface, Moroccan Facebook users also use English as their language of interaction with each other.

### **5.10.3. The use of English in Facebook**

Facebook is a massive social networking platform with an ever-growing amount of textual content. In 2014, 13% of Moroccan Facebook users were reported to use English in their posts, compared to 75% using French, and 33% using Arabic (Salem, et al., 2014: 31). A more recent survey reports an increase of 2.3% in the use of English in Facebook (Salem, 2017a: 42). These figures on language use on Facebook posts reflect the fact that English has become an everyday linguistic resource for a number of Moroccan Facebook users. This section on the use of English in Facebook does not seek to look at the textual output of users from a microsociolinguistic level. Instead, it aims to make general macrolevel descriptions of the common practices related to language use and specifically English use in some Facebook groups.

In Facebook, Moroccans use English in many ways. They may choose English for creating an original post (i.e., statement, question, recommendation, compliment) to their own or a friend's Facebook page. They may also react to content published by other users, or they may participate in group discussions. As regards the use of English in Moroccan Facebook groups is concerned, there are Facebook groups where English is the only language that members use for communication. On the other hand, there are

other groups where English is scattered over the Facebook page along with SA, MCA, French, and Tmazight.

*English Speakers in Rabat* is a Facebook group for expats and local English speaking residents in Rabat. Entirely in English, this Facebook group users are urged to communicate uniquely in this language. Underneath this Facebook group's 'About This Group' section that describes the purpose of the page, the administrators list the rules of use as follows:

The purpose of this group is for English speakers of all nationalities to share information and ask questions about life in Rabat in a friendly and welcoming environment. Anyone may join, but we ask that they adhere by the following rules: 1. All posts must be made in English. Posts made in any other language will be refused or removed. Links to articles or pages in foreign languages are acceptable provided that a summary in English is provided. 2. Posts should be polite and courteous. Inflammatory [sic] comments and/or harassment will not be tolerated. 3. Posts recommending goods and services are welcomed, provided that they relate directly to English speakers in Rabat. Spam or advertising which the moderators do not deem appropriate will be removed.

A similar practice is observed in the Facebook group *Rabat English Sell + Rent + Jobs*. In the About This Group section of this Facebook page, a brief phrase in capital letters states 'POST IN ENGLISH ONLY' (Rabat English Sell + Rent + Jobs, 2014).

While these two Facebook pages have an explicit language policy, there are others which do not. For instance, *The Moroccan Show English* is a Moroccan Facebook group that maintains a higher level of English use, especially at the level of the posted memes<sup>107</sup>. Members of this Facebook group send their self-made English memes to the administrator who reviews them before posting them online with credit to the creators (Figure 5.7).

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<sup>107</sup> A meme is 'an image, video, piece of text, etc, typically humorous in nature, that is copied and spread rapidly by Internet users, often with slight variations' (Oxford English Dictionary, 2019).



**Figure 5.7 A Facebook post of a meme in English<sup>108</sup>**

As a reaction to these memes, users' comments that follow are in English and in MCA, as well. Figure 5.8 is an example of English comments reacting to the Facebook post in Figure 5.7<sup>109</sup>.

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<sup>108</sup> Link to the Facebook post of the meme:  
<https://www.facebook.com/TheMoroccanShowENG/photos/a.131457794209584/484866032202090>

<sup>109</sup> In the Moroccan and Islamic culture, Satan is considered as a devil that encourages people to commit a sin. Negative thoughts that may cross one's mind are also seen as whispers of the Satan.





**Figure 5.8** Examples of English comments on the Facebook post in Figure 5.7

Another example is *The Moroccan Throne*, where the use of English appears to varying degrees between the posted memes and users' comments. *The Moroccan Throne* is a Facebook group inspired from the American drama series *Game of Thrones*. It contains memes of Moroccan oral cultural elements infused with scenes from *Game of Thrones*' episodes. Besides the English name of the group, English use is seen to occur to a higher extent in the memes' captions created by the users. However, English is used to a lesser extent in the comments posted by members of the group.

Figure 5.9 is an example of a meme that mingles a quote from an episode from the medieval fantasy television series *Game of Thrones* (Season 4, episode 10) with what is seen as a Moroccan celebrity scandal. The meme in Figure 5.9 is a picture of the Moroccan popular singer Abdelaziz Stati who is disappointed with his daughter Ilham, who uses the stage name Ily, for becoming a rap singer. In one of the interviews with Abdelaziz Stati, a journalist asked this famous singer about his daughter Ilham. Surprisingly, Stati did not answer the question and immediately left the interview. Given the similarity of Stati's rejection of his daughter with a *Game of Throne* scene where a son is disowned by his father, the meme tries to make fun of this local celebrity gossip using a quote from the series *Game of Thrones*. In the original *Game of Thrones* quote, the father says to his son 'You are no son of mine' and the son responds 'I am your son.

*I have always been your son.* This quote has been adopted to the case of Abdelaziz Stati and his daughter by changing ‘son’ in the original script to ‘daughter’ in the adapted one<sup>110</sup>.



**Figure 5.9** Example of a meme mixing local culture with *Game of Thrones* quote<sup>111</sup>

*The Moroccan Throne* is a Facebook group that specializes in memes. Memes require creativity, humor, and an understanding of the Moroccan and the Inner Circle popular culture. In order to create a meme for the Facebook group *The Moroccan Throne* for example, one has to have watched the drama series *Game of Thrones*. Watching the many seasons of this famous show gives appropriate background that facilitates combining, successfully and humorously, aspects of culture from Morocco and

<sup>110</sup> In the picture of the meme, the face of the singer Abdelaziz Stati has been photoshopped and placed on what looks like the body of an ancient Egyptian man. The daughter's face is also placed on a body carrying an arm similar to those used in *Games of Thrones*.

<sup>111</sup> Link to the Facebook post of the meme:  
<https://www.facebook.com/TheMoroccanThrone/photos/2022882571339271>

the TV show. Not only does the production of these memes allow for opportunities to use English, but the viewing of the original version of the eight seasons of these drama series provides ample input in English and leads to internalizing popular phrases in English, such as '*winter is coming*' (Muoio & Renfro, 2016), and ultimately to using them in memes or in conversations with friends.

These examples of Facebook groups present further anecdotal evidence of the use of English as an Additional Language on the social networking platform of Facebook. The choice of English among the several languages available to the Moroccan online community emphasizes the fact that English has become one of the everyday linguistic resources that contributes to fulfilling the online communication needs of the community. In addition, these Facebook groups demonstrate how English has become one of the languages of Facebook users in consuming and producing online content. This social media platform has shown to be an online space that encourages the use of English. Not only that, but it is possible that the use of English by owners of Facebook groups or by individual users is in itself a means to attract more attention, likes, followers, and interaction. This notion becomes more evident in the other social networking platforms (i.e., YouTube, Instagram) where individuals employ English as a means to make profit and to promote themselves to the public. This becomes apparent in the next section on the use of English on YouTube.

## **5.11. YouTube**

### **5.11.1. Popularity of YouTube among Moroccans**

YouTube, a California-based video-sharing company, is another social media platform that is popular in Morocco. Morocco has the second highest YouTube subscription rate in the Arab world after Lebanon (Arab Social Media Report, 2015: 42), coming in second in popularity behind Facebook in Morocco (ANRT, 2018: 62). Of the total number of Moroccan users of YouTube in 2015, 68% of them were subscribers to this video-sharing platform, while the other 32% of users were not. What this means is that users with a YouTube account could post videos and comments, while users without a YouTube account could only watch videos without interacting with them or with other users.

YouTube is an enormous library of videos that are created by professionals as well as amateurs. Videos that are uploaded to YouTube are categorized into people and blogs (41%), gaming (14%), film and animation (10%), entertainment (8%), music (5%), science and technology (4%), sports (3%), news and politics (3%) and other undefined categories (12%) (Turek, 2016). In this section, the focus is going to be mainly on videos of people talking about a variety of topics to a wide community of Moroccan and foreign YouTube users. These videos serve as a lens that assists in seeing the extent to which English has become part of Moroccans linguistic repertoire on YouTube.

### **5.11.2. Example of the exclusive use of English in a YouTube channel**

This and the following section on YouTube discuss the use of English in videos, video titles, and video comments published by the Moroccan YouTube community. They first explore a Moroccan YouTuber who makes videos entirely in English, and secondly examine other YouTubers that use English in titling their videos, in parts of their spoken discourse, and in the comments that other users post on the platform in response to their videos.

One of the YouTube channels that is completely in English was created in 2014 by Amine Boumazzough, a young multilingual Moroccan Amazigh from northern Morocco who calls himself *The Smart Potato*. With a touch of humor, Boumazzough's videos cover a variety of topics ranging from advice for students, to travels, Internet challenges, and lip-synching his summer music playlists. All of Boumazzough's 63 videos are in English with the exception of one that is in Arabic. In this one particular video<sup>112</sup>, titled الوصفة السحرية لإتقان الإنجليزية ('The magic formula to learn English'), Boumazzough talks about how to learn English and shares some of his learning experiences and strategies (Boumazzough, 2017).

At the beginning of the video, Boumazzough mentions that lots of his fans ask him about the magic formula he used to learn English. In his response, Boumazzough explains to his audience that there is no simple way to learn English and that he has not mastered English as well as his audience thinks. He adds that before making a video he

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<sup>112</sup> Link to the video in Arabic [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jf\\_09lmg2UE](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jf_09lmg2UE)

has to do research and carefully prepare the points he wishes to talk about. In addition, Boumazzough reminds his audience that thanks to video editing, he can remove scenes where he makes mistakes or when he is at a loss for words. Finally, he wraps up his talk by explaining that motivation and need are the two factors that played an essential role in his determination to learn English (Boumazzough, 2017). In his experience, his need to learn English sprung from the desire to understand Hollywood movies and music in English. He says that he basically learned English by listening to music he likes and by watching MBC2, the Saudi 24-hour movie channel discussed earlier in the television section.

Boumazzough starts his videos with his signature greeting *Hello everyone! How are you doing? It is Smart Potato here*. His most popular video is titled *Weirdest 8 Moroccan Expressions*. This video has received 121,700 views and generated 956 comments as of September 8<sup>th</sup>, 2020. While the greatest majority of comments are in English, there are also a few YouTube users who commented in MCA, French, Tmazight, or a mix of these. What is noticed here is that Boumazzough's uploading of his video to YouTube created many exchanges between Boumazzough and the other YouTube users who viewed this particular video, as well as between users themselves. These online exchanges are characterized by users' choice of English as their main language of communication, which illustrates once again that English is used extensively by Moroccan youths in the online world. This is contrary to the limited use of English in television, radio, print media, and in other domains too, where the use of English occurs to a lesser degree.

Making YouTube videos in English gained Boumazzough media coverage from several local online newspapers, such as Nador24, Nador City, and Ariffino. The titles of these online news articles read in Arabic as *شاب ناظوري يتحدث بالإنجليزية لدعم غزة والتعريف بتقاليد المغرب خلال العيد* ('A Nador young man talks in English to support Gaza and introduce Moroccan Eid tradition') (Nadorcity, n.d.); *شاب ناظوري يبدع في بودكاست بالانجليزية في حوار مع السوريين بالمغرب* ('A Nador young man creates a podcast in English interviewing Syrians in Morocco') (Nador 24, n.d.), and *شاهد بالفيديو.. الناظوري أمين بومزوغ يوضح باللغة "الانجليزية" ما وقع لمحسن فكري في الحسيمة* ('Video .. Nador's Amine Boumazzough explains in English what happened to Mouhcine Fikri in Alhouceima') (Ariffino, 2016). These news platforms report on the young Moroccan YouTuber for the type of topics he chooses and more importantly for his use of English, as the article titles indicated above demonstrate.

When the making of videos in English becomes a recurrent topic in regional newspapers, it means that this phenomenon is of interest to the entire Moroccan community.

### **5.11.3. Examples of other uses of English in YouTube**

While in Morocco the making of YouTube videos that are exclusively in English is not widespread, the use of English in YouTube video titles and in users' comments is. A few Moroccan YouTube channels were visited and scanned for videos that are titled in English. This led to the gathering of random YouTube videos with titles in English, as shown in the list below, to illustrate some of the uses of English within this context. Similar to the television and radio program titling practices, YouTube video titles are either monolingual, bilingual, or multilingual.

- SWAP, avec Imane Betty Beauty
- Crash test FDT Dior backstage
- Get Ready with Me
- Get unready with me: Routine soir automne
- DIY Spécial Cheveux
- Productive Day with Me
- Massive Shoe Declutter
- Huge Clothes Declutter
- What is in my mouth
- What is in my bag | ماذا يوجد في حقيبتي
- Curly hair tutorial
- Get Ready with me Amazigh New Year Makeup
- A Day with me
- Get to know me
- How to look beautiful without makeup
- My Trip to Turkey

- Al Akhawayn University: FAQs (Scholarship, Interview, etc.)
- Simo Sedraty does my voiceover
- Self-care | العناية بالنفس
- The Ramadan Daily | يوميات رمضان
- Hijab Tutorial Simple & Beautiful
- Family Ftour

Moroccan YouTubers, and social media influencers in general, obtain some of their video ideas from other YouTubers around the world. When a particular YouTube content idea goes viral and attracts lots of viewers, thousands of YouTubers around the world create their versions of the same content idea. Recurrent themes on YouTube include videos of animals, tutorials of all kinds, reviews of various purchased products, vlogs of daily activities or experiences, shopping, unboxing items purchased online or gifts swapped with other YouTubers, and various challenges. (Influencer Marketing Hub, 2020; Brown, 2018).

There are three main types of videos that Moroccan YouTubers produce: 1) reproductions of internationally trending videos; 2) borrowing of video ideas and adapting them to the local context; and 3) creating locally inspired videos. The first example, reproducing internationally known videos, is when new video ideas go viral on the Internet and Moroccan YouTubers contribute their own versions by duplicating the original ones. This is shown in the bilingual title *What's in my bag | ماذا يوجد في حقبتي*<sup>113</sup> video of the YouTube channel *Little Stunning. Get To Know Me Tag: Mon Travail, Célibataire ou en couple, Positivité, Ma vie en Inde | شكون أنا؟*<sup>114</sup> ('Get to know me tag: My career, single or in a relationship, positivity, my life in India | Who am I?') is another example showing the multilingual use of English, French, and Arabic at the title level.

The second type of video ideas that Moroccan YouTubers produce are inspired from foreign YouTubers and adapted to the local context. Following the common title *Get Ready with me*, a Moroccan YouTuber adapted the same video tag for the Amazigh New

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<sup>113</sup> Video can be accessed through <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BWG7fXlqEUY>

<sup>114</sup> Video can be accessed through <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XmEmHTbQt68>

Year as shown in example *Get Ready with me Amazigh New Year Makeup Tutorial*<sup>115</sup>. In this particular video, the YouTuber chose to speak in Tashlhiyt dialect of Tmazight. The third example of video is when the video idea emerges in the local context, such as routines during the holy month of Ramadan, family Ramadan breakfast, or celebrating Eid day. This is particularly evident in the video titled *The Ramadan Daily | يوميات رمضان*<sup>116</sup> and *Family Ftour*<sup>117</sup>, where one YouTuber shows a day of her routine during the month of Ramadan and the other shows a Ramadan breakfast she prepared for her family.

Importing new video ideas results in importing their English titles as well. Not only that, but it seems that locally inspired videos are also given titles in English. According to the rising social media influencer and makeup artist Rim Kadiri, English use is crucial in reaching an international audience; ensuring video content is understood; increasing the viewership number; and increasing the likelihood of appearing in search results (R. Kadiri, personal communication, May 23, 2019). Since YouTubers' rely on view counts to generate income and maximize their profits (Arad, 2018), the use of English is seen as a way to attract local YouTube viewers to watch the English-titled videos and also to reach different audiences across the world. Additionally, the use of English heightens the status of its users and shows their sophistication, level of education, and progressive personality and attitude.

## 5.12. Instagram

Instagram is the third most popular social media service in Morocco after Facebook and YouTube. In October 2016, this social media platform recorded a total of just 260,000 Moroccan users (Salem, 2017a: 59). However, over the subsequent three years, this number soared to 4.4 million users (Data Reportal, 2019). As far as language use is concerned, statistics covering the whole MENA region report that 55.1% of Instagram interactions (e.g., original post captions and reacting comments) are performed in the English language, 36.8% in Arabic, and 8.2% in other languages,

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<sup>115</sup> Video can be accessed through <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c26wBHAotZM>

<sup>116</sup> Video can be accessed through <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YFwIWYOST5Q>

<sup>117</sup> Video can be accessed through <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JkeMXz8KgwQ>



especially French (Salem, 2017a: 59). It is of course obvious that the majority of English interactions are produced in the Middle East given the region's longer history of English use, the large number of multinational expatriates in Gulf states who employ English as a Lingua Franca, and the greater number of Instagram users there (i.e., 2.1 million users in Saudi Arabia and 1.2 million users in the U.A.E.). French interactions, on the other hand, are more likely to be produced by Instagram users in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia.

**Table 5.5 Examples of Moroccan Instagram accounts**

Instagram account	Type of account	Number of followers (as of 08/09/2020)
Toomore luxury dates <sup>118</sup>	Business	54,823
Kaftan Queen	Business	41,339
Simply Morocco	Leisure, Photography	266,261
A Man with a Camera	Photography	10,037
I have this Thing with Zelij	Art, Photography	75,559

In addition to the use of Arabic and French in Instagram, English is quickly becoming a common Additional Language of use, especially amongst young Moroccans and social media influencers. In line with the language strategy employed by Moroccan radio stations discussed earlier in this chapter, some social media influencers are also employing a variety of codes to increase, and ultimately maintain their number of followers. Seen from another perspective, alternating between Arabic, French, and English attracts a larger number of followers from different educational, geographical, linguistic, and socioeconomic backgrounds. Besides these Instagram users who favor a multilingual online discourse, there is also a growing trend of users who resort to the exclusive use of English. It is understood through this language choice that these social media influencers are less interested in competing to attract the highest number of followers in the region, and they are more interested in maintaining a small to medium-sized homogeneous audience that shares interest in the same activity and in the same language of communication. The purposeful use of English in this case filters out potential followers who are not proficient in English and it makes the small English-proficient audience population feel that they are part of a close-knit community that

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<sup>118</sup> 'Too More' is the name of a palm dates business in Morocco. The word for palm dates in Arabic sounds like the English words 'too more' when combined.

interacts with each other in a language that is emerging as an additional code of use. Another reading to such a choice of English as a medium of communication revolves around the idea that these social media influencers wish to be perceived as modern and trendy people who enjoy a sophisticated and refined way of life.

Moroccan Instagrammers display their use of English in different parts of this photo and video-sharing social media platform. For example, the expanding use of English appears in 1) the name of Instagram accounts (see Table 5.10 for examples)<sup>119</sup>; 2) Instagram biographies (commonly known as bios); 3) photo and video captions; and 4) comments posted by followers. What seems to be the norm for most of the Instagram accounts managed by influencers is keeping a biography<sup>120</sup> in English, as shown in Figure 5.10 below. According to a website providing tips on how to create a strong Instagram biography, it is stated that a 'bio for Instagram is crucial!' The website goes on to explain to Instagrammers that biographies 'help decide whether or not other users are going to follow you or click on your website link' (Gramlike, n.d.). It is understood here that Instagram biographies assist at serving the very important role of attention-grabbing and eventually accumulating the highest number of followers. Along with such an essential role, Moroccan Instagrammers strengthen their biographies by using creative, catchy words and phrases in English.



**Figure 5.10 Example of use of English in an Instagram bio<sup>121</sup>**

<sup>119</sup> Some social media influencers who publish content in English choose to keep their real names instead of choosing an English pseudo name such as '*I have this Thing with Zelij*.' There is also a common practice of starting an Instagram account using an English pseudonym and then changing it to the real name of the Instagram account owner after witnessing some success. For example, *My Hipster Square* was later changed to Yasmine Zemmama.

<sup>120</sup> Instagram bios are positioned right under Instagrammers' usernames and profile pictures. It is a space where users share some intriguing details about themselves in 150 characters.

<sup>121</sup> <https://www.instagram.com/rimkadirioufficiel/>

Another Instagram feature that sees an increased use of English are the hashtags that users incorporate into their textual captions. Most of these hashtags (i.e. #photography, #fashion, #food, #love, #summer, #style, #beauty, #photooftheday, #goodvibes, #instagood, #Moroccaninterior, #Moroccanlivingroom) are in the English language and their use allows Instagrammers to link their photos and videos to a universal database of similar content. By clicking on a particular hashtag such as #food, for example, users can view all public food photos and videos that carry a similar hashtag (Instagram, n.d.). Moroccan social media influencers on Instagram who use English in their captions make use of this hashtag option in order to reach a wider audience from all around the world.

### **5.13. Twitter**

Twitter is the least popular social media platform amongst Moroccans. According to a survey that explored the frequency of use of social networks, Twitter was visited on a regular basis by only 9% of Moroccan Internet users (ANRT, 2018: 62). On a regional level, the Moroccan Twitter population is quite small, as it makes up only 2% of the Twitter population in the Arab region (Salem, 2017a: 45). In March 2016, for example, Moroccans produced almost 14 million tweets, compared to nearly 300 million tweets produced by the 2.6 million active Twitter users in Saudi Arabia (Salem, 2017a: 45, 49).

Unlike Instagram, which is centered around sharing videos and photos of pleasant daily life activities, Twitter is a microblogging social network (Lynda.com, n.d.) that allows users to share in real time links, videos, photos, and short texts (maximum 140 characters) on political, economic, and social world issues. Not entirely an entertainment platform, Twitter is mainly an information dissemination platform (Kwak et al., 2010: 596) where content is shared in a variety of languages. In March 2016, 16% of the total Twitter users in the Arab region employed English in their tweets, compared to 72% of tweets in Arabic and 12% in other languages (Salem, 2017a: 53). Since Moroccans' tweets make up 2% of all the tweets in the Arab region, it is clear that the use of English by Moroccan Twitter users is modest compared to the other countries in the region.

## 5.14. Users of English in online media

The users of English in online newspapers and magazines resembles those of English in the television, radio and print media industry. However, this category of users constitutes mainly English proficient journalists and editors specialized in various political and economic sectors. In their journalism careers, these users produce lengthy textual materials in English instead of the small amount of English seen in television and radio program titles and in conversation between hosts and their guests. Also, the users of English in online media are Moroccan intellectuals with high proficiency in English.

There are some Moroccan online news outlets that encourage readers with high English proficiency to write stories in English. For example, the online newspaper *Morocco World News* invites readers to ‘voice ... [their] opinion by contributing news analysis’ or other genres that are consistent with the mission of this news portal (Morocco World News, n. d.). Indeed, a number of Moroccan intellectuals such as the university professors Moha Ennaji, Fatima Sadiqi, and Mohamed Chtatou; the former Minister of Tourism and member of the Moroccan Parliament Lahcen Haddad; and Moroccan university students have contributed opinion pieces to this online newspaper. Such a practice is of significant importance since the users of English are putting their language skills to use, which in turn widens the functional range and depth of English in Morocco.

## 5.15. E-newspapers and E-magazines

The last forms of digital media to be discussed in this chapter are online newspapers and magazines. Some examples of Moroccan online news websites that are nevertheless published in English are *Maghreb Arab Press* (1975 - present)<sup>122</sup>, *MoroccoNews.Net* (1999 – present)<sup>123</sup>, *Morocco World News* (2011 – present), *Maghreb Daily News* (2014 – present), *Morocco Gazette*<sup>124</sup> (2019 – present), *Yabiladi* (2017 – present), *Article 19* (2017 – present), *Daily Morocco* (2018 – present), and *Maroc.com*

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<sup>122</sup> Maghreb Arab Press is the official news agency of Morocco founded in 1959. It is available in English, Arabic, French, Tmazight, and Spanish.

<sup>123</sup> This news website compiles and republishes news from other news websites. This is part of the news.net network that is operated by a company called Mainstream Media.

<sup>124</sup> This is a search engine collecting news from a variety of online news portals.

(2013 – present). These news websites cover a variety of issues related to politics, economics, sports, culture, environment, lifestyle, education, business, industry, and technology. A few of these news websites offer versions in other languages, such as Arabic, French, Spanish, German, and Tmazight. There are other online news websites in English, such as *Morocco Times* (2004 – 2006), *Morocco Mirror* (2012 – 2013), *Morocco Today* (2012 – 2017), and *Maroc Press* (2014 – 2016) which are still found online, but appear not to have been updated for some time. As for Moroccan online magazines in English, there are only a few to note: *Moroccan Ladies*<sup>125</sup> (2015 – present), *The Moroccan Times* (2014 – present), *Amazigh World News* (2015 – present), and *Tingis* (2003 – present).

Moroccan online news outlets are consumed by both foreigners and by Moroccans with a certain degree of competence in English. This type of online news portals serves as a communication bridge between Morocco and the rest of the world in the sense that readers who are interested in Moroccan news consult these websites when the Moroccan news sources in Arabic or French are not linguistically accessible. *Morocco World News* is an example of a Moroccan online news website that has been accessed from at least four continents. This website was initially created to offer the Moroccan diaspora in the United States coverage of events in the country and the rest of the MENA region. Soon after it was created, some daily 30,000 readers, consisting of 'American[s] ... with an interest in the region, ..., Moroccans residing all around the world ... [and] readers in Morocco wanting access to Moroccan source[s] of information in English' joined the readership (Morocco World News, n.d.). Of the total number of visitors of *Morocco World News*, 26% are from the United States, 22% are from Morocco, 16% from the United Kingdom, 5% from Canada, 15% from Europe, and 16% from the rest of the world (Morocco World News, n.d.). Readership from Morocco almost equals the initially targeted readership from the United States, which reveals a new trend in consuming news media content in the English language.

Apart from the aforementioned online newspapers and magazines of the Expanding Circle country of Morocco, there are other online platforms from the Inner Circle that English-proficient Moroccans consult for information on current events. As noted earlier in Section One of this chapter, many newspapers and magazines around

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<sup>125</sup> <http://moroccanladies.com/>

the world no longer distribute their print versions abroad. This is because the advent of the Internet and media technologies have changed the speed at which news are disseminated. Nowadays, news websites are updated by the hour and content of physical print magazine and newspaper copies may become outdated by the time they reach their readers. Table 5.6 below shows online Inner Circle newspapers and their estimated Moroccan audience share for the duration of three months (April to June) in 2019 based on the traffic counting website SimilarWeb ([www.similarweb.com](http://www.similarweb.com)).

**Table 5.6 Foreign online newspaper and their audience share in Morocco (April to June, 2019)**

Foreign online newspaper	Audience share %
The New York Times	0.03
The Washington Post	0.02
The Guardian	0.05
The Independent	0.10
New York Daily News	0.02
Daily Mirror	0.10
The Times	0.04
Daily Mail	0.07
The Sun	0.12
Financial Times	0.05
The Economist	0.07
USA Today	0.02
The Wall Street Journal	0.02
Daily Express	0.13
Chicago Tribune	0.01
New York Post	0.02
The Atlantic	0.03
The Onion	0.03
The Telegraph	0.08
Reuters	0.05
Bloomberg	0.06
Forbes	0.13
Bbc.com	0.07
Bbc.co.uk	0.02
Business insider	0.09
medium	0.32

Source: Audience share compiled from [www.similarweb.com](http://www.similarweb.com)

These English language news websites have a Moroccan audience share that is very low. More specifically, Moroccan readership of these Inner Circle online news media does not attain even 1% of the global audience share. This is contrary to the domestic online news outlets (i.e., Morocco World News) that were shown earlier in this section to have a modest readership. It is possible that Moroccans are more interested in reading news related to national and local current events than reading news particular to the U.S. or the U.K. This explains the reason why these Inner Circle news websites are not often visited by English-proficient Moroccan readers. Such a trend has been attested in various studies such as Mitchell et al. (2018) who argued that readers are more interested in local news with close proximity to their environments. Generally, throughout the history of English news media in Morocco, which started as early as 1883, it is observed that continuation has been a challenge. Many domestic English-language print and online news websites suffer from maintaining a considerable body of readers which has led to their gradual disappearance. The case of *Morocco World News*, *Moroccan Ladies*, and other news websites could be a new generation of news media outlets that can hold on longer given the emergence of a population of Moroccan readers of English-language news.

## **5.16. Summary and conclusion**

This chapter discusses the spread, functional range, and uses of English in traditional and new media outlets of the Expanding Circle country of Morocco. Specifically, the chapter provides ample evidence showing Moroccans' consumption and production of diverse English-language media content. For instance, anecdotal evidence illustrates that Moroccans are producing high-level literary and journalistic writings. Evidence also shows Moroccans' use of English in less complex, shorter media discourse, such as in song lyrics, film titles, radio and television program titles, as well as some social media platforms. While Moroccans' English output may be somewhat limited, their exposure remains high given the pervasiveness of English content within these domains. Throughout the course of this chapter's discussion, it became apparent that the range and depth of functional uses of English are expanding. Before this research was conducted, it was not clear to what extent English was used in the media sector. However, the present analysis shows that the range of English use in Morocco extends beyond the traditional domain of education to include the media industry as well.

Furthermore, the depth of English use has also widened to encompass a variety of societal classes in the Moroccan speech community.

Access to different forms of media such as satellite television channels (i.e., MBC and other foreign channels), social media outlets (i.e., Facebook, Instagram), and video-streaming platforms (i.e., YouTube, Netflix) exposes Moroccans to myriad forms of content that are mediated in English. While the diffusion of English may be thought to be projected mainly from the Inner Circle, this media chapter demonstrates that English also comes from Outer and Expanding Circle contexts. Statistics indicate that English is employed to a greater degree in the Middle East than in North Africa, and since young Moroccans tune in to Middle Eastern media more often, they become exposed to a considerable amount of English that is adopted and adapted to the culture of that particular region. Moroccans are also exposed to Inner Circle content redistributed through Middle Eastern channels, such as movie broadcasting on MBC stations. In addition to the promotion of Inner Circle English content by means of Expanding Circle broadcasting, English is equally diffused through other languages. Examples in this chapter demonstrated how French also functions as a channel through which English is introduced to Moroccan speakers. This will be discussed further with ample examples in the next chapter.

While the media scene in Morocco is mainly dominated by the use of Arabic, French, and, to a lesser degree, Tmazight, the presence of English is becoming more conspicuous. However, at this particular point of its spread and usage in different domains in Morocco, English does not seem to be a language that is spreading at the expense of other codes. While there are many examples of the monolingual use of English in social media, television and radio program titles, there also exists examples of English use along with the other historically established languages of Morocco. This indicates the increasing multilingualism of the Moroccan speech community, where each of the five primary official and foreign languages fulfills communicative functions of a certain domain, situation, or interaction.



## **Chapter 6.**

### **English in Casablanca's linguistic landscape: Shop signs and outdoor advertisements**

The present chapter explores the increasing uses of English in the linguistic landscape of the metropolitan city of Casablanca. The predominant focus of this study is the use of English in shop signs and outdoor advertisements. By looking at these two points of inquiry, this chapter generally aims to examine the extent to which English appears in the multilingual landscape of this Moroccan city and the functions it serves for the local speech community. Also forming part of Casablanca's linguistic landscape is the use of English in graffiti, car stickers, t-shirts, skinscapes, and demonstration banners, for instance. Those forms of English-using signs, however, go beyond the scope of this dissertation and remain to be examined in future research.

#### **6.1. About linguistic landscape**

Linguistic landscape is a language display concept introduced by Landry and Bourhis (1997: 23) to describe the use, visibility, and prominence of languages in public space. This use of languages is displayed in two forms of signs in multilingual contexts: public and private (Ben-Rafael, et al., 2006). Initially, public signs that are examined in the field of linguistic landscape included written textual items such as 'road signs, place names, street names, and inscriptions on government buildings including ministries, hospitals, universities, town halls, schools, metro stations, and public parks' (Landry & Bourhis, 1997: 26). Private signs comprise 'commercial signs on storefronts and business institutions (e.g., retail stores and banks), commercial advertising on billboards, and advertising signs displayed in public transport and on private vehicles' (Landry & Bourhis, 1997: 26). The burgeoning research field of linguistic landscape later expanded its scenery of investigation (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009). The expanded scenery embraces various modalities of signs such as 'verbal texts, images, objects, placement in time and space as well as human beings' (Shohamy & Waksman, 2009: 314). The scenery of linguistic landscapes has also integrated online platforms where a variety of new multimodal texts emerge (Shohamy & Waksman, 2009: 315). For example, in

conducting his study on the use of English in advertisements of Thai online news websites, Troyer (2012) employed the term linguistic netscape to refer to materials available on the Internet.

In their seminal work on linguistic landscape, Landry and Bourhis (1997: 26) distinguished between the informational and symbolic functions of languages displayed in the linguistic landscape of a geographical region. While the informational function serves to show the relationship between the displayed languages and the language of communication within a speech community, the symbolic function serves to highlight the power relations between the competing languages in a given environment and emphasizes their status and vitality (Landry and Bourhis, 1997: 25-28). The inclusion of an 'in-group' language in public signs indicates the power this language holds in a speech community. Conversely, the exclusion of a language conveys a message of its inferiority (Landry & Bourhis, 1997: 28). According to Landry and Bourhis (1997: 28), this exclusion of languages from the landscape of cities is what results in graffiti as a form of protest against the predominance of the powerful language(s).

Linguistic landscape research has been mainly conducted in urban cities (Coulmas, 2009: 14) rather than rural ones<sup>126</sup>. This has made some scholars think that landscape is a broad term that does not accurately describe the urban nature of the examined environments. Spolsky (2009: 25), for example, suggested that 'cityscape' is a preferable term than landscape. Gorter (2006: 1) also argued that the broad meaning of linguistic landscape can be equal to other 'concepts such as linguistic market, linguistic mosaic, ecology of languages, diversity of languages or the linguistic situation.' Despite the extensive meaning of the term, scholars continue to employ such term to refer mostly to urban cityscapes.

The study of public urban landscapes has been a recurrent topic in the field of World Englishes. For example, there are studies that investigated the use of English in shop signs (Baumgardner, 2006; Schlick, 2002) and others that examined the use of English in advertising (i.e. Martin, 1998, 2002, 2008, 2019; Bhatia, 1992, 2001, 2019; Lee, 2019). While this qualitative study employs the term linguistic landscape to refer to the two elements of focus (shop signs and advertisements), the analysis is mainly based

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<sup>126</sup> Bhatia (2000) published a book about advertising in rural India.

on the World Englishes framework. A similar approach was also employed by Coupland (2012) in his study of displayed bilingualism in Wales in which he stated: 'I draw on several valuable insights from LL [linguistic landscape] research but without developing my own study within what I take to be mainstream LL assumptions and methods' (2).

## 6.2. Data sources and method of investigation

To examine the use of English in Casablanca's linguistic landscape, this dissertation adopts an exploratory, qualitative, macrosociolinguistic approach. As has been noted in the main methodology section in Chapter 2, such an exploratory approach is suitable for investigating language issues which have received little or no scholarly attention (Stebbins, 2001: 9; Goulding, 2002: 42). In this case, the use of English in the Moroccan linguistic landscape indeed has garnered insufficient scholarly interest. As a case in point, there currently exists 1) a study focusing on the use of English in outdoor advertisements in the city of Casablanca (Kachoub & Hilgendorf, 2019a); 2) a study on the recent use of Moroccan Colloquial Arabic (MCA) in the public and private signs of the city of Meknes; 3) and another study on language planning and the languages of street signs in the cities of Casablanca, Fes, and Rabat (Hassa, 2012)<sup>127</sup>. This sociolinguistic investigation seeks to expand on these previous linguistic landscape studies by focusing particularly on the use of English in shop signs and outdoor advertising. This focus will provide broad descriptions pertaining to the use of English in Casablanca's linguistic landscape and draw informative conclusions concerning the country's increasing multilingualism.

Primary data for this linguistic landscape research were collected in the city of Casablanca during the period from July to October 2018. The motives behind selecting the city of Casablanca for data collection are many, but the most significant factors include the following: 1) Casablanca is the largest economic cosmopolitan city in Morocco, with a population of over 4 million people; 2) the city is home to a relatively large number of businesses and advertisement displays; and 3) most importantly,

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<sup>127</sup> There is an unpublished study on the languages of shop signs in two business districts in the city of Casablanca. The study is available on [https://www.academia.edu/33839220/Linguistic Landscape and Language Attitudes Case of Casablanca?auto=download](https://www.academia.edu/33839220/Linguistic_Landscape_and_Language_Attitudes_Case_of_Casablanca?auto=download)

Casablanca, unlike the other major Moroccan city of Marrakech, is not a primary tourist destination. This last factor confirms that shop signs and advertisements in Casablanca that use English therefore most likely target the local Moroccan speech community rather than tourists.

Shop signs and outdoor advertisements constitute two of the most visible realia in urban landscapes. For Moroccan marketing communication, outdoor advertising remains among the important publicity platforms for disseminating information. For example, in the first quarter of 2020, out-of-home advertising represented 27% of the total publicity market share (Maroc Diplomatie, 2020). Such market share size shows the relevance of outdoor advertisement signs to investors who depend on this platform to market their products, services, and events. As for shop signs, they are also significant display platforms. Distinct from outdoor advertisements, which are generally displayed for limited time periods, shop signs are shown on a more permanent basis to numerous segments of Casablanca's speech community. They do not serve only to identify business shops, but also function as landmarks that are used for geographical referencing, such as when giving directions for an address or location (Hassa, 2016: 86).

While collecting the data, the author frequented various residential neighborhoods and business districts throughout the city. This was done to observe the general use of languages in the cityscape and to photograph shop signs and outdoor advertisements that contain at least one English element. The visited parts of the city where the outdoor advertisements were located include business and residential areas, roundabouts, traffic light conjunctions, city entrance/exits, main streets with usual traffic congestions, and arterial roads. As for shop signs, they were found in residential and business districts with low to high commercial activities. Of the thousands of outdoor ads and shop sign displays available in the city, a total of 87 shop signs and 71 outdoor advertisements were gathered providing examples of monolingual and multilingual use of English. It is important to highlight that these samples of advertisements and shop signs are illustrative, and not representative, of the linguistic landscape of the city of Casablanca. The qualitative analysis of this study provides general and preliminary insights into the expanding role English plays in the urban spaces of Casablanca, the largest city in Morocco.

This chapter on the use of English in Casablanca's linguistic landscape is divided into two main sections. The first section examines the display of English in shop signs, while the second section investigates the use of English in a variety of outdoor advertisements.

## **Section One: Shop Signs**

### **6.3. Shop Signs**

#### **6.3.1. Overview of previous studies on English in shop signs**

The use of English in shop signs has become a widely common practice among businesses in a number of Expanding Circle contexts. Evidence of such usage is documented in the existing scholarly research examining a number of countries in which English historically has been a foreign language. For instance, researchers have examined contexts such as Korea (Lee, 2019), Greece (Nikolaou, 2017), Macedonia (Dimova, 2008), Turkey (Selvi, 2016), and Oman (Buckingham, 2015) among others. While the scope of the literature is geographically wide-ranging and thematically varied, studies on shop signs traditionally have focused on defining the social and economic value that English holds for business owners and their potential clients (McCormick & Agnihotri, 2009; Selvi, 2016). Additional common points of scholarly investigation include describing language creativity on a lexical, syntactic, and morphological level (e.g. Thonus, 1991; Buckingham, 2015); exploring the extent to which English is used in commercial nomenclature (e.g. Dimova, 2008; Stewart & Fawcett, 2004); uncovering the vitality of English in the linguistic landscape and the multilingual repertoire of speech communities (Shang & Guo, 2017; Shang & Zhao, 2017); and determining the types of businesses that favor English use in their shop signs (e.g. Hasanova, 2010; Lawrence, 2012; Lee, 2019; Schlick, 2002). The remaining paragraphs in this background section elaborate on a couple of these points.

The use of English in shop signs in Expanding Circle countries serves a multitude of functions for businesses. One major function often reiterated in previous studies is to catch the attention of passers-by as well as raise their curiosity to explore the products and services of the concerned businesses (e.g. Hasanova, 2010: 7; Shang & Guo, 2017: 183). Another major function of English use in shop signs centers on a

desire to show potential customers the authenticity and superior quality of the merchandise presented for sale (Hasanova, 2010: 7). For example, one shop owner in Uzbekistan told Hasanova (2010: 7) that ‘English looks cool. It symbolizes modernity and shows high quality of our products’ (7). In Mexico, a manager of product development shared with Baumgardner (2006) in an interview that ‘Mexican culture is *malinchista*<sup>128</sup>; if we don’t see any English, we tend not to buy’ (263, emphasis in original). A further function of English use in shop signs is to underscore the elitism of businesses and their owners (Hasanova, 2010: 8), which instinctively results in creating a unique business identity that stands out among competitors (Shang & Guo, 2017: 196; Selvi, 2016: 37). A final but more important function of English use in Expanding Circle shop signs is to generate a profitable return (Selvi, 2016: 37).

While the use of English may seem widespread across business sectors, it does in fact vary across different types of commercial activities. Business establishments selling beauty products and electronic devices are documented to make the most use of English in countries such as Uzbekistan (Hasanova, 2010: 8), Korea (Lee, 2019: 516-517), and Turkey (Selvi, 2016: 35). Other types of businesses where English is used extensively in shop signs are food and beverage establishments. This has been observed in restaurants and cafés in Greece (Nikolaou, 2017: 169), Turkey (Selvi, 2016: 35), and Korea (Lawrence, 2012: 89). The use of English in similar businesses in Macedonia is reported to be different, however. Dimova (2008: 89) noted that while it is common to find English in the shop signs of cafés and fast food restaurants, establishments selling food associated with a non-English speaking culture may opt for other languages. An example is a pizzeria using Italian to establish a connection to the speech community from which that cuisine originated. As for other non-fast food restaurants, Dimova (2008) observed an inclination towards using Macedonian more than English. These studies on the use of English in commercial activities reveal that while businesses around the world share the practice of using English in their shop signs, such use is not always consistent across businesses and cultures.

Just as there are contexts that allow the use of English in their shop signs, there are also contexts where the use of English in signage has to abide by certain local regulations. In the Canadian province of Quebec, for example, *Loi 101* (‘Bill 101’), also

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<sup>128</sup> Malinchista means traitorous (Baumgardner 2006: 264).

known as the Charter of the French Language, enforces the use of French in all domains including, but not limited to education, public space, work, court, and administration (Noël, 2017). By means of this law, business shop signs in Quebec are required to have their display signs predominantly in French. In cases where the business name is in English and is trademarked, inclusion of a description of the business in French is mandatory. For example, Walmart hypermarkets in Quebec Province incorporate the French word *Supercentre* in their store fronts to fulfill the obligation of giving a business a 'French Face' (Hamilton, 2016). The strict implementation of *Loi 101* by the office québécois de la langue française resulted in a famous incident known as 'Pastagate' where the owner of an Italian cuisine restaurant was forced to alter Italian words in the menu, such as pasta, to French (Chappell, 2013, Yakabuski, 2017). The overseeing government agency, also known as language police, was criticized heavily for such a crackdown on this Montreal business (Yakabuski, 2017).

Besides businesses that use English in their shop signs (i.e. beauty products, electronic devices, cafés, and restaurants), there are also businesses that avoid such a practice. Among the types of businesses that typically do not have English in their shop signs are those providing professional and specialized services with crucial information. In Turkey, Selvi (2016) noted an absence of English in shop signs for businesses such as those selling 'durable consumer goods, pharmacies, car dealerships, gas stations, mechanics, museums, libraries, driving schools, bookstores, publishing houses, law offices, insurance agencies, and NGOs' (35). In Greece, too, 'in certain professional domains such as medical and legal services, which are characterized by the provision of a high degree of specialized information, Greek is used almost exclusively' (Nikolaou, 2017: 173).

In addition to businesses that provide professional information, those that offer traditional goods or services often avoid the use of English in general. In Korea, for example, English is avoided in businesses such as tea rooms, medicine stores, traditional clothing shops, local food restaurants, and traditional guest houses (Lawrence, 2012: 89; Lee, 2019: 510, 516). A similar practice is observed in Cape Town, South Africa, where the local language Xhosa is used exclusively in the shop signs of traditional healers (McCormick & Agnihotri, 2009: 14)

While English language use has been the epicenter of the linguistic landscape research field, studies have also targeted other languages such as French, Spanish, and Italian. Shiohata (2012), as a case in point, investigated the use of French in the commercial signs of a suburban town in Senegal. In her findings, Shiohata (2012) demonstrated that French was employed far more than the local languages of Wolof, Bambara, and Soninké. Her research indicates that the predominance of French is purposeful as it reflects the 'high status' and superiority of the business owners' 'establishment' (275). In spite of their minimal display in shop fronts, local languages were also employed with a specific purpose in mind. One business owner used Wolof because he believed in the importance of the clarity and intelligibility of the message transmitted through his commercial signs. Other business owners who are speakers of Bambara and Soninké used these minority languages in their business signs in order to represent their ethnic identity (Shiohata, 2012: 282-283) and thus attract customers of similar backgrounds.

A similar use of language was also observed in an immigrant neighborhood in Strasbourg. In this European context, the owner of a telephone, fax, and Internet shop attempts to 'bring[ ] to mind distant lands' through his use of the Arabic language in his shop sign (Bogatto & Hélot, 2010: 287). With such language use, the owner aims to show his identity in order to attract customers of Arabic speaking communities. He also aims to intelligibly communicate the type of services he offers, especially to those who are not proficient in French. These studies illuminate the function languages serve for businesses and expose the multilingual complexities of the environments where they are employed.

#### **6.4. English use in Casablanca's shop signs**

The multiplicity of languages found in shop signs of a given environment is in fact a marker of their vitality and maintenance in the speech community. In Morocco, shops signs commonly appear in the languages of Arabic, French, English, Tmazight<sup>129</sup>, and

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<sup>129</sup> Before the passing of the law that mandates the use Tmazight alphabet, called Tifinagh, in public display signs, words in Tmazight were written in the Arabic and Roman alphabets. For example, the Tmazight word *Amoud* (grains) is the name of one of the reputable bakeries in Morocco with branches in several populated cities. In this bakery's signs, however, *Amoud* only appears in the Arabic and Roman alphabets. It does not appear in the Tmazight script.



Spanish. Such business signs are voluntary productions of business owners and they demonstrate the vitality of these languages as part of the multilingual repertoire of their users. Although some of the languages (e.g. Spanish, English) of Morocco may not be used extensively in the daily interactions of a number of interlocutors, they nevertheless occupy some space in the linguistic tapestry that defines this North African country.

This section on the use of English in Casablanca's linguistic landscape examines the presence of English and other languages in this city's business shop signs. It further discusses the types of commercial activities which are likely as well as unlikely to display their names in English. Additionally, it examines the positioning of English in shop signs. Finally, the section closes with notes on the functions that such a language serves within Casablanca's speech community.

#### **6.4.1. Methodological considerations**

In dealing with the primary data collected for this study on shop signs, two important methodological considerations are worth highlighting. The first relates to the exclusion of foreign businesses from the data set. That is, multinational companies (e.g. Fujifilm Digital Print Shop, Hankook Driving Emotion, McDonald's) were excluded as they are not necessarily evidence of local Moroccans' creativity in using English. The exclusion of foreign corporate shop signs does not mean that they are unimportant. On the contrary, such signs contribute rich multilingual input to members of the local speech community. However, the aim of this section's analysis is to identify how Casablanca locals use English within this domain. To ensure that none of the 87 shop signs identified for this analysis are foreign, the author conducted a web search confirming the Moroccan origin of the businesses included in the study sample.

The second consideration relates to how cognate words are treated. Since cognates are semantically, morphologically, and phonologically identical (Stewart & Fawcett, 2004: 57), it is almost impossible for an observer to infer in which language they are meant to appear. The reason why it is important in this study to determine the language in which cognate words appear is to be able to differentiate between English monolingual and English multilingual shop signs. To solve this ambiguity and to remain consistent with the earlier analysis conducted for television program titles in the media chapter (5.2), the syntactic structure of the texts appearing in the collected shop signs is

utilized. This approach of relying on the word order in shop names is useful for determining the language in which such universal words appear. The next paragraph is illustrative of such syntactic approach.

In one of the photographed coffee shops called *Black Rock Café*<sup>130</sup>, the word *café* is considered to be in English. This is because the noun *café* has the antecedent adjective *black rock* conforming to the English structure of adjectives in the attributive position. Had *café* in this shop sign been meant to appear in French, it would have been placed in an initial position reading *Café Black Rock*. It is important to mention, however, that in previous linguistic landscape studies (e.g. Selvi, 2016: 3; Stewart & Fawcett, 2004: 57), words such as *café* were conservatively considered to be non-English. In this study, however, it is argued that since these loanwords have been used by languages other than French for extended periods of time, they have become part of their linguistic systems. In this case, the word *café* now has been in use in English for over two centuries, according to the Oxford English Dictionary (2020), and is therefore considered as part of the English language.

Etymologically speaking, the word *café*, the term for a coffee house or restaurant where this and other beverages are served, originates from French (Oxford English Dictionary, 2020) but is used in many other languages such as Spanish, German, and English. Going further back in history, this now universal drink is believed to have originally appeared in Ethiopia and was then transported to the Arabian Peninsula, where it became a common everyday drink known as *qahwa*. With the transportation of coffee plants from Ethiopia to the Arabian Peninsula and the rest of the world, the word *qahwa* has gone through phonological adaptations in speech communities around the world. One particular variation that has become especially widespread is *café*. In French, *café* refers to both the caffeinated drink and an establishment where it is served. In contrast, in Arabic, the place where coffee is bought and consumed is called '*maqha*' while the drink is called *qahwa*.

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<sup>130</sup> *Black Rock Café* is located in a neighborhood called *Les Roches Noires*, meaning *black rocks*

## 6.4.2. Languages and language-mixing patterns in shop signs

Based on field observations of the general use of languages in shop signs in the city of Casablanca, and on closer examination of the 87 collected examples of shop signs using English, a number of languages were found to be employed in store front signage. Table 6.1 below provides a comprehensive listing of the languages used in shop signs that were found in the city of Casablanca between July and October, 2018.

**Table 6.1**      **Examples of languages displayed in Casablanca shop signs**

<b>Monolingual</b>	<b>Bilingual</b>	<b>Trilingual</b>
English	English & French	English, French & Arabic
French	English & Arabic	
Arabic	English & Italian	
	Arabic & Tmazight	
	Arabic & French	
	French & Tmazight	

Shop signs generally were found to contain monolingual, bilingual and even trilingual texts. For example, monolingual shop signs were displayed either in Arabic, French, or English. While French and Arabic are observed to occur most frequently, English occurs to a lesser extent. As for bilingual shop signs, a combination of various languages was exhibited. The most predominant language combinations on signs include English and French, English and Arabic, Arabic and Tmazight, Arabic and French, or French and Tmazight. The mixing of English with other foreign languages, such as Italian, as well as the trilingual use of English, French, and Arabic were also noted; however, such usage remains very limited.

### English monolingual shop signs

For over a century, the use of Arabic and/or French in Moroccan shop signs has been a default practice. In recent years, however, at least in the city of Casablanca, there has been an emerging new practice of using English in monolingual shop signs, such as the signage in Figure 6.1 for a men's hair salon. In this example of a men's grooming business called *The Barber Shop Gentlemen Club*, *barber shop* appears in large font in the center of the display sign. While the definite article *the* appears right above the main name *barber shop*, *gentlemen club* is displayed beneath it and is significantly smaller in size. Based on the examination of some online photos of this

upscale local business, it is obvious that it targets Casablanca's younger male population given the trendy hairstyles it offers.



**Figure 6.1** Example of an English monolingual shop sign

### **English shop signs with Arabic transliteration**

In addition to English monolingual shop signs as in the barber shop (Figure 6.1), bilingual examples are also scattered all over the city of Casablanca. Of particular interest for the present study are the bilingual combinations of English-French and English-Arabic. The mixing of English with Arabic and French reflects the presence of these languages in the city's linguistic landscape and ultimately in the linguistic repertoire of the local users.

While the English monolingual example of the barber shop above displays the use of English in the Roman script, the fast food restaurant in the example below (Figure 6.2) exhibits the English name *Food Place* فود بليس written in both Roman and Arabic letters. The English name of the restaurant appears in large font and the Arabic transliteration of the English name appears in a noticeably smaller font. This suggests that the Arabic transliteration is used for glossing the English name to make its pronunciation accessible to non-English speakers. The cognate word *place* in *Food*

*Place* may raise some doubt about whether it is in English or in French. According to the syntactic structure criterion discussed in section 1.3.1, the text here is considered to be in English since the noun *place* is in the attributive position. Even without such a structural consideration, the Arabic transliteration resolves this ambiguity by displaying this word in its English rather than French pronunciation.



**Figure 6.2** Example of a fast food restaurant sign in English using Roman and Arabic scripts

A similar example of English and Arabic transliteration is shown in Figure 6.3. *Magic Color* ماجيك كولور is the English name and its Arabic transliteration of a paint tinting system<sup>131</sup> of the Moroccan paint company Colorado. Unlike the example of the fast food restaurant *Food Place*, the display of the English and Arabic scripts appear in the same font and on the same level. While checking the website of the paint company Colorado, it appears that the name of the tinting system machine *Magic Color* comes in English only and the Arabic transliteration provided in the shop sign is employed for glossing purposes to assist Casablanca residents, especially professional painters with limited literacy skills in foreign languages, in reading this shop sign.



**Figure 6.3** Example of a paint store with an English sign transliterated into Arabic

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<sup>131</sup> A tinting system is a machine used for mixing paint to produce specific color shades not normally found in the standard paint selection.

## English and French shop signs

Noteworthy in the current study is the greater tendency of business owners to mix English with French rather than Arabic. An example of English-French mixing appears in Figure 6.4, which displays a sign for a women's beauty salon called *Beauty Secrets for Elle*. The English store name *beauty secrets* appears in a large font while the English preposition *for* and French pronoun *elle* ('she') appear in a smaller font immediately underneath. Although *for elle* appears at the bottom of the sign and in a smaller font, it is part of the registered name of this hair salon business and thus was not added arbitrarily to provide additional information regarding the clientele. Since French and English are considered prestigious languages spoken by elite and educated Moroccans, Casablanca businesses aim to associate their image and reputation with such social qualities.

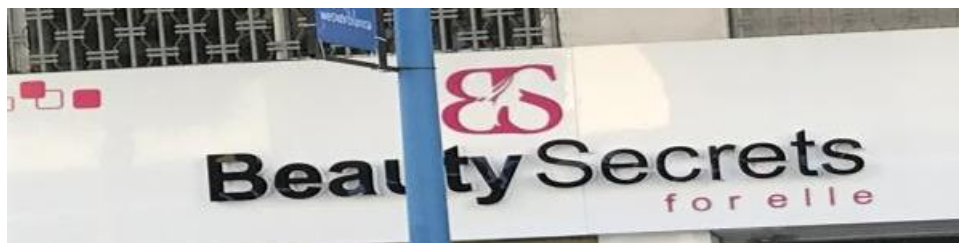


Figure 6.4 Example of an English-French shop sign

## English as an Additional Language

These first examples of shop signs are of significant importance to the present study because they indicate that English is becoming quite popular among Casablanca business owners. What is more, the exclusive use of English in naming these shop signs reveals its shifting status from that of a second foreign language to an Additional Language of use. That is, this new Additional Language is employed for intranational communication to convey messages and ideas that are important to the success of local businesses. In an already highly multilingual environment, it may seem surprising for yet another language to be added to the linguistic repertoire of Casablanca's speech community. While such reasoning might be true for other contexts, the field observations made in the current study offer ample evidence suggesting otherwise.

## **Tmazight in shop signs**

The study of the linguistic landscape does not only focus on the presence of languages in various public spaces, but also on their absence (Kelly-Holmes, 2014: 136). In this dissertation study, the combination of English with French or Arabic in shop front signage was accompanied by a notable absence of English mixed with the indigenous language of Tmazight. Such a finding aligns with the mixing practices found in the media chapter (2.2.1. Frequency of English-monolingual and English-mixed titles), where English is also more commonly mixed with French and Arabic than with Tmazight. There are two possible explanations for the absence of Tmazight-English code-mixing. First of all, since English is in the early stages of spreading in Morocco, its mixing with Tmazight has yet to emerge. Alternatively, since Tmazight has historically been largely absent from the Moroccan linguistic landscape and, at present, is still not widely used in public signage, its mixing with English is not yet a feasible option.

Over the course of the last decade of increasing English use, there has also been growing official recognition of the indigenous language of Tmazight. In 2011, Tmazight was recognized as an official language of the country. Eight years later, a law was adopted mandating the integration of Tmazight in public life and signage. While English use was expanding across domains at a striking pace, during the same period Tmazight was only beginning to become a more widely used language in the public realm. One of the very recent outcomes of this struggle is the beginning of the use of Tmazight in its Tifinagh script alongside Arabic and French in public signage. Today, public signs where such multilingualism is shown include Moroccan public buildings (Figure 6.5), public schools, public transportation, and road signs.



**Figure 6.5** Multilingual sign in front of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, African Cooperation, and Moroccan Expatriates featuring the use of Arabic, Tifinagh, and French

Source: Picture adapted from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, African Cooperation, and Moroccan Expatriates twitter account (<https://twitter.com/MarocDiplomatie>)

## 6.5. English use beyond shop signs

To complement these examples of publicly displayed shop signs, the interiors of businesses were examined as well for further evidence of multilingual practices using English. It was surprising to find that the use of English in fact goes beyond the business shop signs that are displayed in store fronts. In the case of establishments that serve food, there are numerous examples of English use extending to menus as well. For instance, a fast food restaurant called *The Factory* in English has a menu in which all dishes are listed in English, but their ingredients are provided in French. These dishes are mostly named after American boroughs (*Manhattan, Brooklyn*), cities (*Chicago, Boston, Pasadena*), states (*Nevada, Florida*), and professional basketball teams<sup>132</sup> (*Lakers, Hornets*). Other menu item options, which are typically burgers, include *The Farmer, The Pickles, The Mushroom, The Big Monster*, and *The Factory*. A different restaurant that serves bagels and smoothies called *Bagel & Shake* also has a large menu display hanging on the wall, which appears entirely in English (Figure 6.6). These restaurant owners opting for displaying their menus in English seek to remain linguistically consistent with their shop front signage and maintain the image that their shop signs created in the mind of consumers. Such consistency is important so that

<sup>132</sup> Moroccans are familiar with American basketball players and basketball is one of the popular sports in the country.



customers who were drawn to the businesses based on the language of display will not be disappointed once inside the restaurant.



Figure 6.6 A restaurant menu display in English

## 6.6. Types of businesses where English is used

In the literature overview provided earlier in Section One (6.3.1. Overview of previous studies on English in shop signs), it was shown that the use of English in shop signs often depends on the type of business. In the Expanding Circle context of Morocco and in the business capital of Casablanca in particular, this is also the case. Based on the examples found for this analysis, shop signs which are in English or have some English elements in them include a wide-range of businesses: cafés and restaurants, service businesses<sup>133</sup>, beauty salons, home design and furniture, automobile services, clothing, eyewear, fitness, shipping, and electronics. The degree to which these businesses use English varies across the industries, with those that serve food and provide beauty services showing a greater tendency to employ the language. Café and restaurant establishments in particular demonstrate an extensive use of this language that only recently became part of the local linguistic repertoire. These findings are consistent with those of previous studies examining contexts within Greece (Nikolaou, 2017), Turkey (Selvi, 2016), Korea (Lee, 2019; Lawrence, 2012), Uzbekistan (Hasanova, 2010), and, to some degree, Macedonia (Dimova, 2008). The use of English in naming

<sup>133</sup> Of the shops and companies examined in this study for their English use, the types of services they provide include elevator repair; mending of shoes, clothes, and watches; dry cleaning; consulting and travel agencies; and currency exchange.

restaurants and coffee shops appears to be a widespread phenomenon in many countries around the world.

### 6.6.1. English use to mark the introduction of new concepts

Not only is English used in shop signs and menus, but it is also employed to introduce new business concepts. In a study on Thai media, Masayisut et al. reported as early as 1986 that 'when Western life-styles are adopted, English words are adopted along with them' (204). This practice is readily observed in Casablanca. A case in point is the concept of Western shopping malls, which is relatively new to the country. The opening of the largest modern shopping center in Casablanca in 2011 was announced by giving it an English name: *Morocco Mall*. Other major shopping malls that opened thereafter have English elements in their names as well. Examples include *Anfaplace Shopping Center*, *Marina Shopping*, and *Tachfine Center* in Casablanca; *Arribat Center* in the capital city of Rabat; *Tanger City Mall* in Tangier<sup>134</sup>; and *Menara Mall* in Marrakesh. These examples illustrate that along with adopting the Western concept of shopping within an enclosed modern building facility, the English word *mall* also has been adopted<sup>135</sup>.

### 6.6.2. English use to upgrade old concepts

This dissertation study's data set brings to light an unanticipated finding regarding the use of English in the economic capital of Casablanca. This pertains to the use of English to upgrade or modernize the look of traditional shopping points. Historically known by their Arabic names that date back at least for half a century, these traditional market names are now being anglicized on a lexical and a syntactic level. For example, in Casablanca, the popular قيسارية غرناطة (*Qisariya't Gharnata*<sup>136</sup>) (Market Granada → Granada Market) for clothing now displays a new large sign that reads *Gharnata Mall* in the Arabic and Roman alphabets (Figure 6.7). It is particularly

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<sup>134</sup> Because of Tangier's relative proximity to Spain, there are also shopping mall names in Spanish such as *Socco Alto Centre Commercial*.

<sup>135</sup> Because the word *mall* has entered the linguistic repertoire of the Casablanca speech community, the word has been adapted morphologically in MCA, in which it has the plural form مولات [mo:la:t].

<sup>136</sup> Gharnata (غرناطة) is the Arabic word for the Spanish city Granada.

noteworthy that the word *qisariya* (market) has been replaced with the word *mall* even though this market's traditional architecture in no way resembles a Western modern mall in terms of structure and facilities<sup>137</sup>.



**Figure 6.7 A traditional market displaying signs with English elements**

This bilingual language use, counter positioning the English equivalent of *Gharnata Mall* غرناطة مول while maintaining the Arabic pronunciation of the Spanish city, is significant as it occurs at a time when modern shopping malls are on the rise in Casablanca and in Morocco in general. Giant international fashion brands such as Zara, Mango, and H&M are becoming fierce competitors for Moroccan clothing entrepreneurs. In order for this traditional market to present an image that matches those of modern shopping malls and clothing giants, the old sign was partially anglicized. The switch to *Gharnata Mall* also indicates that shop owners in this market use English for symbolic purposes to emphasize that their fashion goods are foreign, unique, modern, trendy, and of superior quality. This linguistic addition may also signify that shop owners may have feared a decline in their revenues; therefore, they rushed to substitute *qisariya* with *mall* to create a new identity that would appeal especially to lower-middle class consumers looking for trendy clothing.

In the right-hand side of the picture in Figure 6.7, under the Arabic script of *Gharnata Mall*, there is a small shop sign displaying a name reading *Shop Fatouma* (shop sign zoomed in Figure 6.8). This is further evidence that using English in shop signs has become a business necessity (Selvi, 2016: 37) on a micro (small shop names) as well as on a macro level (mall names).

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<sup>137</sup> This type of traditional shopping complex is usually made up of dozens of shops situated in the ground floor of a large residential building. It looks like an alley with shops on both sides.



**Figure 6.8** A shop sign displaying a name with an English element

## **6.7. Types of businesses where English is unlikely to be used**

While there are many businesses that display English in their shop front signs, there are also businesses that have not adopted such a practice. In Morocco, the absence of English use appears to be identical to the Korean context mentioned earlier, where establishments offering traditional products and services do not use English in their shop signs (Lawrence, 2012; Lee, 2019). In the Moroccan context, traditional public baths, called *hammams*, appear never to carry English names. The historical linguistic norm has been that traditional public baths<sup>138</sup> carry Arabic names (i.e. *Hammam Lfane*, *Hammam al Andalus* written in the Arabic and Roman alphabets)<sup>139</sup> while more modern, Turkish-styled baths carry French (i.e. *Gauthier Bain Turc*) or even Turkish names (i.e. *Topkapi Hammams & Spa*, *Le Pacha Hammam*). The word *spa*, as shown in this last example, however, is starting to gain popularity following the recent opening of modern public baths, especially in hotels and high-end beauty and fitness centers. These new upscale baths, which are relatively pricy, aim to use foreign names and the generic word

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<sup>138</sup> While Moroccan and Turkish public baths offer the same experience of body cleansing, they differ in the way they are built and operate. Turkish hammams consist of one big steam-heated room with small fountains of hot and cold water. Moroccan hammams are made up of three rooms with different degrees of heat and moisture. The first room is hot and dry, the second room is warm and moist, and the third room is cold. The hot, dry room has basins of hot and cold water that bathers collect in their individual buckets.

<sup>139</sup> In addition to the Arabic and French transliteration of public baths name, there always is a reference in Arabic and French to whether the bath is for males or females (رجال, نساء, homme, femme), accompanied by a head silhouette portraying each gender.

*spa* to echo their offerings of a more contemporary experience of the cleansing and relaxation ritual that Moroccans traditionally perform on a regular basis.

Another example of a business where English is hardly used is butchery. During the observation and data collection period, no butcher shops in the visited regions of the city of Casablanca were found to have English in their signs. To confirm this preliminary observation, the yellow pages website [www.pj.ma](http://www.pj.ma) was consulted to find any butcher businesses with an English name. After selecting 'butchery' from the listed professional categories and 'Casablanca' from the regions available, the results generated a list of 121 entries, of which only two were in English (*Steak Master* and *Tender Meat*). To confirm the use of English in these two butcheries, a Google search of these businesses was conducted. This search showed that the butcher *Steak Master* does not display this English name in its front shop sign. Instead, the name *Moulay Said* ('Mr. Said') is displayed. It was found that the business is registered as *Steak Master*, however, it is only known as *Moulay Said* within the Casablanca community. The second butcher found in the yellow pages website also does not display its registered English name as *La Fonda* is the name that is displayed in the butcher's shop front sign and is also the name by which this business is known. The observed absence of English from the butchery shop signs is not surprising. In many of their purchases, most Moroccan consumers may look for things that are innovative, trendy, Westernized, sophisticated, and contemporary. However, when it comes to the consumption of meat that has to be slaughtered and prepared following the Islamic tradition, the use of English does not appear to be an appropriate option.

### **6.7.1. Laws regulating language choice in public spaces**

The Moroccan Office of Industrial and Commercial Property, which is responsible for protecting the property rights of business owners, grants entrepreneurs much freedom in choosing names for their businesses as long as the names respect 'public order and morality' (n.d.). This laissez-faire law regulating trade names makes no mention of the issue of language choice, which therefore allows entrepreneurs to capitalize on all linguistic resources available to them. With the exception of the recently founded *National Road Safety Agency* (Figure 6.9), no government institutions such as public administration agencies, schools, ministries, mosques, police stations, and courts, were found to use English. The naming of mosques, for example, is regulated by وزارة

الأوقاف والشؤون الإسلامية (Ministry of Endowments and Islamic Affairs). Article 3 of the decree number 472.06 of 2006 relates to the naming of mosques which limits the choice to names of a religious nature. These include, for example, attributes to God, names of prominent religious scholars, Moroccan figures known for their religious work, Islamic historical events, and moral virtues (Ministry of Endowments and Islamic Affairs, 2012). This article, however, does not make any mention of the language to be used. Although such specification is not articulated, it is understood that mosque names are only to appear in Arabic given the sacred status this language holds in the Islamic tradition being the language of Islam.

The presence of English in signs of private businesses and its absence specifically in the signage of public institutions reveals what Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) refer to as bottom-up and top-down linguistic landscapes. A top-down linguistic landscape refers to all sign materials issued by government institutions such as 'signs on public sites, public announcement and street names' (14). On the other hand, signs such as 'names of shops, signs on businesses and personal announcements' (Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) which are displayed by individuals in the speech community are referred to as bottom-up linguistic landscape materials. In the case of English in the city of Casablanca, a bottom-up approach is adopted since signs in this language are issued predominantly by private business owners. The bottom-up approach of English in the linguistic landscape of the city of Casablanca discloses the fact that additive multilingualism in shop signs of businesses is initiated by individual users of language rather than state institutions.



**Figure 6.9 Multilingual name of a national agency of road safety**

Source: Picture from NARSA Facebook account<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>140</sup><https://www.facebook.com/NARSA20/photos/a.158173487552721/2734257239944320/?type=3&theater>



## 6.8. The positioning of English in shop signs

In examining the placement of English in shop signs in Casablanca, two approaches are used. The first approach is that of the Preferred Code model developed by Scollon and Scollon (2003), and the second approach is Nikolaou's (2017) Textual Classification of shop signs. Understanding the placement of English in shop signs reveals the patterns of language arrangement and provides insights for understanding the functions of languages.

### 6.8.1. The Preferred Code model

In their study of the social meaning of public and private street material, Scollon and Scollon (2003) developed the Preferred Code model for assessing the position of the codes in multilingual public displays. In the examples they studied, Scollon and Scollon (2003: 120) found that when the lines of texts on signs are ordered vertically (as in Figure 6.10), there is a tendency for sign producers to place the preferred language in the top position. As for signs in which the lines of texts are sequenced horizontally (as in Figure 6.7), the preferred code was found to be positioned on the left-hand side. To examine the positioning of English in the collected Casablanca shop signs using the Preferred Code model, only bilingual and multilingual signs are considered. English-only signs are excluded because their monolingualism already reflects the fact that English is the business owners' preferred code for advertising and promotion.



**Figure 6.10** Vertical text line positioning of a shop name display

Of the 32 examples of multilingual shop signs that qualify for analysis using Scollon and Scollon's (2003) Preferred Code model, it seems that business owners prefer the display of English in the top position of signs. In figure 6.11, the sign displays the business name *The Kids Palace* in English as an attention-getter, with a brief description of the business activity, *Mode enfants de 0 à 14 ans* ('Kids fashion from 0 to

14 years of age'), in French. This example reveals that despite the complex multilingualism that already exists in the city of Casablanca, English, as a new emerging language in the local linguistic repertoire, is viewed favorably. This is shown not only through the presence of English in the linguistic landscape, but also through the fact that the language already occupies the preferred code position in a higher number of instances. An additional indicator of the status of English among its users is the saliency of its text, which in these cases always appears in large font and bright colors.



**Figure 6.11 Bilingual shop sign showing English in top position**

When developing the Preferred Code model, Scollon and Scollon (2003) did not consider languages that are written from right to left such as Arabic. Therefore, a limitation of the model is the fact that it can only identify the preferred code of multilingual signs showing a vertical hierarchy of text lines. This means that Scollon and Scollon's model does not account for the preferred code of 1) signs with bidirectional texts displayed on the same level (as in Figure 6.7 for English and Arabic in the example of *Gharnata Mall*) and of 2) signs that mix English with other languages on a phrase-level (see Figure 6.13 for English and French in the example of *Harmony Danse*). To elaborate, shop signs with bidirectional texts, such as in Figure 6.7 with *Gharnata Mall*, consist of two languages which are written on the same level, side by side, but in opposite directions. Determining the preferred code in this sign can neither be inferred from its textual placement nor from its font and size. The English text, beginning at left and reading to the right, cannot be argued as being the preferred code in this sign for the simple reason that Arabic is not written from left to right, but from right to left. Since the Arabic mall name is written in the conventional right to left fashion, it appears in an equal positioning to the English name. In order to have favoured either Arabic or English in this sign, the lines of text would have had to be displayed in a vertical format, similar to how the majority of multilingual shop signs are displayed in the sampled store front signs, such as in the example in Figure 6.12 below.





**Figure 6.12 Bilingual shop sign showing Arabic in bottom position**

With the language display in Figure 6.7 of *Gharnata Mall*, it is possible that both the Arabic and the English texts are equally valued through their parallel positioning. A similar difficulty is also encountered with shop signs that employ more than one language on a phrase level, as in the example of the dance studio *Harmony Danse* shown in Figure 6.13. This nominal phrase follows an English word order as the first word is an English lexical item, while the second is a French word based on its spelling. The lack of textual hierarchy makes it rather difficult to identify the preferred code using Scollon and Scollon's model. In this example, it could be hypothesized that the syntactic structure of the phrase is the preferred code; however, this is out of the scope of the positioning of English in shop signs.



**Figure 6.13 Shop sign in English and French**

### **6.8.2. Textual Classification model**

While the focus in Scollon and Scollon's (2003) analysis was on the position of the preferred codes (i.e. top, bottom, left, right), Nikolaou (2017) determined the favored codes of multilingual shop signs 'based on the display pattern of textual arrangement, into primary text and secondary text' (166). According to Nikolaou (2017), primary texts in shop signs carry the names of businesses, while secondary texts 'include[ ] information about the product, special offers, and opening hours' (166). In most signs, the primary text of the name of businesses is placed in the top and left positions, while

the secondary text with information on the products and services goes in the bottom or right positions. Among the examples of 32 English-mixed shop signs collected for this dissertation study, the use of English for the primary texts appears to be more or less the norm (Figure 6.14). French as well as Arabic are used more commonly in the secondary texts. A preliminary remark regarding the textual arrangement of shop signs reveals that the use of English is intentionally made salient by placing it in the primary text in order to be easily noticed by potential consumers. More examples are provided in the next paragraphs.

An analysis applying Nikolaou's textual arrangement approach led to almost the same findings obtained using Scollon and Scollon's Preferred Code model. However, the added value of Nikolaou's (2017) textual arrangement model is in providing the emblematic and informational functions of the primary and secondary texts in shop signs. In line with Nikolaou's findings for the Greek context, identical classification patterns are found in the sampled data set of the current study. That is, primary texts in English, which constitute the names of businesses, are found to have a symbolic function, while secondary texts in French or Arabic are found to provide further information on the services and products provided. Generally, secondary texts can be viewed as an extension of the English primary texts, as they explain what to expect from a business.

An illustrative example of primary and secondary texts is shown in the shop name *Fabrics & Leather Shop - Tissus et cuirs d'ameublement* ('upholstery fabrics and leather') (Figure 6.14). The English primary text (*Fabrics & Leather Shop*), which is positioned on the top of the sign, presents the name of the business, while the French secondary text reading *Tissus et cuirs d'ameublement* ('Upholstery fabrics and leather') offers an elaboration in French of what the business offers its clients. In this example, the secondary text is very important, as it explains to both English-speakers and non-English speakers what the symbolic English shop name means. In fact, it further specifies that the fabrics sold in the shop are for furniture, and therefore should not be confused with fabrics for clothing.



**Figure 6.14** A shop sign displaying the primary text in English and the secondary text in French

While the analysis shows that a number of the collected shop signs follow a pattern where English is in the primary text and French is in the secondary text, the opposite pattern is also found, albeit to a lesser degree. The shop sign in Figure 6.15, *Le Labo - Concept Store*<sup>141</sup>, is an example that uses French in the primary text and English in the secondary text. The English term *Concept Store* is a type of 'shop that sells a carefully curated and unique selection of products ... pulled together from different brands and designers' (Trotter, 2016) 'to enhance the shopper experience' (Bardsley, 2017). Through the choices of position and physical shape of the texts (size, font, and color), it appears that the preferred code for this business owner is French, or at least the business activity is better represented in French. Just as was shown in the previous example in Figure 6.14 of the secondary text giving informational value to the primary text, the same is observed in Figure 6.15. However, this time, it is surprisingly the English text that provides referential meaning to the primary French text. To phrase this differently, the French name *Le Labo* ('The Lab') is more symbolic than referential as it does not project enough information to communicate to consumers the activity of the business. It is the English secondary text, *Concept Store*, that provides context for the French primary text to be understood. Without the secondary text, *Le Labo* might be thought of as a laboratory, for example, for medical tests.

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<sup>141</sup> This is not to be confused with the perfume brand Le Labo.



**Figure 6.15** A shop sign displaying the primary text in French and the secondary text in English

Given the history of French and English in Morocco, with the former language having a far longer history of greater range and depth of use, it is intriguing to see that English could also function in this case as the language providing informational value to the French primary text that communicates the shop name. Such use of English for referential meaning in fact is not unique to the Moroccan context. Nikolaou (2017: 168) reported observing a similar practice in Greece, where English occasionally has been used for textual information. As far as shop signs displaying bidirectional texts on the same level are concerned, it seems that neither Scollon and Scollon's Preferred Code model nor Nikolaou's Textual Classification framework can account for such signs. Scollon and Scollon (2003: 121) recognized the weakness of their model and the need for further research that addresses this shortfall. If lines of text in Arabic-mixed signs are displayed vertically as is the case in Figure 6.12 with *bti Bank*, then the model can still account for the preferred code. The display of the primary and secondary texts on the same level is problematic, but this could be a way for shop sign makers to place the used languages on an equal footing.

## **6.9. Functions of English in Casablanca shop signs**

Studies examining the linguistic landscape of cities around the world have discovered a high degree of systematicity in the choice and use of languages such as English, French, and Italian in business display signs. English in particular has received more scholarly attention than other languages because of its pervasive use in a number of historically non-English using contexts. Such widespread usage is without a doubt propelled by the various positive meanings the language conveys on behalf of business owners. The remaining discussion in this section on shop signs addresses the functions that English serves for these commercial establishments with a focus on one of the

business categories that use English most: restaurants. A handful of examples of restaurant shop signs illustrates some of the extensive uses of the language.

English use in shop signs serves a number of functions. Besides its widely agreed upon role of grabbing customers' attention (i.e. Hasanova, 2010: 7), English is also utilized to communicate that 'shop owners keep abreast' (Shang & Guo, 2017: 195) of the latest trends in their area of business. As a case in point, there are a number of restaurants in Casablanca that strive to demonstrate through their business names that they offer dishes in accordance with the latest trend of nutritious, healthy eating. For example, the shop sign in Figure 6.16 is of a restaurant and food market selling healthy food. *Organic Kitchen* is placed in the primary text position while *healthy restaurant and food market* are in the secondary text.



**Figure 6.16** English monolingual restaurant sign

The list of restaurant names in Table 6.2 appear in store front signs of healthy food restaurants which have chosen the medium of English to communicate to health-conscious consumers the quality of the meals they offer and the new concept of maintaining a healthy diet even when eating outside. Through their use of English, these restaurant owners are also trying to show that their meals are healthy, nutritious, and made of good ingredients. They equally seek to show that their service is outstanding and customer-centered. In Brazil, too, the use of English symbolizes that 'goods and services ... are different and worthwhile' (Thonus, 1991: 73).

**Table 6.2 The use of English in restaurant shop signs**

<b>Names of restaurants that serve healthy food</b>
Organic Kitchen – Healthy Restaurant & Food Market
Blender – Juice Bar and Healthy Food
Mama Garden – Bio Vegan Gluten Free
Little Mamma
Luxurious – Restaurant Coffee Pastry
Juice House

The restaurant shop signs mentioned in the table above include keywords that convey meanings related to healthy eating as well as dietary preferences and restrictions. These keywords include *organic*, *healthy*, *gluten free*, *vegan*, and *bio* ('organic'). The English and Italian shop sign *Little Mamma* (Figure 6.17) does not have a keyword denoting a similar meaning, but the fact that the Italian word *Mamma* is mentioned reflects that the restaurant serves Italian gourmet cuisine marketed as identical to home-cooked meals prepared by one's mother.



**Figure 6.17 Restaurant shop sign in English and Italian**

An additional function of English in such healthy restaurant signs may be communicating a given desired message to consumers. For example, entrepreneurs in the food domain use English to communicate the idea that their businesses offer outstanding services and superior quality food (Hasanova, 2010: 7) prepared by professional chefs in hygienic conditions. Other intended functions of English use include standing out in the market as unique; creating a foreign identity in the minds of consumers despite the business' Moroccan origin; and confirming the authenticity of the restaurants' offered cuisine.

As for restaurants specializing in fast food, they are many and their English names often function as an indicator of the type of food they serve. A few examples include *Food Place*; *Super Food*; *Tacos Avenue*; *The Factory*; *Uncle Sam Delicious*



*Food; Bagel & Shake; King Arena Fast Food Tacos; and Snapchat Sandwich & Tacos*<sup>142</sup>. Walking by these restaurants, Casablanca residents would understand that the displayed shop signs refer to fast food meals. *Uncle Sam* (Figure 6.18), for instance, is a type of a fast food restaurant that tries to emphasize through its name and Uncle Sam figure a connection to the United States. The restaurant front sign also contains a secondary text, *delicious food*, immediately to the left side of the primary text *Uncle Sam*. The primary name of the restaurant communicates the authenticity of the burgers served there, and the American atmosphere of the restaurant in terms of style and decoration. The secondary text qualifies the food served there as delicious. The owner of this business undoubtedly strives to attract potential customers and sees English as an appropriate linguistic tool for doing so.



**Figure 6.18 Restaurant sign in English of a fast food restaurant**

Similar to *Uncle Sam* restaurant, *Yes in* (Figure 6.19) also is a restaurant in Casablanca displaying an English name that alludes to the serving of fast food meals. To the upper left side of the restaurant name *Yes In* is the word *Food* while the lower left side is the word *café*. These secondary texts in the periphery are key to communicating to customers that this restaurant business serves meals and drinks. *Yes In* is a phonological pun that combines the English words *Yes* and *In* to result in a sound similar to the Arabic male name *Yassine*. Perhaps the restaurant owner's name is Yassine, and instead of displaying the name in its original spelling in the Roman alphabet, as in *Yassine Food*, the owner saw a much more exotic way of referring to his name using English words. Whatever the case maybe, although the clustered English words *Yes* and

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<sup>142</sup> Tacos that are sold in Morocco are distinct from the well-known cuisine sold in Mexico or the southwestern border regions of the United States. Tacos in Morocco look more like burritos and are stuffed not only with meat, but also the distinct ingredients of French fries and dressing.

*In* do not project a specific meaning, their presence is rather decorative and certainly attracts the attention of Casablanca fast food restaurant goers, who would be familiar with the Arabic proper name.



**Figure 6.19** Fast food restaurant displaying phonological pun in English

This example is similar to a cereal commercial that Martin (2019: 373) discussed in her study of advertisement translation strategies found in two main francophone markets. In order to highlight honey as a principal ingredient in Kellogg's Special K® Honey Oat Cereal, the slogan of the advertisement appeared in English-speaking contexts as *Honey you look good*. In the French-speaking part of Canada, however, the French translation, as required by Quebec provincial law for the protection of the French language, appeared as *Miel fois plus belle*. This is in reference to the common French expression *mille fois plus belle* (a thousand times more beautiful). The phonological proximity of *mille* and *miel* and the goal of not diverging too much from the original English slogan resulted in a phonological pun that requires modest deciphering efforts on the part of readers for it to make sense.

This section on shop signs thus far has encapsulated the use of English by local business owners, which contributes to the multilingualism of the Casablanca cityscape. This widespread usage of English in the business domain is not limited to Morocco, as it has been documented equally in other contexts. In Singapore, for example, Shang and Guo (2017) concluded in their study of shop signs that Singaporean business owners also make use of English in their commercial façades along with the other official languages of the country (e.g. Malay, Chinese, Tamil). Shang and Guo (2017) attributed Singaporean traders' language choice to their consciousness of 'the prestige associated with the English language' (194). Along the same lines, Selvi's (2016) study on the use of English in Turkish shop signs showed how English has become a 'commercial necessity' (37) for today's entrepreneurs. In the same study, Selvi (2016) quoted one of



his interviewees who said: 'the reason that forced me to adopt an English name is actually public desire. The interest in anything foreign and interest in foreign brands creates an attractive context for us to use English names' (37). This statement explains that shop owners utilize English in their shop signs because its foreignness appeals to potential customers. Similarly, in all its uses in the reviewed shop signs of the present study, English seems to function as a magnet that attracts Casablanca customers who seek products and services speaking a language they regard as prestigious and high in status. Throughout this section, ample evidence was laid out demonstrating the spread of English use in Casablanca's shop signs.

## **Section Two: Outdoor Advertising**

### **6.10. Definition of advertising**

Advertising can be traced back to ancient times when the Romans, for example, employed it through the means of town criers (Tungate, 2007: 10). Over the centuries, it then evolved in tandem with the development of mass media, such as print, radio, television, and more recently the Internet. The variety of these media channels prompted advertising to vary as well to audio, visual, oral, and written forms (Ruchi, 2012: 5). Regardless of the outlet, advertising is defined as 'the placement of announcements and messages in time or space by business firms, nonprofit organizations, government agencies, and individuals who seek to inform and/or persuade members of a particular target market or audience regarding their products, services, organizations or ideas' (American Marketing Association, n.d.). While the definition of advertising can sometimes diverge, its purpose remains the subject of wide consensus. Its primary goal is to attract and maintain consumers' attention to a product or service (Leech, 1966) by appealing to the mind or emotions, or both. In most cases, advertisements, as they are known today, are created by advertising agents/agencies upon the request of a paying company or another non-commercial entity (Ruchi, 2012: 8-9; Gupta, 2005: 21).

Based on Bhatia's (2012: 233-234) study of the Indian context, there are conventional and non-conventional forms of advertising. While conventional forms of advertising include broadcast (television and radio), print (newspaper, magazine), and digital (Internet) media channels, non-conventional forms comprise different types of outdoor advertising (i.e. wall and video-van advertising, bus panels and shelters, back

side of bills, transportation tickets, plastic bags, school murals and programs). As its name indicates, outdoor advertising, also known as out-of-home advertising (OOH), is 'any visual advertising media found outside of the home' (Côté, 2018). According to the Out of Home Advertising Association of America (OAAA) (n.d.), there are four categories of outdoor advertisements: billboards, street furniture, transit, and place-based out-of-home advertising. One of the most common categories of these outdoor advertisements is billboards, which are found 'along major roads, on buildings, and in other locations near flows of traffic' (Clow & Baack, 2012: 119). It is this particular category of advertisements that is the major focus of this study. Examples include bulletins, posters, wallsapes (also known as wall murals), and hoardings. Each of these outdoor advertisements is defined later in section 6.13 (Examples of Outdoor advertising).

Unlike conventional forms of advertising, which require the purchase of print media or tuning to a TV/radio channel, outdoor advertising is characterized by ease of accessibility to larger audiences of different ages, educational, and socio-economic backgrounds. Outdoor advertising is omnipresent within cityscapes and, unlike television and the Internet, is described as 'unskippable' and 'unblockable' (Côté, 2018). It is not only unavoidable because of its salient features in different landscapes, but is also a tool that is indispensable to the success of major corporations. For example, while 'tech companies like Facebook Inc. and Google vacuum up billions of dollars in online advertising, they're pouring their own marketing dollars into billboards and other forms of outdoor signage' (Mutua, 2018). The advertisement choice of such prosperous technology giants reveals the importance and effectiveness of outdoor advertising in general and that of billboards in particular. It is this impact and visibility to all consumer groups that motivates this study to focus on this type of outdoor advertising with the purpose to generate conclusions pertaining to the use of English in Casablanca's outdoor advertising.

## **6.11. Overview of previous studies on English in advertising discourse**

Previous research focusing particularly on the use of English in advertising encompasses a wide scope of contexts and topical foci (Bhatia, 2020: 616). Within the realm of this subject matter, a number of countries in Kachru's (1984: 25) Three Circles have already been examined, such as in Europe (Martin, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2007, 2008,

2011, 2019; Ruellot, 2011), South America (Friedrich, 2002, 2019), Africa (Kachoub & Hilgendorf, 2019a), and Asia (Hiramoto, 2019). Nonetheless, many Expanding Circle contexts in Africa have received comparatively little attention to date on the use of English in advertising. In the northern region of the African continent, for example, preliminary studies discussing the spread, learning, and uses of English in education are abundant (cf. Benrabeh, 2014; Belmihoub, 2018 for Algeria; Abbassi, 1977; Sadiqi, 1991; Ennaji, 2005; Marley, 2005; Buckner, 2011; Soussi, 2020 for Morocco; Battenburg, 1997 for Tunisia; Alkhalidy, 2012 for Libya; Schaub, 2000 for Egypt). However, there exists to date only one study on the spread, uses, and functions of English in Moroccan outdoor advertising (Kachoub & Hilgendorf, 2019a).

The issue of advertising generally has garnered tremendous scholarly attention across various disciplines. Notably, a considerable share of this academic interest sprang from the field of World Englishes. Aside from the large number of studies already published in this field as well as in other disciplines, a recently published special issue of the journal *World Englishes* entitled *World Englishes and Cross-Cultural Advertising* (Bhatia & Kathpalia, 2019) features the investigation of a total of 14 different contexts.

According to Bhatia (2020), the topics in advertising that have been investigated in Expanding Circle contexts include 'language mixing, language attitudes, linguistic innovations, group targeting, and domain allocation' (617). Beyond these listed subject matters, studies have also examined the development of English use in advertising over different periods of time (e.g. Ruellot, 2011; Baumgardner & Brown, 2012; Friedrich, 2019; Ustinova, 2019, Kasanga, 2019); and the use of sound and visual cues to enhance the audience's intelligibility of advertisements (e.g. Dimova, 2012; Martin, 2005, 2007, 2008; Hashim, 2010). Other studies have considered the extent to which advertisement elements are anglicized (Martin, 2002; Bhatia, 2001; Hsu, 2019) and the type of products which are commonly advertised in English (Gerristen et al., 2007; Ruellot, 2011; Vettorel & Franceschi, 2019). Researchers also have analyzed the impact advertisement subtitles and dubbing have on the acquisition of English (Raedts et al., 2019) as well as the manner in which women's images, identities and roles are perceived through English and other languages used in advertising (Kathpalia, 2019; Ustinova, 2019). In addition, scholars have examined different forms of bilingual creativity adopted for composing and translating advertisements (Martin, 1998, 2007, 2011, 2019; Vettorel, 2013; Vettorel & Franceschi, 2019; Hsu, 2019; Dimova, 2008).

One final and important point that most, if not all, studies on advertising address with different degrees of thoroughness is the socio-psychological functions and meanings transferred to the advertised products by the mere use of English (e.g., Martin, 1998, 2002, 2007, 2008; Hsu, 2012; Bhatia, 1992, 1998).

To contribute further knowledge pertaining to the use of English in this domain, the present section offers an overview of four main points regarding outdoor advertisements displayed in the city of Casablanca: 1) the spread and use of English in outdoor advertisements; 2) the elements of advertisements that are anglicized; 3) the type of product advertisements where English is used; and 4) the sociopsychological effects of English.

### **6.11.1. The use of English in advertisements**

Similar to the use of English in shop signs, the use of English in general advertisements seems to be a common practice among copywriters in Expanding Circle countries located in Europe, Africa, and Asia. In a large-scale study investigating the use of English in advertisements in Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Spain, Gerristen et al. (2007) reported the degree to which English is present in 2,384 ads appearing in the glossy fashion magazine *Elle*. The research team revealed that the use of English is a recurrent practice in these magazine advertisements, as more than half (67%) of the examined data of the issues from Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Spain contain at least one English word (Gerristen et al., 2007: 303).

The presence of English was also found to be common in advertisements in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Kasanga (2019: 566) noted that 40% of a corpus containing 1,297 outdoor advertisements collected in the southeastern city of Lubumbashi include English. This presence of English in almost half of the advertisements examined is quite significant in a country where, in Kasanga's (2019) words, 'French reigns supreme' (566). In an earlier study on France, Ruellot (2011: 9) collected 594 magazine advertisements of which about 38% contain at least one English word. Ruellot (2011: 9) also detected an increase of 15.6% in the usage of English during the period from 1999 to 2007. Going east to the Asian continent, Ustinova (2019: 405) conducted a study on the image of women in 150 magazine advertisements and 270 television commercials in Russia (405). Unlike Ruellot's (2011) findings, Ustinova

(2019) stated that the use of English in these advertisements directed towards women had plunged compared to previous years (408). According to Ustinova (2019), such a decrease in the use of English is due to a newly introduced law pertaining to advertising. Similar to France's Toubon Law, the Russian advertising regulation prohibits the use of English when a Russian equivalent is available. In spite of the similarity of the mandates of the French and Russian laws, it is interesting to note that response to the laws were different in each context, with English usage increasing in France but declining in Russia.

This universal use of English in advertising is propagated by copywriters around the world who find the English language a beneficial linguistic resource. English 'can satisfy ... [their] ... creative needs ... to create the desired effects of persuasion, naturalness, and other socio-psychological effects' normally not resourced from other languages (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2013: 570). English was additionally observed to be an economical language. For instance, in their study of ads in *Elle* magazine, Gerristen et al. (2011) highlighted that advertisement copywriters opt for the use of English when they believe it allows them to 'avoid the use of long or complicated constructions' (311) in the host language.

### **6.11.2. English use in different elements of advertising copy**

In examining the use of English in advertising, scholars have divided advertisements into different textual parts. For example, Bhatia (2001: 203-205) identified seven ad sections that include: 1) product name; 2) company name/logo; 3) slogans; 4) labeling and packaging; 5) pricing; 6) main body; and 7) header/subheader. Product and company names refer to the appellations given to firms and products that are manufactured and sold. A company name is usually accompanied by a logo. This latter represents the 'correct image for the company' (Clow & Baack, 2012: 50) through graphic forms (i.e. symbol, graphic mark) and assists consumers in recognizing a brand faster, especially while shopping (Clow & Baack, 2012: 50; Ruchi, 2012: 130). Also often found in advertising is a slogan, which is a 'catchy phrase accompanying a logo or brand, that encapsulates a product's appeal or the mission of a firm and makes it more memorable' (Kristensen, 2020). Packaging is related to the wrapping and container that holds products. Featuring specific colors and text fonts, packaging also assists in the recognition of the brand and its range of products (Ruchi, 2012: 24-25). An additional

component that is not always displayed in advertisements is pricing which refers to the monetary value in exchange for the product. A further component found in advertisements is the main body. The main body of an ad provides information regarding 'the functions / benefits / features of the product/service' (Ruchi, 2012: 129). Finally, a header, also known as a headline, is considered the most important element in advertisements. With its main function of attracting the consumer to the advertisement and eventually the product, the header 'of an advertisement will normally present a selling idea' (Ruchi, 2012: 128). Beneath the header, and also of equal importance, is a subheader. This provides further information on what is already mentioned in the headline (Ruchi, 2012: 129). Figure 6.20 is an illustrative picture linking these parts of advertisements to their proper terms. It is important to mention here that these elements of advertisement copy may be slightly different in other studies, as in Gerristen et al. (2007), and ad copies may not display all of them.



Figure 9.1: Elements of Print Ad of Sunfeast Marie Light Oats

**Figure 6.20 Illustration of elements of advertising copy**

Source: Ruchi (2012: 130)

In a study on the European context, the use of English was unequally distributed across the different sections of advertisements. For example, Gerristen et al. (2007) reported that English use appears more often on standing details, which refer to the 'information provided on how to buy the product (e.g. retailer's location, telephone, or fax number, website URL, e-mail address)' (300). English also appears in pictures, the body copy (the advertisement element carrying the message), product names, and headlines as well as slogans (Gerristen et al., 2007: 299-300, 305). In a different study discussing

multilingualism in German television commercials, Piller (2000: 267) observed that English and other foreign languages are employed more often at the level of brand names. As for Bhatia's (1992: 206) analysis of French fashion and cosmetics advertisements, he found that copywriters are more likely to utilize English for product names and attention getters. This is corroborated in various other studies, such as Hsu's (2012: 205) study of real estate advertising in Taiwan. This difference in findings is argued by Gerristen et al. (2007) to be due to the different research methods adopted, the types of data employed (e.g. magazine, newspaper, flyers, posters, packages, radio, television), and the time frame of data collection (308).

### **6.11.3. The use of English in different products categories**

A further topic of investigation that is equally relevant to this study is the relationship between the use of English and the products advertised. In the Gerristen et al. (2007) study of advertising in different European countries, products that were advertised in *Elle* magazine were classified into three categories according to their degree of anglicization. The category of products where English was found to be used most often includes 'television and radio broadcasting, mobile phones, hotels/travel, make up/skin treatment and digital cameras' (310). The product category which was ranked second with respect to English use comprised 'watches/jewelry, interior design, (sun)glasses, electronic kitchen equipment, perfume/eau de toilette, clothing/shoes/accessories, and cars' (310). Finally, the category of products in the data sample that were advertised in English the least were 'food/drink and magazines/newspaper/books' (310). In other studies on France (Ruellot, 2011: 9) and Italy (Vettorel & Franceschi, 2019: 431), a strong relationship between the use of English and types of products was found, especially in fashion (e.g. clothes, shoes, eye wear, jewelry, watches), technology (e.g. cars, television, radio, computer, appliances), and cosmetics (e.g. make up, skin care).

As in shop signs discussed in Section One, there are product and service advertisements which tend to not use English. Martin (2006: 20) argued that the use of English in advertising French products such as cheese and wine may not be as appealing to consumers. In a recent study of English use in advertising in Italy, Vettorel and Franceschi (2019) also found in their data that 'salami, cheese, and butter, olive oil, pasta and tomato sauce' (427) always appear in Italian. Similarly, advertisements for

'transport services based in Italy (trains, motorways), banking/post office services, and institutional and social campaigns' (Vettorel & Franceschi, 2019: 428) are also advertised in the local language of Italian. The use of Italian rather than English for such services is essential because comprehension of the advertisement's content is crucial for consumers to make decisions about their purchase (Vettorel & Franceschi, 2019: 432).

A final point worthy of mentioning regarding the use of English in product advertisements are products that are culturally related to certain countries, yet nevertheless use English (Vettorel & Franceschi, 2019: 426). A case in point is fabric advertisements in India (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2013: 590-591), such as for the traditional saree worn by women, which had historically always been marketed in their local languages but recently started appearing in ads employing English attention-getters. In Italy, advertisements for products 'Made in Italy' such as designer fashion garments (Vettorel, 2013: 272) show consistent use of English words and phrases. Among the English words that are used, for instance, in ads in Italy for the 'household domain are *home, design, (Italian) quality, style, and collection, [and] shopping*' (272). The main role that English plays in such ads is 'promoting the quality and creativity of Italian-made products' (Vettorel, 2013: 272). Generally, this eventual shift in language use shows the businesses' desire to mirror an image of elegance and 'sophistication' (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2013: 590-591).

#### **6.11.4. Socio-psychological effects of English**

Previous World Englishes studies dealing with the issue of advertisements and language use share the tradition of discussing the socio-psychological effects English has on consumers. Such public use of English has been seen by most researchers as a tool to attract the attention of consumers to purchase a product or service (Taylor et al., 1996: 9; Hilgendorf & Martin, 2001: 218; Martin 2002: 378; Hayes, 2018: 2; Hashim, 2010: 520; Dimova, 2012: 28; Gerristen et al. 2007: 311). In addition, the use of English has also been shown to contribute to a better recall of advertisements. In an experimental study conducted among university students in the United States, Petrof (1990: 12) found that students demonstrated better recall of advertisements that use foreign languages. According to Bhatia (1992: 213), English has additionally been associated with 'positive affective features such as modernization, Westernization,



internationalism, standardization, safety, protection, domesticity, independence, informality, efficiency, competence, (including scientific, technological and academic), organization, sophistication, quality, utility, physical and mental fitness, tradition, innovation and futuristic trends' (213).

Attempting to cover all of the socio-psychological effects of English used in advertising that have been identified in previous studies is a lengthy task. As a substitute, Table 6.3 summarizes a modest number of the socio-psychological effects that resulted as a by-product of the use of English in various forms of advertisements.

**Table 6.3 Socio-psychological effects of English**

<b>Socio-psychological effects</b>	<b>Studies</b>
Modernity	Hasanova, 2010: 3, 7; Hashim, 2010: 521; Dimova, 2012: 26; Bhatia, 1992: 206; Bhatia, 2006: 610; Martin, 2002: 382, 394; Martin, 2007:170; Piller, 2003: 172, 175; Martin, 1998: 163; Baumgardner, 2006: 263; Bhatia & Ritchie, 2013: 589; Vettorel & Franceschi, 2019: 417.
Identity-related features: Sophistication, cosmopolitanism, elitism	Hashim, 2010: 521; Bhatia, 1992: 206; Vettorel & Franceschi, 2019: 418; Hashim, 2010: 521-522; Dimova, 2012: 26.
Brand recognition and recall	Hashim, 2010: 530; Bhatia, 2006: 611; Ruellot, 2011: 8; Bhatia & Ritchie, 2013: 591.
Quality	Bhatia, 1992: 206; Martin 2007: 170.
Transnationality	Dimova, 2012: 26; Bhatia, 1992: 206
Informality, carefree lifestyle	Bhatia, 1992: 206; Nikolaou, 2017: 173.
Efficiency	Bhatia, 1992: 206; Martin, 1998: 63; Martin, 2002: 382; Bhatia & Ritchie, 2013: 589; Kachoub & Hilgendorf, 2019a: 12.
Reliability	Martin, 1998: 63; Martin, 2002: 3882; Bhatia & Ritchie, 2013: 590.
Exclusivity	Martin, 2002: 394; Martin, 2007: 170; Baumgardner, 2006: 263; Kachoub & Hilgendorf, 2019:a 12.
Quality	Bhatia, 1992: 206; Martin 2007: 170.
Utility	Bhatia, 1992: 206.
Innovation	Bhatia, 1992: 204, 206; Nikolaou, 2017: 173; Bhatia & Ritchie, 2013: 589.

What is remarkable about these socio-psychological effects is the fact that they are not often communicated to consumers in an explicit manner. Instead, it is the mere physical presence of English elements in an advertisement copy that triggers various emotional responses and by which the value of the advertised product or service is enhanced. Given this role of English in advertising, it is left to consumers to imagine the qualities that such a language reflects on their potentially purchased products. In these

cases when English is not employed for communicative purposes, it serves according to Haarmann (1989: 249) a symbolic or decorative function. Strong evidence corroborating such a view is found in different contexts, such as France. For example, in discussing the symbolic use of English in French television commercials, Martin (2002: 13; 2006: 33) made reference to the use of English-sounding jingles to illustrate the notion of imitation variety. This imitation of English is not meant to be intelligible to advertises, including those who speak English natively. Additionally, Martin (2006: 33) highlighted that while these invented jingles sound 'gibberish' and have no content value, they however function as a mood enhancer.

Additional insights can be gleaned from Kelly-Holmes' (2014: 135) notion of 'linguistic fetish' concerning not only the visual use of English, but of all the languages that exist in a given multilingual context. Kelly-Holmes (2014: 139) made the point that in economically-driven texts such as advertising, the visual presence of a language is more important than its semantic value. In an example illustrating how linguistic fetish can extend to products and consumers, Kelly-Holmes (2005: 37) showed that giving Swedish names to the displayed products of the Swedish furniture maker Ikea highlights their authenticity and Swedishness. The presence of the Swedish language in this case is mainly symbolic, especially in contexts where consumers' proficiency in this language is limited or non-existent. In her study of the German context, Piller (2001) added that English is employed in advertisements to evoke 'stereotypical associations with the language, its speakers, and the cultures where it is spoken' (180). A similar concept that aims to make linguistic associations with other cultures is the notion of 'language display' introduced by Eastman and Stein (1993: 189) who describe it as the 'appropriation' of lexical units and strings from foreign languages to be employed within one's society. Along the lines of Kelly-Holmes' notion of linguistic fetish, Eastman and Stein's (1993: 197, 200) theorizing of language display also emphasizes the symbolic rather than the semantic value of the exhibited languages.

## **6.12. Advertisements in the city of Casablanca**

Since the liberation of Morocco from French occupation in 1956, the country's linguistic landscape has been overwhelmingly bilingual with the display of French and

Standard Arabic (SA)<sup>143</sup> in public spaces. In recent years, however, English and Moroccan Colloquial Arabic (MCA) have been increasingly incorporated into the Moroccan urban space, leading scholars to explore this new linguistic development. Two recent studies examining advertising in Morocco are Moustouai's (2019) study examining the use of MCA in advertisements and Kachoub & Hilgendorf's (2019a) research on the use of English in Moroccan ads. A third study, by Hassa (2012), documented the multilingual linguistic landscape of the Moroccan cities of Fes, Casablanca, and Rabat. The following paragraphs offer a brief overview of these investigations.

By focusing on the emerging use of MCA by public and private institutions in the city of Meknés in north central Morocco, Moustouai (2019) highlighted a reconstruction of the linguistic landscape of this former imperial city. According to Moustouai (2019), the exhibition of MCA for the first time ever in public display signs reveals, first, a change in attitudes towards this variety of Arabic and, second, a 'reorganisation and reconfiguration of the Moroccan sociolinguistic regime' (96). Previously, only formal languages with historically established written forms were allowed for display in public spaces. With the lack of standards governing the use of MCA, this language variety showcases heterogeneous properties reflecting the code's varied internal linguistic system. In Wales, identical language development was seen before orthographic norms were published in 1928. Prior to that, street signs were spelled differently (i.e. Treorkey St vs Treorky St.) (Coupland 2012: 8-9).

In a different study on the linguistic diversity of the three Moroccan cities of Casablanca, Fes, and Rabat, Hassa (2012) investigated language planning and language practices in street names, outdoor advertisements, and indoor ads in supermarkets. Through these materials, Hassa (2012) posited that there is a top-down (e.g. in street names, road signs) and a bottom-up (e.g. in the names individual owners give to shops, corporations) approach to language planning in Morocco. This dual approach stemming from official authorities and the Moroccan people contributes to the construction of local identities within this rich linguistic environment (207). While her focus has been on the use of French and Arabic in the linguistic landscape of

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<sup>143</sup> The display of Arabic and Spanish occurred in the limited regions occupied by Spain. As for Tmazight, it did not have any public status at the time and was therefore not seen in any public display.

Casablanca, Fes, and Rabat, Hassa also made occasional references to the spread and use of English.

The most relevant of these studies is Kachoub and Hilgendorf's (2019a) examination of the use of English in select outdoor advertisements in the northwestern coastal city of Casablanca. Using Martin's (2002) cline of code-mixed advertising, Kachoub and Hilgendorf (2019a) investigated the degree to which English is present in nine examples of outdoor advertising. Along with identifying the degree of Anglicisms occurring in the ads, the researchers also noted shift in the status of English, from that of a foreign language to an Additional Language of use within this context. Given the continuing uses of English, Moroccan copywriters do not hesitate to spice up their French advertisement copy with English elements, especially in the form of attention getters and product names (12). Furthermore, advertising copywriters are apparently not concerned over the issue of intelligibility when using English, as there are also examples of monolingual-English advertisements. Kachoub and Hilgendorf (2019a: 7) explained that such monolingual usage of English is usually supported with visual cues that facilitate the understanding of the texts. While the mixing of English with French in the texts of Casablanca outdoor advertising seems to be common, the mixing of English with Arabic was also found to a lesser degree.

Besides exploring the degree of English use in Casablanca outdoor advertisements, the study also examines the socio-psychological effects that result from such language use. English can be used to refine the image of a product, making it appear modern, stylish, sophisticated, and/or of superior quality. It is worth noting that these qualities are not only attributed to the products advertised, but also extend to consumers who purchase them. Through these examples of socio-psychological effects, the study shows the role English plays in strengthening the persuasive message of advertisements and in perfecting the image of the products and their users. The study further highlights the competition between English and the colonial language of French.

Despite Kachoub and Hilgendorf's (2019a) study, there remains much to explore about the use of English in the advertising domain of Morocco. This section on advertising in Casablanca, the largest city in Morocco, contributes further to this topic by examining the following issues: English spread and mixing patterns of outdoor advertisements; the type of products and services where English is commonly used; the

advertisement sections where copywriters tend to display English; and, finally, the bilingual creativity copywriters display in outdoor advertisements.

### **6.13. Examples of outdoor advertising**

This study considers 71 outdoor advertisements, which include bulletins, posters, wallsapes, and hoardings. The following definitions and measurements of the selected outdoor advertisements are specific to the Moroccan context. One of the largest types of standard outdoor advertisements are bulletins. Also known as billboards, these 4.25m high and 14.75m wide advertisements are placed in cities strategic locations (i.e. arterial roads and busy avenues) to provide products and services with increased visibility to commuters (New Media Nord Communication, n.d.)<sup>144</sup>. Posters are relatively smaller in size, measuring 3m high and 4m wide (NMN Communication, n.d.). They are positioned just above eye level and are placed in neighborhoods and at roads with high automobile and pedestrian density. Wallsapes, also referred to as wall murals, come in different sizes and are placed on the walls of buildings located in city centers and busy business district roads, especially at busy intersections. They are employed to amplify the visibility of the message and increase brand recall (New Media Nord Communication, n.d.). Finally, hoardings are billboards of different sizes used to conceal construction sites from public view while also ‘promot[ing] what is being built’ (Pub Industrie, n.d.)<sup>145</sup>. Pictures of these outdoor advertisements are provided in the analysis sections below.

In the previous section on shop signs (Section One), the collected examples were restricted to signage of businesses in the metropolitan city of Casablanca in order to show the creativity of local Moroccan business owners in their use of English. In this section on advertising, the examples are more comprehensive, as they include advertisements of both local (Amandary, Mudi Immobilier, Bab Darna, ...etc) and foreign (Sony, LG, Toyota, HP, Samsung, ...etc) companies. This combination of advertisements allows for showing the creativity of both Moroccan and foreign marketing professionals. Additionally, it allows for showing the amount of English input foreign corporations bring into potential customers of this Moroccan city.

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<sup>144</sup> New Media Nord Communication is a Moroccan advertising agency ([www.nmn.ma](http://www.nmn.ma)).

<sup>145</sup> Pub Industrie is a Moroccan advertising agency.

## 6.14. The spread and use of English in product and service advertisements

### 6.14.1. English-mixing patterns in advertisements

There is much resemblance between the use of English in advertising and in shop signs as far as language use and mixing are concerned. Table 6.4 below lays out a broad representation of the languages generally employed in outdoor advertisements in the city of Casablanca. In particular, the table indicates that advertisements can be monolingual, bilingual, or multilingual, revealing the use of up to three languages simultaneously. Through multiple observations of Casablanca cityscape stretching from July to October, 2018, monolingual advertisements commonly appeared in the Arabic, French, and English languages. However, French seems to be a preferred language for advertising followed by Arabic and then English. Since Tmazight is an official language in the country, one would expect this language to also make an appearance in advertisement displays in the city. Interestingly enough, this was not the case in the present study focusing on the city of Casablanca.

For Arabic monolingual advertisements, these appear either in SA or in MCA, with the inclusion of the colloquial variety being a more recent practice, as also documented by Moustou (2019). Bilingual advertisements display the combinations of English and Arabic, English and French, or French and Arabic<sup>146</sup>. English and French combination, however, seems to be more frequent among these sets. Trilingual advertisements combining the three powerful languages of Arabic, French, and English, are also found in the cityscape. In general, English-French bilingual advertisements appear to be the most abundant.

**Table 6.4 Languages used in outdoor advertisements**

Monolingual	Bilingual	Trilingual
English	English & French	English, French & Arabic
Arabic	English & Arabic	English, French & German
French	French & Arabic	

<sup>146</sup> Although French and Arabic mixing is present, it is not very common in the set of this study's data.

This preliminary observation pertaining to the more common use of English-French mixing is striking, and confirms what has been previously discussed in the shop sign section and in the literature relating to advertising in Casablanca. Irrespective of whether the users are media professionals, business owners, or advertising copywriters, it seems that English-French mixing is a popular choice, arguably because of the similarity of these languages' writing systems. Alternatively, it is possible that these particular users of English find English-French code-mixing to be smoother, easier, and much more appealing to the Moroccan speech community. Indeed, previous studies have shown that Moroccans generally have positive attitudes towards English and French (Buckner, 2011; Abbassi, 1977).

Besides the English-mixed advertisements noted above, it is especially important to highlight that examples of English-monolingual advertisements also were found. The exclusive use of English in Moroccan advertisements is not a novel practice, as this has been previously recorded in Kachoub and Hilgendorf's (2019a) study of outdoor advertisements in the metropolitan city of Casablanca. The present study expands on this point by showing how employing English in marketing communication continues to thrive. With such consistency in usage, English has shown to be a new communicative linguistic resource that appeals to a portion of the Casablanca speech community. English monolingual advertisements in Casablanca are further evidence that English has become an Additional Language of use within this context (Kachoub & Hilgendorf, 2019a: 1) as it is being employed to communicate information pertaining to products, events, and services.

#### **6.14.2. The type of products where English is commonly used**

Based on the types of products promoted in the collected advertisement examples (Table 6.5 below), the use of English in Casablanca has spread to a number of industries. The types of products and services that were completely or partially advertised in English include telecommunications, fitness centers, gas stations, cosmetics, banks, cars, real estate developments, home appliances/technology devices (e.g. refrigerators, television sets, laptops, printers, cellphones), and restaurants, among others. Judging from the findings of the present study and earlier research (Ruellot, 2011; Gerristen et al. 2007; Vettorel & Franceschi, 2019), there seems to be a consensus in particular regarding the use of English in technology (e.g. cars, television,

computer, home appliances), fashion (e.g. clothes, shoes, eye wear, jewelry, watches), and cosmetics (e.g. make up, skin care).

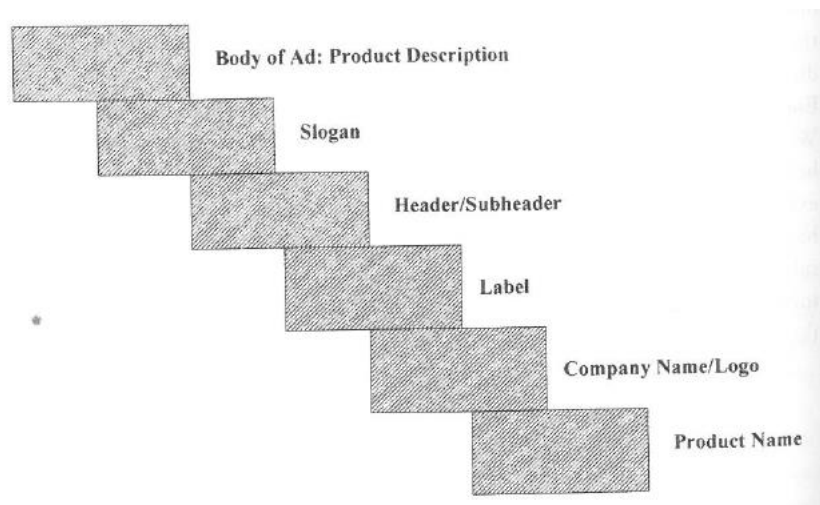
**Table 6.5**      **Examples of products advertised in English in Casablanca outdoor advertisements observed July to October, 2018**

<b>Product type</b>
Advertising and media
Apparel, footwear, and accessories
Automotive and transport
City management
Consumer goods and services
Entertainment and events
Finance and Real estate
Home furnishings and supplies
Telecommunications and computing

## **6.15. Anglicized parts of advertisements**

For examining the parts of advertisements that are commonly anglicized in Casablanca outdoor advertisements, Bhatia's (2001: 206) Structural Dependency Hierarchy (Figure 6.21) is adopted as a guideline. Bhatia's (2001) model defines six main textual levels of advertisements, which are represented in 'a staircase fashion' (207). According to Bhatia (2001), this hierarchical order illustrates the course for the spread of English within advertisements. That is, in order for English to be employed in the upper levels of the staircase of the product description, it normally first appears in all or most of the preceding advertisement levels in the model. Bhatia (2001) emphasized that a downward spread of English, from the product description in the upper staircase to product name in the lower staircase, 'is not plausible' process (207).





**Figure 6.21 Structural Dependency Hierarchy (Bhatia, 2001: 206)**

Source: Bhatia (2001: 206)

Describing Bhatia's (2001) hierarchy model (Figure 6.21), the bottom of the staircase, which is the point of entry for English, is the product name. The next step up is the company name/logo, followed by the label, header/sub-header, and slogan<sup>147</sup>. The top step of the staircase is the body of the advertisement/product description. While Bhatia defined seven elements in advertisements, he only considered six in his hierarchy model as he excludes pricing. According to Bhatia (2001: 207), pricing has a 'restricted currency in advertising' as it does not usually appear in ad copy.

The different examples of advertising displayed in the city of Casablanca illustrate that English has reached nearly all six levels in Bhatia's Structural Dependency Hierarchy model. For instance, the Turkish Airline ad pictured in Figure 6.22, encouraging Moroccans to visit the city of Fethiye on the Turkish Riviera, is a good example of an English monolingual advertisement to illustrate this point. The company name (*Turkish Airlines*), header and subheader (*discover more: Fethiye*), and the main body (*with the airline that flies to more countries than any other*) all appear in English. This is an excellent example illustrating where multiple elements, from the product name up to the main body, are simultaneously in English. According to Bhatia (2007), '[t]he real test of the presence of English in the body of an advertisement is when English, as in slogans, begins to appear with verbs coded with English tense-aspectual information'

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<sup>147</sup> Definitions of these advertisement terms are in section 6.11.2 English use in different elements of advertising copy.

(207). The main body of this advertisement appears in a somewhat complex sentence showing use of the present tense (*flies*) to communicate factual information about this Turkish airline company.



**Figure 6.22** Example of an English monolingual advertisement

The example on Figure 6.23 below is a bilingual advertisement of a Moroccan fitness center called *Passage Fitness*. This ad copy also makes extensive use of English at all levels, with the exception of the slogan, *une experience unique*<sup>148</sup>, which appears in French. Due to their proximity and similarity in size and font, identifying the header and subheader of this advertisement poses some difficulty. Such issues in identifying the different parts of advertisements are recognized by Bhatia and Ritchie (2013: 577). They explained that advertisement ‘structural domains are not mutually exclusive’ (577), meaning that one advertisement section may overlap with another. In Bhatia and Ritchie’s (2013) words, ‘[i]t is not uncommon to find a product name or a slogan as a headline’ (577). In this particular advertisement, this appears to be the case with the product/company name *Passage Fitness*. The name of this fitness center is employed as a headline in the advertisement with the addition of 2.0, referring to a newer, more advanced branch of this sports facility. The subheader (*next level gym Morocco mall*

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<sup>148</sup> At the time of photographing this ad copy in summer 2018, *Passage fitness* displayed a slogan in French, *une experience unique*. However, this slogan now has been changed to its English version, *Unique Experience*. This appears in the business’ current website, Facebook, and Instagram pages.

*opening soon*) also appears in English, offering further information of what the 2.0 in the header means (*next level gym*). Furthermore, the subheader provides information on the location of the gym (*Morocco Mall*) and a message alerting gym goes to the pending opening of this facility (*opening soon*). When examining the Facebook page of this fitness center for further information, one observation that stood out are the promotional videos used to advertise the center, which contain text in English and additional video titles that are almost exclusively in English. Furthermore, the dedicated website for *Passage Fitness* is nearly all in English; only the frequently asked questions section is in French.



**Figure 6.23** Example of a bilingual advertisement that employs English and French



**Figure 6.24** Advertisement showing partial use of English

Figure 6.24 above falls into the category of advertisements that make partial use of English. In this advertisement for the German car manufacturer Audi, the header *Forget the car. Audi is more.* appears entirely in English. Immediately under the

headline, the French text *Nouvelle Audi A8* ('New Audi A8') serves as a subheader indicating the last generation of the A8 model. In the bottom left corner, the slogan for Audi, *Vorsprung durch Technik* ('Progress through Technology'), appears in German with no accompanying translation.

In a study of French fashion and cosmetics advertising, Bhatia (1992) found that English was displayed more often in 'product names and attention-getters' (206). This finding of almost three decades ago is consistent with the findings of this dissertation study on the use of English in the outdoor advertisements of contemporary Casablanca. This is shown through the three advertisements described above. Conversely, research on other Expanding Circle countries in Europe (e.g. Gerristen et al., 2007: 305) reveal that the use of English was more favored in standing details, information on how and where to buy the product, followed by pictures, body copy, product names, and finally headlines and slogans (305). As mentioned previously (section 6.11.2 English use in different elements of advertising copy), this difference in findings is argued to be due to the research method followed (Gerristen et al., 2007: 308).

From the above examples that illustrate the use of English in various sections of advertisements found in Casablanca, it is clear that English has crossed all of Bhatia's structural domains to reach the top staircase of the Structural Dependency Hierarchy model. Generally, since advertisements in the Moroccan context almost always include headers, one can argue that the use of English centers on the level of this ad element. Obviously chosen before ad copy is created, product names also happen to be often anglicized. When product names are in English, advertising copywriters do not hesitate to display them in the most salient portions of ads such as headers. With their salient textual features and use of English, headers generally function as attention-getters that are meant not only to attract the attention of consumers, but also to increase their recall of the products advertised (Hashim, 2010: 523; Bhatia & Ritchie, 2013: 591). In the same manner, product names also serve as attention-getters when employed as headers. In addition to their attention-grabbing features, headers in English are utilized to strengthen the effectiveness of advertising and project characteristics of quality, durability, sophistication, and modernity. To conclude, the use of English is often designated to the most salient and important parts of an advertisements, such as slogans and headlines or voice-over in television commercials (Piller, 2001: 180).

### 6.15.1. Bilingual creativity in Casablanca outdoor advertising

Besides its widely known functional use in attracting the attention of consumers, English is also used by advertising copywriters as an additional linguistic 'resource for lexical and semantic creativity' (Dimova, 2012: 28) or what Kachru (1985) specifically referred to as bilingual creativity. According to Kachru (1983: 37; 1985: 20), the bilingual's creativity refers to non-monolinguals using linguistic resources from two or more different codes in order to convey meaning in innovative ways. While the meanings are innovative, the mixing patterns are systematic and respect a set of rules combining the two codes (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2008: 11; Bhatia, 2001: 233). Initially, the discussion of the bilingual's creativity within the World Englishes framework was limited to literary discourse produced in contexts where English is 'primarily used as an institutionalized second language' (Kachru, 1983: 37). Later, the study of the bilingual's creativity progressed to encompass other genres such as advertising in contexts where English is used as an additional language (i.e. Bhatia & Ritchie, 2008). World Englishes' research that focused on advertising has examined the mixing of English with other foreign languages, giving special attention to the processes and techniques employed that demonstrate bilingual creativity (e.g. Martin, 1998, 2019; Dimova, 2008; Vettorel 2013; Bhatia & Ritchie, 2013; Vettorel & Franceschi, 2019; Hsu, 2019).

Some of the common creative stylistic features that have been found in previous studies include the use of alliteration, imperatives, repetition, borrowing (lexical and grammatical), homophony, homonymy, rhyming, hybridization, truncation, rhythm, alternation of speech parts, visual glossing, wordplay, phonological modification, assonance, reduplication, and polysemy among others (Martin, 2002, 2007, 2008, 2011, 2019; Vettorel, 2013; Bhatia & Ritchie, 2013). In her studies of advertising in France, Martin (2002, 2007, 2008, 2019) found the use of textual and visual glossing techniques in various forms of advertisements. Based on 385 magazine advertisements collected in Montreal and Paris, Martin (2019: 381) reported the use of translation as a (textual) glossing technique. French advertising copywriters make use of English in advertisement elements annotated with an asterisk to indicate the availability of a translation. In a different study targeting magazine print advertisements, Martin (2008: 61, 64) illustrated visual glossing with a French advertisement for the beer beverage Heineken. In the ad headline, *Small 15cl la fraîcheur XXS*, the English word *small* and its abbreviation *XXS* appear as attention getters, complemented by the display of a

miniature beer bottle placed in a diminutive gift box typically used for a valuable ring. As Martin (2008: 62) explained, such an advertisement 'symboliz[es] both the [small] size and [high] emotional value of the product' (62) through the use of visual glossing. In Italy, Vettorel's (2013: 266) study of advertising revealed the use of homophony, alliteration, assonance, homonymy, and rhyming. An example of homophony is *THE BEST IS YET TO.COM* for an online retail group. In this example, the proximity of *to come* to *.com* is exploited to create special effects that trigger the attention of consumers.

Some of the stylistic techniques that were found in the advertisement copies of the present study are rhyming, borrowing, phonological modification, code-mixing, visual glossing, imperatives, and wordplay.

## Rhyming

Rhyming is one of the techniques found in the outdoor advertisements of the city of Casablanca. For example, the leading Moroccan consumer electronics retailer, *Electroplanet*, had the expression *Back to school à prix cool!* ('Back to school with affordable prices') placed saliently as the header of the poster ad in Figure 6.25. The English monosyllabic word *school* rhymes with the English monosyllabic word at the end of the phrase, *cool*, which refers to good prices for school items such as computers, laptops, printers, lunch boxes, bags, and other accessories. It is worthy to mention that English borrowed words may change their semantic meanings when adopted by other languages (Picone, 1996: 4; Polack, 1993: 189). A case in point is the English word *cool* which historically refers to a certain degree of temperature (Oxford English Dictionary, 2020). Once this word was juxtaposed to the French word *prix*, it has acquired the new meaning of good, affordable price. Also worthy of mentioning is the concision and symmetry of *back to school à prix cool!* The words in this phrase are all monosyllabic. Such choice of short words is a commonly used technique in advertising (Yaney, 2014) of which the aim is to shorten reading time and ease brand recall. According to Bhatia (1992: 198), attention-grabbers in English normally appear in a concise fashion and in very rare cases full sentences are employed. The expression *Back to school* has become a common marketing expression in Moroccan retail stores such as Marjane and in promotional catalogues, attracting the attention of parents and students looking for items required for the new school year.



Figure 6.25 Poster advertisement for an electronics retailer

### Borrowing and phonological modification

Borrowing refers to the process of one language adopting and using words from another (Bowden, 2004). A quite common borrowing example which has been observed in the business advertising context of Casablanca is the English expression *opening soon* (Figure 6.26). This English term is widely used by businesses in anticipation of their opening a new store or office. In Figure 6.26, the advertisement appears on a hoarding for a Moroccan female clothing store under construction. The name of the store (*Ana Èlle*) appears in the top of the advertisement followed by the slogan *Things we love* in smaller font. Underneath the headline appears *opening soon* in larger font. In Kachoub and Hilgendorf's (2019a: 11) work, there has already been reference to this term, which is becoming much more prevalent than its French equivalent *ouverture prochaine*. Since the usage of this English expression has prevailed over several years, it can be argued that the phrase has entered the advertising lexicon of Casablanca entrepreneurs and advertisers. Martin (2007: 180-181) referred to this use of English as 'Advertising English,' which is a term employed to describe English words that are typically found only in advertising discourse, but not in the spoken variety of the local language(s). Similar use of *opening soon* was also found in the ad copy of the fitness centers of the collected examples such as *Passage Fitness* in Figure 6.23.



**Figure 6.26** A hoarding advertisement for a Moroccan clothing store for women

The wallscape advertisement for a fitness center called *City Club* (Figure 6.27 below) in the city of Casablanca provides an additional example of borrowing. The slogan *Fitness luxe à prix low cost* ('luxury fitness at a low cost') appears right below the name *City Club*, and includes the English borrowings *fitness* and *low cost*. It is worth noting that these terms apparently have become so widely used in the French language that they have been incorporated into the French dictionaries *Le Robert* and *Larousse*. In the more conservative references for language use such as *France Terme*<sup>149</sup> and the *Académie Française*, alternatives to the expression *low cost*<sup>150</sup> and *fitness* are suggested though. This practice demonstrates that the use of French in Morocco's advertising discourse is not subject to France's strict prescriptivism.

In this fitness club advertisement (Figure 6.27), it is important to note that French serves as a channel for the diffusion of English. In other words, while the use of the expression *opening soon* is taken directly from the English language, *fitness* and *low cost* are being introduced through the medium of French since these words are widely used in colloquial French. This suggests the existence of direct and indirect channels of contact which lead to borrowing. Since the Moroccan speech community employs French to a greater degree than it does English, the borrowing of these words would only be possible through the French channel. To support this claim from another perspective, there are Moroccan users of French who are not proficient in English but still use these English words in their French output with of course phonological modifications that follow the rules of French. According to Mahootian (2006: 513),

<sup>149</sup> <http://www.culture.fr/franceterme>

<sup>150</sup> <http://www.academie-francaise.fr/low-cost>



phonological changes of a potentially borrowed word suggest its full borrowing by the speakers of the host language. In any case, *fitness* and *low cost* are examples of anglicism that are accessible through the French and English languages.



**Figure 6.27** Wallscape advertisement for a fitness club

The same advertisement for the fitness center *City Club* has another intriguing example of borrowing. The French header in the advertisement *POURQUOI payez plus cher quand on peut s'inscrire chez le LEADER* ('why pay more when one can get a subscription with the leader') makes use of the English word *leader* which has already been borrowed into the French language. Not only does this word appear in the descriptive dictionaries *Le Robert* and *Larousse*, but it also appears in the more restrictive and conservative *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*. According to this authoritative referential dictionary (online version, 9<sup>th</sup> edition), the term *leader* was initially introduced to the French language in the nineteenth century and was later added in the beginning of the twentieth century to the 8<sup>th</sup> edition of *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*, which was published in 1935. As is the case for other English loanwords in French exhibiting different degrees of assimilation, *leader* went through a series of phonological modifications. The suffix *-er/* in *leader* [lidœʁ] started to be pronounced

with the open-mid front rounded vowel /œ/ and the voiced uvular fricative /ʁ/, instead of the English r-colored vowel /ə/ of unstressed syllables.

## Code-mixing/switching

One of the additional techniques observed in the language of advertising is code-mixing, which refers to the systematic use of two or more languages in a given spoken discourse (Myers-Scotton, 1992: 19). Of importance here is the distinction between code-mixing (intra-sentential code-switching) and borrowing (an isolated word or phrase borrowed from another language, in this case, English). According to Myers-Scotton (1992: 20), one of the major criteria employed for identifying borrowed units is frequency. That is, the more a linguistic item occurs in utterances, the more likely it is to become an assimilated borrowing. The phrase *opening soon* mentioned in the above sections (Figure 6.26) appears to be an assimilated borrowing in Moroccan advertising discourse since this term appears in multiple copies of the collected advertisements. Similar to this are the lexical units *leader*, *fitness*, and *low cost* in Figure 6.27. While the frequency of these words is not known, their inclusion in recently published French dictionaries serves as evidence confirming their adoption by the speakers of the host language. Another criterion differentiating borrowing from code-mixing is based on the morphological and phonological adaptations of the word. According to Mahootian (2006: 511), once borrowed words are employed by monolingual speakers of the host language, they undergo phonological and morphological adaptations indicating their integration in the lexicon of the host language.

To distinguish borrowing from code-mixing, Myers-Scotton's (1992: 21) Matrix Language Frame Model (MLF model) is of use in describing and identifying the Matrix Language (ML) and the Embedded Language (EL). While the ML is the host language providing the morphosyntactic skeleton for the code-mixed utterance, the EL is the guest code that provides ML utterances with 'singly-occurring lexemes' (Myers-Scotton, 1992: 19, 1993: 77). Thus, the ML and EL are two crucial components creating intersentential and intrasentential code-switching output. According to Myers-Scotton (1993: 11), intersentential code-switching refers to the mixing of the ML and EL between sentences. Intrasentential code-switching, on the other hand, is the mixing of the ML and EL within sentences and clauses (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 24).

A case in point is the billboard for a car dealer in Figure 6.28 displaying the nominal phrase *Les big deals du MotorVillage* as a header in big black and white font. This advertisement informs motorists of the bargains on offer and does so in an attractive manner where French and English are intertwined on a sentential level. The bilingual header *Les big deals du MotorVillage* is showcasing an example of borrowing and intrasentential code-switching. The word *deals* is an example of an assimilated borrowing given its frequency of use in the advertisements of the current study. In addition, the incorporation of the word *deal* in the French dictionaries *Le Robert* and *Larousse* indicates its use in contemporary French. However, one has to be aware that despite the inclusion of this word in these dictionaries, *Le Robert* suggests other alternative in French such as *accord*, *négociation*, and *transaction*.

In looking at this bilingual header, *Les big deals du MotorVillage*, as a unit, it appears that it is also an example of intrasentential code-switching displaying the syntax of French as a ML and lexemes of English as an EL. In the nominal phrase *big deals*, the EL *big* violates the rules of French where the adjective *big* does not take the plural marker /-s/. Since the ML, French, provides the morphosyntactic rules of code-switching, it is expected of the adjective *big* to take the plural marker so that it abides by the constraints of the ML. However, advertising stylistics urge the omission of the bound morpheme /-s/. This implies that adding the plural marker blurs the Englishness and symbolic value of the word *big*. Not only that, but the fact that the adjective *big* does not carry the morpheme of the ML is further evidence that it is not a case of borrowing, but an example of intrasentential code-switching.

An example of intersentential code-switching can be found in an advertisement for the German car maker BMW where the headline reads *The 7. Quand le luxe sublime l'hybride* ('The 7. When luxury turns hybrid'). Although number seven is displayed as a numerical digit, it is going to be read in English as *The seven*, not *The Sept* in French. Therefore, the first nominal phrase *The 7* is in English while the second sentence is in French. A similar example of intersentential code-switching is seen in an ad for the German car maker Mercedes-Benz. The bilingual headline *Nouvelle Classe A. Just like you!* ('The new A-Class. Just like you!') appears in English and French and is the only text accompanying the illustration. In other countries, this same headline was displayed as *The A-Class. Just like you*. To customize this headline for the Moroccan context, advertising copywriters chose the French version *Classe A* because there is a possibility

that *A-Class* is not going to be recognized. In Morocco, Mercedes-Benz is known for its *Classe* series such as *Classe E*, *Classe B*, or *Classe C*, and reference to a class serie is sufficient for the receiver to understand that the speaker means the car make Mercedes-Benz. Therefore, *A-Class* in English is foreign and had to be translated into French.



**Figure 6.28** Bulletin advertisement for automakers Fiat and Chrysler

## Visual glossing

In a different advertisement for apartments and villas for the real estate developer Amandary, the advertisers choose the header *Vivez en mode ... chill out!* ('live a chill out mode') (Figure 6.29) featured in white against a blue background. On the top right corner of the poster is the name of the real estate developer *Amandary* and right beneath is the name in French of the residential apartments and villas *Aigue Marine* ('beryl')<sup>151</sup>. Amandary's advertisement is another example of code-mixing that showcases the mixing of French and English. The advertisement also includes an example of visual glossing, which is an illustrative image used to 'gloss English elements that would likely be otherwise unintelligible' (Martin, 2007: 184). The picture presents residents enjoying different activities at a community swimming pool, where there are lounge chairs to recline in as well as a swimming pool for recreation. This serves as a visual gloss for the English phrasal verb *chill out*, a term meaning to rest, relax, and unwind. Among the 'chill out' activities portrayed in the illustration are sunbathing for adults and swimming playdates for children.

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<sup>151</sup> Beryl is a precious stone of green-blue color (Oxford English Dictionary, 2020)



Figure 6.29 Poster advertising for a real estate developer

## Imperatives

Imperative sentence structures were found to be quite common in the examples of advertisements used in this dissertation study. The common element among all of these imperative forms observed in the data is their English-monolingual nature. The aforementioned advertisement for the German luxury car manufacturer Audi (Figure 6.24) displays the imperative sentence, *Forget the car. Audi is more*, in English. Another advertisement promoting the interior design institute *Artcomsup* also urges audiences to *Shape your future* (Figure 6.30). An advertisement for Samsung televisions tells potential customers *See nothing else*, while advertising for Morocco Mall encourages shoppers to *Catch the magic*.



Figure 6.30 Poster advertisement for an interior design institute

## Wordplay

Wordplay was also found to be a common advertising technique, mainly for international automobile manufacturing corporations such as Citroën, Toyota, and Jeep. In the poster advertisement for the French automaker Citroën (Figure 6.31), the header in the upper left-hand corner reads *Comfort is the new cool*. This expression parallels the syntactic structure for the American television series *Orange is the New Black*. Due to the show's seven seasons of airing on Netflix, the international streaming service, the television show enjoys a global audience. In Morocco, the show aired on Netflix with its English title, and therefore this syntactic phrasing has become widely familiar. This gave global brand managers and advertising copywriters an excellent opportunity to exploit this shared knowledge and create cost-effective advertisements that are valid in different cultural contexts. According to Martin (2006: 11), launching the same advertising campaign in different countries also reinforces the identity of the brand. Despite the challenges that characterize such global branding strategy, Aaker and Joachimsthaler (1999) explained that successful global companies aim to utilize 'the same well-defined vocabulary' across as many countries as possible. Supporting this argument is the fact that the same advertisement for Citroën was also employed as an example in Vettorel and Franceschi's (2019: 424) study of English use in Italian advertising. An online search of the header also revealed that the same advertisement header, *Comfort is the new cool*, was used in countries such as Poland, Germany, UK, Cyprus, and Ukraine.



**Figure 6.31** A poster advertisement for Citroën



Another creative wordplay example which also derives textual material from the film and television industry is an advertisement for the Japanese car manufacturer Toyota for their *Corolla* model, pictured in Figure 6.32. In the header of this poster advertisement, the phrase *hot and furious* appears in large font in the top section of the ad. The product name *Corolla S* (S standing for 'Sport') preceded with the adjective *All new* appear on the top left corner of the advertisement. *Hot and furious* is a play on words in reference to the title of the highly successful street auto racing film series *Fast and Furious*. This series of now nine action movies is known worldwide and is especially popular among car enthusiasts. In this header, *fast* is substituted by *hot* referring to the sleek design of the car. The selection of the header *hot and furious* is appropriate for marketing a new generation of sports car. With such a header, the advertisers create an association with the car racing scenes of the *Fast and Furious* movies.



Figure 6.32 A poster advertisement for Toyota

### 6.15.2. When advertising goes wrong

In 2017, an unusual poster advertisement for an English language learning center called *British Workshop* appeared in the city of Casablanca (Figure 6.33). The center of the poster features an example of bilingual intersentential code-mixing where the if-clause of a conditional sentence, *if you still don't speak English*, appears in large white font against a black background, while the consequent clause *سير تموت* ('go kill yourself, go die') appears in MCA in red. To the left side of the text is a stickman figure with a gun in hand that is pointed at its head. This advertisement tries to show passers-by the importance of speaking the English language in today's world by equating the

lack of competency in the language to uselessness and the notion of ‘you are missing a lot’<sup>152</sup>. Through such a bilingual text, the advertisers are stressing the urgency to learn this additional language which is quickly spreading across domains of use in this North African country.



**Figure 6.33** Poster advertisement for an English language learning center  
Source: Morocco World News (2017)

There are two aspects of this advertisement that are noteworthy. The first concerns visual glossing. Previous literature (Dimova, 2012: 27; Martin, 2007:184, 2008: 61; Hashim, 2010: 530) has reiterated that visual cues in multilingual advertisements are employed to enhance comprehension of words or expressions that could pose intelligibility issues. In this particular advertisement, the visual cue of the stickman figure glosses the Arabic part of this conditional sentence consequence clause (سبير تموت [‘go kill yourself’]) rather than the English clause of the hypothetical situation (*if you still don’t speak English*) that precedes it. That is, the stick man figure action illustrates the already intelligible portion of the ad سبير تموت (‘go kill yourself, go die’). MCA is spoken widely and سبير تموت (‘go kill yourself, go die’) should be comprehensible to locals who view the advertisement. Alternatively, a different visual glossing could have been used to illustrate the if-clause of the conditional sentence in English. While the visual cue does not serve

<sup>152</sup> The Moroccan expression سبير تموت (‘go kill yourself’) does not literally mean that one has to commit such a deadly action. The message of this ad is that the person does not have knowledge of something so essential in life.



the English part of the sentence, it renders the advertisement more dramatic and that is what the advertising copywriters seek to achieve.

The second point to highlight concerns the backlash that the advertisement created among some Moroccans. The story was picked up by a few Moroccan and foreign media reporting on the bizarre nature of this advertisement, which arguably incites people to commit suicide if they are not yet able to speak English. While some Moroccans thought of the advertisement as dangerous in its suggestion to kill oneself, others found it humorous. In fact, when the Moroccan expression *سببر تموت* ('go kill yourself, go die') is used, it is not usually understood in the literal meaning of the words. Instead, the phrase is used colloquially to communicate that one is desperately useless. Morocco World News (August 10, 2017), a Moroccan English language news website, interviewed marketing expert Elisabeth Myers about this advertisement. Myers explained that 'sometimes marketing has to go over the top to get people's attention. The stark message in this ad does just that, and it's powerful.' The British Workshop language center eventually issued an apology for the advertisement through its Facebook page and the ad was removed.

Similar bizarre advertising examples have appeared around the world. One advertisement copy portraying death in its storyline is of a non-alcoholic beverage 'Mineirinho Zero' that was sold in Brazil in 2008 (Creative Awards)<sup>153</sup>. The advertisement is a poster showing a picture of a young man about to be hang with a rope. Another man dressed in a black gown with covered head holds a bottle of the beverage for the convict while he drinks from a straw with a smile on his face. On the top left corner, the marketed drink in its small and large sizes appear to be hang with a rope as well. Other versions of the same ad show the death penalty process to be done by electrocuting or beheading.

## 6.16. English in advertising for real estate developments

In the linguistic landscape of Casablanca, there are numerous examples of real estate development advertisements in which the use of English appears in the name of

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<sup>153</sup> Picture of the advertisement can be accessed through <http://www.creativeadawards.com/do-not-miss-it-2/>

apartments, villas and even parcels of land. These advertisements reveal a very recent and unexpected use of English in the present study that could have been easily overlooked. This use of English in real estate names has also been observed and examined in a few other Expanding Circle contexts such as China (Li, 2012), Taiwan (Hsu, 2012), and Israel (First & Avraham, 2007). In the Israeli context, First and Avraham (2007) collected 489 Israeli newspaper advertisements for real estate which they examined with respect to issues surrounding Israeli national identity and globalization. Based on their analysis, First and Avraham (2007) reported the use of English words such as 'hill, colony, and city' (230) in the proper names of residential buildings and what they term 'new neighborhoods' (230). In the real estate advertisements that were seen in the city of Casablanca, English names of residential buildings, villas, and land parcels include *Green House*, *Sun Square*, *The Sand House*, *Tamaris Green*, *Eden Island*, and *Anfa Hills* (Figure 6.34).



**Figure 6.34** Examples of real estate poster ads

Additional Google search results reveal this recent consistent use of English in the real estate sector. Examples of code-mixed proper names include *Aya Hills*, and *Anfa Square*, while monolingual English examples include *Green Hills*, *The Hills I* and *II*, *California Hills*, *Palm Hills*, *Creek Park*, *Eagle Hills*, *Arizona Parc*, *Next House Villa*, *Victoria City*, ... etc. With the use of such English words and place names, the developers seek to make associations with world famous locations, especially those in the United States. This is apparent through the use of words such as *hill* (as in Beverly Hills), *square* (as in New York's Times Square), *Arizona*, and *Florida*.

One of the examples that warrants further analysis is the villa land parcels *Anfa Hills* in Casablanca (Figure 6.35 below). *Anfa Hills* is an upper-class residential neighborhood in Casablanca stretching between the coastal shore and the city center. In the Moroccan context, a primary association with this name for the new housing development is *Beverly Hills*, located in metropolitan Los Angeles. The name *Anfa Hills* also carries a connotation of the 'American cultural scene' (First and Avraham, 2007: 232). To make this association even more explicit, copywriters inserted a stylized version of the iconic Beverly Hills city limits sign in the illustration. Furthermore, the ad suggests that the landscaping for these soon-to-be-built villas will include tall palm trees typically associated with Los Angeles. Interestingly, practices of such type have also been documented in China (Li, 2012). In a study on the use of English in China's real estate advertising, it was found that 'similitude in name is often accompanied with similitude in design through visual reference to architectural codes detachable from place' (Li, 2012: 55).

In the hoarding advertisement below (Figure 6.35) of the villa land parcels *Anfa Hills*, one observes the use of the English language hashtag *#Anfahills*. According to Martin (2019), this recent practice places brands in positions where they can communicate directly with their clients on social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram.



**Figure 6.35 Hoarding advertisement for villa land parcels in Casablanca**  
Source: <https://www.skyscrapercity.com/threads/casablanca-anfa-hills-24-villas-u-c.1927537/>

In a different study on the socio-psychological effects of real estate advertisements in Taiwan, Hsu (2012) examined 1,265 Chinese-English code-mixed print ads and TV commercials. In addition to building a corpus of specialized ads, Hsu (2012) interviewed six real estate advertising copywriters. In Taiwan, according to those interviewed in Hsu's study, English use in advertising real estate developments increases the 'attractiveness and authoritativeness of the advertisements' (Hsu, 2012: 202) and the 'internationalism, authenticity and superior quality' of the residential projects (Hsu, 2012: 206). Besides such socio-psychological effects, English also serves to communicate specific ideas about these Taiwanese developments such as the architectural design of the property, global brands of home appliances used, the name of facilities available to prospective homeowners, and even the 'English names of architects designing the buildings' (225).

The language choice that real estate developers make is carefully considered. In order to communicate the standards, quality and sophistication of their real estate projects, developers choose English as the ultimate channel to reach their targeted social class. In the same manner, luxury property buyers also look for real estate projects that flatter them. It seems that through their choice of English names, real estate developers seek to reach their potential clients with the help and advice of marketing specialists and advertisement copywriters. This strategy of English use in marketing was observed by Martin (1998) in her study of French print advertising, where she eloquently stated: 'Through their choice of words, and indeed their choice of one language over another, advertising copywriters attempt to flatter their readers, leaving them with the impression of being well informed and sophisticated, worthy of products that exude an aura of elegance and elitism' (166).

The common point that all the listed real estate projects above share through their use of English is the goal of conveying a feeling of quality and sophistication, luxury and fine lifestyle, as well as uniqueness and comfort. It is compelling that all these qualities were communicated through the English language rather than French, for example, which is also a language of high status in the Moroccan speech community. Arabic, on the other hand has been observed in advertisements of standard real estate buildings that are sold at affordable prices to lower-class families.

In Israel, First and Avraham (2007) observed that building projects were previously 'given names of plants, including flowers and trees that populate the Israeli landscape' (231). In the city of Casablanca, building projects were and are still named after plants (إقامة مسك الليل Night-Blooming Jasmine Residence), trees, and also names of famous national figures such as the Moroccan patriot and resistance fighter Mohammed Zerktouni or the fourteenth century traveler Ibn Battouta. The examples listed above show that real estate developers now employ other names in English that suit the modern era and through which they create a 'global affiliation' (Li, 2012: 56) that gives a hint to the type of modern housing available. A final remark to wrap up this discussion on real estate advertisements pertains to the finished real estate projects. While these advertisements that use English are taken down after the marketing period is over, the real estate developments that carry English names will remain there indefinitely. As these development projects with English names become landmarks of the city used to give directions, provide geographical description, or simply tell a taxi driver one's destination, they become indelible parts of the cityscape.

## **6.17. Summary and conclusion**

The linguistic landscape of the major metropolitan city of Casablanca exhibits a high degree of multilingualism. While the historically well-established languages of Arabic and French have been the main languages of use in public display, English has also become more prevalent recently. The use of English is especially noticeable in shop signs and outdoor advertisements located largely in the business districts of this metropolitan city. English is also relatively present in residential neighborhoods, as was shown through the English naming of real estate developments. Throughout the discussion of this chapter, it has been noted that some businesses tend to employ English in their shop signs more than others. For example, cafés and restaurants, beauty salons, home design and furniture, automobile services, clothing, eyewear, fitness, shipping, and electronics were found to employ English more occasionally. On the contrary, businesses offering culture-related products and services seem to avoid the use of English. Through observations of various examples in this study, the use of English in front signs of Moroccan traditional steam baths as well as butchers and mosques is either rare or non-existent.

As far as the function of English use in shop signs and outdoor advertisements is concerned, this study argues that this language is mainly employed to attract the attention of customers and communicate specific information about products and services. In shop sign displays, for instance, attention grabbing is carried out through displaying English in a central position and maintaining larger font size with bright colors. Similarly, in advertisements, English is also positioned in the most salient parts of an ad copy such as in headers and product or company names. With such salient physical appearance, English serves a communicative and a decorative purpose. An example of the communicative function is the phrase *opening soon* found in the outdoor advertisements of the fitness centers *Passage Fitness* and *Unique Fitness Clubs*. This English phrase communicates to the Casablanca community information about the approaching inauguration of new fitness centers in the city. As for the decorative use of English, the fast food restaurant *Yes In Food* is a good example for illustration. This combination of the words *yes* and *in* does not convey any particular information about the business, but it works to attract the attention of passers-by.

Besides the use of English in shop signs and outdoor advertisements, this study has also found that the use of this languages has now crept into menus of restaurants. This means that customers have to read English language menus and understand them in order to be able to make a selection. The growing presence of English in the linguistic landscape of Casablanca suggests that the depth of English use in this city is quite significant. That is, Casablanca residents and visitors of various ages, education, and socio-economic backgrounds are exposed to this language regardless of their proficiency. By merely walking in the streets of Casablanca, individuals are somehow actively or passively engaging with this new code.

## **Chapter 7.**

### **Summary and recommendations for future research**

#### **7.1. Summary**

This exploratory, qualitative, macro-sociolinguistic study has examined the uses and users of English in the historically multilingual North African country of Morocco. Using the World Englishes theoretical framework, this research first considered Moroccans' earliest contact with English from a political, economic, social, and educational perspective (Chapter 4). Subsequently, this study examined the functional range and depth of English use in the Moroccan media industry (Chapter 5). In exploring this particular domain, a variety of traditional and new media outlets have been investigated to provide a broader, more comprehensive understanding of the extent to which English is employed. Finally, this research took a closer look at the uses of English in the linguistic landscape of Casablanca, the largest city in the country (Chapter 6). Based on an in-depth analysis of select shop signs and outdoor advertisements, it was concluded that English has now become an additional code that is encountered daily by members of the Casablanca speech community.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 addressed the three main goals of this study outlined in Chapter 3, Section 1.1. The first goal was to investigate the functional range and depth of the English language in the historically non-native context of Morocco. The second goal was to contribute to a better understanding of the dynamics of the Expanding Circle of English based on the practices in this multilingual context, in which several historically indigenous and colonial languages were already established. The third goal was to gain greater insight into the significance of using English as an additional language in the multilingual context of Morocco. These objectives are addressed in this order in the following sections.

##### **7.1.1. The functional range and depth of the English language in Morocco**

To lay the foundation for this research, Chapter 3 provided an overview of languages used in Morocco outlining the history of languages currently in use within the

country, their varieties, status, and (non-)users' attitudes towards them. This linguistic overview set out in greater detail the country's course of linguistic development, from the former state of monolingualism with Tmazight to that of multilingualism with as many as five different codes at present. This comprehensive linear account illustrated that, through the centuries, Moroccans generally have been receptive to most of the languages with which they have had significant contact.

Following the profile of language use in Morocco, this study offered a historical narrative of the first contact Moroccans had with English (Chapter 4). Based on a variety of archival accounts (i.e. diaries, treaties, letters, agreements, magazine reports, literary work, and statistics), it was concluded that while Moroccans had initial contact with native speakers of English in the domain of politics from the thirteenth to the twentieth century, acquisition of this language was minimal since diplomatic interactions throughout that period were seldom conducted in this language. For example, in diplomatic letters exchanged between British and Moroccan monarchs, roughly identical communication practices were maintained. That is, these ruling royal families drafted the original documents of correspondence in their respective countries' official languages. Appended to these official letters were translations in Spanish, which was a common regional lingua franca at the time. Interactions with English-speaking captives or merchants were also recorded and they involved the use of foreign languages widely spoken in Europe in addition to gestures. In these early times, communication through English was not common and translation to other foreign languages was the norm. Andreani (2017: 51) confirmed in her extensive work on the production of state papers this reliance on translations at that time.

It is only at the beginning of the 1900s, in particular in 1912, that Moroccans gradually started to be exposed to English to a greater extent. For example, English was first introduced in schools as a foreign language under the French Protectorate (1912-1956) of Morocco. Three decades into this colonial period, contact with English then increased immediately following the landing of the American military in Morocco in 1942, as part of strategic efforts in fighting during World War II. The positioning of the American military and their families in U.S. military bases across the country between 1942 and 1959 led to more contacts with the locals. This in turn facilitated higher competence in English among Moroccans who worked in these military bases.



After Morocco's independence from France in 1956 and the beginning of the gradual departure of the American military in 1959, contact with English speakers continued through educational and cultural exchange programs such as Peace Corps and Fulbright. To date, Morocco still receives Peace Corps volunteers as well as American students and visiting scholars who conduct research and teach in Moroccan universities. An additional form of contact with English occurs through the migration of Moroccans to English-speaking countries. For example, migration to the United States has been regular, although much smaller compared to migration to Europe, since the 1930s (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2018: 9). With the establishment of the Diversity Visa Program in 1990, thousands of Moroccan applicants were granted permanent residency in the U.S. After settling there, Moroccans customarily maintained contact with their homeland through annual visits in which a great deal of language and culture has been shared with family members in Morocco.

Following the historical overview of contact with English, this research provided a comprehensive discussion on Moroccans' consumption and production of media materials that are fully or partially in English (Chapter 5). As far as users' English output is concerned, Moroccans who are proficient in English are employing this additional code as they produce literary discourse directed towards Moroccan and foreign audiences. This use of English adds more diversity to the languages of the Moroccan literary canon. For less proficient Moroccans, their use of English, as portrayed in social media, is limited to short and concise sentences or clichés that are popular online (i.e. hashtags). As might be expected, the proficiency of many young Moroccan users of social media is generally higher than that of older generations. This is because younger Moroccans now are exposed to English at an earlier age, they grow up in households with access to the Internet, and they have access to an extraordinary amount of media materials in English that is only a click away.

With the exception of print newspapers, the use of English surfaces in most media formats, including television, radio, cinema, music, social media platforms, online websites and magazines. While English appears across all of these media sources, its uses remain uneven, with social media platforms demonstrating greater usage of this language. In contrast to state and locally-based private broadcast radio and television stations which are bound by the policies and requirements of the national audiovisual authority, HACA, Moroccan social media content creators have a much higher degree of

freedom over the material they produce and the language through which they broadcast it. This is because these independent social media influencers, vloggers, and content creators do not have to abide by the guidelines that traditional media stations do. With such freedom and their goal of attracting viewership beyond Morocco's national borders, social media influencers often choose to use English in order to reach a global audience.

Within the same media chapter, it was shown that Moroccan television viewers tend to tune in more to foreign television channels than they do to domestic ones. This is arguably due to the higher quality, informative, and innovative programs these foreign channels broadcast. Especially popular among Moroccan youth is the bundle of Saudi-owned MBC television channels. While they do air Arabic programming to a greater extent than English, some of these MBC channels (i.e. MBC 2 and MBC 4) also specialize in broadcasting Inner Circle programming such as television series, Hollywood movies, competitions, and talent shows. These English-language programs are broadcast in their original versions and subtitled in Arabic, which provides language input and support for viewers with modest proficiency in English. In recent years, movie streaming platforms such as Netflix and other online streaming websites have been becoming popular as they also offer a wealth of internationally renowned media content (i.e. television series such as *Game of Thrones*, *The Walking Dead*, *Vikings*) that young Moroccans are following with passion.

This discussion of the use of English in the media industry in Morocco (Chapter 5) was followed by an in-depth examination of the use of English in the linguistic landscape of Casablanca (Chapter 6), the largest city in the country with over 3 million residents. Although this chapter focused on the presence of English in shop signs and outdoor advertising, it in fact also elicited valuable insights into the business domain of this metropolitan city. More specifically, the omnipresence of English in the public business domain revealed the language's impact and status in the eyes of Moroccan entrepreneurs as well as their customers.

Many examples of the use of English in exterior shop signs in Casablanca were presented. Such English signs were especially prevalent in business districts and avenues with heavy automobile and pedestrian traffic. The uses of English in shop signs were either monolingual or bilingual, with Arabic and French being the most common pair languages. With respect to the indigenous vernacular of Tmazight, not a single

example of mixing with English was found. As far as the positioning of English in bilingual shop signs is concerned, there is a greater tendency for sign makers to place English conspicuously in the top position. In contrast, Arabic or French were usually found in the bottom position of signs. Placing English in a primary position serves a symbolic value, as the language functions often as an attention getter. With notably rare exceptions, the historically established languages of Arabic and French, on the other hand, continue to carry secondary informational value pertaining to the services and products of the businesses.

Consistent with the findings in previous studies (Nikolaou, 2017; Selvi, 2016; Lee, 2019; Lawrence, 2012; Hasanova, 2010; Dimova, 2008), this research revealed that the degree to which English is used in shop signs depends on the types of businesses and services offered. Among the businesses that display such language in their shop front signs are cafés and restaurants, beauty salons, shipping services, fitness studios, and specialty stores selling specific products, such as home design and furniture, clothing, eyewear, and electronics. Businesses that appear to refrain from using English are those that offer services or products that are deeply-rooted in the local Moroccan culture. For instance, no examples were found of English use in signage at traditional Moroccan public baths. This was also the case with products and services related to the locally practiced faith of Islam. The great majority of butcher shops, where strict Islamic practices for slaughtering religiously permitted animals are expected, did not employ this language. While shop front signs are generally employed so that customers can easily identify a business, they also have another purpose of serving as landmarks for geographical navigation. English shop sign names are often used in giving directions or describing the vicinity of their geographical location.

Outdoor advertising signage is an additional domain where the use of English is thriving. In Casablanca, outdoor advertisements appear in multiple languages. These include monolingual advertisements in Arabic, MCA, French, or English, as well as multilingual advertisements mixing two or more of these codes. The most common bilingual mixing patterns observed in this study are English and French, English and Arabic, or French and Arabic. Trilingual advertisements were also found, but to a markedly lesser degree. Similar to shop signs, the use of English in advertising signage was found to be more frequent for some product types than others. For example, the products that were completely or partially advertised in English included cars,

televisions, computers, home appliances, clothing, eye wear, and cosmetics. For the outdoor advertisements, the brands of the products were both global and local. The findings of this study are consistent with earlier research (Ruellot, 2011; Gerristen et al. 2007; Vettorel & Franceschi, 2019) with regard to the product advertisements that more frequently employ English.

Besides the use of English for advertising particular product categories, this study also examined how English is used in the various elements of advertisement copy, as defined by Bhatia's (2001) Structural Dependency Hierarchy. Based on the study of a number of advertisement examples, English appears in all of Bhatia's structural domains. These include product name, company name and logo, label, header and subheader, slogan, and product description. While there are examples of English being used in all of Bhatia's structural domains, headers appear to be the most common level of usage given their saliency in terms of font size, color, and central position. Coupled with such use of English in headers, advertisement copywriters employ bilingual creativity to attract consumers' attention. Among the stylistic techniques featured in the present study are rhyming, assimilated borrowing, phonological modification, code-mixing, visual glossing, imperatives, and wordplay. The fact that advertisement copywriters employ these techniques along with the English language in their Moroccan ad copy suggests that they are confident that the targeted audiences will not encounter intelligibility issues. After all, advertisement copywriters will not jeopardize the sale of a business product or service by using a language that cannot be understood.

As much as the uses of English are indicative of its spread, the users or the functional depth of English is an equally important indicator. In Chapter 5 on the media and Chapter 6 on Casablanca's linguistic landscape, the users of English have been identified as professional and amateur writers, academics, journalists, television and radio presenters, singers, film directors, social media influencers and their followers, business owners, and advertisement copywriters. This list is by no means exhaustive as numerous domains were not covered in this study. This study is also by no means claiming that English has now become equal to French, Tmazight, or Arabic in its usage and status. Instead, it is arguing that English has become noticeable as an additional linguistic resource within the Moroccan speech community, that is, as a part of the local linguistic repertoire.

Besides its focus on the functional range and depth of English use, this study also considers the status and significance of English in the multilingual context of Morocco. The issue of multilingualism in this North African country has garnered significant scholarly interest. In previous research, scholars sought to predict the future of English in Morocco. Most of them confirmed the spread of English in the country and highlighted the threat it posed specifically to the main foreign language of French (see for example Ennaji, 1999: 154; Zouhir, 2014: 44; Tomâsik, 2010: 16; Bentaouet-Kattan, 1999: 97). Some scholars (i.e., Soussi, 2020) went so far as to argue that English is replacing French. However, these predictions over the last 40 years, dating from 1977, remain unrealized given the complexity of the social reality of language use in Morocco, which is seemingly akin to shifting sands. For instance, when the Arabization policy was introduced in the education system in the 1960s, it was believed that French language use would decline. There was an impression that Arabic and perhaps English, too, would claim the center stage that French has occupied since the early 1900s. However, over the course of the last five decades this anticipated scenario has not unfolded. With the recent introduction of the Strategic Vision 2015-2030 educational reform (Chapter 3), French language use was in fact strengthened, with the language becoming a required subject of study beginning in the first year of elementary school. What is more, French also became a MOI for technical and scientific subjects starting in the first year of middle school. While it had been feared that the French language was fading from use and students' ultimate proficiency levels were getting weaker, the language in fact bounced back stronger and is used now more widely than ever before in the educational domain. It is possible that the increased role of French in education, as a foreign language of study and as a MOI, will revive the proficiency that Moroccan students once had. There is a belief that the Arabization policy has had a negative impact on the performance of students in French and in the sciences (Bouziane, 2020: 49). Of particular note is the fact that English is also now introduced earlier in the school system and employed as an additional MOI in high school.

The historically foreign languages of French and English seem to have gained nearly equal standing in the Moroccan educational domain. This suggests that balanced proficiency in both languages is a possible result for this generation of pupils and students. For the time being, however, it is too early to make a conclusive prediction as the first generation of Moroccans have yet to complete their years of secondary

education under the new multilingual educational reform. As was concluded in Kachoub and Hilgendorf 's (2019b) study on multilingualism in Morocco, the four languages of Tmazight, Arabic, French, and English have a degree of linguistic vitality that indicates that they are in Morocco to stay for the foreseeable future. Each of these languages fulfills the communicative needs of the Moroccan speech community in particular domains, and consequently have become part of the community's local linguistic repertoire and therefore an integral part of their identities. Thus, in Morocco these four languages do not seem to be at odds with one another, but rather to be used in complementary ways.

### **7.1.2. Contributions of this study to research on the Expanding Circle of English**

This study responded to Berns' (2005), Schneider's (2014) as well as to Elyas and Mahboob's (2020) calls for further research on the growing uses of English in the Expanding Circle, especially in underrepresented contexts such as Africa and the Middle East. Indeed, North Africa is a region that has received marginal attention despite its complex multilingual and sociolinguistic reality. Now, with the noticeable spread and growing uses of English in this region, a few in-depth studies in the form of doctoral dissertations have been conducted. So far, there have been Belmihoub's (2017) and Medfouni's (2020) studies on the Algerian context, in addition to this study on Morocco. Shorter studies in the form of articles and book chapters have also been published for both of these North African countries (see Belmihoub, 2018; Medfouni, 2019; Soussi, 2020; Kachoub & Hilgendorf, 2019a; 2019b; Kachoub, forthcoming; R'boul, 2020). Only a few years ago, very little was known about the status or the spread of English in this North African region. However, this gap is now starting to narrow with the growing number of foundational studies.

Throughout this investigation on Morocco, it has been confirmed that the status of English is shifting from that of a second foreign language to an additional language of use. This has been demonstrated by substantial evidence showing how English use is no longer restricted to international interactions. For example, the use of English has become a daily activity especially among the younger Moroccan generation. It is not uncommon to hear Casablanca's youth having a conversation with one another in English while taking a walk down the street. In addition, it is not uncommon to encounter

English in various shop signs and advertisement banners outside of the home. English can be found in various media platforms such as radio, television, music, films, social media, and in online newspapers and magazines. The status of English in the Moroccan education domain has also developed from an optional second foreign language to a compulsory foreign language that is now introduced earlier in the elementary level. Furthermore, English has become a MOI, along with Arabic and French, beginning in secondary school and in select higher education institutes.

A significant finding that emerged through the analysis of these domains is the nature of the spread of English. Almost thirty years ago, Kachru (1992) noted 'not only is English still spreading, but it is even being spread by non-English mother-tongue interests' (19). Interestingly, this is how English has generally started its spread in Morocco. Although the first historical contact with English occurred through diplomatic relations with Inner Circle countries in the thirteenth century, it was not until French colonial rule came to Morocco in the early twentieth century that English eventually was introduced nationally as a foreign language in schools. Even now, the spread of English cannot be assumed to come exclusively from the Inner Circle. Expanding Circle contexts such as France are also making small contributions to the spread of English within this North African context. While there is currently no colonial presence of France in Morocco, the colonial language of French is still present and is bringing the Kingdom into further indirect contact with English. This was noted in the advertisement of the fitness center *City Club* (see Figure 6.27), where the text was mainly in French with borrowed words from English such as *leader* and *low cost*. Similarly, choosing to watch television or listen to radio programs produced in France exposes individuals to at least a minimal amount of borrowed English words and phrases. This shows how easy it is to come into contact with English without having any actual direct interactions with its L1 speech communities. This is also a clear indication that in multilingual contexts such as Morocco, the multiplicity of languages means the multiplicity of channels leading to contact with English.

An additional finding that surfaced in this study on Morocco concerns the limits on English use. While it is used in numerous domains, English is noticeably not used in others due to taking local cultural nuances into account. This indicates that there are some impenetrable aspects of the Moroccan culture, economy, and social practices. For example, the use of English is unheard of in some Moroccan music genres (chaabi,

malhun), businesses (butchery, hammams), advertisements (cultural products), and public institution building signs (with the exception of NARSA). Domains and genres with traditional cultural associations appear to be impenetrable to English, while the language is used in areas that are progressive, modern, and evolving with global trends.

A further notable finding observed in this study, especially in television and radio media, is the mixing of English and the other locally well-established languages. Based on the available examples of television and radio programs, there was no single instance of glossing, where an English title was provided with a translation in Arabic or French. Titles were generally code-mixed such as in *اسبورت week (Sport Week)*. This example shows the high degree of multilingualism that is present in the Kingdom and also indicates how users are comfortable switching between linguistic codes which have all become part of the local linguistic repertoire. YouTube titles, on the other hand, are somewhat different as they are sometimes provided in as many as three languages: Arabic, French, and English. Given the structure of YouTube, as a user-controlled platform for self-made content, this trilingual usage reflects bottom-up, grassroots practices. This is because these titles function as keywords which are searched for by Internet users of various language backgrounds. This higher degree of multilingualism is important to reach out to a higher number of viewers.

A final remark in this section pertains to the use of English in introducing new concepts. It has been shown in this study that the spread or borrowing of new ideas is often accompanied by importing the foreign names for the idea. In Morocco, such a practice was observed in the opening of the shopping center *Morocco Mall*. Instead of naming this shopping center *Centre Commercial du Maroc* in French, or *المركز التجاري المغربي* ('Morocco Shopping Center') in Arabic, the choice was to use English. Besides the role of English in attracting the attention of customers to this shopping center, the language is also employed to highlight the new shopping experience in a modern building with all the facilities visitors might need (shops, restaurants, restrooms, prayer room, cinema, entertainment park, play area, ... etc.). English is equally used for businesses that aim to emphasize new concepts they are introducing to the market.



### **7.1.3. Significance of this study**

#### ***Significance for the Moroccan context***

This study on the functional range and societal depth of English use in Morocco provides an update on the new sociolinguistic reality of this historically multilingual North African country. Over the years, Arabic and French have been at the forefront of the linguistic scene in Morocco while the indigenous language of Tmazight was mainly in the background despite its vitality among the Amazigh population. However, in 2011, Tmazight was made an additional official language along with Arabic and its uses have been gradually transcending speakers' personal interactions to include various domains traditionally dominated by Arabic and French. During this period of Tmazight renaissance which extends to present, English has been continuing to spread to a wider range of domains leading to an even higher degree of multilingualism. Unlike previous studies which have mainly focused on students' attitudes towards English, teaching pedagogy, and educational language policy (see for example Belhiah et al. edited volume (2020)), the present study focused on different facets of the spread and use of English in Morocco that have garnered relatively little scholarly attention.

Examining the use of English in the Moroccan media industry and the linguistic landscape of the city of Casablanca provided ample evidence demonstrating that, along with the historically well-established languages of Tmazight, Arabic, French, and Spanish, English has now become an additional code in the linguistic repertoire of the Moroccan speech community. This means that with its new role, English has become an additional viable option in many aspects of life. Now, Moroccan multilingual speakers have the possibility of accessing some services in their language of choice. For example, Moroccan families with adequate financial means can choose to enroll their children in private nurseries and schools that offer English medium education. Similarly, Moroccan high school graduates can now choose to attend domestic private universities that deliver programs entirely or partially in English. Even more significant is the fact that English seems not to be a language of the elite, as undertaking studies in English is no longer restricted to the offspring of wealthy Moroccan families. English education has recently become an affordable option for Moroccans coming from diverse socioeconomic classes, contributing to an even greater depth of English use. This has been made possible with the recent educational language policy reforms. These reforms of language

policy that have been witnessed in the past five years seem to be responding to the increasing demand for English in the local and the global job market, in addition to facilitating students' transition to higher education abroad. It is a staggering linguistic reality today that some Moroccan students go to France only to pursue their (under)graduate studies in English!

Aside from the domain of education, English has become an option in the entertainment industry, as well. A case in point is the fact that Moroccan moviegoers increasingly have three options: seeing the original version of Inner Circle movies, a dubbed version in French or a subtitled version in Arabic. The fact that major movie theaters in Morocco project films in English indicates that there is a considerable number of viewers who demand movies in their original version. English has additionally become an option for browsing the news, surfing the Internet, or for leisure reading. This increased exposure to English media (books, movies, music, cinema, television, Internet) implies that the Moroccan speech community is developing advanced proficiency in English. For instance, Dahbi (2020: v-vi) argued that a few years ago, the majority of newly admitted students to Al AKhawayn University required English preparation courses. However, in recent years he observed that less than half of the newly admitted students require such courses. With such increased proficiency in English, especially among the younger population of Moroccans, it is argued that this language is used as an additional code in direct and computer-mediated communication. In fact, intranational uses of English have already been observed in many instances through the language choices made by users in the linguistic landscape and netscape.

Despite what has been mentioned about the increased English proficiency of young Moroccans, this study does not argue that the whole Moroccan speech community has an advanced proficiency in English. Similar to all historically non-English using contexts, there is cline of performance/proficiency/bilingualism in English which ranges from an “educated” or “standard” variety to pidginized or “broken” variety’ (Kachru, 1992: 58). In this study, an educated variety of English was clearly observed in the users’ innovative function. A pidginized variety of English was not observed, however. Instead, limited output in terms of length was found. For instance, single lexical borrowings, phrases, and sentential code-mixings were some of the forms representing limited English output. This brief use of English was mainly found in television and radio program titles, outdoor advertisements, social media, and shop signs. Although all of

these platforms have exhibited an English output that does not diverge much from the linguistic norm or the standard variety, there certainly exists at this point of the spread of English in Morocco performance varieties that show restricted levels of proficiency in the innovative, interpersonal, and instrumental functions of English. Given the non-spontaneous nature of most of the English output encountered in this study, the ‘pidginized or “broken”’ varieties of English did not surface. This is because the users relied either on carefully prepared texts or post-production editing. In one of his videos, the English language YouTuber Amine Boumazzough mentioned to his audience that, while he may appear fluent in English, he in fact prepares his talks and edits his videos to cut out what he perceives as linguistic imperfections. A similar practice could also be true for social media influencers who take the time to write their photo captions in English.

### ***Significance for the Expanding Circle***

Fifteen years ago, Berns (2005: 88) noted the need for research on more Expanding Circle countries as most studies that were conducted at that time focused to a greater degree on the Inner and Outer Circles. Indeed, the literature pertaining to the European and Asian Expanding Circle contexts has grown remarkably (Berns, 2019: 10), but regions such as Central and South America, Central and Eastern Europe as well as the Middle East and the North Africa remain insufficiently explored (Berns, 2019: 13). Even with the recent special issue of World Englishes dedicated fully to the Middle East and North Africa, Elyas and Mahboob (2020) reiterated Berns’ remark of over a decade earlier about the need for more scholarly attention to the third and largest of Kachru’s three concentric circles.

This study on the multilingual context of Morocco provides informative insights into the Expanding Circle. To start with, the linguistic profiles of Expanding Circle countries are diverse in terms of their degree of multilingualism. Although speech communities in some countries such as France or Turkey have to deal with fewer languages in most everyday transactions, there are other highly multilingual speech communities, such as Morocco or Algeria, where various languages are used by the same individuals for distinct transactions and in different domains. In a single day it is not uncommon for a Moroccan to pray in Classical Arabic, talk with family and friends in Tmazight or MCA, write work emails in French, or sit for exams in English. With

increased proficiency in English, a mixture of all these languages can surface in a simple conversation about a random subject.

Another important consideration for the Expanding Circle that was deduced from the Moroccan context is past colonial history. Unlike the Outer Circle where countries are in most cases former British colonies, Expanding Circle countries might have been colonized by non-English speaking countries (i.e. France, Spain, The Netherlands) or never have been subjected to any form of colonialism (i.e. Thailand). Despite Morocco's forty-four years of French colonialism and the linguistic legacy that the French left behind, English still finds space within this context to not only increase its functional range of uses but also its societal depth of users.

An additional characteristic pertains to the patterns of acquisition of English in the Expanding Circle, which is generally believed to be learned as a foreign language in formal settings. While this fact still holds true, this research shows that the learners of English in the Expanding Circle may start their learning of English earlier than is commonly thought. Before reaching school age, children have been mostly exposed to English through YouTube videos, smartphone applications, cartoons, and toys. Even school-age children who are formally learning English in classrooms are simultaneously acquiring English outside of school incidentally through films, music, video games, Internet, forums, and technology. Teenagers may find that computer mediated interactions require a performance variety of English that is not necessarily dependent on the norms of the Inner Circle which are taught to them in the classroom.

### ***Significance for World Englishes***

As has been mentioned several times in this dissertation, most studies that have previously addressed the issue of English in Morocco focused on the traditional domain of education. While the education sector was indeed the starting point of the significant spread and use of English in Morocco in the early 1900s, other non-traditional domains where the use of English is more recent have been overlooked. By adopting the World Englishes theoretical framework for this study, it was possible to identify new, previously unexplored domains of English use. This is because World Englishes as a theoretical framework focuses on the plurality of English with respect to contexts of uses and users. In taking into account the entire context, a more comprehensive perspective is gained on where the use of English is emerging. This study, of course, limited its query to

Moroccans' first contact with English, the uses of English in media, and the presence of the language in outdoor advertisements and business shop signs in the city of Casablanca.

This study provides additional evidence of the on-going emergence of English in non-native English speaking countries with a high degree of multilingualism. It also underscores the notion of dual-ownership of English by native and non-native users. Moroccans are now using English in ways they see suitable for their communicative needs. Pragmatic uses of English are also numerous. For example, businesses use English to attract customers, individuals to project a more appealing identity, broadcast media to entice and maintain an audience, and individual users to look cool, sophisticated, and modern. Given the multiple languages already employed in Morocco, the English variety that is emerging given the uses of the language within this context will reflect this multilingualism. The Expanding Circle country of Morocco is continuing along its historical path of additive multilingualism; certainly at this time, the spread of English is not occurring at the expense of other local or foreign languages

## **7.2. Limitations and recommendations for future research**

This study has shown the range and depth of English uses in Morocco to be much wider than anticipated. English does not only function as a foreign language, but as a code that is becoming an integral part of the local linguistic repertoire. The scope of this research has out of necessity been limited to exploring the uses of English in the domains of media, advertising, and business shop signs. As the use of English will seemingly continue to grow and spread across and within domains, further research is needed on this subject. English use in domains that have never been explored as well as in domains that have already received limited scholarly attention warrant further study. For example, future research could investigate the use of English in graffiti, demonstration banners, and stadia tifos, which are displays carried by football team fans during games. There are other domains where English is flourishing in Morocco, such as in business corporations, politics, tourism, industry (aeronautical, electronics) and in informal personal domains (online and instant communication). Furthermore, because the Moroccan educational system now requires the teaching of English as a foreign language and its use as a MOI, there will be a need for further studies to evaluate the

success of this new language policy in the same manner Bouziane (2020) has already done for assessing the first five years of this language reform. Researchers interested in this topic can also examine how such spread and use of English in education impacts other domains. Another research agenda could be a more focused, micro-level examination of English use in a social media platform such as Instagram or YouTube. Researchers could identify any patterns of English use peculiar to the Moroccan context. Finally, whereas this study considered the linguistic landscape of a single Moroccan metropolitan city, Casablanca, there is a need to examine other linguistic landscapes in the country. Among the intriguing cities that deserve attention are those located in the northern region (i.e. Tangier, Tetouan), where Spanish, in addition to French, is much more widely used than in other parts of the country. The linguistic landscape of smaller cities and rural areas also needs to be investigated in order to achieve a comprehensive understanding of the full range and depth of English use within the country.

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