

Writing mother tongue:
Moroccan women and the rise of written *darija*
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Note on language terms and transliterations

Throughout this thesis, the Arabic term *fusha* will be used to refer to Standard Arabic and *darja* will be used to refer to Moroccan Arabic.

The transliterations of *fusha* used in this thesis are broadly based on the Qalam system of transliteration. This system is based on a correspondence between the Arabic letters and the Roman alphabet and is thus accessible to readers unfamiliar with the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Transliterations of *fusha* are based on spelling.

b:	ب	T:	ط
t:	ت	Z:	ظ
th:	ث	‘:	ع
j	:ج	gh:	غ
H:	ح	f:	ف
kh:	خ	q:	ق
d:	د	k:	ك
dh:	ذ	l:	ل
r:	ر	m:	م
z:	ز	n:	ن
s:	س	h:	ه
sh:	ش	w:	و
S:	ص	y:	ي
D:	ض	al-	ال

Transliteration of *darja* is broadly based on Qalam, with the following changes dependant on pronunciation:

th or t: ث
q or g: ق
dh or d: ذ

Exceptions include proper noun and words with commonly used Romanizations such as *Nichane*, which uses a French-based Romanization, and *fusha*.

0. ABSTRACT

What happens when the unwritten, informal dialect of the home and the street appears in print? In multilingual Morocco, Arabic, the country's official language, represents a diglossia; the varieties of Arabic, *darīja* and *fusha*, have distinct domains of usage and acceptability. Currently, the primarily oral, informal variety of *darīja* is increasingly found in print media, on billboards, street signs, and other written contexts normally reserved for *fusha*, the more formal variety of Arabic. As *darīja* appears in more formal contexts, it changes subtly, complicating the boundaries of the Moroccan Arabic diglossia. In this paper, I discuss the rise in written *darīja* for the Moroccan linguistic landscape, in particular for women, who are more traditionally associated with the oral and informal varieties. My findings are based on original ethnographic fieldwork conducted from June to August of 2007 when I lived in the Moroccan city of Fez and conducted interviews with 14 Moroccan women.¹

In the first section of this paper, I present a theoretical and historical framework. Drawing on sociolinguistic theories of literacy, orality, and diglossia, I examine the idea of the Moroccan quadriglossia and the current linguistic situation for Moroccan women. After discussing my research methodology in the second section, I present an analysis of the data I collected in Morocco in the third section, both providing evidence for the rise in written *darīja* and examining the way this rise is viewed by the 14 women I interviewed. Finally, in the conclusion, I reflect on this research and provide suggestions for future studies of written *darīja* in Morocco.

1.0 Theoretical and historical framework

Where do we draw the boundaries of literate and oral, formal and informal speech, and what does this mean for Moroccan women who navigate a multilingual landscape of both written and oral languages and dialects with specific domains and codes of usage? In this section, I present an overview of literacy and orality as well as a theoretical definition of diglossia and multilingualism. Using these frameworks, I provide background on the current linguistic situation in Morocco and the quadriglossia found there. Finally, drawing from literature on Moroccan women, I examine the implications of the Moroccan linguistic situation in terms of power and authority in women's lives.

1.1 Literacy, orality, and literacy events

In order to consider the rise of written *darīja*, it is imperative to first examine the debate over the significance of the written word and the degree to which it is distinct from orality. Much has been spoken and printed about this discussion; here, I only present an overview.

One of the most well-known arguments about the written word is that writing changes the way in which people think. Jack Goody, who has written extensively about the role of communication society, finds that writing, the act of recording words on a page, allows for humans to make connections between their thoughts in a way that is not possible in an entirely oral world. In his 1977 book *The Domestication of the Savage Mind*, where Goody challenges the 'Great Dichotomy' so often constructed by academics between 'domesticated' and 'wild.' Goody observes that while

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literacy does not replace orality and in fact lacks some of its strengths, it adds many additional features to communication. In addition to elements that draw on the visual elements of writing, such as calligraphy, anagrams, and puns based upon writing, Goody finds that writing allows for “a monologue that oral intercourse so often prevents” (160). Writing creates a different kind of space for reflection on one’s own words and thoughts.

Walter Ong, in his book *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Modern Word* (1982), takes Goody’s arguments one step further, noting that “Writing restructures consciousness” and “restructure[s] the human lifeworld” (101). Ong emphasizes that as a writer is able to distance herself from her own thoughts, she actually develops capacities for reasoning that are unattainable in purely oral communication. Throughout his third chapter, Ong points to ways in which oral culture is less abstract, logical, and analytical than writing. Though in this way Ong distinctly isolates literacy from orality, he does provide the important, though dated, observation about oral language that the vast majority of languages have never been written down to the degree that they produced significant literature. As orality is thus such a huge part of human experience, the shift from oral to literate thinking is even more significant.

The work of Goody and Ong has been challenged over the years on the basis that orality and literacy are not as firmly opposed as the anthropologists claim. James Paul Gee (1990) and Brian Street (1995) both question in particular Ong’s portrayal of literacy as isolated from and isolating of orality. Though Ong speculates that someone from a culture where literacy is present could never truly understand orality, both Gee and Street highlight the research of Labov and others who examine black communities in the United States, finding that oral teaching and ways of learning are highly valued in addition to the written word.

The critique of Ong’s position that literacy is unwaveringly additive comes in the same vein, arguing that not only does the written word lack elements of oral culture, it can be a destructive of the important contributions of oral language. K. David Harrison, in his book *When Languages Die* (2007) argues that the hegemony of certain languages and literacies will actually serve to drive out oral cultures and the rich heritage they hold. Though Harrison advocates the documentation of unwritten languages, he makes it clear that there are aspects of oral tradition, such as storytelling traditions, that cannot be captured by the written word alone and will be lost forever if literacy is the only aspect of language that is valued.

Finally, there is the perspective that the boundaries between oral and written language are in fact fluid and context dependent, and that, in certain situations, literacy and orality are inseparable. In her 1983 book *Ways With Words*, Shirley Brice Heath points to the many interactions she observed in the South Carolina communities of Trackton and Roadville where orality and literacy cannot be separated, what she terms ‘literacy events.’ Heath finds that in Trackton, the written word is not an abstract entity for detached reasoning, an internal dialogue. On the contrary, “Written information almost never stands alone in Trackton. It is reshaped and reworded into an oral mode by adults and children who incorporate chunks of written text into their talk.” (200). In Heath’s observations, members of the Trackton community engage in spoken debate over newspapers while reading them aloud and look on in open hymnals while members of the church speak the words of each verse before everyone begins singing along. In this context, literacy is only one part of a complex interaction, which may spark an oral connection, transforming the written word into that which is spoken. Street cites research on middle-class dinner parties in the United States where the opposite phenomenon seems to take place. Writing infuses speech as entirely ‘oral’ conversations are filled with ‘literate like’ conversational strategies and rhetorical devices. In these different forms of literacy events, the written word may in fact signify the oral, and the oral may be an un-written representative of the ‘literate.’

1.2 Diglossia and multilingualism

The boundaries drawn between written and oral language as well as formal and informal use of language are reinforced and tested by situations of diglossia. Responding to the question of the relative values and roles of different aspects of language, Charles Ferguson coined the term diglossia in 1959 after the French *diglossie* in order to characterize the situation in which a language features both a high variety ('H') and a low variety ('L') with distinctive and specific roles. The H variety may be a classical language that is no longer spoken colloquially but remains significant in formal areas such as literature and education. The remaining colloquial, spoken variety is the L form. In his initial article, Ferguson presents examples of the 'H' and 'L' of four defining languages: Arabic, Modern Greek, Swiss German, and Haitian Creole. In the case of each of these languages, the H variety is generally seen as superior, or at least "more beautiful, more logical, better able to express important thoughts" (69). Appropriate use of either variety is extremely socially significant, however; using either an L form or an H form in the wrong context would make one, "an object of ridicule" (68). The table below, detailing some of the separate domains, in which only one variety may be present, is adapted from Ferguson's 1959 article.

	H	L
Sermon in church or mosque	X	
Instructions to servants, waiters, workmen, clerks		X
Personal letter	X	
Speech in parliament, political speech	X	
University lecture	X	
Conversation with family, friends, and colleagues		X
News broadcast	X	
Radio 'soap opera'		X
Newspaper editorial, news story, caption on picture	X	
Caption on political cartoon		X
Poetry	X	
Folk literature		X

In general, the H and L varieties appear to be divided on the basis of literate and oral domains of usage. The only written context in which the L variety has a role is in the caption on a political cartoon, where the written word is meant to represent a speech event, and perhaps is meant to be read aloud, re-transmitted in oral form. The H variety is only used orally in formal situations such as a sermon, speech, lecture, or news broadcast where the spoken words most likely emerge from a written or memorized text. Ferguson also notes certain domains of language use where there might be some overlap between H and L, such as poets who publish work in the L form or proverbs in the H variety that play a large role in everyday conversation; however, the listed variety is more significant.

Joshua Fishman (1967) extends Ferguson's argument, applying the idea of diglossia not only to varieties of the same language, but to multilingual contexts in order to examine the way that language links to performance of identity. Additionally, Fishman argues that few speech communities have neither diglossia nor bilingualism, and in some communities there is both. According to Fishman, such situations of bilingualism and diglossia reflect "the existence of a fairly large and complex speech community in which the members have available to them a range of *compartmentalized* roles as well as ready *access* to those roles" (83). In other words, a case of bilingualism or multilingualism, as in Morocco, and diglossia means that speakers with access to all

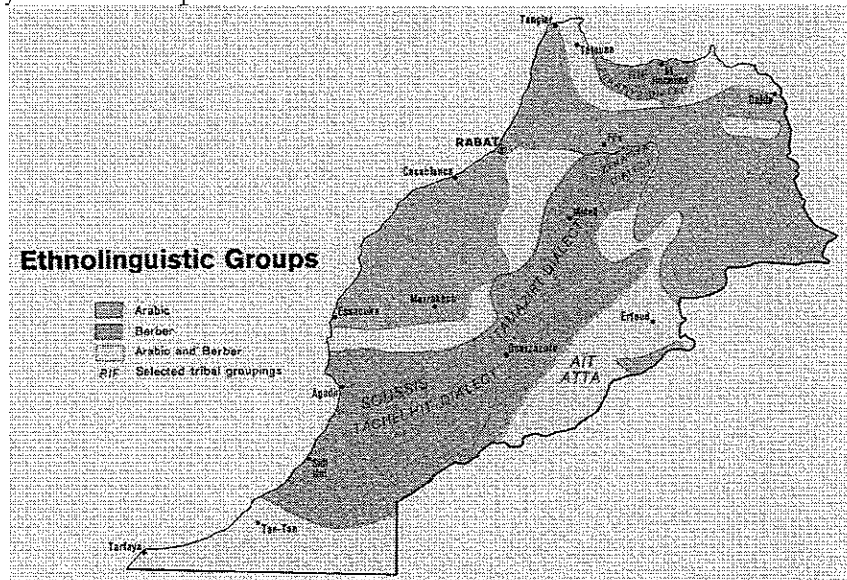
of the different available language varieties have opportunities for a variety of means of expression within a distinct hierarchy of language usage.

According to Ferguson, the hierarchical positions within speech communities are affected by literacy and the presence of a written language. Ferguson observes that in diglossic situations, there is not a great deal of criticism of the existence of two varieties of a language, that is, until certain factors come into play, the first of which is “more widespread literacy” (77). Increased literacy within a language community may precipitate the call for one unified language, either a simplified or ‘colloquialized’ H or an ‘elevated’ L. At present, linguists observe indications of both of these ‘in between’ forms of language varieties in Morocco in both written and oral contexts.

1.3. A linguistic history of multilingualism in Morocco

The rich and complex linguistic history of Morocco has a strong influence on current language policy and the modern multilingual landscape of the country, including oral and written languages, and varieties of Arabic referred to not as a diglossia, but rather a triglossia or quadriglossia.

Though present-day attitudes vary, Moroccans will agree that the oral language of Amazigh, or Berber, is the language with the deepest roots in the country; traces of the Imazighen people in North Africa date back to 7000 BC. Amazigh is not actually one language, but rather a composition of three major varieties: Tachelhit (or Tashlhit) in the South, Tamazirt (also spelled Tamazight) in the Middle Atlas and east of the High Atlas region, and Zenatiya or Tarifit, in the Rif Mountain region. Those regions are displayed on the map below:



http://images.nationmaster.com/images/motw/africa/morocco_ethno_1973.jpg

Belonging to the Hamito-Semitic language family, Amazigh is also spoken in Tunisia and Algeria, but the strongest Amazigh-speaking community in North Africa is in Morocco. Dialects may be somewhat similar, depending on geographic proximity; Zenatiya and Tachelhit are mutually unintelligible (Ennaji, 1991). The language technically has an alphabet, Tifnagh, passed on through Tuareg dialects in Algeria and Mauritania and recent campaigns of support for Amazigh have worked to standardize and publicize a Tamazight-based writing system; however, the vast majority of speakers of the three Moroccan Amazigh dialects do not read in the language.

In the early 8th century AD, Arabic, a Semitic language, entered Morocco’s linguistic landscape with the arrival of the Arab Muslims. Islam was accepted and adopted by the Berber

community and grew in strength in the region throughout the 8th century. In time, due to the strong links between the language and the religion, the dominance of the Arabic language was “unavoidable” (Ennaji, 2000; 10). Though the strength of the different Arab dynasties and even support for the religion of Islam varied over the years, the Arabic language took hold in Morocco.

The next languages to make a strong claim in the country were Romance languages, specifically Spanish, as Spain began invading Morocco in 1860, and French, most significantly through their colonization of the country from 1912-1956. Though less forceful in Morocco than they were in Algeria, the French, though their “*mission civilatrice*,” did attempt to convert the Moroccan people to French language and cultural practices by introducing the French language into administration and education. Contrary to popular belief and the current view towards the French, Ennaji argues that French colonialism, at least initially, was not questioned to a great extent by Moroccans “as long as it respected Islam” (Ennaji, 2002; 14). French policies that attempted to create disunity among the Moroccan people, however, were eventually regarded as suspect. The 1930 *Dahir Berbère*, ‘Berber Decree,’ sent down by the French divided the practice of law in Morocco into tribal law in Berberphone areas and Muslim shari’aa in Arabophone areas of the country. Ennaji cites Laroui (1980) in noting that this attempt at linguistic division only served to strengthen Arab-Berber solidarity. In addition, the French actually encouraged the teaching of Amizigh in Berberphone areas so as to limit the strength of the Arabic language as a unifying force. As an anti-colonialist, nationalist movement grew, the preservation of the Arabic language became a rallying cry. After the French-imposed and reinforced division, it should not come as a great surprise that in the 1962 Moroccan constitution that followed independence in 1956, the first article, which remains in effect today, proclaims that Morocco is a Muslim country with Arabic as the national language.

This complex linguistic history has an effect on the current language policy debates. The Amizighi language, used as a weapon of division by the French colonists and marginalized in favor of Arabic, is experiencing resurgence in literate and other domains. Morocco’s king Mohammed V established the Royal Institute of Amazighe Culture (IRCAM) in Rabat, which works to formalize and promote a standard alphabet and dialect, among other ambitious tasks. Recent published work (cf. Buckner 2006) suggests that greater support from the Moroccan administration is necessary if the goal of an increase of Amizigh on Morocco’s linguistic landscape is to be realized.

On the other hand, without much of a formal government push, other elements of the Moroccan language ecology are shifting. Ennaji and others suggest that Spanish is dying out while English is on the rise, even to the point that it presents a potentially formidable challenge to the domination of French (cf. Sadiqi 1992). French and Arabic codeswitching is also a topic that always seems to spark interest; however, it is not the issues of multilingualism in Morocco that motivates this research, but rather the diglossia, triglossia, or quadriglossia of Arabic in Morocco, and the current rise of the ‘L’ form in print.

1.4 Diglossia, triglossia, and quadriglossia in the Arabic found in Morocco

Arabic is one of the four defining languages in Ferguson’s *Diglossia*; he uses Classical Arabic as the H form and Egyptian Arabic as the L form. In Morocco, the Arabic language can be divided into two main varieties. *Darija* is the name for the Moroccan dialect of Arabic; it literally means ‘dialect’ and represents the L variety. The H variety is referred to in Arabic as *fusha* for *al-lugha al-arabiya al-fusha*, ‘the eloquent Arabic language,’ although neither of these terms conveys the complexity of each variety.

As mentioned above, *fusha* entered the Moroccan linguistic landscape as the language of the Quran and the Arab-Muslim dynasties in the 8th century AD. As the language of the Quran, it is deeply tied to Islam; many, such as Niloofar Haeri, in her 2003 book *Sacred Language, Ordinary People*,

note how difficult it is for Muslims to separate the language from its holy context. The language is also deeply tied to movements of Arab nationalism. As it became a rallying point in the anti-colonialism struggles in Morocco in the 1950s, the unifying force of the Arabic language was being held up by Gamal Abdel Nasser as a unifying force in his push for pan-Arabism. Just as the language has religious ties, it was also used as an attempt to connect Egyptian Copts, Lebanese Christians, and the Muslims of the Arabic-speaking world.

As Arabic is a part of the Semitic language family, *fusha* shares many lexical items and grammatical features with Hebrew. Syntactically, *fusha* is a Verb-Subject-Object (VSO) language and is an inflected language with a system of noun case-endings, including a nominative case, an accusative case, and an ablative/dative case. Verbs are conjugated with fourteen parts, including masculine and feminine forms and a separate form for a dual of two people. Verb conjugation in *fusha* is illustrated in the chart below for the present tense form of the verb ‘to write’:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
3 rd person (m)	yaktub- he writes	yaktuban- they (two men) write	yaktuboun-they (all) write
3 rd person (f)	taktub- she writes	taktuban- they (two women) write	taktubna- they (female) write
2 nd person (m)	taktub- you (male) write	taktuban- you (two) write	taktuboun-you (all) write
2 nd person (f)	taktubina- you (female) write	taktuban- you (two) write	taktubna- you (women) write
1 st person	aktub- I write		naktub- we write

In addition, verbs have three cases, which serve to provide different syntactic distinctions. There is a one-to-one correspondence between sound and letter, although vowels are not written in most texts; if they are, they are sub- or supra-segmental features.

Darija is significantly different from *fusha* in phonetics, syntax, and semantics. The consonant ‘dh’ in *fusha*, the voiced alveolar fricative is pronounced as ‘d’ in *darija*, so the word *ustadh*, ‘teacher,’ is pronounced *ustad*; the phryngealized version, ‘DH,’ is also pronounced as ‘d.’ The consonant ‘th’ in *fusha*, the voiceless alveolar fricative is pronounced as ‘t’ in *darija* so that the *fusha* word *thalatha*, ‘three,’ is pronounced *talalata* in *darija*. There are three consonants in *darija* that do not appear in *fusha*, ‘p,’ ‘v,’ and ‘g,’ which appear mostly in loan words. There are, of course, other examples of this phonetic variation. Syntactically, *darija* is a Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) language; the complex system of case endings from *fusha* does not appear, instead, word order determines the syntax of a sentence. Additionally, there are no separate verb forms for either the dual or the feminine plurals. Below is a conjugation chart for the verb “to write” in the present tense in *darija*.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
3 rd person (m)	kyktb - he writes	X	kyktbu - they (all) write
3 rd person (f)	ktktb - she writes	X	X
2 nd person (m)	ktktb - you (male) writes	X	ktktbu - you (all) write
2 nd person (f)	ktktbi - you (female) write	X	X
1 st person	knktb - I write	X	knktbu - we write

Lexically, *darija* includes a number of loan words from other languages, most primarily Amizigh, French, and Spanish, as listed below:

	French	Spanish	Amizigh
In language of origin	autobus bus	semana week	khizu carrot
<i>darija</i> form	tobis bus	simana week	khizu carrot

In addition, there are a number of words from English or taken after international brands. Among my favorites are *mikiyaat* for ‘cartoons,’ recalling the Walt Disney cartoon Mickey Mouse, or *danone*, from Dannon brand ‘yogurt.’

It should also be noted that *darija* is not itself one language – there are different varieties based in the different regions of Morocco, although there are all mutually intelligible, unlike Amizigh. Though *darija* is spoken throughout Morocco, in Berberphone regions it may be a second or even third language. While researching this summer, I met a man in the Merzouga region in the south of Morocco where Tashelhit is spoken as the first language; he said that when not speaking Berber, he preferred to speak in French as his French was stronger than his *darija*.

Darija fits the basic paradigm of the L language in a diglossic situation according to Ennaji and others who have published on the variety. Recall the table employed by Ferguson in defining diglossia, appears again below:

	H	L
Sermon in church or mosque	X	
Instructions to servants, waiters, workmen, clerks		X
Personal letter	X	
Speech in parliament, political speech	X	
University lecture	X	
Conversation with family, friends, and colleagues		X
News broadcast	X	
Radio ‘soap opera’		X
Newspaper editorial, news story, caption on picture	X	
Caption on political cartoon		X
Poetry	X	
Folk literature		X

Having shown a clear diglossia in Morocco, I will explore the claim that Moroccans in fact operate within a triglossic situation. The most common definitions of a triglossia in Morocco involve the presence of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). Ennaji observes that the language used in the news media and in certain formal settings is significantly different from both the Arabic of the Quran and the Arabic of the street. MSA is sometimes referred to as ‘media Arabic,’ a more modernized version of the language of the prophet, though it still falls under the general category of *fusha*. Syntactically, MSA includes both VSO and SVO word ordering. A number of words in MSA derive from Western and other languages, such as *sekretaria* and *computer*. Ennaji also notes a prevalence of constructions that resemble French or other non-Semitic languages in MSA. As an example, he cites the heavy use of the particle *li* meaning ‘for’ or the expression *min tarafii* ‘ala to represent the French, ‘*de la parte de,*’ ‘on the part of.’ Neither of these expressions is used with as much frequency in Classical Arabic as in Modern Standard Arabic. Standardization is associated with the policies of Arabization in Morocco, and appears in most non-religious H variety contexts.

Though Ennaji attributes the evolution of Modern Standard Arabic to the influence of colonialist languages such as French, Haeri argues that the ‘modern’ language came about due to interaction between the ‘H’ form and the ‘L’ form. Ennaji and Abderrahmane Youssi both argue that the interaction between *fusha* and *darja* produced another language, which the former refers to as Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA) and the latter as *l’arabe marocaine moyenne* or ‘Middle Moroccan Arabic’ (MMA), the term I will be employing. Ennaji argues that this middle variety is largely spoken by educated people in certain settings, such as radio and television debates, and interviews in contrast to Colloquial Moroccan Arabic (CMA), which remains in Ferguson’s L domains. These settings are primarily oral; in fact, Ennaji manifests, “the average Maghrebin would find it not only disagreeable but also ludicrous to write in his own native Arabic tongue” (Ennaji, 1991; 12). He provides the following spoken examples of the distinction between MMA and CMA on page 49 of his book using IPA, which I will transcribe in Qalam:

Educated Spoken Arabic	Moroccan Arabic
ktab-t risala l mudir l-maHTa wrote-I letter to one director of station ‘I wrote a letter to the director of the station’	ktabt bra l mudir d la gare ‘I wrote a letter to the director of the station’
stamarrat d-dirasa ila ttmania continued the-study till eight ‘School went on until eight.’	bqina kanqraw Htta l tmania ‘School went on until eight.’

Based on Ennaji’s descriptions, a chart of the Moroccan quadriglossia would appear as such:

	H <i>fusha</i> CA	H <i>fusha</i> MSA	L <i>darija</i> MMA	L <i>darija</i> CMA
Sermon in church or mosque	X	X		
Instructions to servants, waiters, workmen, clerks				X
Personal letter	X	X		
Speech in parliament, political speech		X		
University lecture		X		
Conversation with family, friends, and colleagues				X
News broadcast		X	X	
Radio 'soap opera'				X
Newspaper editorial, news story, caption on picture		X		
Caption on political cartoon				X
Poetry	X	X		
Folk literature				X

In section three, I argue that we must expand the domains in this chart and the definition of Middle Moroccan Arabic in order to accommodate the current rise in written *darija* and written/oral literacy events in Morocco.

1.5 Literacy and literacy events in a Moroccan context

In this multilingual, quadriglossic context, the written word plays a complex role. Particularly with the importance of Islam and the Quran in both written and oral life and the effects of years of colonization, literacy and orality exist in a different balance in Morocco than in many parts of the United States. The Quran was revealed orally to the illiterate prophet Mohammed with the command *iqra*, 'recite,' given by the archangel Gabriel. The word *iqra* also means 'read,' and some combination of reading, memorizing, and reciting the Quran is how Muslims of the world bring the word of Allah into their lives. Leila Abouzeid, the first female Moroccan writer whose work was translated into English, commented on both the importance of the written word in Moroccan culture and the respect for orality. Reading a selection from her most recent published work at a conference in Fez on June 29, 2007, in Abouzeid was questioned about the influence of the Quran in her work and the power of her often illiterate characters. The writer responded by asserting that "No Arab writer can claim to be a writer without reading the Quran every day again and again" and noting that the Quran, a book about which so many PhD dissertations have been written "was written by someone who was illiterate, who had no PhD."

Assessing exactly how this importance of literacy and respect for orality play out in Moroccan life is certainly a challenge. Perhaps the most comprehensive collection of data on Moroccan literacy was undertaken by The Moroccan Literacy Project and documented by Daniel Wagner in his 1993 book *Literacy, Culture, and Development: Becoming Literate in Morocco*. Using a variety of methods for evaluating reading comprehension of students in rural al-Ksour and urban Marrakech in addition to interviews with families and community members, Wagner and his team found that the process of becoming literate in a Moroccan context is layered with a number of complexities. Wagner documents his findings through a presentation of his data as well as a number of vignettes from the lives of students and their families. According to the numbers of students receiving instruction in reading and writing, literacy is on the rise, but the ways in which literacy figures into the lives of these students and their families is complicated. Scenes from the lives of

families in al-Ksour and Marrakech seem to reflect Heath's literacy events, in which text is only one part of a highly involved scene of interaction: children acting as mediators between parents and texts reading prescriptions out loud for their mothers, local *fqihs* serving as letter writers and readers for families, complex networks of support. Individual people and families work between literacy and orality to navigate a world of text.

Wagner's work also examines the policies that led to the current context of literacy, noting the challenges brought on by French colonialism and multilingual Moroccan life. Long after independence "it became very difficult... to create a literate infrastructure in the Arabic language" (22). He includes the story of a cab driver named Aziz who reads in French, but not Arabic, and draws attention to the Tashelhit speaking children who come to school in Marrakech or al-Ksour and find that they cannot understand any element of life in a class taught in Arabic.

Even for a *darja*-speaking student, however, becoming literate in Morocco is complicated by the process of Arabization and the limitations of traditional pedagogy. As Wagner and others reinforce, the history of French colonization and the resulting oppositional policies of Arabization led to competing campaigns for French and Arabic as the major languages of the country, driving out *darja* and Amazighi languages entirely. Following independence, the call for nationalism around Arabic and Arabization was thoroughly embraced by some in the government, though it was difficult to erase the French legacy as Wagner's vignettes point out, particularly with the advent of the modern, and more French-based, pre-school, which is more and more popular among students. Those in the government who had finished their studies in French and the Francophone world could not imagine adapting terminology that had evolved in French to the entirely Arabophone world their opponents envisioned. Particularly in the sciences, it is argued that French is the language of modernity, and government policy continues to reinforce this notion. Though secondary school courses, even in the sciences, are taught in Arabic, French remains the language of many university courses and professional fields.

Wagner also observes that the pedagogy in Morocco is deeply rooted in the traditions of memorization and the type of rote learning taught in Quranic schools, where four year olds are first asked to memorize letters and suras from the Quran without learning their meanings. Increasingly, smaller numbers of students are attending Quranic schools with most families opting for 'modern' pre-schools, which include study of vocabulary, basic numeracy, and other skills; however, even in these modern schools, memorizing texts in *fusha* is still at the foundation of learning. Due to these and other factors, in Morocco the literacy rate for men over the age of ten is 67%; for women over the age of ten, it is only 40% (Aganou, 2004: 161).

1.6 Literacy, languages, power, authority and women in Morocco

The low rates of literacy among women in Morocco reflect the general position of Moroccan women who on the whole have less access to authority in the country, though they certainly do not lack in power. Fatima Sadiqi argues that the different levels of authority associated with each language and dialect in Morocco are deeply connected to the lives of Moroccan women. In her book *Women, Gender, and Language in Morocco* (2003), Sadiqi observes the ways that women in her country wield language as power, using a knowledge of oral culture, such as proverbs and folk songs and folk tales, to provide wisdom in certain situations. Perhaps due to the much higher rates of illiteracy among women in Morocco, Sadiqi finds that women are associated more often with the unwritten *darja* and Amazighi languages. In addition, she points out that women who are multilingual are much more likely to use French than men in order to convey knowledge and social status. In a paper "Women's Language in the City of Fes," Sadiqi also finds that men, who generally use less French than women, are more likely to use French in the presence of a woman who does the same. Sadiqi suggests that this is an example of the subtle power of women's language use;

however, this does not mean that women have control. In a conference presentation on 15 July 2007 in Fez, Sadiqi noted the contrast between *le pouvoir et l'autorité*, 'power and authority,' as women clearly possess the former, but lack the latter, particularly in the public sphere. Women, Sadiqi note, wield hefty and important influence in their families and certain social settings but do not have positions of authority in political or religious contexts.

This perspective on women in Morocco as complex, powerful, but ultimately lacking in authority is reinforced by sociologists, anthropologists and writers whose work concerns women in Morocco and the Muslim world. In her 1983 book *Patience and Power: Women's Lives in a Moroccan Village*, Susan Davis argues that Moroccan women operate within certain codes of power in their daily lives much different than those in the Western world, but not without a great deal of complexity and strength. Fernea (1998) also presents evidence that women in the Muslim world lead a life much more complicated than simple subservience to men, drawing on connections with others and authority in certain spheres of the private life to gain power. In the work of Fatima Mernissi, it is clear that Moroccan women lack authority in the broader public sphere, but their choices and connections provide examples of strength. The fiction writings of the aforementioned Leila Abouzeid convey a similar lack of authority but strong presence of power. Though often poor, illiterate, divorced or spurned by their husbands, her protagonists find strength in themselves and work to fight illiteracy among their sisters.

Addressing women's literacy needs, Fatima Agnaou (2004), in her book *Gender, literacy, and empowerment in Morocco*, presents both the lack of authority among women in their significantly lower levels of literacy and the need for empowerment in the teaching of literacy and literacy skills. Though women have power within the oral language of Amizigh, oral varieties of Arabic across the Moroccan quadriglossia, and oral use of French, they cannot access authority without access to the written word. In the next sections, with data from my research, I examine the attitudes behind the different positions of power and authority in quadriglossic multilingual Morocco.

2.0 Methodology

In section one, drawing on theories of literacy and orality and diglossia, I presented the Moroccan quadriglossia and literature about literacy and language in the lives of Moroccan women. This is meant to serve as a background for the research I did in the summer of 2007 in Fez, Morocco. Studying Arabic in the Moroccan capital of Rabat for a short period in 2006, I heard discussions about the idea of a Moroccan quadriglossia and a rise in written *daraja*. In June, 2007 I returned to Morocco, this time living in the historic city of Fez, to observe the rise of written *daraja* first-hand through participant observation in Moroccan life, and to interview women about their attitudes towards this rise in written *daraja* and the role that it might play in their lives. In this section, I present the methodology for the participant observation and the interviews that I conducted.

2.1 Fez and participant observation

My research was conducted primarily in the city of Fez, the ‘cultural capital’ of Morocco. In comparison to the official ‘administrative’ capital of Rabat or Casablanca, the center of the international business, Fez is well known in Morocco and many parts of the world for the iconic images of the leather tanneries and the small, winding streets in the old medina, a UNESCO world heritage site where no cars are allowed (see Appendix A for photographs). The home of the world-renowned Quarawiyyin mosque and university, Fez is a religious and intellectual center in Morocco, and an ideal place to conduct research on the Moroccan linguistic situation.

For the months of June and July I lived in the Fez medina with Karima, a Moroccan woman, and her multigenerational family, which allowed me to observe the Moroccan linguistic landscape both inside and outside of the home. Every day, I participated in meals with Karima’s family as well as more informal gathering times around the television. Karima’s youngest daughter, Aya, is less than 1 year older than I am, and was 23 when I lived with her family. Throughout the summer, I accompanied Aya to her place of employment, as well as on outings with her friends. Joined by Aya and on my own, I frequented spaces such as the *hamam*, ‘public bath’ in the old city of Fez, the main streets in the *ville nouvelle*, ‘new city,’ and other cities via train. Though my observation was informal, I took notes and photographs throughout my time in Fez on the language I heard around me, which greatly informed my understanding of the linguistic context of daily life in Morocco. I was also fortunate to have the opportunity to attend two conferences at this time, a conference on *Mediterranean Women and Human Development* in June and the *Third Annual Festival of Amizighe Culture in Fes* in July.

2.2 Semi-structured interviews

In the months of July and August, I conducted semi-structured interviews with 16 women ranging in age from late teens to mid-sixties, all of whom were, at the time, living in the city of Fez, though I later lost the data from two interviews. Starting with a sample of convenience, I interviewed Aya and friends of hers, and then snowballed contacts to expand my sample of participants. In addition, I contacted participants through a local language school in order to find participants outside of Aya’s network. Originally intending to focus on generational differences, I made an attempt to interview women as well as their mothers; however, finding some difficulty contacting and scheduling interviews with the mothers of my participants, I shifted my research questions to examine women’s attitudes towards language more generally, with a specific focus on the impact of written *daraja*. Ultimately, the interview data from four mother-daughter groups, one of which includes two daughters, is presented in this thesis.

In scheduling the interviews, I worked to interview women in private or semi-private spaces such as the participant’s home or a centrally located café. I quickly learned that a one-on-one

interview in a home around mealtime would quickly turn into a roundtable discussion with every family member present in addition to the neighbors who came over to visit and that despite the loud music at McDonalds, the Fez 'Golden Arches' is actually a preferred meeting location for many women close to my age. This detail also indicates something about the socio-economic class background of many of my interviewees as McDonalds prices do not fully adjust for the cost of living differential between Morocco and the United States, meaning that McDonalds is actually a relatively expensive outing in a Moroccan context. I discuss more details of interviewee background in the next section.

The interview format was semi-structured to allow for adjustment depending on areas of interest to each participant; however, I tried to make sure to include each of the following activities and resulting questions in my interviews:

- *Nichane*: After sharing a copy of the magazine with the interview participant, I asked questions including: Have you seen this magazine before? Do you like it? Would you like to see more magazines like it?
- *Kaid anessa*: After showing a clip of this *darija* language film, I asked questions including: Have you seen this film before? Do you like it? Would you like to see more films like it? What other kinds of films do you watch? Do you recognize any proverbs from this film? Do you enjoy hearing proverbs? Do you know proverbs?
- *Adberrahmane Moujdoub*: I asked whether the participant had heard of the famous *darija* - language poet and whether she knew of any poems or proverbs of his. I often also asked about the position of proverbs among youth and, if the interviewee was familiar with any proverbs, where she learned them.
- *Language use*: Giving participants a number of daily-life contexts, I asked which language or languages the participant most often used, asking them to distinguish between *fusha* and *darija*. I asked about: conversations with family and friends, the workplace, reading the newspaper, watching the news, watching other television, text messages, emails, and religious observance.
- *Additional questions*: Without an attached 'activity,' I also asked participants certain other questions in nearly every interview including:
Do you think *darija* should be taught in schools? Which language would you like your children to learn? It has been suggested that the Friday sermon should be in *darija* - do you agree or disagree?

I generally began with yes/no questions like those above and then asked participants to expand after hearing their responses. This allowed for a wide range of topics to come up in the interviews. Interviews often included breaks for tea, the arrival of a visitor, the news or television, or for the interview participant to pray. Using an iPod and a recording attachment, or the GarageBand recording program on my computer, I recorded every interview except for one. During each interview, I also took notes on the interviewee's responses.

Speaking to the multilingualism of Morocco, no interview was conducted solely in one language, although it was possible to identify one or two primary languages for each interview. Four interviews were conducted primarily in English, two were conducted primarily in *darija*, and the rest in some combination of *darija* and *fusha* or *darija*, *fusha*, and French.

2.3 Interview participant characteristics

In the table below I present the pseudonyms and certain characteristics of my interviewees. Most of my interviewees did not choose their own pseudonyms but some did. Age, education level, and language were all self-reported by the interviewees. The column about family and social connection relates almost everyone to Aya, who was my initial interview contact.

	Age range	Education level	Language and dialects (* = language(s) of interview)	Familial and social connection
Aya	early 20s	University	some Tamazight, <i>darija</i> , <i>fusha</i> , French, *English	
Malika	early 20s	University	<i>darija</i> , <i>fusha</i> , French, *English	Friend of Aya.
Wifae	early 20s	University	<i>darija</i> , <i>fusha</i> , French, *English	Friend of Aya.
Hanae	early 20s	Secondary	* <i>darija</i> , * <i>fusha</i>	Friend of Aya.
Raja	early 20s	Secondary	* <i>darija</i> , * <i>fusha</i>	Sister of Hanae.
Souad	early 20s	University	<i>darija</i> , * <i>fusha</i> , French, *English	Daughter of Aicha, friend of Aya.
Aicha	late 50s	Primary	* <i>darija</i> , some <i>fusha</i>	Mother of Souad.
Siham	early 20s	University	* <i>darija</i> , * <i>fusha</i> , *French	Cousin of Hanae and Raja, daughter of Imane.
Imane	late 40s	University	* <i>darija</i> , * <i>fusha</i> , *French	Mother of Siham and Houda.
Houda	late teens	Secondary, entering university	* <i>darija</i> , * <i>fusha</i> , *French, some English	Sister of Siham.
Karima	mid 20s	University	* <i>darija</i> , * <i>fusha</i> , *French	Cousin of Siham.
Khadija	early 50s	University	* <i>darija</i> , * <i>fusha</i> , *French	Mother of Karima.
Fatiha	mid 30s	University	* <i>darija</i> , * <i>fusha</i> , *French, *English	Met through language school.
Fatima	mid 60s	Primary	* <i>darija</i> , some <i>fusha</i>	Mother of Fatiha.

2.4 Methodological concerns

There are a number of methodological concerns within this research, not the least of which being the small sample size of participants in this interview study, which may limit the range of data gathered or otherwise distort it. In addition, most of my interview participants were not only members of or related to a specific social network, but they fit a similar profile as in the chart above. This chart shows that these women clearly do not reflect the general state of women in the Moroccan linguistic landscape; 12 of the 14 women interviewed identified as literate in at least one language, everyone except Fatima and Aicha. This is drastically different from the only 37% of literate women in Morocco. Additionally, everyone of these women except for the same two listed above has had education through secondary school, only four out of these fourteen interviewees had not studied in university.

In terms of methodological considerations concerning the researcher, my outsider status for this study brought advantages and disadvantages in conducting interviews. As I did not grow up in a multilingual, quadriglossic context, I was able to pose questions about how language plays into everyday life that might have seemed asinine coming from a native Moroccan. Of course, a native

Moroccan facility with *darija* would have also expanded my ability to ask questions and follow threads in interviews, particularly with *darija* monolinguals.

3.0 Presentation of data and analysis

At the end of my time in Morocco, I had nearly 11 hours of recorded interviews on my computer, 50 minutes of which was later lost due to a computer error. The recordings of my interview data ranged in length from the 27 minutes during which I interviewed both Khadija and Imane to the three hours and 57 minutes I spent with Fatiha and her mother, Fatima, over a period of two days, the majority of which was in *darija*. In organizing the interview data, I first typed up the notes I had taken during the interviews, in which I noted the content of the interviews, particularly when recording material had malfunctioned, as well as particularly significant quotations and interviewee behavior. I then began the process of organizing and coding the interview data itself. In a large part due to my lack of facility with an Arabic keyboard and the difficulty of typing *darija* in any alphabet, I ultimately chose not to transcribe each interview in full. Based on open coding of partial transcriptions of the interview data, I set up a spreadsheet with columns for words describing *darija*, words describing *fusha*, domains of *darija*, domains of *fusha*, references to French, references to Tamazight, references to language problems, and others possible fields. Listening again to the interviews, I added references that did not appear in the partial transcriptions. I created the chart in Appendix G to track both the expressed attitudes among the women I interviewed with respect to four specific domains listed in the quadriglossia matrix as presented in section 1.5. Coding specifically for references to *fusha* and *darija*, I created the chart in Appendix H of words associated with either variety. Throughout this coding process, I made careful note of the quotations in which references to *fusha* and *darija* were embedded in order to understand them in context.

Based on this coding of the data, I find even more evidence that written *darija* is expanding in its domains of usage; however, certain domains turn out to be more acceptable to my interviewees than others. Indeed, my data shows that the women I interviewed are more likely to find the use of *darija* acceptable in the context of a primarily oral or 'oral-like' literacy event, such as the *khotba* or a written advertisement, and less likely to accept written *darija* in a newspaper or classroom context. In this section, I first present the argument above examining attitudes towards *darija* in the four contexts of *khotba*, advertisements, newspapers, and classrooms as well as other language domains. I then extend my analysis of language attitudes to *fusha* and *darija* in general, as well as other languages on the Moroccan linguistic landscape. Finally, based on this analysis, I suggest conclusions that we may draw about generational shift and gender in evaluating the Moroccan diglossia.

3.1 Written *darija*, literacy events, and quadriglossia re-examined

In this section, I use the data I collected from observation in Morocco to argue that the definition of Middle Moroccan Arabic (MMA) needs to be expanded to include written forms of *darija* as such forms clearly exist in a number of different domains. MMA appears both in a context more formal than a home, but less formal than a situation where *fusha* would be spoken, such as a coffee break during a conference, and in semi-formal written contexts. The sermon during Friday prayers is an example of a spoken but formal context where *darija* is sometimes heard. In order for the non-literate believers in attendance to understand the interpretation of the word of Allah, the imam may speak part of his sermon with *darija* sentence structure and vocabulary, including lexical items from *fusha* to 'elevate' his interpretation. Soap operas on Moroccan television are another prime example: the structure of the sentences are more like *darija* than *fusha*, but the vocabulary of a televised mother or father will resemble a context more formal than the home.

The presence of writing in *darija* alone not only indicates the presence of a fourth variety of Arabic in Morocco, but also an extensive opportunity for literacy events of interaction between the written and spoken, as previously mentioned. In the past 20 years, more and more has been written in *darija* in different spheres ranging in formality, but in each context, the text is meant to be interpreted orally. A sign on the road warns drivers that "*l-zrb taatl*," 'speed makes you late,' as, the

sign implies, an accident will only take up more of your time, evoking an oral warning. Such a sign has been a presence since the 1980s to decrease car accidents (Mouaid, personal communication, 2007). Anyone with a basic knowledge of the Arabic alphabet, even without a familiarity with the *fusha* vocabulary can access this sign, and the fact that it is written in *darija* encourages the viewer to share the information orally.

More recently, after the 2001 bombings in Casablanca, the phrase *darija* phrase *matkish bladi* ‘don’t touch my country,’ became quite popular. The title of the song by the popular Moroccan rap group Fnaire, the slogan appears on billboards throughout the country on the backdrop of a patriotic red and green hand (see Appendix B). The new telephone company Bayn uses as its slogan “*kul shi bayn*,” ‘everything/everyone Bayn,’ emphasizing the conversational function of its product and playing off of the definition of *bayn*, ‘clear.’ Another telephone company has advertisements that proclaim, ‘With Mobisud, you hear me!’ These advertisements appear both in Arabic script and French along with Arabic transliteration in the Roman alphabet. An example appears in the appendix, reading *Avec Mobisud, sm3ni*. *Avec Mobisud* is French for ‘with Mobisud,’ and *sm3ni* is Moroccan Arabic, transliterated into the French alphabet with the number 3 representing the Arabic voiced uvular fricative [ʕ], written in Arabic script as ع. This transliteration draws on the outlets for the most widespread forms of written *darija*: the text message and “le chat” on MSN or other instant messenger services (see Appendix C).

In terms of more formal print media, the scripts of soap operas and Moroccan movies are written in *darija*, as Ferguson’s model for a diglossia would predict. This is also the case for political cartoons in newspapers (see Appendix D). In defining diglossia, Ferguson notes that L poetry is occasionally composed and even printed, but does not deem the poetry significant enough to represent an L domain. In Morocco, however, the *zjl*, ‘*darija* poems’ of Abderrahmane Moujdoub are published with increasing frequency, such as the volume in Appendix E. In addition, the popular daily newspaper *al-Masae*, ‘The Evening,’ regularly prints a column by Rachid Nini, who writes in a combination of *fusha* and *darija*, using grammatical items from *darija*, such as forms of negation, along with lexical items from both varieties of Arabic.

The use of *darija* in print media is most apparent, however, in the newspaper *Kbbar Bladna* and the popular magazine *Nichane* (see Appendix F and G). Founded by an American, *Kbbar Bladna*, ‘the news of our country,’ is published out of the American Language Center in Fes. The entire content of the magazine, which includes articles, puzzles, and a selection of Moroccan proverbs is in *darija*. Editor Mohamed Baghdadi (personal communication 2007) hopes that this will allow both foreign students of *darija* and Moroccan citizens to access news media. In an interview, he noted the importance of the work the publishes of *Kbbar Bladna* do in making *darija* available to older Moroccans who may not have learned Arabic, but who could either read the alphabet or understand words in *darija* when read aloud. “I want my mother to be able to find out about the war in Iraq,” he explains.

Nichane is the sister publication to the popular French-language magazine *Tel-Quel* and has come under a great deal of criticism, attributed, in part, to the choice to publish in *darija*. The magazine does not publish entirely in *darija*, but titles and captions are almost always in the dialect, even if the rest of the article is printed in *fusha*. Like *Tel-Quel*, *Nichane* has been unafraid to publish entire issues around taboo topics that the rest of Moroccan journalism avoids. A July 2007 issue, *Al-maghrariba wa al-jns*, ‘Moroccans and sex’ featured an image on the cover suggesting a naked couple in a more intimate moment, along with the sentence noting in *darija*, ‘No one talks about it, everyone does it.’ Last year, the magazine went ‘too far’ in the eyes of the government, printing an issue about jokes, some of which were at the expense of the former king, Hassan II. In December 2006, Driss Jettou, the Prime Minister, issued a statement banning the magazine, calling for distribution of the publication to cease. Publication resumed shortly thereafter in 2007, but on August 6th, the

Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior ordered that all available copies of the magazine be destroyed, and the editor of the magazine was held for the worst possible crime in Moroccan press: offense to the King.

The editor of *Nichane*, Ahmed Reda Benchemsi, who two months prior had been granted the 2007 Samir Kassir Award for Freedom of the Press, wrote of his experience on Tel-Quef's website:

Mon tort, selon mes accusateurs : avoir procédé dans mon dernier éditorial (publié dans les deux magazines) à une lecture analytique du dernier discours royal, m'interrogeant sur le rôle des partis, la séparation des pouvoirs, etc., et de surcroît, en darija (dans Nichane). Une langue estimée irrespectueuse, s'agissant d'analyser un discours royal. Telle n'est pas mon appréciation. La darija est la langue de tous les Marocains. Comme toutes les langues, elle comporte des mots insultants, mais je n'en ai employé aucun dans cet éditorial.

'My crime, according to my accusers: having proceeded in my last editorial (published in both magazines) with an analytic reading of the last royal speech, questioning the role of the political parties, the separation of powers, etc., and above all in *darija* (in *Nichane*). A language considered unrespectable, unworthy of analysing a royal speech. This is not my impression. *Darija* is the language of all Moroccans. As all languages, it has insulting words, but I didn't employ any of them in this editorial.'

According to Benchemsi, his magazines were censored not only because of content, but because of the language in which the content was expressed. *Darija*, "the language of all Moroccans" is unfit for analysis of the words of the king. This idea that the language is insulting is also common; rap groups such as Fnaire who adamantly refuse to use swear words have been accused of being vulgar due to their use of *darija*. The 'L' form of a language, it seems, is 'low,' for a reason and therefore unfit for high discourse, which, in Morocco, is written down.

It seems that, based upon the distinction between the two varieties of *fusha*, Classical Arabic (CA) and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and the reported two varieties of *darija*, Middle Moroccan Arabic (MMA) and Colloquial Moroccan Arabic (CMA), we can create a more complex table for the different varieties of the Arabic language in Morocco:

	H- <i>fusha</i> - CA	H- <i>fusha</i> - MSA	L- <i>darija</i> - MMA	L- <i>darija</i> - CMA
Sermon in church or mosque	X	X	X	
Instructions to servants, waiters, workmen, clerks				X
Personal letter	X	X	X	X
Speech in parliament, political speech		X	X	
University lecture		X		
Conversation with family, friends, and colleagues			X	X
News broadcast		X		
Radio 'soap opera'			X	X
Newspaper editorial, news story, caption on picture		X	X	
Caption on political cartoon			X	X
Poetry	X	X	X	
Folk literature			X	X
Advertisements		X	X	

Note that I have included both CMA and MMA in the domain of 'Personal letter.' This is due to the prevalence of chat and text messaging services in Morocco, particularly among the younger generation. This is an expanding arena for the use of written *darija*, though perhaps 'Personal written communication' would be a better label for the domain. Additionally, I added advertisements as a domain, given the number of advertisements I noticed over the summer that incorporated *darija* in some way.

3.2 Attitudes towards *darija* in increasingly written contexts: *khotba*, advertisements, written news media, and classrooms

In this section, I confirm the existence of *darija* and examine the relative acceptability of *darija* in four specific domains: the *khotba* or Friday prayer sermon, advertisements, written news media, and school texts. The data for this section is based upon the table in Appendix E, charting whether the interviewee believes that written *darija* is acceptable in each of the four contexts. In analyzing this data, I find that the more oral a particular domain is perceived as being, the more 'acceptable' it is for *darija* to appear there.

khotba

Without exception, the women I interviewed found the use of *darija* to be acceptable in the context of the *khotba*, which, according to Ferguson's diglossia, is exclusively an H domain. The justification for this was common among my interviewees: in the words of Wifae, "Most people there have never gone to school – speaking with them in Classical Arabic is going to be like double dutch."

Though the *khotba* is spoken, it does represent a literate-like speech event as it is based upon the written words of the Quran, (which was itself originally transmitted orally). Indeed, the women I interviewed believe strongly that the *khotba* should be a mixture of Arabic varieties, as Khadija said, "*bil-lughat l'arabiya; din dyalna b'lughat l'arabiya lakein b'darija besh kul shi kayfbmha*," "in the Arabic language [*fusha*]; our religion is in the Arabic language but in *darija* so that everyone understands it." Souad further emphasized the particular interaction between language varieties as part of the *khotba*: "The sermon should be in a mixture of *darija* and *fusha*. *Darija* should be the most used. To get the message conveyed to the people. How would they understand if you don't explain the verses." Souad's point reinforces the position of the *khotba* as a literacy event; literacy and orality are not isolated, but rather connected in service of one another. Articulating a common point about the usage of *darija*, Malika states that the *khotba* must involve *darija* not only for people to understand the sermon, but in order to connect deeply with it.

If you want to touch a part of people and get closer to them, you definitely need to use a language that would make them feel like you are close to them... I just feel like it is something that touches the heart. So, when it comes to religious discourse, I definitely opted for Moroccan Arabic.

The role of *darija* as "touching the hearts" of people is mentioned in other contexts, such as the more written and therefore less acceptable area of *ishara*, 'advertisements.'

Advertisements

The growing presence of written advertisements in Morocco was acknowledged by the women I interviewed; almost everyone had heard the previously mentioned slogan *kul shi bayn* and seen *darija* on a billboard. Though advertisements were universally accepted as a potential domain

of acceptable *darija* usage, this slightly more written sphere was viewed with slightly more hesitation. As mentioned previously, written advertisements in *darija* are literacy events waiting to happen: the more accessible, conversational language encourages viewers to read the advertisements out loud for those around them who might not know the alphabet. Souad and Wifae with both strongly in favor of advertisements in Moroccan Arabic. "Particularly for illiterate people," Souad suggested, "they have an effect. When they make it in Moroccan Arabic it touches people more." Using language similar to that of Malika in describing the role of *darija* in the *kbotba*, Wifae acknowledged her own personal positive reaction to *darija* advertisements, "because when I hear Moroccan Arabic, I feel like it touches me more, it gets directly to my heart." Aicha, Souad's mother, agreed; advertisements must be in *darija* in order to have "*tattir*," 'influence.'

Still, something about *darija* in this somewhat written context feels strange. Aya explains that she understands the reasons behind written *darija* advertisements, "to make it understood in every family, for communication to be easy," however, her ultimate view of its acceptability is mixed. "It's good," she decided, "but I find it funny." Similarly, Malika determined, "I wouldn't see a problem either, but for me, Standard Arabic would come first... But I don't see a problem with those commercials, because when they use Moroccan Arabic it's closer, it's closer to the people." Siham also did not suggest that *darija* in this context was inappropriate, but did frame approval in terms of a negative, "*Pour les publicités, je crois que ce n'est pas grave. Que mon père a dit, il n'y a pas. Mais, dans les journaux...*" 'For advertisements, I think that it is not serious. What my father said, it is nothing. But in newspapers...'. In contrast to newspapers, the slightly more oral realm of written advertisements is 'not a problem' when it comes to *darija*, though it may seem slightly strange.

Print media

"*C'est comme un plaisir de voir notre langue écrite*" Mariem said to her sister Siham as she opened the copy of *Nichane* that I brought for the interview, 'It is a pleasure to see our language written.' Most of the other women I interviewed, however, would not agree, especially in the context of newspapers. Reading *Nichane* was for most of the women I interviewed met with skepticism at best and outright disapproval by some. When I passed out a copy of *Nichane* in my interviews there was often initial laughter and, if someone else was nearby, she was called over and told to look at the magazine. Once discussing it, however, most of the women I interviewed distanced themselves from it intellectually and emotionally, if not physically. As she continued leafing through the pages of *Nichane*, Aya commented:

Reading the news in *darija* – it feels like slang. Sometimes, people cannot know the slang, even if they are Moroccan. *Khabr Bladna* – what I like are the stories. It's like I'm watching a Moroccan movie. It's the proverbs. But why write in *darija*? If someone can read anyway, why not make it in *fusha*? What is common here is that Moroccans understand *fusha* from Mexican films that are translated. But they can't read.

Though not all interviewees completely disapproved of written *darija*, many agreed different aspects of Aya's position. There seemed to be a number of different positions among interview participants relating to Aya's idea that anything written in *darija* "feels like slang." Aya enjoyed reading in *darija* and felt like she was "watching a Moroccan movie," but did not see the point in such writing. Raja, for example, occasionally reads the poems of Abderrahmane Moujdoub "*l'aDhak*" 'to laugh' and for her, this means that anything written in *darija* cannot be taken seriously.

Malika asserted a view that such writing in *darija* in fact bad, not only about the fact that a language of slang is not appropriate for the written news, but a strong fear that too much written work in *darija* would be a danger to *fusha*. For her "It feels weird to open the newspaper and read it

in Moroccan Arabic. It's like two different languages." As with the idea of *darīja* instruction in schools, Malika fears that written *darīja* could negatively influence Standard Arabic. Besides, she mentioned, "I've never heard of someone feeling desperate about not understanding the news." Like Aya, Malika does not see a reason for writing in *darīja* as long as something will be written down. Wifae was also afraid that "People would start forgetting their Classical Arabic, and that is not good." Siham was also firm in her disagreement, as was Houda, who believes that *darīja* is only "*pour les gens ignorantes*" 'for the ignorant people.' In the newspaper, "*il faut un certain niveau de culture*," 'one needs a certain level of culture.' In addition, Houda finds *darīja* difficult to read, perhaps confirming Aya's sentiment that even Moroccans "can't know the slang."

Hanae echoed this sentiment that reading in *darīja* feels a little too close to home and also that it might be too far from the rest of the world to be published as part of print media: "*knHis bi shi baja 'aadi. kn'arfuba. m'a l-darīja, gbrir l-nabnu. masbi kul shi kyfsh l'laHja dyalna*," 'I feel like this is something everyday, I know it. With *darīja*, it is just for us [Moroccans]. Not everyone understands our language.' Siham strongly confirmed the feeling that *darīja* is not international enough for print media, "*Non, non, c'est pas une bonne idée d'écrire en darīja... le journal doit être compris par tout le monde*," 'No no, it is not a good idea to write in *darīja*... the newspaper should be understood by the world.'

Schools

The use of *darīja* in school texts was the least comfortable domain; every interviewee expressed the feeling that written materials in schools should not be in *darīja*, and some even suggested that the currently level of *darīja* as a language of explanation in the classroom is too much and is ultimately dangerous for *fusha*. When it appears in other H contexts such as the textbook or the newspaper, *darīja* is not funny, it is unacceptable, at least as the participants expressed in the interviews. Malika is "completely against Moroccan Arabic in schools" and extremely worried about the fact that "people are losing their Standard Arabic."

As a Muslim, why would you say that Moroccan Arabic should be taught in schools?... Why would you tell them history in Moroccan Arabic? [It] would just drive them away from Standard Arabic. When you tell me that I should write the history lesson in Moroccan Arabic, I'm losing my Standard Arabic- so what about Standard? Just throw it away?

For Malika, the teaching of *darīja* would infringe on students' appreciation of *fusha* and their ability to learn the language. All of the other women of Malika's generation expressed some version of the sentiment that it is important for classes to be taught in *fusha* in order to reinforce the importance of *fusha*. "Yes, classes are going to be easier to understand" Wifae told me, but, "*darīja* should not be taught in schools. People would start forgetting their Classical Arabic and that is not good." Siham agreed strongly that *darīja* does not provide the additive benefits of instruction in *fusha* or in French:

Français et arabe sont plus mieux. On apprend. C'est important pour l'habitude de parler en français et de parler en arabe. Et pour l'habitude d'étudier.

French and Arabic are much better. One learns. It is important for the practice of speaking in French and speaking in Arabic. And for the practice of studying.

The only interviewee who was not opposed to *darīja* in schools, or in any of these domains, was Fatima, who told me that there is no difference between *fusha* and *darīja*. Though she noted that there is a difference between language in Morocco and the language "*dya msriin*," 'of the Egyptians,' Fatima manifested that *fusha* and *darīja* are 'the same,' "*bHal bHal*," so much so that Fatima,

overhearing this, approached me later and told me that her mother “doesn’t understand.” This is only one part of the large generational difference between the two women, which I discuss later in this section.

Other domains of *darija* and *fusha*

Additionally, during their interviews, these women brought up other domains of *darija* and reinforced the fact that *fusha*, like *darija*, has linguistic spaces in which it is not acceptable. As mentioned above, *darija* is used frequently in text messages and chats, although here the other language that my interviewees of the younger generation used was French. Karima, before explaining how to write each letter of the Arabic alphabet using either the Roman alphabet or numbers, explained a reason for texting in *darija*, “Parfois, tu trouves des mots en *darija* où en français c’est trop longue... tu peux écrire “viens maintenant” ou bien “aji dba,” “Sometimes you find words in *darija* when in French it is too long... you can write “come now” [French, 15 letters] or “come now” [*darija*, six letters].”

Karima’s language usage also provides an example of the restricted domains of *fusha*. As I interviewed Karima at the home of her cousins Siham and Houda, the three women came in and out of each others interviews and commented about each others’ language usage. “Karima, elle dit beaucoup de choses en *fusha*, mais je crois qu’elle est la seule” Houda told me, ‘Karima, she says many things in *fusha*, but I think that she is the only one.’ Siham agreed, saying that she herself rarely used *fusha* in spoken contexts, her cousin is just “un peu différente,” ‘a little different.’ Other interviewees echoed this idea that *darija* in public is strange. Souad explained that if she and a friend spoke *fusha* in a café or business, for example, “all people are going to stare at us.” This serves as a reminder that even though *darija* appears increasingly in written form, not all changes in the domains of the original diglossia are seen as acceptable.

3.3 General attitudes: *fusha*, *darija*, and the languages of Morocco

In an effort to understand the ways in which *darija* and *fusha* functioned in the lives of my interviewees, I coded their interviews for words associated with *fusha* and with *darija*. The following chart is an example of only some of the words used to describe *fusha* and *darija* by my interviewees:

Fusha	Darija
our language	my language
our identity, the identity	my culture
<i>l-lugha l-ula</i> , 'the first language'	my mother tongue
<i>usl dyalna</i> , 'our origin'	Moroccan heritage
what unifies	Moroccan culture
our civilization	for people of Morocco
our language as Arabs	patrimonial
<i>tawasul bayna al-arab</i> , 'communication between the Arabs'	closer to the people
<i>le monde arabe</i> , the Arab world	directly to my heart
our identity as a Muslim	<i>ghbir li naHnu</i> , 'only for us [Moroccans]'
<i>lughat l-quran</i> , 'the language of the Quran'	derived from the main language
Muslims all over the world	dialect, <i>dialecte</i> , <i>laHja</i>
main language	easy, <i>bsiit</i>
the language	slang
standardized	' <i>aadi</i> , normal, everyday
rich language	
difficult language	

Though I will not discuss all of the features of *fusha* and *darija* mentioned by my interviewees, or even those in the chart above, I will highlight some of the most interesting data that I found. One of the most striking elements in the language of my interviewees in discussion *fusha* and *darija* was the distinction they made in referring to *fusha* as 'our language' and *darija* as 'my language,' and more generally the collective and global nature of *fusha* identity in comparison to the individual and localized identity of *darija*. Though the interviewees would occasionally say "*lughati*," "*ma langue*," and "my language," when describing *fusha* just as they would *darija*, they primarily referred to *fusha* as a collective. The chart in Appendix H. shows just some of the ways in which individual interviewees referred to the collective nature of *fusha*. Consider the example of Malika: over the course of her hour-long interview, Malika referred to *fusha* as "our language" at least six times, and also noted the specific collective nature of *fusha* identity, "It's our language as Arabs... our language, definitely... What comes first is Arabic, because as I said, it's part of our identity and it's part of, you know, our lives... It's the language, it's the main language. It's our identity as a Muslim." This contrasted strongly with her references to *darija*, such as "I really really don't have anything against Moroccan Arabic: it's my language, it's my culture."

As we would expect from the literature, the identity that these women associate with *fusha* is nationalistic and religious; it is, as Karima noted, "*la langue commune du monde arabe*," 'the common language of the Arab world,' but also, as Souad pointed out, the language of "the Muslim world, Muslims all over the world, because we have Iran also." Like the informants in *Sacred Language, Ordinary People*, the women I interviewed insisted on the significance of both of both of national and religious identity in determining the value and importance of *fusha*. Common to most interviewees are forms of word *usl*, 'origin,' in different languages and forms, and references to *al-'alam al-'arabi*, *le monde arabe*, or 'the Arab world' to reinforce not only the historical value in the language of "our civilization," but also the practical function of the language of *tawasul bayna al-arab*, 'communication between the Arabs.' *Fusha* is "standardized" across the Arab world, "the main language" as Malika and others insisted, as opposed to *darija* which is *lahja*, *dialecte*, dialect, derived from the main

language. My interviewees insisted that Arab students need to know Arabic in order to understand *usl* and identity and to be a part of the Arab world. "Language is something that should unify," Souad explained, "*fusha* is what unifies."

Souad's mother, Aicha, echoed the sentiments of the other women interviewed in explaining the important relationship between *fusha* and Muslim identity:

lughat al-ula, al-quran. ma kaynsh shi lughat afdal min al-quran... yeom al-qiyam kul shi ghbra yamut wa ghbra yahadruu ma allah bi lughat wahida wa hiya lughat l-quran. hiya usl dyalna, usl dyal l-insan kulu.

The first language, the language of the Quran. There isn't any language better than the Quran. The day of judgment, everyone will die, but everyone will talk with Allah in one language, and that will be the language of the Quran. It is our origin, the origin of all people.

Others like Aicha spoke to the unifying nature of Muslim identity with *lughat al-quran*, 'the language of the Quran' and the obligation of the language for Muslims. "*'ala l'aqal, khasik ktarafi tgrai l'quran*," Raja insisted, 'at minimum, you have to know how to read the Quran.' This is not only the standard for a Muslim in the opinion of the women I interviewed, it is also a reason that *fusha* is so important to them.

The general attitude about *darija* is that it is certainly not a language one has to know, but rather a dialect that one grew up with, a part of a more localized heritage and culture. Indeed, the words *thaqaafa* and 'culture' were referenced in many interviews to describe *darija* and its function in Moroccan society. Despite the strong identity these women found within *fusha*, they also acknowledge, as expected, the important role of *darija* in everyday life and an appreciation for the wisdom of *darija* proverbs. Wifae observed, "If Classical Arabic is my identity, Moroccan Arabic is my culture." She believes that "proverbs really work" when trying to get a point across, "instead of talking and talking all the time, you can set it up as an example." Karima also appreciates the *sens indirect* or 'indirect sense' of proverbs in order to convey information, and Fatiha spoke very highly of the *hikma* or 'wisdom' of the elders that can be found in *darija* proverbs. Even Aya who suggested that at one point in her interview that dialects should be eliminated appreciates the "very rich heritage" of proverbs in *darija* and Malika shared "I really like sitting next to someone of my generation who uses poetry and proverbs."

That my interviewees would have a strong sense of the collective Arab and Muslim identities of *fusha* and the more localized identity of *darija* was not surprising given what is generally written both about H and L languages and about *darija* in particular. I was somewhat surprised, however, by the degree to which other languages played a role in shaping the identities of my interviewees.

The English language learners try to conduct as much of their lives as possible in English. All of the women, Malika, Wifae, Aya, Souad, and Fatiha, all completed their bachelor degrees, and each did much or all of her work in English. All of the them except for Wifae work in education and use English for their jobs, whether teaching others or working with foreigners. They surround themselves with English-speaking friends and attempt to use the language as much as possible with them, in fact, Malika and Aya are close friends from their workplace, and Aya, Malika, Wifae and Souad know one another from the university. They text, email, and internet chat with each other in English, exchange articles from American websites and English-language news sources, and attempt to pepper their conversation with English-language phrases or slang. Wifae and Malika report reading for pleasure mostly in English, and Fatiha and Souad prefer to watch television in English. Their motivations for the study of English are driven by different factors, including appreciation of the Anglophone world, the language of their fields of study at the university and desired profession,

and the desire to learn another language. Fatiha shared the memory of hearing her older brother speak English and knowing that she wanted to have the same power as he did.

With similar motivations, those who favor French go about practicing it in a similar fashion. Siham and Karima are both “*scientifique*” in their studies and thus favor French in their lives. In fact, the two both express strong dissatisfaction with what they see as a lack of French in their secondary education. Karima noted that upon entering the university, she will be forced to completely change her language use in classes to French. Siham, in her fourth year of university, struggled with the switch in the past and now confides that “*Je dois dire, je me sens un peu faible avec le français,*” “I must say, I feel a little weak with French,” and expresses a desire not only to take classes, but to practice French in everything that she does, wishing that she could express herself as her friends do, “*pour moi, tous qu'on fait, c'est en français.*” Imane, Zohra, and Houda all use French for work, and while they do not use it as much outside of employment, they think that it is the most important language for children to learn in order to get jobs and find a better life. Though Wifae favors communication with her friends to improve her English and reading in the English language, in her work as a nurse she speaks mostly French with the doctor team. Similarly, Fatiha, a teacher of English, communicates with parents and administrators mostly in French.

These different usages of French seem to reinforce Sadiqi's argument that French is a language highly associated with status, particularly among women. Indeed, the attitudes towards French expressed by interview participants were highly polarized. On the one hand, for Siham and Karima, it is the language of access to jobs and studies, as well as cultured people. Karima stated, “*J'aime bien rencontrer des gens qui savent parler français que l'arabe,*” I prefer to meet people who speak French rather than Arabic. To others, however, this attitude is insulting both to Arabic and Moroccan culture. Fatiha reports that her mother, Aicha, will turn off the television when she hears a French “*tu,*” ‘you.’ For Fatiha, French represents a lack of pride among women in their own Moroccan language, an example of allowing men to have power as they “have pride in their own language.” She cites the example of her sister-in-law, who did not speak French but was able to pretend that she did while she was courted by Fatiha's brother. Though she believes that her sister-in-law would not have joined the family had it not been for her intelligence in pretending she knew French, Fatiha expressed disappointment that women must act this way. Souad also asserted, “Personally, I don't like to use it. I'm proud of my language” and told me pointedly that “French is the language of showing off.” As with *darija*, Malika believes that French is a threat to *fusha* and that because of mission schools, “people are losing even their Moroccan” but notices the importance of French as a second language and the language of social status. In her life, she often speaks French with her sister if she does not want her father to understand their conversation.

Aicha, Fatima, Hanae, and Raja who do not claim proficiency in either English or French still view French as an important language of opportunity. As mentioned, Hanae and Raja, who have completed secondary education and read comfortably in *fusha*, are in the process of trying to learn French. Currently in a context of mostly Arabic, however, Hanae and Raja, and even more so Aicha and Fatima, expressed much more of an orientation towards *darija* in their lives than the other interviewees and a different sort of relationship with *fusha*. Hanae and Raja write texts and notes to their friends in *darija* and write letters and emails in *fusha*. Though they do listen to songs in French and even English, Hanae and Raja report listening to more music in *fusha*, *darija*, and other Arabic dialects and Hanae sang in both *fusha* and *darija* during her interview. Though a very informal measure, Aicha and Fatima were much quicker than any of my other interviewees to complete famous Moroccan proverbs, and were much more likely to know the ending; this is most likely related to their relatively older age as well as their history with oral culture. Aya and Raja are both poets, but although Aya expresses a great appreciation for *fusha* poetry, she writes only in French. Raja, on the other hand, writes exclusively in *fusha*.

3.4 Gender and generation

The tension between attitudes towards French mentioned above marks an element of this study where gender clearly comes into focus. When they spoke of French being the language of “showing off,” the women I interviewed referred to other women who seemed to use French in a pretentious way, but never brought up examples of men. Fatiha’s descriptions of the struggle of code switching between French and *darija* is particularly poignant:

If my girlfriends, for example, are not very educated, I use with them just *darija*. Because if I speak French, a little French, then they will tell, “Ah, she want to be... to show off that she understand French, that she is well-educated girl, she is...” you see? It means like we despise them, and they will not like you. *Fhmti*? The will not... But we change if we meet a girl or your friends are very educated, then you use with them French, it means you deal with the same level as your own. You see, it will be also the same thing, because if you don’t speak with them French, they will despise you. You see, it’s like a circle, they will be like, “Oh, she’s educated, she studied at university but she doesn’t speak French...” you see? They will despise you. This is... it’s like the same. If you speak with normal girls, they are not well-educated, they will despise you because you talk with them in French, they will tell you, “Ah, she want to be show-off on us,” you see.

For Fatiha, negotiating the Moroccan quadriglossia is not an issue; navigating multilingualism and other women, on the other hand, are more difficult.

This specific concern reflects just how limited this sample is and the ways in which it does not represent the population of Moroccan women on the whole. Though the young women in this study are concerned about code-switching in and out of French or texting in English with their university-educated friends, the majority of Moroccan women are not even literate in Arabic by traditional standards. This point highlights the fact that the data from this study certainly cannot be used to make conclusions about Moroccan society or even women in particular. This distinct population of the interview sample is also particularly compelling in that many of the younger interviewees are strikingly different from their mothers in literacy and general language education. Though Siham, Houda, and Karima all have literate, multilingual mothers who appeared in this study and the mother of Hanae and Raja has also studied at university, the five other young women all described their mothers as not being able to read. Indeed, Aicha, Souad’s mother, did not finish school when because she got married; Souad, on the other hand, is an English teacher. Fatiha is also an English teacher and at age 32 has still never married; her mother, Fatima, married at the age of 16 having never gone to school. Fatima repeated to me the importance of going to school, “*illi ma qarish, bHal shi Hayawan*,” ‘someone who hasn’t studied is like an animal.’ All four mothers, like their daughters, had very positive attitudes towards multilingualism and language learning.

At the same time, the older generation of interviewees expressed concern that the younger generation does not have a strong enough connection to these proverbs and this element of *darija* oral culture. “*Mashi bHal naHna*,” ‘not like us,’ Imane, Siham’s mother, said. Imane and her sister, Karima, spoke highly of the importance of proverbs, “*katfina, katfid lnas*,” they nourish us, they nourish the people. Fatiha’s mother Aicha is deeply connected to Moroccan oral culture and loves telling the classic folk tales of Joha as well as the proverbs of Abderrahmane Moujdoub. For Fatima, the lack of *bikma* among the youth is an example of the “fast life” that they lead. Throughout her interview, she suggested that it is important to understand your ‘origin,’ “*usl*,” without that, “*ma andiksh shi*,” ‘you have nothing.’

4.0 Conclusion

Ultimately, from my research in Morocco, I find ample evidence of *darja* in non-L variety contexts; however, my interview data shows that the more 'written' a domain is, the less likely it is to be considered acceptable by speakers of the diglossic language. Though my interview sample is far too limited in size and profile to draw any general conclusions about language in Morocco, it may help to serve as a pilot for future studies. In order to more fully examine the role of written *darja* in Morocco and its effect on the quadriglossia, I would recommend the following:

Assembly and analysis of a corpus of data on CMA, MMA, and written darja

As Ennaji notes, study of *darja* is actually quite limited due to the negative attitudes associated with the variety (2004; 60). For this reason, to even embark on a more thorough examination of the varieties of *darja* within the Moroccan quadriglossia, linguists must first assemble data of *darja* in different contexts in order to determine whether there are in fact two distinct varieties and what the distinctions may be. Written advertisements, printed folk literature, and publications such as *khabr bladna*, and *Nichane* would contribute part of this corpus. Data should also be drawn from scripts of movies and television shows incorporating *darja*, transcripts of the *khobta*, and records of text and chat messages. In addition, evidence of spoken *darja* should be obtained from a variety of contexts.

Survey data with greater variation across age, gender, and factors of identity

Broader surveys of language attitudes would assess the sentiments of a greater portion of the Moroccan population and one more varied based on a number of factors of identity, including age, gender, socio-economic class, educational background, and maternal education. Ideally, a survey would be distributed in multiple Moroccan cities and rural areas, as each region of the country has a distinct identity, dialect, and linguistic history. Such a survey would help determine whether *darja* is rising in acceptability as well as presence in Morocco. In addition, the anonymity of a survey might lead to responses that would seem inappropriate in a more public realm.

Interview data

More interviews on the topic of the domains of *darja* would be value for the rich data they produce and in order to understand the attitudes behind the acceptance of certain domains over others from a multi-layered perspective. A small-scale study of interviews with men of a similar age-range to the majority of my interviewees from this project might provide worthwhile data for comparison across gender, however, only with an effort to ensure that participants align in terms of other identities such as socio-economic class and education. Interviews with women and men who are not literate by traditional standards would be particularly valuable on the subject of a rise in written *darja*.

The role of written *darja* is complex in the lives of the women I interviewed and I will be interested to see if and how it changes the Moroccan linguistic landscape in coming years. Particularly as women like those in this study move towards their goals of mastering English and other languages spoken outside of Morocco, how will a movement to print the mother tongue affect them? And perhaps more importantly, how will their generation of women change the way that all of the different languages and dialects in Morocco are used and viewed?

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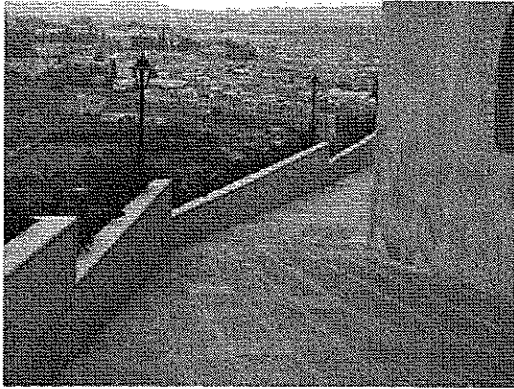
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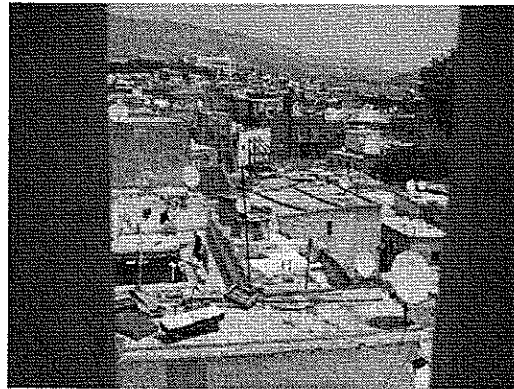
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Appendix A. Views of Fez



From a fort overlooking the city.



From museum in the old city.



The Fez tanneries.

Photos above used with permission of the photographer, Charlotte Gund 2007.

Appendix A. *darija* billboard – *ma taqish bladi*



Gund 2007

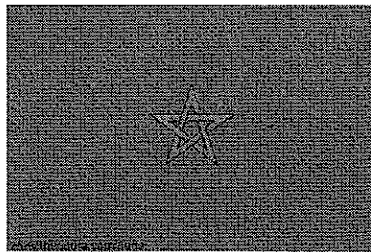
This sign reads, in *darija*, “*ma taqish bladi*” and in French “*Touche pas à mon Pays*,” ‘Don’t touch my country,’ sometimes translated as ‘hands off my country.’

A full gloss reads:

ma taq i sh blad i
negation touch imperative negation country possessive
don’t touch my country

The double negation does not exist in *fusha*; in fact, some say it mimics the French construction of negation *ne... pas*. It is interesting to note that on this billboard, the French double negation is actually missing, and *Pays*, ‘country’ is ‘inappropriately’ capitalized at the end, perhaps to reinforce the colloquialism of the sign and the sense of nationalistic pride it is meant to convey.

Also note the use of national colors, which bear close resemblance not only to the country’s flag, but the red and green colors in the scenery:



Gund 2008

Appendix B. *darija* advertisement -Mobisud



Susannah Gund 2007

The above billboard is entirely in Arabic, *m'a Mobisud sm'ani*, with the title in *darija* and the text in *fusha*, not an uncommon site.

The billboard below conveys the same information 'With Mobisud, you hear me' but in a combination of French and *darija*. Note the use of the number 3 in *sma3ni* to convey the Arabic letter 'ayn' as is often done in text messages.



Susannah Gund 2007

شافوني الخمل مائل أنا كالكاتب المؤلف كسبت في الدهر موعود ماذا من إعطاء ربي لا تخشم لا تثير الملك ما هو منسمر يا صاحب كن صبار ارقد على الشوك عريان ترقد على الشوك عريان نصبر لنومس الأيام الهم يستهل السقم	يحسبوا ما في ذخيرة فيه مناقع طيبة وجئت كلام زمامي ويقول اعطاني ذرامي لا ترقد السهم دية ولا الدنيا مخيمة اصبر على ما جرى لك حتى يطلع نهارك أو تضحك لكي جفاني حتى يأتي زمامي والستره ليه مليمة	رء الجلاء على البرج نوصيك يا عازت الشيخ التي تظن وتقطع عليه نوصيك يا عازت الدرم السقم ما يقع السقم الصمت حكمة لو ما تظن ولد الإقامة الصنت السقم السقم إذا شئت لا تخبر نوصيك يا كحل السقم اضحك والعيب مع الناس	ثبرا وتولي ضيعة والشيخ فية المودة تأبيلك منه الضرورة والسقم كثروا ففاعة يا ويصل من عانه ذرعة و منه تفرق الكايم مأبيلة ربة المش عايم والكلام بقسمة المسالة وإذا سألوك فل لا لا في البيز ارم عظامه فلك مثل له لجامه
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A page from the *darja* poetry of Abderrahmane Moujdoub.



The front cover of *Nichane* from the week of October 20-26, 2007.



The front cover of the *darija* -language newsletter *Khabr Biladna* from April 14, 2006.

Appendix G. Acceptability of *darja* usage in particular domains

	Aya	Malika	Wifae	Hanae	Raja
<i>kholba</i>	+	+	+	+	+
advertisements	+/-	+/-	+	+	+
written media	+/-	-	+/-	-	-
schools	-	-	-	-	-

	Souad	Karima	Siham	Mariem	Fatiha
<i>kholba</i>	+	+	+	+	+
advertisements	+	+	+/-	+	+
written media	+/-	-	-	+	-
schools	-	-	-	-	-

	Aicha	Khadija	Imane	Fatima
<i>kholba</i>		+	+	+
advertisements		+	+	+
written media		-	+/-	+
schools		-	-	+

Appendix H. A sample of words used to describe *fusha* having to do with “our” or collective identity

	Aya	Malika	Wifae	Hanae	Raja
selected words and phrases	It's everything for me, and for all Muslims, I think.	Our language as Arabs; our identity; our lives	“my identity, my past, my present, my future”	<i>biya usl dyalna, lughat dīyalna biya lughat l-quran</i> , ‘it is our language, our language is the language of the Quran’	<i>lugha dyalna</i> , ‘our language’

	Souad	Karima	Siham	Mariem	Fatiha
selected words and phrases	Our civilization as Arabs.	<i>La langue commune du monde arab</i> , ‘the common language of the Arab world’	<i>le monde arab</i> , ‘the Arab world’	<i>notre langue</i> , ‘our language’	Fusha is our language; <i>lughatina</i> , ‘our language,’

	Aicha	Khadija	Imane	Fatima
selected words and phrases	<i>usl dyalna</i> , “our origin”	<i>notre langue</i> , our language	<i>l-arabiya lughat dyalna</i> , ‘Arabic [<i>fusha</i>] is our language’	<i>lughat dyalna f l-maghrib</i> , ‘our language in Morocco’