DIALECT LEVELING, MAINTENANCE AND URBAN IDENTITY IN MOROCCO
FESSI IMMIGRANTS IN CASABLANCA

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ABSTRACT

In Morocco today two competing local urban models co-exist. On one hand, there are the Old urban dialects of the historical cities, which have defined urban and prestigious linguistic practice in Morocco for centuries. These dialects have acted as badges of a well-established urban and bourgeois identity. On the other hand, there are the newly formed koinés that have emerged as a result of massive internal migration to large urban centres in the 20th century. These koinés are establishing themselves as new urban dialects and are shaping a new brand of urban identity. The best representatives of these types of dialects and identities in contemporary Morocco are, without doubt, Fessi (from the city of Fez) and Casablancan (from the city of Casablanca), respectively.

This study examines the social and linguistic outcomes of the Fessi-Casablancan contact, considering in particular how Fessi women of Andalusian descent construct linguistic and social identity in Casablanca. Data come from in-depth ethnographic interviews that I have carried out with migrant (first generation) and Casablanca-born (second and third generation) Fessis during a 14-month period of fieldwork in 1999-2000 in Casablanca. Three linguistic variables are examined in order to assess Fessi women’s leveling or maintenance of Fessi forms: two phonological variables; the alveolar trill variable (r) and the uvular stop variable (q), and one morphosyntactic variable; the second person singular feminine clitic (-i).

Drawing on the latest research on language and identity which emphasizes the agency of speakers in constructing their own identities (e.g., Eckert 2000; Gubbins and Holt 2002), the study identifies the categories that have emerged as a result of the Fessi-Casablancan contact such as ‘pure Fessis’, ‘Fessi-Casablançans’ and ‘Casablançans’.
The study then goes beyond identifying categories to looking at the linguistic and non-linguistic practices that are used to construct and give meaning to these identities. The findings of this study show that sounding ‘normal’, i.e., leveling out stereotypical regional traits, becoming ‘tough’, and being ‘one of the folks, not snob’ are important components in thinning out ‘pure Fessi’ identity. These practices may also be considered rites of passage to becoming ‘Fessi-Casablanca’ or ‘Casablanca’.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS AND CONVENTIONS

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic  
CA: Classical Arabic  
MA: Moroccan Arabic

Notes on transcription

Transcription symbols used in this study are given in the following chart. Emphatic consonants are transcribed with a retracted tongue root diacritic.

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<th>Labial</th>
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I have used IPA for transcribing all Arabic words except for names of people, cities, streets and languages. These are written in the conventional way in which they are usually written without aiming at a phonetic transcription. For instance, the uvular trill in Tamazight (Berber language) is written with < gh > instead of /ʁ/, also the velar fricative in the name of the city Khenifra is written with < kh > rather than /χ/.

The reader who is not familiar with Arabic morphology should be aware of the internal changes that take place in some keywords in this study in order to avoid any confusion. For instance, the word ḥraṣf ‘tough’ (masc. sing.), ḥarṣa (fem. sing.), ḥurṣaf (pl.) and ḥrufsja ‘toughness’.

All translations from Arabic and French are mine. I have tried to remain as close as possible to the original text.

Extracts from the interviews have a great deal of code switching from French. All French words, phrases and sentences in these extracts are given in italics to distinguish them from the Moroccan Arabic text.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Sociolinguistic Market in Morocco

The sociolinguistic situation in Morocco today involves the co-existence of several competing languages and dialects. The languages present - albeit not equally spoken by all sectors of the population - are Arabic, Tamazight ‘Berber’, French, Spanish and English (see Abbassi 1977; Boukous 1979, 1995; Grandguillaume 1990; Ennaji 1991 for a sociolinguistic profile of these languages in Morocco).

Arabic, the official language of the country, has several varieties: Moroccan Arabic (MA), Classical Arabic (CA) and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). Like other Arabic speaking communities, these varieties stand in a diglossic relationship to each other (Marcais 1930, Ferguson 1957, 1991). That is, they co-exist side by side but they are functionally different. CA is used for liturgical purposes mainly in reciting or reading the Qur’an, MSA - a simplified version of CA - is used for education, in bureaucracy and in written and spoken media, whereas MA is the variety used for everyday and mundane communication, it is the language of the home and the street. MA is spoken by 90% of the Moroccan population including second language users. It has several dialects: Rural (i.e., dialects of Bedouin origin), traditional urban (i.e., dialects of non-Bedouin origin) and modern urban (i.e., koinés formed by contact between urban and rural dialects).

Tamazight is the oldest language of the country. It is the mother tongue of Imazighen ‘Berbers’, the indigenous ethnic group that was in Morocco before the Arab conquests. Today Tamazight is spoken by 40% of the Moroccan population, and it is in the midst of a cultural renaissance (see Boukous 1995).
While English is a recent addition to the Moroccan repertoire (Sadiqi 1991), French and Spanish, on the other hand, are former colonial languages. The role of Spanish in Morocco today has waned but French is still the language of instruction, administration and spoken and written media along side Standard Arabic. It is spoken by 50% of the population but read, written and spoken proficiently by only 10% of the total population (Youssi 1995). This complex sociolinguistic situation raises interesting problems in evaluating the linguistic standards, or prestige and target forms in a speech community.

This study is concerned primarily with MA dialects, particularly with their contact and change in Morocco's largest city, Casablanca. This city was a small village with few thousands inhabitants at the beginning of the 20th century, today it is home to almost four million people. It has thus become the most important conglomeration of speakers of different MA dialects (and languages). It is particularly this rapid demographic explosion of the city that makes it a hotbed for investigating the social and linguistic outcomes of contact between MA dialects.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

From the Arab conquests of Morocco in the 7th century until the beginning of the 20th century, Moroccan regional dialects could be easily classified into urban and rural (historically Bedouin) and the boundary between speakers of the respective dialects was clearly delineated as well. Moroccans were assigned an urban or rural identity based on their social practices (and not primarily on place of residence); how they speak, how they dress and how they do various things. Around the mid-twentieth century, however, social changes wrought by urbanization, mass migration and mass education disrupted the old
order and the rural/urban dichotomy that once dominated Moroccan dialects and identities has been blurred, particularly in large urban centers.

As a consequence, two competing local urban models co-exist in contemporary Morocco. On one hand, we find a traditional urban model (i.e., old and well established), which has defined urban and prestigious linguistic and social practices in Morocco for centuries, and which has been an emblem of an elite and bourgeois identity. On the other hand, we find a modern urban model (i.e., new and developing), which has emerged as a result of massive rural and urban migrations to major Moroccan cities. This rural-urban contact is shaping a new brand of urban dialect and identity in Morocco. Without doubt, the best representatives of these types of dialects and identities in contemporary Morocco are Fessi (from the city of Fez) and Casablancan (from the city of Casablanca), respectively.

The aim of this study is to examine the linguistic and social outcomes of the Fessi-Casablancan contact, considering in particular how Fessi women of Andalusian descent construct linguistic and social identity in Casablanca. The study seeks to determine the extent to which the leveling out or maintaining of, differences between Fessi and Casablancan linguistic forms plays an important part in constructing both social categories and social meaning among Fessi women in Casablanca.

To this end, the interaction between the linguistic, social and social-psychological factors underlying the changes that may take place in this contact situation will be examined. This will be accomplished by (1) examining the supposedly cross-linguistic processes of phonological and morphological leveling in dialect contact situations; (2) identifying the social and social-psychological conditions which contribute to leveling
out the differences between the Fessi and Casablancan forms; and (3) identifying the
degree to which there is a correlation between attitudes toward the Fessi and Casablancan
dialects, speakers' in-group and out-group identification and the nature of linguistic
changes that are taking place in the dialect.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

This study examines the Fessi-Casablancan dialect contact and change from a
sociolinguistic perspective. In particular, it adopts the framework that views
sociolinguistic variation and change as social practice rather than as structure (Eckert
2000). The appeal of this model rests on its central focus on social meaning in explaining
linguistic variation and change. In this model the use of variation by speakers is seen as a
way of constructing social categories and social meaning rather than merely reflecting
membership in predetermined social categories such as 'class' and 'sex'. Uncovering
that a variant is correlated with certain social groups, say middle class or females, and not
others, tells us that these groups use the variant more frequently while other social groups
use it less. This correlation stops short of revealing the meaning of this variant to the
groups who use it more often and those who use it less often. Therefore, understanding
the meaning of the variants to those who use it more or less often depends on
investigating these groups very closely in order to understand the local relation between
these categories and social identity.

Drawing on the latest research on language and identity which emphasizes the
agency of speakers in dismantling and constructing their own identities (e.g., Eckert
2000; Gubbins and Holt 2002), this study seeks to identify the categories that have
emerged as a result of the Fessi-Casablancan contact and then looks at the linguistic
practices that give meaning to categories such as *Fessa-d-Casa ‘Fessi-Casablanca’s’* and *Bidawa ‘Casablanca’s’*. In other words, it looks at how linguistic variables are used as resources in the construction of these social identities. It will be argued that variation in leveling among Fessi women, i.e., their accommodation or lack of accommodation to Casablanca linguistic norms, plays an important part in constructing both social categories and social meaning in Casablanca.

The research question central to my inquiry is, How do Fessis in Casablanca construct linguistic distinctiveness from Fessis in Fez and non-Fessi Casablanca’s, and what is the impact of speakers’ attitudes and ideologies on the outcome of dialect contact, specifically their attitudes to language and language users?

Some of the questions that are central to the theoretical approach undertaken in this study are:

- Is there evidence of leveling among Fessi women in Casablanca? If so, what are the linguistic, social, and social psychological constraints on leveling or lack of it?
- To what extent is leveling of linguistic variables a resource in thinning out pure Fessi identity in Casablanca and constructing instead a hybrid Fessi-Casablanca identity?
- To what extent is maintenance of Fessi linguistic variants among Fessi women in Casablanca a resource in maintaining Fessi identity?
- What does leveling or (lack of leveling) of linguistic forms mean to these women? That is, what is the meaning of leveling Fessi forms or maintaining them? If speaking Fessi dialect has been a badge for Fessi identity, does the elimination of distinctive Fessi linguistic forms mean a rejection of Fessi identity altogether?
• Does linguistic leveling contribute to the making of Casablanca identity? That is, how do Fessi women go from being pure Fessis to becoming pure Casablanca, if ever?

The study draws on recent work on contact-induced linguistic change, e.g., Jones et al. (2002), which stresses the importance of interaction between internal and extra-linguistic factors in explaining language change. To this end, the research draws from a variety of theoretical and empirical work in linguistics, sociolinguistics and social-psychology.

Coming from the premise that it is speakers who come in contact and not dialects per se, this study argues that leveling processes will not be independent of patterns of contact within the speech community. In other words, dialect leveling in Casablanca will not only depend on the contact between the Fessi and Casablanca dialects, but it will relate to the quality of contact and speaker attitudes within the speech community. Therefore, the study explores the social position of the speakers, their social integration (Gal 1978), their social network type (Milroy 1987a) and their communities of practice (Eckert 2000) and the interrelationships between these extra-linguistic factors must be examined.

Attitudes are important in understanding accommodation. Social identity theory, with its notions of in-group and out-group identification, interspeaker accommodation and the notion of ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles & Coupland 1991), provides a powerful framework for the analysis of language attitudes in intergroup settings. Research on language attitudes has demonstrated that speakers will elicit more favorable evaluations if they are perceived as in-group members than if they are perceived to be out-group
members (Giles et al. 1977, Giles 1984, Giles et al. 1991). Therefore, the present study examines attitudes of Fessis toward the Fessi and Casablancan varieties and checks whether there is a correlation between these attitudes, speaker’s ingroup and outgroup identification and the nature of linguistic changes that are taking place in the dialect. The hypothesis advanced here is, if a linguistic feature is salient/stereotyped, it is more likely to (quickly) undergo leveling.

1.4 Methodology

The data for the present study are drawn from fieldwork I conducted for a period of 14 months in 1999-2000 in Casablanca. The data is based on in-depth ethnographic interviews and the ethnographic technique of participant observation. The corpus contains interviews with 62 migrants and descendants of migrants from Fessis and non-Fessis; Soussis (Berbers), Frubis (rurals) and other urbanites. However, the data that will be analyzed in this study are based on interviews with 15 Fessi women from three different generations. The first generation consists of seven immigrant Fessis who have lived in Casablanca for at least 17 years. The second and third generations, on the other hand, consist of eight Casablanca-born Fessis. It is important to remember that although the number of women reported on is relatively small, the larger focus of this dissertation is on how micro-level factors about individuals’ lives and their social networks and practices interact with and favor the basis of what might become larger social patterns.

In order to investigate Fessi women’s accommodation, or lack of accommodation, to the Casablanca linguistic forms, the study will assess women’s use of two phonological variables; (r) and (q), and one morphosyntactic variable (-i). These linguistic variables differentiate the Casablanca dialect from the Fessi dialect. Instances
of accommodation to the Casablanca norms, i.e., leveling or the mixing of dialectal features (both attested in previous studies of dialect contact), will be correlated with differences in the social and social-psychological pressures Fessi women are under to either modify their dialect or maintain it.

It is important to stress, however, that these linguistic variables are a means to an end. They allow us to explicate certain principles about contact, adaptation and change in a fast changing complex society. In short, this study uses linguistic data to illuminate the social world.

1.5 Women’s Place in Social/Linguistic Change

The sex variable is one of the built-in biases of variationist sociolinguistics (Labov 1972, 1991, 2001). Thus focus on examining women only has both theoretical and methodological implications. First, the present study seeks to overcome stereotypical and dichotomous notions of gender identity that is predominant in correlational sociolinguistics. Previous studies that focus on the differences between men and women tend to minimize the differences between women as a group and men as a group. Fessi women are not taken to behave in a monolithic way *a priori* because individuals are not just male or female (Gal 1989, Bergvall et al. 1996, Duranti 1997, Eckert 2000). Treating women (or men) as a single group based exclusively on their shared biological traits often leads to empirical and theoretical oversimplification. Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (1992) maintain that gender cannot and should not be isolated from other aspects of social identity, as it is standard in variationist studies, because it is problematic to speak of women or men without reference to other factors like class, age, profession, ethnic affiliation or other social practices.
Therefore, instead of treating gender identity as secondary to class, i.e., being simply a variable that you add to class, this study takes gender as a complex variable in its own right (Milroy et al. 1995). Meyerhoff (1996), for instance, stresses the importance of realizing that gender is just one out of a multiplicity of identities every person has and that their interaction is far more complex than the additive relationships that have often been proposed and used as a basis for research. Furthermore, the goal is to steer away from the binary thinking that dominates the study of language and gender (Bing and Bergvall 1996). Thus, instead of comparing the linguistic behavior of men and women and appealing to women’s desire for prestige to explain the differences between their linguistic behavior, the study aims at uncovering intra-group differences. Closely examining intra-group differences is bound to reveal more nuanced social meaning laden in variation in Fessi women’s accommodation to the Casablancaan linguistic forms. However, a comparison between the linguistic behavior of Fessi females and Fessi males is desirable only if this division is supported by careful examination of differentiated social practices that contribute to constructing a male or a female in a certain culture (Gal 1995, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1995).

Furthermore, studies of contact-induced linguistic change in the Arab world have argued that women target the local urban vernacular rather than Standard Arabic variants (e.g., Al-Wer 1997). A valuable contribution from Arabic sociolinguistics to the study of gender differences in language lies in advancing the idea of competing prestige forms in a speech community, thus calling for a careful examination of what constitutes the ‘standard’ variety. Ibrahim (1986) challenged the equation of the notions ‘prestigious’ and ‘standard’ language since they have proved to be problematic in interpreting results
in diglossic settings. Studies on sex-based language variation in Arabic speaking societies (e.g., Kojak 1983, Abdel-Jawad 1981, Bakir 1986) came to the same conclusion, namely, that Arab women use fewer standard prestigious forms than men. This was seen as contradicting the widely reported results from studies of Western languages, where women tend to approximate standard language more than men. In a re-analysis of these findings and conclusions, Ibrahim argued that these investigators wrongly concluded that women in Arabic speaking communities did not conform to the Western sociolinguistic model (for a critical review of which see James 1996) because in their interpretation of the data, they were using the terms ‘standard’ and ‘prestigious’ Arabic interchangeably. In doing that, they overlooked the fact that “standard Arabic has a certain degree of prestige and its religious, ideological, and educational values are undeniable, but its social evaluative connotations are much weaker than those of locally prestigious varieties” (Ibrahim 1986: 125). Further findings by Arab linguists (Abdel-Jawad 1987 [Amman], Jabeur 1987, Walters 1989 [Tunisia], Haeri [Egypt] (1991, 1997) confirm this observation and indicate that women in Arabic speaking communities employ the locally prestigious varieties more than men. This distinction between the notions of ‘standard’ and ‘prestige’, which was made in the study of Arabic sociolinguistics and language and gender studies, has proved useful in interpreting findings in Western societies as well (cf. Milroy et al. 1995).

However, Sadiqi’s (1995) attitude survey also reminds us that Moroccan women will not behave as a monolithic group linguistically. Her findings indicate that Berber women - especially housewives - consider Moroccan Arabic to be more prestigious than Berber, whereas working women, Berber or not, regard French as the most prestigious
language. Thus, there are competing prestige varieties in Morocco, and prestige is a relative concept sensitive to the different regional groups and classes to which women belong.

1.6 Organization of the Dissertation

The present study comprises ten chapters. The introduction talks about the rationale and purpose of the study.

Chapter Two gives a profile of the Fessi and Casablancan competing urban models by considering the different social histories of the two cities and their respective peoples. The chapter also discusses the ethnolinguistic structure of salient immigrant groups in Casablanca.

Chapter Three gives an overview of the Fessi and Casablancan dialects. It covers the different histories of the dialects and their general linguistic and social characteristics.

Chapter Four reviews the literature on dialect leveling in urban contexts. It discusses the theoretical background of leveling in Arabic and in Western communities.

Chapter Five talks about the methods used in the study and it discusses how they fit into the context of larger debates on fieldwork and sociolinguistic methodology. It gives a description of the sample population as well as a discussion of the sampling criteria. It then provides a description of the research instruments and techniques, i.e. ethnographic interviews, direct observation and participant observation.

Chapters Six, Seven and Eight provide a detailed analysis of the three variables (r), (q) and (-i), respectively. Each of these chapters discusses the linguistic and sociolinguistic characteristics of the variables and its variants in Arabic dialects in general and particularly in the Fessi and Casablancan dialects. The chapters then focus
on the outcome of contact between the Fessi and Casablancan variants and examine the factors responsible for the leveling and/or maintenance of the Fessi variants.

Chapter Nine focuses quite specifically on women's attitudes to dialects and dialect users. It examines the interaction between subjective attitudes of women, who have leveled or maintained Fessi linguistic forms, towards the Fessi and Casablancan dialects and identities, and their own in-group and out-group identifications.

Chapter Ten summarizes the findings of the study and provides concluding remarks on the interaction between variation in dialect leveling and the (re)-construction of urban identity in Casablanca. The chapter also provides suggestions for future research.
2.1 Introduction

The Fessi-Casablanca contact represents contact between two different types of urban models in Morocco. The Fessi model represents old urbanity (i.e., traditional urban model) while the Casablanca model represents neo-urbanity (i.e., modern urban model). It is important to examine what these two contrasting local urban models consist of in order to understand and better evaluate the social and linguistic outcome of the Fessi-Casablanca contact. This is important in the sense that it makes clear what Fessi people bring with them and what they encounter in their new environment. After exploring the historical, social and linguistic components that help define the Fessi and Casablanca urban models, the chapter shows that Fessis bring a regional identity that is distinguished by its age-old historical and cultural excellence. What they encounter in Casablanca, instead, is a new brand of urbanity and identity that is still in the making.

The following sections provide an overview of what each city and its peoples represent in Moroccan history and Moroccan culture. This provides a background against which the two models can be compared. It also puts into perspective attitudes of the people towards their own group and dialects and that of other groups.

2.2 Fez and Casablanca: Two Stories of Urbanization

The cities of Fez and Casablanca embody two different stories of urbanization. While Fez has a long tradition of being urban and has had a truly urban population for centuries, Casablanca is a city reminiscent of the 20th century colonial planning and the bulk of its population is a byproduct of massive rural migration. However, there is interesting affinity between the two cities. According to Adam (1968) it is the Fessis
who provided Casablanca with its urban bourgeoisie. Before we talk about Fessis in Casablanca, we will first address the question: What makes Fez a distinctive and bourgeois city and Fessis an emblem of the bourgeoisie in Morocco?

2.2.1 Fez: Tale of the City and Its people

Being from the city of Fez is a source of pride to many Fessis. Boasting about the rich cultural and historical contributions of the city of Fez, not only to Morocco but to the Muslim world in general, was a favorite topic among some Fessi informants who were interviewed for this study. Hajja Fatima, a Fessi woman in her seventies and a key informant in the present study, answered my question about what she thinks of the city of Fez with a rhetorical question:

Hajja Fatima: ‘Well, is there something like Fez my daughter? No, there is nothing like Fez. There is only one... manners, humanity, all the good is there. Fez is Morocco.’

Leila, another key Fessi informant in this study, said about Fez and Fessis:

Leila: Truth should be told. Knowledge, culture, entertaining, cooking, civilization, art, everything came out from their city. They have everything. Even though life has changed, no one can ever reach the status of the people of Fez. They have a unique cachet... It is true that today education, culture and money have civilized everybody but civilization itself has sprung from Fez.

Such testimonials and comments reflect perceptions of the uniqueness of Fez and Fessis in Moroccan culture. Considering the role the city of Fez has played in Moroccan history is significant in showing what makes Fez a distinctive city and Fessis a distinctive regional group in Morocco. This in turn provides a background as to where the Fessis draw their cultural pride, their claims to well-established urbanity, exclusive lifestyle and savoir vivre. It is indeed these components that are at the heart of the old bourgeois Fessi identity in Morocco today.
RECEIVED
AS
FOLLOWS
CARTE LINGUISTIQUE DU MAROC
2.2.1.1 Memory of the City of Fez

The city of Fez holds a special place in Moroccan history. One of the most distinguishing traits of Fez is its status as the birthplace of Islamization, Arabization and urbanization in Morocco. The descendants of The Prophet, the Idrissids, were the first Arab conquerors to bring the religion of Islam to Morocco. In 789, they founded Fez as the first Islamic city in Morocco. Prior to the 8th century, however, Fez was inhabited by Berber tribes, some of whom welcomed the Idrissids and accepted Islam. The Idrissids introduced the Arabic language to the Berber-speaking tribes of the area.

Historically Fez has been a religious and cultural center since the 9th century. The Qarawiyyin Mosque, which was founded in the 9th century, has been one of the largest and most important in Africa for 1000 years. Further, the establishment of Qarawiyyin University in 859 made the city of Fez an intellectual and cultural center. Thanks to this university, Fez became a center of great exchange and learning.

Since its foundation, Fez has attracted immigrants from neighboring areas such as Qairawan (modern day Tunisia) and Andalusia and others as far and diverse as Sahara, Egypt, Persia and Babylonia. These immigrants, both Muslims and non-Muslims, mainly Jewish, brought cultural richness to the city and came together to participate in the development of an urban and community life. Fez became not only a Muslim center but a Jewish one as well.

Fez is known to be the heiress of Andalusian culture par excellence. Large immigration of Moors from Andalusia from the 9th to the 16th centuries brought vitality to the city and turned into a bourgeois city. In fact, Adam (1968) notes that it was the Andalusians of Cordoba and the Ifriqyens of Qairawan (Modern day Tunisia) that gave
Fez its style as an Arabic city. The city started taking a more Andalusian character during the reigns of Almoravides and Almohades in the 11th and 12th centuries because at that time Fez received an important increase of Andalusian population in the form of functionaries, scholars and specialists of all kinds. However, in the 13th century, the Moroccan dynasty called the Merinides inaugurated the golden age of Morocco, which was to last more than 400 years. They made Fez their new capital and under their reign the city reached a level of prosperity never seen beforehand. It had reached its zenith in science, politics and commerce.

After the fall of the Merinide dynasty, Fez continued its development but at a much lesser pace. The Saadiens (16th and 17th centuries) built a grand library at the Qarawiyyin university, in order to develop and facilitate scientific research in the intellectual milieu of Fez. From the 17th century until the present, the Alawites dynasty has ruled Morocco.

Fez, the oldest and largest medieval city in the world, had all the ingredients of a major dynamic social and urban center. The city communicated with the outside world and was a center of great exchange and learning. It was a destination for immigrants, travelers, students and thinkers and also a lucrative market for merchants and artisans. It was therefore a meeting place for civilizations including Eastern, European and African. However, the success and development it had known declined swiftly in the 20th century when Morocco became a French Protectorate. In 1912 when the French, following the orders of Maréchal Lyautey, shifted political and economic power from the interior of the country to its coastal areas, the importance of Fez would soon decline. Thus, the so-
called economic and political capitals, which were Fez and Marrakesh, respectively, were abandoned in favor of Rabat (political capital) and Casablanca (economic capital).

While it is true that in contemporary Morocco Fez has lost the role as the political and economic capital it enjoyed for several centuries, it has not lost its spiritual, artistic and intellectual titles. In fact, it is described by Madras & Maslow (1947) as *Capitale Artistique de L'Islam* ‘the artistic capital of Islam’, and in Moroccan media and discourse it is known as ‘the intellectual and spiritual capital of Morocco’. Today, Fez is still a city reminiscent of the Medieval Ages and after more than 1100 years of history, it is still vibrant.

### 2.2.1.2 The People of Fez in the 20th Century

At the beginning of the 20th century, Fez was divided into three residential areas: Fez-Jdid, the Mellah and the Medina (Hillili 1987). What is relevant here is that these quarters have succeeded in maintaining the linguistic and social boundaries that have been set among their inhabitants for ages.

The population of Fez-Jdid was composed of families from Southern areas in Morocco like Tafilalt and Sous, and African descendant of black soldiers of Moulay Ismail. All these families were of Bedouin origin. Thus, inhabitants of this area spoke a Bedouin dialect, different from that spoken in the Mellah and the Medina. Le Tourneau (1965) notes that the nature of their professions (e.g., soldiers) prevented them from acquiring urban habits.

The population of the Mellah was all Jewish. The Jewish community existed in Fez since the foundation of the city. Jews in Fez include Middle Eastern Jews, Berber and Spanish Jews who came to Morocco in the 14th century. At the end of the 19th
century Spanish was still spoken among Jewish families in Fez. The Judeo Arabic of Fez is an urban dialect (see Brunot 1936, Brunot & Malka 1965; Cohen 1973, and Lévy 1990 for how their varieties differ from that of the Muslims).

The population of the Medina is the one that concerns us in this study. The origin of these Fessis living in the Medina is varied and can be divided into bourgeois and non-bourgeois. The non-bourgeois population makes up 1/10 of the inhabitants of the Medina. They are mainly people from the west of Fez, natives of Sous who dealt in bulk selling or those from the Sahara who worked as construction workers. These groups kept an in-group relation and married among their own village or city of origin (Hillili 1987).

The Fessi bourgeoisie, however, made up the bulk of the inhabitants of the Medina. These Fessis excelled in commerce and crafts. They have created a distinguished lifestyle as Le Tourneau (1965) describes them:

Quand on fait allusion aux Fessis, on veut parler de bourgeois riches ou pauvres, possesseurs ou non d'une belle maison, mais correctement vêtu et pénétrés de ce qu'on appelle là-bas la qa'ida, autrement dit les règles impérieuses, presque tyraniques, du savoir vivre Fessi (Le Tourneau 1965: 27).

It is indeed this tradition of savoir vivre that is at the center of Fessi identity today. These old urban traditions and practices, by which Fessis abide, are defining characteristics of Fessis and they are to a great extent responsible for how they are perceived by non-Fessis.

2.2.1.3 Population of Fez after the 1950s

In the second half of the 20th century Fez became a city of emigration for a sector of the population and a hub of immigration for others. The character of the Mellah has changed after a large number of Jews left Fez following the creation of Israel. Muslim
families especially those from Fez-Jdid and from other parts of Morocco settled in Mellah, and the Medina opened its doors to rural migration. A section of its old bourgeoisie has left to live in dar Dibegh (la Ville Nouvelle), which has become its turf after the departure of the French.

It is important to note that the inhabitants of Fez-Jdid were not considered Fessis by the inhabitants of the Medina, even if the former were there for generations. In fact, most Fessi interviewees in this study lament the situation of Fez now claiming that there are only few remnants of ‘real’ Fessis in the city. According to them, Fez today, is filled with Jbala, mountain people, and migrants from different regions in Morocco who are not ‘authentic’ Fessis but rather Fessi “wannabes”. In fact, the majority of the Fessi bourgeoisie has left Fez for bigger cities in Morocco like Rabat, Agadir and mainly to Casablanca.

2.3 Casablanca: The City and the People

Unlike Fez, Casablanca cannot pride itself by being a bourgeois city that encloses a long and rich history of urbanity. In fact, its meager historical contribution has earned it the reputation of a city without history and without soul whenever it is compared to old Moroccan cities (Dernouny and Léonard 1987). While the city and its inhabitants may not derive much pride from a glorious past, its swift development into the most important urban center in Morocco, and its leading industrial, commercial and port city is a source of great pride today. The economic changes and prosperity of the city has lured people to migrate in massive numbers to the city, which has led its population to mushroom in a short period of time. Thus, from a rural village with few thousand inhabitants at the beginning of the 20th century, Casablanca is now home to more than three and a half
million people making it by far the largest Moroccan city and one of the fastest growing cities in the world. This massive human migration has remade basic social and cultural relationships and has created a number of inter-group interactions requiring a shift from one language (or language variety) to another.

Since the urbanization of Casablanca is by and large a byproduct of 20th century French colonial planning, the following sections will look at the city and its inhabitants before, during and after the French protectorate.

### 2.3.1 Pre-Colonial Casablanca

The story of pre-colonial Casablanca is the story of a marginalized city. The city is remembered by a succession of destructions and hardships. It is fair to say that not much is known about the history of the city. In the seventh century, Casablanca was a Berber village known as Anfa ‘hill’. The inhabitants of Anfa are believed to have rejected the new religion of the region and as a consequence Anfa remained an independent kingdom for four centuries. Anfa was occupied and destroyed by the Almoravides in the 11th century, around 1068.

In the 12th and 13th centuries, Bedouin tribes, Banu Hilal, Banu Sulaym and Banu Ma‘qil, reached the Atlantic plains (where today’s Casablanca is located). It is believed that the Berbers of the area accepted the Arab Bedouins because they lead a similar lifestyle to their own. The arrival of these Bedouin tribes marks the introduction of Bedouin dialects to Morocco. More importantly, it is the descendants of these tribes that make up the bulk of the inhabitants of Casablanca today.

In the 14th century, the Merenid dynasty built a Muslim town where old Anfa used to be. Although Anfa became important for exporting goods to far away regions
the town never reached the rank of a Muslim city (Cohen and Eleb 2002). A century later, Anfa became independent again. During this period, Anfa became a place for pirates who started attacking incoming ships. In retaliation for the piracy activities, Anfa was invaded and destroyed by the Portuguese. In the 16th century, however, the Portuguese came back to the area of the village but this time they decided to settle in it. They built the city and they called it Casa Branca "the white house". In 1755, the Portuguese abandoned the city in the aftermath of an earthquake that destroyed it completely. After the Portuguese left Casablanca, it remained deserted until it was rebuilt by Alaouite Sultan Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah near the end of the 18th century (1770). The Sultan renovated the city and promised the Spanish to organize the port. He renamed it Daru l-Bayda, which is the Arabic name of the city even today. In 1781, when Spanish companies established themselves in the city, it acquired the Spanish name, Casa Blanca. And since then they called the city by its Spanish name and settled in it, up until the time when the French occupied Morocco and started coming in large numbers. Today the city is known by its Arabic name Daru l-Bayda, and d-dar lbida in Moroccan Arabic as well as by its Spanish name Casablanca or Casa for short.

After the construction of its small port in 1789, Casablanca's commercial relations with Europe and America started developing, making it an important spot in the Atlantic ocean throughout the 19th century. However, its development as a major urban center started in earnest at the beginning of the 20th century under French colonization, which has shifted power from Moroccan interior areas (i.e., Fez and Marrakech) to its coastal areas (i.e., Rabat and Casablanca).
2.3.2 Casablanca During the French Protectorate (1912-1956)

The urbanization of Casablanca is associated *de facto* with French colonization. In 1912, when Morocco was officially declared a French protectorate, Louis Hubert Lyautey, Resident General in the country, decided to make Casablanca the new economic capital of Morocco. As a strategic plan, he ordered the expansion of the port of Casablanca as early as 1913. This decision marks a turning point in the history of Casablanca and that of Morocco at large. The impact of Lyautey’s decision soon precipitated economic, social and linguistic changes.

As soon as Casablanca started showing signs of economic growth and prosperity, large numbers of people, including both foreigners and Moroccans, started migrating to the city. Table 2.1 shows the increase of the population from the turn of the century until 1950.

Table 2.1 Casablanca’s Demographic Growth in the First Half of the 20th c.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Inhabitants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>20,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>59,158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>86,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>97,082</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>106,608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>160,418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>257,430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>551,322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>638,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The migrant population of the first half of the 20th century included Europeans who came from Europe or from other cities in North Africa, and Moroccans both Muslims and Jews. In 1950, Casablanca counted 158,000 Europeans, 72,000 Jews and 414,500 Muslims. The economic prosperity of the city and the affluent life style of the Europeans have attracted many people to migrate to Casablanca. This is in large part responsible for urban development of Casablanca.

Furthermore, the strong industrial expansion in the city and the subsequent creation of manufacturing jobs lured migrants to stream to the city in search for jobs in factories. Most of these migrants were from the Southern part of the country and the Atlas Mountains. In 1952, Robert Montagne published in his ‘Naissance du proletariat Marocain’ the ethnic origin of laborers. As the pie chart below shows the laborers are not the Fessis. It important to note that most of these laborers were the occupants of Ben M’sick shantytowns and most of them spoke non-urban dialects.

**Figure 2.1 Ethnic Origin of Laborers in Casablanca in 1952**

Up until the end of the French protectorate, the rate of urbanization was still moderate. The industrial boom between 1952 and 1960 lured people from the
countryside and small towns. Our focus next will be on the demographic development of the city since it goes hand in hand with the social and linguistic features of the new urban society.

2.3.4 Casablanca After Independence (1956-Present)

After independence from the French in 1956, the population of Casablanca has seen a dramatic growth and its ethnic make up has changed as well. In less than half a century the population of the city has increased from less than a million to almost 3.6 million. Rural migration in particular had been a major factor in this monumental hike of the population.

Table 2.2 Casablanca’s Demographic Growth between 1960-2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Inhabitants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>850,000 (Muslims)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>2,425,828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>3,081,621</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>3,370,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*2003</td>
<td>3,618,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


What characterizes the post-independence period in Casablanca is a marked decrease in the number of the non-Muslim population. This is clearly shown in table 2.3 below. However, among the Muslim population itself there was an increase in rural migration at the expense of urban migration. We will discuss this point further in the section dealing with the major groups that make up Casablanca (section 2.3.4.2).
Table 2.3  Decrease in the Non-Muslim Population of Casablanca after the 1960s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Jews</th>
<th>Foreigners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>80.50%</td>
<td>7.50%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*1982</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*1998</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 99% includes both Muslim and Jewish population.


The graph below gives an overall picture of the monumental increase of the population in Casablanca from 1897 to the present.

**Figure 2.2  Casablanca’s Demographic Growth from 1897 to 2003**

As a consequence of the dramatic increase in the population, the socio-spatial make up of the city has changed enormously as well.

25
2.3.4.1 The Socio-spatial Make up of Casablanca after 1997

Greater Casablanca was created by a decree in 1997 as a way of organizing the region. It is now divided into nine prefectures. Table 2.4 lays out the nine prefectures that make up Greater Casablanca and gives the number and the origin of the inhabitants in each area. This is important because the majority of urbanite migrants are concentrated in the prefecture of Casablanca Anfa. This prefecture is made up of four communes, Anfa, El-Maarif, Moulay Youssef and Sidi Belyout. More than any other zone, Casablanca Anfa is a contact zone of people living in different areas in Casablanca.

Table 2.4 Population of Greater Casablanca by Area of Residence and Prefecture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefectures</th>
<th>Urban Area</th>
<th>Rural Area</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ain Chok Hay Hassani</td>
<td>528,000</td>
<td>55,000</td>
<td>583,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ain Sebaa HayMohammadi</td>
<td>560,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>560,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al Fida Derb Soltane</td>
<td>379,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>379,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben Msik Mediouna</td>
<td>744,000</td>
<td>24,000</td>
<td>768,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casablanca Anfa</td>
<td>526,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>526,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechouar Casablanca</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohammadia</td>
<td>193,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>193,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidi Bernoussi Zenata</td>
<td>240,000</td>
<td>43,000</td>
<td>283,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Greater Casablanca</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,175,000</strong></td>
<td><strong>122,000</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,297,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annuaire Statistique du Maroc 1998
2.3.4.2 **The Major Regional Groups of Casablanca**

The population of Casablanca today is made up of a mixture of people born in Casablanca and those born in other areas. I will consider here the three major groups that make up the Muslim population of Casablanca today; **Srubis** (the rurals), **Soussis** (the Berbers), and **Mdinis** (urbanites including Fessis and non-Fessis). It is important to know who these groups are because they are very salient in the discussions held with Fessi women during the interviews that will be discussed in the following chapters. They are used to explain inter-group differentiation in Casablanca. Fessis define themselves by contrasting their way of life and traditions to the **Srubis** and **Soussis**.

2.3.4.2.1 **Srubis ‘Rurals’**

**Srubis** are believed to be the descendants of the Bedouin Arab tribes that settled back in the 12th and 13 centuries in the Atlantic plains, where Greater Casablanca is now located. Originally the term **Srubi** referred to people who originate from the east and south outskirts of Casablanca (Chaouia, Doukkala, Abda, Chiadma, L Haouz). However, the term has come to include ‘unworldly’ or ‘uncultured’ behavior or persons.

Casablanca has been a hub for rural migration. It is by far the city that has attracted **Srubi** ‘rural’ migrants the most in Morocco (see Map 3). Escalier (1981) suggests that Casablanca has received over a million of new settlers since the beginning of the century. The majority of these people (more than 57%) have come from the neighboring Atlantic plains of Chaouia, Doukkala and Chiadma bringing rurals have brought their rural dialects to the city.
In the 1982 census, rural migrants counted 459,180 (21.46%) of a population of 2,139,024 in 1982. The Chaouia, because of its proximity to Casablanca, is the number one source of rural migration (105,580 migrants in Casablanca). Not too far behind, Doukkala has contributed more than 72,000 migrants (16%). And the rest come from Abda, Chiadma, L Haouz and Sous, which means that the majority of the people migrating to Casablanca are from the South (CERED 1993).

Several factors have driven the Srubis to migrate to Casablanca. In the 1920s, a large number of them was chased by the French colonials from their land. Later, the drought that hit Morocco in 1936, 1937, 1947, and later in 1970 and 1980 drove the Srubis to migrate to the city. Thus, the Srubi migrant population of Casablanca should be divided into 'early Srubi migrants' and 'recent Srubi migrants'. Early Srubi migrants, Bidawa lahrar 'the real Casablancans', migrated to the city before and after the turn of this century. They are the descendants of the Chaouia tribes of the surrounding coastal Chaouia plains in which Greater Casablanca is located. Most of these rural immigrants settled inside the walls of the old Medina (Elbiad 1992). Recent Srubi migrants, on the other hand, have been pouring into the city since the 1980s. They have settled in the shanty towns surrounding the city, such as Ain Chok, Hay Hassani, Sidi Othmane, Ben Msik, to mention just the most known ones.

Casablancans of Srubi origin preserve links to their extended families that still live in the countryside. These relations remain important because they glean revenue and products from rural property. This contact has been important in preserving rural dialects in Casablanca.
RECEIVED
AS
FOLLOWS
Migrations définitives des campagnards vers Casablanca
2.3.4.2.2 **Soussis or Shleuh ‘Berbers’**

Soussis are Berbers from the Southern parts of the High-Atlas in the Southwest of Morocco, the Sous region, hence the appellation Soussis (Swassa (pl.) of Soussi (sg.) in MA). They are also known as Shleuh as tribute to the name of “Tashlhit” the name of the Berber variety spoken in the Sous region. In fact, the Berbers brought their own language, Tashlhit, to the city.

Casablanca is at the same time the most important conglomeration of Shleuh. They came to the city in massive numbers –in the thousands - since 1920. They came mainly from the following regions: Taroudant, Ouarzazat, Agadir and Tiznit. These areas have contributed an important number of migrants to the city, with Taroudant contributing 5.4%, Ouarzazat 4.8%, Agadir 3.9% and Tiznit 3.5% (CERED 1993). The Shleuh who poured into Casablanca in the first decades of the 20th century were mainly males and their migration was temporary. Later they started bringing their families and settled in Casablanca. Back then Shleuh in Casablanca were not educated but they made sure to educate their children (Adam 1968). Today, they have become urbanized, richer and they are without doubt the economic and political rivals of the Fessis in Casablanca.

2.3.4.2.3 **Fassa ‘Fessis’**

Fessis are known as Fassa or hal Fas ‘the people of Fez’. They are counted with non-Fessi urbanites as urban migrants. The non-Fessi urbanites, mainly from other towns and cities of Morocco, migrated to Casablanca to capitalize on the economic prosperity of the city. According to the 1971 census, they represent 43.3% of all immigrants, but their number has been decreasing ever since. Table 2.5 shows the decrease in urban migration before and after 1981.
Table 2.5  Old and Recent Urban Migration to Casablanca

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban Migrants</td>
<td>20.9 %</td>
<td>16.9 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Direction de L’aménagement du Territoire 1996 (CERED 1996)

Both Fessi and Non-Fessi urbanite immigrants avoided settling in the old Medina, where the old Casablancans were, instead they settled in Anfa mainly in El-Maarif, Derb Seltane and other neighboring areas. Since the Fessis are our primary focus in this study we will therefore examine their history in the city in greater detail.

The first Fessi family, the Benzakour family, established itself in Casablanca beginning in 1830 (Le Tourneau 1965) and other families followed since 1880. In 1907, twenty Fessi families came to Casablanca. Among the oldest Fessi families in Casablanca are the families of Benkiran, Benjelloun, Bennis, Sqalli, Ya’qoubi among others (Adam 1986).

Fessis represent the bourgeoisie in Casablanca. They are a wealthy class. Some of them Fessis came to Casablanca before 1907 and bought land. The other Fessis were merchants in Fez, who first set up outlets in Casablanca without wanting to settle in the city, but then actually moved there. But it was mainly since 1920 that big Fessi families started creating branches in Casablanca, confirming the importance of the Casablancan establishment, making Fez a regional branch. The Fessis are not as big in number as the other groups, like the Yrubis and Soussis but they have big financial capacities and a complex and solid network of alliances.

The history of settlement of the Fessi population in Casablanca is quite interesting as it shows their connection to the French. The Fessis were concentrated at the Derb al
Hubous at the beginning of the century (in 1917) when the French were still in the city (Adam 1968: 72). However, later on as the Fessi bourgeoisie’s businesses prospered and its values have changed, they have abandoned Derb al Hubous for villas next to the European area, e.g. Polo. Today they are concentrated in Anfa. It is important to mention though that Fessis always keep the family house in Fez and local businesses at the heart of the Medina in Fez, most of which are affiliates of that of Casablanca.

The Fessis have enjoyed since independence, positions of power in the higher administration, in politics and economy and some have gone into international affairs. They have a monopoly over some big businesses in Casablanca particularly commerce. Many have left the importation of Fabric, in which the Fessi bourgeoisie excelled in the 19th century. Now they are the principal shareholders in textile factories, either in Casablanca or Fez. The more dynamic ones have gone into flour-milling, transportation, cinema, advertising and real estate. In short, Fessis are well represented in big businesses (Adam 1968: 334).

Earlier accounts of the social role of Fessis in Casablanca hold that they ‘alone had retained the traditions of an old urban civilization’. Therefore, they ‘inspired jealousy but were often imitated’ (Adam 1951, cited in Adam 1986). The role the Fessis have played in Casablanca is compared to the role that the Andalusians from Cordoba played in Fez centuries earlier. They have provided the city with a traditional and refined bourgeoisie (Adam 1968). The bourgeoisie was instrumental in providing Morocco with its modern elite. They were the first to send their children to French schools and to push them to higher education. They have easily acquired the European bourgeoisie’s habits of consumption. According to Lahlou (1964), the bourgeoisie symbolizes and reflects
westernization in Moroccan society. However, at the same time when Fessis were educating their children in French schools, they created the national movement and were working to chase away the French, and the other social groups joined them later (Adam 1968: 727).

Furthermore, Fessis are known for their solidarity and alliances among each other. For the Fessis especially those of the traditional urban trading class, keeping close relationships with their hometown is very important. In the 1960s the Muslim population started stabilizing, bourgeois Fessis built villas. They still returned to Fez for family events, or for the weekends. But they didn’t hesitate to call themselves Casablancan, not without some pride. According to Adam (1968), in 1961, 62% of male highschoolers and 78% of female highschoolers said they were satisfied to live in Casablanca; 48% and 60% said they were proud to be Casablancans. However, in Fez, 82% and 77% affirmed their pride to be Fessi. Adam observes that this “local patriotism” of the inhabitant of Fez is so ardent and so old that it is not surprising that Casablancans do not equal it yet.

However, Elbiad (1992) comments on the lack of integration of Fessis in Casablanca. “The Fessis have never felt quite at home in Casablanca; their integration with the Šrubi (rural) people of the area has been slow and superficial if at all existent. Almost like the Jews and the Foreigners, they have most often showed a tendency to stick to the same residential area whenever they can afford it” (Elbiad 1992: 26). If the quality of contact between Fessis and Šrubi-Casablancans is in fact restricted as Elbiad observes, this suggests that accommodation on the part of Fessis is unlikely.
2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has traced the different histories of the cities and the peoples of Fez and Casablanca. The goal was to clarify what makes the Fessis an important social group in Moroccan history and culture. The chapter also discussed the Fessis in relation to the major groups that make up the population of Casablanca.
3.1 The Urban/Rural Split

It is common practice to divide Arabic dialects into sedentary (urban) and Bedouin (nomadic). Dialectologists have long classified Moroccan Arabic (MA) varieties into mdini or hadari ‘urban’ (historically sedentary) and frrubi ‘rural’ (historically Bedouin). In Moroccan Arabic, as well as other Maghrebi dialects, namely, Algerian and Tunisian, this division harks back to the two waves of Arabization that the Maghreb has witnessed during and after the Islamic conquests that were launched from the Arabian Peninsula. The first wave came with sedentary Arab conquerors, in the 7th and 8th centuries, who brought the urban dialects of the Arabian Peninsula. The second wave came with the arrival of the Bedouin tribes of Banu Hilal and Sulaym in the 12th century. The arrival of these Bedouin tribes marked the introduction of Bedouin dialects in Morocco. Bedouin dialects are known in Moroccan dialectology as Hilalian dialects, after the name of the tribe Banu Hilal, while the urban dialects are called pre-Hilalian. It is important to note that despite their differences both Hilalian and pre-Hilalian dialects share some features that are characteristic of Western Arabic dialects.

Pre-Hilalian Moroccan Arabic varieties are spoken in the Northern cities such as Fes, Tetouan, Tangier, Rabat, Salé and in the mountain area of Jbala. Due to linguistic and social pressures, pre-Hilalian Arabic has developed throughout time into two forms: the urban and mountain dialects. However, despite the divergences between the urban and mountain varieties, they cannot be seen as entirely separate dialects (Ferrando 1998).

Fessi dialect is a pre-Hilalian urban dialect and it is considered to be one of the oldest urban dialects in North Africa. The early Arabic invaders and the subsequent
waves of immigrants that Fez received have brought urban dialects. That is, the Andalusian and Cordoban refugees who were expelled from Spain after the fall of Granada in 1492 brought their urban dialects to Fez (Brunot 1950: 18). Some scholars have argued that these post-Hilalian dialects together with the pre-Hilalian should be referred to as ‘non-Hilalian’ dialects (Lévy 1991).

Hilalian varieties, on the other hand, are spoken in the Northwestern Atlantic plains, a much larger area than the Northern areas. It is in these plains, which surround the city of Casablanca, where the Bedouin tribes settled. Today the descendants of these Bedouin tribes have been migrating to the city in large numbers and do in fact make up the bulk of the population of Casablanca. They are to a great extent responsible for the dominance of rural features in Casablancan dialect. Casablancan dialect is considered a Hilalian dialect (Boukous 1979, Elbiad 1992, Rosenhouse 1984, Moumine 1990).

However, the urban/rural distinction corresponds more to the reality of that era than it does to the reality of today. Back then the dialectal situation in Morocco was very diverse, mainly because of the isolation (less transportation). This may also be due to less exposure to Standard Arabic through media and schooling. Today, it is the survival of these linguistic traits that allows us to trace these dialect differences (Caubet 1998).

3.2 Fessi Dialect Today

Fessi dialect is considered to be one of the oldest urban dialects in North Africa. Fez and other cities in Morocco were partly autonomous, and geographical mobility was relatively low so a local dialect was retained in each city. However, each city was internally differentiated; there were, at any given time, both old established families and recent arrivals from the country still speaking rural dialects. For instance, the dialect of
an area in Fez called Fez Jdid is characterized as Bedouin because the bulk of its population are Bedouin speakers, while the dialect spoken in the Medina is urban, mainly because its inhabitants are the descendants of urban dialect speaking Andalusians and Cordobans (Hillili 1987). Furthermore, because of the demographic developments that have taken place in Fez in the 20th century and because of mass education, a koiné variety is developing in the city of Fez as well (Caubet 1993). The Fessi dialect focused on in this study is the variety spoken by the people from the Medina, the bourgeoisie population of Fez.

Fessi has many linguistic traits that distinguish it not only from rural dialects but from other urban dialects as well. Fessi can be divided into Old and Modern Fessi. Phonetic, morphological and lexical levels differentiate Old and Modern Fessi (for detailed studies on Old Fessi see Zemmama 1975; Hillili 1979, 1987).

3.2.1 Linguistic Sketch of Fessi Dialect

This sketch lists linguistic characteristics of Old and Modern Fessi. This will show the changes that have taken place in Modern Fessi. It is important to mention that Old Fessi, just like other traditional urban dialects in Morocco, has generally been preserved among old and illiterate speakers, especially among women.

A. Sounds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MA</th>
<th>Old Fessi</th>
<th>Modern Fessi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>ɼ</td>
<td>ɼ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ř</td>
<td>ɼ̌</td>
<td>ɼ̌</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š</td>
<td>š</td>
<td>š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
B. Lexical differences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fessi</th>
<th>MA</th>
<th>Glossary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṣumija</td>
<td>qamija</td>
<td>‘shirt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥādīna</td>
<td>ḥāta</td>
<td>‘blanket’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥārjat</td>
<td>ṭabsil</td>
<td>‘plate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥaddija</td>
<td>ḥadsa, mxadda</td>
<td>‘pillow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭṣajlī</td>
<td>ḥamkān, ṣablī llah</td>
<td>‘I think’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭabbī</td>
<td>ṣab</td>
<td>‘to take’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭmal</td>
<td>Dar</td>
<td>‘he did’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mYawat</td>
<td>mṣawb, mgad</td>
<td>‘well done’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥabb</td>
<td>ḅa</td>
<td>‘to love’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. Assimilation of the definite article

In Moroccan Arabic the definite article *l*- assimilates to the following coronal consonants. Arabic distinguishes between *alhuruf affamsija* ‘sun letters’ and *alhuruf alqamiriija* ‘moon letters’. Sun letters are coronals to which the *l*- completely assimilates resulting in a geminate. On the other hand, ‘moon letters’ refer to all other non-coronals and next to which –*l* does not assimilate and is pronounced as *l*-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MA</th>
<th>Glossary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/al-ṭul/</td>
<td>[ṭul] ‘the height’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/al-din/</td>
<td>[ddin] ‘the religion, the debt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/al-suq/</td>
<td>[ṣṣuq] ‘the market’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/al-zubda/</td>
<td>[zzəbdə] ‘the butter’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Old Fessi all consonants, coronal or not, assimilate with the definite article *l*- (Caubet 1993). In Modern Fessi the assimilation with *l*- is restricted to coronals, as it is the case in Casablanca.
**MA/Modern Fessi**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Fessi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[l-bab]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bbab]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘the door’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| [l-fuq] |
| [ffuq]  |
| ‘artichokes’  |

It is worth noting however that I have not personally observed this assimilation in the speech of the Old Fessi informant in this study.

### D. Morphological variation of the verb

- **Third person singular feminine suffix:**

  **Fessi**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>MA</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/-at/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-at]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-ät]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

  | [fəsdät] |
  | [fəsdāt] |
  | ‘it spoiled’ |

  | [wldät] |
  | [wldāt] |
  | ‘she gave birth’ |

  | [lojät] |
  | [lojāt] |
  | ‘she played’ |

- **Second person plural suffix:**

  **Fessi**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>MA</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/-tu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-tīw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-tu]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

  | [dxalțu] |
  | [dxałtu] |
  | ‘you pl. entered’ |

  | [mʃitū] |
  | [mʃitu] |
  | ‘you pl. went’ |

  | [klitū] |
  | [klițu] |
  | ‘you pl. ate’ |

- **Second person singular feminine suffix:**

  In the Fessi dialect the second person singular does not have a clitic for the second person singular feminine. It is neutralized toward the masculine. In MA koine the masculine is unmarked for gender but the feminine is marked by the clitic –i. This a variable that is examined in greater detail in this study (see chapter 8).
E. **Personal pronouns**

There seems to variation in distinguishing gender in independent personal pronouns. Caubet (1998: 168) reports that in Fessi there is no gender distinction between *ntina/ntin* ‘you’ which is used for both men and women. My own data, however, shows gender distinction in independent personal pronouns among all Fessi informants.

F. **Future particle**

The future particle *māʃ* is particular to Fessi dialect versus *kadi-ka* spread over Moroccan dialects.

G. **Concomitance marker**

The Concomitance marker *xaːjād* (masc.) and *xaːda* (fem.) are particular to Fessi dialect, e.g., *xaːjād taːtʃāb* ‘he is playing’ *xaːda taːtʃāb* ‘she is playing’.

3.2.2 **Fessi Dialect: ‘Posh’ and ‘Feminine’**

Fessi dialect has enjoyed prestigious status for many centuries. The history of the city and the cultural practices of its elite have contributed to the construction of this prestige (see Chapter Two). In modern-day Morocco, Fessi dialect has come to be perceived as a posh dialect probably because it is the variety spoken by the Fessi bourgeoisie. Furthermore, Fessi dialect, Old Fessi in particular, is traditionally considered to be a ‘feminine’ variety. The fact that it has been preserved predominantly among women might have been responsible for this. This is the case in most Old urban varieties in Morocco, they are known in the literature as ‘feminine varieties’ (Lévy 2002). It is no coincidence then that in the city of Fez today, Fessi girls are encouraged to maintain Fessi features in their speech while boys tend to adopt a more koiné speech considered more virile for men (Caubet 1993, 2002).
3.3 Casablanca Dialect Today

Casablanca dialect is not as old nor as well established a dialect as Fessi. Back in 1912 when Casablanca had a population of less than 24,000 inhabitants, Kampffmeyer (1912) notes that the dialect of Casablanca and that of the rurals of the Chaouia tribes surrounding Casablanca have basically the same rural features. By the 1950’s, the demographic explosion of the city has allowed for contact between different regional dialects, urban and rural. By this time, the Casablanca dialect is described as a ‘hybrid dialect’ (Brunot 1950) attesting that it is a ‘mixed’ variety. Much later it is termed an ‘interdialect’ (Moumine 1990). In this study the Casablanca dialect is seen as a koiné following Siegel’s definition (1985).

There is no doubt that demographic developments have greatly complicated the urban/rural split in present-day Casablanca. It would seem that because of its linguistic variation and complexity Casablanca dialect has been largely avoided by dialectologists. Up to this date there is no comprehensive linguistic description of the Casablanca dialect and hardly any work documenting the koinéization processes of the emerging dialect.

There is a general consensus, however, that the dominant Casablanca variety appears to have many “rural” features (Heath 1989, 2002; Moumine 1990; Elbiad 1992; Lévy 2002). For instance, Elbiad (1992) compares the Casablanca koiné with other koinés in Morocco and concludes that the dialect of Casablanca is “rural”:

Continuous contact between Bedouin Arabic dialects and urban dialects has contributed to the urbanization of most rural dialects and consequently has helped with the natural emergence of new dialects especially in focal areas. This is only
partly true of Casablanca. On the contrary, I believe that GCS (Great Casablancan Speech) is basically rural (Elbiad 1992: 34).

3.3.1 Linguistic Sketch of the Casablancan Dialect

Casablancan dialect is characterized by a great deal of linguistic variation. In order to deal with this variation, Moumine (1990) divides Casablancan into ‘formal’ and ‘informal’, a distinction I believe does not accurately describe the Casablancan situation (cf. Irvine 1979 on misuse of ‘formal’ and ‘informal’). However, Moumine (1995) talks about this distinction in terms of *albayḍawi 1flamm* and *albayḍawi almuḥaayid*, which I translate as ‘broad orifrubi Casablancan’ and ‘neutral or Casablancan koiné’ respectively. The following is a sketch of some linguistic characteristics unique to the Casablancan dialect.

A. Phonetics and phonology

- Diphthongization of Monophthongs

*MA* ūfrubi-Casablancan

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
/u/ & [u] & [aw] \\
\hline
[fuṭa] & [fawṭa] & 'towel' \\
[huma] & [hawma] & 'neighborhood' \\
[ṣur] & [ṣawr] & 'wall' \\
[lxuf] & [lxawf] & 'the fear' \\
[huli] & [hawli] & 'sheep' \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
/i/ & [i] & [aj] \\
\hline
[xima] & [xajma] & 'tent' \\
\end{array}
\]
• Vowel Centralization

The MA short vowel schwa [ə] is centralized and rendered as [A] in Srubi-Casablancan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MA</th>
<th>Srubi-Casablancan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/æ/</td>
<td>[ə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xәdмa]</td>
<td>[xАdмa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ләрд]</td>
<td>[лАрд]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[hәlwa]</td>
<td>[hАlwa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[zrәg]</td>
<td>[zrАg]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[hәdra]</td>
<td>[hАdra]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

• The qāf variable

The qāf variable and its variants are examined in greater detail in chapter 7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MA</th>
<th>Srubi-Casablancan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/q/</td>
<td>[q]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[qәрәт]</td>
<td>[гәрәт]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[lqәт]</td>
<td>[гqәт]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[fuq]</td>
<td>[фug]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There is a process of de-nasalization of coronals before coronal stops and liquids in *frubi*-Casablanca.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MA</th>
<th><em>frubi</em>-Casablanca</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[kən+tu]</td>
<td>[kənt+tu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɡənd+i]</td>
<td>[ɡədd+i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[n+rajhu]</td>
<td>[r+rajhu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[n+luhu]</td>
<td>[l+luhu]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is worth noting that coronal assimilation is spreading to other non-nasal sounds as well as labials. For instance,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MA</th>
<th><em>frubi</em>-Casablanca</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ʒəbti]</td>
<td>[ʒətti]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʃətti]</td>
<td>[ʃətti]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Metathesis**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MA</th>
<th><em>frubi</em>-Casablanca</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[zəˈima]</td>
<td>[zəˈima]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[mˈeja]</td>
<td>[ˈmeja]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ˈbajt]</td>
<td>[ˈbajt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ˈsän]</td>
<td>[nsal]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• **Prosody**

The accent in Casablancan dialect falls on one of the last two syllables. If the penultimate syllable is heavy the accent falls on it (Nejimi 1995).

The question marker takes the form of high round tense vowel /u:/ and which has a special rising-falling intonation.

**Table 3.2 The Consonantal system of Casablanca Arabic**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Postalveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Pharyngeal</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stop</strong></td>
<td>vl</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fricative</strong></td>
<td>vl</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trill</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nasal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lateral</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Glide</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**B. Lexical variation**

One of the stereotypical lexical markers of Casablanca variety is the verb /brek/ for the MA word /glas/ ‘sit’.

**C. Morphosyntax**

There are also morphosyntactic differences in Casablanca. There are several variants of the focusing adjunct (exclusive limiter) \( \text{\textasciitilde} \text{i}'r \): \( [\text{\textasciitilde}i], [\text{\textasciitilde}], [\text{\textasciitilde}a], [\text{\textasciitilde}r], [\text{\textasciitilde}a], [\text{\textasciitilde}] \) (Moumine 1990). There is also variation between the progressive auxiliary particle \([ka-]\) and \([ta-]\).
3.3.2 Social Evaluations Toward Casablancan Dialect

Casablancan dialect is a newly formed koiné. It is nonetheless a linguistic reality based on shared norms and attitudes (Moumine 1995). Moumine examined how Moroccans from different Moroccan cities, namely, Marrakech, Oujda, Tangiers, Kenitra, Fez, and Casablanca would react to the Casablancan dialect. He used the famous matched guise technique (Lambert 1967) in examining attitudes of speakers of Moroccan Arabic towards Casablancan dialect. He used ‘broad’ and ‘neutral’ Casablancan guises/speakers as stimuli in his study. The speaker in the ‘broad’ Casablancan guise emphasized glaring َfrubi features whereas the speaker in the ‘neutral’ Casablancan guise eliminated or leveled stereotypical َfrubi features.

Moumine found that different regional groups have different attitudes vis-à-vis the dialect spoken in Casablanca. What is relevant here is how Fessis reacted to the Casablancan dialect and how they compare to the other regional groups. For instance, while Marrakshis (people from the city of Marrakesh) and Oujdis (people from the city of Oujda) had positive reactions toward Casablancan on several traits, Fessis in particular did not. Fessis found Casablancan to be ‘tough’, ‘masculine’, ‘uncultured’, ‘unfamiliar’ and ‘not likeable’. Furthermore, Fessis were the only group of respondents to express greater sensitivity to the rural aspect of the Casablancan dialect (Moumine 1995: 76). Interestingly, they were indifferent to the degree of َfrubi features that differentiate the ‘neutral’ and َfrubi guises. In other words, they considered both the ‘broad’ and ‘neutral’ guises to be َfrubi ‘rural’. These attitudes, despite the fact that they are not uniform, in and of themselves indicate that Casablancan dialect is perceived as a linguistic reality and marker of identity for a particular group of speakers.
3.4 Conclusion

Fessi is a well-established urban dialect perceived to be feminine and prestigious. On the other hand, Casablancan is a recently formed immigrant koiné, with predominantly Šrubi features, is considered particularly by Fessis to be rural, masculine and non-prestigious. Bearing this in mind, can we expect any accommodation toward Casablancan dialect among Fessi women in Casablanca?

Previous observations in this regard suggest that no accommodation will take place. Abbassi (1977) observes that ‘the urban populations, i.e., the Mdini dialect speakers, never adopt Šrubi speech because they consider it an inferior dialect. This attitude is one of many that urbanites hold about rural life and the peasantry.’ (Abbassi 1977: 126-7). According to Abbassi, there is a one-way short-term accommodation (code switching in his terms) from Šrubi to urban speech but not vice versa. In other words, Šrubi speakers will switch to urban speech because of the stigma attached to their variety whereas urban speakers have no social motivation to do so.

If Abbassi’s observations still hold a quarter of a century later, Fessis are not likely to adopt Šrubi features and will instead hold on to the linguistic variants that index their old urbanite status. In the following chapters, we will look empirically at how Fessi women negotiate their Fessiness in Casablanca through the choice of linguistic variants.
CHAPTER 4
DIALECT LEVELING AND MAINTENANCE IN URBAN CONTEXTS

4.1 Introduction

This study examines dialect contact and change and/or maintenance from a sociolinguistic perspective. Leveling involves the reduction of marked variation between the dialects that come in contact and it is recognized as one of the processes involved in koinéization (i.e., new dialect formation).

The first part in this chapter reviews the literature on contact-induced linguistic change (dialect contact and change) in urban contexts, particularly leveling. Since leveling is seen as a process of accommodation, in the second part, we discuss accommodation as a problem in studying change. The final section is devoted to case studies of contact-induced change in the Arabic speaking world.

4.2 Contact-induced Linguistic Change

Contact between speakers of closely related language varieties is a fairly new field of study. Trudgill (1986) was the first to develop a theory for the linguistic processes involved in dialect contact and change and new dialect formation. He identifies four linguistic processes that can emerge as a result of accommodation between speakers of different dialects in situations of long-term contact, namely, simplification, mixing, reallocation and leveling.

- *Simplification* involves a decrease of morphological irregularity; for instance, turning an irregular form into a regular one. It might involve “the loss of
categories such as gender, the loss of morphologically marked cases, simplified morphophonemics, and a decrease in the number of phonemes” (Kerswill 2002).

- **Mixing** refers to the development of interdialect forms, e.g., phonetically intermediate variants. It is assumed that incomplete accommodation results in approximation of one variant to another.

- **Reallocation**, on the other hand, is a process in which input variants, which have been retained from the early mixture of dialects (i.e., those which have not been leveled out), are reassigned other functions, either stylistic, social or phonological. For example, a linguistic variant may become associated with a particular ethnic or social group in the speech community (social reallocation), or variants can acquire allophonic functions (phonological reallocation); for examples see Britain (1997a). According to Trudgill, reallocation usually takes place after the new dialect (i.e., koiné) is formed and established. It will, therefore, be the least likely to be involved in the situation of on-going change to be investigated here.

- **Leveling** refers to the attrition of stigmatized features and strongly localized speech in favor of regionally more widespread features, i.e., forms found in other dialects.

Recent definitions of leveling still agree with Trudgill’s earliest definition. Kerswill & Williams (2002), for instance, describe leveling as “the decrease in the number of variants of a particular phonological, morphological or lexical unit in a given dialect area, usually resulting from the loss of minority or marked forms found in the different varieties spoken.” They add that, leveling “refers to a purely sociolinguistic
notion, that of the reduction in the amount of variability in a speech community.”
(Kerswill & Williams 2002: 88)

4.2.1 The Study of Dialect Contact and Change

The theoretical problems that dominate studies on dialect contact and change center around factors that accelerate or inhibit accommodation to the host dialect from taking place. Recent discussions of this problem often divide the conditions on variations into two kinds: (1) the linguistic constraints on variables, and (2) the extra-linguistic (social, social-psychological and cognitive) constraints on speakers.

4.2.1.1 Linguistic constraints

The linguistic constraints that have been suggested to either facilitate or hinder the adoption of certain linguistic forms in dialect/language contact situations are naturalness versus markedness of a feature. For instance, phonological naturalness is one of the factors suggested by Trudgill (1986) to facilitate the adoption of a new dialectal form in dialect contact situations. He pointed out that British speakers living in North America easily adopt flap [r] for intervocalic /l/ while Americans living in England find the process of adopting [t] for their intervocalic [r] much harder. Trudgill suggests that this may be a function of naturalness of the first process over the second process. Adopting a flap is the more natural process, hence its adoption by American speakers. The high rate of adoption of natural features has also been pointed out by Mühlhäusler (1985) in cases of language contact.

Recent studies of dialect contact agree that phonologically or morphologically more natural forms; simple or unmarked, are more likely to win out in dialect contact situations (e.g., Siegel 1987, 1997, Chambers 1992a, Britain 1997b).
4.2.1.2 Extra-Linguistic constraints

Kerswill and Williams (2002: 87-88) list the following extra-linguistic factors responsible for the outcome of contact-induced linguistic change.

- Social relations between the borrowing group and the group it is borrowing from.
- Time-scale and intensity of contact.
- Are adults or children primarily involved in the contact?
- Does contact result in language shift or borrowing?

The direction in which speakers modify their language depends on attitudinal factors. Research on language attitudes within this socio-psychological framework has demonstrated that speakers will converge by accentuating speech similarities in order to be perceived as in-group members. However, if the goal is to be perceived as out-group members, speakers will diverge by accentuating speech differences. This study draws from recent work on ethnolinguistic vitality (e.g. Allard & Landry 1994, Giles 1994), which provides a powerful framework for the analysis of language attitudes in intergroup settings.

This study agrees with the importance of language attitudes and ideologies on the outcome of dialect contact situations, particularly as a consequence of the activities of speakers in constructing linguistic distinctiveness from a contrasting group (Milroy 2002).
4.2.1.3 Salience

Trudgill (1986) proposed that accommodation to new speech forms takes place by means of a ‘fixed route’. In order to explain the regularity with which speakers adopt certain linguistic features before others in dialect contact situations, he appealed to the salience notion. Salience is not new to dialect contact, it is has been appealed to in cases of language contact. Mühlhäusler (1986) talks about “features of a donor language which are more ‘striking’ than others as far as the speakers of the ‘recipient’ language are concerned” (Mühlhäusler 1986: 71).

Trudgill (1986) notes that high salience of a feature is more a determinant factor of its rapid adoption by speakers than one with low salience. He defines salient variants as ‘phonetically radically different’ and ‘involved in the maintenance of phonological contrasts’ (Trudgill 1986: 11). It is these two linguistic factors that lead to the salience of a feature. That is the degree of phonetic difference between two variants and phonemic difference (Siegel 1993: 106).

In explaining what salience means, Trudgill makes use of Labov’s distinction between ‘markers’ and ‘indicators’. ‘Markers’ are linguistic variables that speakers are aware of, while ‘indicators’ are variants below the level of social awareness. The main idea is that speakers acquire salient variables more readily because they are highly aware of these variables. Similarly, Trudgill turned to extra-strong salience, overly strong markers of the dialect being accommodated to, in order to explain why speakers avoid accommodating to some variants of the host dialect.

Trudgill’s notion of salience was criticized for being circular, mainly because the factors said to be responsible for accelerating the adoption of a feature are exactly the
same as those involved in inhibiting its adoption by speakers (see Kerswill 1994 and Hinskens 1996 among others). In other words, speakers adopt the new linguistic form because they are aware of them and avoid them because they are highly aware of them.

Kerswill & Williams (2002) argue that in order to avoid this circularity, salience must not be based nor defined solely on purely linguistic grounds. External factors such as ‘cognitive, pragmatic, interactional, social-psychological, and sociodemographic factors’ must be built into the salience concept for it to be amenable to explaining the rapid adoption of certain linguistic forms and avoidance of others in dialect contact. It is this same holistic approach to dialect leveling that is adopted in this study.

Various studies have shown the importance of salience in dialect leveling. Bortoni-Ricardo (1985), Kerswill (1994), Jabeur (1987) and Gibson (1998) showed that salience has an important effect on the loss of first dialect variants, especially when these are stigmatized by speakers of the host dialect. On the other hand, Auer et al. (1998) did not confirm the hypothesis that salience always facilitates second dialect acquisition. They found that some of the most salient variables were also the most resistant to change. Other studies (e.g., Foreman 2003) report that speakers in her study who acquired Australian English variants did not acquire the most salient variants, rather they acquired the least salient ones. Her findings seem to confirm Trudgill’s notion of extra-strong salience as a factor in inhibiting acquisition. This study will test these two hypotheses on the Fessi-Casablancan dialect contact situation.

4.3 Problems in Studying Accommodation

It is widely believed that accommodation to the speech of others is the vector of dialect change (Trudgill 1986, 1992; Kerswill & Williams 1992; Bubenik 1993; Kerswill
1994 among others). Hinskens (1996: 457), for instance, says that “dialect leveling is the linguistic consequence of sustained, frequent accommodation on the part of its speakers.” Sociolinguists studying language variation and change have long recognized accommodation to be a problem in studying linguistic change. Contact between speakers of different varieties may lead to short and long term changes in their speech or to the maintenance of the status quo. Trudgill (1981, 1986) refers to long-term accommodation as a change in a person’s automatic speech habits, and is to be distinguished from short-term accommodation, which is an individual’s response to an interlocutor on a particular occasion (Giles & Smith 1979, Giles et al. 1991).

While this study looks at cases of long-term accommodation, it is important to understand how short term accommodation works and what motivates it, since it is believed that long term accommodation (i.e., leveling) is foreshadowed in short term accommodation (Trudgill 1986).

The distinction between short-term accommodation, the type of variability used by a speaker at different times, i.e., intra-speaker variation or stylistic variation, and long term accommodation (inter-speaker variation), has proved to be important in several ways. Here sociolinguistic vs. psychological approaches to style shifting will be discussed. Giles’ (1973) original argument that style shifting in sociolinguistic interviews is not a function of attention to speech as Labov (1972, 2001) posits, but is rather a function of the kind of people sociolinguistic interviewers tend to be. Style shifting is motivated by the urge to be more like the person one is talking to. This is known as ‘convergence’ in Accommodation theory (e.g. Giles et al. 1973, Giles and Coupland 1991). They have long argued that attitudinal factors are crucial to
understanding the reasons behind accommodation to the speech of others. The widely held view is that in the course of a social interaction speakers accommodate their speech to others as a way of achieving one or more of the following goals: 'evoking listeners' social approval, attaining communicational efficiency between interactants, and maintaining positive social identities' (Beebe & Giles 1984: 8).

Bell (1984) developed Giles idea and argued that style shifting occurs outside the confines of the sociolinguistic interview, i.e., in face-to-face communications and in mass communication (Bell’s study of New Zealand broadcasters). The audience seems to have an important effect on style shifting among these broadcasters, who are under pressure to maintain audience approval.

Some dialect contact studies (e.g., Hinskens 1996) have not confirmed the idea that short-term accommodation foreshadows long-term accommodation, while other studies did (e.g. Kerswill 1994). This study will shed light on whether Fessi speakers’ accommodation is short term or long term.

4.4 Contact-induced Linguistic Change in the Arabic Speaking World

The study of contact-induced variation and change in Arabic can be divided into two basic sub-fields; the standard-vernacular contact, which I will refer to as 'vertical contact', and the vernacular-vernacular contact, or 'horizontal contact'. Researchers of the first type of contact (Badawi 1973, Sallam 1980, Mitchell 1986, Mahmoud 1986, Al-Muhammad 1991 among others) have been concerned with studying the emergence of Educated Spoken Arabic. This is a variety that is widely considered to have emerged in the Arabic speaking communities as a consequence of the mixing of the standard (i.e. Classical) and vernaculars.
While this area has produced a number of insightful studies into the current state and prior development of Educated Spoken Arabic, they are not of direct concern to us in this study, because they deal with processes that are less locally defined and which interact with the written standard forms. While it may ultimately be desirable for us to integrate the processes and phenomena associated with language contact and change at supra-local and local levels, that it not the goal of this particular work.

4.4.1 Case Studies of Contact of Arabic Dialects

There have been a number of case studies of contact in Arabic dialects outside of Morocco including dialect contact in Amman (Jordan), Tunis and Rades (Tunisia) and Bahrain (Holes 1986) to name just a few. A few of them will be reviewed here.

In Amman, for instance, Al-Wer (1999) examined the outcomes of contact between the varieties of indigenous Jordanians and those of urban Palestinian varieties. Al-Wer attributes the rapid spread of urban Palestinian linguistic features in Amman to the prestige associated with urban Palestinian varieties such as is suggested by Abdel-Jawad (1987). She found that indigenous Jordanian women adopted the urban prestige norms brought by Palestinians significantly more than men did. She explains this pattern in terms of the positive social meanings embedded in urban Palestinian.

For indigenous Jordanian women, urban Palestinian women represented ‘finesse’; they appeared liberated and modern, and were better educated, and hence the way these women speak also appeared attractive. Although men were also attracted by finesse, elegance and modernity, they would not attempt to emulate them since these are perceived as feminine qualities (Al-Wer 1999: 41).

Al-Wer (2002) shows that the interplay between internal, external and extra-linguistic factors is the main motivation for the emerging Ammani dialect. First, in so far
as internal factors are concerned, the vocalic movements of the emerging Ammani dialect are explained along the lines of Labov's principles of chain shifts. For example, the speakers of the new dialect raise long vowels and move back vowels to the front. Second, extra-linguistic factors have to do with the feelings of local identity and gender. Third, leveling and regional koineization are counted as the external factors responsible for the emergence of the new dialect in Amman.

Jabeur (1987) examined the urbanization of rural dialects in Radès, Tunisia. He gives prime importance to social factors in explaining the changes that have taken place in the speech of the rural migrants in Radès. He found that social network integration of rural migrants is a determining factor in the phonological and morphosyntactic variation in their speech. For instance, adoption of urban dialect features by rural migrants depends to a large extent on the nature of the social contacts they establish with urbanites in daily face-to-face interaction. Further, he suggested that 'salience' of rural features is a factor in whether rural migrants adopted the host features or maintained their own rural features. That is, rural migrants significantly modify salient phonological features of their rural dialects but maintain non-salient morphosyntactic features. Jabeur also examined the effect of the migrants' gender on the acquisition of urban features and came to the conclusion that the speech of urban men and women has become similar (their consistent use of /u:/ and /i:/ instead of (aw) and (aj) typical of older women's speech). He attributes this shift to the social changes that have taken place in Tunisian society, which he describes as an on-going transition from a patriarchal society into a more egalitarian society.
Gibson (1998) examines dialect contact in Tunis, the capital of Tunisia. He looks at some phenomena resulting from contact between the Tunis dialect and other dialects spoken in Tunisia. He considers, in particular, the ways in which Tunis phonological and morphological variables are adopted by non-Tunis speakers. Gibson suggests that the dialect of the capital city Tunis is deemed to be the “refined” or “educated” variety by the local population, thus the choice of its forms reflects a move to a higher prestige form, whether these forms correlate with MSA or not. The correlations that are found are consistently between social and linguistic openness to Tunis. For instance, preferences for modernity vs. conservatism correlate with higher values of use of the Tunis variants by non-Tunis speakers.

In light of these studies and considering the prestige that is always associated with the varieties spoken in Arabic urban centers Fessi women would more likely adopt the Casablanca variants.

4.4.2 Case Studies of Contact in Moroccan Arabic

Messaoudi (1998) is a short description of Old Rbati, the dialect of the population of Andalusian origin residing in Rabat, the capital of Morocco. This social group can be easily detected from their family names, which have a Spanish resonance to them: Baina, Bargach, Chkalante, Fenjiro, Jorio, Karrakchou, among others. These families have lived in very closed networks, which has helped in the maintenance of Old Rbati features. More recently, however, thanks to intermarriage and diverse other alliances Rbati families have opened up to non-Rbatis and their distinctive traits are starting to disappear especially among the young generation. These traits can be found among Rbatis who are 35 years of age or older, and who are of Andalusian descent or have lived among these
families. Messaoudi’s ultimate goal is to document the Old Rbati dialect features because they are disappearing at an alarming rate.

Caubet (1993) is a descriptive work of Moroccan Arabic phonology and morphology based on the koiné of Fez. She looked at three families, a couple and their respective in-laws in Fez. The husband’s family is from Rifian origin, of the Rif Mountains in Morocco, and the wife’s family is Fessi. Caubet found that there is a marked difference between the first generation (the couple who are 35 years old) and their mothers, on one hand, and between the young Fessi woman and the young rural speakers on the other hand. What is interesting about the young Fessi woman is that she erases more traits characteristic of Fessi dialect than her husband and his sister who are of rural origin. Caubet concludes that the Fessi dialect is no longer seen as the dominant norm, even to a young woman. The changes in the speech of the couple’s children are explained by the influence of the media and school and the influence of a forming koiné, which Caubet thinks is mixed speech of urbanized rurals, with a later influence from Casablanca. As Peter Behnstedt observed, this type of variation study will undoubtedly help us in our analysis of the historical linguistic changes in Morocco.

4.4.3 Case Studies of Casablancan Dialect

Casablancan dialect has received very little attention compared to dialects spoken in other major cities in the Arabic speaking world. There are very few studies that have looked at the Casablanca dialect. Among these are Kampffmeyer (1912), Harris (1942), Khomsi (1975), Hamdi and Puech (1987) and Moumine (1986, 1987, 1990, 1995), Elbiad (1992) and Aguadé (2001). Moumine’s studies are by the far the most comprehensive
and the most relevant to the analysis of leveling undertaken in this study. A brief review of some of these studies is given here.

Kampffineyer (1912) is the first linguistic investigation on the dialect spoken in Casablanca. Its main objective is the study of Moroccan Arabic. The large body of data of spoken Casablancan made available in Kampffineyer’s work is invaluable in tracing the diachronic changes of the dialect from the beginning the 20th century until the present.

I have come across three phonological studies on Casablancan dialect in the literature. The first is an acoustic study of the phonemic system of Casablanca dialect (Khomsi 1975), the second is an analysis of pharyngealization spread and its phonological conditioning factors in Casablanca dialect (Hamdi and Puech 1987), and the third is a study that examines the Casablanca dialect’s stress patterns (Nejimi 1995).

The most important sociolinguistic study of Casablancan dialect is Moumine (1990). The goal of this study is to describe sociolinguistic variation in the emerging dialect of Casablanca following the classical Labovian paradigm (Labov 1966, Trudgill 1974). Moumine relied on a relatively large sample of the population, 120 speakers native of Casablanca. He examined a number of phonological variables, (a), (u), (q), coronal assimilation (Cor A.), and two morphosyntactic variables, the focusing adjunct (κir) and the progressive prefix (κa-). As it is standard in the Labovian framework, Moumine correlated the frequency of use of these linguistic variables with speakers’ age, sex, socioeconomic class, area of residence and style. The socioeconomic class is divided into four classes: upper middle class (UMC), lower middle class (LMC), upper working class (UWC) and lower working class (LWC). In so far as the area of residence is concerned Moumine divides it into ‘core’ and ‘periphery’. The core makes up the
areas where urban population resides while the periphery refers to residential areas of the originally rural population. As for the style variable Moumine follows the ‘formal’ and ‘informal’ division widely used in urban dialectological research.

Moumine’s findings show that linguistic variation in Casablanca stratifies speakers along these social and stylistic parameters. He adopts a prestige-based approach in explaining his findings, as it clearly indicated in the following quote.

... the UMC has shown a clear tendency to use the prestigious forms frequently to indicate its high - social status. Likewise, the LMC has manifested a strong desire to conform to the linguistic behavior of the UMC. By contrast, the overall results have revealed that the WC core linguistic behavior wavers between the LMC and the periphery norms of speech, while the periphery group seems to be a relatively stable social dialect based predominantly on the use of the stigmatized forms. Equally interesting, a good deal of evidence has shown that there is a significant interaction between style as a social variable and the fluctuation of the prestigious forms (Moumine 1990: 229-230).

Moumine’s study has several merits insofar as it provides an elaborate analysis of sociolinguistic variation in Casablancan dialect. However, by taking rigid social categories like residence, sex, socioeconomic status and others as the main variables, Moumine overlooks the regional (or) ethnic diversity of the native population of Casablanca. In an emerging dialect such as Casablancan the origin of the speakers does matter in accounting for the variation. This study in a way complements Moumine (1990) because (1) it focuses on the intricacies of the complex regional make-up of Casablanca, and (2) it adopts an identity-based approach in understanding the linguistic variation in the city. Furthermore, this study also goes beyond Moumine’s (1995) attitudinal study as it provides an ethnographic, hence more exhaustive, account of Fessi people’s attitudes toward the Casablancan dialect.
CHAPTER 5
METHODS AND DATA COLLECTION

5.1 Introduction

In order to identify the interplay between linguistic and nonlinguistic factors in dialect leveling in Casablanca and the formation of a new dialect, it is necessary to combine qualitative and quantitative methodologies, since a combination of these methods generates the most descriptively and theoretically adequate analyses. This study's methods will rely on a mixture of standard Labovian quantitative methods (Labov 1982), supplemented with in-depth ethnographic observations of key informants, communities of practice (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992) and their life histories. Life histories will provide important subjective reactions to changes in the informants, lifestyles and attitudes towards the dialects and salient ingroup-outgroup distinctions.

5.2 Ethnography as a methodology

In collecting the data for the present study I used techniques of ethnography. In particular I combined the participant observation approach with semi-structured interviews. It has been noted that the methodology used by the researcher and the identities brought to the fieldwork can influence the data collected, which in turn influences the kind of results we reach.

Ethnography as a method has proved to be important in studies of language variation and change (Eckert 2000). There is a growing awareness that a great deal of diversity and many nuances of meaning get swept aside in quantitative linguistic research. As the objective is shifting from simple correlations of linguistic and non-linguistic variables to finding social meaning in variation, grounding linguistic research in ethnography has made its way into variationist linguistic research. Viewing linguistic
variation as social practice suggests that meaning is to be found in people’s everyday practices. The only way to tap into people’s daily practices is by employing ethnographic techniques. Furthermore, since ethnography is meaning-centered research, it can therefore be used as a tool for interpretation as well. Language as social practice promises to be a fruitful avenue for variationist linguistic research (Eckert 2000).

The following section gives a brief overview of seminal ethnographic works that have been conducted in Morocco, especially the ethnographies that have drawn attention to the fieldwork experience and the role of the researcher in inadvertently influencing the outcome by his methodology and presence. Later sections discuss details of fieldwork data gathering.

5.3 Ethnographic Work in Morocco in the Past

Morocco has inspired many anthropologists. For many years the interpretivist approach of Clifford Geertz and his students dominated the Moroccan field encounter. A body of ethnographic explorations of Moroccan society has offered alternative approaches to the practice of traditional ethnography: Paul Rabinow’s *Reflections of fieldwork in Morocco* (1977), Vincent Crapanzano’s *Tuhami: Portrait of a Moroccan* (1980) and Kevin Dwyer’s *Moroccan Dialogues: Anthropology in Question* (1982). This Moroccan Triangle or Trio, as they are referred to in the anthropological literature, have produced a body of innovative work that had put into question the underpinnings of an essentially empiricist and insufficiently reflective approach to the field encounter.

Dwyer and Crapanzano experimented with the dialogic approach where the ethnographer is placed in the frame of an exchange with a Moroccan informant. The strength of Dwyer’s and Crapanzano’s methodology is that they have succeeded in
making heard the "voice" of the Other in the way they describe the ethnographic encounter with its successes and failures and make it available for the reader for further scrutiny. They have contributed much to ethnographic representation and mode of writing ethnography.

Rabinow's pioneering work problematized the positioning of the ethnographer in the fieldwork encounter and has inspired anthropologists to pay attention to the role of the researcher in the research process. By introducing the importance of the fieldworker as agent he highlighted the ethnographer's subjectivity and partiality in doing fieldwork. His attempt to cast a self-reflexive account of the ethnographer's fieldwork has proved an invaluable contribution to the 'doing' of ethnography (Clifford and Marcus 1986).

Many sociolinguists and variationists have started to pay a great deal of attention to the naivété that has once dominated the undertaking and "doing" of fieldwork in linguistics data gathering. As Duranti (1994) puts it "rather than systematically hiding the persona of the linguist-ethnographer engaged in linguistic analysis, I will at times try to make my experience of Samoan discourse part of the data in need of description” Duranti (1994: 12). Similarly, a work that looks to shed light on the interaction between dialect change, maintenance and identity cannot possibly ignore the nuances of 'doing' research and the layered meanings involved in this process. The researcher has to situate herself socially within that speech community and bring to the fore who she is and the different identities she brings to the field site.

5.4 Doing Fieldwork in Casablanca

The data for this study is the product of fieldwork I conducted in Casablanca between the years 1999-2000. My fieldwork lasted for a period of 14 months.
5.4.1 Discovering Casablanca all Over Again

Casablanca was the site of my research. I am a native researcher and it was my turn to dig deep into the city that has inspired many writers and novelists and has brought orientalist romanticism to a new height. In this city of immigrants, I was searching for the meaning of being Casablanca or at least uncovering the process of becoming one. As I was listening for people’s dialects and accents, group categorizations and their meanings showed up uninvited over and over again.

Casablanca is indeed a city of immigrants. A cab driver told me that if I want to see real Bidawa ‘Casablanca’ I should stay in Casablanca during religious and national holidays because all the baraniyin ‘outsiders’ leave Casablanca to go back to their cities and villages of origin. Most of the cab drivers are wlad lablad ‘sons of the land, i.e., natives of Casablanca’ as they refer to themselves. I enjoyed chatting with taxi drivers because they volunteer information about the city quarters, the people, the changes that have taken place in the city. I could ask them questions, ask for their opinions on controversial issues, I could take notes of what they say without being self-conscious. Oftentimes I took taxis just for the sake of distraction and inspiration. The discussions and insights that transpired from these taxi rides are invaluable.

5.4.2 Fieldwork Site

It was in EI-Maarif, a district in the prefecture of Casablanca Anfa, where I decided to rent an apartment. EI-Maarif was intriguing partly because of the hybridity of life styles that it represents and makes possible. It is a meeting place for Casablanca from all over the place and from all walks of life. It is a contact zone for different classes
(daily wage maids, salespeople, shop keepers, directors), different regional groups, the Šrubis, Fessis, Shleuh and other groups as well. El-Maarif is an ideal site to observe linguistic accommodation among these different groups of people. It offers a window to the inner workings of hybridization of subcultures and dialects.

At first glance, El-Maarif stands ‘confused’ and charming as it signed up for ‘modernization’ and ‘globalization’. Large walls are covered with giant posters of computers, free internet access, expensive cars, Claudia Schiffer and Halle Berry and other models advertising beauty products were all part of life in Casablanca. The latest fashion from Paris and Italy was exhibited in window shops in Twin Center and Residence Ben Omar, where the prices are outrageous for Moroccan standards. I heard people talk about betting and losing thousands of dollars in casinos, asking each other whether they bought the latest Choppard watches and Channel and Gucci handbags. Just few feet away from all this, next to El-Maarif mosque a line of beggars are waiting for few dirhams from passers by, and young Šrubi children are lined up licking the sparkling clean glass of McDonalds to attract the attention of the people inside. In the back street of El-Maarif mosque one can see a line of cleaning women (šyalat dlmuqaf) waiting for somebody to hire them. So is the world of El-Maarif, a site of great contradictions.

Indeed, there are two types of people in Casablanca, those who live and those who watch them live, and just like a ‘game of sports’, the spectators are far greater in number than the players. So is the game of the have-nots in Moroccan society, but in Casablanca it is more pronounced. The game is played harder and the reality of migration or ‘rural exodus’ especially in Casablanca is hard to ignore. The differences between the Fessis and the non-Fessis are indeed magnified.
5.4.3 Dimensions of Identities in Fieldwork

Sociolinguistics is keen on problematizing the categorization of subjects with a social identity and has abundant critiques based on a recognition of the febrile nature of identity in subjects. But much less scrutiny has been given to the identities of the interviewer. A keen awareness of the identities researchers bring to the fieldwork and to the interview itself is integral to how the interview proceeds, how it is shaped and on what is said. Understanding this can be helpful not only in understanding but in interpreting our findings.

Being an indigenous female researcher has a number of obvious implications for access to knowledge in Arab societies. The interaction of gender and indigenous status affects and shapes the fieldwork experience (Abu-Lughod 1986, 1988). The interviewer’s identity, not only that of the interviewee, can affect the data. The identities the researcher brings to fieldwork effect the interview.

5.4.3.1 Being a Native Researcher: Challenges and Advantages

I am a native researcher and I was treated differently than a foreign researcher would be treated. Some informants, however, called me lmirikaniya ‘the American girl’ because I live in America. The challenge for a native researcher lies in deconstructing local a priori categorizations and stereotypes. One of the challenges I have experienced as a native researcher is to accept the journey of fieldwork as a way of discovering and ‘finding out’ rather than ‘knowing’ in advance. In other words, while a non-native researcher might bring broader categories of essentializing the Other, a native researcher brings very local and personal biases and perceptions to the encounter. As a native researcher it is much easier to fall back on cozy assumptions of in-group and out-group
categorizations. But a challenge is to step back intellectually, to stay detached and to not force her categories on people she is interviewing.

Other challenges also lie in the ‘shared knowledge’ a native researcher has with her country people. In the process of interviewing I had a tendency to accept certain answers from my informants without asking for further clarifications, as when my interviewees say *fhamti* ‘you understand’ and I nodded in agreement. It took a few interviews before I realized that I had to inquire more about what they mean. However, when I tried this ‘naïve researcher’ technique, which is highly advised in interviewing techniques in anthropology, as a way to probe information from informants, some of them immediately reminded me that I was Moroccan and that I ‘should’ know these things. In other words, while a non-native researcher is accepted when he plays the “ naïve researcher”, a native ethnographer has to strike a balance between the identity of outsider and insider while conducting interviews. One way of doing that is rather playing the role of “the vulnerable researcher” by telling informants about my topic and telling them why their opinion matters; this helped in the success of some interviews.

On the other hand, being a native researcher has several advantages. Having lived in different parts of Morocco, including Khénifra, Meknes, Marrakesh and Casablanca I could claim several regional identities. I found it useful to emphasize my several regional identities in order to establish trust and engagement with my informants. Shifting identities was a useful tool during my fieldwork because it allowed me to make the interviewees feel comfortable to voice their opinions and their perceptions without worrying about offending me in the process, I tried to relate to them either by emphasizing my regional and/or ethnic background. Because of the sensitivities involved
in inter-group relations and group categorization in Moroccan society, I played the in-group card with some informants who asked me *aslakum mnin* ‘what’s your origin?’, that signaled to me that they are interested in who I am and that where I come from was important too.

Therefore, my multi-regional background was useful in relating to my interviewees. I brought to the fore different aspects of my identity depending on whom I was interviewing. In interviews with Berbers who are not family members or acquaintances of relatives I bring out the fact that my mother is Berber. While this resonated with some and I succeeded in being cast as an in-group member *nti dyaltna* ‘lit. you are ours (i.e., you’re one of us)’, other Berbers, however, totally rejected this division by saying *iwa kulna msalmin* ‘we are all Muslims’. However, this came to haunt me when some Berber informants deliberately started speaking Berber to me and all they got is a blank stare from my part since my knowledge of Berber is limited to basic vocabulary and some few expressions. “How could you be Berber if you don’t speak Berber?” Hajj Said teased me. In so doing, he reminded me that being Berber is a linguistic identity more than it is an ethnic one. After this incident, I explained to my Berber informants that although my mother is *Sousiya* and spoke two varieties of Berber, *Tamazight* ‘Berber variety spoken by Berbers from the Middle Atlas’ and *Tashlhit* ‘Berber variety spoken by Berbers from the high Atlas’, I grew up speaking Moroccan Arabic.

In a similar vein, if I am interviewing Fessi people I bring up the fact that I am from Meknes, an old colonial city known for its long time traditions of old urbanity just like Fes. In this case, my objective was not to try to be cast as an in-group member but as
somebody who has been practicing old urban lifestyle. As Amina said ‘iwa sortByam 
\textit{Itta ntuma dikshi fmeknes}’ “well, you have these things in Meknes as well.” Some 
Fessis asked for my last name, a deciding factor in dividing Fessis and non-Fessis.

With some of my interviewees of high socioeconomic status, regardless of 
whether they were \textit{frubis}, Fessis or Berbers, just the fact that I came from the United 
States, and from Hawai‘i in particular, was my biggest asset in establishing trust and 
engagement. This took me outside of the local social categorizations and cast me as a 
‘unique Moroccan’ as some of them have put it. Some of them wanted to know more 
about the Hawaiian Islands, about the people and the life style. Some wanted to know 
more about the best places to spend the holidays in Hawai‘i. The majority of these 
interactions started with the differences between life in Morocco and life abroad.

Perhaps the greatest advantage that I have as a native ethnographer is my 
familiarity with Moroccan social etiquette and awareness of sociolinguistic norms of 
interaction. An interview is, after all, social interaction. It is therefore useful to display 
appropriate ways of interaction during my encounters with these people. As a native 
researcher I knew which of these people I could interrupt, contradict and with whom I 
could joke around (Hachimi 1997). This is part of Hymes’ communicative competence 
we possess as native speakers (Hymes 1972).

5.4.3.2 Being a Female Researcher

As a female researcher in a Muslim society, projecting the identity of a ‘good girl’ 
was at the top of my agenda. The first thing I found myself striving for is respect and that 
is something a woman, particularly a single woman, has to earn in a city like Casablanca. 
In this highly commercial city the bad reputation of women has reached monumental
proportions, Ṣafra brjal ‘ten [women] for one cent’, as some Moroccans chose to refer to how ‘cheap’ women have become in Casablanca.

My contact person was Mrs Sqalli, a public relations officer in a bank in the El-Maarif district. Thanks to her, the bank became my social center for several months. It offered me a window to the world of interaction at a larger scale since it was a combination of members, the Ṣrubis, the Fessis and the Berbers. It was a wide sample of the major groups that make up Casablanca and a good reflection of the social hierarchies that these groups represent. The bank director was Fessi and a key informant in this study. There were four bank tellers, two were Casablancans of Berber origin and the other two were Casablancans of Ṣrubi origin.

Mrs. Sqalli, my chief liaison, is a good friend of my sister. She had basically ‘adopted’ me and introduced me to others as ‘my daughter’. Because of the nature of her job and also because she was a Berber who was married to a Fessi, she has an extensive social network. She was highly respected by everybody and a great majority of the people I interviewed did come as friends or acquaintances of those who work in that bank. It was important for me to project the identity of a “good girl” in order to be able to do research in a decent and comfortable manner.

The fact that I am a female must have shaped the interview in a way that it would not have if I were a male. It helped in the success of many interviews and the elicitation of natural speech. For instance, sections of the interview dealt with the status of women in Morocco and with male-female relationships in Morocco. Among many women these topics triggered very intimate confessions; some were happy while others were sad. They varied from accounts of romantic adventures to cases of abuse and even sad stories of
rape. It is hardly the case that a woman confessing painful moments in her life will be concerned with the way she pronounces her words.

5.4.3.3 Not Being Native of Casablanca

Casablanca is not my native city. It was my family’s destination for vacation because the great majority of our relatives live there. Frequent contact with people from there was a natural thing. At first I thought it would be a problem that I was not native of Casablanca. To my surprise, people who did not know where I was originally from described me as Bidawiya ‘Casablanca female’. First, they were not able to pinpoint where I was from. The fact that I have lived in different places in Morocco was an asset in that I was seen as an insider and my dialect was seen as ‘normal’ and free from regionalism. In fact I made sure to ask my interviewees what they think of my Moroccan Arabic dialect and how they would categorize it. Almost everybody thought I speak a normal dialect hadra bidawiya ‘Casablanca dialect’. For some Fessis my accent was seen as harsha ‘tough’ but nqiya ‘clean’.

I conducted a survey of how many informants thought I was Casablanca and how many thought I was not. In this I am including not only the Fessi informants but all the 62 informants I interviewed during my fieldwork, including the Fessis, ʻrubis and the Berbers both men and women. Results show that 98% of these informants thought my accent was Bidawiya (Casablanca) and by bidawiya they meant Ṣadiya ‘normal’, no regionalism. For so many speakers Casablanca dialect was interchangeable for ‘normal’. In Chapter 9 the social meanings of these are discussed in greater detail.
5.5 Data Collection

Being Moroccan and having a large family and a large pool of friends and acquaintances in Casablanca made it quite easy to meet people. I was introduced to prospective interviewees as ‘daughter of’, ‘sister of’, ‘aunt of’ and ‘friend of’. The strength of this approach rests on the existence of a social relationship prior to the interview (Milroy 1987b). Furthermore, it also made socializing possible with people before the interview and after.

5.5.1 The Interview

Most social scientists rely on the interview for information gathering. Hymes warned against plunging into the interview without viewing it as a speech event and questioning its compatibility with the communicative patterns of the community that is being studied. Briggs (1986) cautions all those who are dependent on the interview to elicit information, like ethnographers and linguists, against the serious problems that are embedded in the structure of the interview. Briggs problematizes the interview and observes that by engaging in this speech event, the interviewer and interviewee abide by certain communicative norms that are presupposed by the interview. The interview as a technique for eliciting information suppresses the normal social roles of the informants and imposes the interviewer-interviewee roles instead. An example of the social contradictions embedded in the interview is that the interviewer controls the interview but s/he is not knowledgeable. On the other hand, the interviewee, who is knowledgeable, is being controlled by the interviewer. For that reason, I used semi-structured interviews because the more unstructured the interview, the more power the interviewer gives the interviewee.
Sociolinguistic research acknowledges ‘the methodological paradox’; in our search for the most natural speech we impose an unnatural way of collecting it. Labov (1970) notes that

…the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain this data by systematic observation. The problem is of course not insoluble: we must either find ways of supplementing the formal interviews with other data, or change the structure of the interview situation by one means or another (Labov 1970: 47).

However prior socializing before the interview breaks down much of this formality. Sometimes I socialized with them for weeks before conducting the interview. I had the opportunity to record some of them more than once or record them in conversation with others. However, with people I recorded only once, I observed them in conversations with others during my visits before and after the first interview was conducted. Because I interviewed families and friends who are bound to meet in social events I had the chance to see them and talk with them in different situations. The fact of repeated and prior socializing with my interviewees has broken down the distance between interviewer and interviewee. When it was time to record the interview, it was more like sitting and chatting than it was an actual interview where I would ask the questions and expect the answers.

Furthermore, most of the interviews took the form of a debate rather than actual question and answers. My objective was to make the interviewees feel comfortable and at ease in order to get to their most natural way of speaking. I wanted the interviewees to be passionate about what they were saying and to forget completely that they are being interviewed or recorded. To reach this end, I expressed my own views, I disagreed with my informants, I agreed with them, I interrupted them and they interrupted me back. I
even contradicted what they were saying when I didn’t agree with them (Hachimi 1997). I adopted this strategy with the younger generation. However with older informants my contradiction or rather disapproval was more demure and humble, by using expressions such as *iwaa khaliti lhajja 3lah hadchi khllah llah* ‘well auntie, God does not allow this.’ I did not have the right answers for topics and made clear that I was there to learn from them.

During the interviews I tried not to decontextualize people's lives. I respected their social roles in real life. For instance, in the interview with Hajja Leila and Hajja Fatima, I spoke differently from the way I addressed the other Fessi informants who were either my age or younger or those with whom I developed very close relationships before the actual interview took place. Especially with two informants, Hajja Leila and Hajja Fatima, I was very deferential, soft spoken and I behaved according to age-appropriateness, and theme-appropriateness as well. This involved accepting on my part, no contradicting, no oppositional arguments or other conversational devices of the sort that I used with the other informants. While I might have discussed taboo topics with younger informants, I refrained from doing so with these two informants.

I have refrained from using questionnaires because they do not allow for in-depth examination of language nor a good insight into intra-speaker variation. In the present study only oral interviews were conducted. A cassette tape recorder with a microphone was used. When the interview was conducted with other parties present, an omnipresent microphone was placed in the center to record with clarity what the other participants are saying, especially if they are key informants.
5.5.2 Interview Sites

Various sites were chosen for the interviews based on cultural appropriateness and availability. These included work places and homes.

5.5.2.1 The bank

The bank was a great sample of the major groups that make up Casablanca, the Frubis, the Soussis and the Fessis, and a good reflection of the social hierarchies that these groups represent in Casablanca. The bank director is Fessi, a key informant in this study. There were four bank tellers, two were Casablancans of Soussi origin and the other two were Casablancans of Frubi origin.

5.5.2.2 Boutiques

Residence Ben Omar is a very expensive and chic shopping center in the heart of El-Maarif. Several interviews took place in boutiques in Residence Ben Omar, the mecca of rich and poor alike. These interviews were often casual and often interrupted by the natural flow of people. An example is my interview with a woman called Kawtar, a key informant in this study. Our interview was first interrupted by her sister Siham, who is also a key informant in this study, then by her husband and her salesgirl, then later by two of her Fessi friends who dropped by at her boutique.

The interview in these boutiques provided an opportunity to see how these people actually shift from the interview situation to real-life interaction: how they shift from being an interviewee, to being a boss, a wife, a sister, a friend, a salesperson and how they interacted with their customers; how they show politeness, address a male and a female customer, and mainly also how they accommodate to others and shift dialects.
5.5.2.3 Private Homes

I conducted some interviews in my informants' homes such as with Hayat, Leila and Saida. I conducted several interviews in my apartment but none of the interviews with the Fessi informants I will be focusing on in this study were conducted in my own apartment. Part of maintaining a positive face has also a lot to do with the location of the interview. I invited some of the women over to my apartment but never the men I interviewed. I went with them instead to my relatives' office in El-Maarif. For the men I interviewed I went to their parents' homes, or their own homes if they are married.

5.6 Themes of the Interview

The topics that were chosen for the semi-structured interview include topics that women can relate to and have a lot to say about. Many topics are considered everyday topics in Moroccan society and the interview format gives us a chance to discuss and debate these issues. Chief among these are male-female relationships, modernity and tradition and change in female situation. At the time of the interview there was a heated debate about women's rights under Islamic law in Morocco and there was a call for changing the family code of law. This brought two marches, one in Rabat and one in Casablanca. This was ideal for polling the informants' opinions on the issue. Some interviewees assumed that I am interested in women's issues so they volunteered their views on some of these issues before I even start to ask the questions. We therefore discussed the status of women in Islam and in Morocco, relationship between men and women, dating, virginity, marriage, divorce, veiling and a host of related topics. Furthermore, all women were asked to talk about their life history.
5.6.1 Life Histories

Life histories are valuable in obtaining information on informants' social integration after the move to Casablanca. They allow us to see the degree to which a migrant maintains contacts with her city of origin, or with people from that area in Casablanca itself. It will allow us to discover the informants' communities of practice, and ultimately find out how these and other social networks facilitate or retard accommodation to Casablanca vernacular. We will be able to discover the extent to which dialect loyalty interferes with accommodation to Casablanca dialect.

Informants were told that narratives are needed to gather information on the changes that have occurred in their lives and to record their views on how living in Casablanca has changed their way of life, and their identity, ultimately leading up to metalinguistic discussion of how living in Casablanca has changed their speech.

Leila, a key informant in this study, speaks about how moving to Casablanca had a major liberating effect on her lifestyle.

**Atiqa:** so you have lived a traditional life then!?
**Laya:** Yes, I lived a traditional life, with the sisters-in-law and all that. Back then, there was lots of censorship. There was no going out, it's not like now, it was like that until I came here (Casablanca) then freedom came back. I went back to the freedom I had with my parents when I was young. I then started to uncover, the short hair and ...it's not like being in Khenifra where I had to veil and stay in-doors...

**Atiqa:** so Casablanca had a
**Leila:** Oh, yes! It had a particular… After I got married, I was not allowed to go out, to go to the movies or go dancing in a night club, you understand, we couldn't even do that in Meknes and Fes … but when we came here we started going out dancing, we went out, we live differently, it's not like when we were in Khenifra. In Khenifra the only place we used to go out to was the public bath and the farm ….
5.6.2 Male-female Relationships in Morocco

Questions centered around dating, marriage, particularly inter-regional and inter-ethnic marriage, and in-laws. These questions asked whether the choice of a mate is influenced by their regional or ethnic origin. For instance, I asked my informants what it means to be married to a Fessi. Many women believe that Fessi men are more caring and loving in public, and that they treat their wives with more respect than other Moroccan men. However, the stereotypes about them are that they are effeminate and not as virile as other men, such as the Ṣrubis, for example. Many non-Fessi women did not think they could handle a Fessi husband and his Fessi family because of their Ṭbaṣṭik ‘high maintenance, nit picking and protocol’. Many interviewees stressed that a Fessi, man or woman, would not marry a non-Fessi unless they are affluent. Many try to stress the materialistic side of Fessis.

5.6.3 Modernity Questions

Interviewees were asked about what modernity and being modern means to them. For the interviewees who know French, I first said the word in French “moderne” and asked them for its translation into Arabic, some came up with Ṣasri, mḥaṣdār “civilized”. Interestingly the word ‘moderne’ means different things to different people. For the highly educated, it meant development ‘evolution’, civility, for others it was appearance and the way one dresses and arranges their hair. In most Moroccan conversation there is always a distinction between Ṣasri and baldi in clothes, Ṣasri stands for Western style of clothing, while baldi stands for traditional Moroccan clothing ‘Jellaba, Kaftan, jabadour...” Ṣasri however does not stop at clothes. It goes farther to tell us about how people live their lives, whether they eat in a traditional way, whether they go out on
they go out on weekends, whether they celebrate birthdays and buy gifts on birthdays, whether they speak Arabic only or whether they speak French only or both, whether they watch their cholesterol, eat with their hands or forks and myriad other things.

5.6.4 Defining Categories and Boundaries

Categories such Fessis, Shleuh and Šrubis are common in Casablanca society and there are the stereotypes about each to prove it. Regional origin in Morocco has always played an important role in distinguishing who is who. However, in order to uncover changes in defining these identities and in order to avoid regional and ethnic reductionism, informants were asked direct questions about what they mean by Fessis, Šrubis and Shleuh. What do they mean by Fessi-Casablanca? What do they mean by Bidawi ‘Casablanca’? Informants were asked to talk about the practices that make these categories meaningful. For instance many Fessis mentioned that abusive language among Šrubis is a way of distinguishing the “civilized” from the “uncivilized”. In exploring their views on Casablanca as a city and its people, the objective was to see whether they consider Casablancans primarily Šrubis. They were asked about what they think of the dialects spoken in Morocco in general. They were asked about their views on the rural/urban distinction.

5.6.5 Attitudes Toward Dialects

Preston (1989) argues that cultural and ethnic identity is clearly marked in people’s meta-discourses about language, so some of the following strategies were used to elicit this information: asking participants to imitate the way people act and sound in Casablanca, collecting linguistic jokes and aphorisms, and the individual’s overt evaluations of their own, and other dialects. This did not only make transparent the most
salient linguistic features in the dialects under investigation but generated information about participants' attitudes toward these dialects as well.

5.7 Other Data Collection Techniques

5.7.1 Participant Observation

My data collection did not stop at the interview. Participant observation was possible through a great deal of socializing. This allowed me to observe how these women talk to others, their siblings, their daughters, husbands, maids, employees, or customers. In short, I observed them and I interviewed some of them in their communities of practice.

5.7.2 Collection of Ethnic Jokes

One way of learning about the stereotypes of a culture is through humor. Some jokes focus on class differences between the social groups and the type of jobs that are "appropriate" for Fessis. The following joke, for instance, emphasizes that people think Fessis are not cut out for blue-collar jobs, military and such. "An officer went to a Fessi mother to tell her that her son should join the military service and the mother told him "why? Are there no more Šrubis and Berbers left?" Almost all the non-Fessi interviewees mentioned this joke and other derogatory jokes about how snobbish the Fessis are. Other jokes center around how effeminate Fessi men are: "Three Fessi guys left a wedding after midnight, as they were walking down the street they spotted a drunk man and one of them yelled "wili wili skaṣira u lwa bīr bbuḥdina "Oh my God, there is a drunk man and we are all alone".

Another joke describes what was said when a Fessi and a Šrubi woman were asked to recount how they lost their virginity. The Fessi was very soft and elaborate and
used French to describe the experience: "diner aux chandelles, on a fait ci et on a fait ca...c'etait romantique, c'etait agreable, ..." and the Šrubiya jumped in and said: 'ana kutt nesgi flbeyr masraft ddaqa mnin jātnī.' ‘I leaned to get some water from the well and I got no idea who got me.’

5.8 Sampling

This study has amassed a large corpus of spontaneous conversational Moroccan Arabic in Casablanca. A total of 62 speakers were observed, interviewed and recorded. These speakers fall mainly into the three different regional groups mentioned earlier, Shleuh, Šrubis and Fessis, both in-migrants to and natives of Casablanca. While the Šrubis’ and Shleuh’s views and attitudes will be brought on, I have focused on the Fessi group for the analysis for dialect leveling.

5.8.1 Fessi Subjects

The cases of the Šrubis and the Berbers are extremely important but they were not chosen as the focus for study of dialect leveling in the present study for the following reasons. The case of the Šrubis will be looking at the urbanization of the rural people and their dialect. Dialect leveling studies have focused to a great extent on the rural-to-urban dialect contact scenario. Therefore, we know a lot more about the linguistic and social factors responsible for dialect leveling in the rural-to-urban dialect contact scenario. We know very little, however, about a case such as the Fessi, where an Old urban dialect comes in contact with a koinéized urban dialect with predominant rural features.
The case of the Berbers in Casablanca, however, is more complicated because we are dealing not only with dialect contact but with a different language. With some migrant Berbers, it is more appropriate to talk about second language acquisition, while with migrant Arabized Berbers we are dealing with dialect acquisition. The two groups, Srubis and Berbers, will be taken up in future work to complete the picture of dialect leveling in Casablanca.

The corpus for the Fessi population in Casablanca includes 20 speakers, five men and 15 women. This is the number of Fessis who were recorded but the number of those observed is far greater. The present study includes 15 Fessi women belonging to five families. The following family trees trace the relationships between the informants of this study. The people in square brackets are people I have not encountered, and the people in parentheses were observed but were not interviewed.

5.8.1.1 First Family

I was introduced to this family through my sister and her childhood friends. They are actually a Fessi family who used to live in Khenifra for a while, a city where I grew up. I did not know them before because they left Khenifra when I was very young.

\[ \text{[Fessi Wife]} = (\text{BS Senior}) = \text{[Berber Wife]} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{Leila} &= \text{Ahmed} \\
\text{Hajja Fatima} &= (\text{Fessi}) \\
\text{Keltoum} &= (\text{son}) (\text{daughter}) \\
\text{Khadija} &= \text{Jamal} \\
\text{Adel} &= (\text{non-Fessi}) \\
\text{(Nawal)} &= \text{non-Fessi}
\end{align*} \]

Hassan (family friend)
Hayat is half sister of Ahmed and Hajja Fatima. Hayat’s mother is a Berber from the Middle Atlas whereas her half brother’s and sister’s mother (Ahmed and Hajja Fatima) is Fessi. Leila is Ahmed’s wife and they have three children: Jamal, Adel and Nawal. Keltoum is Hajja Fatima’s daughter and Hassan is a family friend.

5.8.1.2 Second Family

(Hajj Fessi husband) = Saida
Amina (non-Fessi) = Khamano
Zakia
Fatma
(Driss) = Lamia
Omar

Saida is married to Hajj (I observed him on several occasions and his way of speaking is actually Old Fessi, unfortunately he refused to be interviewed). Zakia and Fatma are their daughters. Khamano, whose real name is Si Mohammed but they call him Khamano, which is a Spanish name) is their son and he is married to my niece, they are Omar’s parents. Driss Saida’s and Hajj’s son, he was also observed but he was not interviewed, is married to Lamia.

5.8.1.3 Third Family

(Siham & Kawtar’s Father) = (S&K mother) -- Amina
(Fessi) = Sihám
Kawtar = Nawfal

Amina is Siham and Kawtar’s aunt from their mother’s side. They both own boutiques in residence Ben Omar and the interview took place in their boutiques. Amina introduced me to Kawtar when she dropped by Amina’s boutique to inquire about some business matters while I was interviewing her. Kawtar was delighted to be part of the study and she then introduced me to her sister Siham.
5.8.1.4 Non-related Individuals

I met Nadia and Samia at the bank through Mrs Sqalli. Nadia was a customer and Samia was the bank’s director. I met more Fessis through Mrs Sqalli but many interviews were never recorded because of technical difficulties. I met Ihsane through my own niece. She is her friend and colleague.

5.9 The Interview Data

I had personally conducted and recorded all of the interviews. I did not use any research assistant. Tape-recorded interviews lasted from one to four hours. Some interviews were conducted one-on-one with no other parties present while others were conducted in the presence of the interviewee’s family members or mutual friends.

Interviews can therefore be divided into two categories. The first category involves interviews that were conducted with no parties present, i.e., only the interviewee and myself were present in the room. Cases like this were with Keltoum, Hayat, Khadija Siham and Hajja Fatima. The second category of interviews is those that were conducted one-on-one with an over-hearer but non-participating party (over-hearers) and the third category are those interviews where the parties present took part in the discussions in some parts of the interview (as a response to some thorny and controversial issues). Table 5.1 shows the informants who participated in these different interviews.
Table 5.1 Interviewees, Parties Present During the Interview and Interview Site

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewees</th>
<th>Parties present</th>
<th>Interview Site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nadia</td>
<td>Co-owner (Fessi male)</td>
<td>Her Optician Shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keltoum</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Hayat’s house (her aunt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samia</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Her office at the bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hajja Hayat</td>
<td>Her 8 year old son</td>
<td>Her house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leila</td>
<td>Her husband &amp; a mutual friend</td>
<td>Her house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatima</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Hayat’s house (her sister)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khadija</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Her apartment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ihsan</td>
<td>Her friend, 2 kids and my 2 nieces</td>
<td>My niece’s apartment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amina</td>
<td>Her employee (salesgirl)</td>
<td>Her clothing shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siham</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Her sister’s clothing shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawtar</td>
<td>Her fiance, her salesgirl &amp; girlfriends</td>
<td>Her Residence Ben Omar shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saida</td>
<td>Her daughter &amp; daughter-in-law</td>
<td>Her own house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatma</td>
<td>Her mother &amp; sister-in-law</td>
<td>Her parent’s house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zakia</td>
<td>Her sister, mother &amp; sister-in-law</td>
<td>Her parent’s house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamia</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Her own apartment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The other interviews were conducted in the presence of family members (Saida and her daughters) over-hearers (four members). The pressure to sound normal must have been great because of their presence.

5.10 Social Profile of the Speakers

This section provides specific information about the Fessi informants. I first give the social profile of immigrant Fessi informants and then the social profile of Casablanca-born Fessis.

5.10.1 Social Profiles of Immigrant Fessis

Nadia 36, born in France, Optician, co-owner of optical shop, married to a Fessi

Samia 39, born in Fez, French educated, Bank director, married to a Fessi

Keltoum 41, born in Khenifra, medical secretary, single

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Amina 45, born in Fez, Owner of traditional clothing boutique, former high school French teacher

Hayat 50, born in Khenifra, Landlady and Artisan of Fessi embroidery, divorced.
Her ex husband was not Fessi.

Leila 61, housewife, married to a Fessi

Hajja Fatima 70+, housewife, married to a Fessi

5.10.2 Social Profiles of Casablanca-born Fessis

Khadija 29, Executive in an insurance company, married to a Fessi

Ihsan 28, Telemarketing, French educated, married to a Fessi

Siham 24, Dentist, French educated, married to a Fessi

Kawtar 21, Boutique owner, French educated, married to a Fessi

Saida 52, Housewife, married to a Fessi

Fatma 26, Executive Assistant, single and lives with her parents

Zakia 24, Travel Agent, single and lives with her parents

Lamia 22, Housewife, French educated, married to a Fessi

5.11 Data Analysis

I have used analytical techniques of the standard quantitative approach of urban sociolinguistics (Labov 1982). In this approach, the linguistic behavior of speakers is based on frequency-counts of the variables, which are represented with parentheses and their variants are represented with square brackets. The variables investigated in this study are the variable (r) which has the Casablancan variant [r] and the Fessi variant [ɾ], (q) which has the Casablancan variant [ɡ] and the Fessi variants [ɡ] and [ʔ], and (-i) which has the Casablancan variant [-i] and the Fessi variant [Ø]. Analysis of leveling and
maintenance of the Fessi linguistic forms is based on the number of occurrences of each variant of the target variable for each individual speaker. Percentages of the adoption of the Casablancan variants are computed in order to show whether there is evidence of leveling of Fessi forms.

5.12 Conclusion

The ethnographic methodology used in this study allowed me to collect data with minimal bias. Since a major goal of this study is to shed some light on the interaction between migrants' perception of identity and dialect change, informants' narratives were elicited about how informants identify themselves, whether they still identify with their city or village of origin or as 'Casablancans'.

These women's narratives also reveal a great deal of information about what it means to be a 'Casablancan', and what it takes to be (or not to be) one, especially in the context of women's changing roles in Morocco. This helped us understand informants' accommodation (or lack of it) to the Casablanca dialect, and allowed us to answer questions such as whether new dialect formation is contingent upon new identity formation, or vice versa.
CHAPTER 6
THE RĀʔ VARIABLE (r)

6.1 Introduction

Three sociolinguistic variables are examined with regard to dialect leveling in this study. These are two phonological variables (r) and (q), and a morphosyntactic variable (-i). The current chapter focuses on the phonological variable (r).

The (r) variable is a significant marker of dialect differentiation between Fessi and Casablancan dialects and its use casts light on dialect differentiation and dialect leveling. The examination of leveling of (r) proves a useful tool in telling whether Fessis leave behind a variant that is highly stereotyped as Fessi by both Fessis and non-Fessis.

The first section of the chapter describes the linguistic and sociolinguistic characteristics of the variable (r) in Fessi and Casablancan dialects. The second section discusses the outcome of contact between Fessi [t] and Casablancan [r]. Findings show that Fessi women varied in their adoption of Casablancan [r] and maintenance of Fessi [t].

6.2 The RĀʔ in Arabic

In this section, the phonetics of rāʔ in Arabic in general will be discussed. We briefly discuss singleton [r] and trilled [r] in Arabic and their emphatic counterparts [ɾ] and [ɾ], respectively. In most Arabic dialects, there is an alveolar tap or flap, the singlet (flap) and a trill. The singleton [r] is a flap of the tongue past the gum ridge behind the upper front teeth, like Spanish ‘r’ in para ‘for’ or the ‘t’ in the common American pronunciation of such words as ‘water’ and ‘butter’.
Like other consonants in Moroccan Arabic /r/ can be geminate in all positions, initial (ra3el ‘the man’), medial (t;Jr;;q ‘to pound’) and final (hur ‘free’). To my knowledge, there is no acoustic study that has investigated the ratio between short [r] and long [r] in Moroccan Arabic or in other Arabic dialects.

6.2.1 Emphatic /r/ and Plain /r/ in Arabic

Emphatic /r/ and /r/ bear exactly the same relation to their respective plain counterparts /r/ and /r/ as the other emphatic consonants to the corresponding plain consonants.

In early phonetic descriptions of Classical Arabic, there was no distinction between plain /r/ and emphatic /r/. It was considered one phoneme (Al-Nassir 1993). Unlike other alveolar sounds like /l/, /d/ and /s/ where there are two letters of the alphabet that distinguish plain and emphatic consonants, e.g., < ض/ط >, < ض/ن >, (t/ṭ; d/ḍ; s/ṣ), respectively, the letter rāʾ does not have an emphatic counterpart in the Arabic alphabet. A brief overview of the emphatic/plain consonant distinction in Arabic is in order.

6.2.1.1 The Emphatic/Plain Consonant Distinction in Arabic

Arabic distinguishes between plain and emphatic consonants. Articulatorily, the emphatic consonants involve a secondary approximation of the root of the tongue to the upper part of the pharynx, accompanying a primary constriction, most commonly, in the
dental or alveolar region (Ghazeli 1977, Obrecht 1968, Younes 1982, Heath 1987). For instance, /d/ and /q/ differ only in that /d/ is a plain voiced alveolar stop, while /q/ is an emphatic voiced alveolar stop.

In terms of articulation-based feature systems, there have been a number of characterizations of emphatic consonants. Chomsky and Halle (1968) used the feature complex [+low, +back], Hoberman (1989) used the feature [+constricted pharynx]. On the other hand, Van der Hulst & Smith (1982) used the feature [+emphasis] while Heath (1987) used the feature [+pharyngealization]. With the development of feature geometry (Clements 1991, Odden 1991), features like [dorsal] (Herzallah 1990) and Retracted Tongue Root [+RTR] (Davis 1993) were proposed.

When a pharyngealized (e.g., /t/, /q/, /q/) occurs in a word, pharyngealization spreads over neighboring sounds. Therefore, pharyngealization (known in Arabic linguistics as Attafxim [literally, heaviness or thickness] and generally translated into English as “emphasis”) is the process of the spread of the pharyngeal feature over a span of segments.

Acoustically, pharyngealization is shown to have an effect on neighboring vowels. One of the reliable acoustic cues of pharyngealization is a dramatic lowering of the second Formant (F2) and a slight raising of the first Formant (F1) of the vowel(s) in the vicinity of pharyngealized consonants (Obrecht 1968, Al-Ani 1970, Ghazeli 1977, Herzallah 1990). Thus, when we are talking about pharyngealization spread to vowels and consonants in a word, it means that the F2 of the vowels has been lowered, and that the plain consonants become identical in pronunciation to their pharyngealized counterparts. Among emphatic consonants, there is a distinction between primary
emphatics and secondary emphatics. The latter are the result of spreading of the emphasis feature.

6.2.1.2 Emphatic [ʕ] versus Plain [r]: Which is the fundamental phoneme?

Among Arabic phonologists, however, the status of [ʕ] with respect to emphasis is debatable. Modern linguists like Ghazeli (1977) and Al-Mozainy (1981) hold the position that Arabic [ʕ] is underlyingly non-emphatic and in certain contexts (next to back vowels) it has emphatic allophones. On the other hand, Younes (1982, 1994) and Herzallah (1990) argue for a 'de-emphatization' process in some phonetic environments (a high front vowel /i/). Much controversy surrounds [ʕ] as to whether there is a phonemic distinction between emphatic [ʕ] and plain [r], and which one is the 'fundamental' phoneme.

6.2.2 The Variable (r) in Moroccan Arabic

In Moroccan Arabic, as well as other Maghrebi dialects, the status of [ʕ] with respect to emphasis in general is not very clear. The sound [ʕ] was examined primarily to determine whether this variable is fundamentally emphatic or plain, but its status as to which one is the basic phoneme in these dialects is debated (Harrell 1965: 6-7). Most linguistic descriptions of Moroccan Arabic, whether in introductory textbooks of Moroccan Arabic (Brunot 1950, Harris (1966), Abdel-Massih (1973), or in more detailed linguistic analyses of Moroccan Arabic phonology (e.g., Heath 1987, 1989, Caubet 1993), agree on a distinction between plain [ʕ] and emphatic [ʕ]. This is based on the existence of minimal pairs that oppose [ʕ] to [ʕ], which suggests that [ʕ] and [ʕ] are two separate phonemes.
However, compared to other alveolars like /t/, /ň/, /d/ and /s/, /ʃ/ where we can find an abundance of minimal pairs, the rarity of minimal pairs with respect to these two consonants poses an interesting theoretical problem. In this study, a conservative stance will be adopted and plain /r/ and emphatic /r̝/ are considered two separate phonemes in Moroccan Arabic.

6.3 Sociolinguistic Profile of the RĀʾ (r) in Arabic

The variable (r) has received meager attention in Arabic sociolinguistics by comparison to other variables like (q) and the interdentals, for instance. This has to do probably with the fact that (r) does not exhibit too much variation in Arabic and by implication it does not lead to important social stratification. Thus, most studies on Arabic describe (r) as an alveolar trill or tap without mention of any sociolinguistic variants. However, in Cantineau (1941) we find probably one of the earliest descriptions of (r) variation in the Arabic dialects, particularly in some Iraqi and Moroccan dialects.

In Arabic dialects, the r is subject to only one unconditioned alternation which is important: in sedentary speech, the r tends to pass as R. I have personally observed that among the Christians of Baghdad and it is also signaled in the speech of many urban dialects in Morocco, especially in Fez (Cantineau, 1941: 49, Translated from French).

In Iraq, the variable (r) distinguishes among communal dialects (Blanc 1964, Abu-Haidar 1992). In Baghdad in particular this variable is salient in distinguishing Christian Baghdadi (CB) and Jewish Baghdadi (JB) dialects from the Muslim Baghdadi
(MB) dialect. CB and JB have the variant the uvular trill [r] while MB has the alveolar trill [r] variant. It is important to note that CB/JB and MB dialects belong to different dialectal groups. CB/JB dialects trace their origin to the sedentary spoken Arabic of medieval Iraq, while Muslim Baghdadi is of non-sedentary or Bedouin provenance (Jastrow 1978). However, the uvular realization is a feature that CB and JB share with the Muslim Arabic dialect of Mosul (Abu-Haidar 1992).

The following examples compare the pronunciation of /r/ in MSA, CB/JB and MB. They are adapted from Abu-Haidar (1992). Abu-Haidar uses the Arabic letter د to describe the uvular trill /r/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MSA</th>
<th>CB/JB</th>
<th>MB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/r/ vs. د</td>
<td>raʔs</td>
<td>ġaas</td>
<td>raas “head”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>firaas</td>
<td>ġeeš</td>
<td>fraas “bed”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ġayr</td>
<td>ġee</td>
<td>ġeer “other”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The case of the variation among Baghdadi dialects is relevant to our discussion because it lends insights into the accommodation process among the dialects and to Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). Dialectal salient features rarely occur in the increasing borrowings from MSA, which are being diffused into the two dialects to fill the lexical gaps. Some salient features of both dialects (CB and MB) are likely to be retained indefinitely; they are on the whole restricted to well-established dialectal forms referring to everyday items in MB and CB speakers’ lives.

Abu-Haidar (1992) reports that nearly all Christian Baghdadi informants use د for [r] in the everyday forms such as the word دار ‘other’ while younger Christian
Baghdadi informants used trilled [r] in Modern Standard Arabic borrowings like *riba* 'capital interest', and *riḍa*sa* ‘presidency’.

It is important to note that in the case of the Christian and Jewish dialects of Baghdad, for instance, the variant [R] does exist in the phonemic inventory of Classical and Modern Standard Arabic. This means that in these dialects there was a merger of Classical Arabic [r] with [R]. As we will see in the next section, this is not the case for Fessi dialect because Fessi [I] does not exist in the inventory of Arabic.

6.4 *Rā?* (r) in Moroccan Arabic (MA)

*Rā?* (r) in Morocco seems to have at least three regional variants: the alveolar [r], the non-trilled post-alveolar approximant [I], and the uvular trill [R]. Alveolar [r] is the variant used in Casablanca and the predominant variant in most MA dialects. The uvular trill [R] is found in Northern dialects while the non-trilled [I] is the variant found among Fessis. The weakening of trilled [r] is thought to be a pre-Hilalien feature, i.e., a feature that existed in urban dialects prior to the arrival of Bedouin Hilalien dialects to the Atlantic shores of Morocco (Dominique Caubet, personal communication 2002).

6.4.1 Phonetic Characteristics of Casablancan [r] and Fessi [I]

Like other Moroccan Arabic dialects, Casablancan [r] is a voiced alveolar tap or trill. Singlet [r] is a tap while geminate [r] is a trill. Fessi [I], on the other hand, is a phoneme that is not found in Classical/Standard Arabic or in other Arabic dialect looked at so far. Hillili (1979) investigated the phonology and morphology of Fessi speech and provides the following phonetic characterization of plain Fessi [I]:

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... voiced, post alveolar non-trilled consonant. It is produced by a friction through a very narrow passage, while maintained constantly open at the time of emission.” (Hillili, 1979: 99, Translated from French)

There is some variation in earlier descriptions of Fessi [ɾ] however. Brunot (1950) acknowledges that there is a difference between Fessi [ɾ] and non-Fessi [ɾ]. He describes the non-Fessi [ɾ] as voiced lingual trill and Fessi [ɾ] as uvular.

... the inhabitants of Fez have a particular pronunciation of this consonant which makes them recognizable from the first sentence they pronounce; it is a uvular r Brunot (1950: 38, Translated from French).


However, in initial position, the opposition between emphatic [ɾ] and non-emphatic /ɾ/ is always maintained. Emphatic [ɾ] never loses its emphasis even with contact with /i(y)/ as is the case, for instance, in the Hassaniya dialect (Hillili 1979: 101).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial non-emphatic [ɾ]</th>
<th>Initial emphatic [ɾ]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ɂuda ‘to tame’</td>
<td>Ɂuda ‘cemetery’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɁəɁ ‘foot’</td>
<td>ɁəɁ ‘husband, man’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In medial position, the distinction between plain [r] and emphatic [l] is maintained when the two phonemes are preceded by a consonant or a long back vowel /a:/ or /u:/.

**Medial plain [r]**

- /kɔa/ ‘he rented’
- /bɔa/ ‘needle’
- /bɔd/ ‘became cold’
- /iba:ɔə/ ‘yesterday’
- /qu:ɔə/ ‘bald pl.’

**Medial emphatic [l]**

- /mɔa/ ‘woman’
- /bɔa/ ‘letter’
- /bɔd/ ‘he sharpened’
- /fa:ɔə/ ‘he is happy’
- /ʃu:ʃə/ ‘shorts’

However, the opposition noted here in medial position is neutralized towards non-emphasis when the two phonemes are preceded by the long front vowel /iː/, as in [ba:iqi:ɔa] ‘one pancake’ and [h:i:qa] ‘soup’.

To sum up, phonetically the basis of contrast between Casablancan [r] and Fessi [l] is that Casablancan [r] is trilled while Fessi [l] is not. In analyzing the outcome of contact between trilled [r] and non-trilled [l], all realizations of plain and emphatic Fessi [l] will be considered. We turn now to the social differentiation between Casablancan [r] and Fessi [l].

### 6.4.2 Sociolinguistic profile of the variable (r) in Moroccan Arabic

In the next section the sociolinguistic characteristics of (r) in the Fessi and Casablancan dialects are examined. We consider the social values associated with each variant.
6.4.2.1 Casablancan 

The Casablancan variant of (r), the tap/trilled [r], is the most widespread and the most commonly used variant in Morocco. Casablancan [r] is similar to MSA [r]. This is significant because educated Fessis are exposed to this variant early in life. To my knowledge, there is no study on the phonetic and sociolinguistic details of Casablancan [r], and this chapter tries to fill this gap.

The social evaluations that were elicited from speakers about Casablancan [r] in this study reveal that it is a ‘tough’ and ‘masculine’ variant compared to the Fessi variant [t]. These attitudes will be discussed in detail in Chapter 9. These evaluations are akin to early Arab grammarians’ treatment of this consonant, where they talked about the xufuna ‘toughness’ of trilled r (e.g., Sibawayh 781 AD, cited in Al-Nassir 1993).

6.4.2.2 Fessi [t]

The Fessi [t] is a minority form because it is an idiosyncratic feature of the dialect. It is geographically limited to the city of Fez, particularly to the Medina. It has never crossed to other neighboring cities like Meknes for instance or even to other neighborhoods in the city itself. Furthermore, it has never influenced other Moroccan dialects except possibly for some dialects that were brought by rural migrants to the city of Fez. Trudgill’s (1983) idea that linguistic features usually jump from one major urban center to another suggests that Fessi [t] would cross to other urban centers like Meknes, Tangier and Marrakesh for instance. However, restricted mobility before the last quarter of the 20th century may have prevented this.

To the non-Moroccan ears, especially to speakers of other Arabic dialects, the Fessi [t] sounds more like a speech impediment. There does not seem to be a folk theory
about how this pronunciation originated nor how it became characteristic of Fessi speech.
What we hear are comments about how incomprehensible Fessi speech is because of the
unusual way of pronouncing Fessi [t] (see chapter 9).

6.4.2.2.1 Stratification of (r) in Fez

The Fessi [t] is not only geographically limited but varies according to social
stratification. Non-trilled [t] is a distinguishing feature among certain groups of Fessis,
especially among well established Fessi families of Andalusian origin who claim to be
“authentic” representatives of Fessi dialect and culture. As Hillili (1978) notes, Fessis
are a homogeneous group not necessarily defined by age, sex or residence in Fez.

The stratification of trilled and non-trilled r cannot be accounted for in terms of
the speaker’s age, sex or residential area in Fez today. We can, at the least, talk
about groups of families with non-trilled /r/; these are natives of the medina who
have always lived there and have no (or very little) contact with non-Fessis.

Within Fez itself there are variants of (r). Rural immigrant women from lower
socioeconomic classes have settled in the inner city of Fez. These women strive to sound
“urban” and “modern” like upper-class Fessi women hence start imitating Fessi [t]. In
targeting Fessi [t], they miss the target and end up pronouncing the uvular trill /r/ instead
(Hillili, 1979: 99). This is a classic case of hypercorrection.

6.4.2.2.2 Social Evaluation of Fessi [r]

Several social values are attributed to Fessi [t] by non-Fessis in particular.
Non-Fessis regard Fessi [t] as indexing both softness and bourgeoisie (Hillili 1979: 99).
However, the social evaluation of Fessi [t] seem to be gender sensitive. For a Fessi male,
being cast as ‘Fessi’ based on the pronunciation of [t] is equivalent to being “soft” and
less masculine. This, according to Hillili, makes young Fessi males shy away from the non-trilled articulation of Fessi [ɻ] among peers (Hillili 1979). For a female, on the other hand, [ɻ] carries very positive social values for women because sounding feminine is positive for a female in Moroccan culture. Thus, it is not surprising to find Fessi mothers urging their daughters to maintain stereotypical Fessi features in their speech. In the city of Fez today Fessi girls, more than boys, are encouraged to preserve the Fessi way of speaking (Caubet 1993, 1998). Hence, Fessi women in Casablanca seem to be pulled in different directions, whether to remain faithful to the old urban idiosyncratic non-trilled [ɻ] that ensures sounding more feminine and bourgeois or forsake that by adopting the Casablanca variant.

### 6.4.2.2.3 Fessi [ɻ] is a Variant Above the Level of Social Awareness

Non-trilled [ɻ] is a feature that is highly stereotyped as Fessi. “Stereotyped” here is meant in the sense Labov (1994) intends it, as one of those variables that are “the overt topics of social comment and show both correction and hypercorrection...” (Labov 1994: 78). Indeed, the interviews conducted with Fessis and non-Fessis show a heightened degree of awareness that this feature sets the Fessi dialect apart from the non-Fessi dialects. This was quite obvious through dialect performance and overt commentary on the Fessi dialect during the interviews and also during participant observation. It is very easy for Moroccans to tell a Fessi from a non-Fessi, especially based on the sound r.

In short, non-trilled [ɻ] is a Fessi marker par excellence. The Fessi [ɻ] is so far above the level of social awareness that there is a shibboleth to check the authenticity of being Fessi. The phrase تَحَطَّ الصَّدَقَةُ سُلَبَشَةٍ وَدَجَّلاً fa't al-jada fael-bejada u daqet faɻ, ‘the cricket fell in the pot
and became a mouse’ is the ultimate Old Fessi accent test that reveals Fessi [ᵢ] (Aziz Abbassi 2004, personal communication). Fortunately, this shibboleth results in humor rather than death.

In the following section we will address the question whether and to what degree Fessi [ᵢ], a variant that indexes Fessiness (i.e., old urbanity), femininity and bourgeoisie, is sometimes preserved and/or leveled by Fessi women. It is important to remember that what these women come in contact with Casablancan trilled [r], which is a feature that is on the one hand more widespread in Moroccan dialects but socially evaluated as tough and masculine by many Fessis.

6.5 Analysis of Contact between Speakers of Fessi [ᵢ] and Casablancan [r]

In dialect contact situations, strongly localized and stigmatized features are lost in favor of forms which are either found in the host dialect or are widespread in other dialects. It has been shown that this is intimately linked to the kind of attitudes held by the speakers toward their own dialect and toward the host community (Kerswill 2002). In this section we examine evidence of leveling of Fessi [ᵢ] in Casablanca. The goal is to determine how Fessi women behave toward such a highly stereotypical Fessi feature. This analysis seeks to determine the interaction between the linguistic, social and psychological factors underlying the changes that have taken place in this contact situation.

The data for the analysis of the variable (r) is based on tape-recorded interviews I have conducted with 15 Fessi women from three different generations. The first generation of Fessi women is not native of Casablanca and is represented by seven women. The second and third generations are born to Fessi parents in Casablanca and are
represented by eight women, five from the second generation and three from the third generation.

The analysis of the variable (r) is based on the total number of tokens produced by each speaker. All instances of (r), plain and emphatic, short and long, in all phonetic environments were counted. Thus, all occurrences of (r) will be analyzed. No context is excluded from the analysis because there is one variant that is categorically chosen by speakers.

The realizations of the variable (r) were coded on the basis of auditory discrimination, which I have transcribed phonetically making a three-way distinction: Casablancan variant; Fessi variant; intermediate variant. The phonological variable (r) posed some problems in transcription because of its vocalic quality and the phonetic continuum it represents. I tried to be consistent in my division of the continuum between alveolar trill [r], intermediate [f] and non-trilled approximant [j].

The number of occurrences of each variant of the target variable was counted for individual speakers. Percentages of occurrence of each variant were computed for individual speakers. Leveling of (r) is operationalized as a lower frequency of use of Fessi [j]. That is, if informants frequently use Casablancan or the intermediate variant at the expense of the Fessi variant, then it can be said that accommodation has taken place.

It was hypothesized that Fessi women will vary in their adoption of Casablanca variants and/or maintenance of Fessi [j]. In the next section we look at the linguistic outcome of contact between the Casablancan and the Fessi variants among our Fessi subjects.
6.5.1 Linguistic Constraints of Leveling of (r)

The linguistic outcomes of contact between the two variants show that out of the 15 informants, seven women adopted Casablancan [r], four maintained Fessi [t] and two women used an intermediate form. Fessi form means that the speaker produced a non-trilled [t], Casablanca [r] means the speakers produced a trilled [r] and intermediate [f] means the speakers produced a form that is neither Casablanca nor Fessi but comes close to both. Finding that some speakers use an intermediate form supports Trudgill's (1986) notion of interdialect. Quite a few cases of intermediate forms, especially for vowels in English, are reported in the literature (e.g., Britain 1997). Some cases of intermediate forms for consonants and for /t/ in particular are also reported. For instance, Siegel (1993) suggests that the widespread realization of the lightly retroflexed /t/ in Australian English is an instance of interdialect. Siegel describes this realization as being midway between Irish English and London English.

Table 6.1 shows the raw number of tokens from the 15 Fessi informants and the percentages of the use of Casablanca [r].
Table 6.1 Realizations of (r) by Fessis and the percentage of [r] adoption

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Fessi [t]</th>
<th>Intermediate [ɾ]</th>
<th>Casablancan [r]</th>
<th>% of [r]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fessi [t] users</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatima</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amina</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samia</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ihsan</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intermediate [ɾ] users</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawtar</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siham</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>38.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Casablancan [r] users</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nadia</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hayat</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leila</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saida</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khadija</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>98.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamia</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>97.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatma</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>91.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keltoum</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>92.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zakia</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>93.18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.1 clearly shows that the speakers fall into three distinct groups. I will turn to a discussion of the social and attitudinal factors characterizing each group following the linguistic analysis of their realizations of (r).

Analysis of the use of the variable (r) among Fessi women in Casablanca shows that linguistic factors may not influence the change of Fessi [t] to Casablancan [r] or the maintenance of Fessi [t]. Fessi women who adopted Casablancan [r] have adopted it in all positions and in all lexical items while those who maintained Fessi [t] did so in all phonetic environments and in all lexical items. Basically, there does not seem to be a
favorite phonetic environment for the adoption of trilled [r]. This generalization does not seem to alter whether [r] is short or long. It would, however, be interesting to examine if there are any linguistic constraints on the use of the intermediate [ɾ].

There seem to be some linguistic constraints on the variation between the use of trilled [r] and the intermediate [ɾ] by the intermediate users, Kawtar and Siham. Trilled [r] is favored next to back vowels and intervocally. Kawtar for instance used trilled [r]s in the word *drari* 'boys' five times. Siham uses intermediate [ɾ] 61% of the time and trilled [r] about 38% of the time. She is therefore the best candidate for a more detailed analysis on the possible linguistic constraints on the use of trilled [r] and intermediate [ɾ]. This is beyond the scope of this study and will be explored in future work.

We have established that few if any linguistic constraints seem to affect the variation observed in leveling of (r) among Fessi women in Casablanca. Fessi [ɾ], which has vocalic qualities, did show unconditioned change to a consonantal [r]. These findings support the point that the change from one type of /ɾ/ to another in other languages is quite common and oftentimes unconditioned (Wiese 2001: 21). Social factors are important in accounting for the changes.

### 6.5.2 Social Constraints on Leveling of (r)

This section looks at the social constraints on speakers who use Casablancaan [ɾ], those who maintain Fessi [ɾ] and those who use the intermediate form [ɾ]. It is hypothesized that the linguistic accommodation strategies of these social groups will vary according to (1) age of exposure and (2) social network and attitudes. Once the effect for the age of exposure is determined and factored in, we can then turn to the social network of the speakers and their attitudes. After controlling for some of the many potentially
relevant variables mentioned here, the interaction between these factors will be explored using quantitative and qualitative measures.

The sample subjects in this study include first generation Fessis; Fessis who are immigrants to Casablanca, and second and third generation Fessis; Fessis native to Casablanca. Table 6.2 gives speakers by generation.

Table 6.2  Speakers by Generation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st generation</th>
<th>2nd generation</th>
<th>3rd generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fatima</td>
<td>Saida</td>
<td>Fatma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leila</td>
<td>Ihsan</td>
<td>Zakia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hayat</td>
<td>Khadija</td>
<td>Lamia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amina</td>
<td>Siham</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samia</td>
<td>Kawtar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keltoum</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nadia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6.1 presents the percentages of the frequency of use of Casablanca [r] by generation. We can see that four women from the first generation adopted Casablanca [r] while the other three maintain the Fessi approximant. The same is true for informants who are native to Casablanca particularly from the second generation. It is clear that one speaker maintain Fessi [l], two use an intermediate form and two use Casablanca [r]. However, the three speakers from the third generation have all adopted trilled [r]. Apart from the third generation speakers, we cannot make any generalization about the adoption of Casablanca [r] based simply on the immigration or on the nativeness criteria. Other social factors like social network and speakers’ attitudes might shed some light on this variation.
However, before considering these social factors that apply to all three generations, we must first see if we can account for the variation observed among the first generation based on their age of arrival to Casablanca.

6.5.2.1 Age of Arrival Factor

The age at which migrants move to a new geographical area affects the adoption or maintenance of the host features. It has been observed that the rate of adoption differs depending on whether speakers come as adults, children or teenagers (Chambers 1992, 1995; Kerswill 1994). Studies have shown that migrants who arrived at a relatively young age accommodated better to the host dialect than older migrants. Kerswill (1996) suggests that dialect acquisition can occur successfully up to the age of around 16; Chambers (1992) however suggests a lower age. Chambers (1992) notes that “A person seven years or under will almost certainly acquire a new dialect perfectly, and a person 14 or over almost certainly will not. In between those ages, people will vary.” This is
very much akin to a sensitive period in second language acquisition (Long 1990). The main idea is that a low age of arrival does not necessarily guarantee complete acquisition and that the ability to learn new sounds declines gradually with age, not abruptly at any particular age. Further, late arrival does not mean subjects will be unable to acquire all features of the host dialect.

If these general principles hold, subjects who have been exposed to trilled [r] after certain sensitive periods would not likely adopt it. Those however who arrived before these sensitive periods would be more likely to adopt Casablancan [r]. We would like to identify whether there are any such sensitive periods for the acquisition of Casablancan [r] by Fessi migrants, that is the age at which the acquisition of trilled [r] is no longer possible.

6.5.2.1.1 Age of Exposure to the Casablancan Dialect

Age of migration and length of residence are indices of exposure to the Casablancan dialect. Table 6.3 shows that 1st generation subjects are not recent immigrants to the city of Casablanca, they have between 17 to 42 years residence in Casablanca. Their age of arrival varies from 12 to 36 years, which means that some of them arrived at Casablanca as teenagers while others arrived as adults. We will consider if low age of arrival has an effect on adopting trilled [r]. In order to examine the effect of age factor, we will divide 1st generation speakers according to their use of Casablancan [r] or maintenance of Fessi [l]. Table 6.3 gives the current age at interview of first generation subjects, the age at which they have migrated to Casablanca and their duration of stay in Casablanca.
Table 6.3 Age, Age of Migration and Number of Years in Casablanca For First Generation Fessis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Generation Fessis</th>
<th>Interview Age</th>
<th>Age of migration to Casablanca</th>
<th>Number of Years in Casablanca</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maintainers of Fessi [q]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatima</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samia</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amina</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adopters of Casablancan [r]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keltoum</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nadia</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leila</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hayat</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the next section, we discuss the importance of differentiating the age these speakers arrived in Casablanca from their first exposure to the Casablancan dialect. We will show that age of arrival in Casablanca does not coincide with the age of first exposure to the Casablancan dialect. Considering age of first exposure to trilled [r] rather than age of arrival/migration to Casablanca is crucial because it helps minimize inflation of supposed critical or sensitive periods at which native-like pronunciation can be acquired (Long 1993). In order to identify these informants’ first exposure to the Casablancan dialect we will consider their history of mobility.

6.5.2.1.2 Age Factor of Adopters of Casablancan [r]

We found that four immigrant Fessi women are using Casablancan [r]. They arrived in Casablanca at different ages, Nadia arrived at the age of 12, Keltoum at 14, Hayat at 25 and Leila at 36. We will look at their history of mobility in order to
determine whether they were exposed to trilled [r] before their actual age of migration to Casablanca and before sensitive periods, which helps explain why they acquired [r].

Nadia was 36 years old at the time of the interview. She was born in France to a French mother and a Fessi father. She came back to Fez with her parents at the age of four, she lived in Fez and Taza, a town near Fez, until she was 10 years old. She moved back to France with her parents and stayed there for four years and then came to Casablanca when she was 14 years old. She returned to France after she got her high school degree at 18 and stayed in France for 4 years to continue college education. She returned to Casablanca at the age of 22 where she has been living permanently ever since.

Table 6.4 Nadia’s Chronological Age of Mobility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City of residence</th>
<th>France</th>
<th>Fez-Taza</th>
<th>France</th>
<th>Casablanca</th>
<th>France</th>
<th>Casablanca</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nadia’s age</td>
<td>0 to 4</td>
<td>4 to 10</td>
<td>10 to 14</td>
<td>14 to 18</td>
<td>18 to 22</td>
<td>22 to 36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nadia grew up bilingual in French and Moroccan Arabic. Her French mother spoke French to her but her father spoke both Moroccan Arabic and French. We are not sure what type of r-sound the father has. According to Nadia, her father does not speak with ‘thick’ Fessi [ᵢ] but his family does. Nadia was exposed to non-trilled Fessi [ᵢ] from members of her father’s Fessi family since childhood and to trilled [r] from several other sources.

Keltoum was born to Fessi parents in Khenifra, a town several hundred kilometers from Fez and even more distant from Casablanca. Khenifra shares a similar dialect to Casablanca in terms of the phonological variables. Keltoum is Fatima’s daughter. She grew up in Khenifra in a household with old Fessi speakers and non-Fessi
speakers. At the age of 14 she migrated to Casablanca. She has lived in Casablanca for 26 years at the time of the interview. Keltoum is well aware of making the change from Fessi [t] to Casablanca [r] since she reports that her r-sound was Fessi until she arrived in Casablanca.

Nadia and Keltoum both immigrated to Casablanca as teenagers. It has been shown in language acquisition research that children whose parents are non-native speakers of a language achieve a native-like acquisition. Children at first target the speech of their parents and caregivers and later, in adolescence and preadolescence, they accommodate to the speech of their peers. Previous studies have shown that there is great peer pressure at this age (e.g. Eckert 2000).

Hayat was born and raised in Khenifra to a Berber mother and a Fessi father. Her mother is bilingual in Moroccan Arabic and Berber while her father is a speaker of Old Fessi. Hayat was exposed to trilled [r] from her own primary caretaker, her own mother. Although Hayat was living in the same household as Fatima (her Old Fessi speaking half sister), she does not seem to have acquired Fessi [t] from her siblings and the other Old Fessi speaking members of the family. Her age of arrival to Casablanca is irrelevant because she has been exposed to trilled [r] before then. She lived in Khenifra for 25 years, after which she moved to Casablanca. She has been in Casablanca for 25 years at the time of the study.

Leila’s history of mobility shows the complexity of the age-of-exposure variable. Leila was born and raised in Oujda to Old Fessi speaking parents. Oujda is a city in the Northeast of Morocco, about 400 kilometres from Fez and farther from Casablanca. The dialect spoken in Oujda has trilled [r] similar to Casablanca. At the
age of 12, she lost both her parents in a tragic accident and moved to Casablanca to her uncle’s house. She lived there for over a year after which she was sent to a boarding school in Rabat for six months. When she was about 14 years of age, she got married to a Fassi in Khenifra. Leila moved to Khenifra for four years and then to Meknes for 12 years. She and her family all immigrated to Casablanca when she was 36 years of age. At the time of the study, Leila was 60 years old and she has lived in Casablanca for 24 years. Table 6.5 summarizes Leila’s chronological age of mobility.

**Table 6.5  Leila’s Chronological Age of Mobility**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City of residence</th>
<th>Oujda</th>
<th>Casablanca</th>
<th>Rabat</th>
<th>Meknes</th>
<th>Casablanca</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leila’s age</td>
<td>0 to 12</td>
<td>12 to 13</td>
<td>13 to 14</td>
<td>14 to 36</td>
<td>36 to 60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The age factor alone cannot be used to determine the adoption of trilled [r]. Although these four speakers have not lived in Fez, they have lived in Fassi households, surrounded by old Fassi speakers since they were children. As we noted in chapter three, Fessis tend to maintain a very tight network whether they live in Fez or elsewhere. They keep continuous ties with Fez either by weekly visits to Fez or by visits from relatives in Fez coming to them. Despite all this, these four speakers do not exhibit the Fassi [ɾ]. We must then look to social factors to explain this complex picture.

6.5.2.1.3  **Age Factor of Maintainers of Fassi [ɾ]**

There are three immigrant maintainers of Fassi [ɾ] and they are Fatima, Amina and Samia. In this section we will examine these three women’s history of mobility and their degree of exposure to the Fassi [ɾ] and Casablanca [ɾ].
Fatima was born in Fez and raised there until the age of 12. She moved to Khenifra after getting married to a wealthy Fessi merchant. She lived in Khenifra for 30 years before moving to Casablanca. Fatima was in her 70s at the time of the interview and she has lived in Casablanca for 42 years.

Samia was born in Fez and raised there until she was 17 years old. Both her father and mother are Old Fessi speakers. After graduating from high school she went to France for five years for college. She immigrated to Casablanca when she was 22 years old.

Amina was born in Fez to Fessi parents and raised there. She lived in Fez for the first 17 years of her life in what she herself has described as a pure Fessi environment. Both her father and mother are old Fessi speakers, their family members, friends and neighbors. In short, a very tight Fessi-speaking network exists, where the old generation speaks old Fessi and the younger generation speaks modern Fessi. Amina left Fez at 17 when she married her Fessi husband. She left with him for Agadir where they lived for 8 years. Agadir is a Southern city, known as the Berber capital. Berbers in Agadir are bilinguals in Tashlhit (the Berber dialect spoken in the South of Morocco) and dariža (MA). She worked there as a high school French teacher and moved to Casablanca when she was 25 years old. She lived in Marrakesh for a year before her family immigrated to Casablanca. At the time of the interview, Amina has changed her profession. She owns a clothing business. At the time of study she has lived in Casablanca for 25 years.

Table 6.6 Amina’s Chronological Age of Mobility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City of residence</th>
<th>Fez</th>
<th>Agadir</th>
<th>Marrakesh</th>
<th>Casablanca</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amina’s age</td>
<td>0 to 17</td>
<td>17 to 25</td>
<td>25 to 26</td>
<td>26 to 45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We can draw some generalizations about first generation maintainers of Fessi [i]. Contrary to other findings where adults have acquired phonetic variants of the host features, these speakers have not acquired the host feature; trilled [r]. Interestingly enough, these speakers were unable to imitate trilled [r] when I asked them to. This indicates that there may be a sensitive period for the acquisition of trilled [r]. After reviewing their history of mobility and their age of exposure we found that they are born in Fez and raised there until at least the age of 12. This suggests that the age at which Fessi speakers are unable to acquire trilled [r] may be after age 12. The evidence we have here for a sensitive period in the adoption of Casablancan [r] is that these maintainers are unable to trill the [r], whereas Fessi migrants who adopted trill [r] are able to imitate Fessi [i]. However, the correlations with age are clearly not deterministic; we need to consider speakers' attitudes and social network in this process.

6.5.2.2 Effect of Social Network on Users of [r]

The type of a speaker’s social network is one of the various factors that influence language and dialect acquisition. Again in this section we will divide the informants in relationship to users of Casablancan [r], maintainers of Fessi [i] and users of intermediate [i]. It has been suggested that dense social networks act as maintenance mechanism in language change (Milroy 1978, 1992). We will see if the social network of those who maintained Fessi [i] is high-density than those who have adopted Casablancan [r]. Their social networks reinforce these linguistic features.

6.5.2.2.1 Social Network and Maintainers

If we consider both first and second generation subjects we have four women from this study who maintained their Fessi [i]. Three are migrant and one is a native of
Casablanca. Fatima who has lived for more than 60 years away from the city of Fez did not lose any of her old Fessi linguistic traits. She managed to maintain Fessi [t] despite a migration first to Khenifra and later to Casablanca. The answer surely lies in her social network. Fatima maintains an exclusive Fessi social network. Even today, she has minimal contact with the outside world of Casablanca and claims not to understand nor be understood by many Casablancans.

Samia is a bank director while Amina was formerly a French teacher, and more recently owner of traditional clothing store. Clearly, the nature of their jobs does impose contact and interaction with non-Fessis. Therefore an exclusive Fessi network cannot be the reason why their Fessi [t] has not undergone any changes. However, it is worth mentioning that the two women still maintain close contacts with their families in Fez and their circle of friends in Casablanca is predominantly Fessi. Their explanations reflect a sense of the denser networks typical of Fessi families compared to the more diffuse networks of a typical Casablanca migrant. Furthermore, their attitudes towards Fessi [t] reflect the importance of this variant in indexing their Fessiness, which both women consider to be a great asset (see chapter 9 for detailed discussion of attitudes that emerged during the interview).

Hence it is not problematic to explain why Fatima, Amina and Samia did not acquire the Casablancan [r]. But it is problematic to explain why Ihsan, who is native of Casablanca and has been theoretically exposed to Casablancan features throughout her life, has maintained Fessi [t] without the slightest degree of accommodation to Casablancan trilled [r]. How can we therefore account for Ihsan's maintenance of Fessi
The answer to this question might become clear if - rather than the nativeness criterion - other details about Ihsan’s life are taken into consideration.

Ihsan was born in Casablanca and lived there throughout her 30 years. Her mother is not Fessi; she is Rifiya from the Northeastern city of Oujda (Berber from the Rif mountains). The fact that her mother is not Fessi is all the more a reason for her to speak with non-Fessi features. It turned out, however, that her mother is a French-educated woman, from an upper class background, who rarely spoke Moroccan Arabic to her daughter. French is the language constantly spoken by both her parents. The question that begs an answer is where did Ihsan get her Fessi accent? Ihsan was exposed to the Fessi [4] from her grandmother who raised her. It appears that she was greatly influenced by her paternal grandmother who was an authentic Fessi, living with them when Ihsan was growing up. In Moroccan culture, grandmothers are a major influence on their granddaughters and are often a source of pressure to act like a lady and to sound feminine.

Studies have shown however that children at first target the speech of their caregivers, but in adolescence and preadolescence, they accommodate to the speech of their peers. This has definitely not been the case for Ihsan. The question that follows is why is it then that Ihsan has maintained the stereotypical Fessi [4] despite peer pressure to sound Casablanca? It is important to mention at this point that Ihsan went to a private French school in Casablanca, Lycée Lyautey. In a French school, peer pressure to sound ‘normal’, especially for a Fessi-speaking female, might not have been as strong as it would have been had she been in a public school. On the other hand, it is not easy to determine with a degree of confidence how much Moroccan Arabic speakers in a French
school have been exposed to. However, no doubt Ihsan and other Fessi speaking students who went to French schools used less Arabic than Fessis who went to public schools.

Furthermore, Ihsan works in a marketing company where the use of French is obligatory. French was the language constantly used in her conversations with close friends with whom she spends a great deal of time daily. Most of her close friends, who are also her colleagues, are not Fessi. They happen to be upper class women from different regional backgrounds and, like Ihsan, they all went to French schools. It is important to note at this juncture that r-sounds in Standard French are different from both the Casablancan trilled alveolar [r] and the Fessi post-alveolar approximant [l] and they have no influence on the maintenance of the Fessi variant.

Ihsan’s case shows that being native to Casablanca, i.e., having been born, raised, attended school in Casablanca and having never lived anywhere else, is no guarantee that a Fessi speaker will accommodate to the Casablancan dialect. Ihsan poses a challenge to Moumine’s (1990) analysis insofar as she is native to Casablanca but does not speak Casablancan.

### 6.5.2.2.2 Social Network and Intermediate Speakers

The intermediate speakers seem to also be influenced by social network. Siham and her sister Kawtar are natives of Casablanca. They are children of Fessi parents. Siham varies between the Casablancan [r] and the intermediate variant approximately 50% of the time. Kawtar, on the other hand, uses the intermediate variant almost all the time. This is attributed to their exposure to their parents’ dialect, balanced by peer pressure of non-Fessis. Their intermediate [r] is reinforced by their extensive Fessi social network, more so for Kawtar than for Siham. They go to Fez on a regular basis because
the father has business there. Kawtar says that people tell her she speaks more Fessi than her sisters. Kawtar considers the intermediate [ɾ] she uses to be normal and she contrasts it to the non-trilled Fessi [ɾ], which she considers to be too maksluqa ‘strong or thick’.


Kawtar: At least [ɾ] has a little charm to it. It depends though. It suits some people but not others. There is a type of r that is normal and there is a type of [ɾ] that is very thick Fessi.

Kawtar explains the reason why she does not use a trilled [r] and attributes that to exposure to her Fessi-speaking parents more than her sisters were.

Kawtar: Lla tajgululi nti fassia ʃla tes soeurs, tu parle ʃwiya maksluqa ʃla tes soeurs. Parce que mes parents, j'etait la plus jeune, ma mere lli rbbatni et mon pere, ce qui fait huma bq� fasijjin, je parle le meme langage. zawsma mes soeurs bqaw mʕa la nurse lli tatrabbihum, ʃi wahda kathedr mʕahum...

Kawtar: People tell me you are more Fessi than your sisters, you speak with Fessi accent more than your sisters. Because my parents, I was the youngest, my mother and father are the ones who raised me. And since they are both Fessi, I speak like them. My sisters were raised by a nanny, she was speaking to them...

Siham, on the other hand, believes that her [r] is like mine, which is trilled. Her comments on the way she pronounces [r] came as she was talking about the way I speak and how different it is from Fessi dialect.

Siham: ʃendok [ɾ] uhdartok mafiʃaʃ lәşna, kathedri bhali.

Siham: You have [ɾ] and your accent does not have sing-song to it. You speak like me.

The intermediate forms are not counted as being Casablancan because it seems clear, at least in the minds of these users, that this pronunciation casts speakers as being
Fessi. Therefore, speakers who produce intermediate forms are not considered to have adopted the Casablancan variant.

6.5.2.2.3 Social Network and Adopters

In general, the women who have adopted Casablancan [r] have a more open network than the ones who have maintained Fessi [ɾ]. However, age and social network are determining factors. In the case of the first generation, having a non-Fessi mother, in the cases of Nadia and Hayat, might have been a factor in adopting trilled [ɾ]. For Leila many factors might have contributed to her adoption of trilled [ɾ]: maids, growing up in an environment where trilled [ɾ] is used more often, the fact that she moved to Casablanca when she was a teenager. Her mobility might be a factor in why she adopted trilled [ɾ]. For Keltoum peer pressure in Khenifra and Casablanca might be factors. Some of the second and third generation Fessis, who were exposed to Casablancan [ɾ] from their maids and nannies, tended to use Casablancan [ɾ] rather than the Fessi [ɾ] of their parents. In other cases, the influence of Fessi caretakers, mainly parents and grandparents, was greater than maids, nannies and peers, and the subject maintained Fessi [ɾ]. In other words, exposure alone is not enough for speakers to adopt trilled [ɾ] because attitudes are also very important.

Lamia, a third generation user of trilled [ɾ], was influenced by the maids in the household to adopt the Casablancan [ɾ] as she makes clear from the following extract.
Atiqa: et tes parents?
Lamia: Oui, ma mere l-ʔa u ra. Mon pere kaigul lqa...
Atiqa: maxr3tiS tathɔdri bhal hakkak,
Lamia: la, peut etre hna za@media, avec les bonnes on apprend, mes parents maʃi huma, maʃɔlləmnaʃ mənhum hədra Fassija.

Atiqa: And your parents?
Lamia: Yes, my mother speaks with [ʔ] and [ɬ], my father speaks with [q] and [t].
Atiqa: you do not speak like them at all
Lamia: No, maybe because we learned from the maids. Our parents are not the ones who raised us, we did not learn Fessi dialect from them.

6.6 Conclusions

This chapter has looked at the variable (r). We have divided our target group into various categories, (1) those who maintained Fessi [ɬ]; (2) those who left it behind in favor of Casablancan [r]; and (3) those who used an intermediate form [ɬ] which — at least in the minds of the speakers using it — seems to be a form of first dialect maintenance. We have looked at the linguistic as well as the social constraints in order to account for the variability observed among Fessi women.

Findings show that hardly any linguistic constraints affect the adoption of trilled [r] or the maintenance of Fessi [ɬ], since speakers who adopted trilled [r] have adopted it in all their speech, while those who maintain Fessi [ɬ], maintain it in all their speech as well. For the intermediate users, however, very few linguistic constraints were identified.

The examination of the social constraints on leveling and/or maintenance reveals that there is an interaction between age, social network and attitudes. A tight-knit Fessi network and relatively late exposure to trilled [r] are instrumental in the maintenance of the Fessi approximant by migrants from Fez to Casablanca. The age factor demonstrated that late age of frequent exposure to the Fessi approximant, which is the result of a tight-knit Fessi network, is important for maintenance. The evidence provided is that
maintainers are not able to trill the [r]. On the other hand, adopters of Casablancan [r] can in fact produce the Fessi approximant when they were asked to imitate both variants. Similar to the maintainers, the adoption of Casablancan [r] can also be accounted for by considering social and attitudinal factors. In general, most adopters turn out to have relatively weak Fessi network ties than the maintainers. For both maintainers and adopters the age and network factors are reinforced by social attitudes and group identity.

Findings from this study have shown that being native of Casablanca, i.e.; having been born, raised, attended school in Casablanca and having never lived anywhere else, is no guarantee that a Fessi speaker will accommodate to the Casablancan dialect. Ihsan is a case in point. This indicates that an individual’s network and the attitudes that might develop and be maintained in that network, practices that reinforce one’s Fessiness, do wreak havoc on nativeness itself.

Furthermore, exposure to MSA trilled [r] did not turn out to be a motivating factor for Fessis to change the highly stereotypical Fessi pronunciation. This is supported by the fact that Fessi [?] is maintained among three young educated Fessi speakers. This suggests education does not have the same effect on [?] as it did for the change attested from the Old Fessi variant (the glottal stop [?]) to the Modern Fessi variant (the uvular stop [q]). In the next chapter we take up the variable (q).
CHAPTER 7
THE QĀF VARIABLE (q)

7.1 Introduction

The qāf variable, the uvular stop and its variants, is instrumental in distinguishing Fessi and Casablancan dialects. In fact, qāf variation sets apart old urban dialects from rural and neo urban dialects in Morocco in general. Similar to rāʔ, this variation is well above the level of social awareness. Unlike rāʔ, however, Fessi realizations of qāf; [ʔ] (old variant) and [q] (modern variant) are not idiosyncratic of Fessi speech, but are also characteristic of other old urban dialects. Furthermore, the modern Fessi variant [q] also coincides with the standard Arabic variant.

The examination of how Fessi informants treat the qāf variable will elucidate the process of leveling of a highly salient variable because this variable is not stereotypical of Fessi speech alone. Fessis have an old urban variant that is also standard. However, they also encounter another variant, that of Casablanca, which is considered rural despite being the dialect of a city.

The current chapter is divided into three sections. Section 7.1 discusses the linguistic and sociolinguistic characteristics of qāf in Arabic. Section 7.2. examines qāf in Moroccan Arabic by paying particular attention to the Fessi and Casablancan dialects. Section 7.3 examines the linguistic and social outcomes of contact between the Fessi and Casablancan variants.

The quantitative and qualitative analyses of the linguistic and extra linguistic parameters that influence the process of leveling of (q) reveal that Fessi women vary in their leveling of qāf as they did with rāʔ. Findings show that the same women who
maintained Fessi [r] also maintained Fessi variants of qāf. However, women who left behind Casablancan [r] did not entirely leave behind modern Fessi [q].

7.2 The Qaf in Arabic

The qāf is a significant variable due to its importance as a geographical, social, and stylistic variable in the Arabic speaking communities. Because of this it is probably one of the most highly studied variables in Arabic sociolinguistics (Blanc 1964; Cadora 1970; Al-Ani 1976; Abdel Jawad 1981; Owens and Bani Yassin 1987; Haeri 1991, 1997).

Dialectologists have long relied on the different realizations of qāf to define local dialect boundaries and to trace isoglosses. This distinction has been noted as being in existence as early as pre-Islamic Arabia, and it is still a significant marker in distinguishing Bedouin from sedentary dialects in the Arabic speaking world (Cadora 1989). For instance, the use of the voiced velar stop [g] is typical of Bedouin speech while the voiceless uvular stop [q] is typical of sedentary (city) speech.

The history of qāf in the Arabic speaking communities reveals that this sound has merged with several other sounds. The most common ones are the glottal stop [ʔ], the voiceless uvular stop [q] and voiceless velar stop [g]. For instance, Classical Arabic /q/ has merged with /ʔ/ in Cairene Arabic and several other urban dialects in the Levant. In many Bedouin dialects in the Gulf, the Levant and North Africa /q/ has merged with /g/. However, in a large number of urban dialects in the Maghreb, Classical Arabic /q/ was maintained. Merger of /q/ with other sounds are also noted. In Jordan, for instance, /q/ has merged with /k/ in some Fellahi (rural) dialects and with /dj/ in some dialects in the
Arabian Peninsula (Gulf dialects). Despite these mergers, the /q/ was preserved in only a few words, like Qur'an.

Recent sociolinguistic studies have shown that (q) and its variants carry more social meaning in different Arabic speech communities than just simply delimiting regional boundaries. The qāf was shown to be very useful in marking communal loyalties. In Iraq, for instance, the use of the glottal stop [ʔ] distinguishes Christian and Jewish from Muslim dialects (Blanc 1964). The use of [ʔ] or [g] indexes the urban or rural origin of the speakers in Bahrain and Tunisia and distinguishes educated from uneducated speakers (Cadora 1970, 1992; Holes 1986; Walters 1996; Holes 1986; Jabeur 1987).

In most modern dialects of Arabic, Classical Arabic [q] has reappeared, and its use is increasing. It is generally agreed that the [q] reappearance is the result of the spread of mass education, which brought exposure to the reading and writing of Classic/Standard Arabic to Arabic speaking communities. Classical Arabic did not influence the spoken language before the advance of education because it was limited to the reading-writing religious elite. Daily prayers are recited in Classical Arabic and heard in mosques but this was not enough to affect major changes in the dialects. It is important to note that literacy interacts with gender, age and regional origin of the speaker in the Arab world. Thus literacy rates are generally lower among women and older people than among men and younger people. Similarly, literacy rates are lower among rural than urban speakers. Several studies have shown that exposure to Standard Arabic is one of the main factors behind dialect change in Arab societies (Cadora 1970, 1992; Holes 1986; Walters 1996 among others). These sociolinguistic studies have
provided empirical evidence that educated speakers use the standard variant [q] in their speech more often than their uneducated counterparts do.

An interesting phenomenon, however, is that the standard variant [q] coexists with its modern reflexes, e.g., [ʔ], [g] and [k]. That is, [q] sound is not being generalized to other parts of the vocabulary to replace the other variants. Most studies and analyses of the variability between [q] and other variants agree that its use represents a series of lexical borrowings from the classical vocabulary ((Blanc 1960; Al-Ani 1976; Abdel Jawad 1981; Owens and Bani Yassin 1987; Haeri 1991, 1997). No phonological conditioning has been found to influence the persistent variability between [q] and other reflexes. Most studies have shown that the qāf word class has not been restored in modern dialects of Arabic. Instead it coexists with the other variants. However, this is not the case in the Fessi dialect where [q] has been restored, as will be shown in section (7.3.1.1).

Sociolinguistic studies of Arabic speaking communities have shown that qāf is a sociolinguistic variable that correlates with sex, social class, education, urban/rural origins and stylistic levels. In Amman, for instance, the use of the standard variant [q] was found to increase with the formality of style, high level of education, and among men and Fellahin (rurals) while the adoption of some Bedouin variants, such as [g] was found to be favored among some urban and Fellahin (rural) men. It is reported that the social networks of the informants, the amount of participation in public life and intermarriages contribute to all these three processes. Furthermore, the use of the urban variant [ʔ] is favored by educated women of all origins in Amman (Abdel Jawad 1981).

In Egypt, Haeri (1997) explored the social groups in which qāf has re-appeared. She found that men in all educational levels and social classes have a significantly higher usage of the Classical/Standard qāf than women. This implies that the linguistic behavior of Cairene women is less ‘conservative’ than men, a finding that corroborates findings of previous studies across the Arab world. Furthermore, upper class speakers with the highest levels of education were not the ones who most frequently used this Classical/Standard variable. Her findings confirmed previous observations that women in Arabic speaking countries employ the locally prestigious varieties more than men. Because the qāf variable shows an interaction between Classical Arabic and Egyptian Arabic, Haeri (1997) coins the term ‘diglossic variable’ to distinguish it from sociolinguistic variables in both diglossic and non-diglossic settings.

In sum, most studies generally agree on the reasons for the coexistence of [q] with its modern reflexes. There is a process of lexical borrowing from CA into the dialects, and not one of replacement where every non-classical reflex would change to a qāf. These studies have also found conclusively that women target the urban variant [ʔ] rather than the standard variant [q]. This means that the urban variant is the new regional standard.

7.3 Qāf in Moroccan Arabic

In Morocco, the different realizations of qāf are markers of regional and social dialects (Youssi 1986, Moumine 1990). While it is true that the variants of qāf are key to
defining regional boundaries and distinguishing old urban speakers from neo-urban and rural speakers, this is only one aspect of q/g alternation in Moroccan Arabic. There are at least three possible explanations to the existence of [q] and [g] in Moroccan Arabic (Caubet 1993: 12). The observed variation can be explained by the fact that /q/ and /g/ are separate phonemes. This explains the existence of minimal pairs such as, qˤrˤa ‘bottle’ and ǧrˤa ‘pumpkin, zucchini’, bˤrqia ‘telegram’ and ǧrˤgia ‘brunette’, gaˤf ‘only’ and qaˤf ‘buttocks’. The second explanation of the variation observed in Moroccan Arabic between [q] and [g] is that they are reflexes of different phonemes. This becomes clear after looking at the history of each phoneme. While /q/ is the reflex of Classical Arabic *q, /g/ in Moroccan Arabic has two sources ‘jim’ /ʒ/ and ‘qāf ’ /q/.

In the case where [g] is a reflex of the history of *ʒ, we find words such as glas ‘sit’, ngsaˤ ‘pear’ and gazzar ‘butcher’. Such words are pronounced with [g] in both urban and rural dialects. The *ʒ to g sound change has taken place in other Arabic dialects. Unlike Egyptian Arabic, for instance, where there was a total shift from Classical Arabic /ʒ/ to /g/ in almost all lexical items, Classical Arabic /ʒ/ split into /ʒ/ and /g/ in Moroccan Arabic. The following examples illustrate this point.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classical Arabic</th>
<th>Moroccan Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ʒabal/</td>
<td>/ʒbaːl/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʒazzaːr/</td>
<td>/gzaːːr/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The third type of variation between [q] and [g] in Moroccan Arabic, and the one that concerns us in this study, occurs when [q] and [g] both are reflexes of Old Arabic *q. They are thus two realizations of the same phoneme with an urban realization [q] and a
rural [g]. This accounts for the variation between *hræg* ~ *hræq* ‘burn’, *hærq* ~ *hærg* ‘thunder’ and many other words with [q] and [g]. Since this type of variation is the main concern in this study, a few words on its frequency in the Moroccan Arabic lexicon are in order.

Moumine (1990) calculated the frequency of lexical items where [q] ~ [g] variation is possible and compared them to those containing an obligatory [q] and an obligatory [g]. He relied on tape-recorded data from Casablanca speakers and Harrell and Sobelman’s (1966) Moroccan Arabic dictionary to calculate this frequency. He found that 70% of Moroccan Arabic words have an obligatory [q], 23% of the words have an obligatory [g], and only 7% of the words in the lexicon show variation between [q] and [g]. This indicates that there are more lexical items with /q/ than those with /g/ in Moroccan Arabic lexicon and even fewer items where variation between q and g is possible. Table 7.1 illustrates this point. Moumine’s findings are important to this study because they explain the small number of tokens that were extracted in my own data.

| Table 7.1 Distribution of /q/ and /g/ in MA Lexicon |
|---------------------------------|---------|---------|----------------|
|                                 | Obligatory [q] | Obligatory [g] | [q] ~ [g] variation |
| Lexicon                         | N= 1290    | N= 420   | N= 135          |
|                                 | 70%       | 23%      | 7%              |

Source: Moumine (1990)

In the same study, Moumine examined the phonological environments in which the variation between [q] and [g] occurs and found that word medial position is the place where the scores are relatively higher, 40% of [q ~ g] variation occurs in medial position. He also found that /q/ is more frequent in final position and /g/ is more frequent in initial
position. This is relevant for the present study because it suggests that Fessi speakers may preserve [q] in final position and adopt [g] in initial position.

7.3.1 Geographical Distribution of Qāf Variants in Moroccan Arabic

So far, we have mentioned that urban (historically sedentary) dialects use [q] while rural (historically Bedouin) dialects use [g]. Table 7.2 lays out the geographical distribution of qāf variants in Morocco and shows the variation between the glottal stop [ʔ] and [q] in urban dialects.

**Table 7.2 Distribution of (q) in Moroccan Dialects**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geographical area</th>
<th>Muslim</th>
<th>Non-Muslim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North West</td>
<td>?~q for q</td>
<td>q for q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlantic Plains</td>
<td>q~g for q</td>
<td>g for q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>g for q</td>
<td>g for q</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Moumine (1990: 58)

Although Moumine lists all urban dialects to have the glottal stop [ʔ], in fact, these dialects have different types of glottals. For instance, in Northern cities such as Tangier, Tetouan and Larache the glottal stop akin to the Levantine pronunciation is found. In Rabat among old urbanite Andalusian families, an affricated emphatic glottal and an affricated emphatic uvular /q/ are variations of qāf (Messaoudi 2002). Finally, an emphatic glottal/laryngeal is found in Sefrou, Taza and Fez (Hillili 1979).

In the next section we turn to the variable (q) in the Fessi dialect and we discuss its linguistic and sociolinguistic characteristics.
7.3.2 Qāf in Fessi Dialect

Fessi dialect has two variants of qāf, a voiceless laryngeal stop [ʔ] and a voiceless uvular stop [q]. The [ʔ] is an Old Fessi variant while [q] is a Modern Fessi variant (Hillili 1979: 116). This variation is one of the distinguishing features between old and modern Fessi. Hillili maintains that the glottal stop [ʔ] of Classical Arabic does not exist in Old Fessi. This sound is limited to some Classical Arabic loan words like ḫummiyy ‘illiterate’, 1-ʔamaːna ‘loyalty’. Old Fessi distinguishes between a plain and a pharyngealized [ʔ] depending on adjacent vowels. The pharyngealization of [ʔ] is triggered by back vowels.

Diachronically, Classical Arabic /q/ has merged with /ʔ/ in Old Fessi. Thus, in Old Fessi every word with Classical /q/ is pronounced with /ʔ/. In recent years, however, there has been a reversal of this merger. The /ʔ/ sound which represents old /q/ has disappeared among young Fessis. It is believed that the reversal of this merger is tied to the influence of literary Arabic that these youngsters are exposed to in school. In other words, because of mass education in the 20th century, which has brought forth constant exposure to literary Arabic, literary [q] has replaced [ʔ] among Fessis. Thus, the glottal pronunciation is found among old uneducated Fessi speakers, particularly, among urban Fessi women (Caubet 1993).

Interestingly, a phenomenon of hypercorrection has been observed among some Fessis. Some male informants say /q/ instead of /ʔ/ when they pronounce words they think are loans from Classical Arabic. For instance, they pronounce the Classical Arabic [qurʔaːn] ‘Koran’ as [qorqaːn] (Hillili 1979: 116).
Unlike other Arabic dialects in which the qāf has been re-introduced through a series of lexical borrowings from the Standard dialect, in the Fessi dialect there was a total shift from the glottal stop [ʔ] to the uvular stop [q] among young educated Fessis.

It is quite apparent that access to education does not seem to have the same effect on (r) as it did for (q). Contrary to the situation for [r], which has remained a feature of young educated Fessi speakers, exposure to MSA trilled [r] is not a sufficient motivating factor for Fessis to change their pronunciation of the non-trilled [q]. Does this mean that in contact with Casablancan dialect, Fessi speakers will maintain [r] and switch [q]?

It is important to mention at this point that despite the small number of lexical items that vary between [q] and [g], this variation is well above the level of social awareness. The heightened awareness of qāf variation is clear in participants’ remarks about Fessi dialect (see chapter 8 for a detailed account of speakers’ attitudes towards the Fessi and Casablancan dialects). For instance, Saida expressed her

| Saida: hdart Fassa ḥaqiqa makat3jbnich bazzāf...dak tba‘bi’, udak qālli uqotlak matay3jbnich...duk lli kawzəwzu... makayn mahsən mən lhədra l3adiya... | Saida: Actually, I don’t quite like the way Fessis speak... I don’t like their glottalization and their q sound and their z sounds... there is nothing better than a normal way of speaking... |

Just as there is a test for [r] to test Fessiness of the speakers, there is a test for [q]. This test uses [q] in several words in order to illustrate the pronunciation of qāf: Assi Abdelbaqi, wash xriti walla baqi – rah mazal bin flaqi. ‘Mr Abdelbaqi, did you go to the
7.3.3 $\mathsf{Qāf}$ in Casablanca

There is variation between [$q$] and [$g$] in Casablanca dialect. The social structure of ($q$) is interesting in the sense that there are not only social variables but there are also some linguistic constraints which govern the realizations of its variants, [$q$] and [$g$] (Moumine 1990: 155-156).

In Casablanca dialect the variable ($q$) is a class marker (Moumine 1990). Moumine found that compared to the other variables, which were found to correlate with the sociogeographical distribution of the informants, ($q$) stratifies the Casablanca informants into two distinct socioeconomic strata; middle classes and working classes. The difference between them is quite high and statistically significant. Furthermore, Moumine examined sex differentiation with respect to ($q$). He found that females use the variant [$q$] more often than males. He offers the explanation that “this is not surprising ….males tend to use the prestigious forms less often than females.” The classical explanation to gender differences that women target the standard form in stable variation is relevant to us because it suggests that women will not change the Fessi [$q$] even though it coincides with the standard variant.

In summary, Moroccan Arabic has several variants for the $\mathsf{Qāf}$. Unlike other Arabic dialects, there was a total reversal of the merger of Old Fessi [$ʔ$] to the standard variant [$q$] in Modern Fessi. In Casablanca the $q/g$ variation stratifies speakers into classes and distinguishes between the sexes as well. Middle and upper classes were
found to favor [q] over [g] and women were found to favor the standard [q] variant over [g].

7.4 Leveling of (q) Variable in Casablanca

In this section we examine evidence of leveling of the (q) variable. The Fessi variants [ʔ] and [q] are not as strongly localized as Fessi [ɾ] since they are part of other old urban dialects. In dialect contact situations strongly localized and stigmatized features are lost in favor of forms which are either found in the host dialect or are widespread in other dialects. The goal therefore is to determine whether Fessi women in Casablanca vary in leveling the (q) variable as they did toward the (r) variable. How Fessi women behave toward such a salient old urban variant will clearly distinguish Fessi women who hold on to the linguistic variants that index their old urbanite status from Fessi women who are keen on sounding Casablancan.

For the analysis of the leveling of the qāf variable only those lexical items that show variation between q and g in Casablancan dialect were considered. All other words that either have an etymological (CA) /*j/ and words where [q] and [g] are invariant were excluded from the analysis of leveling of qāf. The number of tokens of the [q] and [g] variation were counted and percentages were computed.

Leveling of (q) in Casablanca is operationalized as a higher frequency of use of Casablancan [g]. That is, if informants frequently use the Casablancan variant at the expense of the Fessi variant, then accommodation is taking place. Table 7.3 gives the frequency of use of the different variants of (q) by all 15 Fessi informants.
Table 7.3 Frequency of the Realization of (q) by Fessis in Casablanca

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>[?]</th>
<th>[q]</th>
<th>[g]</th>
<th>% of [g]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fatima</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amina</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samia</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ihsan</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leila</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>42.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keltoum</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>38.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hayat</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>38.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nadia</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>58.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saida</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khadija</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawtar</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>76.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatma</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siham</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>66.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zakia</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>42.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamia</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>66.66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Results for the analysis of the qāf variable reveal variation across Fessi women. We start by looking at the four women who have maintained the Fessi variants and explain the social factors behind their lack of accommodation to the Casablancan variant. After that we examine the linguistic and sociolinguistic constraints of variation among Fessi women who varied in their use of [q] and [g].

7.4.1 Maintenance of Fessi Variants

The maintenance of Old and Modern Fessi variants of qāf means that speakers did not use the Casablancan variant [g] where variation between [g] and [q] is possible. Table 7.3 shows that four women have maintained the Fessi variants. These women can be divided into two groups; [?] users and [q] users, with [?] being the Old Fessi variant
and [q] the Modern Fessi variant. The [?] users group includes only one speaker; Fatima. In fact, she is the only Old Fessi speaker among the 15 Fessi informants in this study. She has maintained the Old Fessi laryngeal pronunciation not only in items where variation is possible but in all lexical items which have the standard Arabic /q/. This is characteristic of Old Fessi speech (see section 7.2). The second group, on the other hand, includes the three women, Amina, Samia and Ihsan, who have maintained the Modern Fessi variant [q]. It is important to note that none of these three Fessi women has the old Fessi variant [?] as part of her speech. Furthermore, none of them shows any variation between [q] and [g] either. In the next section, we discuss some of the factors responsible for this lack of change. It is worth noting that the same group of women who maintain Fessi [r] also maintain Fessi variants of (q).

### 7.4.1.1 Social Constraints

Social constraints on the outcome of dialect contact can be examined by considering the age of first exposure to the host dialect and the kind of input from the speakers’ social networks and communities of practice.

Age of first exposure is important to the discussion of Fessi speakers’ exposure to Casablanca features during sensitive periods. Age of arrival to Casablanca, as we have discussed in detail in Chapter 6 (Section 6.2), does not correlate with age of exposure to the Casablancan dialect. Native and non-native Fessi informants were exposed to non-Fessi features since childhood. This early exposure comes from several sources; domestic help (maids, nannies, chauffeurs), school, radio, television and local speakers. This is true for the women who grew up in Fez as well as those who grew up in Casablanca or Khenifra. Despite their exposure to Casablancan-like features almost all
their lives they managed to maintain Fessi features. The three non-native informants who have maintained Fessi variants have had over 17 years residence in Casablanca. Their age of arrival to Casablanca ranges from 12 to 30. The question is not whether they were exposed to it or not, what is important is (1) the amount and type of dialect exposure; (2) the social status of the people they were in constant contact with who had non-Fessi features; and (3) the amount of peer pressure to give up their Fessi features.

The input variable involves the education of speakers, their social networks and communities of practice. As we will see the education variable is intimately linked to speakers’ social networks.

Education is probably the main distinguishing social factor between Fatima and the other three Fessi speakers who maintained the modern Fessi variant [q]. Fatima has never received any formal literacy training. In fact, she is the only Fessi informant in this study who is non-literate. The fact that [ʔ] has been preserved in her speech is evidence that Old Fessi variants are preserved among old Fessi women whether they have remained in Fez or they have migrated to other cities. Furthermore, the fact that educated women in this study use [q] rather than [ʔ] supports previous observations that features of Old Fessi have indeed disappeared in the speech of educated young Fessi women. Contrary to other Arabic dialects, such as Cairene and Amman Arabic, the qāf word class has been restored in Modern Fessi. That is, there was a process of replacement of every non-Classical Fessi [ʔ] with a [q].

It was mentioned earlier (in Section 7.1) that MSA, which is learned in school, used in bureaucracy and heard on radio and television, has had an impact on the spoken dialects. Mass education gave access to CA and MSA to people from all walks of life.
By becoming so accessible, the influence of these varieties on non-classical varieties has widened tremendously.

However, it is important to stress that education is a complex factor. More than mere literacy, education interacts with changes in the social network of the speakers (Al-Wer 2003). Education for Fessi women in Morocco means not only access to the Standard variety, but also constant exposure to non-Fessis and their speech. Education allowed for a relative change in the Fessi social network. That is, education has led to the fragmentation of a previously tight-knit Fessi network and the development of weak ties with non-Fessis.

A tight network acts as a mechanism for maintenance (Milroy 1980). Thus, the nature of the social network of Fessi women in Casablanca may affect the rate of their accommodation to Casablancan forms. Let us consider the social network of the speakers who maintain Fessi variants.

Fatima has been in Casablanca for over 30 years but did not lose any of her Old Fessi linguistic traits. This is clearly shown here in her retention of the laryngeal variant. Interestingly, she left the city of Fez at the age of 12 to go to Khenifra; a small town that shares with Casablanca the same ‘rural’ linguistic variants. It is important to explain how she managed to maintain her Old Fessi dialect despite a first migration to Khenifra and a later one to Casablanca. This should come as no surprise if we consider her social network, which has been exclusively Fessi throughout her life. She has had minimal contact with the outside world of Casablanca and that of Khenifra and claims not to understand or be understood by non-Fessis. Today, she lives in a building where all the tenants are Fessis, most of whom are family members, relatives and friends. This gives
us a very clear idea about Fatima’s dense and multiplex social network. Fatima is a living example of females from the aristocracy in Morocco. In the past these women had very limited access to the outside world. Unlike women from the working classes who depended on their own labor for wages and had more open network ties, females from the aristocracy had very tight social network usually limited to their class and their kin. In short, because Fatima did not develop weak ties through which linguistic changes flow and are diffused, no significant changes have taken place in the way she speaks.

An exclusive Fessi network, however, cannot be the reason for why the dialect of Amina and Samia has not undergone any changes. Amina is a business owner and was previously a high school French teacher and Samia is a bank director. Clearly, the nature of their jobs imposes constant contact and interaction with non-Fessis. How can their retention of the Fessi variant [q] be explained? It is significant that the two women still maintain close contacts with their families in Fez and that their circle of friends in Casablanca is predominantly Fessi. Both women migrated to Casablanca in their early 20s and have lived there for more than 17 years. They were exposed to the glottal stop [ʔ] from their own parents and other members in their households. In addition, exposure to French might have an effect on their choice of linguistic variants, and this too is a function of literacy. The two women both speak a great deal of French in their everyday life. As a bank director, the language used in transactions is predominantly French. Although, Samia has a relatively less dense network, her constant use of French in the workplace and with non-Fessi friends obviously lessens the use of Moroccan Arabic altogether. It thus reduces both the use of and the exposure to Moroccan Arabic. Hence
any potential accommodation to Casablanca is decreased. These factors might have contributed to the maintenance of her Fessi dialect.

Some generalizations as far as age and exposure may be made concerning migrant Fessi women who maintained their Fessi dialect. We can argue that the three women, Fatima, Amina and Samia, were “isolated” in their exposure to other dialects until they had reached an age where their language was relatively fixed and the period in which they were most sensitive to influences from other dialects had passed. In other words, the three women were all born and raised in Fez and have had a relatively dense Fessi network at least until the age of 12. This means that these women did not have constant exposure to non-Fessi features during sensitive periods where acquisition might have been possible. This interpretation would work also in the case of Ihsan if we agree that she too has limited exposure to the Casablanca dialect during sensitive periods despite the fact that she is native to Casablanca. We have discussed Ihsan’s case in detail in the previous chapter (section 6.2.2.1). We have seen that during the earliest stages of her life her primary caregivers were her Old Fessi speaking grandmother and her parents who constantly spoke French to her.

Limited exposure during sensitive periods to the Casablanca dialect may be a factor in Ihsan’s failure to adopt the Casablanca variants. It is important to mention however that while adoption of Casablanca trilled [r] may be difficult after a certain age because of the complexity of the trill, adopting gal is not difficult articulatorily. Ihsan is by no means unique in this respect. Many Fessi speakers do retain an intact Fessi accent. I have observed this during my interview with Kawtar in her boutique. Most of Kawtar’s Fessi friends who came into the boutique were Fessis native to Casablanca but they all
speak with a non-trilled [t] and the qāf. Future research will focus on this group of Fessis who are Casablanca natives but do not show any changes toward features of the Casablanca dialect.

In summary, it can be argued that it is an interaction between closed networks and the extensive use of French, presumably also an artifact of closed networks, that may inhibit the adoption of Casablancan features. The extensive use of French since childhood means less use of Moroccan Arabic. The degree of openness of the social network or the communities of practice to which the speakers have belonged throughout their lives is a determining factor in whether Fessis adopt Casablancan features or not. What this tells us is that an individual’s network and the attitudes that might develop and be maintained in that network reinforce one’s Fessiness and counteract the effects of nativeness.

In conclusion, it seems that these women confirm the widely held beliefs that Fessis will not accommodate to Šrubi ‘rural’ speech. These women’s attitudes towards [q~g] variation, their self and group identification will be taken up in Chapter 9. In the next section, we turn to the Fessi women who are leveling to the Casablanca norms and who do exhibit [q ~ g] variation.

7.4.2 Leveling of Fessi Variants

Leveling of Fessi variants means that Fessi women have adopted Casablancan variation between [q] and [g] in lexical items where this variation is possible. Eleven of the 15 women studied showed variation between [q] and [g]. They were native and non-native of Casablanca, from different age groups and with different educational backgrounds.
After analyzing the variation between [q] and [g], it has become clear that the change has not spread to all lexical items where there is potential variation between [q] and [g]. The change has affected one lexical item only; the verb qāl ‘to say’. This suggests that there are lexical constraints on the leveling of (q) in Casablanca.

The fact that the change from [q] to [g] occurred in one lexical item supports the wave model of linguistic change (Bailey 1973). Diffusion of linguistic change in this model takes place in the form of waves with one word preceding another. This diffusion is not random, but rather principled. That is, words with the necessary conditions for change undergo the change first.

The questions that will be taken up at this point are why the variation between [q] and [g] was leveled in one lexical item only, and in the verb qāl ‘to say’ in particular. A related question is why [q] was maintained in the other lexical items.

Before taking up these questions, a few comments on the difference in the number of tokens among the Fessi speakers is in order. The difference has to do with the variable degree of code switching between French and Moroccan Arabic during the interview. Speakers who recounted past events and personal stories in Moroccan Arabic are the ones who have higher usage of the verb ‘to say’ in all tenses and in all persons. Others, although they have told stories they spoke French or switched to French to say ‘il m’a dit’, ‘on dit que’. This has minimized the tokens of the verb qāl.

As for the realizations of (q), only one speaker, Nadia, varied in her use of qāl/gāl while the others use gāl categorically. At this point, we look into some possible explanations for why [g] is adopted in the verb ‘to say’ and [q] maintained in other lexical items. Linguistic, functional and sociolinguistic factors will be discussed.
7.4.2.1 Linguistic constraints on the adoption of [g] in ‘to say’

Natural tendencies of sound change are usually appealed to in explaining why changes take place. The linguistic environment of [q] is important in explaining [q ~ g] variation in Casablanca dialect. It was reported that the voiceless velar stop [q] is favored in final position while the voiced velar stop [g] is preferred in initial position (Moumine 1990). Universal reasons for final devoicing were advanced to account for the preference of [q] in final position. This internal explanation might apply in explaining why, for instance, [g] is avoided in final position in some frequent functional words, like fuq ‘on’. However, lexical items such as qbal ‘before’ and qad ‘similar’ have maintained the realization of [q] and show no variation between [q] and [g] among the speakers. The internal factors to explain why [g] is preferred in initial position do not find support in this study.

7.4.2.2 Functional Constraints on the Adoption of [g] in ‘to say’

The functional constraints discussed here have to do with token frequency. It is suggested that forms with high token frequency may be independently represented in the mind. Frequent forms thus develop and maintain irregularities. After dividing the tokens of the variable (q) into high frequency and low frequency words, it turned out that the item of the highest frequency is the verb qal followed by prepositions. The high frequency of the verb qal may be a plausible factor in its adoption by speakers. Table 7.4 shows this frequency.
Table 7.4  Frequency of the Verb [gal]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[gal] Users</th>
<th>[q] elsewhere</th>
<th>[g] elsewhere (other than [gal])</th>
<th>Verb [gal]</th>
<th>% of [gal]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leila</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>42.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keltoum</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>38.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hayat</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>38.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nadia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>58.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saida</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khadija</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>75</td>
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<td>Kawtar</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>76.92</td>
</tr>
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<td>Fatma</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siham</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>66.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zakia</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>42.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>66.66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In order to test the hypothesis that token frequency may be a factor in the adoption of [g] in the verb gal we must look at prepositions, which are also relatively frequent. Variation between these prepositions is common in Casablanca dialect but they were not heard in my corpus of Fessi women.

[fuq] ~ [fug] ‘on top’
[qbalt] ~ [gbalt] ‘opposite’
[qbela] ~ [gbela] ‘before’
[mqabola] ~ [mgabola] ‘opposite; active participle’
[qaddam] ~ [gaddam] ‘in front of, ahead of’
[qbila] ~ [gbila] ‘a while ago’

None of the women has used the [g] variant in any other high frequency word.

For instance, despite the relative frequency of prepositions like fuq ‘on’ and qbela
"before", they were realized with [q]. This is clear indication that token frequency is not the only factor at work when it comes to adopting Casablanca gal. At this point, we shall consider the salience factor.

7.4.2.3 Salience

Leveling of the verb 'to say' is very advanced. The [qal ~ gal] distinction is very salient in Moroccan discourse. This salience is due to the fact that the verb 'to say' is the lexical item used to distinguish between old urban and non-urban dialects. The phrase qalli u qutlak 'he told me and I told you' is usually used to refer to speakers of urban varieties. The verb 'to say', besides being very frequent, also has social significance.

Leveling of [qal] is further evidence that the lexical item that is the most salient is the one that is left behind. The fact that the verb [qal] is singled out for leveling should not be taken as an anomaly. Holes (1987) also talks about the maintenance of [g] in the verb qal in Bahrain despite the Classicization taking place. The explanation he suggested is that verb qal does not classicize because it is 'too much a part of the lexical core of the dialect' (Holes 1987: 53). By core lexicon, Holes refers to very common words that are dialectal 'core-items'.

It is important to note that there is no strong indication of apparent time change in the diffusion of [g] in other lexical items. The only other tokens of it are produced by Khadija and Kawtar who are second generation Fessis. Khadija used the variant [g] only once in the verb tgabl 'she takes care of' and Kawtar used the same verb twice tgbbluli 'you (fem.) take care of it' and taygblu 'he takes care of him'. One wonders if this is indication that [g] is spreading to other lexical items. However, since this lexical item
occurs only twice in the interview with Kawtar and once with Khadija, more data is needed to support this claim.

Among third generation Fessis (Fatma, Zakia and Lamia), however, no lexical item was pronounced with [g] where [q~g] variation is possible except for gal ‘to say’. Even in the frequent preposition fuq ‘before’, there was no variation between [q] and [g]. The variant [q] was the only one used. We can conclude that there is no evidence for apparent time change with respect to [g] diffusing to other lexical items.

It is important to note that speakers’ metalinguistic comments and attitudes toward the use of [g] in the verb ‘to say’ are enough to cast a speaker as Casablancan. For instance, Kawtar comments on the use of qal and gal in the following extract.

| Kawtar: maji fassija fassija, je suis normale ... ana ḫwiya biḍawija, je parle [r] avec [ɬ], c'est tout, parce que lfassijat taį̂gulu 'qatli/qutlak', ana c'est 'galli/gutlak'. Atiqa: ulfassija kikat3ik? | Kawtar: I am not authentic Fessi. I am normal ... I am Casablancan a little. I speak with Fessi [ɬ], that’s all. Fessi women say ‘qatli/qutlak’. I say ‘galli/gutlak’. Atiqa: How do you find Fessi dialect? Kawtar: It is okay in some things but saying ‘qatli/qutlak’ is stupid. |
| Kawtar: mjzana, ḫjī hwaj3, dik qalli uqutluk c'est bete. |

If we accept the argument that saying gal instead of qal may cast the speaker as Casablancan, we can therefore suggest that this result is further evidence that women target the urban variety. In so doing, they employ whatever resources are available to them, regardless of how minimal these resources might be, in order to sound Casablancan.

Fessis are adopting features that are at the same time Casablancan and are widespread in other dialects of Morocco. What is being leveled out are features that are highly stereotyped. Both high frequency and the awareness of the lexical item qal as a
line of demarcation between being Fessi and non-Fessi are factors in its leveling. Saying ǧāl is the most efficient and salient way for these women to be cast as Casablancan.

There is variation in certain lexical items that can be placed within ‘normal’ or neutral Casablancan speech. In some other lexical items alternation between [q~g] sounds too ǧrubī ‘rural’. All women make a clear distinction between ǧrubī and ǧādi ‘normal’ Casablancan speech. All of them find ǧrubī-Casablancan to be tough and vulgar except for Keltoum who finds certain ǧrubī expressions to be funny and charming. They all agree, however, that Fessi is tqiil ‘slow’ and ‘outdated’. They do also agree that the way they speak is “normal”. When asked what they mean by “normal”, the women said that their norm of speech is neither Fessi nor ǧrubī. This notion of broad (or rural) versus neutral or normal Casablancan speech will be discussed in detail in chapter 9.

7.5  [qāl] ~ [gāl] Variation

Nadia is the only speaker who varied in her use of qāl and gāl. There does not seem to be any linguistic motivation for the choice of qāl or gāl. As we recall from chapter 5, Nadia is not native of Casablanca. She grew up bilingual in French and Moroccan Arabic because of her French mother. She was exposed to her father’s modern Fessi variant [q] and to the Old Fessi variant from her paternal grandparents and relatives from age four to ten. She was 14 years old when she arrived in Casablanca. This suggests that Nadia is leaving behind her use of qāl. Nadia’s communities of practice in Casablanca include mostly Fessi Casablancans who are childhood friends and her Casablanca-born Fessi husband who clearly does not have qāl as part of his repertoire. Her job as an optician allows her to be in constant contact with Casablancans from different origins and different dialects.
7.6 What are Fessis in Casablanca Targeting?

The Fessi variant [q] coincides with the standard variant. The fact that all educated Fessi women in this study have moved away from Old Fessi [ʔ] and have adopted [q] is evidence that access to the Standard variety may be a plausible argument for the use of [q]. Apart from [gəl], Fessi women have maintained [q] in all other lexical items. The question that follows then is whether Fessi women are maintaining [q] because it is the standard variant. It was hypothesized that if leveling occurs, Fessi women will target urban Casablancan variants, whether they coincide with the standard variant or not. That is, standardization may not be relevant in the direction of leveling. What remains to be seen is whether [q] is maintained because it is standard or because it is the urban variant. This question is hard to answer without considering other variables. We will return to this point in Chapter 9.

7.5 Summary and Conclusions

In this chapter, Fessi women were grouped according to their maintenance of the Fessi features and/or their linguistic accommodation to the Casablancan variant. Findings show that the women who maintained Fessi [r] did also maintain Fessi [q]. Results of the adoption of Casablancan variant by Fessis who are born and lived in Casablanca show that being native of Casablanca does not necessarily mean that a Fessi woman will leave behind stereotypical Fessi features. However, the women who have shown either partial or total accommodation to the Casablancan [r] variant, did not adopt Casablancan [q]~[g] variation in all lexical items where this variation is possible. That is, there are lexical constraints on the (q) variable and the adoption of Casablancan [g] is limited to the verb [gəl] ‘to say’.
In summary, for the leveling of (q), we can say that the interaction of the high frequency, the sociolinguistic connotations associated with *qal* and the salience / awareness of this very lexical item as a line of demarcation between Fessis and non-Fessis (e.g., Kawtar’s comments). It seems that maintaining or leveling [q] in the verb ‘to say’, in particular, is emblematic. That is, maintaining [qal] signals ‘pure’ Fessi identity whereas leveling it signals a thinned Fessi identity. It will be argued in Chapter 9 that the use of [gal] instead of [qal] is an important site and a resource in the construction of a Fessi-Casablanca identity.
CHAPTER 8
THE MORPHOSYNTACTIC VARIABLE (-i)

8.1 Introduction

As we have noted earlier in chapters Three and Five, Casablanca dialect distinguishes masculine and feminine by marking the feminine with the suffix -i. Fessi dialect, on the other hand, has neutralized gender distinction toward the masculine, which is unmarked for gender. Thus we have a morphosyntactic variable (-i) which we can examine in parallel with the phonological variables (q) and (r). The Casablanca variant will be represented as [-i] and the Fessi variant as [-∅].

The variable use of [-i] and [-∅] is below the level of social awareness. The fact that (-i) is a variable that people are not widely aware of makes it a useful comparison with the salient phonological variables (r) and (q) discussed in chapters five and six. This comparison will lead to some interesting generalizations about the impact of low salience in leveling.

The chapter is divided into three sections. Section 8.2 begins with an overview of the pronominal and verbal systems in Arabic and provides a brief comparison of gender concord in both systems in Classical Arabic (CA)/Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Moroccan Arabic (MA). Section 8.3 focuses on gender in the second person singular in MA dialects in general and Fessi and Casablanca dialects in particular. Section 8.4 discusses the leveling of the variable (-i) as a result of the outcome of contact between Fessi gender neutralization and Casablanca gender distinction.
8.2 Gender Concord in Arabic

Arabic, like other Semitic languages such as Hebrew, marks gender in the pronominal and in the verbal conjugation systems. In this section we will outline the pronominal and verbal systems in Arabic.

8.2.1 Pronominal System in Arabic

Personal pronouns in all varieties of Arabic fall under two types, independent and dependent pronouns, respectively known to Arab grammarians as *Dama'ir munfasila* and *Dama'ir muttasila*. As their names suggest, independent pronouns such as *huwa* ‘he’ and *hiya* ‘she’, are free morphemes and can stand on their own whereas dependent pronouns are bound morphemes that attach to verbs, nouns and prepositions. Independent pronouns are reserved primarily for emphasis and/or clarity. They are usually redundant when used with verbs, nouns and prepositions since the dependent pronouns usually indicate the subject. Both types of personal pronouns are marked for gender (masculine and feminine), and number (singular, dual and plural). Table 8.1 gives gender and number distinction in independent pronouns in CA and MSA.

**Table 8.1 Independent Pronouns in CA and MSA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronouns</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1M/F</td>
<td>anā</td>
<td>nahnu</td>
<td>nahnu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M</td>
<td>anta</td>
<td>antumā</td>
<td>antum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2F</td>
<td>anti</td>
<td>antunā</td>
<td>antunna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M</td>
<td>huwa</td>
<td>humā</td>
<td>hum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F</td>
<td>hija</td>
<td>humā</td>
<td>hunna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear from table 8.1 that there is no gender distinction in the first person singular and plural pronouns in CA and MSA (e.g., *ana* for ‘I’ and *nahnu* for ‘we’). This
is true for all spoken varieties of Arabic. For the other persons, there is usually a marking of the gender. Thus, there are separate masculine and feminine forms for the second and third person singular and plural. In the dual, however, a single pronominal form stands for both masculine and feminine.

This is also the case in dependent personal pronouns. Subject clitics can be prefixes or suffixes that attach to verbs to mark the person of the subject, e.g., -at (3rd person perfective feminine), ya- (3rd imperfective masculine prefix). They are portmanteau morphemes; they express person, gender and tense-aspect information. Subject clitics will be discussed in detail in the verbal system (Section 8.2.2). Object pronouns and possessive pronouns are clitics as well in Arabic. It is important to mention that object and possessive pronouns are similar phonetically. While possessive pronouns are suffixed to nouns and prepositions, object pronouns are suffixed to verbs and their function is to index the object of a verb. Tables 8.2 and 8.3 illustrate these points.
### Table 8.2 Gender and Number Distinction in Possessive clitics in the Noun *bayt* ‘house’ in CA/MSA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>House-Poss</th>
<th>Glossary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M/F</td>
<td>bayt-i</td>
<td><em>my house</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M</td>
<td>baytu-k-a</td>
<td><em>your house</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2F</td>
<td>baytu-k-i</td>
<td><em>your house</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M</td>
<td>baytu-h-u</td>
<td><em>his house</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F</td>
<td>baytu-h-ā</td>
<td><em>her house</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dual</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M/F</td>
<td>baytu-nā</td>
<td><em>our house</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M/F</td>
<td>baytu-ku-m-ā</td>
<td><em>your house</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M/F</td>
<td>baytu-hu-mā</td>
<td><em>their house</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M/F</td>
<td>baytu-nā</td>
<td><em>our house</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M</td>
<td>baytu-ku-m</td>
<td><em>your house</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2F</td>
<td>baytu-ku-nna</td>
<td><em>your house</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M</td>
<td>baytu-hu-m</td>
<td><em>their house</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F</td>
<td>baytu-hu-nna</td>
<td><em>their house</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 8.3 Gender and Number Distinction in Object Pronouns in the Verb *daraba* ‘he hit’ in CA and MSA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>He hit-object-clitic</th>
<th>Glossary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M/F</td>
<td>daraba-n-i</td>
<td><em>He hit me</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M</td>
<td>daraba-k-a</td>
<td><em>He hit you</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2F</td>
<td>daraba-k-i</td>
<td><em>He hit you</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M</td>
<td>daraba-h-u</td>
<td><em>He hit him</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F</td>
<td>daraba-h-ā</td>
<td><em>He hit her</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dual</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M/F</td>
<td>daraba-nā</td>
<td><em>He hit both of us</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M/F</td>
<td>daraba-ku-m-ā</td>
<td><em>He hit you both</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M/F</td>
<td>daraba-hu-mā</td>
<td><em>He hit them both</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M/F</td>
<td>daraba-nā</td>
<td><em>He hit us</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M</td>
<td>daraba-ku-m</td>
<td><em>He hit you</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2F</td>
<td>daraba-ku-nna</td>
<td><em>He hit you</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M</td>
<td>daraba-hu-m</td>
<td><em>He hit them</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F</td>
<td>daraba-hu-nna</td>
<td><em>He hit them</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Like independent pronouns, dependent pronouns in CA and MSA have no
distinction between masculine and feminine in the first person singular and plural and in
all forms of the dual. However, in addition to this there was a neutralization of gender
distinction in the spoken Arabic dialects especially in the plural form where the
masculine form usually stands for both masculine and feminine.

8.2.2 Verbal System in Arabic

Arabic and Semitic languages in general have their semantic meaning contained
in consonant clusters. A triliteral consonantal root is the basic building block of the
language. Verbs in Arabic have long been divided into groups, depending on the nature
and the order of the letters in these triliteral roots. The most common are strong verbs,
known in Arabic grammar as *aliffl aṣṣahiḥ* (sing.) or *aliffl aṣṣahiḥa* (pl.). These are
verbs whose roots have three “strong” consonants that do not assimilate, such as *k-t-b*
‘write’, *s-r-q* ‘steal’, *d-h-k* ‘laugh’. Another type of verbs are known as *aliffl al’asamm*
‘deaf verbs’. In these verbs the second and third letter of the triliteral root are identical,
such as: *s-d-d* ‘close’, *d-n-n* ‘think’, *q-l-l* ‘diminish’. The third types of verbs are called
*aliffl alaẓwaf* ‘weak verbs’. In weak verbs, often the triliteral structure is unclear
because of various types of assimilation. Weak verbs can be further divided into at least
five types:

1. Assimilated: verbs that have a semi-consonant as the first letter in the root (*w/y*) *w-f-d* ‘to
promise’, *y-b-s* ‘to dry’.

2. Concaves: verbs that have a semi-consonant in the 2nd letter of the root, this usually
appears as a long vowel in verbs: *q-ā-l* ‘to say’, *b-ā-f* ‘to sell’.

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3. Defective: verbs whose 3rd letter is a semi-consonant, which usually appears as a long vowel in verbs: *b-k-*ā ‘to cry’, *d-l-*ā ‘to invite’.

4. Verbs with a glottal stop (hamza): where one of the consonants in the root is a glottal stop. For example, *l-x-d* ‘to take’, *s-l* ‘to ask’, *q-r* ‘to read’.

5. Doubly weak: where two of the three root consonants are semi-consonants; one of which appears as a long vowel: *k-w-a* ‘to iron’; *f-w-a* ‘to grill’.

It is important at this point to illustrate both strong and weak verb declensions in MSA/CA in order to have a reference point for the types of changes that have taken place in Moroccan Arabic particularly with respect to gender distinction. I am drawing on myself as a native speaker in constructing these paradigms. For a more detailed paradigm in Arabic see (Holes 2001).

8.2.2.1 Strong Verb Conjugation in CA and MSA

The following paradigm gives the conjugation of the verb *k-t-b* ‘to write’ in CA/MSA. Note that Arabic traditional conjugation marks an aspect opposition, designated traditionally as one of imperfective vs. perfective. No gender distinction is made in the first person singular, dual and plural. Masculine and feminine are distinguished in the second and third persons singular and plural.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M/F</td>
<td>katab-t-u</td>
<td>a-ktub-u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M</td>
<td>katab-t-a</td>
<td>ta-ktub-u</td>
<td>u-ktub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2F</td>
<td>katab-t-i</td>
<td>ta-ktub-i-na</td>
<td>u-ktub-i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M</td>
<td>kataba</td>
<td>ya-ktub-u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F</td>
<td>katab-at</td>
<td>ta-ktub-u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dual</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M/F</td>
<td>katab-nā</td>
<td>na-ktub-u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M/F</td>
<td>katabtūmā</td>
<td>ta-ktubā-ni</td>
<td>uktub-u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M</td>
<td>katab-ā</td>
<td>ya-ktubā-ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F</td>
<td>katabā-t-ā</td>
<td>ta-ktubā-ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M/F</td>
<td>katab-nā</td>
<td>na-ktub-u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M</td>
<td>katab-t-um</td>
<td>ta-ktub-u:-na</td>
<td>uktub-u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2F</td>
<td>katab-t-u-nna</td>
<td>ta-ktub-na</td>
<td>uktub-u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M</td>
<td>katab-u:</td>
<td>ya-ktub-u:-na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F</td>
<td>katab-na</td>
<td>ya-ktub-na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.2.2.2 Weak Verb Conjugation in CA and MSA

Weak verbs carry the same declensions as strong verbs except for the defective and doubly weak verbs. Because these verbs end with a vowel, some changes in regular declensions do take place because of vowel assimilation. The most relevant point for us here is that the second person singular is the same for both masculine and feminine in the imperative in MSA as shown in the shaded areas in Table 8.5. We will return to this point in section 8.3. when talking about MA, where the second person masculine and feminine forms in weak verbs are the same in the perfective, imperfective and imperative.
Table 8.5 Conjugation of the Doubly Weak verb k-w-a ‘to iron’ in CA and MSA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M/F</td>
<td>kawaj-t-u</td>
<td>a- kwi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M</td>
<td>Kawaj-t-a</td>
<td>t- kwi</td>
<td>i-kwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2F</td>
<td>kawaj-t-i</td>
<td>t- kwi-na</td>
<td>i-kwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M</td>
<td>kawa:</td>
<td>ya- kwi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F</td>
<td>kaw-at</td>
<td>t- kwi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dual</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M/F</td>
<td>kawai-na</td>
<td>na- kwi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M/F</td>
<td>kawai-tuma</td>
<td>t- kwi-jä-ni</td>
<td>u-kw-u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M</td>
<td>kawai-ä</td>
<td>ya-kwi-jä-ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F</td>
<td>kawaija-t-ä</td>
<td>t-kwi-jä-ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M/F</td>
<td>kawai-nä</td>
<td>na-kwi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M</td>
<td>kawai-t-um</td>
<td>t- kw-u:-na</td>
<td>u-kw-u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2F</td>
<td>kawai-t-u- nna</td>
<td>t- kwi-na</td>
<td>u-kw-u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M</td>
<td>kawai- u:</td>
<td>ja-kwi-u:-na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F</td>
<td>kawai-nä</td>
<td>ja-kwi-na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now that we have seen what happens in Arabic in general, we will focus on the changes that have taken place in the gender system in Moroccan Arabic in the pronominal and verbal systems, especially in the Fessi and Casablanca dialects.

8.3 Gender Concord in Moroccan Arabic

Moroccan Arabic has neutralized the gender distinction in the third person plural and the second person singular in the perfective. Although the morphological structure of Moroccan Arabic corresponds to the system of CA and MSA in the maintenance of the perfective and imperfective conjugation, several changes have taken place. Case marking inflections that are present in CA and MSA are lost in MA. The dual and plural independent pronouns have merged toward the dual in MA while the dual suffix
pronouns have merged toward the plural. Gender distinction in the plural has been neutralized towards the masculine form in MA. That is, the distinction between second person masculine and feminine plural and third person masculine and feminine plural that is present in CA no longer exists in MA and only the masculine form has survived.¹

Table 8.6 illustrates all the relevant changes that have taken place in MA.

**Table 8.6 Strong verb conjugation in Moroccan Arabic**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M/F</td>
<td>kṭāb-t</td>
<td>n- kṭāb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M</td>
<td>kṭāb -t (i)</td>
<td>t - kṭāb</td>
<td>kṭāb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2F</td>
<td>kṭāb -ti</td>
<td>t - ktb (i)</td>
<td>kṭāb-(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M</td>
<td>kṭāb</td>
<td>y- kṭāb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F</td>
<td>kṭb -at</td>
<td>t- kṭāb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dual/Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M/F</td>
<td>kṭb - na</td>
<td>n- ktb - u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M/F</td>
<td>kṭb - t(i)u</td>
<td>t- ktb - u</td>
<td>kṭb-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M/F</td>
<td>kṭb - u</td>
<td>y- ktb -u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variable suffixes in parentheses in the previous table 8.6 show dialect variation in MA with respect to subject-verb gender agreement in the second person singular and plural. Table 8.7 gives more details about the variation in the three major geographical divisions that exist in Moroccan dialects; Bedouin, urban and neo-urban dialects (see chapter 3 for more detail on these divisions). Southern Bedouin dialects are spoken in Southern areas such as Tafilalt, Erfoud and Rashidiya, urban dialects are spoken in the urban belt of Fez, Meknes and Tangier (Heath 2002) while neo-urban dialects are spoken in large urban centers, such as Casablanca and Rabat. They are

¹ It is possible for all genders to be lost so that a genderless language results. Such is the case in many Iranian and Indic languages in the Indo-European language family. For instance, Persian and Bengali have lost gender distinctions altogether (Corbett 2001).
dialects that have formed as a result of contact between rural and urban dialects because of mass migrations to cities.

Table 8.7 Subject-verb Agreement in the verb k-t-b 'to write' in 2PS in MA Dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Southern Bedouin dialects</th>
<th>Old urban dialects</th>
<th>Neo-urban dialects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Perfective</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M</td>
<td>kt̩b-t</td>
<td>kt̩b-t-i</td>
<td>kt̩b-t-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2F</td>
<td>kt̩b-t-I</td>
<td>kt̩b-t-i</td>
<td>kt̩b-t-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Imperfective</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M</td>
<td>t-kt̩b</td>
<td>t-kt̩b</td>
<td>t-kt̩b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2F</td>
<td>t-kt̩b-I</td>
<td>t-kt̩b</td>
<td>t-kt̩b-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Imperative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M</td>
<td>kt̩b</td>
<td>kt̩b</td>
<td>kt̩b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2F</td>
<td>k̩b-t-I</td>
<td>t-kt̩b</td>
<td>k̩b-t-I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear from table 8.7 that Southern Bedouin dialects are the most conservative in that they have maintained gender distinction characteristic of CA and MSA. Old urban dialects and neo-urban dialects, however, are more innovative in this respect. Both types of dialects have neutralized the gender distinction toward the feminine in the 2nd person singular in the perfective form. That is, the feminine suffix -i is used when addressing both males and females in the perfective. However, the two types of dialects vary with respect to the imperfective and the imperative forms. Casablancan maintains the masculine/feminine distinction in the imperfective and the imperative whereas Fessi has neutralized this distinction towards the masculine gender.

It is important to mention at this point that neutralization of gender distinction in the second person singular is not restricted to urban dialects in Morocco but it is a feature of other urban varieties of North Africa as well. For instance, Tunisian sedentary dialects do not distinguish gender in the second person in either the pronominal or the verbal
systems. The second person singular pronoun has been neutralized towards the feminine, thus the feminine singular pronoun inti ‘you (fem.)’ is used to address either a male or a female. In the verbal system, gender distinction has been neutralized towards the masculine just like the Fessi dialect. Thus the suffix -i that marks the feminine is absent in the imperfective, perfective and imperative (Gibson 1996). Bedouin Tunisian dialects maintain this distinction and in this case they are similar to CA and MSA and to the conservative Southern Moroccan Bedouin varieties mentioned above.

Despite the fact that gender distinction in the second person singular is a feature of CA and MSA, in Tunisian Arabic the use of the second person feminine singular suffix -i in the imperative and the perfect tenses and the distinction in second person singular subject pronouns inta ‘you (masc.)’ and inti ‘you (fem.)’ is stigmatized (Jabeur 1987, Gibson 1998).

Other Arabic dialects, mostly the non-Maghrebi ones, such as Egyptian dialect, Levantine dialects and Gulf dialects, are conservative with respect to subject-verb agreement in the 2nd person singular in all tenses/aspects. They distinguish quite regularly between feminine and masculine by marking the feminine form with the suffix -i. The masculine form has no suffix.

Gender distinction in the second person singular as we have seen earlier is expressed in possessive pronouns, which attach to nouns and prepositions. It is expressed in CA and MSA by -ka for anta ‘you (masc.)’ and -ki for anti ‘you (fem.). In most spoken Arabic dialects the possessive suffix pronouns -ka and -ki have become -ak and -ik instead. In Egyptian Arabic, for instance, CA and MSA ibnuka ‘your (masc.) son’ and ibnuki ‘your (fem.) son’ becomes ibnak and ibnik, respectively.
On the other hand, the Standard possessive suffixes \(-\text{ka}\) and \(-\text{ki}\) are neutralized to \((-\text{a})k\) in Moroccan Arabic dialects except in certain historically Bedouin dialects spoken in Southern areas in Morocco. The following table illustrates the points made here.

Table 8.8 Dialect Variation in 2nd P.S. Gender Distinction in Possessive Pronouns in Nouns and Prepositions in MA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2nd Person Singular</th>
<th>Urban &amp; neo-urban dialects</th>
<th>Southern Bedouin dialects</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nouns</strong></td>
<td>Masculine/Feminine</td>
<td>Masculine/Feminine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dar-(\text{-a})k)</td>
<td>dar-(\text{-a})k)</td>
<td>dar-k-i</td>
<td>your house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ras-(\text{-a})k)</td>
<td>ras-(\text{-a})k)</td>
<td>rask-i</td>
<td>your head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wald-(\text{-a})k)</td>
<td>wald-(\text{-a})k)</td>
<td>wald-k-i</td>
<td>your son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Prepositions</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m(\text{-a})k)</td>
<td>m(\text{-a})k)</td>
<td>m(\text{-a})ak)-i</td>
<td>with you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fi-k</td>
<td>fi-k</td>
<td>fik-i</td>
<td>in you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{\text{-i})li}-k)</td>
<td>(\text{\text{-i})li}-k)</td>
<td>(\text{\text{-i})lik}-i)</td>
<td>on you</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now that we have seen how the gender distinction works in several dialects of Arabic in general and in MA in particular, we turn in the next section to the second person singular in the Fessi and Casablancan dialects.

8.3.1 Second Person Singular in Fessi and Casablancan Dialects

Fessi and Casablancan dialects neutralize gender distinction towards the feminine in the perfective but they differ in the imperfective and the imperative. While Casablancan distinguishes feminine and masculine in suffixed pronouns in imperfective and imperative aspects, Fessi, like other old urban dialects, neutralizes this gender distinction. Table 8.9 outlines these differences.
Table 8.9  Second Person Singular in Fessi and Casablancan Dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb k-t-b</th>
<th>Fessi dialect</th>
<th>Casablancan dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Masculine/Feminine</td>
<td>Masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective</td>
<td>t-ktəb</td>
<td>t-ktəb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>ktəb</td>
<td>ktəb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is important to note that doubly weak verbs end in [-i] in the second person singular in the masculine as well as the feminine. The final -i in such verbs should not be taken as the feminine suffix however. Since both Casablancan and Fessi share this final -i with weak verbs, these verb forms are excluded from the analysis of variation.

Table 8.10  Doubly Weak Verb kwa ‘to burn’ in the 2nd Person Singular in MA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronouns</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 s.f.</td>
<td>/nti/</td>
<td>ka-t-kwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 s.m.</td>
<td>/nta/</td>
<td>ka-t-kwi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both Fessi and Casablancan dialects have neutralized the standard possessive suffixes -ka and -ki to (-ə)k. Object pronoun suffixes, which are phonetically similar to the possessive suffixes, are also rendered as (-ə)k in both dialects. Thus no major variation exists between the two dialects in this respect. The focus therefore will be on the (-i) variable.

To conclude this section, we must mention that, unlike Tunisian Arabic, the Casablancan gender distinction and the Fessi gender neutralization do not seem to have any strong social stigma or prestige. The lack of awareness among speakers that this is a distinguishing feature between the Fessi and Casablancan dialects supports this point. The next section focuses on the outcome of contact between Fessi gender neutralization
and Casablanca gender distinction and discusses the extent to which low salience of this variable contributes to its survival.

8.4 Leveling of the (-i) Variable

The variable use of the Casablanca variant [-i] and the Fessi variant [-Ø] is below the level of social awareness. Will Fessi women behave similarly towards this variable as they did towards the highly salient phonological variables (q) and (r)? Finding the outcome of contact between Fessi gender neutralization and Casablanca gender distinction is what we will focus on in this section.

For the analysis of the leveling of the (-i) variable, we counted verbal suffix pronouns in the imperfective and the imperative suffix pronouns. As we have discussed in section [8.3], in the perfective tense, verbs in the second person singular have been neutralized toward the feminine in both Casablanca and Fessi dialects. Verb suffixes in the perfective were not counted and are not included in the analysis because they do not show variation between masculine and feminine in either dialect. The number of tokens of the variants [-i] and [-Ø] was counted and percentages were computed.

Leveling of the morphosyntactic variable (-i) in Casablanca is operationalized as a high frequency of use of the feminine marker [-i] in verbs among the 15 Fessi informants. That is, if informants frequently use the Casablanca variant at the expense of the Fessi variant, then accommodation is taking place. Table 8.11 gives the frequency of use of the different variants of (-i) by all 15 Fessi informants.
Table 8.11  Frequency of Adoption of Gender Distinction in 2nd Person Singular Among Fessis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[-Ø] ~ [-i] users</th>
<th>Fessi [-Ø]</th>
<th>Casablanca [-i]</th>
<th>% of [-i]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Keltoum</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>49.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hayat</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>50.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leila</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>47.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nadia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>54.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khadija</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23.52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fessi [-Ø] maintainers</th>
<th>Fessi [-Ø]</th>
<th>Casablanca [-i]</th>
<th>% of [-i]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Siham</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samia</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amina</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatima</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saída</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ihsan</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawtar</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatma</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zakia</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamia</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.11 reveals variation across Fessi women with respect to the morphosyntactic variable. It is clear from the table that none of the women has adopted the Casablanca variant [-i] categorically; however, nine women remain categorical users of the Fessi neutralized forms. In the following sections, we will look at the linguistic and social constraints on women who left the Fessi variant [-Ø] behind in favor of Casablanca variant [-i] and those who maintain the Fessi variant [-Ø].

8.4.1 Maintenance of Fessi Gender Neutralization

Unlike the phonological variables, the majority of informants have maintained the Fessi gender neutralization. Our results show that nine women have zero usage of the
Casablanca variant [-i]. Interestingly, the ten women maintainers include natives as well as non-natives of Casablanca. Among these women are the four whom we have become accustomed to finding as maintainers; Amina, Fatima, Samia and Ihsan. It is not surprising that these four women would maintain gender neutralization given that they have maintained even the highly salient Fessi [q] and [qal]. What is quite surprising is the maintenance of gender neutralization by the other six women who are second and third generation Fessis of Casablanca. The question that begs for an answer is, How do these Casablanca-born Fessi women manage to maintain Fessi gender neutralization? In order to answer this question, we will consider the role of language-internal factors that favor survival of a feature in contact-based leveling situation. In the following sections we will discuss (1) 'simplicity' and (2) regularization as potential linguistic factors responsible for the retention of the Fessi morphosyntactic variant.

**8.4.1.1 Survival of ‘Simple’ Forms in Dialect Contact Situations**

One of Siegel’s (1985, 1987) arguments is that simple forms tend to survive in contact situations. He notes that what results in the stabilized koiné, which is the phase where "[L]exical, phonological and morphological norms have been distilled from the various subsystems in contact, and a new compromise subsystem has emerged", is often "reduced in morphological complexity compared to the contributing subsystems" (Siegel 1985: 373). This morphological simplification is clearly shown in Siegel’s (1997) examination of the formation of the koiné known as Fiji Hindi. The table below shows the extensive simplification manifest in the loss of distinction between the first, second and third persons singular and plural found in the contributing dialects. Simplification accounts also for the non-adoption of gender distinction found in Bhojpuri.
Table 8.12  Indian Hindi Dialects and Fiji Hindi Definite Future Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bhojpuri</th>
<th>Avadhi</th>
<th>Braj</th>
<th>Fiji Hindi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>bō, ab</td>
<td>bū, ab</td>
<td>ihau,</td>
<td>egā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>ab, bī, iha</td>
<td>ab</td>
<td>ihaī, aīgai</td>
<td>egā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg (masc.)</td>
<td>bē, ba</td>
<td>bē, ihai</td>
<td>(a)ihai, (a)īgau</td>
<td>egā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(fem.)</td>
<td>bī, bis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl (masc.)</td>
<td>bā(h)</td>
<td>bō, bau</td>
<td>(a)ihai, augau</td>
<td>ega</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(fem.)</td>
<td>bū</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>ē, ihai, ē</td>
<td>i, ihai, ē</td>
<td>(a)ihau, agau</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>ih, ē, ihen</td>
<td>ihaī, aī</td>
<td>(a)ihai, aīgai</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Siegel (1997: 115)

If we agree that reduced forms tend to be simpler than inflected forms, then gender neutralization is simpler than gender distinction. Following Siegel’s principle that a simple form will be favored in dialect contact, it follows therefore that gender neutralization will win out in the Fessi-Casablanca contact situation. While this seems to hold for our case and may account for why the majority of women in this study are maintaining Fessi neutralization, there may be other factors involved.

8.4.1.2  Generalization of Gender Neutralization to Subject Clitics

The second potential complicating factor in the maintenance of gender neutralization among Fessi women may be a process of regularization, that is, a process of generalization of the changes in the possessive and object clitic system to subject clitics. We have seen in section 8.3 that gender neutralization toward the masculine has spread to some components of the grammar, particularly to object and possessive pronouns. For instance, the suffix -āk is the neutral form used in second person singular object and possessive pronouns instead of the Standard masculine suffix -ka and the feminine suffix -ki or their respective meta-thesized forms -ak / -ik used in several spoken
Arabic dialects to differentiate the sex of the addressee. This change has reached near completion in almost all Moroccan dialects. Gender neutralization in the second person is a community-wide change in progress. Except for some speakers of Bedouin Southern dialects, it is very hard to find native speakers of Moroccan Arabic using the feminine suffix with nouns, as in *dar-k-i* ‘your (fern.) house’ or in prepositions as in *fi-k-i* ‘in you (fern.)’. The same is true for object pronouns where forms such *gal-k-i* ‘he told you (fern.)’ is hardly heard and *gal-ok* ‘he told you (masc.)’ is the only form used for male and female. Fessis, however, are ahead in this change in progress because they have expanded neutralization of gender to subject pronoun suffixes as well. The question that imposes itself at this point is to what extent is the involvement of the variable (i) in a change in progress a factor in the maintenance of gender neutralization among different generations of Fessis in Casablanca.

We can conceptualize gender neutralization as a kind of merger. That is, Fessis have merged the suffix [-i] with zero. If we accept this hypothesis, then adopting the Casablanca gender distinction will involve the Fessis in the reversal of a merger. In other words, Fessis will have to learn a new set of distinctions, namely they have to learn to mark the feminine suffix with [-i] and leave the masculine form without any suffix. Based on empirical evidence, reversing mergers seems to be a difficult cognitive task for learners. Following Garde’s principle that talks about the difficulty of reversing mergers, Labov (1994), for instance, pointed out that ‘it is much harder to unmerge a merged category than to learn the word classes of an altogether new dialect or language.’ In other words, my findings suggest that it is in fact difficult for Fessis to unlearn the neutralization of gender they have acquired from their Fessi parents, and to learn the
gender distinction that is still robust in the subject clitic system in Casablanca dialect. We should also remember that gender distinction is a feature of Standard Arabic to which all educated speakers have been exposed at an early age. This should make reversal easier but it does not.

It is important to note at this juncture that data from non-Fessi speakers show some neutralization of the gender distinction in subject clitic pronouns. This phenomenon has been observed among some non-Fessi and non-urban women I interviewed. For example, Fatima M., a Berber woman, varies between second person singular gender neutralization and gender distinction forms. One might wonder at this point whether Fatima M. and others are adopting the Fessi variant, or that their variation is simply a natural expansion of gender neutralization to subject clitic pronouns as well - or whether the two sources combine to facilitate the shift in non-Fessi speakers.

Furthermore, it is relevant to mention the case of Omar, a four-year old child who is neutralizing gender categorically. Omar's case is important because he is born to a Casablanca-born Fessi father (Saida's son) who neutralizes gender distinction and a non-Fessi mother (my own niece) who distinguishes gender in the second person even in the perfective form all the time. Omar, who spends most of his time with the mother and the mother's family, who are all gender-distinguishing speakers in all tenses/aspects, is neutralizing gender distinction categorically just like his father and the father's family, despite the fact that he spends only few hours a week with them.

The variable use of gender neutralization and distinction by some non-Fessi women and the categorical usage of neutralization by a child suggest that the change is in progress. However, it does not answer the question that is really of interest: Whether
gender neutralization in the second person subject clitic is (1) an instance of
generalization of the changes in possessive and object clitic systems, (2) whether it is a
case that simple forms do in fact win out in dialect contact situations, or (3) a combination of both factors (1) and (2).

Finding that gender neutralization is largely maintained among Fessis in
Casablanca lends support to Gibson’s (1996) feature implication hypothesis. Gibson
proposed this to explain the ordering of adoption of features of the pronominal system in
a contact situation of two morphological subsystems of Tunisian Arabic. Gibson
proposes that “[t]he number of pronouns in any system will be greater than or equal to the
number of person-related verbal morphological distinctions” (1996: 110). Gibson’s
generalization suggests that the Fessi-Casablanca dialect contact would result in the loss
of verbal agreement marking before pronominal forms are lost. In fact, these speakers
who have maintained gender neutralization do make a distinction still in the independent
subject pronouns between \( nta \sim ntin \) ‘you masc.’ and \( nti \sim ntina \) ‘you fem.’ and between
\( huwa \) ‘he’ and \( hiya \) ‘she’ as well. The implication of this finding is quite important.

If language-internal factors play an important role in the retention of the Fessi
variant how can we then explain the partial use of the feminine clitic pronoun [-i] by
some women? This question will be taken up in the following section.

8.4.2 Adoption of Gender Distinction

Five speakers have partially adopted the Casablanca gender distinction. Khadija
is a native of Casablanca; the other four speakers, Hayat, Leila, Keltoum and Nadia, are
not. While Khadija uses the Casablanca gender distinction about 25% of the time during
our interview, the other four speakers vary between the Casablanca variant [-i] and the Fessi variant [-Ø] at least 50% of the time.

As Table 8.13 shows, all five speakers freely use the feminine subject clitic pronoun [-i] in the imperfective and the imperative. That is, there are no constraints on when they use feminine clitic [-i] and when they don’t in the two aspects.

Table 8.13 Number of Tokens in the Imperfective and Imperative Aspects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[-Ø] ~ [-i] users</th>
<th>Fessi [-Ø]</th>
<th>Casablanca [-i]</th>
<th>Number of tokens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Imperfect / Imperative</td>
<td>Imperfect / Imperative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keltoum</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hayat</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leila</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nadia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khadija</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If we recall from previous chapters these five women have categorically adopted the Casablanca variant [r]. They have also adopted Casablanca [gal] across the board, except for Nadia who varies half the time between [qal] and [gal]. Why are they behaving differently towards the Casablanca morphosyntactic variant [-i]? Why is their use of subject clitic [-i] higher than most Casablanca-born Fessis?

While language-internal factors might in part account for why these speakers' adoption of the Casablanca variant is comparatively lower than their adoption of the phonological variables, social and social psychological factors are important in explaining their use of the Casablanca variant. That is, the answer to why these women are using the subject clitic [-i] lies in details about their life, who they are and their orientation to different aspects of local life in Casablanca versus traditions associated to being Fessi.
We will begin with Khadija, a Casablanca-born Fessi who used the gender distinction about 25% of the time during our interview. Khadija is one of only two Fessi informants who were aware that gender neutralization of the second person distinguishes Fessi speech from Casablancan speech. I believe that her partial use of the feminine clitic is an instance of short-term accommodation. Khadija mentions the fact that she accommodates a great deal in her job for the sake of intelligibility with her clients as it is made clear in the following long excerpt. For the sake of illustration, the tokens that show variation between the use of [-i] and [-Ø] are underlined.

Khadija handles work-related accident claims in an insurance company and most of her clients are blue-collar workers. Most blue-collar workers do not speak old-urban dialects, which have gender neutralization (see chapter 3 for a discussion on dialects and social class). They may be neo-urban speakers or rural speakers. More than likely, these
clients are gender-distinguishing speakers who address her in the feminine form [-i]. Since I am myself a gender-distinguishing speaker and I was addressing her in the feminine during our interview, Khadija might have opted for short-term accommodation to my gender distinction in a similar fashion to how she accommodates to her clients.

Similar to Khadija, the four immigrant women are also aware of the communicative needs to accommodate. Their desire to be intelligible and to sound normal is clearly expressed in their own comments.

Nadia emphasizes the importance of being intelligible to others. Nadia is co-owner of an optical shop and her clients come from different walks of life. She too has an interest in accommodating in order to be understood. She explicitly talks about the amount of accommodation that goes on in her daily routine at work. The importance of adapting in order to be understood came up when she was explaining to me what she means by speaking in a ‘normal’ way.

| Atiqa: le dialect dans lequel tu te situe? | Atiqa: The dialect you situate yourself in? |
| Atiqa: ɣadija, haḍra ɣadijia? | Atiqa: Normal speech? |
| Nadia: Normal u şafi bḥal əlli ƙanɗru mʕa nnas u şafi ... pour s’adapter et se faire comprendre de tout le monde parfaitement. | Nadia: Normal that’s all. Just the way we speak to people and that’s it. In order to adapt and be understood by everybody perfectly. |

The remaining three speakers, Keltoum, Rayat and Leila, on the other hand, do not make any explicit metalinguistic comment on accommodating for the sake of being understood. This is implicitly expressed by the great pride and contentment they derive from “sounding normal”. Casablancan gender distinction, despite being below the level of consciousness, seems to be a resource that these immigrant speakers exploit to sound
“normal”. As we will discuss in detail in chapter 9, “sounding normal” is quite often used to refer to “speaking Casablancan” and it seems to be an integral part in the constructed Fessi-Casablancan identity.

To sum up, speakers who vary between gender distinction and gender neutralization are using gender neutralization despite its 'complexity' compared to the simple uninflected neutralized form. It seems that social and social-psychological factors can in fact undermine the effect of internal-language factors.

However, it is not clear at this point whether these speakers’ use of the feminine clitic [-i] is an instance of short-term accommodation or whether it is long term. Future work will look into this question by investigating these women's use of the second person clitic in in-group members. If there is evidence that they vary between neutralization and distinction with in-group as well out-group members, it can then be said that their use of the Casablancan variant feminine clitic is a case of long-term accommodation.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the morphosyntactic variable (-i) which has two variants in the second person singular feminine subject clitic, the Casablancan variant where gender is distinguished and marked by the clitic [-i] and the Fessi variant where gender is neutralized and marked by a zero subject clitic [-Ø]. It has been shown that Fessi women behave differently towards the low salient morphosyntactic variable than they do towards the highly salient phonological variables (q) and (r). That is, contrary to the high rate of adoption of the Casablancan phonological variants, most speakers were found to maintain the Fessi morphosyntactic variant, either categorically or partially. Our findings suggest that although language-internal factors may act as forces in inhibiting
wider adoption of Casablanca gender distinction, social and social-psychological factors may counteract linguistic pressures such as the desire for simplicity and/or generalization of a change in progress. Furthermore, it has been argued that there is an interaction between language-internal and external factors in the maintenance of the Fessi gender neutralization and the adoption of the Casablanca gender distinction among speakers who vary between the two opposing variants.

The fact that most Casablanca-born Fessis have maintained second person gender neutralization suggests that this feature is the norm among Casablanca-born Fessis. That is, gender neutralization has been focused (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985) by Fessis of Casablanca and it is a distinguishing form of the koinéized variety of the Fessi immigrant community.
CHAPTER 9
LOCAL MEANING OF LEVELING AND MAINTENANCE

9.1 Introduction

Fessi women in Casablanca vary in reducing differences between the Fessi and Casablancan dialects. This chapter attempts to uncover the social meaning behind this variation by looking closely at Fessi women's attitudes toward the Fessi and Casablancan dialects and identity - both individual and group sense of identity. We will try to determine the extent to which leveling out salient differences between Fessi and Casablancan linguistic forms, or maintaining them, plays an important part in constructing both social categories and social meaning among Fessi women in Casablanca.

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section briefly discusses the importance of attitudes in dialect contact studies. The second section discusses attitudes of Fessi informants who maintain Fessi variants towards Fessi and Casablancan dialects and identity. The third section focuses on attitudes among Fessi informants who adopted, either partially or completely, the Casablancan variants.

9.2 Attitudes, identity and leveling and/or maintenance

Attitudes are important in understanding variation in leveling out or maintaining salient Fessi features among Fessi women in Casablanca. Following in a long tradition in variationist research (starting with Labov's 1963 seminal work on Martha's Vineyard), the hypothesis is that speakers' attitudes will correlate with change and/or maintenance of Fessi features. Simply put, speakers with positive attitudes toward Fessi people and dialect will not be inclined to change their dialect while speakers with negative attitudes toward Fessi people and dialect will tend to level out Fessi features.

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In this study I have not used questionnaires to measure Fessi women's attitudes towards the Fessi and Casablanca dialects as is customary in language attitudes studies. Thus instead of the interviewer supplying the respondents with a set of criteria to choose from, the speakers had the freedom to come up with their own categorizations, descriptions and subjective evaluations of the two dialects and the people, i.e., the data gathering method was open-ended interviewing.

In the ethnographic interviews that were carried out for this study, a number of questions were designed to address both overt and covert attitudes with regard to Fessi and Casablanca dialects and identities. Examinations of speakers' articulations of their feelings and perceptions vis-à-vis both varieties are necessary for studies on dialect contact because the premise is that it is people who come in contact and not dialects per se.

Since our goal is to see if there is any correlation between individual speakers' attitudes toward the Fessi and Casablanca dialects and self-identification and the changes that have taken place, we will first look at the attitudes and identity of the speakers who maintain Fessi variants.

9.3 Attitudes of Fessi Women Who Maintain Fessi Variants

Maintainers are Fessi informants who maintain salient Fessi features: non-trilled Fessi [t] and the lexical variable [qal]. There are four speakers who are categorized as maintainers: Amina, Hajja Fatima, Samia and Ihsan. It is important to remember that the first three women are migrants to Casablanca while Ihsan is native of Casablanca. In this section we examine their attitudes towards the Fessi and Casablanca
dialects, their attitudes toward Fessis and non-Fessis, as well as their self and group identifications.

The goal is to determine the extent to which attitudes toward the Fessi and Casablancan dialects correlate with the strength of a speaker’s ingroup and outgroup identifications, and with the maintenance of Fessi linguistic forms. In other words, the objective is to see whether speakers’ claims of identity correlate with their maintenance of Fessi features. First we consider the first generation and then the second generation Fessis.

9.3.1 Attitudes of 1st Generation Maintainers Towards the Dialects and the People

9.3.1.1 Hajja Fatima’s Attitudes

Hajja Fatima did not seem to have very strong opinions about the Fessi or the Casablancan dialects. She did not express overt negative or positive attitudes toward the dialects even when I persisted (see Appendix, Extract 1). This is in line with the attitudes of older people who are in their 70s and 80s. Other studies (e.g., Moumine 1990) have shown that speakers in this age group show a certain degree of neutrality towards the dialects. The only issue that Hajja Fatima brought up was that of unintelligibility. She mentioned the fact that she does not understand Casablancans and in turn Casablancans do not understand her either. This is hardly surprising, given that Hajja Fatima is a speaker of Old Fessi and many Moroccans find Old Fessi speech unintelligible.

However, when it came to attitudes towards Fessi and non-Fessi people and identity, Hajja Fatima expressed very strong opinions in this regard. She views Fessis as the group of people who have defined civilization in Morocco. Her comments about Fessis and non-Fessis seem to reiterate an old Fessi worldview. In fact, her statement iwa
\textit{kayn Fes ukayn lmaghrib} ‘well, there is Fez and there is Morocco’ reminds us of the old Fessi attitude that emphasizes the division of Moroccans into Fessis and non-Fessis. Whether Hajja Fatima actually believes in this division is not as important as her belief about the uniqueness of the city of Fez and Fessis as a group. In another statement Hajja Fatima said \textit{Fez huwa lmaghrib} ‘Fez is Morocco’ and made it very clear that Fessi social practices are unique and unsurpassed by the other regional groups in Morocco.

To sum up, Hajja Fatima’s attitudes are neutral towards the dialects, but strong toward the groups. She has highly positive attitudes toward Fessis without expressing overtly any negative attitudes towards non-Fessi groups.

\textbf{9.3.1.2 Amina’s Attitudes}

Amina has positive attitudes towards Fessi and Fessi-Casablanca speech but she did express negative feelings towards non-Fessi speech. She believes that Fessi dialect is soft, rhythmic, polite and more feminine (see Appendix, Extract 2).

The same attitudes apply to the people. Amina has negative attitudes towards Casablanca and non-Fessis in general, but holds utmost pride in Fessis. In fact, her statements reveal supremacy of Fessi identity over non-Fessi identities. As Amina compares Fessis to non-Fessis, especially to Soussis (Berbers from the South), she makes it clear that Fessis are superior to the other Moroccan regional groups. She explains this superiority to the fact that Fessis have inherited superior urban cultural practices from their Andalusian ancestors. She adds that Fessis have been practicing urban life styles for centuries and they have inherited \textit{smaq} ‘the art of living’ from their ancestors. The following extract shows that Amina is unapologetic about expressing the supremacy of Fessi identity.
Amina: What I noticed is that many people would like to be Fessis. They envy the Fessis.

Atiqa: Have you actually ever encountered people like that?

Amina: Oh yes. I had some Soussi friends in Agadir. They were nice and we got along fine with them but for them there is always something missing or less compared to us (Fessis).

Atiqa: Like what? I want some examples.

Amina: I don’t know, they acknowledge it themselves, like...that’s what I like about them. They told me, no matter what we accomplish, we can never be like you in terms of your know-how...even though we are educated, intellectuals, even though we are rich and all that but we can never reach your organizational skills and art de vivre because you have been raised that way from father to son.

Amina insists that Fessis her generation do not change their dialect or their traditions. However, Amina is aware of the changes taking place among her own children who have friends from different ethnic backgrounds and speak more like Casablancans. She mentions ridicule from age peers as a motivating factor in why her sons started speaking more like Casablancans and less like Fessis (see Appendix 1.2). This suggests that the peers have never learned to admire the Fez position.

9.3.1.3 Samia’s Attitudes

Samia expressed negative feelings towards Casablancan dialect. She does not seem to differentiate between neutral Casablancan and rural Casablancan. Similar to Amina, Samia has several criteria by which she draws the line between Fessis and non-Fessis (see Appendix, Extract 3). Samia also expressed, unapologetically, the superiority
of Fessis, which she attributes to evolution. Fessis, according to her, are more evolved compared to the rest of Moroccans, the non-Fessis. She prefers to be among her own because in their company she finds what she expects, the things she is familiar with, things are the way they are supposed to be.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Atiqa:</th>
<th>Jkun huma nnas lli kajʃ'ʒbək tʃamli mʃəhum?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Samia:</td>
<td>Je ne vais pas te mentir. Je ne suis pas raciste mais kajʃ'ʃəbnı nʃəməl mʃə Fassa djawli. .... Il ya des soussis, bidawa, dmarəhum nqi, ils sont evolués ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atiqa:</td>
<td>Who are the people you mingle with?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samia:</td>
<td>I am not going to lie to you. I am not racist but I like to hang out with my own Fessis. Some Soussis and Casablancaens have a clean mind, they have developed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In fact, both Amina and Samia used the following Moroccan saying to show how other regional groups are envious of Fessis and their city.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amina/Samia:</th>
<th>Lfassi kajqul “ja rəbbi ŋtini 33əna”, u ssusi tajqullu “ja rəbbi ŋtini Fes”.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amina/Samia:</td>
<td>The Fessi says “God give me Heaven” and the Soussi says “God please give me Fez”.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Amina and Samia both expressed great pride in being Fessi and in speaking in a way that indexes their Fessiness. Their positive attitudes toward Fessi linguistic and non-linguistic practices are matched by negative attitudes toward non-Fessi features.

Amina and Samia are very clear on the set of criteria that distinguishes between group members and non-members. The line between “us” (Fessis) and “them” (non-Fessis) is clearly delineated. They both agree that even though non-Fessi groups may be highly educated, may be wealthy and hold prestigious jobs, nonetheless they are not on the same par as the Fessis. Amina’s and Samia’s comments on ṭaban Ŧan ʒad μ ‘from father to son’ say a great deal about how they construct ‘authentic’ or ‘pure’ Fessi
identity. These women maintain the assertion that ‘they are different’ from non-Fessis and that ‘they are better’. In general, Fessis like Fatima, Samia and Amina comprehend their collective Fessi identity as ‘primordial’. They are, in fact, an excellent example of the ‘primordial model’ of ethnic identity (Cornell and Hartman 1998). Under this model, the rational of group formation is often seen in light of “blood, kin, family; cultural connections rooted in circumstances of birth”, and the nature of ethnic ties is considered “‘Given’, deeply rooted, not a matter of choice but of circumstantial inheritance’ and that identity is “rooted in history and tradition, stable, permanent” (Cornell and Hartman 1998: 68). Their belief in the primordiality of Fessi identity is, in actual fact, constructed. This constructed identity corresponds to Cornell and Hartman’s discussion of “constructed primordialism”. By maintaining clear boundaries between themselves and non-Fessis and asserting that Fessi practices are not something that non-Fessis can emulate, these women are cementing even more the exclusivity of Fessiness and building a Chinese wall around their constructed ‘pure’ Fessi identity. This again is proof of constructed ‘primordialism’ and constructed ‘authenticity’. It stands to reason that individuals (or groups) who emphasize primordialism usually have a “thick” identity. That is, Fessi identity organizes most of these women’s lives and actions in Casablanca. (Cornell and Hartmann’s 1998).

We turn at this point to second-generation maintainers and examine whether the boundary and the meaning of Fessi identity is different from the women of the first generation.
9.3.2 *Attitudes of 2nd Generation Maintainers Towards the Dialects and the People*

The only speaker in this study who falls under the category of ‘second generation maintainers’ is Ihsan. Ihsan is native to Casablanca, born to a Fessi father and a non-Fessi mother. How her attitudes towards the dialects and the people correlate to her maintenance of stereotypical Fessi linguistic traits must be very revealing.

**9.3.2.1 Ihsan’s Attitudes**

Ihsan has positive attitudes toward the Fessi and ‘neutral’-Casablanca dialects but she thinks *frubi*-Casablanca is ‘too vulgar’. She thinks Fessi dialect is soft and feminine. Ihsan seems to share the same views and attitudes as the three women from the first generation who consider being Fessi a great asset for a woman. However, she is not very fond of ‘pure’ Fessi identity. She thinks ‘pure’ Fessi women are spoiled and are too snobbish. Ihsan considers herself *hərsa* ‘tough’ in comparison with other young Fessi women who she believes are ‘ naïve and too delicate’. Being *hərsa* seems to be very positive for Ihsan probably because it carries the meaning of ‘an independent and modern woman’. As she observed herself, her *hərusfija* ‘toughness’ may not be revealed in the way she speaks but more so in the way she behaves. Her *həmmam* ‘bathroom’ story about a ‘pure’ Fessi woman whom she put in ‘her place’ reveals the toughness encoded in the Fessi-Casablanca identity, which she mentioned earlier (See Appendix, Extract 4).

Thus, Ihsan considers herself Fessi in her linguistic practice, but Casablanca in her other social practices. Ihsan draws boundaries among ‘pure Fessis’, ‘Fessi-Casablanca’ and ‘non-Fessis’. She asserts that one can be Fessi-Casablanca while maintaining Fessi speech. In her view, speaking with stereotypical Fessi linguistic forms
must not in itself be a factor in lumping her with the 'pure' Fessis. She is in fact constructing her Fessi-Casablancan identity by excluding the Fessi dialect that she speaks from identity. It appears that for a Casablanca-born Fessi, self-identifying as a 'pure' Fessi has become more of a liability than an asset, as it is the case with the three immigrant women maintainers discussed earlier. Here the instrumentalist (utilitarian) nature of identity is useful in understanding why individuals (or groups) identify the way they do (Cornell and Hartmann 1998: 56-60).

Ihsan is actively engaged in tailoring her own identity. Her agency in building a hybrid Fessi-Casablancan identity and assigning meaning to this category is reflected not only in rejecting any association with 'pure' Fessis but it is also reflected in distancing herself from Casablancan women who are of Frubi or Soussi origin.

9.4 Attitudes of Fessi Women Who Leveled Fessi Variants

Levelers are Fessi informants who leveled salient Fessi features, that is, women who left behind non-trilled Fessi [t] and [qal] for Casablancan trilled [r] and [gal]. There are eleven speakers who fall under this category. They can be further divided into three groups: first, second and third generation levelers. Three women among the 11 levelers, Hayat, Leila and Keltoum, are immigrants. The remaining women are all native to Casablanca. In this section, we examine their attitudes towards the Fessi and Casablancan dialects, toward Fessis and non-Fessis and we look at their self and group identifications.
9.4.1 Attitudes of 1st Generation Levelers Towards the Dialects and People

9.4.1.1 Leila’s Attitudes

Leila has positive attitudes towards Fessi dialect with regard to its softness and politeness. This, according to Leila, makes Fessi dialect more ‘civilized’ compared with Šrubi ‘rural’ which she considers mjuža ‘savage’. However, she makes a very clear distinction between slow and unintelligible Fessi dialect, which she is not very fond of, and ‘normal’ Fessi, which she seems to like. It is not clear however whether her distinction correlates with our distinction between Old and Modern Fessi. In fact, Leila expressed positive attitudes towards all urban dialects. But she seems to prefer ḫaḍra Šadija ‘normal’ speech, which she defines as free of stereotypical regional traits.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Atiqa: uhdörtak?</th>
<th>Leila: ma fasija ma mknasija ma walu normale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leila: Šadija, ma Šandi la ḥaf wa la ḥaw. ana hadašji kullu mašendiš. Šandi ḫaḍra Šadija.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atiqa: normale!</td>
<td>Leila: It is not Fessi, Meknesi or anything else. It is normal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leila: No, I like Fessi people, to be honest with you. I like them because they are educated. God has given them the intellect from long ago. They are unique.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Leila seems to have highly positive attitudes towards Fessis as a group of individuals. She talks about some traits that make Fessis a special group of people in Morocco.
Nonetheless, Leila has ambivalent attitudes towards ‘pure’ Fessi identity. She embraces a Fessi identity only as far as certain cultural practices are concerned, such as cooking, dressing, and arranging a bride’s trousseau. She was very critical, however, of the elitist and snobbish attitudes certain Fessis have toward other Moroccan social groups. Because of this, she is reluctant to identify with ‘pure’ Fessis. She is proud of the fact that the way she speaks is ‘normal’ and that she is fafbija ‘one of the folks and not snobbish’. This notion of taʃbịt that she embraces seems to be important to her self-identification (see Appendix, Extract 5).

9.4.1.2 Keltoum’s Attitudes

Keltoum has negative attitudes towards the Fessi dialect despite the fact that her own mother, Fatima, is an Old Fessi speaker with whom she has been living for over 40 years. She mentions the fact that she teases her mother about the way she speaks. Keltoum sees Fessi dialect as being tqila ‘slow’ but she talks in particular about Fessi [?] and the glottal stop [?] as being ‘out of the ordinary’, as she put it ‘ca sort de l’ordinaire’. Keltoum also categorizes her accent as ‘normal’.

| Atiqa: ḥḍertək baddarīʒa kikatʒik? | Atiqa: How do you find your speech in Moroccan Arabic  
Keltoum: ḡadija  
Atiqa: aʃna hija zaʃma ḡadija?  
Keltoum: kanḍer ḡaṭra djal kulʃi | Atiqa: What does ‘normal’ mean?  
Keltoum: I speak the way everybody speaks. |

Keltoum is aware of the changes that have happened to her dialect and to her personality after she immigrated to Casablanca. She emphasizes the fact that she has become horfa ‘tough’ in Casablanca.
**Atiqa:** waṣ kajn ṣi təqəjir ḥəḍọrtək, waṣ laḥəḍti ṣi təqəjir waṣnu huwa?

**Kaltoum:** kajn təqəjir fija kulli, kunt timide kanʃufhum kanwəlli kənəʃəəl nwəlli ʔəmra ila ḥaf fija ṣi wahed əlmuhim ila xɛɾt ʔu ʕaf fija ṣi wahed u la bəɾa jwəf ṣi wahed bətomobiltu nwəlli kantrəʃəəd zit ˈlaːnə hrafət, bidəwiya purə.

**Keltoum:** kulli hrafət faʃ zit ˈlCaːsa. ˈhərət willət həʃəʃa, le ˈluːla hrafɛ, ɾa daba willat tətəɾəxə li ra

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**Atiqa:** Is there a change in the way you speak? Did you notice a change and what is it?

**Kaltoum:** Everything about me has changed. I used to be shy. When I see them (i.e., men) I start shaking and I blush. When somebody looks at me, well when I go out and somebody looks at me or wants to stop with his car I start shaking. When I came here I became tough, pure Casablancan.

**Keltoum:** Everything about me has become tough when I came to Casablanca. My dialect became tough too. My r-sound has become tough. I can now make the trilled [r].

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Speaking ‘normally’ and becoming ‘tough’ shows the relationship between Keltoum’s choice of Casablancan variants and Casablancan identity. This indicates that leaving behind stereotypical Fessi variants and becoming ‘tough’ are important factors in becoming Casablancan.

Keltoum has an affinity towards the city and lifestyle of Casablanca and makes it clear that she would not live anywhere but in Casablanca (see Appendix, Extract 6). She was the only speaker in this study who did not think śrubə Casablancan is vulgar. On the contrary, she finds it amusing. She cites certain insults that she finds charming and funny in śrubə dialect, such as ʔləʃ iʃit dədəd ‘may God give you worms’, ʔləʃ ʃit muʃiba ‘may God give you disaster’.

Keltoum admits that Fessis are “snobbish” and “racist” towards the other regional groups in Morocco. What is significant, however, is that Keltoum self-identifies as Fessi despite the negative comments she made about Fessis. She however distances herself from Fessis who are ‘snobbish’ and ‘racist’ (dik la haute societe maʃəndiʃ məʃə ‘I am
not very fond of high society’) emphasizing instead that she is *f Confidential ‘one of the folks’.

This notion of *tasbih* is again reflected in her fondness for the dialect and the people of Marrakesh, who define *tasbih* in Morocco. It seems that *tasbih* is important in what defines a Fessi-Casablancan or Casablancan.

9.4.1.3 Hayat’s Attitudes

Hayat has negative attitudes towards Fessi dialect, but she has highly positive attitudes towards ‘normal’ speech. She categorizes her accent as ‘normal’, free from regionalism. She prefers her dialect because it has no ‘abnormalities’ like the Fessi dialect.

| Atiqa: ma kaṭjøj江山 fəlsijə? | My own speech, the one I speak. |
| Hayat: jwija kənfaqel ałhaḍra ałli kānhḍər djali. həl fəs kajjøbunə ttaqalid djalhum. | Atiqa: You don’t like Fessi dialect? |
| Hayat: A little but I prefer my own dialect. | Hayat: I like the traditions and customs of Fessis. |

Hayat is fond of Fessis, their lifestyle and cultural practices, nonetheless she did not identify as Fessi. This is perhaps due to how other Fessis perceive her since she is half Fessi. Her father is Fessi but her mother is Berber. When talking about her life history during the interview, Hayat made it clear that she was known in her extended family as *bent fəlha* ‘the daughter of the Berber’. She seems to accept this assigned identity and therefore self-identifies as Berber. Nonetheless, Hayat made very positive remarks about Fessis and expressed high opinion of Fessi cultural practices. She believes that nobody can measure up to their *smaql* ‘savoir faire’. She thinks that Fessis, whether they are born in Casablanca or in Fez are the same and their traditions never change.
She believes that the only thing that changes in Fessi-Casablancans is the way they speak. Their dialect becomes less *maḍluqa* ‘thick/strong’ than those in Fez.

|---|---|

She seems to have favorable attitudes towards all groups except for the ʿrubīs whom she thinks are not trustworthy. She likes Casablancans, but she does not like ʿrubī Casablancans in particular, whether they are the recent migrants or ʿrubīs native to Casablanca (see Appendix, Extract 7).

### 9.4.1.4 Nadia’s Attitudes

Most of Nadia’s expressed attitudes about the Fessi dialect and about Fessis in general seem to be on the negative side. As the extract below shows, she finds pure Fessi dialect unintelligible, outdated and unbearable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nadia: *vir la manière de parler u l'accent lli ūndhum u šafi. bəʃḍ lmarrat ṣa'īma kajṭföhmū. kajžiwi zə'īma lfasiyin *pures kajjib li lḥall bhalli ḥḍart mə′a ʃi bərrani məʃ mərba. C'est vraiš ūndhum dik [q] u dik [ʔ] u dik hada bəʃḍ lmarrat tajʒiw xwatat ssi bu′nani c'èst des pures *fassis des fois kantṭif məḥahum ḥlaḍra. (Interruption by a customer)</th>
<th>Nadia: It is their way of speaking and their accent. Sometimes they are so incomprehensible. I find pure Fessis like foreigners, speaking to them is like speaking to non-Moroccans. It is true; they have that [q] and that [ʔ]. Sometimes Mr. Buñani’s [her business partner] sisters come to the shop; they are pure Fessis, sometimes I get lost with them when they</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
Nadia considers her dialect to be normal. She prefers the way she speaks, that is, speaking without any stereotypical features. In her explanation of what she means by normal, Nadia contrasts ‘pure’ Fessi speech to ‘normal’ speech.

Nadia acknowledges the fact that her dialect has undergone some changes particularly in lexical items such as using the word *lətʃin* instead of *limoon* for ‘oranges’, and *limun* instead of *hamʃəl* for ‘lemon’. She attributes her accommodations to a desire to be understood by Casablancares. She is well aware of the communicative needs to accommodate. Nadia is not very fond of *frubi* ‘broad’ Casablanca dialect because of its ‘toughness’. She does not make a difference between men and women in this regard stating that is a tough dialect for both genders (see Appendix, Extract 8).

Nadia rejects a Fessi identity altogether and she thinks that Fessis from Fez still live in the 13th century. We should remember that Nadia is half Fessi, from a Fessi father and a French mother. She does not identify herself as French; rather she claims the identity of a *Tazi* ‘a person from the city of Taza’. Taza is a city very close to Fez where
Nadia lived a few years as a child. She thinks that pure Fessis have not evolved with the times. She expressed her preference to deal with ‘normal people’ rather than with Fessis in her business dealings. What this tells us is that Nadia prefers to be تسجيل ‘one of the people’ as opposed to ‘snob’, which is how she described Fessis. Indeed, the notion of ‘normal’ that came through in the quote above is not simply being convergent linguistically but being ‘one of the gang’ as well.

Nadia reluctantly admits that everybody else assigns her a Fessi identity based on the way she speaks. She seems to be puzzled by that because she does not think she speaks like Fessis at all. As we engaged in a discussion of why she is perceived as Fessi based on the way she speaks, she admits that she uses the verb [qal] sometimes, she asserts that saying [qal] is not only Fessi but Tazi as well. However, it seems to me that besides [qal], what may contribute to revealing her Fessi origins is her use of a few Fessi lexical items such as تمال ‘it seems to me’ and كتربا for the most widely spread يانkan and تارجتاريا, respectively.

We can draw some generalizations about the attitudes and self-identification of first generation levelers. These women believe that Fessi speech is ‘slow’, ‘outdated’, ‘unintelligible’ and perceive [t] and [q]/[k], in particular, to be ‘out of the ordinary’. This indicates that stereotypical Fessi linguistic forms are perceived as a liability, which suggests why these women reject ‘pure’ Fessi identity, and (re) construct their identity as Fessi-Casablancan. Furthermore, all four women make a clear distinction between ضاعب ‘rural’ and نادي ‘normal’ Casablancan speech. All of them find ضاعب-Casablancan to be ‘tough’ and ‘vulgar’ except for Keltoum who finds certain ضاعب expressions to be funny.
and charming. Most informants have used the word ḥarfā, which seems to have become a typical word for describing people in Casablanca.

9.4.2 Attitudes of 2nd Generation Levelers Towards the Dialects and People

All women in the second generation are born in Casablanca to Fessi parents. Now that the factor of being native of Casablanca is at play, finding out these women’s in-group and out-group identifications is of great importance. Of equal importance as well, is examining the correlation between their identification and their attitudes toward Fessi and Casablancan dialects.

9.4.2.1 Saida’s Attitudes

Saida has negative attitudes towards pure Fessi dialect but expressed very positive attitudes towards normal speech. She believes pure Fessi is slow and snobbish. Despite the negative attitudes Saida expressed towards Fessi stereotypical linguistic forms, she admits that she accommodates to a pure Fessi way of speaking when she is with pure Fessis. Saida also admits that she accommodates to theifrubiway of speaking when she is withifrubs. Her chameleon-like linguistic nature is explained by her desire to keep everybody happy (see Appendix, Extract 9). Similarly, Saida switches to Fessi dialect when she is with Fessi speaking people even though, as she makes it very clear from the following excerpt, that she is not very fond of the way they speak.

| Saida: hdart Fassa ḥlaqiqa makafʿaṯbniʃ bəzzaf...dak ṭboʔbiʔ, udak qalli uqtlaʃ mataʃiʒbniʃ...duk li kajzwəwzu... makayn maḥsan mən ḥadra ḥadiya... | Saida: I do not like the way Fessis speak, that glottalization and that qal. I don’t like all that and those who use [z] sounds for [ʒ]. There is nothing better than a normal way of speaking |

Saida self-identifies as Fessi. She is very fond of Fessi life style but she thinks ‘pure’ Fessis are snobbish and she would rather deal with Fessi-Casablancans or with
other Casablancans. She too is very keen on taṣḥīḥ ‘being one the people’. Saida is a
ever sociable person and has friends from all walks of life and from different ethnic and
regional backgrounds.

9.4.2.2 Khadija’s Attitudes

Khadija has very positive attitudes toward normal Casablanca and does not
think very highly of Fessi dialect. She finds Fessi very slow because she grew up in
Casablanca. She likes Casablanca dialect and said that the woman should speak a
dialect that is not vulgar. Khadija is well aware of the changes she makes to her dialect
in her job. She works in an insurance claims company so the people she speaks with on a
regular basis are blue-collar workers, i.e., manual laborers. As we have seen in Chapter
2, most blue-collar workers are non-Fessis who mostly speak Srubi dialects (See Chapter
2, section 2.3.3). Khadija accommodates to the speech of her clients mainly for the sake
of intelligibility. She changes lexical items and expressions that these people do not
seem to understand. She however says that she does not change her dialect when she is
with her family or friends.

Khadija makes a distinction between Fessis and non-Fessis. She seems to have
highly favorable attitudes towards Fessi people. She cites some of their attributes such as
their hospitality and generosity. She thinks Fessi women take good care of their
husbands and that they are excellent homemakers. She also thinks Fessi men are superior
to other Moroccan men because they take good care of their wives. She contrasted Fessis
to Srubis and Soussis by giving some stereotypical traits about Srubis, that they are
known to be liars and cheaters while Soussis are honest but known to be miserly.
Khadija makes a very clear distinction between pure Fessis (Fessis from Fez) and Fessi-Casablancans. She also thinks that Fessi-Casablancans are more civilized and urbanized than Fessis from Fez, who are *buhal* ‘dumb’ and *tqal* ‘slow’ (see Appendix, Extract 10).

9.4.2.3 Siham’s Attitudes

Siham has ambivalent attitudes toward Fessi dialect. She thinks that the positive side of the Fessi dialect is that it is more feminine and more rhythmic than the other dialects. But its negative side, in her view, is that it is slow. These attitudes seem to translate into what she has carried over from the Fessi dialect and what she has left behind. Siham has positive reactions towards normal speech and towards Fessi-Casablancan identity. Siham makes it clear that she prefers Fessis from Casablanca rather than those from Fez as the following extract.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Siham: bhal daba ana kanfejdal nt'mamal m'ta fassi kbor fCasa f'la Fassi kbor fFes. Franchement, fhømti f'laf?</th>
<th>Siham: Take me, for example. I like to deal with a Fessi who grew up in Casablanca rather than a Fessi who grew up in Fez. Honestly, do you know why?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atiqa: f'laf? Siham: Un fassi c’est une autre mentalite. fhømtini? fCasa tqdor tgul bi?anna nnas fwiya sont emporte par la vie. maddajinha f'ir f'ibad llah. fwiya xajdin fxdamthum uhada f'la Fes, f-Fes ha'djin f'ir hada f'sbbat, hada f'sra qami3a, hadi, hna fwiya hna nnass fwiya nqodru ngulu fwiya fwiya fwiya mhodrin.</td>
<td>Atiqa: Why? Siham: A (pure) Fessi has a different mentality. You understand? You can say that in Casablanca people are taken by life. They are not absorbed with other people’s business. They are busy with their jobs more so than in Fez. In Fez, they watch what others are doing; this person bought shoes, that one bought a shirt... Here we can say that people are little more civilized.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is very similar to an earlier quote by Amina when she describes the difference between Fessis and Casablanca as people who ‘mind their business’. Siham thinks that non-Fessi Casablancans lack culture and education but she is not sure if it is
their dialect that makes them this way. She gives a few examples on the differences between the way Fessis speak and the way Ḣrubis speak and notes that despite the fact that she does not have stereotypical Fessi features, Casablancan know she is Fessi (see Appendix, Extract 11).

Furthermore, Siham talks about the importance of social class in people’s behavior toward others. To her, the regional origin of her friends is not nearly as important as their social standing. She chooses friends who may not be Fessi but who are ‘good girls’ and who come from ‘good families’. It seems that ‘good girls’ and ‘good families’ mean the ‘right’ social class.

Siham prefers dealing with Fessis from Casablanca than Fessis from Fez because, according to her, Fessi-Casablancans are more ‘civilized’ than Fessis from Fez. As we will see, this notion of Casablancans being more civilized is reiterated among young native Fessi-Casablancan women.

9.4.2.4 Kawtar’s Attitudes

Kawtar likes maintaining non-trilled Fessi [i] because she views it as very feminine and charming. On the other hand, she considers bhal ‘stupid’ a Fessi who uses the Fessi variants of qāf ([ʔ] or [q]). For Kawtar the [q] variant indexes authentic Fessiness more than the variant [i].

| Kawtar: | je suis normale ... ana Ḣwiya biḍawija, je parle [r] avec [i], c’est tout, parce que Ḧfassijat tajgulu ‘qatli/quṭlāk’, ana c’est ‘galli gutlak’. | Kawtar: | I am not authentic Fessi. I am normal ... I am Casablancan a little. I speak with Fessi [i], that’s all. Fessi women say ‘qatli/quṭlāk’. I say ‘galli/gutlak’. |
| Atiqa: | ulfassija kikat3ik? | Atiqa: | How do you find Fessi dialect? |
| Kawtar: | mzjana, fi jį hwaj3, dik qalli uqutluk c’est bete. | Kawtar: | It is okay in some things but saying ‘qatli/quṭlāk’ is stupid. |
It is clear from Kawtar’s metalinguistic comments and attitudes that she puts lots of emphasis on the [g] variant being part of normal Casablancan speech. Her use of [gal] instead of [qal] seems to be an important component in thinning out ‘pure’ Fessi identity. Using [gal] casts her as Fessi-Casablancan, or as she herself put it ‘I am Fessi a little and Casablancan a little.’

Kawtar is keen on her Fessi-Casablancan identity. She was unapologetic that all her friends are Fessi and that she does not count on having non-Fessi friends. Kawtar remarks that it is rare to find a ʻrubi-Casablancan or Soussi-Casablancan that she can get along with. She is convinced that these groups consider Fessis to be boring, and they too prefer to deal with their own kind. So she constructs the intergroup boundary as being one that not just Fessis are concerned with. Kawtar attributes her acquired attitudes to her parents who also prefer and insist on having a predominantly Fessi social network. In this respect, Kawtar shares some of the attitudes of Amina and Samia who attribute Fessi superiority to ‘development’.

Few generalizations about the second-generation levelers are in order at this point. All four women expressed negative reactions toward Fessi dialect and emphasized the importance of ‘normal’ Casablancan speech to being Casablancan. However, their attitudes are positive towards Fessi people and particularly toward Fessi-Casablancans. They all identify themselves as biḍawijat ‘Casablancan females’. They assert that having lost Fessi linguistic forms does not qualify them as ‘pure’ Fessis. Similar to the first generation levelers these women consider dialect use a crucial site for establishing their Fessi-Casablancan identity.
9.4.3 Attitudes of Third Generation Levelers Towards the Dialects and People

9.4.3.1 Zakia’s Attitudes

Zakia thinks a woman should speak Fessi even though she does not speak it herself and she is proud to speak Casablanca. The question of ibrubi ‘broad’ versus irdi ‘normal’ Casablanca came after Zakia’s lengthy discussion of how she likes men to speak a ibrubi dialect, rather than Fessi because speaking Fessi makes a man sound effeminate. She then started talking about her three brothers who speak in three different ways, one speaks ‘normal’ Casablanca, the second speaks broad Casablanca, and the third is a chameleon who can speak all three: Fessi, ‘normal’ and ibrubi. I then asked Zakia if she is a chameleon herself.

Zakia’s strong attachment to Casablanca identity was expressed by her preference to everything Casablanca. She likes the people, the lifestyle and the city.
itself. She contrasted Fessis from Casablanca to Fessis from Fez and she prefers Fessi-Casablanceans because they have become ‘tough’, not only in the way they speak but in all other aspects of their lives as well.

Zakia draws a very clear line between who she considers to be Casablancean and who is not (see Appendix, extract 13). First being native to the city is an important component in being Casablancean. Zakia indicates that she also sees Casablanceans as more civilized and also emphasizes that becoming ‘tough’ in Casablanca is an attractive trait that distinguishes Fessi-Casablanceans from Fessis from Fez.

9.4.3.2 Fatma's Attitudes

Fatma clearly expresses her views on Casablancean dialect as being *fadía* and *mqada* ‘normal and straight’. Fatma has positive attitudes towards normal Casablancean. She believes that pure Fessi speech is stifling.

| Atiqa: | daba kajn farq bin Fassa dFes u Fassa-d Casa, ul'rubija dl'rubija? |
| Fatma: | ul'rubija dCasa, surtout fhaqqa Casa lli 'ajfin kulhum fCasa f'andhum wahad langage mqad, si tu veux dire f'andhum hdarhum mqadda mafi djal l'rubija dl'rubija ulla djal Fes. hit Fassa kajnin fi kalmat lli ana majmk'nfhamhum, je ne peux tenir une discussion m'a fissi, pure Fessi, moi ca m'etouffe. |

Fatma’s idea of what it means to be Casablancean has a lot to do with being able to adapt and blend in. Language seems to be decisive in drawing this boundary as she clearly explains in the following excerpt.
Fatma: In this day and age, a woman has to learn everything. Honest to God, you meet Fessis who speak Berber, Fessi and ūrubī. My boss told me that you have to learn everything. Honest to God, I think he is right because any word that you learn allows you to blend in easily.

Fatma is unequivocal about the type of identities a man and a woman should embrace. She prefers a man to be Bidawi ‘Casablancan’ (cf. Zakia) whereas the woman should be in-between Fessi and Casablancan (see Appendix, Extract 14). There seems to be general agreement among these women that speaking with Fessi accent makes a man sound effeminate.

9.4.3.3 Lamia’s Attitudes

Lamia, a third generation Fessi, holds highly positive attitudes toward Fessi dialect and has the greatest pride in belonging to the Fessi group. She is unique in this respect if we compare her to Fessis native to Casablanca who are proud to identify as Casablanca. Lamia emphasizes the aesthetic and the politeness aspects in the Fessi dialect, which she believes are lacking in the Casablanca dialect.

Atiqa: kitatṣik ḫḍra lfassija?
Lamia: tatžini mazjana filhaqiqa. oullahila filhaqiqa zwina lfassija, ṭtḥba ... ḫḍra djal lCasawijin hija lomdarba djal Fassa (laughter).

Atiqa: How do you find Fessi dialect?
Lamia: Actually I find it really nice. Indeed, it is beautiful and soft. The regular way Casablanca speak is equivalent to how Fessis fight (laughter).
Unlike the other informants in this study, Lamia has hardly any prosodic remnants of Fessi accent in her speech. She is aware of that because other people have drawn her attention to it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Atiqa:</th>
<th>Tajjârfuk nnas fassija?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lamia:</td>
<td>ba'd lmarrat. kajn lli kajgulli, bajna mân hdartak matgulf Fassija ga'. hit matanhdar' bhal fassa ga'. Ifassijjin tajgulu dik &quot;qalli qutlak&quot;. ana ma'mâmmorni matangulhaf. l'aktarija matajjârfunif fassija.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Atiqa:</th>
<th>Do people know you are Fessi?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lamia:</td>
<td>Sometimes only. People tell me that based on the way I speak one would not think that I am Fessi at all. Because I don't speak at all like Fessis. Fessis say qalli qutlak. I never say that. Most people do not know I am Fessi.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Surprisingly, when I asked Lamia to perform pure Fessi dialect in a stretch of words, she said she would not know how to do it. Although Lamia does not use salient Fessi forms and may not be able to fake a Fessi dialect, she is very well aware that some of her lexical choices are indeed still Fessi. She lists the following Fessi lexical items and their non-Fessi counterparts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fessi</th>
<th>Non-Fessi</th>
<th>Glossary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mändil</td>
<td>zif</td>
<td>Handkerchief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lmjâmmor'</td>
<td>laqlo'</td>
<td>Table cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaš</td>
<td>bu'wid</td>
<td>Pears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mlawi</td>
<td>mso'mmân</td>
<td>Moroccan style crepe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tân</td>
<td>tâbsîl</td>
<td>Plate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sëkkîn</td>
<td>mus</td>
<td>knife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, Lamia cites some Fessi words that her father and mother use but she herself never uses, such as tajisbag for tajzarri 'he is running'. Future work will be devoted to lexical variation and change among Fessis in Casablanca.
Lamia agrees with some of the other women in this study who believe that Fessi is more suitable for a woman than it is for a man. While she shares the view that speaking with Fessi accent makes a man sounds effeminate, she adds that this is not the case for all Fessi men.

Lamia: Fessi dialect suits women better. A man sounds stupid when he speaks Fessi but it depends. There are some men who sound good when they speak Fessi like old traditional Fessi men who wear traditional Moroccan clothing. But younger Fessis who are cool and wear jeans sound very feminine when they speak Fessi.

Like the other informants, Lamia draws a clear line between Fessi-Casablancans and 'pure' Fessis or fassa d Fez 'Fessis from Fez' as she chooses to call them here.

Atiqa: How about Fessi-Casablancans?
Lamia: In general they are fine. Fessi from Fez are a bit naïve, their dialect is almost unintelligible. I have aunts who came to Casablanca when they were older. They speak a dialect that I do not understand. You know, when you sit with them, you cannot decipher what they say. Fessis from Fez are a little behind, they are shy, and they are very traditional. But those who come to Casablanca have become tougher a little bit, they start to compete with the others, they become tough. Fessi (women) in Fez do not leave the house, they are always told not to go out, wait until the man comes and ask for their hand from their house, that’s all.
It is clear from Lamia’s comments that she distances herself from Fessis from Fez. She (re)constructs her identity as Fessi-Casablanca, asserting that she is different from them. Nonetheless, Lamia expressed great delight and pride in being Fessi. She considers being Fessi to be an asset. This is reminiscent of the first generation immigrants (see Appendix, Extract 15).

In assigning meaning to being Fessi, Lamia brought up the politeness aspect of the Fessis. She started speaking about the differences between Fessis and Casablanca. Lamia is proud to live in Casablanca but she would not identify as a bidawiya pure ‘pure Casablanca’. She thinks pure Casablanca are too ‘tough’ and ‘vulgar’ in their behavior and in the way they speak. She believes that Srubi-Casablanca women are ‘savages’ because they use force when they fight and they use vulgar language, something she believes Fessi women and even men would never do. Lamia is the only informant who uses “Srubi” interchangeably with “pure Casablanca”. Most other informants distinguish between Srubi-Casablanca ‘recent rural migrants to Casablanca’ and bidawa ‘Casablanca’.

9.4.4 Summary of Levelers

We can draw certain generalizations about levelers of Fessi linguistic forms. In general speakers who leveled the salient variables have overwhelmingly positive attitudes toward ‘normal’ Casablanca speech. However, some are ambivalent toward the Fessi dialect. Speakers regard Fessi dialect as more rhythmic and more feminine. At the same time they believe that Srubi-Casablanca is tough but others think it is humorous. Most speakers were able to pinpoint some phonological differences between Fessi and Casablanca speech and some of them volunteered some lexical variation between the
two dialects as well. Apart from the most salient features distinguishing Fessi and Casablancan, some speakers reported differences in lexical items. Many informants also expressed their views on the speech that is most suitable for men and women. There seems to be general agreement among these women that speaking with Fessi accent suits women more than men because a man sounds effeminate when he speaks Fessi. Almost all informants agree that Casablanca-born Fessis are tougher than Fez-born Fessis. It appears that 'toughness' distinguishes them from Fessis from Fez.

9.5 Conclusion

In this chapter we have looked at the correlations between attitudes, identity and dialect leveling and/or maintenance. Based on speakers' overt and covert attitudes and ideologies towards Fessi and Casablancan linguistic and social identity, the chapter concludes that leveling and/or maintenance of stereotypical features is a site and a resource in Fessi identity (re)construction in Casablanca. That is, leveling stereotypical Fessi traits turns out to be important in setting the boundary for Fessi-Casablancan identity and giving it meaning, while maintenance of these linguistic forms tend to be, to a great extent, crucial in the maintenance of 'pure' Fessi identity.

Fessi variants index Old urban identity. Hence women who care about maintaining the Old urban, which has been described by speakers as an 'authentic' or 'pure' Fessi identity, with all that is encoded in this identity, are more likely to maintain stereotypical Fessi variants in Casablanca. Fessi women who leveled out differences between Fessi and Casablancan linguistic forms have left behind an Old urban, bourgeois identity to adopt a cosmopolitan identity. This suggests that the cosmopolitan identity encoded in the Casablancan dialect, despite its association with toughness and
masculinity is more appealing to them. The use of [g]al] and trilled [r] despite their perceived toughness, do encode a cosmopolitanism and modernity which many Fessi-Casablanca find useful to foreground in their daily lives.
CHAPTER 10
CONCLUSIONS

10.1 Summary of Objectives, Methods and Findings

This dissertation is a sociolinguistic case study of dialect leveling and maintenance among three generations of Fessi women of Andalusian origin in Casablanca. The main goal of the study is to explore the extent to which dialect leveling and/or maintenance contribute to the (re)-construction of urban identity among women of the old urban stock in Casablanca.

The data used in this study are drawn from ethnographic interviews conducted by the author herself in Casablanca for a period of 14-months between 1999 and 2000. Fifteen Fessi women, particularly women of Andalusian descent, make up the sample subjects of this study. The data are subjected to quantitative and qualitative analyses in order to uncover the interplay between linguistic, extra-linguistic and external constraints on dialect leveling and maintenance among Fessis in Casablanca.

Three linguistic variables that differentiate the Casablancan dialect from Fessi dialect have been examined. These variables count two phonological variables (r), (q) and one morphosyntactic variable (-i), which represents variation between the presence of the second person feminine singular subject clitic on verbs [-i] or its neutralization [-Ø]. The Casablancan variants are the trilled alveolar [r], the voiced velar stop [g] and 2\textsuperscript{nd} person gender distinction [-i], whereas the Fessi variants are the non-trilled approximant [l], the pharyngealized glottal stop [ʔ] and the voiceless uvular stop [q] and gender neutralization [-Ø], respectively.
Table 10.1  Fessi and Casablanca Variants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Fessi variants</th>
<th>Casablanca variants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Fessi / Modern Fessi</td>
<td>(q) / [ʔ] [q]</td>
<td>(r) [g] ~ [q]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(r)</td>
<td>[t]</td>
<td>[r]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-i)</td>
<td>[-Ø]</td>
<td>[-i]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The study has looked at the interaction between the linguistic, social and social-psychological factors in explaining the linguistic and social outcomes of the Fessi-Casablanca contact. It has examined for each of these three variables (1): the supposedly cross-linguistic processes of phonological and morphological leveling in dialect contact situations; (2) it has identified the social and social-psychological conditions which contribute to leveling out the differences between the Fessi and Casablanca forms or maintaining them; and (3) it has identified the correlations between leveling and/or maintaining Fessi linguistic forms and speakers’ attitudes toward the Fessi and Casablanca dialects and dialect users, speakers’ own in-group and out-group identification.

10.1.1  The (r) variable

The outcome of contact between Fessi [t] and Casablanca [r] has produced three groups of speakers, (1) maintainers of Fessi [t]; (2) adopters of Casablanca [r]; and (3) users of an intermediate form [f], a form “halfway” between Fessi [t] and Casablanca [r]. There are no linguistic constraints that affect the adoption of trilled [r] or the maintenance of Fessi [t]. Speakers who have adopted Casablanca trilled [r] or have maintained Fessi [t] have done so in all their speech without variation between one form and the other. For the intermediate [f] users, however, some linguistic constraints
are identified such as the use of trilled [r] next to back vowels and intervocally, but no linguistic generalizations can be made in this regard because more data are needed.

Maintenance and/or leveling of Fessi [ɪ] are not constrained by the immigration status of the speakers. Some Fessi immigrants have adopted Casablancan [r] while a native of Casablanca has maintained Fessi [ɪ].

The age factor alone cannot be used to determine the adoption of trilled [r] or the maintenance of Fessi [ɪ]. We cannot use age of arrival to Casablanca as an index of exposure because Fessis were all exposed to trilled [r] all their lives albeit in varying ways. We must remember that Fessi [ɪ] is a minority form used by a specific group of Fessis, whereas Casablancan trilled [r] is the variant most widespread across Morocco, and it is also the standard variant. Thus exposure to trilled [r] for Fessi speakers comes from various sources: from non-Fessi speakers, school, the media, television, radio and movies. This is equally true for the women who grew up in Fez and for those who grew up in other towns and cities. For this reason, this study emphasizes the importance of the degree of exposure, rather than age of arrival to Casablanca, in the successful acquisition of a variant. Putting the emphasis on age of arrival implies that Fessi subjects have no prior exposure to the trilled [r], which is not the case at all.

It turned out that maintaining Fessi [ɪ] is in part a byproduct of an interaction between a dense social network and positive attitudes. That is, a dense Fessi network ensures constant and frequent exposure to Fessi [ɪ] and helps in maintaining positive attitudes towards Fessi [ɪ]. On the other hand, complete acquisition of trilled [r] depends on low age of exposure to trilled [r] and a less dense and multiplex Fessi network.
Although four of our Fessi immigrants have not lived in Fez, they have lived in Fessi households, surrounded by Old Fessi speakers since they were children. Fessis tend to maintain a very dense network whether they live in Fez or elsewhere. They keep continuous contact with Fez either by weekly visits to Fez or by visits from relatives in Fez coming to them. Despite all this, these four speakers do not exhibit the Fessi [q].

Young educated Fessi women have maintained Fessi [q]. This suggests that exposure to trilled [r], which is also a feature of MSA, is not a motivating factor for Fessis to change their pronunciation of the Fessi non-trilled [l]. The fact that some women have maintained Fessi [l], which is both a minority form and a highly stereotypical form of Fessi speech, does not lend support to theories of dialect leveling, which suggest that minority forms and forms that are highly salient are usually lost in dialect contact (Trudgill 1986). Social networking and exposure are instrumental in the maintenance of salient forms by immigrants to Casablanca and their children. These two factors are reinforced by social attitudes and group identity.

Findings from this study have shown that being native of Casablanca does not guarantee that a Fessi speaker will accommodate to the Casablancan dialect. An individual’s network and the attitudes that might develop and be maintained in that network, and the practices that reinforce one’s Fessiness may weaken the nativeness factor itself.

10.1.2 The (q) variable

The main finding as far as the variable (q) is concerned is that speakers have maintained the Fessi variant [q] in all lexical items, where this variation is possible in the Casablancan dialect, except for the highly frequent lexical item; the verb (qal) ‘to say’.

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Speakers are thus divided into [qal] users, [gal] users and those who vary between [qal] and [gal]. Therefore, there are lexical constraints on the adoption of the Casablancan variant, which supports findings of (q) variable in other Arabic speaking communities (e.g., Holes 1986, Gibson 1997, Haeri 1997).

It turned out that the women who maintain Fessi [qal] are the same ones who maintain Fessi [t]. Among these regular maintainers is a Casablanca-born Fessi. Her consistent maintaining of Fessi variants provides further evidence that being native of Casablanca does not necessarily guarantee that a Fessi woman will leave behind stereotypical Fessi features. On the other hand, women who have adopted the Casablancan [r] variant are not consistent in adopting Casablancan [q]~[g] variation.

However, we must ask why do Fessi women in general maintain Fessi [q] in all other lexical items? Is it because [q] is also the standard variant and in maintaining this pronunciation speakers are rather holding on the standard? We have seen that access to education seems to explain why educated Fessis no longer have the Old Fessi variant [?] and have instead adopted MSA [q]. However, education does not have the same effect on the adoption of trilled [r], which is a feature of both Casablancan and MSA, since some educated Fessi women do maintain Fessi [t]. This suggests that adoption and/or maintenance of Fessi features, whether they coincide with MSA or not, play a minimal role in their maintenance by speakers. This supports results from the Arabic speaking world that women target the local urban vernacular rather than MSA. These results are attested in well-established urban dialects such as Cairene Arabic (Haeri 1997) and are attested also in newly formed dialects such as Amman Arabic (Al-Wer 1997).
However, this indifference to the coincidence of Casablancan features with MSA does not seem to be true for women who maintain [q], except in gal, and adopt trilled [r]. These women level the non Standard Fessi [q] but maintain the Standard [q], which suggests that they prefer MSA variants. While this remains a valid explanation, looking at the other side of the coin and addressing the question of why these women have not adopted [g] in other lexical items and have instead adopted gal, is another way of looking at this puzzle.

The social meaning encoded in gal is a potential explanation for why speakers have particularly adopted this lexical variable in particular. While maintaining [q] in other lexical items seems to go unnoticed by speakers, using Casablancan [gal] is frequently cited to assert that they do not speak Fessi. This lexical item seems to be a strong index for Fessi women to assert that they have adopted Casablancan dialect. The sociolinguistic connotations associated with qal are important in distinguishing pure Fessis and non-Fessis. Speakers are unequivocal in drawing the boundary between [qal] users and [gal] users and suggest that using [qal] in particular means holding on to a pure Fessi identity. It seems that [qal] has achieved stereotype status and most of these women do not want to identify with [qal] users.

If we accept the argument that saying [gal] instead of [qal] may cast the speaker as Casablanca, we can therefore suggest that these women employ whatever resources available to them, regardless of how minimal these resources might be, in order to sound Casablanca. Furthermore, to adopt [g] in other words beside gal would mean to sound Srubi-Casablanca rather than Casablanca. It seems that these women are distancing themselves not only from pure Fessis, but from Srubi-Casablanca as well. They are
doing that by maintaining [q] in all other lexical items while adopting [gal]. Both of these linguistic choices make them sound Casablancan. As we will see these choices are essential in shaping the hybrid Fessi-Casablancan identity these women claim.

10.1.3 The (-i) variable

The results for the morphosyntactic variable (-i) indicate that Fessi women behave differently towards the low-salience morphosyntactic variable than they did towards the highly salient phonological variables (q) and (r). That is, contrary to the high rate of adoption of Casablancan [r] and [gal], most speakers are found to maintain the Fessi morphosyntactic variant, either categorically or partially. Maintenance of gender neutralization among Fessis in Casablanca is explained in terms of language internal-principles, whereas partial adoption of gender distinction among some Fessi women is explained in terms social-psychological factors. Language internal-factors emphasize the desire of maintaining simple forms in dialect contact and/or generalizing a change in progress, thus inhibiting the adoption of the gender distinction.

Our findings suggest that although language-internal factors may act as forces in inhibiting wider adoption of the Casablancan gender distinction, social and social psychological factors may counteract the linguistic pressures mentioned above. Speakers who have adopted the gender distinction are in fact using a more ‘complex’ form rather than the simple uninflected neutralized form. It seems that the desire to accommodate and be understood by others is important. This suggests that no matter how strong internal-language factors may be, social and social psychological factors do take precedence.
The fact that all Casablanca-born Fessis have maintained second person gender neutralization suggests that this feature is the norm among Casablanca-born Fessis. That is, gender neutralization has been focused by Fessis of Casablanca and it is therefore one of the linguistic characteristics of the Fessi immigrant koiné in Casablanca.

10.1.4 Summary of Attitudes Towards Fessi and Casablancan Dialects and Dialect Users

Maintainers’ attitudes toward stereotypical Fessi features are positive in general. Fessi [r] is regarded as being feminine, soft, polite and not vulgar. They maintain authenticity of Fessi identity. Levelers’ attitudes toward stereotypical Fessi features are negative. Fessi [r] and [ʔ]/[q] are regarded as being outdated, out of the ordinary, slow, unintelligible and not normal. However, many women do not see Fessi dialect as being negative. Some subjects prefer a woman to speak Fessi even though they do not speak it themselves and are proud to speak Casablancan. There seems to be general agreement among these women that speaking with Fessi accent suits women more than men because a man sounds effeminate when he speaks Fessi.

Women who maintained Fessi features identified as being Fessi and showed positive attitudes to being Fessi. They draw a clear boundary between Fessis and non-Fessis, favoring Fessis and Fessi social practices. They have expressed pride and exaltation in being Fessi. They think being Fessi is an asset in Morocco, and preserving the Fessi way of speaking which indexes their Fessiness is very important to them.

Speakers who level the salient variables have overwhelmingly positive attitudes toward normal Casablancan speech. However, some are ambivalent toward the Fessi dialect. Speakers regard Fessi dialect as more rhythmic and more feminine. At the same
time they believe that ırubı-Casablancan is tough, while others think it is humorous. Most speakers were able to pinpoint the most salient phonological differences between Fessi and Casablancan speech and some of them volunteered some lexical variation between the two dialects as well.

Salient Fessi variants have been leveled out in the speech of Fessi women who hold very positive attitudes toward the Casablancan variety and choose to identify as Casablancan or Fessi-Casablancan rather than Fessi. These women's attitudes clearly show that the old urban dialect of Fez doesn't seem to carry the same prestige it used to enjoy in the past. To these women, Fessi speech carries all kinds of negative evaluations; tqil 'it's too slow', it's bhal 'foolish' and 'it is a relic of the past'.

Speakers who leveled salient Fessi features believe Fessi speech is outdated, out of the ordinary, not normal. Among the women who leveled stereotypical Fessi features, their attitudes were positive toward Fessi if spoken by a woman. It was clear that for those who equate Casablancan with ırubı, the social evaluations are quite negative in that the dialect is seen as being tough, uncultured and downright vulgar.

Women who leveled Fessi linguistic forms regard Casablancan as being 'normal', i.e., a dialect free from stereotypical regional traits. This is akin to the point made by Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1998): Standard American English is determined more by what it is not than by what it is, i.e., as they put it, "if a person's speech is free of structures that can be identified as nonstandard, then it is considered standard" (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes, 1998: 12).
10.1.5 **Leveling, Maintenance and In-group/Out-group Identifications**

Quite a few categories have emerged as a result of the Fessi-Casablancan contact. Fessi informants have acknowledged these categories when they were asked to identify with a group. These categories are *Fessa-d-Fez* (they also used *Fessa pures*) *Pure or authentic Fessis*, *Fessa-d-Casa* ‘Fessi-Casablancans’ and *Bidawa* ‘Casablancans’ and *frubiya-d-Casa* ‘frubi-Casablancan’. Part of what makes this categorization meaningful is the use of lack of use of Fessi linguistic forms. That is, the meaning of *pure Fessi*, *Fessi-Casablancan*, Casablancan and *frubi-Casablancan* identities is shaped in part by the choice of linguistic variants.

Speakers’ own group identification tends to correlate with leveling and or maintenance of Fessi features. In general, women who maintain Fessi features, especially those from the first generation, do identify as Fessi and express highly positive attitudes to being Fessi. They make a clear boundary between Fessis and non-Fessis favoring Fessis and Fessi social practices. They have expressed pride and delight in being Fessi and think that being Fessi is an asset in Morocco. Maintaining the Fessi way of speaking, which indexes their Fessi background, is very important to them. These women also emphasize the fact that there are wide differences between Fessis and non-Fessis. They have expressed inherent superiority to non-Fessis in general because in their view Fessis have been practicing urban lifestyles from generation to generation. They strongly believe that Fessi identity has had centuries to form and it is impossible for non-Fessis to emulate it. They seem to hold on very tight to the distinctive Fessi lifestyle and practices, which have defined Fessi identity for centuries. By doing so they are assigning meaning to ‘authentic’ or ‘pure’ Fessi. It seems that the projection of an ‘authentic’ Fessi
identity that is encoded in the practice of speaking with stereotypical Fessi features is important to these women, hence their desire in maintaining them. However, the Casablanca-born maintainer is not as divisive in her groupings as the Fez-born maintainers. This informant separates her Fessi way of speaking from her group identification, i.e., despite the fact that she maintains salient Fessi features she distances herself from pure Fessis.

On the other hand, speakers who have leveled Fessi features do not identify as Fessi. They identify either as Fessi-Casablancan or Casablancan. Speaking with stereotypical Fessi features is not an important component of their identity. These speakers do not care to sound Fessi; they prefer Casablancan speech.

10.2 Leveling, Maintenance and Urban Identity

This study shows that leveling (or lack of leveling) meshes in interesting and complex ways with Fessi women’s expressions and claims of urban identity. Leveling Fessi linguistic forms turns out to be an integral part of becoming Casablancan.

Maintainers’ attitudes toward stereotypical Fessi features are positive. Fessi [r] and [qal] are regarded as being feminine, softer and polite. The use of these linguistic forms is believed to maintain authenticity of Fessi identity. That is, speakers who identify as Fessi and are proud to be Fessi have not changed their Fessi features since it is an integral part of their identity. The use of Fessi linguistic forms sets them apart from non-Fessis.

It seems that first generation maintainers confirm the widely held beliefs that Fessis will not accommodate to frubi ‘rural’ speech (Abbassi 1977). First generation Fessi women who retain almost all of their Fessi features are proud to isolate themselves
from Casablancans and preserve distinctive Fessi social and cultural practices. Part of the
definition of being urban according to women who maintain Fessi features lies in a
combination of things. Being ‘authentic’ urban is certainly not constrained to a place of
origin since not everybody who lives in Fez can claim to be Fessi. Rather, urbanity is
very much tied to lineage, social status, and to a way of being, living, behaving, dressing,
mourning, and ultimately a way of speaking. It is a set of unflinching rules of proper
behavior and descency (see Appendix, Extract 3). On the other hand, Casablanca
identity is still forming, and while some are able to pinpoint its defining and distinctive
criteria and characteristics, others still hold on to old views about it being a frubi identity.

In light of this, how can leveling and/or maintenance help us to understand the
process of reconstruction of urban identity in Casablanca? In other words, is leveling of
salient linguistic forms central to the construction of a neo-urban identity? Fessi women
who have left behind stereotypical Fessi features are constructing linguistic
distinctiveness from pure Fessis. Most speakers have clearly expressed this
distinctiveness through their use of language. Leveling is one of the social practices
Fessis have recourse to in order to thin out salient Fessi identity. Accommodation or lack
of accommodation to Casablanca linguistic norms plays an important part in
constructing both social meaning and social categories in Casablanca.

Leveling of salient Fessi linguistic forms shapes and defines a hybrid Fessi-
Casablanca identity. In general, those who do not level Fessi linguistic forms have a
stronger Fessi identification, while leveling helps in thinning pure Fessi identity. That is,
the use of [gal] instead of [qal] is an important resource for a Fessi-Casablanca identity.
Informants agree that Casablanca-born Fessis have become ‘tough’ in Casablanca and
that it is this ‘toughness’ that distinguishes them from Fessis from Fez. The category *Fessa-d-Casa* ‘Fessi-Casablancans’ has emerged because of this ‘toughness’. In other words, part of what defines a Fessi-Casablancan is that they think they are ‘tougher’ than Fessis from Fez, and leveling of stereotypical Fessi variants is central to the existence of this category.

Toughness, as studies have shown, is a positive male value usually associated with working class status (e.g., Trudgill 1974). What is striking here is that what is considered a ‘tough’ and ‘unfeminine’ dialect, mainly because of [gal] and trilled [r], are precisely the variants these Fessi women are adopting. Thus, sounding ‘normal’, even if it means sounding ‘tough’ and ‘less feminine’ is important to becoming Fessi-Casablancan. This hybrid identity seems to be a positive social identity for women who have leveled stereotypical Fessi features. To speak in a ‘normal’ way is important in becoming Fessi-Casablancan or Casablancan. This indicates that Fessi women who have adopted Casablancan variants do not mind trading off an old urban bourgeois identity for a cosmopolitan identity, where the pressure to be *barfa* ‘tough, street smart, independent, less delicate, over the edge’ and *fâbiya* ‘one of the gang, not a snob, sociable’ are paramount.

Furthermore, the agency of Fessi women in constructing their own identity in Casablanca is reflected in what they perceive Fessi and Casablancan identities to be made of. They choose to leave behind what is perceived by other Casablancans as ‘snob’, ‘picky’ and ‘slow’, they, however, choose to carry over the ‘organized’, the ‘polite’ and the ‘chic’. In other words, they choose not to reject Fessiness altogether but build on it, tweak it, customize and tailor it.
Urban-oriented women are distancing themselves from ‘pure’ Fessi identity which is perceived to be ‘too soft’ and ‘too delicate’ to embrace a ‘tougher’ way of speaking and being. It seems that in addition to being a dialect free from stereotypical regional traits, Casablancan speech is establishing itself as a modern urban dialect suitable for the modern urban woman in Casablanca.

10.3 On becoming Casablancan

The answer to the question “what does it mean for a Fessi to become Casablancan?” can be found in an interaction between linguistic and social practices. To become Casablancan is (1) to transcend regional origin by speaking ‘normally’, i.e., leveling stereotypical linguistic forms, which allows you to blend in and not stand out, (2) to become harsa ‘i.e., tough, street smart, independent, less delicate and over the edge’, and (3) sha‘bi ‘one of the folks, gregarious, not snobbish’.

The appeal of Casablancan identity rests on the social attractiveness encoded in this identity ‘civilisé’, ‘evolué’ and ‘cultivé’, i.e., civilized, modern, cosmopolitan and cultured. It is interesting to find out that what used to be a rural and unsophisticated group of people, because of its historical connections, is now perceived to be more advanced, “Casawiyin mqadmin bezzaf” ‘Casablancans are ahead of everybody else’ as was plainly put by Kawtar, a Casablanca-born Fessi. This is a clear indication that regional identities these dialects reflect are changing and evolving, and that Casablancans and their dialect have acquired overt prestige, at least among some Fessis.

10.4 Contributions of the Study

This is the first study to examine traditional urban to modern urban dialect contact in Arabic and shows the importance of dialect leveling and maintenance in the
(re)construction of urban identity. The study has established constraints on variation in three linguistic variables in the vernacular Arabic of Casablanca immigrants. It has examined life histories and synchronic attitudes of migrants (subjective attitudes based on ethnographic interviews and observations), thus generating a large corpus, which records two different types of urban dialects of Moroccan Arabic, and documenting some of their structural properties and the directions of change as a result of their contact. The study has also established statements of the extent to which there is correlation between subjective factors (attitudes toward a new dialect and ingroup/outgroup identifications) and dialect leveling and/or maintenance.

The study is also the first to look at differences among women in their own right in a case of dialect contact in the Arabic speaking world. It contributes to language and gender research in focusing on intra-group differences rather than assuming a priori that women will behave similarly toward leveling and/or maintenance based on their gender. The study supports the idea that memberships in categories based on linguistic behavior are difficult to pin down unless in-depth ethnographic studies are conducted.

Finally, the study has contributed to the theory of dialect contact and leveling by testing several of its principles on morphologically complex dialects and identifying the linguistic, social and psychological conditions, which contribute to linguistic leveling and/or maintenance and new dialect formation. The study thus confirms that dialect leveling is a sociolinguistic phenomenon that results from the interaction of linguistic, social, and social-psychological constraints.
10.5 Suggestions for Future Research

This study has focused particularly on Fessi women. Future investigations on the interaction between dialect leveling, maintenance and urban identity in Casablanca could look at Fessi men. Comparing both genders may lead to some interesting generalizations about dialect leveling and the construction of urban identity in Casablanca. It would also be rewarding to look at dialect leveling and maintenance among Fessi migrants in other cities and compare it to the pattern of accommodation found among Fessis in Casablanca.

Besides the three linguistic variables examined in this study, there are other linguistic variables that differentiate Casablancan from Fessi. Among these are lexical variation and prosody. Some women in this study tend to maintain Fessi lexical items and prosody despite leveling stereotypical Fessi features. It would therefore be rewarding to zero in on these variables for future research.

Furthermore, focusing on non-Fessi groups, especially those who make up the bulk of the population in Casablanca: the *frubis* ‘rurals’ and the *Soussis* ‘the Berbers’, would help in understanding the koinezation processes and the emergence of the Casablanca koiné. This would also reveal the processes of leveling and maintenance of rural dialects in the case of the *frubis* ‘rurals’ in Casablanca. The case of the Berbers, on the other hand, offers a more complex contact scenario. It involves looking at processes of maintenance and change of the Berber language and the Moroccan Arabic variety spoken by Berbers in Casablanca.

Finally, an important avenue for future research is to investigate the relationship between the use of French and speakers’ accommodation (or lack of accommodation) to the Casablancan variety.
### APPENDIX

**EXTRACTS FROM INTERVIEWS WITH FESSI SPEAKERS**

#### Extract 1  

**Hajja Fatima**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Atiqa:</strong></th>
<th><strong>Fatima:</strong></th>
<th><strong>Atiqa:</strong></th>
<th><strong>Fatima:</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*iwah kikatjik lhdra djal fassa? katjik mxtalfa *la lhdrat loxrin?</td>
<td><em>m3lum, kulla w bladu kulla w h3tu.</em></td>
<td><em>Well, how do you find Fessi speech? Do you find it different from the others?</em></td>
<td><em>Of course, each one has own his city and each one has his own speech.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>djal fassa</em>?</td>
<td><em>katjik zwina?</em></td>
<td><em>But, how do you find it? Do you find it nice?</em></td>
<td><em>Nice, everything is nice. Each one is in his city and each one has his own speech. It is not a shame.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mxtalfa</em></td>
<td><em>walajni ki katjik z3fma, katjik zwina?</em></td>
<td><em>No, but do you find it, say, sweet?</em></td>
<td><em>Yes sweet, they are nice.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>la lhgrat lxrin?</em></td>
<td><em>Fatima:</em></td>
<td><em>Atiqa:</em></td>
<td><em>Atiqa:</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fatima:</em></td>
<td><em>mzjana kul si mzjan, kulla f bladu kulla tajhdaq h3atu, masi fis.</em></td>
<td><em>Tell me something, is frubi speech like Fessi speech?</em></td>
<td><em>Which one do you think is better. This stays between us (laughter).</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fatima:</em></td>
<td><em>Fatima:</em></td>
<td><em>Fatima:</em></td>
<td><em>Fatima:</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>la wa lajni wa f tajjik z3fma hluwa?</em></td>
<td><em>hlua ma3janin</em></td>
<td><em>I don’t decipher their speech. I do not know their speech.</em></td>
<td><em>I don’t decipher their speech. I do not know their speech.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fatima:</em></td>
<td><em>gulili z3fim lhdra djal 3rubija bhal lhdra djal fassa?</em></td>
<td><em>Really?</em></td>
<td><em>Really?</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fatima:</em></td>
<td><em>Fatima:</em></td>
<td><em>Fatima:</em></td>
<td><em>Fatima:</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>la</em></td>
<td><em>la</em></td>
<td><em>Fatima:</em></td>
<td><em>Fatima:</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Atiqa:</em></td>
<td><em>Atiqa:</em></td>
<td><em>Atiqa:</em></td>
<td><em>Atiqa:</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>3kun li hs3n banisba lik nti? had afi rah sir binatna (laughter).</em></td>
<td>*bhalS ashnu *lash f <em>skel z3fma ma3n aj nahiija?</em></td>
<td><em>Which one do you think is better. This stays between us (laughter).</em></td>
<td><em>Fatima:</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fatima:</em></td>
<td>*matanфrezsaj <em>3omju matanфraf h3atu</em></td>
<td><em>Well I think that we the people of Fez speak a certain way and they (3rubis) speak a certain way.</em></td>
<td><em>I don’t decipher their speech. I do not know their speech.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Atiqa:</em></td>
<td><em>bo3sah?</em></td>
<td><em>Atiqa:</em></td>
<td><em>Atiqa:</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fatima:</em></td>
<td><em>wallah</em></td>
<td><em>Like what? In what respect are they different?</em></td>
<td><em>Really?</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Atiqa:</em></td>
<td><em>Atiqa:</em></td>
<td><em>Fatima:</em></td>
<td><em>Fatima:</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>matatfihmiS af tajgulu.</em></td>
<td><em>Fatima:</em></td>
<td><em>Honest to God!</em></td>
<td><em>You don’t understand what they say?</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fatima:</strong></td>
<td><em>Fatima:</em></td>
<td><strong>Atiqa:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fatima:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>la la ma tanf9ms as tajiulu u ana matsarftsaj m3a had nnas djal <em>addaqiliation, tajdwiw matanfrafhum as tajiulu u lli tajdwiw b3selha ma tanerafhum as tajiulu.</em></em></td>
<td><em>I don’t decipher their speech. I do not know their speech.</em></td>
<td><em>No, no I don’t understand what they say… I do not deal with the people of Casablanca. When they speak I don’t understand what they say and those who speak Berber, I don’t understand what they are saying either.</em></td>
<td><em>I don’t decipher their speech. I do not know their speech.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In our generation I don’t think you will find a couple who has given up their accent, their traditions, very few of them have lost these, some of them lose some traditions but the majority of the people I know do not change. The ones who have changed are our children, the generation that is emerging, including my own kids. My children speak in a tough way, oh yes, they roll the t.

Atiqa: Really, they do not a little bit...

Amina: No, no not at all, my three children roll the t, they speak like Casablancans and they use words like Casablancans to the point that sometimes we tell them, “no why did you use that word?” My daughter, who is 15 years old, sometimes for instance uses some words and I tell her “No, Hanane, you should not use that word, a young woman who has manners should not say a word like this.” ... their accent is tough, our children do not have a Fessi accent.

Atiqa: Even though both parents are Fessi?

Amina: Because of school

Atiqa: They went to a French school or?

Amina: No, my children went to a private school here in Ghandi. That private school is mixed, there are Casablancans, Fessis and a bit of everything. So they mix with others. On the contrary, our children do not want at all to show that they are from Fez.

Amina: In our generation I don’t think you will find a couple who has given up their accent, their traditions, very few of them have lost these, some of them lose some traditions but the majority of the people I know do not change. The ones who have changed are our children, the generation that is emerging, including my own kids. My children speak in a tough way, oh yes, they roll the t.

Atiqa: Really, they do not a little bit...

Amina: No, no not at all, my three children roll the t, they speak like Casablancans and they use words like Casablancans to the point that sometimes we tell them, “no why did you use that word?” My daughter, who is 15 years old, sometimes for instance uses some words and I tell her “No, Hanane, you should not use that word, a young woman who has manners should not say a word like this.” ... their accent is tough, our children do not have a Fessi accent.

Atiqa: Even though both parents are Fessi?

Amina: Because of school

Atiqa: They went to a French school or?

Amina: No, my children went to a private school here in Ghandi. That private school is mixed, there are Casablancans, Fessis and a bit of everything. So they mix with others. On the contrary, our children do not want at all to show that they are from Fez.

Atiqa: Ah, that is what I noticed.

Amina: When my oldest son was 12 or 13 years old, I put him in a public school and I pulled him out of there after one year. I did not like it because he started mingling with some bad guys. He is very polite and very sweet, he is like polite girl. He started saying some words that scared me, I tell him “Issam, what happened to you?, why are you saying this word, why this why
| tatqul dik lkəlma ʕlaʃ hada? tajqulli “a mama ʕah məli tanhdaʃ bhalhum haka tajdaʃku ʕlija”. qallli ʕani a mama xaʃni nhdaʃ bhalhum...fəmti wladna alhaʃta djalhum haʃça maʃi ʕubija walakin maʃi fasija. | that?” He tells me “Mom, when I speak like you guys they laugh at me.” He told me “Mom, I have to speak like them”... You see the way our children speak is tough, it is not ʕubbi but it is not Fessi. |
**Samia**

Samia: My grandmother taught my mother since she was very young how the girl should do things, since childhood, how she should wash herself, how she should, what a girl should learn from childhood, so you grow up in this (milieu) before you go out for example you have to have a clean handkerchief in your pocket all the time, I am giving you small details. In housework, she teaches cleanliness, how to make up your bed, she teaches you how to talk to people, how to eat, how to speak, you should not talk until you think so that you will not blurt out something... When we are home we sit our small children around the table and we teach them lots of things which maybe in other milieus they do not teach them to their kids. You understand! Take cursing for instance. I see that Casablancans and Swassa (Berbers) the woman curses her kids “come here may God curse your parents”. For us, we do not have this, in Fessi milieus we do not have the mother or the father cursing their kids. He might spank him on his feet, he might tell him a big word, a mean word but no cursing.

It is distasteful to curse. It is shameful to say “May God curse you with this or that”. It is distasteful to say a big word or something like that. These are things that make us different. One more thing, the Fessis have been influenced by Andalusian civilization.
Ihsan: We went to that new public bath, it is beautiful. Amina, you should go try it, it is nice, but we had an interesting incident (laughter).

Ihsan’s friend: Tell them tell them.

Ihsan: We had a fight with a Fessi, a very spoiled Fessi, the type of Fessi I am not very fond of. It was unbelievable. She treated us as if we were in school. You know, we were sitting in the outside room relaxing and putting our clothes on and Ghizlan and I started talking about the Amina’s Birthday. We were saying that we need to do this and we need to do that, something very simple. And she told us to shut up. I told her, “what? Shut up?” You should have seen me, I told her “who do you think you are?” I gave her an earful. That is serious, that is serious of course it is serious. I did not know what to tell her, I was shocked. I told her “we were not yelling we were talking, you look like a decent woman (sarcastic tone)”, and she said “I was relaxing and I am pregnant (and craving)”. I told her “lady, if you are pregnant and you’re craving you should go and act up your pregnancy cravings next to your husband or your brothers. Do not come here and act up your pregnancy cravings on people.” She was so full of herself that spoiled Fessi, I didn’t know who she thinks she is. I told her “listen lady, you are pregnant then do not come to a public bath, go to your sauna, go buy your own sauna, a private one and if you have a problem with us, then bang yourself against the wall. You know what she told me which bothered even more “Can you read or not? Can you read what is written?” I told her “yes, for you we are yelling!? Well now that you have told me then I am going
Ihufija kidajja. Amina ta tente va se dire hadi fassija hal fa mezjan (laughter)

| to yell. | I told her “We come here to relax” and I said “If you come here to relax, you are not the one who makes the law here, and if my friend and I feel like yelling I will not stop, and I can tell my friend what I want, it is none of your business (laughter). I was tough with her, I told her you made a bit of money and that is it, you came here to act up. You see toughness. Amina, your aunt is going to think “this Fessi is very tough” (laughter). |

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leila</th>
<th>Atiqa</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jkun huma nnas lli katjamli m?ahum ba?zaf,</td>
<td>Who are the people that you mingle with a lot?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m?ahum ba?zaf,</td>
<td>Leila: With everybody. I am very sociable, I mingle with everybody, with the rich, with the poor, with those who are not so nice and those who are nice. I deal with each one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leila: m?a lli 3ab ?llah je suis sociable tantfasr m?a kul?i m?a lli labas ?lih m?a li ma?ndus m?a li qbih m?a lli m?zjan kul wah?d tanfjilu m?a lma djalu.</td>
<td>Atiqa: Did you deal a lot with Fessis?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leila: m?a fassa m?a ilu ila 3abhum llah m?a bi?dawa.</td>
<td>Leila: With Fessis, with Berbers if they are around, with Casablancans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Atiqa:</strong> Alors, matqediʃ trejʃi lfas?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Keltoum:</strong> aʃud billah (laughter)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Atiqa:</strong> ʕlaʃ?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Keltoum:</strong> la ma 3andish m3ah j’aurais souhaiter vivre a casa toute ma vie.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Atiqa:</strong> Casa hija Casa. ʕlaʃ zə3ma?</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Keltoum:</strong> Parce que j’aime bien Casa, Casa c’est une ville sociable, civilisée, il y a des gens Civilisés tu apprends pas mal de chose a casa et t’as plus d’endroits ou tu t’achete quelque chose ou tu te promenes ou tu fairais ceci tu fairias cela. Plusieurs endroits mafi bhal des petites villes limitées meme si tu reste chez toi c’est gaie kajn plusieurs choses et tu t’ennuie pas par contre l’les petites villes ...kanmʃi ʕənd xuʃa f Khenifra hada šbah kan bəa ʕumri jxraj.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Atiqa:</strong> So you cannot go back to Fez?</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Keltoum:</strong> May God shield me from that.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Atiqa:</strong> Why?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Keltoum:</strong> No, I do not like it. I would have loved to have lived all my life in Casablanca.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Atiqa:</strong> Casablanca is Casablanca! Why?</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Keltoum:</strong> Because I love Casablanca a lot. Casablanca is a sociable and civilized city. There are civilized people and you learn a lot in Casablanca. You have tons of places where you can buy things, walk around, where you can do this or that. There are lots of places, unlike small towns that are limited. Even when you stay home it is happy. There are tons of things to do and you do not get bored. But in small towns ...when I go to visit my brother in Khenifra I get bored out of my wits.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Hayat: What I like about Soussis (Berbers) is that they are conservative, honest, they have humility, they are cautious, not like the Šrubis who are boisterous. Soussis are conservative and even if they do something bad, they are shy about it.

Atiqa: Do you have a preference as to who your daughter should marry, I mean, a Šrubi, a Berber or a Fessi. Do you have any preference?

Hayat: I would not allow her to marry a Šrubi.

Atiqa: Really! Why?

Hayat: Just like that, even if

Atiqa: Even if she is in love with him?

Hayat: Even if she is crazy in love with him, Šrubi I will not give her to a Šrubi.

Atiqa: Why?

Hayat: I know Šrubis well.

Atiqa: What is making you opposed to them like this?

Hayat: Because I know them. I have dealt with them and I know what they do.

Atiqa: How are they?

Hayat: You cannot know them until you have some experience with them. Šrubis are very difficult. Look at me, I have lived with them for 25 years and I know who they are. Šrubis cannot be trusted, you go with them a certain and in a split second they turn on you as if they have never known you. And they can hurt you too. No matter how much good you do to them, no matter what you do, they are deceitful.
Atiqa: Jkun fhad les dialectes lli plus convenable pour une femme?
Nadia: plus convenable! thḍər normal u şafi, hadṣi lli kangul.
Atiqa: Normal?
Nadia: bhhal hḍərti uṣafi.
Atiqa: bhal daba mra ſrubija kikatjik?
Nadia: katʒini ſwija ḥərfa.
Atiqa: u raʒəel ſrubi?
Nadia: majʃjebniʃ taqriban bhal bhal la maniere de parler katʒini ḥərfa bzzaf.

Atiqa: Which of these dialects do you think is more suitable for a woman?
Nadia: More suitable! That she speaks normal that’s all. That’s how I see it.
Atiqa: Normal?
Nadia: Like the way I speak
Atiqa: And how do you find a woman who speaks ſrubi?
Nadia: I find her tough.
Atiqa: and a man?
Nadia: I don’t like him. Whether it’s a man or a woman, I find the ſrubi way of speaking very tough.
**Extract 9**  

**Saida**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Saida:</th>
<th>Saida: The ſrubis, I go with their style, I have cousins who are married to ſrubis. I give everybody their time so that they would not be offended, and would not say that I am a snob. I follow everybody’s way. I am a natural and a sociable woman. I go with the flow way. I change the way I speak that’s how I am, but if I am with ſrubis I make them believe that I am with them, and if I am with Fessis I make them believe that I am with them. What can I do! That’s what God wants (laughter). Well, I go with everybody’s style so that everybody stays happy.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>⾊rubia tanmʃi mʃa nnamaʃ djalhum, ʕand ni bənt ʰbibi u bənt xalti waxdin ſrubijin, kul wahad kanʃewh šwabu ʕla qaʃ djalu, baʃ maʃerluʃ, baʃ majgulʃ hadi tatforma ʕlija, tanmʃi šnnamàdjalhum, walakin ana mra ʕabiʃia u ʕɔmbia, ana ɓiḍa kanmʃi mʃa kul wahad šnnamàdjalu, tanbdəl ʰdari ana hakka walakin ila ʃət ſrubija kanʃmhmum rani ana mʃahum, wila kunt mʃa fassa kanʃmhmum rani ana mʃahum waʃ ʃandir hada makttəb ˀlalah (laughter). Iwa kull wahed namʃi mʃa nnamaʃ djalu, baʃ kulʃi jbaʃ ʕla xatru.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Atiqa:</td>
<td>kajn ħi farq mabin fassa d fes u fessa d Casa?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Khadija:</td>
<td>Ifarq ħli kajn fessa djal ddarbiḍa ħwija mhadrin, ħwija civilizes, fassa djal fes kajbqaw ħwija baldijin, bhal daba lbnaṭ djal fes tres traditionelles, maʃi bhal ləbnat djal ddarbida, waxa fassijat tajkunu ħwija un petit peu ouverte d'esprit, haduk tajkunu ħwija baldijin ħwija buhal,.hdərthum ħwija tqila mais ləbnat lfassijat lli tajʃiʃu fddarbida tajkunu ħwija mmaddnin ħlā haduk djal Fes.</td>
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</table>

| Khadija: | The difference is that Fessis from Casablanca are a little more civilized, Fessis from Fez are a little traditional. For example, the girls from Fez are very traditional not like the girls in Casablanca, even if they are Fessis they are a little more open minded. The others are more traditional, a little stupid, their speech is slow but Fessi girls who live in Casablanca are more urbane that those from Fez. |

| Atiqa: | Is there a difference between Fessis from Fez and Fessis from Casablanca? |

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#### Extract 11  Siham

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Atiqa: u hḍartək?</th>
<th>Siham: and the way you speak?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Siham: Entre Casawija et Fassia c’est un mélange. C’est vrai je n’ai pas dak l’accent Fassi, dak qa udikʃi. ḫanṭık un exemple bhal daba hna makanguluʃ brak kangulu glas u hna ʕawttani lwaʃd kantuŋulu dxul machi dxli ʃrubiyә u lbidәwa kaygulu “dduxli dduxli” hna non, “dxul” pour le féminin et le masculin tu vois. C’est ce qui fait ma langue hḍartna un peu différente, mais tu sais ici a Casa tajtruni fassia. ḫamti, tout le monde sait que, dəʃja dəʃja vite fait même si je n’ai pas dak l [4], tu comprends?</td>
<td>Siham: It is between Casablanca and Fessi. It’s a mixture. It’s true that I don’t have a Fessi accent, like the ra and all that. I will give you an example, we don’t say brak we say glas ‘sit’. Also, we use the masculine dxul ‘come in’ for the male and female unlike the Ŧrubis who use the feminine form duxli-i for both. That’s why, our dialect is a little bit different. But you know here in Casablanca, they know that I am Fessi. Do you understand me! Everybody knows that very quickly, it does not take them long to figure it out. Even though I don’t have the Fessi [4], you understand?</td>
</tr>
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<td><strong>Atiqa:</strong></td>
<td>Who are the people you deal with?</td>
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<td><strong>Kawtar:</strong></td>
<td>The majority of my friends are Fessi, oh yes, I am not going to lie to you.</td>
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<th><strong>Atiqa:</strong></th>
<th>Tell me frankly, how do you find Fessis?</th>
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<td><strong>Kawtar:</strong></td>
<td>Do you know why? It’s a question of education. You grow up in a Fessi milieu, your mother knows only Fessis and your father also knows only Fessis. So you cannot help it. A <em>frubi</em> female does not get along with a Fessi female, you might find some but it is very rare to find a <em>sjlha</em> (Berber female) or a <em>frubi</em> that you can get along with. But even the Berbers themselves they like to be friends only with other Bebrers. They cannot stand Fessis, they find their way to speaking slow – it seems like that – I personally prefer Fessis, it is that simple. I say it over and over again. I am like this. I mean I can get along with … if I like someone (other that Fessis), but now all my friends are Fessis, it is like that, it is the way it is. It is a question of education.</td>
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<td><strong>Kawtar:</strong></td>
<td>la plupart djal <em>šhabati</em> fassiat, eeh za’ma mankdabš Šlik.</td>
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</table>
**Atiqa:** How do you find Casablancans?  
**Zakia:** They are quite diverse. Casablanca is mixed. There are lots of people. But I think that Casablancan women are better than women from other cities. I don’t know why but that’s how I see it. They are more civilized. Even though girls from other cities like Meknes and Rabat live in Casablanca, I talk about women who were born and lived here. The others are not Casablancans. I like the way Casablancan girls dress and speak. They are more civilized than girls from other cities. Honest to God!
**Extract 14  Fatma**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Atiqa:</th>
<th>Among all the dialects we have, Ŧrubī, Fessia.... Bidawiya, is there one of them that you consider more appropriate for men or women? For instance, how do you find a man who speaks Fessi?</th>
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<td>Fatma:</td>
<td>I find him effeminate. I like a man to be Ŧrubī, to be Casablancan. Actually Casablancan is better. The best thing to be is Casablancan.</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fatma:</td>
<td>kajzini mbannot. noubi ra3ol ikun Ŧrubī, ikun bidawi, bidawi filhaqiqa. ?ahsan ha3a hija bidawi.</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Atiqa:</th>
<th>And for the woman? The girl?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fatma:</td>
<td>The woman should be in between. Casablancan, a little bit Fessi and a little bit Ŧrubī. Actually, she has to know everything.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Extract 14  Fatma</th>
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| Atiqa: | Among all the dialects we have, Ŧrubī, Fessia.... Bidawiya, is there one of them that you consider more appropriate for men or women? For instance, how do you find a man who speaks Fessi? |
| Fatma: | I find him effeminate. I like a man to be Ŧrubī, to be Casablancan. Actually Casablancan is better. The best thing to be is Casablancan. |

| Atiqa: | And for the woman? The girl? |
| Fatma: | The woman should be in between. Casablancan, a little bit Fessi and a little bit Ŧrubī. Actually, she has to know everything. |
**Extract 15   Lamia**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Lamia:</strong> bikulli ṣaraha (laughter), oullahila</th>
<th><strong>Lamia:</strong> With all honesty (laughter), I am very happy to be Fessi. I do not know why. For me, when you are Fessi you automatically prefer Fessis. Because we share the same traditions, we have something in common that we agree on and that unifies us. I am proud to be Fessi.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>je suis tres contente d'etre Fassija.</em> maṭrāftʃ, <em>pour moi, faʃ tkuni Fessija rah automatiquement tu prefere Fessa.</em> zaʃma hint ŋændkum taqālid wəhda, katḵun binatkum ʃi haʃa katfahmu fiha, ʃi haʃa katʒmɔʃkum, <em>je suis fière d'être fassia.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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