

Singing in *Darija*

*A study of the Maghreb-Mashreq language
ideology in Arab pop culture*

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Abstract

The mainstream Arabic pop music is in constant development where new trends replace the old, making room for music from countries like Morocco to participate in this genre together with music from Egypt, the Levant and the Gulf. There has been a rise in the popularity of the Moroccan song in the Arab world, alongside the usage of social media and the internet in the Arab region. The concern of this study is the linguistic and ideological effects this may have on the prestige of the Moroccan dialect, as presented in Atiqah Hachimi's theory on the Maghreb-Mashreq language ideology. The Maghreb-Mashreq language ideology is about the conception of which dialects represent the most "Arabness" and which dialects represent it less or not at all. The pan-Arab music industry gives room for dialects to spread to other Arab countries. By examining four aspects: the popularity of the Moroccan song, the language use in the songs, face-to face encounters between Moroccan famous personalities speaking in Moroccan Arabic and Arab media, and non-Moroccan artists singing in the Moroccan variety, the research manages to say if there is a change in Moroccan *darija*'s prestige in the Arab world or if it has remained as how it has been described in the Maghreb-Mashreq dialect hierarchy: "a dialect of a lesser God". This will hopefully provide a more profound understanding of the Moroccan dialect's status and prestige in the Arab world.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Presentation of the theme and research question

The Arabic language is the symbol of Arabic unity, culturally and politically. The promotion of its use and development is considered a vital element in the task of nation building.¹ Arabic is the official language in 21 Middle Eastern and African countries. Before starting with formal education, the spoken Arabic dialects (*darija*²/*‘āmmiyya*) is what native speakers learn and consider as their mother tongue. Within the vast area of the Arab-speaking world in the Middle East and Africa, a citizen, be it living in a small town or the city, will have no problems understanding the common vernacular speech of the citizens of the next small town or city. However, the longer the distance between one place and another, the bigger the linguistic differences will be in relation to the vernacular speech. The Moroccan dialect has traditionally been considered peripheral and different compared to Egyptian, Gulf and Levantine Arabic, and the dialects of the Maghreb (the Arabic speaking countries of North Africa: Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya) have for a long time been given the lowest ranking in the ladder of the Arabic dialects prestige, while the Egyptian and Levantine dialects rank higher. The geographical dissimilarities may have a part in the ranking system of the dialects, but there are many factors that work to reduce the effect of these geographical dissimilarities. One factor is the interdialectal contact between the Arab countries. Nowadays, dialect contact does not only occur between scholarship students, expatriate workers on long-term contracts, and well-educated business executives traveling from country to country. A vast portion of the common/ordinary Arabs, expatriate and/or host, are faced with having to deal with the speech of others from a very different geographical and educational background.³ This thesis will concentrate on one of many factors for reducing geographical dissimilarities: Arabic music.

As Hammond describes it “Music is an archetypically interconnected nexus of Arab commercial and cultural activity”.⁴ With the arrival of Arabic satellite stations, changes in the industry followed such as pop video culture started and the development of new sounds that were closer to western pop yet still by definition kept its “Arabness”. The Arab music

¹ Clive Holes, *Modern Arabic: structures, functions and varieties*, Rev. ed., Georgetown classics in Arabic language and linguistics (Washington, D.C: Georgetown University Press, 2004), 308.

² The word *dārija*, is from now on written like this: *darija* as it occurs many times in the research.

³ Holes, *Modern Arabic*, 1–4.

⁴ Andrew Hammond, *Pop Culture in North Africa and the Middle East: Entertainment and Society around the World* (ABC-CLIO, 2017). 49.

industry is a huge moneymaker, and the throne for Arabic pop has changed several times from Beirut to Cairo to the Gulf and back. The satellite television was instrumental in making a new pan-Arab public sphere and was an important helping tool in promoting Arabic pop musical culture to the region. Without a clear location on where the capital of Arabic pop lies today, people from all Arab countries fly to Beirut and the Gulf to appear on Pan-Arab shows on channels such as MBC, to participate in these shows with the hopes of winning the title, all thanks to Gulf money.⁵

The Arabic pop music is in constant development where new trends replace the old, making room for music from countries like Morocco and Iraq to participate in this genre alongside music from Egypt, the Levanting and the Gulf. There has been a rise in the popularity of the Moroccan song in the Arab world, where Moroccan artists such as Sa'd Lamjarred, 'Asmā' Lamnawwar and Dunyā Baṭmā are well known in the region. Singing in the Moroccan vernacular, known as *al-darija al-maghribiyya* (Moroccan *darija*, MD) is more common now compared to 10 years ago. This interesting shift have made Moroccan artists ambassadors for Moroccan culture and heritage in the Arab world. This development has had consequences for the position of the MD in the Arab world. Geographically Morocco lies far from the centre of the Arab region, and due to history, politics, social and economic constructions MD is in many ways different from the other mainstream dialects of the region, such as Egyptian and Lebanese. In this thesis I am going to study the Moroccan influence on the pan-Arabic music level and see if it changes Moroccan *darija*'s prestige in the Arab world.

My research question is: *How can we explain Moroccan darija's prestige in the Arab world by looking at its place in the Arabic pop music industry?*

My study will primary focus on Moroccan *darija* and Moroccan singers' effort in and outside the Moroccan borders, but other singers from North Africa (Maghreb) may be mentioned due to relevance. The same goes for famous Moroccan personalities. When answering my research question, I will also be highlighting and answering questions such as: Is Moroccan *darija* only used by Moroccan singers? How does the Moroccan artists tackle the linguistic barriers that the Moroccan *darija* bears in their songs? And is the Maghrebi influence in the Arabic music world minor or considerable?

⁵ Hammond, 41. 49.

1.2 Method

When I first travelled to Morocco in autumn 2017 to conduct fieldwork, it was with the intention to answer a completely different research question regarding social politics in Morocco. My decision to change the course of my thesis came after spending almost two months in Morocco, realising that my interest in sociolinguistics and language ideologies was greater than my interest in social politics. Consequently, the planning of my fieldwork, how I used my remaining time in Morocco, and how this thesis turned out to be, are highly affected by me already being in Morocco when I started planning the present thesis.

Having an interest in sociolinguistics is not the only motive behind this thesis. I came across an article about language ideologies in the Arab world, claiming that the Moroccan influence at the pan-Arab level is minor. The article also claimed that the singers from the eastern parts of the Arab world singing in their national varieties are widely popular in Morocco, while Moroccan artists are hardly known outside the North-African borders, unless they sing and produce albums in other varieties from the eastern parts of the Arab world. Finally, the article also notes that most of the recording studios and commercialization companies are in the Arab East.⁶ I am interested in Arabic music and fairly well informed about it, and reading these claims woke up the urge to research if these claims are correct, as they did not fit with my assumptions about the place of the Moroccan song in the Arab world today.

This chapter will describe the different methods used to answer the research question. Language ideologies cannot be inspected directly, and various methods are therefore used in this type of research.⁷

Fieldwork

My fieldwork in Morocco consisted of collecting information that I used to write chapter 3 and chapter 4 of this thesis. One part of this process was thinking about the right method to use to get the correct answer to my research question. Although my research question was different at that time, in comparison to the final result, the essence of the question was the same. I considered making this a questionnaire-based study, but since I was already in Morocco, the respondents of the questionnaire would be Moroccans, who would give the

⁶ Atiq Hachimi, 'The Maghreb-Mashreq Language Ideology and the Politics of Identity in a Globalized Arab World1', *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 17, no. 3 (1 June 2013): 275–76.

⁷ Keith Walters, 'Language Attitudes', *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, 30 May 2011, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-arabic-language-and-linguistics/language-attitudes-EALL_COM_vol2_0084.

answer to how they view their own dialect and the other Arabic dialects. Studies of this kind would not answer the research question. The idea of making a digital questionnaire and send it to several universities in the Arab world, crossed my mind, but it would be unrealistic to do for several reasons, me not having control over the “user-group” and only asking one group of society (students) are some of the reasons.

Additionally, questionnaire-based studies are regarded as being methodologically suspect by many, saying that the answers in such studies should be taken as evidence for imagined norms and not for actual behaviour, and that it is difficult to determine what the interview objects have in mind when answering the questionnaire.⁸ Another important point that is being said about this type of measuring language ideologies and attitudes, is that most language users are unable to report correctly their own and others’ attitudes and behaviours.⁹ A study often mentioned when talking about measuring attitudes of dialectal Arabic, is James Herbolich’s study on Egyptians attitudes towards various Arabic vernaculars where he chose Egyptian, Syrian, Saudi, and Libyan Arabic to be measured by Egyptians. He used the matched-guise technique, reporting the reactions of 80 male and female Egyptians from different levels of education, to taped recordings of native speakers of the abovementioned countries (which were already studying in Cairo), speaking their own native language. Considering the outcome, this type of method would also not give the answer to the research question asked in this thesis and was therefore not chosen as a method.

Atiqa Hachimi’s research on Maghreb-Mashreq language ideology, analysing a pan-Arab reality/talent TV show and looking at the interactions between Arabs from the Mashreq and Arabs from the Maghreb is another study in this field. From real, not fixed life situations aired on live time, Hachimi managed to come with a contribution to the study of language ideology in the Arab world.¹⁰ I consider this study to be the closest study to my own, in methodology and field of research, as both her and my study are studying parts of mediatized pop culture of the Arab world. One of the things I have taken from Hachimi’s study is her definition of which Arab countries belong to the Maghreb, and which countries belong to the Mashreq. This choice does not come from personally believing that these two parts of the Arab world, are distinct and require separate treatment, and therefore needs to be labelled in this way. I consider my research a supplementary contribution to the field of language ideology in the

⁸ Walters.

⁹ Walters.

¹⁰ Hachimi, ‘The Maghreb-Mashreq Language Ideology and the Politics of Identity in a Globalized Arab World1’.

Arab world, and because Hachimi's article inspired this research, I chose to follow her definition of the region.

Since I wanted to know the place of *darija* in the Arab music world, it was natural to observe and listen to Arabic music, but since I have been a music listener of Arabic music for years, and would consider myself updated on the field, this knowledge saved me a lot of time in finding the right information. Going back to how the music industry was in 2015 and 2016 and which Moroccan songs made it to the mainstream pan-Arab field was easy thanks to the tools I used, which I will mention later in this chapter. I therefore used most of my time in Morocco to get updated with the language situation in Morocco, status quo, what changes have been done or might be, prominent Moroccan figures that advocate for more usage of *darija*, and those who oppose the idea and discussions about language. This resulted in me traveling to Al-Jadida and attending a two-days seminar at the Choaib Dokkali University, after receiving an invitation from Khalīl Mgharfāwī, a professor of linguistics at the university.

Interviews

I started going to all the bookstores in Tangier and Tetouan to see if I could find books written in *darija*, first to get names of authors and second to see in "real paper" how the stories are written. This hunt led me to Elena Prentice, the editor and publisher of *Khbār Bladnā*. In one of the pocket books I found published by *Khbār Bladnā*, their email address was added, and I sent an email requesting to speak with them on the issue of written *darija*, and the status of *darija* in the Arab world. Prentice answered the mail and invited me to her home in Tangier. Prentice gave me a lot of pocket books and other printed materials *Khbār Bladnā* has published, and the interview lasted an hour and was conducted in English. The interview was conducted 08. November 2017.

When trying to update myself on the issue of language debates in Morocco, the works of Zakoura institute came up. One of its works was publishing Moroccan *darija*-Moroccan *darija* dictionary, which sired up the media. This led me to contact the institute and ask for a meeting with someone from the Center for Developing *Darija* in Casablanca. The institute forwarded my email to Khalil Mgharfaoui, the director of the Center, and a professor of linguistics at Chouaib Doukkali University in Al-Jadida. Mgharfaoui was one of the prominent personalities I got to know by studying the Moroccan case and asked for an interview with him. He invited me to a two-days conference at the University in Al-Jadida,

called: New Media, Interactions and Transactions. There I was introduced to several professors and given the opportunity to attend the whole conference before interviewing him. The conference was held 23 and 24 November 2017, while the interview was conducted 24 November 2017 in Moroccan dialect.

I would classify the interviews of Prentice and Mgharfaoui, as elite interviews. They were chosen for interviewing for this research because of who they are and the position they are occupying.¹¹ Prentice is editor, and publisher (together with her husband) of *Khbār Bladnā*, while Mgharfaoui is a professor of linguistics, and the director of “Center for developing *Darija*”. They were asked questions based on their positions and knowledge on the issues of written *darija* and *darija*’s place in Morocco today and in the future.

In a research where Moroccan singer’s efforts to bring their Moroccan songs to the rest of the Arab world is of important value, one would assume that it would be natural to at least interview one or two artists about the matter. I did contact two Moroccan artists, by email, as I found their contact information on their official Instagram profiles. One artist did not respond to my email, while the other offered me the number of the manager of the artist. The response was sent in a late stage in my fieldwork process, which led to me not being able to conduct an interview with this artist. Although I believe that an interview with one Moroccan singer would have been beneficial for this research, I do not consider that this research lack in credibility on the matters discussed here. My research concentrates on the works of the artists, examining the language used in the songs, the popularity of the songs, and little attention have been given to the people behind the songs, although some artists are mentioned specifically due to relevance of what is being discussed.

The texts: YouTube, Anghami, music awards and hit lists on the internet.

Besides the interviews conducted in my fieldwork and the email correspondences, all my primary sources are taken from the internet. As one of the purposes of this research is to measure popularity I have selected four tools in helping me achieve this goal. I have noted that the singers in the Arab world, like the rest of the world, upload their music on the internet. Many post their music videos or lyrical videos on YouTube (YT) from their official accounts. To use YouTube, I needed to know what artists to look for, and as a solution I looked at hitlists from two well-known platforms; Arabsounds and Anghami app. Through

¹¹ Jennifer Hochschild, ‘Conducting Intensive Interviews and Elite Interviews. Workshop on Interdisciplinary Standards for Systematic Qualitative Research’, 2009, <https://scholar.harvard.edu/jlhochschild/publications/conducting-intensive-interviews-and-elite-interviews>.

these I identified the names of artists and songs that made it to the top hit lists of the years 2015-2016. To give a better understanding on the best songs list, I have added the lists to the Appendix, with songs name, artists, origin of the artist, what dialect used in the song, how many views or plays on YouTube and Anghami. When relevant numbers from Spotify and Deezer have been mentioned when measuring popularity of artists and songs but are not one of the main tools for measuring popularity.

This research has also taken into consideration awards Moroccan singers have won for the given years, as a measurement of popularity and success. Music awards in the Middle East and North Africa region are not held every year, and if they are held, the categories vary from year to year. This research features award-shows held in 2015 and 2016. ArabSounds measures the best songs out of which songs are still listened to by the end of the year. It is therefore highly unlikely that a song that came out in January 2015 will make it on a list that is made around the last days of the year, even if it has many views on YouTube. I have also looked at Anghami's top Arabic songs lists from the given years. There are several top-hits lists for Arabic music, but since I cannot use them all, I chose these two to supply the YouTube numbers.

In this research the number of views on YouTube weigh the most in defining popularity, while music awards, and hitlists' are used to give a wider understanding of the music world in the region. YouTube will provide me with numbers of views on music videos but does not say where the viewers are from. I have therefore looked at popular songs from the Mashreq and compared their YT views with songs from Morocco that are sung in MD. The comparison is done by songs released the same year.

When deciding what hitlists to choose from, Anghami app was the natural choice. It is the leading music platform in the MENA region. It provides licensed music from leading Arabic labels such as Rotana, Platinum records, Mazzika, Melody and others. It is mainly for Middle East and North African audience and has more than 33 million users, and 5 million active monthly users.¹² Anghami makes playlists for top songs of the year, and top songs in several Arab countries. It states how many followers the playlist has, and how many have listened to the song. Because it provides this kind of information, and is free to download, I consider it a good measuring tool.

¹² 'About Anghami', Anghami, accessed 22 May 2018, <https://www.anghami.com/about>.

Analysing song texts

In this thesis, three Moroccan songs by Moroccan artists, and one Moroccan song by a non-Moroccan artist have been analysed. The analysis focused on dialectal pronunciation, morphology, syntax, and lexicality. This was done to find out what kind of Moroccan *darija* is used. The songs analysed were selected out of the hit-lists for 2015 and 2016 for the Moroccan songs, while the selected Moroccan song by non-Moroccan artist was chosen due to the growing popularity of the song. I have arranged the songs in three selections, the Arabic lyrics of the songs (all taken from the official video on YouTube, except one, which was taken from a lyrics-site, and I checked that the lyrics written are correct with the song), transcription of the Arabic song. It is important to emphasise that the transcription is written according to how the artist pronounced the words, which has resulted in the usage of for example the letter [e] instead of [a] or [i] in certain places. The transcription follows the IJMES-system for Arabic transliteration.¹³ The third selection is my own translation of the songs. This is done to provide the reader all information needed without listening to the songs, although listening to the songs presented in this research is recommended.

Instead of basing the analysis of songs on an idea of highlighting the “Arabness” of the songs, which should be self-evident if the Moroccan songs are classified as Arabic, this part of the research has concentrated on identifying the *fuṣḥā* (MSA) and Amazigh influence on the Moroccan dialect. This has been done in relation to arguments and claims by a Moroccan article writer on different webpages, such as hespress.com, Inumidien.com, and akhbarona.com,¹⁴ claiming that MD should be considered as an independent language separate from Arabic and Amazigh, and that singers, Moroccans or non-Moroccans only sing in Moroccan Arabic for commercial purposes. Choosing this particular perspective of method gives a thorough analysis of the language use in modern Moroccan songs: it tells us how the Moroccan dialect has been influenced by Arabic and Amazigh, and how MD is used in songs.

I would say the scope of this thesis has limited the number of songs analysed, due to page requirements not extending a certain number of pages. A more thorough analysis of more and complete song texts would have given a more complete understanding of the language use in the songs. Given the constraints, I have selected parts of several songs, to show the variety of the Moroccan song. The selection was made out of my ability to translate typical Moroccan

¹³ ‘IJMES Editorial Office’, accessed 22 May 2018, https://ijmes.chass.ncsu.edu/IJMES_Translation_and_Transliteration_Guide.htm.

¹⁴ Email-correspondance with Moubarik Belkasim, 24.04.2018.

words/phrases and slang in a correct manner so the meaning behind these words does not get lost in the translation, as I did not translate the song literally but by meaning.

Positionality

It is of importance to the research to say some words on how my origin has impacted the research. Having Moroccan origins and being able to speak and understand the Moroccan dialect perfectly, while having good knowledge of the Arabic language and its dialects, have been important factors to pursue this field of research. Including French research on Morocco, written by Moroccans and others would have added more strength to this research, but considering the material and analysis done in this research, I believe it has been possible to contribute to the field of language studies from this part of the Arab world, also without any French research.

Note on transliteration

As mentioned earlier, the transcription and transliteration of Arabic words and names follows the IJMES-system for Arabic transliteration, whether it is for words from MSA or Moroccan dialect. With names that are mentioned more than one time, I have used the persons own preferred style in Latin letters (if available), while a transcription of the name is always added the first time the name appears in the text. The table of IJMES's system for Arabic transliteration is added to the Appendix.

1.3 Structure

This thesis consists of five chapters, starting with the theoretical framework in chapter two. The theoretical framework is built on theories on language ideology, where the most central theories are mentioned and discussed, particularly the Maghreb-Mashreq language ideology thesis that has inspired this research. I end the chapter with talking about the impacts of social media use and how it can change our conceptions of the different dialects. Chapter three is about the language situation in Morocco. A summary of the language debate in Morocco is presented, and how the relationship between MSA and MD is talked about in the media. MD has long been understood to be only a spoken language used as a means of communication, but since the production of written *darija* has increased the last ten years, a presentation of *darija*'s written situation in Morocco is also included in this chapter. Chapter four is divided in to four parts. This chapter, called *Darija* and Music, is the biggest part of the research. Here popularity of the Moroccan song is presented and measured in comparison to songs from the Arab Mashreq. An analysis of Moroccan songs has been conducted to find out what kind of *darija* is being used. To make a connection between the music and how it effects everyday

life, a study of how famous personalities from Morocco act in meetings with Arab media when speaking in their mother tongue is presented. Lastly, non-Moroccan singers, singing in MD are added to this chapter to give a better understanding of the hybridised Arab music world and that the dialect situation in the Arab world is developing and changing. Chapter five is a summary of the thesis and a discussion resulting in answering my research question.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Language ideology

To understand how the spreading of MD with the help of music, *can* change the way MD is perceived in the Arab world I find it useful to use theories on language ideology to explain the significance of pop music sung in the Moroccan variety of Arabic. Hachimi says that the usage of the dialects raises ideological questions about dialects competing against each other to gain cultural influence, bolster national identity, and in changing language conceptions in the Arab world.¹⁵ I believe language ideology can contribute to explain the usage of dialects in songs and what it signals to the rest of the Arab world when the Moroccan song takes over hit-lists and music awards, and there is growing interest in singing in the Moroccan variety by Moroccans and even non-Maghrebi artists. Although the field of language ideology in the pan-Arab pop-culture is understudied, it is as important as other language ideological debates.¹⁶ The usage of the word “ideology” instead of “attitudes” in this study is purposeful, as this study want to draw attention to social and power dynamics that occur when using language.¹⁷

The thesis also draws on linguistic anthropological work. This type of work is defined as “analysis of language and discourse as a political economical resource used by individual speakers, ethnic and other interest groups, and nation states”.¹⁸ It explains that the actors’ beliefs of what is *true*, *ethically good*, or *aesthetically pleasing* when it comes to language and discourse are based on one’s social experience which is connected to political-economic interests.¹⁹ Hypothetically speaking, if Moroccans experience rejection by the Arab world as a result of their language choice, this will in one way or another affect how they perceive their own language, how they use it between themselves and how they choose to label or promote their language to others. It can either result in change in language practices or in the language itself, or it can create a reaction that results in a rejection of the Arab world. All of this is connected to political economy. Kroskrity explains this with the example of Standard English in relation to dialects of English. He argues that the dominance and superiority of Standard

¹⁵ Atiqa Hachimi, ‘Moroccan Artists “Blacklisted” - Dialect Loyalty and Gendered National Identity in an Age of Digital Discourse’, in *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics XXVII: Papers from the Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics, Bloomington, Indiana, 2013* (John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2016), 126.

¹⁶ Hachimi, 126.

¹⁷ Katherine E. Hoffman, *We Share Walls: Language, Land, and Gender in Berber Morocco*, Blackwell Studies in Discourse and Culture (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2008), 11.

¹⁸ Paul V. Kroskrity, ‘Language Ideologies’, in *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, ed. Alessandro Duranti, Blackwell Companions to Anthropology (Malden, Mass. ; Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 498.

¹⁹ Kroskrity, 501.

English does not come from structural properties or communicative ability, but from its association with political-economic influence of the wealthy social class. He argues that the dialects and the standardised English are naturalised and hierarchised in a way that mirrors the social hierarchy.²⁰ I find Kroskrity's point interesting for this study when looking at the language ideology concerning MD and the rest of the Arab world. MD's linguistic position in the hierarchy of Arabic dialects replicates the social, political and economic status of Morocco in the Arab world.

Kathryn Woolard states that ideologies of language are hardly about language alone. Instead they regard and establish links of language to personal and group identity, morality, aesthetics and knowledge. Through such connections, they underpin central social institutions.²¹

Language ideology is our ideas and interpretation of matters concerning the function, status, ownership and norms of a language. This affects language planning, which is set up on societally desirable forms, and how we use language and reproduce it. Ideological interpretation of how language is used can cause significant sociolinguistic changes.²²

Language ideology has a significant role in the birth and development of language policy, which is often wrapped and carried out by an ideological debate on language as socially beneficial. For linguistic and social analysis, ideologies of language are crucial because as stated by Woolard, they are not only about language. The conscious or unconscious collective representation of linguistic attitudes are related to language policies, language education, syllabi, curricula, but specifically conceptions. These conceptions are not only about language and its variations, but about the nature and purpose of communication.²³

Kroskrity points out that language ideologies should also be seen in terms of the speaker's own awareness of the language and its agency, and not only approach this issue based on the assumption that it is only a structured, cultural system.²⁴ This point is of specific importance to this research in regard to the data material and analysis conducted here, as it examines individual actors' language awareness and agency and how their action has created change, and with this show that structured cultural systems do not alone have the power to decide the

²⁰ Kroskrity, 502–3.

²¹ Kathryn A. Woolard, 'Introduction: Language Ideology as a Field of Inquiry', in *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*, ed. Bambi B. Schieffelin, Kathryn Ann Woolard, and Paul V. Kroskrity, vol. 16, Oxford Studies in Anthropological Linguistics (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 3.

²² Ming Wei, 'Language Ideology and Identity Seeking: Perceptions of College Learners of English in China', *Journal of Language, Identity & Education* 15, no. 2 (3 March 2016): 101.

²³ Wei, 101.

²⁴ Kroskrity, 'Language Ideologies', 498.

norm in language ideologies, but also individual actors. Judith Irvine believes that the cultural or subcultural system of ideas about social and linguistic connection, composed with moral and political interests, are mediating factors and not always causative factors. In other words, the dialectic relationship between language and social interest, are mediated by language ideologies.²⁵

In the Arab world, language ideology is closely connected to the concept of diglossia. Let me first explain what diglossia means. The concept of diglossia in the Arab world should be known to every student of Arabic as it is one of the central elements in Arabic sociolinguistics, if not *the most* central element. Charles A. Ferguson came with the idea of diglossia in 1959, and it has been used to describe the Arabic language situation since. Ferguson describes the definition of diglossia like this:

*“Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standard), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sectors of the community for ordinary conversation”.*²⁶

Applying this definition to the Arabic language, we understand that the “very divergent, highly codified superposed variety”, is the standardized Arabic, *fuṣṣḥā*, while the primary dialects of the language are (in the Moroccan case) the various versions of *darija*, and that *fuṣṣḥā* is used in formal spoken purposes, not in everyday communication. But there is an inconsistency in the relationship and role between *fuṣṣḥā* and *darija* in Morocco today, which I will talk about further in chapter 3. James Milroy states that ideology is what drives the standard and non-standard dichotomy.²⁷

Native speakers from various Arab countries tend to place the Arabic dialects on a hierarchical ladder where the dialects that they consider to be closest to *fuṣṣḥā* are on the top. There is not one dominant dialect that takes the top place, since the native speaker usually

²⁵ Judith T. Irvine, ‘When Talk Isn’t Cheap: Language and Political Economy’, *American Ethnologist* 16, no. 2 (1989): 256.

²⁶ Charles A. Ferguson, ‘Diglossia’, *WORD* 15, no. 2 (1 January 1959): 336.

²⁷ James Milroy, ‘Language Ideologies and the Consequences of Standardization’, *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 5, no. 4 (1 November 2001): 534–35.

places his own dialect on top, but what is standard is that *fuṣḥā* is always above the dialects.²⁸ Arabic may be seen as an example of “standard language ideology”, because of the practical usage of *fuṣḥā* and the status it has been given. Essentially this unified, codified pan-Arab variety of Arabic is used for writing purposes in the Arab world, and today you will find it used in its spoken form, as it is used in all news broadcasts, political speeches and official announcements. As it is the normal medium for formal discourse, it is naturally used in education in every Arab country.²⁹

Today the standard language ideology that is associated with diglossia is by definition, the dominant one in the Arab world. However, it is not the only one. Another language ideology that lives parallelly with the standard language ideology is “the ideology of dialect”. This ideology gives the symbolic value of the dialect, which is competing with the standard *fuṣḥā*, much higher value and promotes the dialect in that way.³⁰ Although this paper is not about this specific ideology, it is of interest to mention it, as it gives a wider picture of the language situation in the Arab world as developing and not standing still.

2.2 Maghreb-Mashreq language ideology

Another ideology, of big relevance to this paper, is the Maghreb-Mashreq language ideology; the hierarchal relationship between the various dialects spoken in the Arab world (the term Mashreq includes Egypt, the Levant, Iraq and the Gulf, while Maghreb includes the North African countries).³¹ As mentioned earlier, native speakers from various Arab countries tend to rank the Arabic dialects based on which dialect they consider to be closest to *fuṣḥā*. The Maghreb-Mashreq language ideology is about the conception of which dialects represent the most “Arabness” and which dialects represent it less or not at all. The dialects acquire prestige by their association with the speakers of the dialect. Prestige is attributed to humans in specific social groups, or inanimate abstract objects such as dialects. It all comes down to the values that are given to these objects, and the amount of prestige attributed to all the Arab dialects are contextually and socially based on the life of the Arabs and their relation to each other.³²

²⁸ Jacob Høigilt and Gunvor Mejdell, ‘Introduction’, in *The Politics of Written Language in the Arab World: Writing Change*, ed. Jacob Høigilt and Gunvor Mejdell (Brill, 2017), 9, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctt1w76vkk>.

²⁹ Holes, *Modern Arabic*, 5.

³⁰ Høigilt and Mejdell, ‘Introduction’, 11.

³¹ Hachimi, ‘The Maghreb-Mashreq Language Ideology and the Politics of Identity in a Globalized Arab World1’, 207.

³² Milroy, ‘Language Ideologies and the Consequences of Standardization’, 532.

Sociolinguist Atiqa Hachimi argues that the Maghrebi-Mashreqi face-to-face interactions have increased the last years thanks to pan-Arab programs (talk shows, reality TV, talent programs etc.) which are viewed by millions. Hachimi believes that these interactions have an impact on the language ideology and the interactional dynamics of Maghrebi-Mashreqi communications.³³ In the discussions about who counts as an authentic Arabic speaker and who does not, Hachimi says that it is not about the linguistic distance, but rather about the “symbolic domination”, meaning who are expected to understand whom, and who should accommodate whom in Maghrebi-Mashreqi sociolinguistic encounters.³⁴

The Mashreqi dialects (here including Egyptian dialect) have traditionally been regarded as the marker of authentic Arabness, and one of the reasons for that is their dominance in the pop culture in the region. The dominance of the Egyptian Arabic at the pan-Arab level the last century owes much to Egypt’s huge cultural production of music, movies, and TV dramas. Lebanese has recently dominated with its pop songs and music videos. Also, the Gulf music industry has turned Gulf Arabic dialects into valuable commodities.³⁵ Hachimi argues that the Maghrebi influence at the Pan-Arab level is minor. She also claims that the Mashreqi singers singing in their national varieties are widely popular in the Maghreb, while Maghrebi singers are hardly known in the Mashreq unless they sing and produce albums in one or more of the varieties of the Mashreq. She notes that most of the recording studios and commercialization companies are located in the Mashreq, and that political economy plays a significant role in forming the hierarchy of regional Arabic vernaculars.³⁶ Hachimi claims that the Moroccan vernacular has been considered a “dialect of a lesser God” by the Mashreqis, and thanks to new media, the ways this is taking shape are different today than in the past.³⁷ This means in the Maghreb-Mashreq language hierarchy, Moroccan *darija* ranks the lowest. It is interesting to see if this reflects on all parts of the Arab society, including the pan-Arab music industry.

In the article “Speak Arabic please!” by Sonia S’hiri, which is primary about Tunisians accommodating other Arabs from the Mashreq, she reports, from her personal experience, that she witnessed several times that Arabic speakers from Tunisia when meeting Mashreqis are met with a request to speak “Arabic”. She then believes that this message from the Arabic

³³ Hachimi, ‘The Maghreb-Mashreq Language Ideology and the Politics of Identity in a Globalized Arab World1’, 270.

³⁴ Hachimi, 271, 273.

³⁵ Hachimi, 275.

³⁶ Hachimi, 275–76.

³⁷ Hachimi, 290.

speakers of the Mashreq mean that what Tunisians speak is not recognized as Arabic.³⁸ People do not always react to other people as individuals, but as representative of different social groups. Their country, history, country politics and culture might become significant principles of evaluations and classification of their language.³⁹ S'hiri argues that this is relevant in contact situations between Tunisians and Mashreqi Arabic speakers. I believe this is relevant to all contact situations that occur between Maghreb Arabic speakers and speakers from the Mashreq. Like Hachimi, S'hiri believes that the Maghrebi varieties' exposure to the Mashreq is insignificant compared to the Mashreqi varieties' exposure in the Maghreb. She mentions Tunisian films not being able to compete in the Mashreq market due to Egypt's strong and long establishment in the market. She also mentions that Tunisian singers that live in Egypt adopt the Egyptian dialect in their songs. She also argues that the impact of the Mashreq, and the powerful Egyptian establishment of media and arts, might be the reason behind the belief that Egyptian and Levantine varieties belong to all Arabs. The value given to the arts has reached the extent where it also covers the value given to the language itself.⁴⁰ This paper is an example of S'hiri's argument. If the value given to arts, specifically music in this study, also covers the value given to the language itself, then it will be possible to measure this value in form of how popular Moroccan songs are in the Arab world today, and by this manage to say if there is a change in *darija*'s prestige in the Arab world or if it has remained as how Hachimi and S'hiri describes the Maghreb-Mashreq dialect situation. It will be possible to look at the kind of language used in songs, and how this effects the Moroccan's own understanding of their language in meetings with other Arabs from the Mashreq.

2.3 internet in MENA

In S'hiri's article she narrates about one of her informants, who were all Tunisians living abroad and working in Arabic news channels, with other Arabs from the Mashreq, reporting that one Egyptian co-worker said the following: "The Arabic language was born in Egypt, thrived in Lebanon, and died in Tunisia".⁴¹ According to this logic, the Arabic language did not even reach Morocco. Considering the time we live in, where social media and smartphones have had big impact on the whole region, bringing what could have seemed like impossible to reach for some years ago, right into one's pocket. The Arabic language with its

³⁸ Sonia S'hiri, "“Speak Arabic Please!”: Tunisian Arabic Speakers' Linguistic Accommodation to Middle Easterners", in *Language Contact and Language Conflict in Arabic*, ed. Aleya Rouchdy, 1 edition, Kindle edition (Routledge, 2013), 4505-4507 (Kindle locations).

³⁹ S'hiri, 4574-4577 (Kindle locations).

⁴⁰ S'hiri, 4599-4602, 5090-92, 5095-5097 (Kindle locations).

⁴¹ S'hiri, 4692-4693 (Kindle locations).

various dialects have managed to reach more homes thanks to this new technology (not to forget the pan-Arab satellite's achievements), not to mention its enormous impact in pan-Arabizing pop music. This research has considered the internet and social media important tools, not only in finding materials and data to analyse, but also in trying to shed light on how this technology can impact longstanding language ideologies.

Social media and the internet are changing the way Arab youths are accessing and consuming their news. The internet is becoming the most important source of information among this group. A survey conducted in 2016, where 3,500 people of 18-24 from all Arab countries, except Syria, participated, showed that the total usage of social media grew up from 25 % to 32% over the previous years. WhatsApp, the instant messaging service (owned by Facebook), is the most popular social media platform in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, 62% use it on a daily basis, followed by Facebook with 55%, YouTube 33%, Twitter and Instagram 28%. This shows that Arabs Youth prefer to digest news digitally, especially now that smartphones are becoming more affordable. The GSMA, The body for the global mobile industry, predicts that the number of smartphone connections in the region will expand from 117 million to 327 million by the end of the decade.⁴² It is therefore understandable that music producers, artists and music companies give special attention to social media. You can follow artist on Facebook, YouTube, Snapchat, Twitter and Instagram to get daily updates on their work and life.

In 2013, Discover Digital Arabia published a research about internet and mobile trends in the MENA region. It stated that (for 5 years ago, and the number is much higher today) 280 million YouTube videos are viewed every day, and two hours of content is uploaded every minute. In Egypt, 44% of internet users access YouTube every day, meaning about 15 million people visit YouTube on a daily basis. Saudi Arabia is the most active online video audience in the world.⁴³ Saudi YouTube watchers account for 190 million views every single day, proximally more than six views per citizen per day.⁴⁴ These numbers are high, and they continue to grow, and considering YouTube's popularity in the MENA region, YouTube and other internet-based platforms give us access to immense information available for anybody. Trending hashtags on Twitter, and trending videos on YouTube, are strong indicators of what

⁴² Hammond, *Pop Culture in North Africa and the Middle East*, 234–35.

⁴³ 'Youtube and the Middle East: The Story of 6 Arab Web Superstars | Digital in the Round', 2 May 2014, <http://www.digitalintheround.com/youtube-arab-web-stars/>.

⁴⁴ Nahlah Ayed, "Nahlah Ayed: Why Saudi Arabia Is the World's Top YouTube Nation," CBC, April 1, 2013, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/nahlah-ayed-why-saudi-arabia-is-the-world-s-top-youtube-nation-1.1359187>.

specific countries are interested in at that moment. What will then happen to the linguistic dominance that Hachimi and S'hiri describe in their studies, when an enormous amount of information that is consumed on the internet every day, consists of different languages and different dialects?

3. The Language Situation in Morocco

3.1. Language debate in Morocco

“A language is not a means of communication, it is a way of being”- Jacques Berque

I came across this quote while reading the report “The language debate and the constitution amendment in Morocco”, written by dr. Fouad Bouali. The quote captures the importance of language debate in Morocco well. In Morocco, the relation of language and identity creates heated debates, because Moroccans are not a homogeneous group. The language situation in Morocco can be described as a diverse sociolinguistic situation where Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)/*fushā* live together with MD, the Amazigh dialects, and foreign languages such as French, English and Spanish. Although these languages coexist, there are inconsistencies in the usage of the official language, which is MSA, and what language people actually speak in daily life, at school and in official situations. Amazigh is an official language in Morocco now, but its position in the educational system is still unclear. French is still prominently used in administrative, media and economic affairs in Morocco, leaving less space for English and Spanish.⁴⁵ The language mix and the situated use of different languages mean that the average Moroccan citizen must understand and speak several languages if s/he is going to live an ordinary life in Morocco. There are several debates concerning language in the country. Some of the most contentious issues revolve around foreign language and its role in Morocco, for example why French is still dominating many fields. There are those who want to make English take the position French has today,⁴⁶ as it has something to do with getting rid of what ties Morocco to the colonial times and keeping up with the globalization of English. Not least, there are debates about Amazigh’s position in Moroccan society.

However, the debate that is given a lot of publicity in the Moroccan media is a different debate of those mentioned here, and that is the public debate about *darija* and MSA in the Moroccan educational system, following a proposal calling for changing the language of public education from MSA to “mother tongue” in pre-school and the first two years of

⁴⁵ Fouad Bouali, ‘The Language Debate and the Constitution Amendment in Morocco’ (Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies, 2012), 9, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep12675>.

⁴⁶ Chouftv - شوف تيفي - *Let’s Ask the People: Are You for Making English the Official Language in Morocco Instead of French?* - واش انت مع اللغة الإنجليزية كلغة رسمية في المغرب عوض الفرنسية؟, accessed 22 May 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jfV58oYz38w>; AlArabiya قناة العربية, *Morocco Re-Teaching Vocational Studies in French - المغرب يعيد تدريس المواد العملية باللغة الفرنسية* - accessed 22 May 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MRxKTrdzVI4>.

primary school.⁴⁷ My observation after watching several debates about this issue is that the debate usually develops into heated discussions about the personalities that are participating and not so much about the problems Morocco faces when it comes to these two varieties. It loses focus on the deeper issues, it focuses more on the people behind the arguments and not so much about the argument itself, about what concerns the society, and possible changes that are related to the Moroccans' identity.

In an article written by Becky Schulthies called "The language of instruction or instruction of language- reviving the official language debate in Morocco" she categorises the different responses that appear under these debates. Schulthies mentions those who expresses concern over Morocco's economic possibilities in the future if they do not acquire languages with a global reach, such as French, English, MSA and Mandarin Chinese. Another response is that promoting the mother tongue in schools will result in continuing to weaken Morocco through tactics of linguistic division which will lead to people being "barely literate but largely uneducated"⁴⁸. I find this response interesting as it illustrates so strongly that the people agreeing with this argument not finding mother tongue compatible with education, which is the opposite of the intention behind the proposal.

The third group of responses are those of the supporters of MSA in schools. They argue that by acquiring MSA Morocco has inherited centuries of scientific and cultural history along with the rest of the Muslim and Arab world. To these arguments the defenders of mother tongue in school answer with evidence showing that by using the mother tongue in school the initial affective closeness will assist the progress of future cognitive development.⁴⁹

Schulthies manages to sum up the public debate on official language in Morocco very well in her article. As I find her observations are similar to mine, I want to elaborate more on the issue. Public language debates in Morocco are hardly about language and linguistics, rather it is more a debate about political economy, identity, belonging and symbolism. Amazigh is now a recognized official national language and is being taught in some schools where the Amazigh population dominates. *Darija*'s role in the future is therefore interesting in this debate. Although *darija* and Amazigh have different cultural roots in Morocco, where Amazigh is not related to MSA like *darija*, but recognizing it as an official language in

⁴⁷ Becky Schulthies, 'The Language of Instruction or the Instruction of Language? Reviving Official Language Debate in Morocco', *Anthropology News*, no. 55 (4) (April 2014): 1–2.

⁴⁸ Schulthies.

⁴⁹ Schulthies.

Morocco has made Amazigh go through some changes. Implementing *darija* in the Moroccan educational system will result in giving *darija* access to the official arena where it can prove that it is not only capable of fulfilling the oral functionality of a language but also as being able to be standardised and used for written purposes on a national level.

King Hasan II of Morocco gave a speech on the 20 August 1994, where he made a clear statement about the status of the Moroccan vernacular languages that is within the MD and of Amazigh where he pointed out that these languages are of vital importance to the Moroccan national identity.⁵⁰ In this speech he also said:

*“Mixing (meaning code-switching) is obligatory, desirable and necessary between Arabic (MSA) and our vernaculars (MD and Amazigh). I prefer to hear a Moroccan child mixing between MD or MSA with one of the Amazigh varieties (Tarifit, Tamazight and Tashilhit), as I see it better and more honourable, and I would also say it is more invulnerable for the future, than hearing a Moroccan child and his parents also, speak to each other by mixing between Arabic and French or between Arabic and Spanish”.*⁵¹

This was a historical moment for the Moroccan vernaculars to be addressed by the highest authority in the country where he explicitly draws attention to implementing them into the educational system. In 2001 the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture [Institute Royal de la Culture Amazighe, IRCAM] was established, which had a vital role in introducing Amazigh as a subject in primary education. The Amazigh language in the Tifinagh script officially started in 2003 in 317 public primary schools in Morocco.⁵² But the challenges are still not over, there are efforts that are being made by IRCAM and the Ministry of Education and Youth to standardise and codify Amazigh, before it is fully integrated into the educational system in the country, as they have to find out how to deal with the existence of three varieties of Amazigh, to either standardise them all or merge them in to one version.⁵³

In Morocco’s 2011 constitution, the issue of official languages in Morocco is addressed in Chapter 1, article 5. MSA is given the official language status alongside the Amazigh language, with the intention of protecting, developing and expanding its usage. While *darija*,

⁵⁰ Abderrahman El Aissati, Suzanne Karsmakers, and Jeanne Kurvers, “‘We Are All Beginners’: Amazigh in Language Policy and Educational Practice in Morocco”, *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 41, no. 2 (1 March 2011): 211.

⁵¹ Alyaoum24, *On the Anniversary of His Death .. These Are Hassan II’s Strongest Speeches That Moroccans Still Remember* - هذه أقوى خطابات الحسن الثاني التي لازال يتذكرها المغاربة - في ذكرى وفاته, accessed 2 May 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YGoM0BpdBhE>. Time: 0:51-1:41

⁵² Aissati, Karsmakers, and Kurvers, “‘We Are All Beginners’”, 211.

⁵³ Moha Ennaji, *Multilingualism, Cultural Identity, and Education in Morocco* (Boston, MA: Springer US, 2005), 76.

the mother tongue for the majority of the Moroccans, is considered important for cultural reasons but not on an official level.⁵⁴

3.2 *Darija* vs. *fuṣḥā* and their relationship in Morocco

In the years between 2000 and 2010, people in favour of *darija* formed a divergent group that included media and economic circles such as writers, radio owners, journalists, advertisers, psychologists, medical doctors, social activists, young artists, royal advisors, some Moroccan university professors and translators. But the individuals in this group did not (and still do not) establish a unified movement in terms of ideologies, objectives, justifications and practices.

Cathrine Miller has identified three circles; the first consists of those who adopt explicit public stands for the promotion and institutionalization of MD, resulting in a change in the language hierarchy in Morocco. The second circle consists of actors from the economic circle including the royal economic association. This circle has an understanding of the marketing value that *darija* have as a symbol for Moroccan modernity and urbanity. They have an important and active role in the visibility of *darija* writings on the marketing level, but they do not get involved in issues concerning language. The third loose circle consists of regular people, mostly youth, who use *darija* in writing purposes in social networks and SMS, without sharing the same opinion with the rest of the circle about what *darija* is or what should be *darija*'s status in the country.⁵⁵

One “member” of the first circle is Nūr al-Dīn ‘Ayūsh (Noureddine Ayouch). Ayouch is a well-known businessman and philanthropist in Morocco, and founder of Mu’assasat Zagūrā lī t-tarbiyya (The foundation of Zakoura Education) in 1997.⁵⁶ The Foundation works with literacy courses in the rural areas in Morocco.⁵⁷ In October 2013 the international conference (Colloque International sur l’éducation, Le Chemin de la Réussite) organised by Zakoura foundation, was held to discuss a proposal for educational reform where Ayouch was the head of the conference meeting. One of the proposals discussed was the call for the change of public education language from MSA to mother tongue in pre-school and the first two years

⁵⁴ Alexander E. Elinson, ‘DĀRIJA AND CHANGING WRITING PRACTICES IN MOROCCO’, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 45, no. 4 (November 2013): 717, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020743813000871>.

⁵⁵ Catherine Miller, ‘Contemporary Dārīja Writings in Morocco’, *The Politics of Written Language in the Arab World*, 16 August 2017, 97–98.

⁵⁶ ‘Fondation Zakoura Le Devoir d’agir’, accessed 22 May 2018, http://www.fondationzakoura.org/notre_histoire.html.

⁵⁷ Miller, ‘Contemporary Dārīja Writings in Morocco’, 107.

of primary school.⁵⁸ The conference was attended by members of the World Bank, Microsoft, Ministers of Education and two royal advisors. The proposal created a media firestorm that lasted from October 2013 to February 2014.⁵⁹

A widely circulated statistic says that only 6 out of 100 public school students graduate from university in Morocco.⁶⁰ In an interview Ayouch said he wants to fight the high dropout rates, and one of his solutions, is to make the teaching language at school the students' own mother tongue, in pre-school and the two first years of primary school. Only after that can the school start to introduce other languages to the students.⁶¹ This proposal was not welcomed by many. 'Abdallāh al-ʿArwī (Abdallah Laroui), a Moroccan historian and novelist, prominent in Arabic language and Arab civilization, debated Ayouch on the issue of making *darija* substitute MSA in the first years of school. Laroui argues that if *darija* is going to be an official national language in Morocco, then one must look at in what way it is going to be done. If *darija* is going to be written down with Arabic letters, then there is no use for it, and if it is going to be written with Latin letters, then they will be disconnecting themselves from the Arabic heritage that Moroccans have, something that brings 300 million people together.⁶² Laroui is not against *darija* as a helping tool to teach with in school, but is strongly against *darija* taking over the arenas that are usually preserved for MSA. He argues that it will maybe solve the problem of high illiteracy rates in Morocco, but it will lower the quality of the Arabic understanding, something Laroui is strongly against. One suggestion by Laroui worth mentioning, is simplifying MSA, "*tabṣīṭ*", for the students, and not use for example the dual form, the feminine plural form and the cognate accusative. The effect of this simplification which Laroui calls "*lughā mubaṣṣaṭa*" will result in a Moroccan Arabic that will keep its Arabness but with a Moroccan touch making it easier for the students to understand MSA, while Ayouch wants the language in Morocco to be used in the form Laroui calls "*lughā mubaṣṣaṭa*" but with Moroccan Arabic keeping its Moroccaness or as it is called in Morocco, "*Tameghrabī*", with an Arabic touch.⁶³ Both parties wish for a development in

⁵⁸ Schulthies, 'The Language of Instruction or the Instruction of Language? Reviving Official Language Debate in Morocco'.

⁵⁹ Miller, 'Contemporary Dārīja Writings in Morocco', 107–8.

⁶⁰ Schulthies, 'The Language of Instruction or the Instruction of Language? Reviving Official Language Debate in Morocco'.

⁶¹ KIFACH KIFACHADS, 'Fi Qafas Al-Ittiham' with Nouredine Ayouch - Full Episode- في قفص الاتهام.. نور الدين عيوش (الحلقة الكاملة), accessed 28 May 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5ibuh7OhnJc>. Time: 30:00-33:00

⁶² Reda El haimer, *Mobachara Ma3Akom Nordine Ayouch et Abdel Aaroui - Live with You Noredine Ayouch and Abdel Aroui*, accessed 2 May 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_ad6bq5BbDs. Time: 01:30-04:45

⁶³ Reda El haimer. Time: 40:00-52:00

language but with different grounds. One wants to bring MSA closer to the students in an easier manner to understand, using traits that the students can recognise from their daily speech, and the other wants to implement *darija* in school and bringing closer the similar factors of the two varieties focusing more on the Moroccan variety.

In the battle between *fuṣṣḥā* and *darija*, *darija* is by the promoters for MSA considered a minority “language”, even if the statistics show that most Moroccans are *darija* speakers. According to the 2004 National Census, *darija* is the first mother tongue for 72% of the Moroccan population, and according to the Haut Commissariat au Plan (HCP) 2008, 90% of the population speak *darija*.⁶⁴ Ayouch is committed to his beliefs in *darija*, and started in 2012 a project within his foundation, Zakoura Education, where he opened a center called “Center for Developing Darija, CDD” (Markaz tanmiyyat ad-*darija*) in Casablanca. The goal for this center is to prepare and facilitate the necessary tools to make it possible to teach MD at school. The Center’s long-term goal is to make *darija* the language of expression in all fields; scientific, literary, cultural, economic, educational and in media. The director of the CDD, is Khalīl Mgharfāwī (Khalil Mgharfaoui), a professor in linguistics at Chouaib Dokkali University in Al-Jadida. In an interview with Mgharfaoui, he said that CDD has managed to make a Moroccan Arabic dictionary (qamūs al-lugha ad-*darija* al-maghribiyya), where Moroccan words are written with Arabic letters, and explained in Moroccan Arabic. They have also worked with standardising Moroccan grammar, and made some texts, and have worked with making a teaching book or a manual for how to teach Moroccan Arabic in school.⁶⁵ The publication of the MD dictionary, which was published in 2016, received a lot of media attention, and many were critical to it and did not acknowledge it as a real dictionary and rather called it “Ayouch’s dictionary”. Many looked down on this dictionary and Ayouch was mocked for this initiative. Many caricatures were made addressing this issue such as this one:

⁶⁴ Miller, ‘Contemporary Dārīja Writings in Morocco’, 90.

⁶⁵ Interview with Khalil Mgharfaoui, Chouaib Dokkali University, Al-Jadida. 24.11.17.



On the board: today's lesson: Ayouch's dictionary. The teacher speaking to Ayouch: what now mr. Ayouch, how am I going to teach the students of the class this whimsicality that you have put in this dictionary? Ayouch: keep telling them to close their ears first, then teach them.⁶⁶

This shift of focus from the actual issue to the person behind the issue is typically part of the discussion about language in Morocco. But the real issue that must be addressed is that every attempt in making *darja* develop and take more place in the Moroccan society is considered a step backwards for the proponents of MSA in Morocco, and that these kinds of attempts are considered as a plot against MSA's place in the education system. To this Mgharfaoui answers that the intention of bringing *darja* in to other fields including the education system, is not to get rid of MSA, but to give *darja* the status it deserves. MSA is and has been a reality for a long time in Morocco and there is no plot against it. On the contrary the CDD is aware of MSA's strong root in Morocco and want to prevent teaching Moroccan *darja* in a manner that will make it more difficult to learn MSA for students when they reach third grade. If they manage to make *darja* closer to MSA, that would be better for the child to write his own mother tongue, and at the same time, when going to school and reaching a higher level (meaning the 3rd grade) and being introduced to books written in MSA, the child will not be exposed to a mix where a word means one thing but is written in two different ways.⁶⁷ Mgharfaoui believes without any doubt that *darja* will develop and take more place in the Moroccan society because he already sees that the society use *darja* in fields such as advertisement and media, writing and also when given lessons to students at higher levels, the teacher is teaching his material in *darja*, which is something that was unheard of for 10-15 years ago. The challenges that *darja* faces, and that the CDD is trying to produce, is one standardised and codified version of written *darja*, as everyone today is writing in a no-rule

⁶⁶ Caricatur by Khalid Al-Charradi, picture found on Mashahid24.com. published 20.12.16.

⁶⁷ Al Akhawayn University in Ifrane, *The Dictionary of Moroccan Arabic by Dr. Abdellah Chekayri & Khalil Mgharfaoui*, accessed 3 May 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ln3mqbcQZQw>. Time: 25:00-27:05.

manner.⁶⁸ One of CDD's findings when making the MD dictionary is finding out that 81% of Moroccan words, meaning lexicality of *darija* has roots from the Arabic vocabulary.⁶⁹

In a lecture held at Al-'Akhawāyn University in Ifran about the new Moroccan Arabic Dictionary by Khalil Mgharfaoui and 'Abdallāh Shkayrī (Abdellah Chekayri), also a Professor in linguistics at Al-'Akhawāyn University, and a member of CDD, where both Mgharfaoui and Chekayri worked with making the MD dictionary, Mgharfaoui said:

*"The reality is: the Moroccan language (darija) is now being written and is present, it will certainly make MSA ask some questions about itself. The issue of developing MSA, as we are talking about making darija closer to MSA, what is certain is that MSA is now developing so it gets closer to the other languages (dialects) that is used in other Arab countries. MSA as we know it in writing is not used as a conversational language, and it is not the mother tongue of any of the Arab countries. For MSA to continue to have its vitality and strength, it needs to reconsider some matters, and like every other language, it needs to accept some developments and that there are some words that have changed and that are taken from other languages. This is the reality, and I know many defenders of MSA that say we need to simplify Arabic and look for and find the difficulties within Arabic to develop the language, so it can remain as a useful language. This development will result in a language that is in the centre and a mix of both varieties, MSA and darija. A language that is already used, it is the language that we speak at the parliament, and what teachers use, and it is what I am using now, because it is rich with vocabulary that comes from MSA, but it is with the Moroccan pronunciation where some of the words are Moroccan."*⁷⁰

What Mgharfaoui is referring to here is what Abderrahim Youssi calls, Middle Moroccan Arabic (MMA), in his research about "The Moroccan Triglossia", where he describes the language situation in Morocco. Youssi talks about the societal illiteracy, where not only poor children who do not have the opportunity to go to school, and those who drop out early but also those who have spent many years in school, who still are unable to obtain minimal competence in the written medium. Youssi's explanation for this problem is the long distance between the diglossic varieties structurally and semantically. The maintenance of the positioning of the MSA in a situation of high illiteracy have resulted in Moroccan *darija* serving in official and formal oral purposes and by this have resulted in the transformation of diglossia into what Youssi calls for "Triglossia". MMA, the third edition in to the language situation in Morocco, is basically the "mixing" of aspects from the phonetic and grammatical structures of both MSA, the literal variety, and *darija*, the oral variety. Youssi estimates that the MD or like he calls it Moroccan Arabic, MA is spoken by 90% of the population while

⁶⁸ Interview with Khalil Mgharfaoui, Chouaib Dokkali University, Al-Jadida. 24.11.17.

⁶⁹ Al Akhawayn University in Ifrane, *The Dictionary of Moroccan Arabic by Dr. Abdellah Chekayri & Khalil Mgharfaoui*. Time: 20:00-26:00.

⁷⁰ Al Akhawayn University in Ifrane. Time: 31:21-32:46.

only 20% of the population can read and write MSA. While MMA, used by the educated when talking to strangers for formal, official reasons, is estimated that 40% of the population have a functional ability in this variety.⁷¹ It is important to note that MMA is only mentioned as a spoken variety, while the CDD's effort is about writing down this variety and making it a written reality in Morocco.

3.3 Written *darija*

Since the 2000s, the production of written *darija* has increased in various fields such as novels, written poetry, newspapers, social networks, internet, official writings, texting/SMS and in advertisement. The production of written *darija* is so impressive that it gives the impression that the last years symbolize a turning point for the possibility for *darija* to become a written language.⁷² Like Alexander Elinson argues, Moroccan *darija* is appearing progressively in contexts and forms that normally is associated with *fuṣḥā*. Political and academic debates on *darija*'s place in the written and official world and seeing *darija* being written in various writing genres by random people in Morocco, are some of the signs that language change is happening on various levels in Morocco.⁷³

Language is an integral part of cultural identity, which makes MD a symbol of Moroccan national identity. The technological, social and political changes in Morocco have changed the contemporary linguistic landscape, making *darija* being written in a variety of ways that point to a shift in the perception and usage of it in the Moroccan daily life, where there is noticed an increase in publications in *darija*.⁷⁴

As mentioned earlier, the topic of which kind of *darija* should be used at school was not discussed under the media storm in 2013-2014. In fact, Zakoura Foundation's efforts to make MD a legitimate bridge that will create a hybrid version of Arabic that stems from *fuṣḥā* and *darija*, were not heard, believed or even considered seriously. Miller argues that the supporters of *darija* in Morocco are strongly influenced by the historical developments of the European case in regard to national language, where they consider the relationship between Roman and Latin vernaculars of the medieval Europa similar to the diglossic relationship of *fuṣḥā* and *darija*, and that the Arab world, like Europa, must consider and legitimise the

⁷¹ Abderrahim Youssi, 'The Moroccan Triglossia: Facts and Implications', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 112, no. 1 (1995): 29–36, <https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl.1995.112.29>.

⁷² Miller, 'Contemporary Dārija Writings in Morocco', 91.

⁷³ Alexander Elinson, 'Writing Oral and Literary Culture', *The Politics of Written Language in the Arab World*, 16 August 2017, 196, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004346178_010.

⁷⁴ Elinson, 'DĀRIJA AND CHANGING WRITING PRACTICES IN MOROCCO', 715. 719.

vernaculars as complete “full” languages. For the promoters of *darija*, its development is connected to modernity and even democracy. In order to engage in the making of a literary MD, different writing experiences were noticed, such as the writing of novels, translation of literary European classical texts, but these have a small audience. One writing form with a slightly larger audience is the written press. In the late 1970s into the 1980s, *darija* publications appeared, such as *’Akhbār al-Sūq* (Marketplace news) which ran from April 1978 to June 1980, with 212 issues and 5000 copies pr. week. The publication ended due to financial problems. This paper inspired another publication, *’Akhbār al-Būq* (Megaphone News), but it only published five issues between April and May 1982.⁷⁵

In 2002, Elena Prentice, an American-born longtime resident of Tangier started publishing a weekly newspaper called *Khbār Bladnā* (Our Country’s news), plus small books of public interest in *darija*. In an interview I conducted with Prentice she told me that the publication of the weekly newspaper stopped due to financial issues. But since 2009, *Khbār Bladnā* has published pocket sized books written by Moroccans and foreigners about Morocco, in MD, English, French and other languages. Prentice told me that she got interested in the Moroccan language after noticing the dichotomy between what was taught in school and what people were speaking between them. She believes that what MSA is used for, and how it is used in Morocco is elitist, and her intention with the newspaper was to deliver important news in an understandable, easily accessible language, after noticing that the news on TV and radio stations about the 9/11 terror attack was given in MSA and the people did not understand what was being said. Prentice’s efforts in publishing and distributing the written *darija* is considered an important foray in this field. When the newspaper was still running, it was distributed to 26 cities in Morocco. *Khbār Bladnā*’s pocket books are distributed to the big cities in Morocco such as Casablanca, Rabat, Tangier and Marrakech, sold for a price of 10 to 30 Moroccan dirham (approximately 1.09 to 3.28 US dollars), as the intention is to make the books available and reasonable for everyone, and not make big money out of this project, while the newspaper was free.⁷⁶

One of the pocket books written for *Khbār Bladnā* is by Fu’ād al-‘Arwī (Fouad Laroui), a prominent Moroccan francophone writer and novelist. The book is about the Moroccan writer’s curse, discussing the challenges that the Moroccan writer faces in result to the

⁷⁵ Miller, ‘Contemporary Dārija Writings in Morocco’, 102–3; Elinson, ‘DĀRIJA AND CHANGING WRITING PRACTICES IN MOROCCO’, 717–18.

⁷⁶ Interview with Elena Prentice, at her house in Tangier. 08.11.2017.

diglossic situation in Morocco, and why many Moroccan writers consider French a better choice as there is a continuity between the spoken variety of French and the formal French. Questioning the issue of national literature language in Morocco, he believes “that national literature is a pure essence that can imagine itself without reference to the language”⁷⁷, arguing that the Moroccan Francophone literature created the novel genre in Morocco, and that francophone in Morocco is the monster that refuses to die.⁷⁸

The most successful example of written *darija* in the media is said to be the *darija* inflicted publication called *Nishān* (Straight Forward), launched in 2006 by the Moroccan French weekly magazine *Tel Quel* (as it is) created by Drīs Ksīkes (chief editor) and (editor) ‘Aḥmad Bin Shamsī (Ahmed Benchemsi). After five months after launch, *Nishān* was selling over 30.000 copies weekly, and within three years after start, it was considered Morocco’s top-selling Arabic weekly news magazine. In contrast to the newspaper published by *Khbār Bladnā* which was all in *darija*, *Nishān* had low percentage of *darija* in its publications. *Darija* was mainly used in the cover titles, the headlines and some specific pages.⁷⁹

Regardless of this, *Nishān* was considered the symbol of written *darija*. Miller explains this phenomenon by arguing that few words or sentences serve as identifiers for the entire text. Also, the public stands in favour of *darija* by *Tel Quel*, especially by its editor Benchemsi, also influenced the perception of *Nishān*.⁸⁰ In October 2010 *Nishān* was forced to stop publication due to increased pressure from the government, and with this all the experience with *darija* in the written press ended. Since 2010 no printed or online newspaper has adopted *darija* as their extensively editorial written language, except some personal blogs. But despite this, with the precedence of the written press mentioned above: *Nishān*, *Khbār Bladnā*, ‘*Akḥbār Al-Sūq*, ‘*Akḥbār Al-Būq*, and others, the usage of *darija* in print media is more widespread. Elinson argues that by these publications, the example has been set and it is only a matter of time before we see such publications again.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Fouad Laroui, *The Curse of the Moroccan Writer* (Tangier: Khbar Bladna, 2011), 23.

⁷⁸ Laroui, 1–33.

⁷⁹ Miller, ‘Contemporary Dārija Writings in Morocco’, 103–4; Elinson, ‘DĀRIJA AND CHANGING WRITING PRACTICES IN MOROCCO’, 718.

⁸⁰ Miller, ‘Contemporary Dārija Writings in Morocco’, 104.

⁸¹ Elinson, ‘DĀRIJA AND CHANGING WRITING PRACTICES IN MOROCCO’, 719.

4. *Darija* and Music

4.1 Popularity

In this chapter the popularity of Moroccan pop music will be examined and measured by YouTube views and listings on ArabSounds and Anghami. To get a better understanding of the top music in the given years, it is recommended to view the lists from Arabsounds and Anghami, which you can find in the appendix table 1-4. How Moroccan artists fared in some of the well-known music awards in the Arab world in 2015 and 2016 will also be discussed here. Only songs sung in *darija* by Moroccan artists are discussed here.

4.1.1 Moroccan *Darija* in Arabic pop music: 2015

In 2015 the most popular song in the Arab world, according to YT views and the lists analysed in this paper and given awards, was Saʿd Lamjarad's (Saad Lamjarred) song: *L-M'allim* (the master) with over 580 million views on YT.⁸² Second most popular song on YT and ArabSounds, was Jamīla 'al-Badawi (goes by Jamila only), with her song *Blach Blach* (enough enough) which got more than 150 million views on YT.⁸³ Both these songs are sung in Moroccan *darija* (MD) and their music video is produced by the same person, 'Amīr Ruānī, a young Moroccan producer, which have managed to make a prestigious name for himself not only in Morocco but also in the Arab world. Jalāl al-Ḥamdāwī (Jalal El-Hamdaoui), a prestigious name in the Arab music industry, arranged both these songs. Made by a team of only Moroccans, these two songs marked a very important shift in the popularity of the Moroccan song in the Arab world.

Lamjarred's song *L-M'allim* is the most viewed Arabic music video on YT in history. He earned Guinness World Record achievement with 100 million views on YouTube within three months of release of his song *L-M'allim*, while Jamila is the female Arab artist with most views on YT as of 07.03.2018, thanks to the success of her song *Blach Blach*. It would have been interesting to examine gender in the Arabic music world, since Jamila and Lamjarred both had the same people working on their songs, with one difference between the two; Jamila is backed by a big recording company; Platinumrecordsmusic, while Lamjarred has his own lable: SL. I do not have space enough to go deeper into the issue of gender and Arab music, I am therefore content with just pointing out the issue. The huge success of these songs made it difficult to ignore Moroccan music, as it presents a "new" style, with its Moroccan

⁸² سعد لمجرد - لمعلم (فيديو كليب) | Saad Lamjarred, *Saad Lamjarred - LM3ALLEM (Exclusive Music Video)* | سعد لمجرد, uploaded 02. May.2015, last accessed 16. May.2018
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_Fwf45pIAtM.

⁸³ Platinumrecordsmusic, *جميلة - بلاش بلاش | Jamila Blach Blach*, accessed 13 March 2018,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ROhKkih6Z8Y>.

and modern beats, with funky music videos. Blach Blach and L-M'allim managed to grab the attention of the Arab listener in a way no other Moroccan song has managed to do before them, which only opened up for more Moroccans trying to make it in the mainstream Arab music world.

Taking a look at the 10 most popular songs in ArabSounds's list of the 50 most popular songs in 2015, it appears that five out of 10 artists have Maghrebi origins. Three of them sing in MD, one in French and the last one is a mix of MD, Gulf dialect and Egyptian.⁸⁴ On Anghami's list of top Arabic songs for 2015, which contains 30 songs, Saad Lemjarred is on the top with the song L-M'allim with 28.3 million plays, while Jamila's song Blach Blach, was in 20th place with 11 million plays on Anghami. Nāṣīf Zaytūn's (Nassif Zaytoun) song "*Nāmī 'ā ṣadrī*" (sleep on my chest), which is in second place on Anghami's list has 17.4 million plays and 28.4 million views on YouTube.

A song that made it to Anghami's list, but not to Arab Sounds list, is Ḥātim 'Ammūr's (Hatim Ammor) song, "*Mshītī fihā*" (You missed your chance). It got 29th place, and is played 5.1 million times on Anghami, while it got over 94 million views on YT.⁸⁵ One can wonder why a song with so many views on YT did not make it to ArabSounds list. One explanation can be that the song was published early in the year, and therefore was not one of the songs that was listened to by the end of the year. "*Mshītī fihā*" was uploaded on 26.jan.2015 on YT.⁸⁶ This would also explain why a song with a lot of views on YT, gets lower rates than songs with less views. An example is ArabSounds eleventh place, which is taken by Barbapappa, a Moroccan group that sings songs with a comic style. Some of its work contains making parodies of songs from other parts of the world, like their song "*Hak lili Nifi*" which means "scratch my nose for me" and is a parody of the song from the Nigerian R&B group P-Square's song "Shekini". "*Hak lili Nifi*" has over 42 million views on YT and was published 28. January 2015. While their song "*Wili Wili Wili*" (omg, omg omg), that has 26.4 million views on YT, took the seventh place on ArabSounds list, and was published 08 august 2015 on YT.⁸⁷ These high numbers of views on YT and numbers played on Anghami, show that the Moroccan song is taking more place in the Arab music world, making itself and the artists behind the songs more relevant to the Arab listener.

⁸⁴ 'Top 50 Arabic Songs of 2015', *Arabsounds.Net* (blog), 29 December 2015, <http://www.arabsounds.net/2015/12/29/arab-top-50-best-arabic-songs-of-2015/>.

⁸⁵ Numbers taken from YT and Anghami, 13.02.2018. For more info, see appendix table 1.

⁸⁶ Hatim Ammor | حاتم عمور - مشيتي فيها (مع الكلمات) | *Hatim Ammor - Mchiti Fiha (Lyrics Video)* | accessed 7 April 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=La3_VmvLkPU.

⁸⁷ See appendix table 2 for more info.

This leads to look at the representation of Moroccan music in some of the well-known music awards in the Arab world. In 2015 Saad Lamjarred, 'Aḥmad Shawqī and Dunyā Baṭmā (Dunia Batma), Moroccan singers who have several songs in Moroccan darija won the Murex D'or award, each one for different categories. Murex D'or is a Lebanese award recognizing the achievements in the field of art in the Arab region, and is considered a prestigious prize in the Arab World, and one of the few award shows that is held every year.⁸⁸ Saad Lemjarred won for “Best youth singer” for his song “*Enty*” that has over 91 million views on YT.⁸⁹ 'Aḥmad Shawqī won for “Best new song” for his song that he collaborated with Magic System, and was produced by the Moroccan producer Redone. The song is called “*Magic in the Air*” and was one of the FIFA World cup songs for 2014. The song is in French despite the English song title and had song has over 185 million views on YT.⁹⁰ Dunia Batma won “Best female new singer”. In a prestigious event like the Murex'Dor, where Arabs from the whole region is gathered in Beirut, it was significant that all the Moroccan artists, when giving their winner speech, spoke in MD. Lamjarred dedicated his awards to all Moroccan artists who, as he described it, “did not get what they deserved in the past years”, signalling that the Moroccan artists have now reached a higher point of success in the MENA region.⁹¹ Dunia Batma who earned her fame outside the Moroccan borders, after participating in the first season of Arab Idol in 2012, was described by the Moroccan media as someone who honoured Morocco and Moroccans for her proper presentation of her country, and her linguistic practices on the show did not go unnoticed. She spoke MD on stage in front of millions of Arabs, and sang Moroccan songs during the competition, which was at that time a unique thing to do in a pan-Arabic talent program.⁹² Many Moroccan participants in this kind of shows speak MD and sing in their mother tongue, this includes the Amazigh-varieties also. In Arab Idol's season four, Kawthar Barranī (Kaoutar Berrani), a Moroccan contestant from Nador even sang an Amazighi song by Khalid Izri, called “*Thamwath inu*” (My homeland),

⁸⁸ 'MurexDor -Home', accessed 16 May 2018, <http://www.murexdor.com/>.

⁸⁹ Van, Dj Van Ft Saad Lamjarred - ENTY (Lyric Video) إنتي - سعيد لمجرد, accessed 16 May 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SBLErHFglu4>. Number of views from 07. Mar.18

⁹⁰ Magic System Officiel, MAGIC SYSTEM - Magic In The Air Feat. Chawki [Clip Officiel], accessed 18 May 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BAKqJT_sMKQ. Number of views from 18. May.18

⁹¹ FutureTV Entertainment, Murex D'or 2015 - Full Episode - 04/06/2015, accessed 18 May 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F-xhZKa0vBk>. The show is over 5 and a half hour, to find the abovementioned artists go to: Lemjarred: 04:19:00. Shawqī: 05:11:00 and Batma: 05:19:00.

⁹² Atiqa Hachimi, 'Moroccan Artists “Blacklisted” - Dialect Loyalty and Gendered National Identity in an Age of Digital Discourse', in *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics XXVII: Papers from the Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics, Bloomington, Indiana, 2013* (John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2016), 133.

and got so far as being one of the ten finalists.⁹³ Another Moroccan contestant, Shaymā' 'Abd Al-'Azīz (Chaimae AbdelAziz), participated in The Voice season four, and was encouraged by the program to sing something Moroccan with more of a happy mood, as her style is Classical (ṭarab), which led to her singing Moroccan Sha'bī in the show, singing "*J'en ai Marre*" (I am fed up) by the famous sha'bī singer Najāt 'Tābū, and "*Shiddi wildek 'liyā*" (Keep your son away from me) by Zīnā D-dāwūdiyā.⁹⁴ There are many more examples like these given here, confirming that the Moroccan dialect with the culture it brings is more accepted and used today than what it was before.

Another award that was held in 2015, is the Middle East Music Awards (MEMA Awards), which is founded and organized by the Egyptian DG group. The first award was held in 2008, and they have held awards up till 2016. The awards cover the whole process and working team of releasing a song. Saad Lamjarred won "MEMA best single song" for L-M'allim, while a new Moroccan star, 'Ihāb 'Amīr (Ihab Amir) got the "MEMA encouragement award". Samīra Sa'id (Samira Said) received two awards, "MEMA Best female singer, and "MEMA Best Album".⁹⁵

Samira Said moved to Egypt soon after becoming famous. For this reason, her transition from performing and giving interviews in MD to Egyptian Arabic was regarded as a personal insult by many of her Moroccan fans, who mocked her for using and adopting another country's language. As they saw it, Samira Said had betrayed her cultural identity through her language choice, as not Moroccan but Egyptian.⁹⁶ It is therefore no wonder that she was branded as a "sell-out" on the Facebook-group called "Moroccan Stars on the Blacklist". This group is no longer on Facebook, but it was established by Moroccans to blacklist Moroccan artists speaking in another language variety than their Darija. Their motto was: "We are not proud of

⁹³ Arab Idol, *Arab Idol- Season 4 - Performance Experiments* - Kawthar Barani. الموسم الرابع - تجارب الاداء - كوثر براني accessed 18 May 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zXaJl0dGtQ0>.

⁹⁴ Kifache.tv, Chaimae AbdelAziz: When i Sang 'Shiddi Wildek' The Judges Didn't Understand a Word - شيماء عبد العزيز: ملي غنيت 'شدي ولدك عليا' اللجنة ما فهمت حتى لعبة accessed 18 May 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pZJ770BZahw>.

⁹⁵ '2015 - Middle East Music Awards', accessed 18 May 2018, http://www.memawards.com/index.pl/mema_2015.

⁹⁶ Halina Hopkins, "'Kolleenā Ensan': Samira Said's Music as an Interpretation of Moroccan Women's Cultural Identity", in *Valparaiso University* (Proceedings of The National Conference On Undergraduate Research (NCUR) 2011, Ithaca College, New York, 2011), 1954, <https://web.archive.org/web/20131111014134/http://urpasheville.org/proceedings/ncur2011/papers/NP51241.pdf>.

those who are not proud of our Moroccan dialect”.⁹⁷ When Moroccan artists choose to speak in MD in cross-dialectal interaction, this act is perceived as an indication of national loyalty and is seen as an act of honouring Moroccan national identity and pride. While those who fail to do this are branded as “sell-outs” and accused of “cultural treason”.⁹⁸ For many Moroccans, language loyalty constitutes the root of their ethnocultural identity. Morocco is composed of many different ethnicities, in the same way the hybridized styles in modern Arab popular music is. But giving up on one’s language and adopting another can be understood as a denial of one identity and acceptance of a new sphere of social identity. MD is Samira Said’s first language, and her rejection of MD in her music was seen as a cancellation/rejection of her Moroccan identity.⁹⁹ However, Said does speak in her mother tongue when being interviewed by Moroccan press or TV-shows or when addressing Moroccan audience.¹⁰⁰

This shows that language for the Moroccan audience is important, and the artists’ choice of dialect use is not arbitrary or random, but well calculated, wishing firstly for success in their home country, then the rest of the Arab world, which they have succeeded in. Taking Ihab Amir as an example he released two songs on YT before entering the music reality show, Star academy 11. He writes and composes his own songs, and they are all in MD. His two songs that he made before entering the show made Ihab Amir appear on the map of Arabic pop music and his participation in Star Academy helped him make a name for himself in the MENA region. His 2015 song “*Nta Li Bditi*” (you started), has over 46 million views on YT, and “*Ta ‘ali liya*” (come to me) has over 18 million views on YT as of 08.03.17.¹⁰¹ An encouragement award which is given from Egypt signalises that the Moroccan dialect, is more accepted and encouraged now, than what it was before.

What is described above is not all the achievements of Moroccan artists using MD in 2015, but those mentioned have been important for other Moroccan artists to dare to pursue their song career with their MD. 2015 was a good year for MD in the music industry, as it managed to take its place little by little.

⁹⁷ Hachimi, ‘Moroccan Artists “Blacklisted” - Dialect Loyalty and Gendered National Identity in an Age of Digital Discourse’, 124.

⁹⁸ Hachimi, 124–25.

⁹⁹ Hopkins, “‘Kolleena Ensan’: Samira Said’s Music as an Interpretation of Moroccan Women’s Cultural Identity’, 1954.

¹⁰⁰ Femmes du maroc, *Caftan 2016 : Interview Exclusive Avec Samira Said*, accessed 28 May 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rb89tbEaH40>.

¹⁰¹ WINGS Artwork, *IHAB AMIR - Nta Li Bditi (You Started)* • إهاب أمير - نتا لي بديتي, accessed 18 May 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nzwb-FyE2CA>; WINGS Artwork, *IHAB AMIR - T3ali Lia (Come to Me) (Official Lyric Video)* إهاب أمير - تعالي ليا, accessed 18 May 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BXBsDhWW92s>.

4.1.2 Moroccan *Darija* in Arabic pop music: 2016

Although 2015 was a good year for MD, 2016 was an even better year, not necessarily when counting views on YT, but in the production of Moroccan songs produced this year. Some made it to the Mashreq, while others were content with achieving popularity within the Moroccan borders. Established Moroccan artists were the most successful this year, but 2016 showed that new Moroccan artists with their dialects are welcomed in to the Arab music world. More than 25 Moroccan artists, both established and new artists, produced more than one song in 2016. To mention some of them; 'Ayman Sarḥānī (Ayman Serhani), a rai singer, produced five songs in 2016,¹⁰² while TiiwTiiw, singer and music producer, uploaded five songs, three his own while two for an album he is producing.¹⁰³ They both are Moroccans living in Europe (Serhani in France, and TiiwTiiw in Belgium), and their music style is “normally” popular in the Maghreb as they sing in MD, but code-switch between Arabic, French and sometimes Spanish. Their songs are available on Anghami, Deezer and on Spotify. Serhani has 105.331 monthly listeners on Spotify,¹⁰⁴ while TiiwTiiw has 192.857 monthly listeners.¹⁰⁵ Ḥusayn al-Dīk, a Syrian artist, ranked as Anghami's number one artist for 2016 with his song “*Maḥlāki*” (You're so pretty) has 48.220 monthly listeners on Spotify.¹⁰⁶ While Nāṣif Zaytūn, ranked as number two on Anghami, has 62.544 monthly listeners on Spotify.¹⁰⁷

Judging after the top 10 hit songs on Arab Sounds top 100 best Arabic Songs of 2016- list, MD success in reaching the Mashriq is growing. Six out of the ten songs are sung in MD. Four of these six songs have over 100 million views on YT.¹⁰⁸ The success of the MD is not reflected in the Anghami list in the same way that it is on YT and on ArabSounds list. The highest ranked Moroccan song on Anghami for 2016 is Saad Lamjarreds's song “*Ghaltana*” (You're mistaken/ you're at fault) which ranked 6th place. It has been played 15.4 million

¹⁰² 'Aymane Serhani's Officel Channel', YouTube, accessed 18 May 2018, https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCLGla5b4F1Y_qB74l3Fh8Vw.

¹⁰³ 'Iliass TiiwTiiw', YouTube, accessed 18 May 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCBOGNP-uP69PV7Ufh7da7Rw>.

¹⁰⁴ 'Aymane Serhani on Spotify', accessed 18 May 2018, <https://open.spotify.com/artist/2EAzv92ciNtTm5DkGSYXH2>.

¹⁰⁵ 'Tiiwtiiw on Spotify', accessed 18 May 2018, <https://open.spotify.com/artist/6OcVa1v58BotEENN2biu1M>.

¹⁰⁶ 'Hussein El Deek on Spotify', accessed 18 May 2018, <https://open.spotify.com/artist/1QxkWzg3QsYJv6xMXSuVMs>.

¹⁰⁷ 'Nassif Zeytoun on Spotify', accessed 18 May 2018, <https://open.spotify.com/artist/2ieBI5s08uHBwM8sUPvg65>.

¹⁰⁸ 'Top 100 Arabic Songs of 2016', *Arabsounds.Net* (blog), 26 December 2016, <http://www.arabsounds.net/2016/12/26/top-100-arabic-songs-2016/>.

times while it has over 177 million views on YT.¹⁰⁹ The next best Moroccan song is ranked 15th place, and is also a Saad Lamjarred song, called “*’Ana māshī sāhīl*” (I am not easy), and has been played 8.1 million times on Anghami (has 150.5 million views on YT). Ahmed Chawqi’s song “*Tsunami*” is the third Moroccan song on Anghami’s list and got 18th place with 7.3 million plays on Anghami (105.8 million views on YT).¹¹⁰ This shows that the Moroccan song with its Moroccan language is still trending and continues its success from 2015.

In 2016 it was Samira Said, ’Ibtisām Tiskat and Ḥātīm ’Idār’s turn to win awards at the Murex D’or. These artists did not rank in the top 10 best songs in 2016 (or in 2015) by ArabSounds or on Anghami’s list, but they still won awards. Samira Said won two awards that night, one for “best album” for her 2015 album “*’Ayza ’A ’īsh*” (I want to live), and the second was a Murex D’or life achievement award for her forty years in the music industry. While ’Idār got Murex’s appreciative awards for his talent in the Maghrebi genre, Tiskat got people’s choice awards, an award that is chosen by the voters only.¹¹¹ Idār and Tiskat spoke in MD when giving their thank you-speeches, While Samira Said spoke in Egyptian dialect.¹¹²

Ḥanān LaKhḍer (Hanane ElKhader) from the North Moroccan city of Nador, is a newcomer in the pan-Arab music industry, which was a contestant at Star Academy season 11 (with Ihab Amir). In the Academy ElKhader was not shy to show where her roots lie. On several occasions she sang in the Amazigh variety, Rifian, for the other contestants and tried to teach them some Rifian words.¹¹³ She did not win Star Academy 11, but Middle East Music Awards gave ElKhader “The MEMA Encouragement Award” in 2016,¹¹⁴ a clear indication that her Moroccan-Berber talents are welcomed. In 2017 Elkhader starred in the Amazighi-rifian series “*Furṣat al-’umr*” (lifetime opportunity) where she played the leading role. In an interview with the magazine Soltana.ma, Elkhader said that she was very proud and happy for

¹⁰⁹ See Appendix table 3 and 4

¹¹⁰ Appendix table 3 and 4.

¹¹¹ ‘Murex D’or in 2016 - 16th سنته دور في الموريكس دور’, accessed 19 May 2018, <http://www.murexdor.com/news/27-16%20%20published%2027.02.17>

¹¹² Samira Said, *Honoring Samira Said at the Murex D’or Awards | 2016 | تكريم سميرة سعيد في حفل الموريكس دور*, accessed 19 May 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jyu2oEx6cz0>.

¹¹³ FB ArabiC, *Hanan Is Teaching Rifian to Marwan and Anis after the Comedy Section - حنان تعلم الريفية لمروان وانيس* - 2015/10/24 بعد حصة الفكالبز, accessed 17 April 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iGGqNaoWdyY>.

¹¹⁴ ‘2016 - Middle East Music Awards’, accessed 19 May 2018, http://www.memawards.com/index.pl/mema_2016.

being given the opportunity to star in a Rifian-series that plays in Nador, her hometown.¹¹⁵ Hanan ElKhader has not released any songs in the Amazigh varieties, and nothing indicates that this will happen anytime soon. But like many Moroccan pan-Arab artists, she sings in MD.

4.2 What is meant by Moroccan *Darija*?

After illustrating the success of the Moroccan song on the Arab-hit charts, an important part of the discussion is the actual language use in these songs. For what defines the song as Moroccan is not the singer, but the language used. What kind of dialect is used and how do we know that it is the Moroccan variety and not one of the other North African dialects?

To understand language in the Moroccan context, we have to understand the historical, social and cultural changes that Morocco has undergone. MD is called the language of urbanized rurals.¹¹⁶ This has something to do with the majority of the Moroccans having rural origins, even if more than half of the population now lives in towns. MD is mostly spoken by all Moroccans, also by the Amazigh. The majority of the Amazighs are fluent in MD to the extent that it can be considered a second mother tongue. The koine (the dominant dialect variety or the common language) is understood everywhere and has been described as the variety of Casablanca, the economic capital of the country.¹¹⁷ It emerged in the early 20th century based on a koineized Hilali dialect. It is spreading and functioning as the national dialect koine.¹¹⁸

Ibn Khaldūn said: “The Berbers on the African shore constitute the native inhabitants of the region. Their language is the language of the country, except in the cities. The Arab language there is entirely submerged in the non-Arab native idiom of the Berbers”¹¹⁹

The majority of Moroccans are Amazigh both historically and anthropologically, but many are not aware of this fact sociologically and culturally. Usually, the ones that identify

¹¹⁵ Soltana - سلطانة, *Exclusively Backstage 'Forsat Al Omr' in Rifian with Hanan Elkhader and Rashid Al-Wali*, Directed by Hisham Jabari - -1:25, *حصريا كواليس بلاطو فرصة العمر بالريفية لحنان الخضر ورشيد الوالي ومخرجه هشام الجباري*, 3:00, accessed 19 May 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=71WwQXtLfc4>.

¹¹⁶ Dominique Caubet, 'Moroccan Arabic', *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, 30 May 2011, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-arabic-language-and-linguistics/moroccan-arabic-EALL_COM_vol3_0220#d331124764e213.

¹¹⁷ Caubet.

¹¹⁸ Catherine Miller, 'Dialect Koiné', *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, 30 May 2011, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-arabic-language-and-linguistics/dialect-koiné-EALL_COM_0085?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.encyclopedia-of-arabic-language-and-linguistics&s.q=dialect+koiné.

¹¹⁹ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, trans. Franz Rosenthal, Second, vol. 3 (New Jersey: Bollingen Foundation, Princeton University Press, 1958), 366, <http://archive.org/details/THEMUQADDIMAHVOLUME3>.

themselves as Amazigh are the ones that have learnt their forefathers' language, while the rest identify themselves as Arabs.¹²⁰ The merging between the two languages, Arabic and Amazigh has resulted in what the majority would call the Moroccan Darija, while a minority would consider MD to be an independent language, different from both languages it originated from. Being aware of Amazigh's influence on MD is essential when wanting to understand the linguistic features of MD. The syntax and expressions are Amazigh, while its vocabulary is more Arabic than Amazigh, but when it comes to phonology it is a combination of both languages. Muḥammad Shafīq (Mohammed Chafik), the author of "The Amazigh Manifesto" and the first rector of the Royal institute of Amazigh culture (IRCAM) that was appointed by King Mohammed VI when he established the institute, described MD saying that its veins are Amazigh, and its flesh is Arabic, while the skin is a mix of both.¹²¹

I came across an article by Mubārīk Belqāsim (Moubarik Belkasim), a writer at the Amazighi/Chaoui forum Inumidien.com, where he asked the question whether MD is an independent language or a hybridized language originating from Arabic and Amazigh. Belkasim argues that MD differs from both *fuṣḥā* and Amazigh to the extent that it qualifies to be an independent language, because it has several grammatical properties that are different from the latter two languages. One example is personal pronouns. In MSA there are 14 personal pronouns, and in Amazigh there are 10. In MD there are only 8. MD does not differentiate between male and female in the plural form as you ('antum and 'antunna) and they (hum and hunna). They have non-gendered words for these two forms, which are 'ntuma' for 'you', and 'huma' for 'they'. MD does not have the dual form, and this has roots from the Amazigh influence of the language. It has five vowels: a, e, i, o, u and half vowels: w and y. It has inherited labialization from Amazigh and other examples.¹²² What Belkasim fails to mention in his article is that these features are not unique to MD. Other Arabic dialects like the Egyptian and the Levantine also have only 8 personal pronouns and no dual form, they also do not differentiate between female and male in the plural form. In Egypt they say "intu" for you (pl.), and "humma" for they. Although some dialects in Morocco, like the

¹²⁰ Mohammed Chafik, *Moroccan Dialect, a Field of Progression between Amazigh and Arabic* - الدارجة المغربية - مجال توارث بين الأمازيغية والعربية (Rabat, Morocco: The Academy of the Kingdom of Morocco, 1999), 5–6, www.freemorocco.com/eddarija.pdf.

¹²¹ Chafik, 8.

¹²² Moubarik Belkasim, 'Is the Moroccan dialect an independent language, or is it a hybrid language between Arabic and Amazigh? هل الدارجة المغربية لغة مستقلة بذاتها؟ وهل هي لغة هجينة بين العربية والأمازيغية؟', *إنوميدن* (blog), 24 June 2017, <http://www.inumiden.com/ar/>.

koine, do distinguish between genders in pronouns, the imperative form and the second person singular.¹²³

In an email correspondence with Belkasim, I asked him his opinion on Moroccan music's popularity in pan-Arabic music industry and if this has any effect on the understanding of MD in the Middle East. Belkasim wrote:

"I don't think that the Moroccan *Darija* language has become more understood in the Middle East. The Moroccan pop artists who direct their *Darija*-songs to the Arabs in the Middle East usually design the lyrics of their songs in a way that is more understood by the Arabs of Middle East and that is by using more Arabic / Middle Eastern words and by using a pronunciation that is less Moroccan and more Middle Eastern. They avoid using difficult Moroccan *Darija* words that only Moroccans or Algerians can understand. In other words, they change the *Darija* language and the way they pronounce it and try to make it more Arab... they certainly avoid using any Berber (Amazigh) words in their *Darija* songs."¹²⁴

Belkasim argues that Moroccan pop artists such as the ones included in this paper change their MD, in lexicality and pronunciation, to get an audience outside the Maghreb borders. However, that may not be the case for the artists or the impression it leaves the listener. In an interview with Saad Lamjarred conducted by France 24 (2016) the host argues that words like "lhadra" (talking) "enty baghya wahid" (you want somebody) "Salina" (we're done) are Moroccan words, previously unknown for the Mashreq, that are very much known and understood now after Saad Lamjarred's success.¹²⁵ Saad Lamjarred mentions that social media is an important factor for his success, and that he administers all his accounts himself: "I always try to come up with something new that shows to the world my Moroccan heritage and culture. And I try to make my Moroccan language reach far, whether it is through my music videos or my social media. That is what I am trying to do".¹²⁶ Saad Lamjarred has 6.1 million followers on Instagram, 3 million on Facebook, and 4.8 million subscribers on YT.¹²⁷

In several interviews Lamjarred seems to be aware of the language-use in the songs. The language is made simple intentionally, so it can reach a wider audience, something that is not unusual in the music world. To simplify the dialect so it becomes more understandable for other Arab speakers is not revolutionary or new, I would argue that it is quite common, and is

¹²³ Caubet, 'Moroccan Arabic'.

¹²⁴ Email correspondence with Moubarik Belkasim. Email sent by me 19.10.17. Belkasim answered 20.10.17.

¹²⁵ 24 فرانس / FRANCE 24 Arabic, Saad Lamjarred: *I'am Trying to Bring the Moroccan Song to the World, and to the Arab World in Particular* -, 2016. سعد المجرّد: "أحاول إيصال الأغنية المغربية للعالمية وللأغنية العربية خصوصاً", 2016. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BhfLXEPm2f0>. Time: 00:00-01:00

¹²⁶ 24 فرانس / FRANCE 24 Arabic, سعد المجرّد. Time: 03:36-4:12

¹²⁷ Numbers noted 19.05.18.

practiced by many, when relevant. The practice of eliminating very localized dialect features with other more regionally general ones is called “leveling”.¹²⁸ In a research conducted by Atiqa Hachimi on Moroccan Arabic Speakers’ ideologized perceptions of different regional and national Arabic vernaculars, the participants gave their opinion about Gulf Arabic dialects, but differentiated between Gulf Arabic dialects used in songs and those used in other arenas such as plain speech, like in TV drama series. They spoke highly about the dialect form in songs, and negatively about it when it comes to plain speech.¹²⁹ This shows that this practice is common and noticeable.

In the interview with France 24, Lamjarred said: “I am trying to give the Moroccan music something and make it reach as far as possible, internationally, but specifically in the Arab world. This is because as we know, the Moroccan song has not been given its rights in the past years”.¹³⁰ When asked about the secret behind the Moroccan songs’ success lately Lamjarred expressed:

*“The secret behind the Moroccan song is in the simplicity in the composition, the production and the arrangement of the song, and I also think that the sharqī variety of music has been used so much - and the same goes to the khalījī song - so today people are searching for something new, in terms of expressions and words, composition and production. People are searching for new things, so we are now in the era of Moroccan music. The same way Rai have been given its slice of the cake, and just like sharqī and khalījī [music], today it’s the Moroccan song’s era. And I hope this trend continues forever and not only for a period of time”.*¹³¹

In 2015, Lamjarred was asked about the language used in his song “Salina” (We’re done), which was arranged by Jalal El-Hamdaoui. “Salina” is a Moroccan word, and the rhythm is fusion of Iraqi, khalījī style and Moroccan. Lamjarred says that the usage of the word “Salina” was new and had never been used in a song before, and is therefore considered a bold move, saying that the idea came from El-Hamdaoui. It was therefore important to focus on the word “Salina” and try to use a dialect that is simple and understood by all, because if they used pure darija, it would be more challenging to reach a larger audience in the Arab world.¹³² Further in the interview the host said: “Saad Lamjarred distributed the Moroccan

¹²⁸ Holes, *Modern Arabic*, 48.

¹²⁹ Atiqa Hachimi, “‘Good Arabic, Bad Arabic’ Mapping Language Ideologies in the Arabic-Speaking World”, *Zeitschrift Für Arabische Linguistik*, no. 61 (2015): 58–59.

¹³⁰ 24 فرانس / FRANCE 24 Arabic, *بسط المجد*. Time: 01:35-01:56

¹³¹ 24 فرانس / FRANCE 24 Arabic. Time: 02:23-03:10

¹³² 24 فرانس / FRANCE 24 Arabic, *A Guest and His Journey, with Saad Lamjarred: Moroccan Singer and Artist. The Full Episode - الحلقة كاملة - مطرب وفنان مغربي*. *ضيف ومسيرة مع سعد لمجرد: مطرب وفنان مغربي*, accessed 19 May 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-OXPIFGk1pk>. Time: 24:00-26:08

darija to the Arab world through easy and simple Moroccan words, but at the same time accessible and understood by everyone”. To this Lamjarred answered:

*“yes, I tried to make a dialect that is understood by all Arab nations, so that we are not only successful in Morocco, and the intention is to get closer to them (Arabic speaking audience) little by little until they all understand pure MD. “Enty baghya wahid” (You (f) want someone) is 100% Moroccan and is sung by many in the Mashreq ... We did not make a music video for “Enty”, only lyrical video, it is sung in MD, and it still got very successful”.*¹³³

Lamjarred strongly believes that when the artist is Moroccan, and the producer and composer is Moroccan then the work is without a doubt Moroccan, despite what others may say about the songs. As mentioned earlier, Lamjarred always mirrors his Moroccan identity in his work, and when a song contains Moroccan rhythm and beat, and also Moroccan vocabulary, he proudly presents his work as Moroccan.

Lamjarred’s huge success have created more room for Moroccan songs in the music scene, opening for other Moroccan and non-Moroccan artist to pursue the same or other Moroccan styles leading to getting supporters from the whole Arab region. Lamjarrad mentioned in one of his interviews, that the Arab audience is searching for something new that they have not heard before, and this have led the Arabs to want to get to know Moroccan songs, Moroccan artists and Moroccan genres. Ayman Sarhani is one example, his Moroccan rai music managed to reach the gulf, which led to him having a concert in Dubai, filming a music video there, and was also interviewed by several TV-stations localized in the UAE. Among these channels were MBC and Al-Arabiya. On “Ṣābāḥ al-khīr yā ‘arab” (Good Morning Arabs), on MBC, they talked about Sarhani’s music videos being different and extremely simple, as he films his music videos with his iPhone in a selfie-style, a fresh breeze in comparison to the very dramatic filming that the Arab world is used to see in Arabic music videos for many years now. One of the TV- hosts expressed: “it is nice to listen to the Moroccan version of rai”, indicating that the rai genre sounds different when sung by Moroccans.¹³⁴ This may have something to do with Serhani singing in his own dialect from Oujda, which is a city near the Algerian border, and the city is influenced by the Algerian genres as rai and Gharnata.¹³⁵

¹³³ 24 فرانس / FRANCE 24 Arabic. Time: 26:30-27:16 and 29:16-31:30

¹³⁴ Aymane serhani fans mehbubin, *View Aymane Serhani in the Full Episode of Good Morning in Dubai* 😊: شاهد، accessed 19 May 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LydbqU_8Ylw. Time: 00:26-04:07

¹³⁵ Gharnata/ gharnati is an Algerian music genre. It is originating from Andalus and the name is derived from the Spanish city Granada.

To go back to Moubarik Belkasim's arguments about MD in songs, he argues that the construction of the language in the songs is more understandable for the Middle Eastern Arabs because the Moroccan artists use and pronounce more "Middle Eastern" words. To quote Belkasim:

"In other words, they change the Darija language and the way they pronounce it and try to make it more Arab. And they certainly avoid using any Berber (Amazigh) words in their Darija songs. It is a fact the Arabs in the Middle East don't understand Moroccan and Algerian Darija. That's because, like you said, Darija is a mix between Arabic and Berber (Tamazight). Plus, the pronunciation of Darija is almost 100% Berber in character."

Belkasim's arguments lead to the question of who has the power of defining if a song is Moroccan or not. According to Belkasim, the works of artists pursuing a pan-Arab audience, sacrifice the Moroccan language to the benefits of the Middle Eastern Arabs, and turn to using words and pronunciations more familiar to the Middle Eastern Arabs' ears. On the other hand, according to one of the artists, Lamjarred, his songs are pure Moroccan. He does say that the words that are used in the songs are wisely selected, referring to them as easy Moroccan words that most of the Arab world understands, with the intention to make the Arab ear more familiar with MD until MD is understood in the whole Arab region. I believe what is meant by easy Moroccan words here, is words that are common not only for Moroccans but for the region in general, which is as mentioned earlier a practice called leveling.

If more fans outside Morocco was the goal for these Moroccan artists, then the consistent use of MD would be excessive. I argue that what makes Moroccan songs different from other mainstream Arabic songs, is the language, and the language brings with it the different Moroccan musical styles that the region is now starting to get to know. When discussing Moroccan artists seeking fame in the mainstream pan Arab music world, there must be a differentiation between Moroccan singers who sing in other dialects and singers who deliberately only sing in MD. As seen earlier in this chapter, 4.1, MD has given its users success, and the question that should be asked is if these artists would have achieved the same level of success if they gave up their own dialect and sang these songs in another dialect?

4.2.1 Analyzing songs

Belkasim's argument about artists changing the dialect is interesting and requires a follow up. I therefore want to make my own observation on popular Moroccan songs. In this section I have therefore taken the lyrics of three popular songs and studied their pronunciation, lexicality and idioms, to see if there is any truth to Belkasim's arguments. Three lyrics are selected for this analysis, they were selected from the Top hitlists for 2015 and 2016. The

lyrics will be presented in Arabic, transcribed in *darija* (how it is pronounced in the song) and translated to English, so the reader will not experience any difficulties understanding the lyrics. The transcription and translation are my own, while the Arabic lyrics are taken from the official music videos from the artists accounts on YT (except Jamila's song¹³⁶), meaning that this is how the artists have chosen to write MD with Arabic letters. I have analyzed the lyrics and the pronunciation in the songs. For one to recognize traces of non-Moroccan pronunciation it requires that the listener has good knowledge of the different Arabic dialects and can differentiate between them. I consider myself having enough knowledge in the relevant Arabic dialects and to do this analysis.

The first song to be analysed is Jamila's song "Blach Blach". It was published on YT 18.okt.2015 by platinumrecordsmusic, which is Jamila's record label. The music video has as of 16.02.2018, 153.7 million views. In this section I have chosen one part of the lyrics to add to this paper. When it comes to the pronunciation I have listen to the whole song. Jamila is from Morocco and MD is her mother tongue, it would therefore be unusual if her pronunciation would reflect otherwise. After my findings, there are no traces of non-Moroccan pronunciation in this song, except for one word in this sentence (not a part of the chosen text): عقلو رايح للجنون. [ʿaqlu rāyih lil-junūn] (he's going crazy). The word "للجنون" is taken from the MSA vocabulary and is not a natural choice of wording in MD to be used in this setting. As done in MSA, all the vowels in this word are pronounced, a practice that is considered unnatural in the Moroccan dialect.

Table 1: Jamila- Blach Blach

Arabic	Transcribed in darija	Translation (my own)
يا اللي درت معاك النية تسنييت حبك يزيد غدرتيني لعبتي بيا عمرک تلقى حب جديد ربي عالم بيك وبيا ف الشدة نلقاك بعيد ما أنا ليك ما انت ليا احسن لفراق يفيد	Yalli dirt m'āk n-niyya t-sinnīt hubbik y-zīd ghdartinī l'abti biyyā 'umrik tilqā hubb jdīd Rabbi 'ālim bīk w- biyā f-shidda nilqāk b'īd mā-nā līk ma-nta liyā 'aḥsan lifrāq yfīd	You're the one I hoped for Waiting for your love (for me) to increase You betrayed and played me You will never find a new love God knows about me and you In hardships you're far away/absent I'm not for you, and you're not for me The best is to break up

¹³⁶ 'Blach Blach - Jamila', Shazam, accessed 20 May 2018, <https://www.shazam.com/track/292104956/blach-blach>.

Looking at the lyrics, there are some points I want to highlight. Phonologically there are some words in this text where the pronunciation is strongly influenced by the Amazigh language. The words [m'āk], [y-zīd], [ghdartinī], [l'abtī] and [nta], all begin with *Sukūn*. There is a rule in Arabic grammar that says: do not start with *Sukūn*.¹³⁷ Meaning, no word in Arabic starts with *Sukūn*. This is a significant feature of the MD, taken from Amazigh, and is highly practiced in songs as we will see in the other two texts also. Although it is of value to mention that the starting with *Sukūn* is also occasionally found in Levantine dialects in words like [mnīh] (good). In this song, Jamila is dropping the phonemic glottal stop (hamzat al-qaṭ') a feature that is said to be an influence from the Amazigh language.¹³⁸ This does not mean that, other Arab dialects does not have this feature, in fact it may be found in some Egyptian phrases. The Arabic lyrics write: ما أنا ليك ما انت ليا. what is sung is; [mā-nā līk ma-nta liyā]. In the Moroccan dialect, the difference between female and male form of speech is usually not made when it comes to verbs in past tense that are directed with a personal pronoun. Jamila sings to a male, according to the sentence [mā-nā līk ma-nta liyā], but in one of her sentences she says [l'abtī] (played) in the female form. In MD the female form is the standard used form when the verbs in past tense is directed with a personal pronoun, thanks to the Amazigh influence on the language.¹³⁹ Usually in MSA the word [l'abtī] would be [la'ibtī] for a female and [la'ibta] for a male, while in Egyptian it would be [li'ibt] to a male and [li'ibtī] to a female.

My observation when it comes to lexicality and idioms, is that there are some words and phrases that are only found in Morocco or in the Maghreb in general like [t-sinnīt], but the rest of the lyrics are understandable for the Arab public, as the words may be found in the MSA-dictionary, like in the sentence: [Rabbi 'ālim bīk w- biyā] and [ghdartinī l'abtī biyyā]. Besides what is mentioned about pronunciation at the beginning, there is no other observation of non-Moroccan practice.

The next song is one of Saad Lamjarred's songs., “‘Anā māshī sāhil” (I am not easy). It was published on Lamjarred's YT channel 18.07.16 and has pr 16.02.18, 150.7 million views. The lyrics are taken from the artist's official YT channel. What is presented here is the full song.

¹³⁷ Chafik, *Moroccan Dialect, a Field of Progression between Amazigh and Arabic* - الدارجة المغربية مجال توارد بين - الأمازيغية والعربية, 17.

¹³⁸ Chafik, 17.

¹³⁹ Chafik, 25.

There are not many words in this song and it can therefore be classified as an easy song, as it is easier to memorise a song with few lyrics.

Table 2: Saad Lamjarred – Ana Machi Sahel ¹⁴⁰

Arabic	Transcribed in darija	Translation
فالحب قلبي قبيح	Fil-ḥubb qalbī qbīḥ	In love, my heart is ugly/difficult
منجيش ونطيح	Manjīsh wa- nṭīḥ	I don't fall in love easily
صعيب يديني الريح	ṣ'īb yiddīnī rriḥ	I don't get carried away
أنا ماشي ساهل	'ana māshī sāhil	I am not easy
قالت ليا لوالدة	g[q]ālit liyā l-wālida	My mother told me
منربي كبة	ma-nrabbī kibda	Don't get used to love
مشي أي وحدة	mashī ayy waḥda	With any girl
متكنش غافل	ma-tkunshi ghāfil	Don't be careless/unaware
أنا ماشي ساهل	'ana māshī sāhil	I am not easy
مبغتش نكون خفيف	ma-bghit-sh n-kūn khfīf	I don't want to be light weighted
فقلوب لبنات أنا ضيف	f-qlūb li-bnāt 'anā ḍīf	in girls' hearts, only a visitor
نبدا الحب فالشتا	nibda l-ḥubb f-shtā	Start a lovestory in winter
ونسالي فالصيف	w-n-sālī f-ṣīf	And end it in summer
أنا ماشي ساهل	'ana māshī sāhil	I am not easy

What I want to highlight from this song is the usage of typical MD vocabulary and expressions. The words [نطيح nṭīḥ] (fall) and [نسالي n-sālī] (finish) are not typical words used in the Mashreq. In Egypt and in the Levantine, they would rather say [ʔu'aʔ] for [نطيح nṭīḥ], while in MSA a more natural word to choose is [ʔaqaʔa] or [ʔasquṭa]. For [نسالي n-sālī] Egyptians and Levantines would more naturally say [ʔakhallas/ʔakhallis] while [ʔanhi] in MSA. The saying [ma-nrabbī kibda منربي كبة] is based on the expression “rabbit ʔalik l-kebda”, which translates to: My liver is raised on you, and this idiom is used when expressing that you got used to someone. [ma-nrabbī kibda منربي كبة] is translated literally to; I will not/do not raise your liver (on someone), and means; do not get used to a person. This expression is very much used in the Maghreb but is not understandable in the Mashreq. An expression from Saudi Arabia (in Najd dialect) uses the liver as metaphor but is used to express a different situation: “tsabdi (kabidi) mina l-hijrān munfaṭir” (my liver is shattered for departure). It is used in situations to express the faced hardships in a breakup. Moroccan idioms are very much present in the Moroccan song, to give another example from another

¹⁴⁰ سعد لمجرد, Saad Lamjarred, *Saad Lamjarred - Ana Machi Sahel (i Am Not Easy) (EXCLUSIVE Music Video)* | (سعد لمجرد - انا ماشي ساهل) (حصرياً), accessed 20 May 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ucNF2GHhk2k>.

song, in the song “Enty” by Lemjarred and dj Van, this idiom is used: “ykūn rājel mrā”, which is translated to: to be a man-woman (woman’s man). This can be understood as wanting the man to be more feminine, but in fact it expresses in the context of a relationship, it is the woman who has the authority, or a woman’s husband.¹⁴¹

In the sentence: [g[q]ālīt liyā l-wālida- My mother told me] the word [qalit] is pronounced with a [g]. It is known that when the [g] is pronounced instead of [q] it is because of the result of Bedouin dialects.¹⁴² This trait is not used in all the Moroccan dialects, but it occurs in dialects that have Bedouin or rural impact like in the dialect of Casablanca and Rabat. I would argue that in Morocco the urban version of pronouncing the [q] is the general standard in Morocco. It is noticeable that the [g] is only used once, while other words containing the letter [qaf], is pronounced the urban way like in: [Fil-ḥubb qalbī qbīḥ - In love, my heart is ugly/difficult], and in [f-qlūb li-bnāt - In girls’ hearts]. The pronunciation of the [qaf] with the sound of [g], is something that is used not only in Morocco, but in many parts of the Arab world: Eastern Jordan, Muslim Baghdad, Southern Iraq, the Gulf Coast, Central Saudi Arabia and in some areas in Egypt.¹⁴³ To use dialectal similarities is one way of bringing the MD closer to the dialects of the Mashreq. In Belkasim’s article about MD being an independent language, he argues that in MD, the [g] is not a different sound of pronouncing the letter [qaf] but an individual letter. He verifies his argument with two examples: the word [qar‘a] means bottle, while the word [gar‘a] means pumpkin.¹⁴⁴ This is a misinterpretation of the Moroccan usage of the sound [g], because the word [qar‘a] also means pumpkin, and in MSA they use the same word [qara‘], while it may be commonly understood in Morocco when using the [g] in this word, it usually refers to pumpkin, but that does not take away that [qar‘a] has two meanings.

Examining the lexicality, pronunciation, idioms and also the morphology of the words used, with prefixes and suffixes typical for the Moroccan dialect, I would argue that this song is a good example of a MD song. The words stem without a doubt from the MSA dictionary, but with the typical Moroccan prefixes and suffixes, it gives the word a Moroccan touch. To give an example; when it comes to the morphosyntactic negation, the word [māshī] which occurs in the song title, means walking in MSA, but in Morocco when used in this context, it turns the

¹⁴¹ Van, Dj Van Ft Saad Lamjarred - ENTY (Lyric Video) إنتي سعد لمجرد - Time: 00:24.

¹⁴² Holes, *Modern Arabic*, 73.

¹⁴³ Holes, 74.

¹⁴⁴ Belkasim, ‘Is the Moroccan dialect an independent language, or is it a hybrid language between Arabic and Amazigh? هل الدارجة المغربية لغة مستقلة بذاتها؟ وهل هي لغة هجينة بين العربية والأمازيغية؟’.

sentence into a negational sentence, the same way Egyptians use the negative particle [mush] and in the Levantine [mish] when wanting to deny something.

In Hatim Ammor's "Mchiti fiha" (Your ship has sailed), the usage of [g] instead of [q] in the word [قلتني] is also apparent (which means "you said" but is translated in this paper as "thinking" as this is a translation by the meaning of the sentence, and not a literal translation).¹⁴⁵ Hatim Ammor is from Casablanca, a city influenced by the Bedouin dialect. In his song the usage of [g] occurs three times. The first has been presented already, and the second is [القلبة] which means (flip or turn upside down), and the third time is [نقول] (to say). The song was published 26.jan.2015 on YouTube and had pr. 16.02.18, 94.1 million views. The music video is a lyrical video, where all these words mentioned are written with a [kāf] with three dots over it [كـ] in the video, but not in the lyrics added in the description on YT.

Table 3. Hatim Ammor- Mchiti Fiha

Arabic	Transcribed in darija	Translation
كان عندي حلم كبير	Kān 'indi ḥulm kbīr	I had a big dream
كنت ناوي ليك الخير	Kunt nāwī līk l-khīr	I had only good intentions for you
نعيش حياتي و نظير	n'īsh ḥyātī w-nṭīr	Live my life and fly
وننسى هموم الدنيا	w-ninsā hmūm d-dunyā	And forget all the worries of the
شربتي المرار	sherrabtīnī l-mrār	world
كي لقيتني صبار	kī lqitinī ṣabbār	You made my life bitter
داخل سوق راسي	dākhel sūq rāsī	As you found me patient
قلتني مسكين وغير نية	g[q]ulti miskīn w- ghīr niyya	Minding my own business Thinking naïve poor fellow

Ammor pronounces the vowel (e) which is a short vowel in MD. Depending on where in Morocco, there are some dialects that have five vowels, and some have four vowels. People from Marrakech and the south are examples of people only using four vowels. But all dialects in Morocco use (e), along with (a), (i) and (u). The fifth vowel is (o)¹⁴⁶. (e) and (o) are usually used as short vowels only.¹⁴⁷ (e) as illustrated in table 3 occurs several times. A feature that adds to the Moroccan touch of the lyrics, as it is known that MSA does not have the vowel (e).

¹⁴⁵ The song title "Mchiti fiha" is translated after the idiom of what it means which is "Your ship has sailed" while it literally means "you walked in it".

¹⁴⁶ An example of the usage of this vowel in MD is in the plural form of the word house, which is "Dyor" in MD.

¹⁴⁷ Caubet, 'Moroccan Arabic'; Belkasim, 'Is the Moroccan dialect an independent language, or is it a hybrid language between Arabic and Amazigh? وهل هي لغة هجينة بين العربية والأمازيغية؟'.

Ammor uses the idiom: [dākhel sūq rāsī] which is here translated as [Minding my own business] as this is what is meant by it, but translating it literally, it would say: (going into my own head's market or inside my head's market). It is known and understood in the Maghreb, but not in the Mashreq. I dare to say that this expression originates from the expression [ddīhā frāsek], which means (Mind your business) and translates literally to (take it on your head) and is a direct translation from the Amazigh language to *darija*. It is a known phenomenon that when a merge between two languages occurs, the first stages in this process is translating words and sentences literally/verbally from language to language, and this is what happened with Amazigh and Arabic, resulting in *darija* keeping an Amazigh syntax that are reflected in the expressions used in songs and daily speech.¹⁴⁸

In examining these three songs, it is hard to not notice the simple wording of the songs. Most of the words have origins from the MSA dictionary (which is already in the MD dictionary also), which is a good base when approaching Mashreqi listeners. The pronunciation is Moroccan, and the song contains a good portion of typical Moroccan words, phrases and idioms. I did not find Belkasim's argument about artists changing their Moroccan pronunciation to something that resembles the dialects of the Mashreq, to fit these three songs. One word in Jamila's song, cannot be taken as a representation of a habit or a practice. In fact, the chosen lyrics, remind me of the discussion between Ayouch and Laroui, mentioned in chapter 3, when talking about bringing MD and MSA closer together. Laroui used a term, "*lugha mubaṣṣaṭa* ", to describe a simplification of the MSA so it resembles *darija* in form and character, while Ayouch used the term to describe the simplification of the MD so it keeps its Moroccan qualities but with an Arabic touch.¹⁴⁹ I believe these songs analysed here, and with accordance to the trend of the Moroccan song, I would dare to classify the language used in the Moroccan song of this time as "*lugha mubaṣṣaṭa* " after Ayouch's wish and understanding. The chosen definition of *lugha mubaṣṣaṭa* described here in this paper, gives room not only to MSA (bringing MD and MSA closer, and legitimising MD as a full Arabic dialect), but also to let MD keep its features that it inherited from the Amazigh language. Where does this leave us in the context of the Maghreb-Mashreq language ideology? I believe, as illustrated in this chapter, that Moroccans' own effort in bringing their dialect to the rest of the Arab world, with a simplification of their dialect (*lugha mubaṣṣaṭa*),

¹⁴⁸ Chafik, *Moroccan Dialect, a Field of Progression between Amazigh and Arabic* - الدارجة المغربية مجال توارد بين - الأمازيغية والعربية, 26

¹⁴⁹ Reda El haimer, *Mobachara Ma3Akom Nordine Ayouch et Abdel Aaroui - Live with You Noredine Ayouch and Abdel Aroui*. Time: 40:00-52:00

has made MD take its place in the mainstream pan-Arab music world, and that the idea that it is only possible to make it to the rest of the Arab world if one sing in a Mashreqi-dialect, is not relevant for the Moroccan artist anymore.

4.3 Moroccan encounter with Arab-Media

On the issue of taking pride in one's own dialect and not considering it necessary to change it when meeting the Mashreq, I have presented earlier how the Moroccan public treats what it considers as dialect unloyalty towards MD, if you are a famous artist. Choosing to speak in your own dialect when encountering other Mashreqis is an important issue for Moroccans. So far in this research I have tried to show the popularity of the Moroccan song, I have analyzed songs to find out how they use MD, and here I want to shed light on language attitudes of famous Moroccans in meeting with Mashreqi-media. Because of the nature of this thesis I will only examine three encounters; one long version and two short versions where only the highpoints relevant to this research are mentioned and discuss the language attitudes that occurs in these encounters.

4.3.1 *Rashid Allali*

Rashid Allali is one of Morocco's most popular television presenters. His program "Rashid Show" has more than 6 million views when aired. He is a journalist, screenwriter and a comedian, with over 5.5 million followers on Facebook.¹⁵⁰ Allali's popularity, not only in Morocco, but also outside Morocco's borders has made him relevant for Arab media. Here I will study Allali's encounter with two different Egyptian television hosts. The first interview was conducted in Egypt where Allali was a guest at the program "Ṣabāḥ On" (Morning On). The second interview was with the Egyptian CBC channel (Cairo broadcasting Channel). CBC visited Morocco in relation to the Marrakech film festival in 2015. Although the interviews were not about language, both Egyptian hosts commented on Allali's usage of darija under the interview. It is therefore interesting to examine what happens under these interviews. With the television host from CBC, Rashid Allali was the one to first address the language issue.

¹⁵⁰ 'Rachid Allali - About', accessed 21 May 2018, https://www.facebook.com/pg/Rachid.officiel/about/?ref=page_internal.

Encounter between Rashid Allali and Egyptian tv host in “*Ṣabāḥ On*”:¹⁵¹

The discussion about *darija* starts with the Egyptian tv host asking Allali if “bezzāf” is a Moroccan word. Allali answers in *darija* saying yes that it is in fact a Moroccan word and asks her back how she says “bezzāf” in Egyptian.

Allali	[ntuma bezzāf bil masri shinni hiya?]	What is “bezzāf” in egyptian
The hostess	[ana mush fahma ’illahga di...]	I don’t understand this dialect...

Allali answers her by saying that he is going to continue to talk in MD. The host argues that it will be a problem between them, because the MD is difficult to understand, while Egyptian is easier. Allali disagrees, saying that Egyptian is also difficult, and that Egyptians have some weird words. He mentions couple of examples, like “‘izzayak”.

He asks her: what is “‘izzayak” in MSA?

The host ignores Allali’s question, and rather asks him how he says it in Moroccan. Allali answers: [ki dayir, labas?], the host starts to laugh saying it is difficult.

Allali continues to say: you have some difficult words, I don’t know where they come from, like the word [nafūkhi] (head) or [bo’ī] (mouth), what is it in MSA?

The host is still laughing and ends this discussion by saying [ḥasal khīr] (it’s okay). She then tries to continue with the interview, but several difficulties happen on the way. Not only from the host but also from Allali. An example is when the host reads newspaper headlines, calling them [al-manshiṭāt], Allali says that in Morocco that word means combs. After several expressions of frustration from the hostess about the language problem, and in a moment where it gets very clear that the hostess does not understand what Allali says, she asks: [mabti’rafshi titkallim masri khālis?](you can’t speak Egyptian at all?)

Allali answers that he speaks Egyptian very well, even in the ṣa’īdī variety. This is because Moroccans have watched Egyptian series and movies a lot, and this has something to do with Egyptian cultural productions reaching Morocco, since the forties. Then he reveals to her why he so strongly holds on to his dialect, explaining: “The reason why I try to talk in *darija*,

¹⁵¹ Akhbare Jadidaa, *رشيد العلالى عطا العصير لمذبة مصرية. شنو هو نفوخي و بوقي عندكم بعدما سخرت من اللهجة المغربية*, Rashid Allali Gives It to an Egyptian Presenter, What Is ‘Nafukhi’ and ‘Bu’i’ for You, after She Mocked the Moroccan Dialect, accessed 21 May 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AZbVzZYjCRU>. (Original video was uploaded by Sabah On’s YT channel. But the channel is now deleted)

is because my duty as a media presenter (‘I‘lāmī) is to try to make my language reach other countries, so it also can be understood”. The host claims that she did not understand a word Allali said but when trying to sum up what Allali just said, she manages to do so correctly.

She then asks Allali to teach her a sentence in MD, but slowly. She gives him a sentence and he translate it in to *darija*:

Host	ana ‘ayza ‘a-sāfir il maghrib ‘awil ‘issana il gayya	I want to travel to Morocco next year
Allali	anā bghit nšāfar l-‘ām l-jāy lil-maghrib	I want to travel to Morocco next year
Host	‘iḥtīfālāt ra’s ‘issana, ḥatrūḥ fīn, ḥatiḥtīfil fīn, fil maghrib walla ḥatsāfir	On new years eve, where are you going to be, and where are you celebrating, in Morocco or are you going to travel?
Allali	f rās l-‘ām, fīn ghadi timshi?	On new year, where are you going?
Host	fīn ih??	Where what?

Allali explains that in MD they do not say [ra’s ‘issana], they say [rās l-‘ām]. The host then asks Allali to say the sentence again.

Allali	f rās l-‘ām, fīn ghadi timshi?	On new year, where are you going?
Host	sushi?? (laughing)	Sushi??
Allali	Ah, ghadi timshi takli sushi, la f rās l-‘ām, fīn ghadi timshi?	Yes, you are going to eat sushi, no, on new year, where are you going?
Host	oh, fīn ghadi timshi	Ow, where are you going
Host	la la la, sa‘b sa‘b, il maghribi sa‘b	No, no no. difficult, difficult, Moroccan is difficult.

Allali argues that it is not difficult, if one pays extra attention one will realise that most of the words in *darija* is derived from *fuṣḥā*. They then conclude that the problem may be in how fast Moroccans speak.

Not once does the host ask Allali to speak slower, so that she could try to understand what is being said. What she does repeatedly, is to express that she does not understand a word, and just moves on with the interview. It seems the host did not expect Allali to speak in MD, and that is maybe why she several times under the interview expresses her opinion about MD being difficult, indirectly pressuring Allali to change the dialect he speaks. Allali expresses early in the interview that he speaks MD with a purpose. He takes his role as a famous entertainer seriously and sees that he has the ability to take part in making MD reach other Arab countries and wants it to be understood. He chooses to stand in the uncomfortable situation where a host repeatedly expresses that not one word of what he is saying is understood, rather than just speak in a manner that will satisfy the host. Allali telling the host that he speaks Egyptian and even masters the *šaʿīdī* dialect, can be understood as wanting to provoke or irritate the host. When he asked the host about the word [al-manshiṭāt], it seemed like Allali asked intentionally to point out that not everything Egyptian is understandable and giving the host some of the same experience she gives him when constantly pointing out not understanding what is being said.

Another interesting point is the host expressing not understanding Allali, but in the next second manages to sum up what has been said without making any mistakes, it appears that the host is already programmed to think that MD is difficult and therefore not understand it. I argue that this has a direct connection to the discussion about Maghreb-Mashreq language ideology. Hachimi analysed the language attitudes in the talent program Star Academy and argues that the Mashreqi Arabic maintains its high position in the dialect hierarchy in relation to the Maghreb dialects by three significant actions,¹⁵² the first is making the Maghreb speakers bear the “communicative burden”, meaning that speakers from the Maghreb are responsible for being understood, and accommodation is usually what Maghrebi speakers turn to. Also giving the Maghrebi speakers the responsibility of the communicative act, dismantle the Mashreqi speakers of making any effort to understand the Maghrebi, as so clearly demonstrated in the interview with Allali.

¹⁵² Atiqa Hachimi, ‘The Maghreb-Mashreq Language Ideology and the Politics of Identity in a Globalized Arab World1’, *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 17, no. 3 (1 June 2013): 270.

The second significant action is that Maghrebi dialects are objects of mockery. This also seems to have happened in this interview. When the host asked Allali to repeat the sentence about new year's, and replies with: Sushi?? (laughing). It is obvious that the word [timshi] does not resemble the word sushi, not in pronunciation or in meaning, and it has nothing to do with the topic discussed, not to mention that Egyptians also say [timshi]. Allali did repeat the sentence several times, before the host laughingly asked if he said sushi, which eliminates the doubt that she actually heard sushi to begin with, as she did not mention sushi until later.

The third action is Mashreqi dialects are objects of praise and admiration. Although Hachimi is pointing out how the intelligibility and purity in conceptions about the “Arabness” and “non-Arabness” of the different Arabic dialects is maintained by the Mashreq speakers, I argue that also in this Interview, the Egyptian dialect was praised by the host, not as more Arab than MD (that would be inappropriate to express in an tv-interview with a Moroccan guest) but as “easier” to understand than MD. The Arabness of the dialects was not discussed, but claiming that one dialect is easier than the other, legitimizes it and gives it a superiority and under the surface translates as better and more “Arab” than MD.

Lastly, a point that is important to stress out is Allali's refusal to “play along”. The host's many attempts to make Allali stop speaking MD, pressuring him, and pointing out flaws and mocking MD, did not result in Allali changing his dialect. He refuses to accommodate, and rather explains why he speaks his dialect. I argue that Allali explaining why he strongly holds on to his dialect marks a shifting in the dialectal power dynamics. He does not accept the attempts at dialect domination by the Egyptian host. Allali represents here the Maghrebi speaker that have been given the “communicative burden” by the Mashreqi host, but refuses to take it, forcing the host to make an effort to understand what is being said.

*Rashid Allali and the television host from CBC;*¹⁵³

Under Marrakech film festival in 2015, Egyptian CBC interviewed Rashid Allali in relation to the film festival. Throughout the interview Rashid Allali answers the question mostly in darija, sometimes explaining some of the words or expressions with a comedian style, which is one of Allali's characteristics. In a moment Allali automatically mirrors the host and speaks

¹⁵³ CBC Egypt, *Mumkin | Special Meeting with Rashid Allali at Marrakech FilmFestival* - ممكن / لقاء خاص مع الاعلامي - رشيد العاللي، بمهرجان مراكش السينمائي، accessed 21 May 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WKku9q-XtHo>. Time: 08:40-10:50

in Egyptian. Although it was only a couple of words, he noticed the change in dialect, so he changes back to *darija* saying;

Allali: “I am talking with you in Egyptian, but as a pinpoint I am trying to talk in a simple language (lugha bayḍā’ - white language), so everyone can understand me.”

The host: “You Moroccans are very sensitive when it comes to language”.

Allali: “I am against artists or some people that visit other countries, like Egypt and start talking in the Egyptian variety”

The host: “so they get understood”.

Allali: “no, I believe that we have to speak in our *darija*, because we have a simple *darija* (*darija mubassaṭā*), that we can use when talking, and that can be understood by everyone else, in the manner I am speaking with you now”

Under the interview the host comments on Allali’s attempt to explain words in *darija* with *darija*, saying: “Do you know the saying: who explains water with water, that is what you are doing now. There are very difficult words that we are not going to understand.” Allali answers in something between *darija* and MSA, that the Egyptian dialect have reached Morocco because of Egypt’s big cultural productions (movies, series and songs) in the sixties. Something that has resulted in that all Moroccans know the Egyptian culture and Egyptian dialect very well and can easily communicate in Egyptian. That is why, the role of Moroccan presenters, entertainers and artists is to speak in their MD, so it can reach other Arab countries as well, so that next time Egyptians will understand Moroccans.

The host says that he believes that dialects are accustomed, and that art can make dialects a habit, agreeing with Allali’s logic. The hosts comment on Moroccans being sensitive when it comes to language, illustrates in a way why Maghreb speakers face difficulties when encountering Mashreqi speakers. The first interview with “Ṣabāḥ On” was conducted in Egypt and the host asked directly if Allali can speak Egyptian, wanting him to change dialect. The second interview is conducted in Morocco and the host speaks Egyptian, which Allali is fine with, but also does express openly that Allali’s choice of dialect is making problems for the interview.

An Egyptian in Morocco, speaking to a Moroccan, wanting him to speak in Egyptian or else it would be difficult and calling Moroccans sensitive for not wanting to change their dialect, is

in a way absurd but demonstrates the ideological superiority Mashreq dialects have when it comes to language. The host shamelessly calls out all Moroccans to be sensitive because Allali did not follow the rules of accommodation. In this interview Allali also explains why he does not want to change dialect, pointing to a bigger purpose; wanting MD to be understood by other Arabs, and that people with big platforms such as entertainer and artists have the ability to make this difference. In the end, the host seems to understand Allali's point of view, and confirms that art has the ability to make dialects a habit and continues with the interview.

4.3.2 Zina Daoudia in Qatar:

Zīnā D-dāūdiyyā (Zina Daoudia) is a well-known and established sha'bi singer in Morocco. Sha'bi, also translated to popular folk music, is a music genre that one can find in all Arab countries, but the styles differ from country to country. In Morocco sha'bi is usually sung in MD, and tackles topics such as love and desire, loss and other daily issues.¹⁵⁴ Daoudia is known for her talent in playing the “kamanja”, violin, which is a typical sha'bi instrument. She is also known for her strong voice. After getting millions of views on her YT music videos, which are usually lyrical videos, she was in 2016 invited to hold a concert in Qatar and was interviewed by Alrayyan TV on the show “‘Ahl Al-Fann” (the people of art).

Daoudia was asked if she would consider changing her style and do like Samira Said, sing some songs in Moroccan but also sing other genres in other dialects. Before asking this question, the host had expressed for Daoudia that he faced some difficulties understanding his previous Moroccan guests, pointing out that MD is difficult. He also argues that “al-lugha al-maghribiyya ash-sha'biyya”, the Moroccan sha'bi language, may slow down Daoudia's popularity in the Arab world. Daoudia responded that although Samira Said is considered one of the pioneers in the music industry and have added a lot to the Moroccan and the Arabic song but following Samira Said is not her style. She believes that the Moroccan sha'bi genre can reach all Arabs, but it will take time. To this the host calls Daoudia for stubborn.¹⁵⁵

The host is openly saying that what may slow Daoudia's popularity is her usage of MD. This point has been proven wrong in the previous section about popularity. Not to mention that

¹⁵⁴ 'The Music of Morocco', World Music Network, accessed 12 April 2018, <https://www.worldmusic.net/guide/music-of-morocco/>.

¹⁵⁵ AlrayyanTV, *Program 'Ahl AlFann' (the People of Art) - Artist Zina Daoudia*. -26 - الفنانة زينة الداودية - برنامج هل الفن - الفنانة زينة الداودية -26 - 2016-11, accessed 12 April 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-jUAWQmVDts&t=1330s>. Time: 16:00-17:11.

Daoudia's YT views have surpassed Lebanese super stars such as Wa'il Kfūrī (Wael Kfoury) and Nawāl Al-Zughbī (Nawal El-Zoghbi), who have YT views reaching 20 million while Daoudia reach 50 million. What is also happening under this interview is that the host is asking an artist to change her form of art to something more "understandable" for him, and when she refuses, she is being called stubborn. Daoudia describes the language in her songs and says: "I am going to use an understandable language (lughā mafhūma) but keeping it in the style of Moroccan Sha'bī. And, the Arabs, including the people from the Gulf, must do an effort and try to understand what we are saying, what I am saying. The same way we in Morocco, do an effort and try to understand what is being said when we hear an Indian song that touched us in some way... if I, God willing, succeed in making the Arabs love me, they will make the effort to understand what I am saying".¹⁵⁶ And they continue with the interview. The atmosphere of the interview is so calm that one, if one does not pay attention, will not notice the insults given to Daoudia.

To sum up this section of the chapter, Moroccan famous personalities that hold on to their dialect whether it is in the song they sing, or in the direct face-to face encounters, can hear that their dialect choice is a problem, describing MD as difficult, Moroccans are sensitive, and even stubborn. One can say that this is one of the (side)effects of wanting to make a change in the dialectal power dynamics, and not accepting the rules that the dominant dialects from the Mashreq have set on the dialects of the Maghreb. Instead they are openly proud of their dialect and have set a goal to promote MD more in the Arab world. The shifting in the power dynamics does not necessarily mean that the status of MD in the Maghreb-Mashreq language hierarchy has changed or that it has climbed the hierarchal ladder, it simply marks a change within the Moroccans not accepting the current dialect-domination-situation, which is a start. Moroccans are intentionally and purposely holding on to their dialect now more than ever as they see that there is a platform where they can change the structure of language attitudes toward MD. The status of MD in the Maghreb-Mashreq dialect hierarchy lies deep into the Mashreq speakers' minds, and I would argue that the Mashreq speakers are so used to Maghreb speakers accommodating them, that they do not consider it offensive to the Maghrebi speakers when asking them to change their dialect, whether it is in their artistic work or under face-to face interaction.

¹⁵⁶ AlrayyanTV.Time: 13:50-14:44.

4.4 Non-Moroccans singing in *darja*

In the last part of this analysis, this research has examined language practices outside the Moroccan borders and seen if non-Moroccans are using MD. In the Arab music world, it is a normal practice that singers tend to sing songs from other dialects. As it appears in the four tables in the appendix presenting the popularity of the Moroccan song in 4.1. it showed that many Lebanese singers had songs in the khalījī (Gulf dialects) and Egyptian variety. Egyptian, khalījī and the Levantine varieties are usually the varieties that Arab singers tend to sing when not singing in their own dialect.¹⁵⁷

Despite this, there is a new trend on the rising, where the implementation of MD is present not only in the non-Moroccan Arab music industry, but also in the tv-series and movie industry, at least in Egypt where several actors have taken the role of a Moroccan and have also spoken in MD. One Egyptian actress is Duniyā Samīr Ghānim. She has, in several acting roles, spoken in the Moroccan variety and succeeded in it. In the movie “*Lā tarāju ‘ wa lā ‘istislām*” (No backing down, and no giving up), Ghānim had a dialog in over two minutes in MD where she also added French words and phrases to sound more authentic as many Moroccans codeswitch between Arabic and French in their daily speech.¹⁵⁸ Also Moroccan folktale figures such as “‘Aishā Qandīshā” who was an actual living person, a woman fighting against the occupation of Morocco, have been part of the Egyptian tv-screen, but not as a hero as “‘Aishā Qandīshā” is for many associated with a female demon. “‘Aishā Qandīshā” and her mother “‘Umm ‘Aishā” are two Moroccan characters in an Egyptian series called “*al-Kibrīt al- ‘aḥmar*” (Red Sulphur), these characters are featured in season 2 of the series. The series is about demons and sorcery and follows the lives of people that do and do not believe in it. The Egyptian actor of these two roles, Simone Phillippes, talked in an interview about speaking in MD, and that she memorized her lines in MD, but the director decided to not let the character(s) speak Moroccan, as he saw it problematic, because the Egyptian viewers would not understand what is being said. The actor then managed to convince the director to allow her to say two phrases in MD.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ See appendix table 1-4. The table shows that singers from the Levantine are those who tend to sing in other dialects and succeed with it. It also shows that the Egyptian singers usually are those who do not sing in other dialects. This point is made out of several observations and the finding of analysing popular songs.

¹⁵⁸ Hamza Kamal, *Dunya Samir Ghanim Speaks Moroccan Very Well* - رائع - دنيا سمير غانم تحكي مغربي رائع, accessed 14 April 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mc8u8SO1kvA>. Time: 00:53-03:17

¹⁵⁹ سيمون تكشف عن كواليس ‘الكبريت’ - This Is Her next News - فوشيا (Fushia), *Simon Reveals the Scenes of ‘Red Sulphur’ .. This Is Her next News* - وهذا جديديها القادم, accessed 14 April 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d_BNCTCVpGYg.

The well-established, and well-known singers of the Arab world are known to have songs in several dialects, and this may therefore not seem important for many that argue that it is done out of business purposes and wanting more publicity and new fans. Moubarik Belkasim said in the email correspondence:

“Middle Eastern singers who sing sometimes in *Darija* are doing it for marketing reasons. They want to sell their records in Morocco or attract more people to their concerts in Morocco. This is done by everybody in the world. Many singers around the world choose to sing in other languages to access new markets and new audiences.

Singers are usually good with languages and pronunciations and the music does the rest. But the position of *Darija* is not changing in the eyes of the Arabs in the Middle East. It is still a very different language from the Arabic languages of Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Egypt.”

Although Belkasim’s argument concerning benefits for the artists singing in other dialects may be true, I argue that there is more to it than just wanting more fame. Artists like the Lebanese pop star ‘Āṣṣī al-Ḥillānī (Assi El-Hillani), who have huge popularity all over the Arab World, does not need to sing in MD to get Moroccan fans. The Arab music industry does not work in that way where there is a requirement that an artist must sing in that countries dialects to get new audiences. I do believe that trends are something that effects the artist’s work, and if it is a trend to sing in a specific style or variety, that many will try this trend in hopes of succeeding in it. Singing in MD have brought success to many artists as the Moroccan song is popular nowadays. Moroccan singer’s effort in consistently singing in their dialect have shown results in how popular their songs become. But what about non-Moroccan artists who sing songs in MD? This study has shown that the single artist does find success in the Moroccan song, when comparing the Moroccan songs views on YT with his/her other songs on YT.

To give an example, one of those artists are Muḥammad al-Shihḥī (Mohamed al-Shehhi). An Emirati singer, who have made a name for himself without the support of major recording labels, by posting his music online.¹⁶⁰ His most popular song “*Ḥayātī*” (my life) have over 69 million views on YT.¹⁶¹

Shehhi’s 2017 album “*Mamnū*” (forbidden) contains a Moroccan song called “*Kbīda*” (my liver, a Moroccan metaphor for something very dear). This song went from having 9 million

¹⁶⁰ ‘Mohamed Al Shehhi on Apple Music’, Apple Music, accessed 14 April 2018, <https://itunes.apple.com/us/artist/mohamed-al-shehhi/940355698>.

¹⁶¹ محمد الشحي - حياتي (حصرياً) / Mohamed Al-Shehhi - My Life (New) 2017, accessed 21 May 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SHpXGLUoZnI>.

views 02.03.18 to have more than 19 million views one month later.¹⁶² 10 million views in one month, without shooting a music video for it, makes it the most viewed lyrical video on the album. The second most viewed video is called “*Ifṛāj*” (release) and had 3.2 million views 02.03.18. and went up to 4.5 million views one month later. The song with a music video is “*Mamnū*” and had 2,3 million views 02.03.18.



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After seeing the growing popularity this song has received, an analysis of the lyrics and pronunciations has been conducted to see if this song, like the three other songs in 4.2 of this chapter has used “*lugha mubaṣṣaṭa*”, simple Moroccan language. A small part of the song is added here, but the assessment made is based on the full song. The lyrics are found under the music video on Mohamed Al-Shehhi’s YT channel. The transcription and translation are my own, and like what have been done in 4.2, the transcription follows what is being sung and not the lyrical text.¹⁶⁴

The song name, “*Kbīda*” is the feminine version of minimized liver in MD. “*Kabid*” is the MSA word for it and is a masculine word in origin. Thanks to the Amazigh influence on the Moroccan dialect, when wanting to minimize a word, the minimization of the words always become feminine as the “*taṣghīr*”, minimization, always takes the feminine form in Amazigh;

¹⁶² Numbers listed: 14. April 2018. Last checked; 21. May 2018: “*Kbidā*” has over 25 million views on YT.

¹⁶³ Picture is taken from Shehhi’s Youtube page 02.03.18.

¹⁶⁴ محمد الشحي, Mohamed AlShehhi, *Mohamed Al-Shehhi - Kbida (My Liver) New | from Album Mamnu’ (Forbidden) 2017 - 2017 من ألبوم ممنوع (محصر)*, accessed 13 March 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=usp-_F5Joxl.

like “kabid” turning to “kbīda” and “ḥalīb” (Milk) becomes “ḥlība”, while in MSA it would be “ḥulayyib”.¹⁶⁵

Arabic	Transcription in Darija	Translation
تلبس ابيض تلبس اسود الزين هي مولاتو حببت قلبي ك تهبل فأي لون لبساتو	Tilbis 'abyaḍ tilbis 'aswed Zzīn hiya mūlātū ḥbībīt g[q]albī kathabbil f-ayy lūn libsātū	She can wear white, she can wear black Beauty she is its master/owner My sweetheart looks smashing/stunning, in any color she wears.
بلغة ولا كعب عالي نموت انا فالزين دياي تطلب عيني نعطيها الغالي يرخص للغالي	bilgha walla ka' b 'ālī nmūt 'anā f-zzīn dyālī tiṭleb 'īnī na' tīhā lghālī yarkhiṣ lil-ghālī	Bilgha (Moroccan sandal) or high heels I die for my beauty If she asks for my eyes, I will give them to her What is expensive, becomes cheap for a valuable person

Shehhi did not write the song himself. The writer of this song is Muḥammad Al-Maghribī, a song writer who has also written songs for Moroccan Redoan Berhil.¹⁶⁶ In the word [kathabbil] the present tense marker [ka-] is used and indicates that the dialect in this song is classified as an old urban dialect which is spoken in various cities such as Old Fes, Rabat, Taza, Tangier and Tetouan. While the southern urban Moroccan, spoken in Marrakech and New Fes, use [ta-] as the present tense marker. The usage of these prefixes expresses habit, repetition and/or concomitance.¹⁶⁷ The pronunciation of the [g] instead of [q] is something the MD and the Gulf-dialects have in common, as they have Bedouin influence. The lyrics are not inflicted with heavy poetical words, but also does not contain any typical words that are classified as street words/slang. There are no usage of French/English words or expressions in this song.

The occurrence of sentences and words only understood in the Maghreb are present in this song, such as: [Zzīn hiya mūlātū] and [bqā ḥdāya] (stay beside me), [wash bghītī] (what do you want/do you want) and words like [daghyā] (quick) and [bāghī] (want). [bilgha] is the Moroccan sandal and has many names, such as babouche, sherbil and bilgha. which contributes and makes the song keep its Moroccan touch. While sentences such as [lghālī yarkhiṣ lil-ghālī] and [tiṭleb 'īnī na' tīhā] are sentences understood in the whole region, along with [ḥaqq 'Allāh 'anā niṭjinnin] (I swear to God I get crazy), and many more.

¹⁶⁵ Chafik, *Moroccan Dialect, a Field of Progression between Amazigh and Arabic* - الدارجة المغربية مجال تواردين بين - الأمازيغية والعربية, 23.

¹⁶⁶ Noubal Media | نبال ميديا, RedOne BERHIL - WACH (Is It) (EXCLUSIVE Music Video) 2017 | (واش) رضوان برحيل - واش, accessed 15 April 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cyLEXo4k8Hg>.

¹⁶⁷ Caubet, 'Moroccan Arabic'.

Judging after the lyrics of the song, I would classify the language of the song in the same category as the three Moroccan songs analyzed in 4.2. as “mubassaṭa”, simplified. I believe this is an example of non-Moroccan artists, when making and singing Moroccan songs, follow the linguistic trends. When it comes to the pronunciation of Shehhi, it is strongly influenced by his own khalījī dialect. He pronounces some of the words, that one also can find in the khalījī dictionary, in the khalījī way. Examples of this are; “’īdī” (hand), in MD it is pronounced “yiddi”. He also sometimes pronounces the interdental, like in the word “’abyaḍ” where it is uttered “’abyad” in MD. In MD the interdental is not pronounced but replaced with other letters similar to them.¹⁶⁸ The songs rhythm and beat is a fusion of Moroccan and Gulf element, and with the singer not being a fluent MD speaker, I would not classify it as a pure Moroccan song, although the Moroccan touch is heavier than the khalījī touch. The typical Moroccan words, phrases and expressions makes one recognize it as a Moroccan song.

Before “*lughā mubaṣṣaṭa*” was a trend when singing in MD, Mashreqī artists did make songs in MD, but the lyrics could contain street words and French. Assi Al-Hillani and Maryam Fāris, (both artists from Libanon) have come out with songs in MD. In 2011 (before the trend) Fāris came out with her album “*Min ‘uyūnī*” (from my eyes) where one of her songs where sung in MD. The song “*Tlāḥ*”, which means in the songs context (leave), but it means to throw yourself down from a high place, and is understood to be a street word, used instead of saying “rūḥ” or “mshī” (go) you say “tlāḥ”. The song is the third most listened to on the album on Anghami, and there is no music video for this song.¹⁶⁹ Hillani’s song “Eṣṣāta” (slang for: girl), got negative attention from Moroccan artists and fans, saying that the usage of the word is offensive for the Moroccan woman. Hillani apologized for the song, saying he was under the impression that the word meant beautiful woman.¹⁷⁰ The word has been used several times in songs after Hillani’s incident (in Hatim Ammor’s song “Khater”) with no particular negative reaction to the artist.

¹⁶⁸ Caubet.

¹⁶⁹ Anghami App, “Min ‘uyūnī” is played 1 million times, while “Khallani” is played 997K times. “Tlah” is played 888K times on Anghami pr. 15.04.18. Fāris made music videos for “Min ‘uyūnī” and “Khallani”.

¹⁷⁰ عاصي الحلائي يعتذر للمرأة المغربية عن أغنية -خديجة الفتحي, accessed 15 April 2018, <http://www.alarabiya.net/ar/culture-and-art/2016/05/26/-عاصي-الحلائي-يعتذر-للمرأة-عن-أغنية-المغربية-عن-أغنية>.

Ghāzī Al-ʿAmīr from Lebanon, currently living in Morocco, has three songs in MD which are his most viewed songs on YT.¹⁷¹ While the Palestinian singer Muḥammad ʿAssāf has sung two songs in the Algerian variety (the first was a duet with the Algerian rai singer Cheb Faudel, and the second is also a duet but with the Lebanese English singer Massari).¹⁷² Sāʿd Ramadan from Lebanon has three songs in the Maghrebi variety, one in MD and two in the Algerian variety. His Moroccan song “Wāʿra” is his second most viewed song on YT.¹⁷³

Fāḍil Al-Mazrūʿī from UAE has two albums sung in MD with several Moroccan styles. He has sung the oldest form of shaʿbī in Morocco, “*Lʿalwā*”, and performed it perfectly without any linguistic mistakes. He also has a duet with the Moroccan shaʿbī singer Saʿīd Ṣanhājī. After being away from the music industry for two years, Mazrūʿī came out with a new single in MD called “*Maṣafyāsh*” (not pure) in 2017.¹⁷⁴ Other artists that have sung in MD are Diyānā Ḥaddād (Lebanon), ʿAṣālah Naṣrī (Syria), Yārā (Lebanon), Ḥusayn al-Jasmī (UAE) to mention a few of the big Arab artists. The MD has reached a popularity where it even has been used in the relatively new shāʿbī genre called “mahragān” or “mahragānāt” in Egypt. For example, Saad Lamjarred’s song “M3allem” has been sung by a mahragān group called “Shāriʿ 3” and named it “*Inta Mʿallim*” (You’re the master) where they sing in both Egyptian and MD, singing parts of the original Moroccan song and adding their own lyrics in Egyptian. The song has over 17 million views on YT and is the group’s most viewed video.¹⁷⁵

Earlier, if you wanted to make a singing career in the Arab music world, you usually travelled to the Mashreq, either Egypt or Lebanon, or to the UAE if you wanted to sing in one of the Gulf- varieties, now there has been added a new direction to those mentioned, where many moves to Morocco to either continue their musical career or start it there. Ghāzī Al-ʿAmīr, Geroge Shahīd and Riyāḍ Al-ʿUmr, all singers from Lebanon residing in Morocco. George Shahīd said in an interview with Lalla Mulati, a Moroccan magazine, that one of his biggest motivators for learning MD, which he speaks with almost no fault, was the Moroccan

¹⁷¹ His most popular song on YT is “Maʿaqlātsh ʿliyā” ‘Ghazi Al Amir | غازي الامير - YouTube - YouTube’, accessed 15 April 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/user/babari99>.

¹⁷² Song names: Assaf ft. Cheb Faudel: Rani. Assaf ft. Massari: Roll with it.

¹⁷³ ‘Saad Ramadan’, YouTube, accessed 15 April 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC16XmqDkuNdXwWI9itpHFbw>. Last seen 14.04.15.

¹⁷⁴ الإماراتي فاضل المزروعي - غني, ‘Emirati Fadel Al Mazroui sings “Masafiach” in the Moroccan dialect’, نهاد عفان, Alakhabar press, 30 April 2017, <http://www.alkhabarpress.ma/99543.html>, two Moroccan albums can be found on Anghami app, called: “Ruḥi w nsaynī” (a concert album) and “Lāsh tibghīh”

¹⁷⁵ مهرجان انت معلم 2015 - فريق شارع 3 / بدو ترك / توزيع توينرز, ST3 Band, فريق شارع 3 - *Mahragan Shariʿ 3 - Inta M3allim (You’re the Master) | Badr and Turk | Produced by Twins-*, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BFU4RtTI01A>.

comedian Ḥasan Al-Fadd, as he wanted to understand what he said in his programs. He also said that he moved to Morocco because he noticed that the country has a lot of people that are professionals in the music field, and that many of the biggest artists in the Arab world are from Morocco.¹⁷⁶ The Egyptian singer Muḥammad Magdī, who also moved to Morocco, said that he had difficulties standing out as an artist in Egypt, and therefore moved to Morocco and has changed his style from Egyptian to sing songs in MD with a mix of Spanish, and has now several songs in MD and Spanish.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ Lalla plus, *Get to Know George Lebanese Artist Living in Morocco, Loves the Ayta, and Moroccan Food, and Adores Kabbor*. تعرفوا على جورج فنان لبناني مستقر بالمغرب يحب العبيطة والأكل المغربي ويعشق كبور. accessed 21 May 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VisRT0bv8XU>.

¹⁷⁷ Soltana - سلطانة - Selfiestar #Mohamed Magdy Egyptian Artist Chose Morocco to Launch His Music Career- سلفي - سطار #محمد مجدي فنان مصري اختار المغرب للانطلاق فنيا. accessed 21 May 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fv9l5X-_Q00.

5. Conclusion

MD's prestige in the Arabic pop music industry has changed from what it was for a few years ago. This change did not happen randomly. The efforts of Moroccan artists, singers and entertainers have contributed to this change. The Moroccans' own effort and precision in using their dialect in their field of work, associating themselves to one dialect, MD, have helped build on national pride, that have reflected upon the rest of the Arab region. This study has shown that language ideologies also must be examined and understood in terms of the speaker's own awareness of the language and its agency. The Moroccan personalities mentioned in this study have openly expressed their personal agenda with only using the Moroccan dialect, whether it is in songs, on social media, in face to face interactions or any other arena where different dialects meet. As it has been mentioned in the study, dialects acquire prestige by their association with the speakers of the dialect. It all comes down to the values that are given to each dialect, and the amount of prestige attributed to all the Arab dialects are contextually and socially based on the life of the Arabs and their relation to each other.¹⁷⁸ This relation can be on several levels of the society, and one level is (social) media and the internet. The Arab world consists of a huge amount of internet users daily, and songs posted on the internet are easily shared, liked, and commented on. The geographical distance between the Arab countries becomes shorter thanks to this technology, it is therefore important and necessary for us researchers to not ignore this field when studying Arab communities.

In S'hiri's article she claimed that the value given to arts in the Arab world, has reached the extent where it also covers the value given to the language itself. I have measured this value by looking at how popular the Moroccan song is based on number of views on YT, top hits lists' and award-winnings. And the result has shown that Hachimi and S'hiri's arguments saying the Maghrebi influence on the Mashreq is minor and insignificant, does basically not coincide with the reality of the Arabic music industry today. In fact, the Moroccan song, is on the top in most views on YT, and the hitlists and awards given to Moroccan artists are strong indicators that these numbers have reached the Arab Mashreq. This measurement has also resulted in noticing a shared common structure in the language used in the Moroccan song. This analysis has shown that Moroccan artist, and other non-Moroccans who sing in MD, choose their lyrics wisely, as they are aware of the "language barrier" that MD may have in the ears of the Arabs from the eastern part of the region. They have therefore turned to use

¹⁷⁸ Milroy, 'Language Ideologies and the Consequences of Standardization', 532.

“*lugha mubaşşata*”, simple language, where the Moroccan dialect keeps its Moroccan distinctive words, phrases and expressions, but also concentrates on the common denominator between all Arabs, the Arabic standard language and its lexicality, and with this have created a Moroccan version of the dialect that is more understood to the rest of the region.

Moroccans being aware of this trait in their dialect, has also affected Moroccans’ own understanding of their language in meetings with other Arabs from the Mashreq. This study has analysed prominent Moroccan personalities in their meeting with Arab Media, where it appears that there has been a shift in the dialectal power-dynamics. Moroccans do not accept the rules that the dominant dialects from the Mashreq have set on the dialects of the Maghreb. Instead they are clear and firm about their consistent use of their dialect, and that they will not change it to please others. This shift does not necessarily mean that the status of MD in the Maghreb-Mashreq language hierarchy has changed or that it has climbed the hierarchal ladder, it simply marks a change within the Moroccans not accepting the current dialect-domination-situation. Non-Moroccan artists singing in the Moroccan variety, also helps in standing firmly on their stance. More non-Moroccan artist have discovered the value in singing song in the Moroccan variety, as it has given that single artist more fame and popularity. This study has also mentioned names of singers from the various countries of the Mashreq, who have left their country to live in Morocco and pursue their singing carriers from there, as they have seen how successful Moroccan artists have become in the Arab world.

All the factors analysed in this study, have contributed to give a better and wider picture of the dialectal relationship Moroccan *darija* has to the rest of the Arab dialects. To establish theories about language ideologies to specific parts of the world, I believe all aspects of where language is relevant and used, must be examined before one can give a statement that will be taken as the general understanding. All theories about language ideologies concerning Maghreb-Mashreq dialectal hierarchy, have primary focused on face to face encounters. This study is different in that it has looked at how Arabs “absorb”, take in, and understand Moroccan dialect in songs on the internet, and what this “absorption” have resulted in, not only for the Moroccan dialect and Moroccans, but also in how non-Moroccans use this dialect today.

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Appendix

Table 1 – Anghami Top Arabic Songs of 2015 (playlist)

<i>Anghami - Top arabic songs of 2015 (playlist)</i>							
Ranking and Artist	Song title	Artist origin	Dialect	Played on Anghami pr: 13.02.18	Official accounts on YouTube only Played on YouTube pr: 13.02.18		
1. Saad Lemjarred	L'm3allem	Morocco	Moroccan	28.3 million	587.1 million		
2. Nassif Zaytoun	Nami Aa Sadri	Syria	Shami	17.4 million	28.4 million		
3. Nassif Zaytoun	Edda w Edoud	Syria	Shami	19 million	35.7 million		
4. Waleed Al Shami	Ahebah kolesh	Iraq	Iraqi	9.5 million	87 million		
5. Wael Kfoury	Sar El Haki	Lebanon	Shami	10.9 million	10.6 million		
6. Adham Nabulsi	Keef Bhebak Hayk	Jordan	Shami	13.9 million	20.5 million		
7. Tamer Hosny	Kool Haga Benna	Egypt	Egyptian	14.8 million	50 million		
8. Mohamed Hamaki	Agmal Youm	Egypt	Egyptian	11.4 million	21.1 million		
9. Yara	Ma Baaref	Lebanon	Shami	13.6 million	97 million		
10. Joseph Attieh	Hobb w Mkattar	Lebanon	Shami	8.7 million	9.4 million		
11. Wael Kfoury	El Ghram El Moustahil	Lebanon	Shami	11 million	14 million		
12. Al Anean	Hala Brihat Hali	Kuwait	Khaliji	10.1 million	43.2 million		
13. Assala Nasri	60 Dakika Hayat	Syria	Egyptian	10 million	43.6 million		
14. Elissa	Mawtini	Lebanon	Classical Arabic/MSA	7.7 million	7.1 million		
15. Nancy Ajram	Maakoul El Gharam	Lebanon	Egyptian	15.1 million	15 million		
16. Yara	Ah Mennak Ya Hawa	Lebanon	Shami	6.9 million	4.4 million		
17. Assala Nasri	Khanat El Zekrayat	Syria	Egyptian	16 million	50.2 million		
18. Amal Hijazi	El Layali	Lebanon	Shami - Albanian	7.4 million	17.3 million		
19. Carmen Soliman	Habibi Mosh Habibi	Egypt	Egyptian	4.8 million	5.6 million		
20. Jamila	Blach Blach	Morocco	Moroccan	11 million	153.5 million		
21. Nancy Ajram	Maksouma Nossain	Lebanon	Egyptian	8.5 million	3.6 million		
22. Yara	Ayech bi Oyouni	Lebanon	Shami	6.4 million	10.3 million		
23. Wael Kfoury	Kel Chi Hwalayi	Lebanon	Shami	7.2 million	8 million		
24. Tamer Hosny	Haaolak Kelma	Egypt	Egyptian	9.3 million	18.5 million		
25. Ayman Zbib	Kel El Omer	Lebanon	Shami	5.9 million	28.6 million		
26. Wael Jassar	Entebah Ala Halak	Lebanon	Shami	5.2 million	2.9 million		
27. Hussein Al Jasmi	Belqolob Ashwaq	UAE	Khaliji	6.3 million	30.6 million		
28. Nawal El Zoghbi	Wala Bahebak	Lebanon	Egyptian	4.3 million	3.4 million		
29. Hatim Ammor	Mchiti Fiha	Morocco	Moroccan	5.1 million	94 million		
30. Rashed Al Majed	Kether Kel Shay Waheshny	Saudi Arabia	Khaliji	5 million	17 million		

Table 2. ArabSounds Top 50 Arabic songs of 2015 list: 10 best songs¹⁷⁹

Arab Sounds Top 50 Arabic songs of 2015 list: 10 best songs						
Ranking and Artist name	Song title	Artist's origin	Dialect		Played on YouTube pr: 13.02.18	
10. Hussein al Jassmi	YA 7abi lak	UAE	Khaliiji		20.6 million	
9. L'Algerino	Le Prince De la Ville	Algerie	French		75.8 million	
8. Tamer Hosny	Ha2oulak kalam	Egypt	Egyptian		18.5 million	
7. Barbapappa	Wili Wili Wili	Morocco	Moroccan		26.2 million	
6. Mahmoud El Leithy	Bonbonayah	Egypt	Egyptian		66 million	
5. Dounia Batma	Mezyan Waer	Morocco	Moroccan, Khaliiji and Egyptian		48.3 million	
4. Tamer Hosny	Kol Haga Bena	Egypt	Egyptian		50 million	
3. Hassan El Prine	Mafish Sa7eb Yetsaheb	Egypt	Egyptian		124.4 million	
2. Jamila El Badaoui	Blach Blach	Morocco	Moroccan		153.5 million	
1. Saad Lamjarred	L'M3allelem	Morocco	Moroccan		587.1 million	

¹⁷⁹ 'Top 50 Arabic Songs of 2015'.

Table 3. Anghami Top Arabic songs 2016 (playlist)

<i>Anghami - Top arabic songs 2016 (playlist)</i>						
Ranking and Artist	Song title	Artist origin	Dialect		Played on Anghami pr: 13.02.18	
1. Hussein Al Deek	Mahlaki	Syria	Shami		17.1 million	
2. Abdelfattah Grini	Jabra Fan	Morocco	Moroccan		13 million	
3. Elissa	Ya rayt	Lebanon	Shami		17 million	
4. Nassif Zaytoun	Bi Rabbak	Syria	Shami		18.1 million	
5. Majid Al Mohandis	Tenadik	Iraq	Khaliji		13.9 million	
6. Saad Lemjarred	Ghaltana	Morocco	Moroccan		15.4 million	
7. Elissa	Saharna Ya leil	Lebanon	Egyptian		16.9 million	
8. Nassif Zaytoun	Ala Aya Asas	Syria	Shami		13.2 million	
9. Adham Nabulsi	Naskha Mennik	Jordan	Classical Arabic - Shami		15.8 million	
10. Hamad Al Qattan	Mafi Ahad	Kuwait	Khaliji		8.7 million	
11. Carole Samaha	Rouh Fell	Lebanon	Shami		9.5 million	
12. Nassif Zaytoun	Ma Wadaatak	Syria	Shami		14.7 million	
13. Nassif Zaytoun	Tjawazti Hdoudik	Syria	Shami		10.4 million	
14. Nassif Zaytoun	Khalas Stehi	Syria	Shami		10.2 million	
15. Saad Lemjarred	Ana Mashi Sahel	Morocco	Moroccan		8.1 million	
16. Wael Kfoury	Halla Ta Fe2ti	Lebanon	Shami		11.8 million	
17. Majid Al Mohandis	Aakh Qalbi	Iraq	Khaliji		8.3 million	
18. Ahmed Chawqi	Tsunami	Morocco	Moroccan		7.3 million	
19. Joseph Attieh	Yey	Lebanon	Shami		7.3 million	
20. Adham Nabulsi	El Nehaye El Sa3ide	Jordan	Shami		8.2 million	
21. Tamer Hosny	Omry Ebtada	Egypt	Egyptian		10.2 million	
22. Elissa	Fall El Haki	Lebanon	Shami		9 million	
23. Hussain Al Jasmi	Qahwet Wadaa	UAE	Khaliji		6.5 million	
24. Adham Nabulsi	3abali Wadda3ak (piano)	Jordan	Shami		6.8 million	
25. Shireen abdelwahab FT. Hossam Habib	Koll Ma Aghani	Egypt	Egyptian		7.8 million	
26. Yara	Khallouni Maou	Lebanon	Shami		5.2 million	
27. Elissa	Aaks Elli Shayfenha	Lebanon	Egyptian		17.9 million	
28. Oras Sattar	Ouf Ya Hodnak	Iraq	Classical Arabic - Iraqi		5.8 million	
29. Elissa	Maliket El Ehsas	Lebanon	Egyptian		7.6 million	
30. Wael Jassar	Fe Ehsas Maleny	Lebanon	Egyptian		4.6 million	

¹⁸⁰ 'Top 100 Arabic Songs of 2016'.

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IJMES Transliteration System

IJMES TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM FOR ARABIC, PERSIAN, AND TURKISH

CONSONANTS

A = Arabic, P = Persian, OT = Ottoman Turkish, MT = Modern Turkish

	A	P	OT	MT		A	P	OT	MT		A	P	OT	MT
ء	o	o	o	—	ز	z	z	z	z	ك	k	k or g	k or ñ	k or n
ب	b	b	b	b or p	ژ	—	zh	j	j				or y	or y
پ	—	p	p	p	س	s	s	s	s				or ğ	or ğ
ت	t	t	t	t	ش	sh	sh	ş	ş	گ	—	g	g	g
ث	th	s	s	s	ص	ş	ş	ş	s	ل	l	l	l	l
ج	j	j	c	c	ض	ḍ	z	z	z	م	m	m	m	m
ح	—	ch	ç	ç	ط	t	t	t	t	ن	n	n	n	n
خ	h	h	h	h	ظ	z	z	z	z	ه	h	h	h ¹	h ¹
ك	kh	kh	h	h	ع	‘	‘	‘	—	و	w	v or u	v	v
د	d	d	d	d	غ	gh	gh	g or ğ	g or ğ	ي	y	y	y	y
ذ	dh	z	z	z	ف	f	f	f	f	ا ²	a ²			
ر	r	r	r	r	ق	q	q	ķ	k	آ	o			

¹ When h is not final. ² In construct state: at. ³ For the article, al- and -l-.

VOWELS

ARABIC AND PERSIAN

OTTOMAN AND MODERN TURKISH

Long	ا	ā	ā	words of Arabic and Persian origin only
	و	ū	ū	
	ي	ī	ī	
Doubled	اِي	iiy (final form i)	iy (final form i)	
	وِ	uww (final form ū)	uvv	
Diphthongs	اَو	au or aw	ev	
	اِ	ai or ay	ey	
Short	ا	a	a or e	
	و	u	u or ū / o or ö	
	ي	i	i or i	

For Ottoman Turkish, authors may either transliterate or use the modern Turkish orthography.