FROM MIXED ARABIC TO «EDUCATED WRITTEN *DĀRIǦA*»: DIGLOSSIC VARIATION IN MOROCCAN WRITTEN PRODUCTION

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Abstract

Following developments in destandardisation of linguistic norms in non-standard Arabic writing practices (Mejdell, 2017), the present study aims to analyse formal intermediate registers emerging in Moroccan written productions. Using colloquial Arabic (*ʕĀmmiyya*) in writing is increasing, also in Morocco (Kebede & Hinds, 2016; Caubet, 2017a-b, 2018; Miller, 2017), where *Dāriǧa* (Moroccan Arabic) combined with *Fuṣḥā* (Standard Arabic), both in oral and written interactions (Mixed Arabic) is also emerging in more or less formal productions. Recently, Moroccan publications, such as Elmedlaoui's (2019) monograph *al-ʕArabiyyatu al-Dāriǧatu* (a comprehensive description of *Dāriǧa* in *Dāriǧa*, and in Arabic script), corroborate the interest on «middle/educated» Arabic (intermediate registers of Moroccan Arabic, mixing *Fuṣḥā* and *Dāriǧa* in formal, but ordinary, interactions among educated speakers). Based on syntactic descriptions in Elmedlaoui (2019), the present study aims at analysing the stylistic variation of (middle/educated) *Dāriǧa* in a corpus of 346 articles and its corresponding 2176 comments of *Goud* (a Moroccan online newspaper expressing in Moroccan Arabic). Quantitative and qualitative approaches in analysing declarative sentences and genitive constructions, allow to observe contrasting trends. As opposed to the syntactic (and artificial) regularities described in *al-ʕArabiyyatu al-Dāriǧatu*, *Goud*'s written production shows syntactic and stylistic heterogeneous features of middle/educated (written) *Dāriǧa*.

Keywords: written middle *Dāriǧa*; diglossic variation; online newspapers; annexation; declarative sentences

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DESDE EL ÁRABE MIXTO HACIA LA «*DĀRIĞA* ESCRITA CULTA»: LA VARIACIÓN DIGLÓSICA EN LA PRODUCCIÓN ESCRITA MARROQUÍ

Resumen

De acuerdo con la evolución de la desestandarización de las normas lingüísticas en las prácticas de escritura árabe no estándar (Mejdell, 2017), el presente estudio analiza los registros formales intermedios en las producciones escritas marroquíes. En Marruecos, el uso del árabe coloquial (*ʕāmmiyya*) en la escritura está aumentando (Kebede & Hinds, 2016; Caubet, 2017a-b, 2018; Miller, 2017). La *dāriğa* (árabe marroquí), combinada con la *fuṣḥā* (árabe estándar), emerge en las interacciones orales y escritas (árabe mixto). Además, publicaciones como *al-ʕArabiyyatu al-dāriğatu* de Elmedlaoui (2019), una descripción de la *dāriğa* «intermedia/culta» (registros intermedios que mezclan la *fuṣḥā* y la *dāriğa* en interacciones formales ordinarias entre hablantes instruidos), corroboran el interés en las producciones escritas en registros intermedios en Marruecos. El presente estudio compara las descripciones sintácticas de Elmedlaoui (2019) y la variación estilística de la *dāriğa* (intermedia/culta) en un corpus de 346 artículos y sus correspondientes 2176 comentarios en *Goud* (un periódico online escrito en árabe marroquí). Los enfoques cuantitativo y cualitativo en el análisis de las frases declarativas y las construcciones de genitivo permiten observar tendencias contrastadas. Si las regularidades sintácticas descritas en *al-ʕArabiyyatu al-dāriğatu* son artificiales, la producción escrita de *Goud* muestra rasgos sintácticos y estilísticos heterogéneos de la *dāriğa* intermedia/culta.

Palabras clave: *dāriğa* escrita intermedia; variación diglósica; periódicos en línea; anexión; frases declarativas

1. INTRODUCTION

As Boussofara-Omar (2006, p. 636) points out: «Diglossia need not necessarily be seen as a problem to be solved, denied, or contained; it is a richness that is often dramatically undervalued». Her words clearly contextualise the framework in which this study is positioned. Starting from the diglossic situation in the Arab world, and in particular the current linguistic situation in Morocco, this study aims to investigate diglossic variation in the formal written production of contemporary journalistic language. Since Ferguson's (1959) pioneering study on diglossia, from the 1960s to the present, research on linguistic variation in Arabic has been increasingly concerned with intermediate varieties and registers of Arabic,

through the perspective of the diglossic continuum. More recently, from the *Mixed Styles* of formal oral communication in Egypt (Mejdell, 2006)[2], there has been a shift to the observation of linguistic variation in written productions (Høigilt & Mejdell, 2017). The phenomenon of dialectal writing - not only in informal textual typologies -, and the developments in the destandardisation of linguistic practices in the written production (Kebede & Hinds, 2016, Mejdell, 2017), have contributed to elucidating linguistic and ideological dynamics. In Morocco, the use of extensive written Moroccan Arabic in artistic and cultural productions has been interpreted as issues related to identity expression of *Moroccanness* (Caubet, 2017a-b, 2018), fuelling reflections on changing linguistic practices and attitudes by institutional actors and civil society (Miller, 2012, 2016, 2017). In particular, the interest in written production in non-standard varieties of Arabic in Morocco is corroborated by the ongoing initiatives of various social actors. Among them, formally structured and organised initiatives continue their activities to promote and defend *Dāriǧa*[3] (Moroccan Arabic), such as the *Markaz tanmiyat al-Dāriǧa*

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2.   The expression «Mixed Arabic» is usually used to identify the mixing of Standard Arabic and colloquial Arabic in oral interactions. From this perspective, Standard Arabic (in the present study generalised as *Fuṣḥā*) and *ʕĀmmiyya* (colloquial Arabic) would be considered as two distinct varieties or entities. Instead, approaching diglossia in terms of *Mixed Styles*, allows Mejdell (2006) to observe the codemixing between *Fuṣḥā* and *ʕĀmmiyya* in formal oral communications, not as a mechanism that responds to precise linguistic constraints, but rather as (free) choices or tendencies adopted by locutors when in a formal context they perform their communications according to the shared norms of the speech community (colloquial ordinary communications) while remaining more or less adherent to the way of speaking codified in the standard norm. With regard to written productions, Arabic texts with mixing of linguistic elements in *Fuṣḥā* and *ʕĀmmiyya* are traditionally associated with Middle Arabic, which for some scholars, this term only refers to mixed texts written before the *Nahḍa*. To the extent that «the nature of the linguistic mixing in Middle Arabic displays many similarities to what can currently be found in some oral mixed varieties» (Lentin, 2008, p. 216), and agreeing with Lentin, «nothing prevents us in theory, as far as the particular nature of oral and written language is taken into account, from regarding Middle Arabic written until precontemporary times as belonging to a large ensemble that could be labeled 'Mixed Arabic'.» (Lentin, 2008, p. 216).

3.   Specialists in North African Arabic dialectology, who generally investigate oral corpora, transcribe the word دارجة with *darīža* (literally 'circulating, vulgar, popular, common, habitual', indicating Maghrebi Dialects; in the present study it refers to Moroccan Arabic). In the present study, however, the same word will instead be rendered with *Dāriǧa* because the corpora come from contemporary written production and in order to avoid an overestimation of the (real) pronunciation (which varies due to the diatopic and diastratic variation of the native speakers), it is preferred to transcribe the metalinguistic terms using the ISO transcription system of Standard Arabic, in order to keep with their orthographic realisation. For the same reason, the examples and quotations given by Elmedlaoui (2019) and *Goud* are not transcribed, but only transliterated using common transliteration system of Standard Arabic. In the analysis, the discussed linguistic features will be underlined, both in the original Arabic and in translation. Finally, the capitalisation in *Dāriǧa*, *ʕĀmmiyya*, *Fuṣḥā*, such as Arabic, English, French, etc., responds to the conventions of the English language.

Zakūra, 'Zakoura Centre for the Promotion of *Dāriǧa*'. Following the publica-
tion in 2017 of *Qāmūs al-Dāriǧa al-Maġribiyya* (Mgharfaoui *et al.*, 2017), the
first monolingual dictionary of Moroccan *Dāriǧa*, the Zakoura Centre published
the first handbook of «*Dāriǧa* Arabic» edited by Mohamed Elmedlaoui (2019),
written in the middle/educated[4] register of Moroccan Arabic.

The present study, therefore, intends to focus on the syntactic and stylistic
features of the Moroccan middle/educated register, starting from the descriptions
provided by the work of Elmedlaoui (2019). In particular, two morphosyntactic
features will be explored in depth, namely the analysis of the subordination in
declarative propositions, and the genitive annexation, in both synthetic and
analytical constructions, through a comparative approach, using a corpus of articles
and commentaries from a Moroccan online newspaper, *Goud*, which represents a
model of contemporary written production mixing and alternating expressions
in Moroccan Arabic.

The first part aims to present the research of Elmedlaoui (2019) and his handbook
al-ʕArabiyyatu al-Dāriǧatu with his descriptions of Moroccan Middle Arabic;
the second part, on the other hand, focuses on the analysis of morphosyntactic
traits in comparison with the descriptions in Elmedlaoui (2019) and in *Goud*'s
journalistic corpus.

2. *AL-ʕARABIYYATU AL-DĀRIǦATU*:
AUTHOR, LANGUAGE, AND CONTENT

Mohamed Elmedlaoui is a Moroccan linguist and writer, originally from Igoudar
Mnabha, a rural municipality in Morocco, in the province of Taroudant (Souss-
Massa region). He was Head of the Department of Languages and Literature at the
Faculty of Humanities of the University of Oujda, Professor at the Muhammed
V University of Rabat, researcher at the University of Paris VIII and Research
Director at the *Institut Royal de la Culture Amazigh*.

As a linguist, he is a specialist in segmental and prosodic phonology, deri-
vational morphology and lexicology. His research work ranges from the poetic

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4. In Arabic linguistic studies, Middle Arabic corresponds to «the language of numerous Arabic texts,
distinguished by its linguistically (and therefore stylistically) mixed nature, as it combines standard and
colloquial features with others of a third type, neither standard nor colloquial» (Lentin, 2008, p. 216),
whereas Educated Arabic refers to «the higher-register spoken variety of a particular country or region
[…] to a type of spontaneous inter-regional, «mixed», or «koineized» discourse used among Educated
Arabic speakers when they need to accommodate differing regional dialects.» (Ryding, 2008, pp. 666-667).

metrics of Moroccan folk songs to issues of reproducing the written orthography of languages with an oral tradition; and also, from the contrastive analysis of Semitic languages to the linguistic description of Amazigh, as well as linguistic variation between varieties of Berber. He is interested in social sciences and Arabic language, as his abundant scientific production testifies. In fact, his studies focus on the comparison between Hebrew, Arabic and Amazigh languages, especially from a phonetic point of view.[5]

His work, *al-ʕArabiyyatu al-Dāriǧatu*, was published in 2019 by the *Markaz tanmiyat al-Dāriǧa Zakūra*, 'Zakoura Centre for the Promotion of *Dāriǧa*', i.e., the academic side of the *Zakoura Education* founded by Noureddine Ayouch in 1995[6]. The title of the work clearly sums up its content: *al-ʕArabiyyatu al-Dāriǧatu* (literally 'the *Dāriǧa* Arabic', i.e., 'the circulating/current (Moroccan) Arabic') is an old expression modelled on the expression *al-ʕArabiyyatu al-Fuṣḥā* ('the most eloquent Arabic', that is the codified Arabic, which is often referred to as (Modern) Standard Arabic (McCarus, 2008). The term '*al-Dāriǧatu*', used as a qualifier of '*al-ʕArabiyyat*u' (as well as the qualifier '*al-Fuṣḥā*' in the expression *al-ʕArabiyya al-Fuṣḥā*), can be interpreted symbolically as the intention to rehabilitate the dignity of Moroccan Arabic, considering it fully as a language, i.e. with its own phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical structures and rules. Elmedlaoui, for instance, made it explicit in the subtitle:

«إِمْلائِيَّةٌ وَنَحْوٌ: اَلْأَصْوَاتُ، اَلصَّرْفُ، اَلتَّرْكِيبُ، الْمُعْجَم . (كِتَابٌ مُحَرَّرٌ بِعَرَبِيَّةٍ مَغْرِبِيَّةٍ وُسْطَى)»

[*ʔImlāʔiyyatun wa-naḥwun : al-ʔaṣwātu, al-ṣarfu, al-tarkību, al-muʕǧamu (kitābun muḥarrarun bi-ʕarabiyyatin maġribiyyatin wusṭā),*] 'Orthography and Grammar: Phonetics, Morphology, Syntax, Lexicon (book edited in Middle

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5. Note, for example, the work on the phonological representation of Hamito-Semitic languages (Elmedlaoui, 1995), or the collaboration with François Dell, from which Dell-Elmedlaoui's famous algorithm on syllabic enucleation based on the study of Tashelhit variety of Berber (Dell & Elmedlaoui, 2002); these are just a few of his many studies.

6. The *Zakoura Education* foundation was created in 1995, by the initiative of Noureddine Ayouch, a Moroccan advertising entrepreneur and member of the Higher Council of Education and Scientific Research in Morocco. In its early days, the *Zakoura Education* aimed to foster the educational and professional development of Moroccan citizens in rural and disadvantaged areas of the country. The foundation's various projects include the opening of educational centres for pre-school education, but also initiatives aimed at promoting mother tongues, such as *Amāzīġ* and *Dāriǧa*. Noureddine Ayouch is indeed a well-known personality in the dynamics of defending and promoting *Dāriǧa* in Morocco. See the media and academic debate following the organisation of the international conference *The Language, the Languages* in 2010, corroborated by the organisation in 2013 of the conference *Le chemin de la réussite* on the formal teaching of mother tongues in the educational system in Morocco (Miller, 2015), and the controversy following the publication of *Qāmūs al-Dāriǧa al-Maġribiyya* (Mgharfaoui *et al.*, 2017), the first monolingual dictionary of the *Dāriǧa* (Pennisi, 2020a).

Moroccan Arabic)'. The specificity of Elmedlaoui's study, therefore, lies in the fact that his work does not limit itself to describing Moroccan Arabic, but proposes a comprehensive manual of *Middle Moroccan Arabic*, written entirely in this linguistic register. In the introduction, in fact, Elmedlaoui makes explicit the main features of the linguistic variety described and the metalanguage used, which represents/reproduces the *wusṭā* 'middle' / *muhaḏḏaba* 'educated' register of Moroccan Arabic, that is the language used by Moroccan intellectuals, researchers, professors, politicians, officials, and so on. In particular, Elmedlaoui (2019, p. 29) states:

اللوغة الوصفية (métalangue) اللي تحرّر بيها هاذ الكتاب هيّا عربية مغربية مهذّبة وقريبة من السيجيلّ ديال الفوصحى، بدون ما تكون بعيدة على ما هوّا مألوف في الاستعمال العادي العام عند جميع المغاربة، وحتّى عند باقيّة البلدان المغاربة في ماعدا بعض المفردات والتعابير الخاصة.

فا هيّا نفس اللوغة اللي كا يستعملوها الموثّقَافون فالماجالس الخاصّة ديالهوم، واللي كا تستعملها كثير من البراميج الحيواريّة في الإذاعة والتيليفيزيون، واللي كا يستعملها كثير من الأساتيذة والأكاديميين في الأقسام المدراسية وفي المودرّاجات الجامعيّة، واللي كا تستعمل كذاليك في المحاكيم وفي البرلمان وفي الأكشاك الإدارية العومميّة.

[*al-lūġa al-waṣfiyya (métalangue) llī tuḥarrir bī-hā hāḏ al-kitāb hiyyā ʕarabiyya maġribiyya muhaḏḏaba wa-qarība min al-sīǧīll dyāl al-fuṣḥā, bi-dūn mā takūn baʕīda ʕalā mā huwwā maʔlūf fī al-istiʕīmāl al-ʕādī al-ʕāmm ʕinda ǧamīʕ al-maġāriba, wa-ḥattā ʕinda bāqiyya al-buldān al-maġāriba fī māʕadā baʕḍ al-mūfrādāt wa-al-taʕābīr al-ḫāṣṣa.*

fā hiyyā nafs al-lūġa llī kā yastaʕmlū-hā al-mūṯqqāfūn f-al-māġālis al-ḫāṣṣa dyāl-hūm, wa-llī kā tastaʕmil-hā kaṯīr min al-bārāmīǧ al-ḥīwāriyya fī al-ʔiḏāʕa wa-al-tīlīfīzywūn, wa-llī kā yastaʕmil-hā kaṯīr min al-ʔasātīḏa wa-al-ʔakādīmiyyīn fī al-ʔaqsām al-madrāsiyya wa-fī al-mūdarrāǧāt al-ǧāmīʕiyya, wa-llī kā tastaʕmil kaḏālīk fī al-maḥākīm wa-fī al-barlamān wa-fī al-ʔakšāk al-ʔidāriyya al-ʕūmūmiyya.[7]]

'The descriptive language (metalanguage) in which this book was written is an educated Moroccan Arabic, close to the register of *Fuṣḥā*, not far from what is familiar in the ordinary general usage of all Moroccans, and also in the rest of the Maghreb countries, with the exception of a few specific words and expressions.

It is the same language used by intellectuals in their private circles, used in many talk shows on radio and television, used by many professors and

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7. As mentioned in footnote 3, all transcriptions from Arabic only aim to transliterate; they are not intended to observe phonetic or phonological phenomena, or to represent correct spelling (in Moroccan Arabic). The following Arabic letters, when found in the original text, are transliterated as follows: ء < ʔ ; ع < ʕ ; ظ< ḏ ; ح < ḥ ; خ < ḫ ; ج < ǧ ; ق < ʔ >

academics in school departments and university lecture halls, also used in the courts, in parliament and in public administration'.[8]

Elmedlaoui's assertions, in particular the reference to the language of the media, politics, and administration inevitably refers back to Abderrahim Youssi's definition of *Modern Moroccan Arabic*. Youssi (1992, p. 23) stated that:

> … les usagers ont élaboré cette variété d'AMM [Arabe Marocain Moderne] qui […] non seulement instaure le continuum qui faisait défaut entre l'arabe dialectal et l'arabe littéral, mais en vient à incarner le modèle de la variété standard de l'oralité.

Moreover, Youssi (1992, p. 25) adds:

> L'AMM est […] la variété des situations formelles de l'échange orale telles que celles prévalant dans l'administration publique, entre étrangers […]. L'AMM est enfin, et surtout, le medium utilisé à la radio et à la télévision pour la présentation spontanée et/ou la diffusion de programmes de vulgarisation technique et scientifique.

Comparing the two sources, what emerges is that Youssi (1992), through the perspective of the diglossic continuum, traditionally bounded by the high variety (*al-ʕArabiyya al-Fuṣḥā*) and low variety (*al-ʕĀmmiyya / al-Dāriǧa*),[9] argued for the increasing spread of the middle/educated register of Moroccan Arabic, essentially in oral communication. Although Elmedlaoui in no case cites Youssi's founding and pioneering work in the field of Moroccan dialectology, through *al-ʕArabiyyatu al-Dāriǧatu* he intends to demonstrate how Middle Moroccan Arabic can also be used in the practices of written production, and to a certain extent he dictates its norms by informally codifying spelling rules, morphosyntactic notions, and lexical features. The work, *al-ʕArabiyyatu al-Dāriǧatu*, represents, in

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8. Translations from Arabic are by the author. Note also the spelling choices used by Elmedlaoui to write in *Dāriǧa*. One of the most evident is the use of *mater lectionis*, *alif*, *wāw* and *yāʔ* in place of vowel signs. This phenomenon is attested in some Middle Arabic texts (Lentin, 2012). From Elmedlaoui's extract, see, for example, اللوغة * *al-lūġa* instead of اللُغة *al-luġa*). The orthographic and phonetic rules of Middle Moroccan Arabic are made explicit by Elmedlaoui in the second chapter (Elmedlaoui, 2019, pp. 75-107).

9. One certainly recalls Ferguson's pioneering study (1959) and the subsequent *Diglossia Revisited* (Ferguson 1991), but also and especially the variationist studies of Blanc (1960), Badawi (1973), and Meiseles (1980), or diglossia as stylistic variation in Hudson (1994) and Mejdell (2006 and 2017); in the latter study, it is particularly evident how, in Egypt, the mixed Arabic characteristics of oral (formal) communication are related to the change and destandardisation of written production practices.

line with the ideologies of the *Markaz tanmiyat al-Dāriǧa Zakūra*, an initiative to promote Moroccan Arabic.

2.1. *Middle Moroccan Arabic in al-ʕArabiyyatu al-Dāriǧatu*

Before focusing on the morphosyntactic features of declarative subordination and annexation (the subject of the present study), it remains important to mention some main aspects of Middle Moroccan Arabic, summarised in Elmedlaoui (2019).

On the phonetic level, Elmedlaoui points out, for example, that the phonemes /*rāʾ*/ and /*zāy*/ are emphatic and that interdental phonemes are stopped in Moroccan Arabic and in its middle register (Elmedlaoui, 2019, p. 17). Furthermore, on the morphological level, the difference between dual and plural is not produced and the external regular plural in -*īn* (referring in *Fuṣḥā* to both accusative and genitive cases), is generalised to the nominative case (Elmedlaoui, 2019, p. 17). Finally, on the syntactic level, the *iʕrāb* (case inflection) and the indefinite mark (*tanwīn*) are not realised and particles and analytic conjunctions (from the *Dāriǧa* linguistic system) are preferred for complex syntactic constructions (Elmedlaoui, 2019, pp. 17-18).

Returning specifically to its contents, Elmedaloui states that it is a book of applied contrastive descriptive linguistics that has been produced with both the oral and the written communications taken into account, with the aim of maintaining continuity between *al-ʕArabiyya al-Fuṣḥā* and *Dāriǧa*. In other words, the book takes into account the combination of the two varieties, considered as a linguistic continuum, that is *al-ʕArabiyya al-Wusṭā*, 'Middle Arabic' (in Morocco) (Elmedlaoui, 2019, p. 21).

In the introduction, Elmedlaoui also sets out the pedagogical objectives of the book, namely the importance of training teachers to use this middle register of Moroccan Arabic with students. According to Elmedlaoui – in agreement with the *Zakoura Centre* –, the use of Moroccan Middle Arabic in classrooms would facilitate the acquisition and learning of *Fuṣḥā* as well. Finally, and as already mentioned, Elmedlaoui's study would offer a coherent way to write in Middle Moroccan Arabic, that is conventionalising the writing in order to simplify the reading and, thus, facilitate the comprehension of what is read (Elmedlaoui, 2019, p. 25).

On this last point, it must be mentioned, however, that in recent years studies on written productions of dialect varieties (Mejdell, 2017), and in particular of written *Dāriǧa* in Morocco (Caubet, 2017a-b, 2018), have shown that the

evolution of dialect writing practices responds more to sociological mechanisms, such as the concept of conventionalisation from below (Caubet, 2017a) – that is the widespread, shared, and repeated use of linguistic practices –, rather than from top-down standardisation dynamics, which, by the way, should coincide with institutional language policies in order to be eventually accepted and shared by society.[10] In other words, the attempt of a non-institutional codification as implemented by the *Markaz tanmiyat al-Dāriǧa Zakūra*, and, in this specific case, by Elmedlaoui's study, does not take into account the existing linguistic practices of the users, and would create a standardised form of a linguistic register (a standardised Middle Moroccan Arabic) that would overlap, on the one hand, with the already standardised variety of Arabic (*Fuṣḥā*) and, on the other hand, with the colloquial variety (*Dāriǧa*), establishing a double diglossia that would impose itself on the current linguistic situation.

Last but not least, the public reception of these dynamics should not be under-estimated. Already between 2010 and 2013 (but also more recently in 2017), i.e., at the time of Ayouch's initiatives of promoting *Dāriǧa*, such as the (formal) integration of *Dāriǧa* in the educational system mentioned above,[11] were strongly rejected by public opinion, since they still represent a sensitive topic, a practice considered unacceptable by Moroccan society (Miller, 2016; Pennisi, 2020a).

However, with regard to the use of non-standard varieties of Arabic and Moroccan *Dāriǧa* in written production, this is an accepted tacit practice, especially in digital written production. Various publishing experiences have made, and still make, History in the Moroccan cultural and media scene. The present study will only examine the electronic newspaper *Goud*,[12] founded in 2011 by Ahmed Najim, the current editorial director, as a continuation of the publishing adventure of the well-known Moroccan weekly *Nichane*.[13] *Goud* is a Moroccan, generalist, and liberal online newspaper. Ahmed Najim claimed that the newspaper's editorial lines leave journalists and contributors free to choose *Dāriǧa* as the language of expression for all news (Pennisi, 2020b). In fact, most articles are also written with

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10. See for example the traditional stages of the language standardisation process in Haugen (1966).
11. See footnote 5 in this study.
12. See the newspaper's website, http://www.goud.ma
13. *nīšān*, 'direct', in Moroccan Arabic – as well as the meaning of *Goud* –, was a Moroccan weekly magazine in Arabic script, originating from *TelQuel*, its French version. *Nichane* represented for the Moroccan media scene an editorial experience that was as innovative as turbulent, due to the controversy triggered by the taboo topics it dealt with, and using a language that was, effectively, 'direct', that is, with some expressions also in *Dāriǧa*. See Aguadé (2012), Miller (2012, 2015, 2017); Brigui (2016); Hoogland (2018).

elements from *Dāriǧa* linguistic system. *Goud*'s journalistic corpus and descriptions of the morphosyntactic features of declarative propositions and annexation in Moroccan Middle Arabic will be analysed and compared in the following section.

3. DECLARATIVE SENTENCES AND ANNEXATION IN *AL-ʕARABIYYATU AL-DĀRIǦATU* AND *GOUD*

In this section, two morphosyntactic traits - the construction of declarative subordinations and the genitive constructions - will be compared through their descriptions in Elmedlaoui (2019) and from the samples of *Goud*'s corpus (346 articles and its corresponding 2,176 comments). The aim is to observe regularities and variation of middle / educated (Moroccan) Arabic in written formal productions.

3.1. *Syntactic structure of complex sentences: declarative clauses*

In *al-ʕArabiyyatu al-Dāriǧatu* declarative subordinations are described in the syntax section:[14] القسم الخامس. التركيب. الجومال وأنواعها ومنطيقها, [*al-qīsm al-ḫāmis. al-tarkīb. al-ǧūmāl wa-ʔanwāʕ-hā wa-manṭīq-hā*], 'Part Five: Syntax. Phrases, Typology and Logic' (Elmedlaoui, 2019, pp. 227-286).

Elmedlaoui sketches declarative propositions according to two structures. The first is defined as الجوملة الصوغرى الفاعيلية [*al-ǧūmla al-ṣūġrā al-fāʕīliyya*], 'subject subordinate' (Elmedlaoui, 2019, pp. 261), explained in the following two examples:

(1) (نحفظ   النوصوص)   علیَا   كا يصعاب.
     [(al-nūṣūṣ   nəḥfaḍ)   ʕalayā   kā yəṣʕāb].
     the texts   (I) memorise   on me   it is difficult
     'It is difficult for me [that I] (memorise texts)'.

(2) (حفاظة   النوصوص)   علیَا   كا يصعاب.
     [(al-nūṣūṣ   ḥfāḍa)   ʕalayā   kā yəṣʕāb].
     the texts   the memorisation   on me   it is difficult.
     'It is difficult for me (the memorisation of texts)'[15]

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14. References to declarative sentences also appear in the third part devoted to morphology (Elmedlaoui, 2019, pp. 111-190 and pp. 150-151).

15. Translations tend to literally translate the original Arabic text to reflect the syntactic and grammatical categories of Arabic whenever possible. All brackets are in the original of all Elmedlaoui samples in Arabic, they are reported in translation too.

In (1) and (2), the same sentence, meaning 'It is difficult to me to memorise texts', follows an asyndetic construction (without the complementizer), and the subordinate clauses (in rounded brackets) replaces the subject of the verb of the main proposition (out of rounded brackets).[16]

In (1), the subordination is a verbal phrase (a VSO type, where the subject is implicit in the conjugation of the verb), while in (2), the subordination is composed of a nominal construct (the verbal noun of the verb *ḥafaḏa* 'to memorise/ the memorisation' + definite plural noun *al-nuṣūṣ* 'the texts', in construct state).

The second structure of subordination presented by Elmedlaoui is referred to as الجوملة الصوغرى المفعولية, [*al-ğūmla al-ṣūġrā al-mafʕūliyya*], 'object subordinate' (Elmedlaoui, 2019, p. 262), in which the subordinate proposition replaces the direct verb complement of the main proposition, as indicated by the following examples:

(3) {(يمشي للموخيّام)} ø الولد بغى

[[li-l-mūḫəyyām yəmšī ø al-walad bġā]

to-the camping (he) goes ø the guy (he) wants

'{The guy wants [to] (go to the camping)}.'

(4) {(تنافس الولاد)} ø البنت تقدّ

[al-walād tunāfis ø al-bint təqadd]

the boy (she) competes ø the girl can

'{The girl can (compete with the boy)}'.

(5) {(يدلي بالهوَية دياله)} ø من المتهوم القاضي طلب

[(dyāl-hu bi-l-hawwiyya yədlī) min al-mathūm al-qāḍī ṭalab]

of-him with-the identity (he) provides ø the defendant to the judge (he) asked

'{The judge asked the defendant [to] (provide his identity)}'.

(6) {(امر القاضي الأعوان ø [يحضّرو المتَّاهم]})

([al-muttāhim yəḥḍḍirū] ø al-ʔaʕwān al-qāḍī amar])

the defendant (they) bring ø the officers the judge (he) ordered

'{The judge ordered the officers [to] (bring the defendant)}'.

The symbol 'ø' in (3)-(6) is used by Elmedlaoui to indicate the position of the complementizer where it could be inserted. Furthermore, Elmedlaoui points out

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16. Morphological elements of Moroccan Arabic, such as in this case the preverb *kā* for prefix conjugation (كا يصعاب [*kā yəṣʕāb*] 'it is difficult'), are described in Elmedlaoui (2019). The morphemes of Moroccan Arabic are always clearly distinguishable in Elmedlaoui, such as the case of the preverb *kā*, which is not realised as a morpheme prefixed to the verb and is therefore visibly separated from the verb, unlike the common practices in *Goud* (although heterogeneous, as shown in the next section).

that the complementizer in *Fuṣḥā* corresponds to the particle *ʔan(n-)* and in Amazigh to *ad*, whereas in Moroccan Arabic there are two complementizers: بلي [*bəllī*] and باش [*bāš*], which are used depending on the modal verbs in the main proposition (Elmedlaoui, 2019, p. 262).

Elmedlaoui does not specify which modal verbs bear one or the other particle and never mentions whether or not the variation between these complementizers reflects a stylistic or register variation. It describes the two particles as belonging to the repertoire of Moroccan Arabic, without specifying whether the source of the examples or whether the examples represent the middle register of Moroccan Arabic. However, he gives another set of examples in which Elmedlaoui (2010, p. 263) indicates the construction with the obligatory or optional complementizer (in this case inserted between the symbols '> <'), as follows:

(7) {كا يظنّ   الطمّاع   >بلي<   (البصقة   درهم}
[{(dirham al-baṣqa)   >bəllī<   al-ṭammāʕ   kā yəṭunn}]
a dirham   the spittle   >that<   the miser   (he) thinks
'{The miser thinks >that< (spittle counts as a dirham)}'.

(8) {نكر   المتهوم   بلي   (قام   بالجاريمة}
[{(bi-l-ǧārīma   qām)   bəllī   al-mathūm   nakar}]
with-the crime   (he) committed   that   the defendant   (he) denied
'{The defendant denied that (he committed the crime)}'.

(9) {اعتارف   المتهوم   بلي   (قام   بالجاريمة)}
[{(bi-l-ǧārīma   qām)   bəllī   al-mathūm   iʕtāraf}]
with-the crime   (he) committed   that   the defendant   (he) acknowledged
'{The defendant acknowledged that (he committed the crime)}'.

(10) {حاول   الطبيب   >باش<   (ينقذ   المجروح)}
[{(al-maǧrūḥ   yənqaḏ)   bāš   al-ṭabīb   ḥāwal}]
the wounded   (he) saves   >to<   the doctor   (he) tried
'{The doctor tried >to< (save the wounded)}'.

(11) {الكشّافة   (كا يعرفو   بلي   [الطريق   واعرة])}
[{([wāʕira al-ṭarīq]   bəllī   kā yəʕrfū)   al-kaššāfa}]
rough   the road   that   (they) know   the explores
'{Explorers (know that [the road is rough])}'.

In this section devoted to declarative subordination, Elmedlaoui does not give examples using the complementizer *ʾan(n-)* (described as exclusive to Arabic *Fuṣḥā*). He thus suggests that in Moroccan Arabic the only complementizers used

for declarative subordinations are *bəllī* and *bāš*. However, in the section devoted to relative sentences (Elmedlaoui, 2019:265-267), an example appears, which is instead a declarative subordinate, where both *bəllī* and *ʾan(n)* appear, as given below:

(12) {التلامذ (كا يحبّو) بلي يعرف أنه] الموعلّيم كا يفرّح

[al-talāmiḏ kā yəḥibbū) bəllī yəʕrif ʾann-hu al-mūʕallīm kā yəfarriḥ]]

the students (they) like that (it) knows that the teacher (he) is happy

{(المدراسة ينظفو ø

[{([al-madrāsa yənaḏfū ø

the school (they) clean ø

'{The teacher is happy [to know that (the students like to [clean the school])]}'.

Apart from example (7), which seems potentially referable to a proverbial expression, (thus closer to a familiar/popular register), all the other examples seem to represent ordinary communicative situations, more or less formal, but mostly all with the complementizer *bəllī* (with the exception of example 10).[17]

However, as stated in Caubet (1993) and Youssi (1992), both *bəllī* and *ʔan(n-)* are described as complementizers in Moroccan Arabic. In particular, Youssi points out that *ʔan(n-)*[18] is the only particle used in Modern Moroccan Arabic, whereas *bəllī* is used in a more informal register of Moroccan Arabic. The stylistic variation that emerges from Youssi (1992) for formal oral communications is also reflected in the written journalistic production in *Goud*. Although the occurrences of *bəllī* in *Goud*'s articles are numerically lower than those of *ʾan(n-)*,[19] such variation demonstrates the use of different stylistic strategies depending on the communicative functions of the news. See the following examples:

(13) قاليا (بلي) مزيان نسافر و نشوف ناس اخرين و بلادات أخرى[20]

[ʔuḵrā blādāt wa aḵrīn nās nəšūf wa nəsāfr məzyān (bəllī) qāliyyā]

other countries and other people (I) see and (I) travel good that (he) told-me

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(Nada Eljabli, *Goud*, *Opinion*, 04/10/2016)

'He told me (that) it's good to travel and see other people and other countries'.

(14) بغات   شنو   مافهماتهاش   (باللي)   ليها   <u>شرحات</u>

[bġāt   šnū   mā-fahmāt-hā-š   (bəllī)   lī-hā   šarḥāt]

(she) wanted   what   (she)did-understood-not   that   to-her   (she) explained

(Hajar Moutaouakil, *Goud*, *Opinion*, 19/08/2016)

'<u>She explained</u> (that) she had not understood what she wanted'.

(15) هنا   كاين   (أنه)   للأسف   <u>ماعرفاش</u>   الناس

[hunā   kāyn   (ʔann-hu)   li-l-ʔasaf   mā-ʕarfā-š   al-nās]

there   there is   that   unfortunately   (he)do-know-not   the people

المستهلك   ديال   لافونتاج   واحد

[al-musthaliq   dyāl   lāfūntāǧ   wāḥəd]

the consumer   of   benefit   a

(Jawad Elansari, Opinions, Goud, 28/02/2016)

'People <u>did not know,</u> unfortunately, (that) *there is a* consumer *benefit*'.

(16) الخليجية   المغربية   القمة   (ان)   <u>تخطيط</u>   بل   دفة   ماشي

[al-ḫaliǧiyya al-maġribiyya al-qimma   (an)   taḫṭīṭ   bal   ṣadfā   māšī]

Gulf   Morocco   the summit   that   scheduled   but   a coincidence   it-is-not

أوباما   زيارة   قبل   جات

[ʔŪbāmā ziyārat qəbla   ǧāt]

Obama   visit   before   (it) came

(Adil Meknessi et Hana Abu Ali, Opinions, Goud, 30/04/2016)

'It is not a coincidence, but [it is well] <u>scheduled</u> (that) the Morocco-Gulf summit came before Obama's visit'.

(17) الشركات   هاد   بال   عند   (أنه)   <u>للشك</u>   مجالا   <u>لا يدع</u>

[l-šarikāt hād bāl   ʕənd (ʔann-hu) li-l-šakk   maǧālan   lā yədaʕ]

the enterprises   those   spirit   in   that   for-doubt   place   there-is-not

غفلون   فدار   باقي   كيعيش   بنادم   (ان)

[ġəflūn. f-dār   bāqī   ka-yəʕīš   bənādəm   (an)

ignorant   in-house   (he is) remaining   (he) lives   man   that

(Jawad Elansari, Opinions, Goud, 28/02/2016)

'<u>No doubt</u> (that) it is in the spirit of these enterprises [the fact] (that) man lives in ignorance'.

All the examples given by *Goud* are samples from articles originally published in the newspaper's Opinion Column. Example (13) is taken from a serial novel also published in *Goud*'s Opinion Column, titled *Muḏakkirāt mudallika sānk īṭwāl*, 'Memories of a five-star masseuse' by Nada Eljabli, in which the variation in register meets stylistic and literary needs. The other examples are taken from traditional opinion articles with various topical themes (from foreign policy to social and cultural issues within the country).

Note the syntactic variation between *bəllī* / *ʔan(n-)* in (13)-(17).[21] While *bəllī* appears in syntactic contexts constructed more with elements in *Dāriǧa* (examples 13 and 14), the *ʔan(n)* complementizer is integrated into mixed syntactic contexts in which elements in *Fuṣḥā* and *Dāriǧa* are combined through diglossic code-switching (examples 15-17). While in (13) and (14) the communicative register is more informal (the examples reproduce in writing an informal oral communicative context), in (15)-(17) the communicative, formal register reproduces in writing a middle/educated style of (Moroccan) Arabic.

In short, *Goud* reproduces, without standardised rules, what Youssi (1992) called «Modern Moroccan Arabic», which is a middle, formal register composed of the combination of Modern Arabic and Moroccan Arabic.

3.2. *Syntactic structure of complex sentences: annexation*

In Elmedlaoui, annexation is treated both in the fourth chapter dealing to morphosyntax (Elmedlaoui, 2019, pp. 191-226) – in the paragraph devoted to definiteness (Elmedlaoui, 2019, pp. 196-197) – and in the fifth chapter devoted to syntax (Elmedlaoui, 2019, pp. 227-286), where he pays specific attention to the direct and indirect construction of annexation (Elmedlaoui, 2019, pp. 231-234), that is synthetic construction (the state construct) and analytic annexation through the use of genitive particles (of which he cites *dyāl*, *d-* and *mtāʕ* as genitive particles in Moroccan Arabic).[22]

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21. Also note the orthographic variation in the realisation of complementizers among بلّي and باللي for instance. Such orthographic heterogeneity is a feature of written production in *Dāriǧa* that does not lead to incomprehensibility.

22. Youssi (1992) describes the particles *mtāʕ*, *btāʕ*, and *tāʕ* as regional variants of *dyāl* (and *d-*, the shortened form of *dyāl*). In *Goud*'s journalistic corpus, in fact, there are no occurrences of these particles in the articles. Only *tāʕ* is used very sporadically in some commentaries (a total of 129 analytical constructions of annexation and only 7 occurrences of *tāʕ* among them were found). The occurrences of *tāʕ* in the comments show an informal register tending towards rude and vulgar expressions.

He outlines the two structures schematically, indicating that both are used in Moroccan Arabic, without specifying the possible variation in style or register between the two. However, he indicates that the analytical construction is preferred where the rules of the state construct make the communicative faculty of language impractical. See the two (extreme) examples cited in Elmedlaoui (2019, p. 234):

(18) كتاب ولاد بنت جارة نسيب مودير مدراسة[
[[kitāb walād bint ğāra nasīb mūdīr madrāsa
book sons daughter neighbour brother-in-law director school
موفيد كتاب [النجارين حومة
ḥūmā Neǧǧārīn] kitāb mūfīd]
district Nejjarine book useful
'[The book of the nephew of the neighbour of the brother-in-law of the headmaster of the Nejjarine district school] is a useful book'.

(19) د-نسيب الجارة ولاد ديال الكتاب[
[[al-kitāb dyāl walād al-ğāra d-nasīb
the book of sons the neighbour of-the brother-in-law
موفيد كتاب هوّا [النجارين فحومة اللي المدراسة ديال المودير
al-mūdīr dyāl al-madrāsa illī f-ḥūma Neǧǧārī] huwwā kitāb mūfīd
the director of the school that in-district Nejjarine (it)is book useful
['The book of the son of the neighbour of the brother-in-law of the school director who is in the Nejjarine district] is a useful book'.

The same nominal sentence (subject in square brackets + indefinite predicate), is reproduced in (18) with the subject composed of a «direct» genitive construct, that is the multiple state construct, and in (19) the genitive compound is instead constructed in an «indirect» manner, combining analytic and synthetic constructions and relative phrases.

Regarding the variation between synthetic and analytic constructions, Ech-Charfi (2014) describes the distribution of genitive constructions in Moroccan Arabic as *relations allowing variation*, that is semantic relations expressing the relationship of possession, form, substance, origin, time, space, etc. In fact, Ech-Charfi (2014, p. 180) states that «Although most of these relations can be expressed equally by the analytic genitive as well as the construct state, some are more natural with one than with the other».

In *Goud*, however, the stylistic variation between the two constructions emerges according to the columns, themes, and communicative functions of the texts. See in (20) below a sample from an Opinion article and in (21) a short report article:

(20) الناس ما عرفاش للأسف أنه *كاين* هنا *واحد لافونتاج (ديال)* المستهلك وهو انه عندو سند قانوني باش يقدر يرفع
دعوى على *هاد* الشركات *وكاينة إحتمالية* كبيرة جدا في <u>كسب القضية</u>، في حين انه الشركات *لّي قامت بهاد* ماكنش عندها *تا*
شي سند قانوني.

هي لعبت فقط على المعطى *(ديال)* انه أصلا *تا شي* حد ما تسوق في الأول *مني دارو* الخطوة *لّي* كان عبارة عن جس النبض
عبر <u>الغاء خدمة</u> VOIP من G3 *من بعدا ما شافو أنه تا شي* ردة فعل قوية *ما دارت* إتجاهم إزاء *هاد* الخطوة *ناضو حيدو تا*
(ديال) ADSL.[23]

[al-nās *mā ʕarfāš* li-l-ʔasāf ʔann-hu *kāyn* hnā *wāḥəd lāfāntāğ (dyāl)* al-musthalik wa huwa ann-hu *ʕəndū* sanad qānūnī *bāš yəqdar* yərfaʕ *daʕwā ʕalā hād* al-šārikāt wa-*kāyna ʔiḥtimāliyya* kabīra ğiddan fī <u>kasb al-qaḍiyya</u>, fī ḥīn ʾann-hu al-šārikāt *lli qāmat b-hāda mākānš ʕənd-ha tā-šī* sanad qānūni.

hiyya laʕbat faqaṭ ʕala l-muʕṭā *(dyāl)* ʾann-hu *ʾaṣlan tā šī ḥad mā təswuq* fī al-ʾawwal *minnī dārū* al-ḫuṭwa *lli* kān ʕibāra ʕan ğass al-nabḍ *ʕabra ilġāʔ* ḥədmat VOIP min 3G, min *baʕdā mā šāfū ann-hu tā šī* riddat fiʕl qawwiyya *mā dārt* tiğāham *ʾizzāʔ hād* al-ḫuṭwa *nāḍū ḥīdū tā (dyāl)* ADSL].

'Unfortunately, people *don't know* that *there is* a (consumer *benefit)*, that is that *there is* a legal document *with which they can* pursue *these* companies with a very high probability <u>of winning the claim</u>; whereas the companies, *that did this*, *had no* legal document.

They just played a game *to hide the possibility (of) risks; they took* the first step to test the reaction of people after the <u>withdrawal of the VOIP</u> package from 3G, and *after finding that there was* no strong reaction against this measure, *they also withdrew (of) the* ADSL'.

(Jawad Elansari, Opinions, Goud, 28/02/2016)

(21) هاد الموضة (ديال) تصوير الممارسة الجنسية غادية وتتوسع
علمت "كود" من مصادر خاصة، أن الغرفة الجنحية بالمحكمة الابتدائية الزجرية بالدار البيضاء، شرعت أمس في محاكمة
متهم من أجل "حيازة ونشر وتوزيع عبر الهاتف المحمول صور منافية للاخلاق والاداب العامة والتهديد والسب والشتم
والقذف".

وأضافت المصادر ذاتها، أن المتهم غير *دوز* ليلة *سخونة* مع *جوج* <u>عاملات جنس</u> *وصور هم بلا* خبار هم وقلبها *من بعد* تهديد
وتوزيع صور إباحية... غير القضية *ما صدقاتش ليه* من بعد ما دخل *البوليس ودار خدمتو*...

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23. In (20) and (21), italic refers to *Dāriğa* expressions, words in (brackets) refers to the analytical annexation and underlined words refer to synthetic annexation, both in the original and respectively in translation.

[hād al-mūḍa (dyāl) taṣwīr al-mumārasa al-ǧinsiyya ġādiyya wa-tatawassaʕ ʕalamat «Gūd» min maṣādir ḫāṣṣa, ʔann al-ġurfa al-ǧanḥiyya, bi-l-maḥkama al-ibtidāʔiyya al-zaġariyya bi-l-Dār al-Bayḍāʔ, šaraʕat ʔamsi fī muḥākama muttahim min ʔaǧl «ḥayāza wa-našr wa-tawzīʕ ʕabr al-hātif al-maḥmūl ṣuwar munāfiyya li-l-aḫlāq wa-l-adāb al-ʕāmma wa-l-tahdīd wa-l-sabb wa-l-šatam wa-l-qaḏf». wa-ʔaḍāfat al-maṣādir ḏāt-hā, ʔann al-muttahim *ġīr dūz* layla *ṣḫūna* maʕa *ǧūǧ* *ʕāmlāt* *ǧins* wa-ṣawar-hum blā ḫbār-him wa-qalab-ha *min baʕd* tahdīd wa-tawzīʕ ṣuwar ʾibāḥiyya … *ġīr* al-qaḍiyya *mā ṣədqāt-š līh min baʕd* mā daḫal *al-būlīs wa-dār ḥədamtū…*]
'*This trend (of)* filming sexual relationships *is increasingly expanding*'.

Goud has been informed by private sources that yesterday the correctional chamber of the court of first instance in Casablanca began the trial of an accused for 'possession, publication and dissemination by mobile phone of images contrary to morality, threats, insults, and defamation'.

The same sources added that the accused *had only* spent a *hot* night with *two* <u>sex workers</u>, and photographed them *without* informing them, *and then* returned the photos threatening to disseminate pornographic images. *But* the thing *did not turn out well to him, especially when the police did their job...*
(*Goud*, Casablanca, *Casanigra*, 14/07/2016)

In (20), the author criticises the non-respect of legal rules by telecommunication companies. It is an Opinion article in which the author, in order to support his ideas, tries to explain and inform readers of their rights. The lexical choices and morphosyntactic structures used in the article refer to a neutral and formal register that conforms to Youssi's (1992) descriptions of Modern Moroccan Arabic. Observing also the genitive constructions in the entire article, which is written mainly in *Dāriǧa*, one notices that analytical constructions are preferred and synthetic constructions of annexation are fewer. Quantitative analysis of the set of occurrences found in *Goud*'s journalistic corpus indicates that this tendency is typical of articles published in the Opinion column written mainly in *Dāriǧa* (that is, where the combination with Arabic *Fuṣḥā* is limited). However, the tendency to use the analytical construction in other columns is less evident, and the texts show a greater combination of expressions and syntactic constructions that mix *Fuṣḥā* and *Dāriǧa*, as shown, for example, in (21).

The short article given in (21) in fact shows that only one occurrence of *dyāl* appears exclusively in the title (الموضـة ديـال تصويـر الممارسة الجنسية, *[hād al-mūḍa*

dyāl taṣwīr al-mumārasa al-ǧinsiyya ġādiyya wa-tatawassaʕ], 'This trend of filming sexual relationships is expanding'). This article, divided into two long paragraphs, shows in the first part the subject of the news (a court case for dissemination of pornographic material), while in the second part, some details and developments of the story are explained. In the incipit, which is constructed using the specific journalistic language (see for instance the typical formulas of introduction of sources, such as أن، علمت كود من مصادر خاصة، [*ʕalamat "Gūd" min maṣādir ḫāṣṣa, ʔann..*], 'Goud has been informed by private sources that'), there are no linguistic elements in *Dāriǧa*, while in the second part, where some details of the affair are made explicit, there is the insertion of expressions in *Dāriǧa* that combine with the syntactic construction in *Fuṣḥā*. See, for example, وأضافت المصادر ذاتها، أن المتهم غير دوز ليلة سخونة مع جوج عاملات جنس [wa-ʔaḍāfat al-maṣādir ḏāt-hā, ʔann al-muttahim *ġīr dūz* layla šḫūna maʕa ǧūǧ ʕāmlāt ǧins…], 'The same sources added that the accused *had only* spent a *hot* night with *two* sex workers' in which the main proposition (وأضافت المصادر ذاتها، -أن [wa-ʔaḍāfat al-maṣādir ḏāt-hā, ʔann], 'The same sources added that') is constructed in *Fuṣḥā*, while the declarative, which follows the structure of an SVO-type nominal sentence, is constructed according to the syntactic structure and lexical choices of *Dāriǧa* (see, for example, the restrictive sentence with غير، [*ġīr*], 'only' and the numeral جوج، [ǧūǧ], 'two').

In conclusion, this article shows how the middle/educated Moroccan Arabic used in *Goud*'s written production corresponds to the (oral) Modern Moroccan Arabic described in Youssi (1992). Moreover, unlike the Opinion Column (in which stylistic variation is more evident due to the textual and communicative nature of opinion articles), in the report articles the journalistic style and register is clearer and consequently the journalistic language also tends to adhere more closely to standard language without, however, neglecting the mixed and middle register of Moroccan Arabic, which in this case emerges from the lexical choices, that characterises *Goud*'s written production.

4. CONCLUSION

Elmedlaoui's descriptive handbook, *al-ʕArabiyyatu al-Dāriǧatu*, is in line with the initiatives of the *Zakoura* Centre for the Promotion of *Dāriǧa* and represents a fairly detailed description of Moroccan Arabic. However, the descriptions and examples cited in his work do not allow one to distinguish the stylistic variation

of the middle register of Moroccan Arabic in the actual (written and oral) practices of Moroccan users.

Goud's journalistic corpus represents a genuine model of written expressions and dissemination of the middle/educated register of Moroccan Arabic. As such, it allows us to observe the phenomena of stylistic variation according to different communicative contexts.

The focus on the syntactic variation of declarative sentences and genitive constructs reflects the dynamics of stylistic variation depending on the different columns of the newspaper and thus on the different communicative functions and strategies of texts. More generally, the journalistic language of written production in *Goud* reflects the middle/educated register of Moroccan Arabic of oral communication.

The stylistic variation – that is, the more or less formal register tending towards syntactic and lexical choices (more or less) adhering to the linguistic elements of *Dāriǧa* or the combination of *Fuṣḥā* and *Dāriǧa* – reproduces the register of ordinary formal communications, in which the linguistic and lexical repertoire of *Fuṣḥā* also plays an important role in communication. In other words, the middle/educated register of Moroccan Arabic integrates expressions and syntactic structures of *Fuṣḥā* into the repertoire of *Dāriǧa*, which Moroccan users have acquired (see the example of the legal language in the report article, which has no equivalent in *Dāriǧa*).

In Elmedlaoui (2019), diglossia is considered a problem that can be solved through the use, promotion, and writing of the middle/educated register of *Dāriǧa*. However, if real user practices are not taken into account, the *Zakoura Centre*'s attempt to informally codify this middle register runs the risk of creating an artificial diglossia instead.

In agreement with Boussofara-Omar (2006, p. 636), diglossia represents a «richness that is often dramatically undervalued». The complementarity between *Fuṣḥā* and *Dāriǧa* represents the richness and communicative power of language in the many possible interactional contexts, both in oral and written communication.

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