EXPRESSIONS OF RESISTANCE: "GOUD" AND STYLISTIC VARIATION IN MOROCCAN DIGITAL NEWSPAPERS

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This study aims to analyse the linguistic written practices of contributors to "Goud", a Moroccan online newspaper, in the discourse on political resistance. The issue is observed in the perspective of the symbolic relation between the concept of Resistance and the tension of formal versus *informal standardization process concerning Arabic* fuṣḥà *(standard variety) and* dāriǧah *(Moroccan Arabic). Through the observation of a corpus of articles about the "20th February Movement", the* "Hirak *Movement", and the boycott campaigns, this study outlines the different expressions of resistance and the co-existing linguistic varieties to which "Goud" gives voice.*

Introduction

In 2011, the protest movement referred to as "Arab Springs" crossed the Arab World (Faris 2012; Khader 2012). In Morocco, the movement was called *Ḥarakat ʻIšrīn Fabrāyir*[1] (the "20th February Movement"; 20FebMo henceforward). There a heterogeneous group of young people and activists organized and gave rise to street demonstrations, which began on February 20th, 2011 in the major Moroccan cities, following the social protests erupted shortly before in Tunisia and Egypt (Igmane 2013; Naimi 2016; Desrues 2012; Bennani-Chraïbi; Jeghllaly 2012).

In Morocco, the distinctive trait of these movements concerns both the organization of the 20FebMo and their political and institutional results (Naimi 2016; Desrues 2012; Bennani-Chraïbi; Jeghllaly 2012). If the claims for greater equity and social justice against the precarious living conditions of the population and the complaints against political corruption simultaneously echoed in the other Arab countries, the Moroccan protests of the 20FebMo had also a considerable influence on the highest institutions of the

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[1] The present study shows written productions containing several items corresponding to the Moroccan colloquial variety, but also bivalent items, i.e. all those linguistic elements for which different pronunciations, belonging to different varieties (*fuṣḥà*, *dāriǧah*, or mixed Arabic), correspond to a single graphic form; for those traits, it is not possible to establish unequivocally the corresponding phonological transcription. For this reason, most transcriptions rather report a graphemic transliteration in accordance with the editorial lines of the journal. Likewise, the colloquial elements have not been transcribed according to the norm in use in Arabic dialectology studies, except for the use of *schwa* in appropriate cases (i.e. CəC, or CəCC), and indicated in the footnotes.

State. Indeed, in July 2011 King Mohammed VI approved the text of the new Constitution[2], launching – symbolically at least – a strong message of openness and solidarity with his people.

Moreover, the 20FebMo grouped a heterogeneous set of personalities from different social and cultural backgrounds, without a defined and structured political leadership (Naimi 2016; Desrues 2012; Bennani-Chraïbi; Jeghllaly 2012). The movement voiced the demands regarding most citizens' social needs, as well as the specific demands of well-defined social groups, as in the case of Berber activists. Both the lack of a well-structured political leadership and the progressive inclusion of minority political groups, caused the dispersion of the ideals originally supported by the movement, as well as its partial disintegration when some of the personalities that initially promoted its organization withdrew their support (Sakhi 2015).

The movement's heterogeneity was reflected in its forms of expression. The oral and written slogans reproduced the Moroccan multilingual reality: the languages used were Arabic *fuṣḥà* (that in the present study will stand for the modern standard variety of Arabic), *dāriǧah* (the Moroccan spoken oral variety), but also Amazigh, as well as French and English. Furthermore, from a linguistic point of view, the 2011 demonstrations in Morocco represented the historical moment in which the political discourse in *dāriǧah*, conveyed by young people especially on the net, became more visible[3]. The colloquial variety far from replacing Arabic *fuṣḥà* in the formal expression of political discourse, nevertheless gained greater visibility even in contexts previously dominated by *fuṣḥà*, on social media and digital platforms.

The political and social reforms, following the 2011 constitutional reform, were not enough to satisfy social demands and improve the precarious conditions of the lower classes, especially in the Rif regions: in 2016, after

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[2] The article 5 of the new Constitution (2011) describes the linguistic Moroccan situation, and institutionalizes the Amazigh language as an official language after Arabic language (Standard Arabic), https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Morocco_2011.pdf?lang=ar (last accessed 28/04/2018).

[3] Independently from the 2011 demonstrations, the *dāriǧah* promotion movement appears in the early 2000s in Morocco; as stated by Miller (2017: 97), Ahmed Benchemsi's (Aḥmad Binšamsī) editorial, titled *Darija langue nationale* and published in the Moroccan francophone magazine "TelQuel" (2002), represents the «first public manifesto» of the *dāriǧah* promotion movement. So, from the 2000s and beyond, *dāriǧah* is increasingly gaining its place in public discourse through more or less formal/official domains: in the traditional and online press and in advertisings (see among others Aguadé 2006, 2012; Caubet; Miller 2016; Hoogland 2018; Hall 2015; Miller 2012, 2016, 2017), and finally in more or less spontaneous and/or artistic writings on digital platforms (Caubet et al. 2004; Caubet 2010, 2017a, 2017b, 2018). More details concerning the political discourse are found in the interview to Catherine Miller (Miller; Siino; Catusse 2016) and in Caubet; Miller (2016).

the gruesome incident which led to the death of Fikri Mouhcine (Fikrī Muḥsin), a fishmonger in Al Hoceima (al-Ḥusaymah), new waves of protests, named the "*Hirak* Movement"[4] in the media, started spreading. The demonstrations triggered in Al Hoceima gave voice to the حݣرة/حقرة *ḥukrah*[5] feeling (*ḥogra* henceforward), i.e. the feeling of oppression shared by the middle and more precarious social classes. The *Hirak* Movement later resumed the peaceful struggle of resistance against the inequities and the contradictions of the political system.

Considering this sociopolitical context, this study will focus on the analysis of linguistic and communicative strategies to express social and political resistance that emerge from public discourses in digital platforms around the 2016 protest movements in Morocco. The purpose of this study is to investigate new linguistic practices involving journalistic written production, starting from the assumption that spoken varieties used in writing represent *per se* a form of resistance in the context of formal communication. What are the languages and varieties that express and represent the voices of the struggle as well as the political and social demands? How is the political public discourse of social resistance articulated in the journalistic language of the online press? Do Arabic *fuṣḥà* and *dāriǧah* meet or clash in the communication strategies of political discourses? Considering the triglossic[6] reality of the Moroccan linguistic community – that is the relationship of continuity between Arabic *fuṣḥà*, *dāriǧah*, and mixed varieties, from a side, and the functional distinction between written and oral languages, from the other side – which styles emerge in the narration of resistance on digital media? Finally, do discourses on social and political resistance reflect a change in language ideology and language attitudes?

In order to observe the language ideology conveyed by the public discourse on social resistance, the present work will present a case study focused on the linguistic practices observed in ݣود "Gūd" (Straight) – "Goud" henceforward)[7] –, a Moroccan online newspaper. The study will focus on the analysis of a corpus of 15 articles, produced by three authors (5 articles per author) who regularly publish their ideas on current social and political is-

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4 The name for this movement used in the Moroccan press in Arabic is *al-Ḥirāk al-Šaʿbī fī 'l-Rīǰ*, "Rif People's Movement", or *Ḥirāk al-Rīǰ*, "Rif's Movement" or "Riffian Movement". In the francophone Moroccan press, as well as in the international media, the Rif's Movement is referred to as "*Hirak* du Rif". In the present article, the definition of "*Hirak* Movement" refers to the Riffian Movement.

5 The colloquial term *ḥogra* derives from the verb حقر *ḥaqqara* «to degrade, debase, humble, humiliate; to regard with contempt, despise, scorn, disdain» (Wehr 1976: 194).

6 Concerning the triglossic linguistic reality in Morocco, see Durand (2004) and Youssi (1983, 1995).

7 The name of the journal, referred throughout the present article as "Goud", reproduces the transcription reported in the URL address of the newspaper's website.

sues in the opinion column (this is the case of Hamid Zaid [Ḥāmid Zayd] and Mohammed Socrate [Muḥammad Suqrāṭ]) or in investigative reports (Younes Aftit [Yūnis Afṭīt]).

This study does not intend to exhaustively define changes and evolutions of linguistic attitudes in Morocco, but rather proposes to present the increasingly visible tendencies of the use of *dāriǧah* and mixed varieties in the formal written production of media communication, through the analysis of the debate rising from social events linked to the protest movements. From the observation of the corpus it can be noted that in "Goud" the expressions of resistance are conveyed using different styles and communicative strategies that reflect not only a particular use of Arabic *fuṣḥà* and *dāriǧah*, but more importantly an interesting mixed use of both varieties.

The authors' individual styles not only show different linguistic choices but also the stylistic variation emerging in the preference for one variety over the other or in the combination of both varieties in the same text. For instance, in "Goud", despite the pro-*dāriǧah* editorial lines, the standard variety is widely present especially when switching from more formal to less formal registers, exploiting the flexibility of Arabic *fuṣḥà*. At the same time, it is possible to appreciate a creative stylistic variation in *dāriǧah* as well, with an extensive written use of plain *dāriǧah* in combination with Middle (educated) *dāriǧah*[8], and/or with Arabic *fuṣḥà*.

In the first part of the present study, a brief contextualized introduction of the linguistic situation in Morocco will define the sociolinguistic differentiation between written and oral languages in the context of the triglossic continuum, where the mixed varieties of Arabic emerge; this introduction wishes to underline the symbolic relationship between the discourses on resistance and the issues related to the concept of informal codification of written *dāriǧah*. In fact, from an ideological and symbolic point of view if writing in *dāriǧah* could appear as a form of resistance in opposition to the ideological linguistic norm – that imposes the Arabic *fuṣḥà* as the only variety for written formal production – this symbolic association (resistance discourse/*dāriǧah* variety) does not comply entirely with the actual linguistic practices of pro-*dāriǧah* digital press. The second part of this work will focus on the presentation of the corpus and on the methodology used in the qualitative approach to the analysis; finally, results and comments on the stylistic variations will be defined in the third part.

1. Conventionalization of Colloquial Varieties in Written Practices

The standardization process of a linguistic variety, i.e. «the selection, codi-

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8   According to Youssi (1992), in oral formal interaction people can use an educated register he defines Modern Moroccan Darija (AMM); see also Meiseles (1980) concerning educated Arabic.

fication, acceptance, and elaboration of a linguistic norm» (Haugen 1966: 922), is relevant to the issue dealt with in the present study to the extent that, in the Moroccan Arabic-speaking context (as well as in other Arab countries and other diglossic / triglossic language communities), the difference between written and oral languages reflects not only the distance between the official language (formal/written) and the spoken language (informal/oral), but also a whole series of linguistic ideologies which stigmatize dialectal varieties[9]. In the Moroccan context, recent studies, as for instance the FAFO survey (Kebede; Kindt 2016), showed that in the last twenty years *dāriǧah* has appeared as a written language, in various more or less formal domains (Caubet 2004, 2012; Benítez Fernández 2006; Langone 2008b; Hoogland 2013) such as in literature, in public spaces, like advertising billboards, as well as in the press (Miller 2012, 2016, 2017; Caubet 2017a-b, 2018; Langone 2003; Brigui 2016; Elinson 2013; Hall 2015; Hoogland 2018). The increasing use of *dāriǧah* in this type of production between the early 2000s – when, a little later, the cultural movement of the *Nayda* (*Nāyḍah*, waking up or standing up in Moroccan Arabic) would characterize the new Moroccan artistic and musical scene (Caubet 2010; Langone 2008a) – and 2011, until 2016 has often been accompanied and supported by various actors and public figures who advocated for the promotion of *dāriǧah*. They often supported initiatives aimed at institutionalizing *dāriǧah* by advocating reforms in the field of language policies in favour of the institutionalization of the use of *dāriǧah* in formal contexts, such as in the school system[10].

In the perspective of linguistic ideologies, the passage from oral to written *dāriǧah*, is undoubtedly an interesting and sensitive phenomenon, since it symbolically equates to the "prestigious" transfer of the "dialectal variety" to the

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[9] For more details on issues related to the linguistic ideology with respect to the *fuṣḥà*/*ʿāmmiyyah* dichotomy see Suleiman ([1996] 2013); Haeri (2000, 2003); Eisele (2003); Mejdell (2008).

[10] The *dāriǧah* promotion movement is heterogeneous and incorporates personalities from different backgrounds: journalists − e.g. Ahmed Benchemsi, Driss Ksikes (Idrīs Ksikis), Ahmed Najim (Aḥmad Naǧīm), all former journalists in "Nichane" (cf. footnote 15); scholars − see for example Abderrahim Youssi (ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Yūsī), Khalil Mgharfaoui (Ḫalīl Mġarfāwī), Abdellah Chekayri (ʿAbd Allāh al-Šakayrī); simple individuals who promote *dāriǧah* through its use in cultural productions, such as music, poetry, slam poetry, blog etc. (see Caubet 2017b, 2018 and Miller 2016); and public figures such as Noureddine Ayouch (Nūr al-Dīn ʿAyūš), publicist and member of the Higher Council for Education in Morocco, who through his *Zakoura Foundation* promoted several scientific initiatives (see for instance the international conference *La langue, Les Langues* organized in 2010 [Miller 2016]). He also supports the *Markaz Tanmiyat al-Dāriǧah Zakūrah*, the "*Zakoura* Center for the Promotion of *Dāriǧah*", that published the first monolingual dictionary of *Dāriǧah* (Məġarfāwī; Mabrūr; Šakayrī 2017) and more recently the first *Dāriǧah* handbook (al-Madlāwī 2019).

rank of "language". In fact, as Haugen claimed, spoken languages «are subject to regular and inexorable linguistic change», whereas written languages «establish models across time and space» (Haugen 1966: 929). This statement underlines that the transfer from oral to written variety means codifying the oral variety as well as stabilizing it or normalizing it[11]; such standardization process could therefore favour its formal institutionalization, which might be met with strong ideological opposition and find numerous ideological constraints (see Eisele 2003, for example, concerning insights about the perception of language among speakers/writers in the Muslim-Arab community).

However, it must be emphasized that the transition to written *dāriğah* does not fully reflect the dynamics of the standardization process in terms of institutional formalization or formal standardization, i.e. "standardization from above", given that from a sociolinguistic point of view *dāriğah*, as a written language, is not fully accepted by the Moroccan linguistic community, much less by the institutions. According to Haugen (1966), as previously mentioned, a stage in the standardization process is the "selection" of a linguistic variety. With respect to Moroccan *dāriğah*, it should be underlined that an important diatopic variation exists throughout the country, and for this reason the selection of a single variety of *dāriğah* as a standard variety is not evenly accepted across the country[12]. It is otherwise possible to observe the phenomenon of informal standardization or conventionalization of written *dāriğah*, as explained by Caubet (2017a). In other words, *dāriğah* has undergone the process of informal codification, or "standardization from below" thanks to the common and shared practices of its users who taught themselves how to read and write in *dāriğah*, first using *e-darija*[13] and then the Arabic script, not only for private and informal interactions, but also in literary production and cultural disseminations (Caubet 2018). Therefore, the development of *dāriğah* informal codification symbolically represents an act of resistance, compared to the traditional practices of (standard) Arabic written productions.

However, in the context of this study, it should be emphasized that the protest movements of the Arab Springs as well as all the claims for civil rights and individual freedom occurred in the recent years emerged at the same time as the pro-*dāriğah* movements, in the wave of the new socio-

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[11] See also Goody (2000).

[12] The publication of the *Zakoura* Dictionary (cf. footnote 10) was highly criticized by public opinion. Insights on the limits of the *dāriğah* standardization of the *Zakoura* project were discussed by the author during the 13th AIDA International conference (10-13 June 2019 Kutaisi, Georgia); see also Pennisi (2020).

[13] Caubet (2018) defines *e-darija* as the Moroccan Arabic language written in a mix of Latin letters and numbers for transposing phonetic Arabic sounds through digital supports until technological advancements allowed to use Arabic script (see also Caubet 2004, 2012). According to Caubet (2017a, 2017b) the choice of Arabic script for writing Moroccan Arabic underlines an informal transfer to literacy in *dāriğah*; see also Caubet 2018.

political climate of openness that Morocco began to experience with the rise to the throne of Muḥammad VI (July 1999). The two phenomena are only symbolically connected, and this analogy does not necessarily reflect the whole reality of linguistic practices. However, the use of *dāriǧah*, as well as its mixed use with standard Arabic in written production, is a phenomenon that has become highly widespread and more visible in online public spaces.

For this reason, the spread of these new trends (i.e. colloquial varieties in written productions), in a linguistic perspective, affects the domain of mixed varieties of Arabic, including several features of Middle Arabic (see Lentin 1997, 2008; Larcher 2001; Mejdell 2006; Doss 2008; Holes 2008). In fact, the linguistic variation – i.e. divergence from standard, and morphosyntactic variability in spoken/written middle varieties – implies both a stylistic variation and the emergence of new trends in opposition to the traditional standard writing practices, leading to mixed styles, as already pointed out by Mejdell (2006) for the formal (oral) communicative situation in Egypt. What is remarkable in Morocco concerns the spread of mixed varieties in written production, usually employed in oral (formal/educated) communications, as the case of the *Arabe Moderne Marocain* (AMM), Modern Moroccan Arabic, described by Youssi (1992) as the spoken middle (educated) variety of Moroccan Arabic.

The following analysis focusses on a case study of the expressions of resistance in mixed styles emerging in the opinion articles of the Moroccan electronic newspaper "Goud" in order to observe this growing writing trend in which authors use different varieties, i.e. *fuṣḥà* in formal and informal registers, as well as *dāriǧah*, not only in AMM but also in plain *dāriǧah*, in the formal context of media communication.

2. "Goud" and Stylistic Variation

"Goud" is a Moroccan online newspaper[14] created by Ahmed Najim, its current editorial director, on February 14th, 2011, six days before the event organized by the 20FebMo in Morocco. In an interview[15], held on April 30th, 2018 in Casablanca, he stated that "Goud" represents his ideal of an independent and secularist digital newspaper. It acts also as a continuation of "Nichane"[16], a weekly magazine widely read by Moroccans. Ahmed Najim-

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[14] See the presentation web page on "Goud", https://www.Goud.ma/؟مننحن/ (last accessed 13/09/2019).

[15] Ahmed Najim released the interview to the author. The complete interview is available in Pennisi Rosa, 2020, *Arabe Mixte 2.0: la variation syntaxique et stylistique dans les journaux numériques marocains (janvier-décembre 2016)*, PhD dissertation, Ca' Foscari University and Aix-Marseille Université, (December 14th 2020), pp. 294-327.

[16] "Nichane" (نيشان, "Nīšān", Straight) was a Moroccan weekly magazine created in 2006 by Ahmed Benchemsi, editorial director, and Driss Ksikes, editorial chief director. It was considered the first magazine in *dāriǧah* because Moroccan Ar-

added that "Goud" features a greater presence of *dāriǧah* and faster news. The free contributions from some former "Nichane" journalists and the advertising revenue made possible the launch of "Goud". Today "Goud" has an editorial board of 9 journalists and collaborators, most of them under 40. It is a generalist newspaper with a special focus on topics closely related with Moroccan society. The newspaper addresses all Moroccan cultural and social classes, i.e. elite, middle-low classes, youngster, politicians, secularists, Islamists, and Moroccans living abroad. The clearly defined editorial line especially concerns the language choice: *dāriǧah* is used across all topics. Concerning the choice to use *dāriǧah*, during the same interview, Ahmed Najim claimed that he considers *dāriǧah* to be the most efficient language for communication through media and press. These are the reasons why "Goud" represents one of the contemporary editorial experiences giving place to plural linguistic forms of expression. It represents an experimental laboratory to observe contemporary language practices.

The 15 selected articles were taken from the opinions' column in "Goud" and dealt with popular resistance, and more specifically the demonstrations triggered in the Rif area, namely the *Hirak* Movement, occurred in 2016. In particular, the corpus includes 5 articles by Hamid Zaid, a satirical journalist[17], 5 articles by Mohammed Socrate, a former militant of the 20FebMo and blogger[18], and 5 articles by Younes Aftit, "Goud" chief editor and investigative reporter[19]. The three authors express their ideals and feelings on social and political issues using different communicative strategies and languages: while Hamid Zaid and Yunis Aftit write mainly in *fuṣḥà*, Socrate mostly uses *dāriǧah*. Nevertheless, mixed varieties of Arabic language emerge from their practices. Among all the

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abic was extensively used, though only for cover headers and articles' titles. Because of its editorial line and the sensitive topics treated, it came to a final closure in 2010 after two legal proceedings involving first Driss Ksikes and Sanaa El Aji (Sanā' al-ʿĀǧī, former journalist) − for the publication of a feature on the jokes circulating in Moroccan society − and then Ahmed Benchemsi, who published an irreverent editorial he directly addressed to the King using *dāriǧah*. These events caused a vivacious debate in public opinion that led to a latent campaign of boycott by the sponsors, which ended with an economic crisis to the detriment of the magazine. For more details see Langone (2003, 2016), Benítez Fernández (2010), Miller (2012), Aguadé (2006, 2012), Hall (2015), Hoogland (2018).

[17] Hamid Zaid's selected articles, as well as the articles of the other two journalists, are indicated with the initials of his name and surname, in ascending order (number 1, 2, etc.), and the date of publication, as follows: HZ1 31th October 2016, HZ2 20th May 2017, HZ3 5th June 2017, HZ4 12th June 2017, HZ5 11th May 2018.

[18] Hence, Mohammed Socrate's selected articles are MS1 30th October 2016, MS2 1st November 2016, MS3 5th November 2016, MS4 20th February 2017, MS5 24th May 2017.

[19] Younes Aftit's selected articles are YA1 3rd November 2016, YA2 29th May 2017, YA3 4th June 2017, YA4 24th June 2017, YA5 11th July 2017.

articles, common topics are the failure of the 20FebMo, the solidarity with the demonstrations of *Hirak* Movement, the critical approaches to the boycott campaign, and their personal expressions of *ḥogra* feeling.

In order to identify how these journalists write about resistance, the frequency of *fuṣḥà*, *dāriğah* and bivalent elements was first checked in their articles in order to gather an idea of the distribution of the different varieties. The distinction between varieties remains fuzzy. Where *fuṣḥà* elements are clearly distinguishable, bivalent items are not. Thus, items of bivalent value have been interpreted according to their syntactical construction and lexical context. Syntactical constructions with *dāriğah* items usually showed more bivalent lexical elements. Then, a comparison between the linguistic choice and the topics it presented was performed, and the stylistic variation that emerged from their different practices and communicative strategies was observed.

3. Analysis and Results

Fuṣḥà is the most widely used language throughout the articles in the corpus. This is true for the articles written by Socrate as well: the language of his five texts include *fuṣḥà* elements (42%), *dāriğah* items (25%) and bivalent ones (33%). Hamid Zaid writes in *fuṣḥà* only, while the language of Yunis Aftit comes mostly from *fuṣḥà* (90%), with very few *dāriğah* expressions (6% of *dāriğah* items and 4% of bivalent ones)[20].

This kind of linguistic variation reflects a stylistic variation, based on the different expressive strategies used to express the *ḥogra* feeling. In the following example (1) Hamid Zaid uses sarcasm as communicative strategy:

(1) عادي. عادي
وطبيعي. طبيعي جدا ما حدث في الحسيمة.
ففي أمريكا يقتل السود رميا بالرصاص.
وفي أمريكا أكبر الديمقراطيات في العالم يقتل رجال الأمن السود.
كما قال سعد الدين العثماني، رئيس المجلس الوطني لحزب العدالة والتنمية، في تصـريح لموقـع
"فبراير"
وقبله قال رئيس الحكومة السيد عبد الإله بنكيران: "إنه لا معنى للاحتجاج"
وطبيعي.
طبيعي جدا، جدا.
و علينا ألا ننساق خلف العاطفة، كما ذكرنا بذلك نفس سعد الدين العثماني.

ʾĀdī. ʿĀdī. / Wa ṭabīʿī. Ṭabīʿī ğidd^{an} mā ḥadaṯ fī ʾl-Ḥusaymah. / Fa-fī Amrīkā yaqtul al-sūd ramiyy^{an} bi ʾl-raṣāṣ. / Wa fī Amrīkā akbar al-dīmuqrāṭiyyāt fī ʾl-ʿālam yaqtul riğāl al-aman al-sūd / kamā qāla Saʿd al-Dīn al-ʿUṯmānī,

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[20] These data were obtained through a morphosyntactic and lexical analysis of the texts. All the lexical items (including titles and excluding journalists' names) were counted per word (including prepositions) and divided into the three categories (*fuṣḥà*, *dāriğah* and bivalent), in order to proceed with the statistics on the total occurrences within the corpus.

raʾīs al-maǧlis al-waṭanī li-Ḥizb al-ʿAdālah wa 'l-Tanmiyah, fī taṣrīḥ li-mawqiʿ "Fibrāyr" / wa qablahu qāla raʾīs al-ḥukūmah al-Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Binkīrān: Inna-hu lā maʿnā li 'l-iḥtiǧāǧ / wa ṭabīʿī. / Ṭabīʿī ǧiddᵃⁿ, ǧiddᵃⁿ. / Wa ʿalaynā allā nansāq ḫalf al-ʿāṭifah, kamā ḏakaranā bi-ḏālik nafs Saʿd al-Dīn al-ʿUṯmānī.

Ordinary, ordinary. / Natural. It is very natural what happened in Hoceima. / In America blacks are killed by shooting on them. In America, the greatest democracy in the world, security men kill blacks. / As Saad el Din el Othmani, president of the national council of Justice and Development Party, said to the "Febrayr" website. / And before him the president of the government Mr. Abdelilah Benkirane: The protests do not make sense. / The fact is ordinary. Very ordinary. / Natural. / Very natural, very. / We must not submit to sensitivity. As Saad el Din el Othmani reminded us[21]. [HZ1, 31/10/2016]

In (1), the effect of sarcasm is produced by applying rhetorical devices, such as redundancy and repetitions, to *fuṣḥà*, and creating something of a poem in prose. Thus, the narration conveys Zaid's criticism, his frustration and his *ḥogra* feeling against el Othmani (al-Uṯmānī) and Benkirane (Binkīrān) in a very effective way.

Benkirane had tried to belittle the protests by comparing the Moroccan incident with the situation in the US, where, according to him, discriminations are more frequent and more violent. Benkirane's point of view about the death of Mouhcine[22] reflects his dismissive attitude towards the news. From a linguistic point view, the example (1) shows that the *fuṣḥà* variety can be used very effectively in satirical writings[23].

A different communicative strategy can be observed in the mixed style used by Mohammed Socrate, as shown in the example (2) below:

(2) لا **أخاي** ، **مكتعرفوناش** حيثُ **سـحقتونـا طحنتونـا** حتـى **مابقينـاش كـاينين** بلا ماهيـة محـدد ، بلا كينونة بلا روح ، **حنا غي** أرقام ، **فالإحصاء** وأرقام **فـصندوق** الإنتخابات ، وأرقام عند مديريـة الضرائب ، وأرقام عند شركات استغلال الماء والكهرباء ، **وحنا غي خوشبيش فالسبيطارات** ، **وغي بوزبال فالتيرانات** ، **وغي** حشراتُ **فالإدارة** ، **حنا مكاينينش**[24].

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[21] The texts in Arabic were translated into English by the author.

[22] Mouhcine was the fishmonger who died in Al Hoceima in the garbage truck where he was trying to recover his goods, that the authorities had confiscated. This was the emotional event that sparked the *Hirak* Movement.

[23] Contemporary satirical productions usually show an extensive use of colloquial varieties, especially in caricatures, not only in Moroccan newspapers, but also in the press of other Arab countries. In this case, it is remarkable that the *fuṣḥà* variety is used as the medium of a "literary genre" (i.e. satire), through a "poetical" structure (i.e. poems in prose).

[24] *Dāriǧah* items are in bold, bivalent elements are underlined, and the regular font is used for *fuṣḥà* items.

Lā aḫāy, ma-ka-tʿərfū-nā-š ḫīṯ saḥaqtū-nā ṭaḥantū-nā ḥattà mā-bqīnā-š kāynīn bi-lā māhiyyah muḥaddad, bi-lā kaynūnah bi-lā rūḥ, ḥnā ġī arqām, f ʾl-iḥṣāʾ wa arqām f-ṣundūq al-intiḫābāt, wa arqām ʿinda mudīriyyat al-ḍarāʾib, wa arqām ʿinda šarikāt istiġlāl al-māʾ wa ʾl-kahrabāʾ, wa ḥnā ġī ḫūšbīš f ʾl-sbīṭārāt, wa ġī būz bāl ḥašarāt f ʾl-idārah, ḥnā ma-kāynīn-š[25].

No brothers, *you don't know us*, because *you have crushed us, you have shattered us*, so that *we are not alive anymore*, without a precise essence, without an entity, without a soul, *we are only* numbers, *in* statistics and numbers *in* the ballot boxes, numbers at the financial department, numbers *at* the water and electricity suppliers, *we are only miserable in hospital, only trash in the fields, only* insects in the administration, *we are non-existent*. [MS3, 05/11/2016]

In this extract, Socrate alternates *dāriǧah* expressions with *fuṣḥà* or bivalent elements. The distribution of varieties throughout the sentences emphasizes specific parts of discourse. In particular, Socrate uses *dāriǧah* morphosyntactic constructions, such as verbal negation (i.e. مكتعرفوناش *ma-ka-tʿərfū-nā-š* "you don't know us"), *dāriǧah* personal pronouns (i.e. حنا *ḥnā* "we"), prepositions (i.e. غي *ġī* "only"), and a few slang words in *dāriǧah* (i.e. خوشبيش *ḫūšbīš* "miserable" and بوزبال *būz bāl* "trash") when speaking in the first-plural person: in this case he is identifying with the Moroccan people. This mechanism creates an intimate literary strategy that expresses the common *ḥogra* feeling, the disappointment caused by the defeat of the 20FebMo, and the concern for the future of *Hirak* Movement.

A similar practice can also be observed in Younes Aftit. Although he usually uses *fuṣḥà*, he adjusts his register according to the degree of objectivity of his writing: the more subjective his point of view is, the more informal his style, as in the example (3) below:

3) قطعت المكالمة وفتحت الفايسبوك، إنه يضج بمحسن فكري، من هو محسن هذا، آآآآآه كم هو متعب أن تعمل ليوم كامل وحين ترغب في الراحة لساعة أو ساعتين يأتيك البلاء من حيث لا تحتسب.

Qaṭaʿt al-mukāmalah wa fataḥt al-fāysbūk, inna-hu yaḍiǧǧ bi-Muḥsin Fikrī, man huwa Muḥsin hāḏā, āāāāḫ kam huwa mutʿib an taʿmal li-yawm kāmil wa ḥīn tarġab fī ʾl-rāḥah li-sāʿah aw sāʿatayn yaʿtīk al-balāʾ min ḥayṯu lā taḥtasib.

I closed the call and I opened Facebook, Mouhcine Fikri makes clamour, who is this Mouhcine? Aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaah how much tired you are for having

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[25] This sample contains several items corresponding to *dāriǧah* and bivalent items, for instance حيث whose standard pronunciation should be /ḥayṯu/. It should be noted that this item occurs in a morphosyntactic environment composed of structures clearly in *dāriǧah*; for this reason it is not possible to clearly establish its transcription (see also بلا *bi-lā vs blā*, حتى *ḥattà vs ḥəttà*, and so on).

been working for a whole day and when you want to rest for an hour or two, here it is, the scourge that you did not count. [YA1, 03/11/2016]

In (3) Younes Aftit uses an informal and personal style that is remarkable for the use of interjections (i.e. *āh*), but also for the use of the second-singular person (i.e. no plural persons, see *taʿmal* "you [2nd s.] work", or *tarġab*, "you [2nd s.] want", and the second-singular person of the suffix pronoun in a deictic function (i.e. *yaʾtīk* "it comes to you"). All these features are typical of an informal context, closer to oral communication, but he does so using *fuṣḥà*.

When expressing objectivity, even though concerning the results of his personal interpretations of his investigation about the death of Mouhcine, his style is more formal, as in the following example:

(4)   وأستطيع القول الآن بأن التغاضي عن هذا الصيد غير القانوني لم يكن مجانا، ولو كان كذلك لم حجزت سلع محسن لوحده.

Wa astaṭīʿ al-qawl al-ān bi-anna al-taġāḍī ʿan hāḏā al-ṣayd ġayr al-qānūnī lam yakun maǧānᵃⁿ, wa law kāna ka-ḏālik lam ḥaǧazat silaʿ Muḥsin li-waḥdi-hi.

I can now say that ignoring this illegal fishing did not come without a price, and even if it was not the case, Mouhcine should not have had to pay this price alone. [YA1 03/11/2016]

Although here Younes Aftit is using the first-person, he is reporting objective events in a formal style that reflects the structures of Standard Arabic.

Moreover, the conditional sentence expressing impossibility (*law kāna ka-ḏālik lam ḥaǧazat* "and even if it was not the case, [Mouhcine] should not have had to pay"), without any prepositions between protasis and apodosis reflects contemporary practices of simplification of journalese writing[26].

From a linguistic point of view, it is possible to claim that *dāriǧah* and *fuṣḥà* are used to express different emotional meanings. Younes Aftit, who usually expresses himself in *fuṣḥà*, uses *dāriǧah* to emphasize anger and to advocate for human rights when he is addressing the authorities directly, as in the following example (5) where he disapproved of a video which showed Zefzafi (al-Zafzāfī), the spokesperson of the *Hirak* Movement, detained in prison in very poor conditions:

(5)   وفي الاخير **بغيت نقول** للمسؤول **لي دار هاد** الخطوة، عندك الزهر الحكومة **لي كتحكم فيك** بشكلِ مباشر معوقة، **حقاش كون** كانت حكومة **ديال بصح** كان أولِ حاجة **يديرها** وزير العدل هي الامر بنقل الزفزافي لسجن آخر والقضاء يبدل الناس **لي كيديرو معاه** التحقيق، ولكن **مادارت** حتى حاجة من **هادشي.**

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[26] Also note the use of the particle *lam* as the negation for a verb with suffixal conjugation (*al-māḍī*), which is a feature of mixed varieties of Arabic in written production. Concerning conditional sentences in modern Arabic productions see Sartori (2019).

Wa fī 'l-aḫīr bġīt nqūl li 'l-masʾūl lī dār hād al-ḫuṭwah, ʿinda-ka al-zahr al-ḥukūmah lī ka-tḥəkm fī-ka bi-šakl mubāšir muʿawwiqah, ḥaqqāš kūn kānat ḥukūmah dyāl b-ṣaḥḥ kān awwal ḥāǧah yadīru-hā wazīr al-ʿadl hiya al-amr bi-naql al-Zafzāfī li-siǧn āḫar wa 'l-quḍāh yubaddil al-nās lī ka-ydīrū maʿa-hu al-taḥqīq, wa lākin mā-dārt ḥattà ḥāǧah min hādšī[27].

And finally, *I want to say* to the official *who did it*, you are in a cast iron, the government *that judges you* directly is stonewalling, *whatever good* government, would have a minister of justice that, first of all, *must order* to move Zefzafi to another prison, instead the judges remove people *who do investigations* with him, but *nothing has been done for this*. [YA5, 11/07/2017]

As shown in the example (5), the use of *dāriǧah* underlines the key passages which address the authorities directly; more specifically, Younes Aftit uses the first-person narration: in this case he is emphasizing his anger at the justice system, and demanding the defence of human rights (see his complaint about the lack of human respect towards the prisoner).

On the contrary, Socrate, as already shown, usually writes in *dāriǧah* to identify with the Moroccan people and uses the 1ˢᵗ plural person for narration. Therefore, as opposed to Younes Aftit, when addressing Islamist parties, he uses different communicative strategies than Younis Aftit's ones, as shown in the following examples, (6) and (7):

(6)   لا أحد يجادل في أحقية المغاربة فـالمطالبة بحقوقهم سواء فـالريف أو فـزحيليكة.

Lā aḥad yuǧādil fī aḥaqqiyyat al-maġāribah f' l-muṭālibah bi-ḥuqūqi-him siwāʾ f 'l-Rīf aw f-Ziḥīlīkah.

Nobody quarrels with the right of the Moroccans *to* claim their rights *in* the Rif or Ezzhiliga. [MS5, 24/05/2017]

(7)   **مكنديروش شي حاجة** غلطِ ، **هادي ماشي** فتنة **هادا** وعي شعبيِ كـِـبير وتنـامى وعـرف **بلي** أنـه **بصح كاينة** رغبة حقيقية للإصلاح من طرف السلطة العليا بالبلاد.

Ma-ka-ndīrū-š šī ḥāǧah ġalṭ, hādī māšī fitnah hādā waʾy šaʿbī kabir wa tanāmà wa ʿaraf bəllī anna-hu b-ṣaḥḥ kāynah raġbah ḥaqīqiyyah li 'l-iṣlāḥ min ṭaraf al-sulṭah al-ʿaliyya bi 'l-bilād[28].

We're not doing anything wrong; *this is not* a fitnah, *this* is a great popular awareness that has developed, and that knows *that* really, there is a *real* desire for reform from the supreme authority in the country. [MS5, 24/05/2017]

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[27] Note bivalent items, for instance بشكل *bi-šakl vs b-šəkl*, or *dāriǧah* constructions for relative clauses as in لي دار هاد الخطوة *lī dār hād al-ḫuṭwah*, etc.

[28] Note also in this sample the bivalent items occurring in morphosyntactic environments, for instance غلط *ġalṭ vs ġəlṭ*.

Therefore, Socrate expresses himself in *fuṣḥà* using the third person (6) when addressing the authorities (the Islamist parties in this case) and here the choice of the standard variety produces irony, especially because he shifts to *dāriǧah* in the first-plural person immediately after (7) when he claims fundamental rights underlining feelings of anger.

The last remark concerns script choices. All three authors use the Arabic script; nevertheless, occurrences of *e-darija* sporadically appear, as for example in the article YA3 by Younis Aftit, where he reports a *dāriǧah* expression used by a *Hirak* demonstrator in front of the judge who condemned him for separatism. The judge did not understand the expression that after that episode became widespread in all the country through a hashtag on Twitter and Facebook. Younis Aftit tries to explain the meaning of the expression in the following example (8):

(8)   حين تجد أن منطقة بأكملها يستحيل أن تجد فيها عائلة ليس بها على الأقل مريض واحد
بالسرطان وأقرب مستشفى للتشخيص والعلاج يبعد بخمسمائة كيلومتر فإن جملة pik y`a
Waldi هي المناسبة.

حين تعلم أن المدينة ليس بها سينما ولا مسرح ولا مكتبة ولا دار للشباب فإنك مـرة أخـرى أمـام
جملة pik y`a Waldi.

Ḥīna taǧid anna minṭaqatᵃⁿ bi-akmali-hā yastaḥīl an taǧid fī-hā ʾāʾilatᵃⁿ laysa bi-hā ʿalà al-aqall marīḍ wāḥid bi ʾl-saraṭān wa aqrab mustašfà li ʾl-tašḫīṣ wa ʾl-ʿilāǧ yabʿad bi-ḫamsimiʾat kilūmitr fa-inna ǧumlat pik yʾa Waldi hiya al-munāsibah.

Ḥīna taʿlam anna al-madīnah laysa bi-hā sīnimā wa lā masraḥ, wa lā maktabah, wa lā dār li ʾl-šabāb fa-inna-ka marrah uḫrà amāma ǧumlat pik yʾa Waldi.

When you see that in your area it's impossible to find a family in which there is not at least one cancer patient and the nearest hospital for diagnosis and treatment is 500 kilometers away, the sentence pik y'a Waldi is appropriate.

When you know that in the city there is not a single cinema, nor a theatre, nor a library or a house for the young you find yourself once again in front of the sentence pik y'a Waldi. [YA3 04/06/2017]

The expression, meaning "Come on!", is written in Latin script in order to isolate it, and to highlight its bitter irony. Empathetically, this expression brings together Rif people by taunting the authorities. Resistance, once again, is expressed through the *ḥogra* feeling, which is conveyed through sarcasm and irony.

Conclusions

The present study shows that the expressions of resistance towards current political and social events in Morocco, emerging from "Goud", vary mainly according to the language varieties and the individual communication strategies. *Fuṣḥà*, *dāriǧah*, and mixed varieties coexist in "Goud". The language choice is undoubtedly an individual and ideological preference of the authors, and each of them adopts different written practices in order to express their common *ḥogra* feeling through various modalities. The plurality of styles emerging from their writing can be separated into the categories of formal/informal or rational/sensational styles. These styles or registers serve the same purposes through different manifestations. For example, if Hamid Zaid generally uses *fuṣḥà* in satirical "literary" forms, Mohammed Socrate prefers *dāriǧah* when sharing his feeling of belonging to the Moroccan people, whereas when addressing power and authorities, he usually switches to *fuṣḥà*. This kind of distance/proximity strategy in functional communication is underlined also in Socrate's peculiar use of 1st *versus* 2nd or 3rd plural persons: his discourses in 1st plural person (often in *dāriǧah*) underline (ideological) proximity to Moroccan people, the contrary is true when he uses 2nd or 3rd plural persons which express distance from authorities and consequent proximity to Moroccans. The opposite strategy in language variety choice is used by Younes Aftit, who prefers to use *dāriǧah* when expressing his anger addressing authorities, while generally he uses *fuṣḥà* in a variety of styles ranging from formal to informal.

The most important aspect to consider is the emergence of mixed styles in "Goud". As shown throughout the analysis, lexical *fuṣḥà* items are often mixed with *dāriǧah* morphosyntactic constructions; the combination of the two varieties outlines both the presence of fuzzy morphosyntactic structures and the realization of mixed styles which display, as shown, several communicative functions. These peculiar linguistic choices influence the written practices of those who, like Socrate, claim to write in *dāriǧah* only. In other words, a text that is supposedly entirely written in *dāriǧah* inevitably shows *fuṣḥà* elements. This is equally due to the diglossic/triglossic continuum of the Arabic language and to the stylistic and communicative purposes of the authors. What is remarkable, however, is the ongoing development of "dest-andardisation", i.e. «a development […] where the validity of the standard is significantly challenged, in practice, as the sole variety for (public) written purposes» (Mejdell 2017: 70). Although *dāriǧah* does not enjoy a prestigious linguistic status, nor it is commonly accepted as a potential standard (official) language, its "resistance" in the formal context of written online press is a growing phenomenon which needs deeper investigation. It is also thanks to editorial experiences such as "Goud", that *dāriǧah* undertook (and under-

takes) the process of informal codification (see conventionalization or "standardization from below") through its extensive written use.

In conclusion, political and social expressions of resistance vehiculated in the analysed corpus, through the ḥogra feeling, gain communicative power with the combination of the two varieties. The increasingly visible presence of dāriǧah and mixed forms of Arabic in (more or less) formal written production, such as online newspapers, could lead to a deeper consideration of social and political discourses, namely the way the public discourse reflects a (conscious/unconscious) change in language ideology and linguistic attitudes.

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