



the Triglossic Situation in the Moroccan Mass media

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Dedication

I dedicate this piece of work

To My mom Fatiha Mennane

To My lovely niece Ghita (the hormone of happiness)

To My sisters Houda & Khaoula

To linguistics

To Music

And To Myself

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List of Abbreviations

MA = Moroccan Arabic

MSA = Modern Standard Arabic

SA = Standard Arabic

DA = Darija

Ara lang = Arabic language

Fr lang = French language

MMM = Moroccan mass media

CA = Classical Arabic

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Abstract

It is obvious that Triglossia exists in many societies around the world. But its penetration in mass media seems to be a debatable issue. Morocco as one of those countries encountered Triglossia in society and the Moroccan mass media. The research problem aims to detect if Triglossia is present in the mass media or if it is experienced only inside society. We have introduced our first objective to determine Triglossia as a phenomenon in the field of sociolinguistics. The second objective addresses this linguistic phenomenon in Moroccan society and its incursion into mass media too. In addition to this, we utilized a quantitative design consisting of an online questionnaire as a source of data collection. We have also attached an interview to enhance our way of analyzing the study. The participants had been selected from S2, S4 and S6 students male and female, aged between 18-50 years old.

The study revealed in the results section that there is a blurry status as to whether Triglossia can be found in the Moroccan mass media or not (figure 4). Besides, there is an arguable issue of whether Darija should be fundamental in TV news and newspapers. In other words, there are conflicting agreements and disagreements between participants (figure 5/6). Furthermore, in (figure 9) people are not sure if SA serves the interests of all Moroccans or not. In brief, the findings are hard to challenge. However, we have provided sufficient analysis to assist in our previous aims and objectives.

Introduction

Moroccan linguistic situation goes back to the ancient times of colonization. The country has suffered a lot during this era from political, economic, and even social influences. As a result, this made Morocco distinctive and diversified in its sociolinguistic phenomena. We can find Diglossia, code-switching, borrowing, bilingualism, Triglossia, and so on...

This study investigates the use of three coexisting languages in a certain area or population.

Namely called “ Triglossia ”. However, we will be discussing and focusing on the existence of this phenomenon in Moroccan mass media.

The research hypothesis is: Triglossia can be beneficial for Moroccan society and mass media as well. While the research questions we are trying to answer are :

- 1) What are the effects of Triglossia on Moroccan people?
- 2) How does Triglossia affects the Moroccan mass media?

This monograph consists of two chapters. The first section includes some basic terminology related to Sociolinguistics and Triglossia. Then followed up with historical background concerning the sociolinguistic situation in Morocco. Besides, we will move to verify the validity of Triglossia in Moroccan mass media. Is it true? And to what extent?.

The second section will be devoted to the analysis of the data collected based on the Triglossic status of Moroccan mass media (Standard Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, French). Finally, we will be presenting a Conclusion that wraps up everything discussed in the theoretical and methodological sections.

A- Theoretical chapter

I. What is Sociolinguistics :

When guessing what sociolinguistics is, the usual answer that hits the mind is “ the scientific study of the relationship between language and society ”. That is true far enough for beginners in the field. However, if we take it from another deep point as a mixed field, the umbrella term sociolinguistics includes researchers working all across the spectrum, from broad linguistics to very specific elements in socio. Thus, sociolinguists can study how the language practices of one community make itself distinctive from other communities. They can also distinguish between language use and social categories like class, status, and gender in a certain community. In addition to this, they can go further and not just study languages within communities. But also how these languages can form various dialects, accents, as well as other sub-areas of sociolinguistics such as code-switching, diglossia, triglossia, etc (Herk, 2012).

The term "sociolinguistics" is a derivational word. It's made up of the words sociology and linguistics. As a result, sociology is concerned with the science of society, whereas linguistics is concerned with the science of language. A combination study of these two terms may result in a societal analysis of language. In other words, it investigates language patterns and their various applications in a given society. Therefore, it explains why people speak differently in different social contexts (Mu'in, 2019).

The concept of “ sociolinguistics ” has firstly appeared in the west in the 1960s and was pioneered by the most prominent linguists such as William Labov in the United States and Basil Bernstein in the United Kingdom without forgetting to mention Dell Hymes, which is another

sociolinguist credited with building the foundation of the study of sociolinguistics as he is the founder of the journal *Language in Society* (Uffaq, 2021).

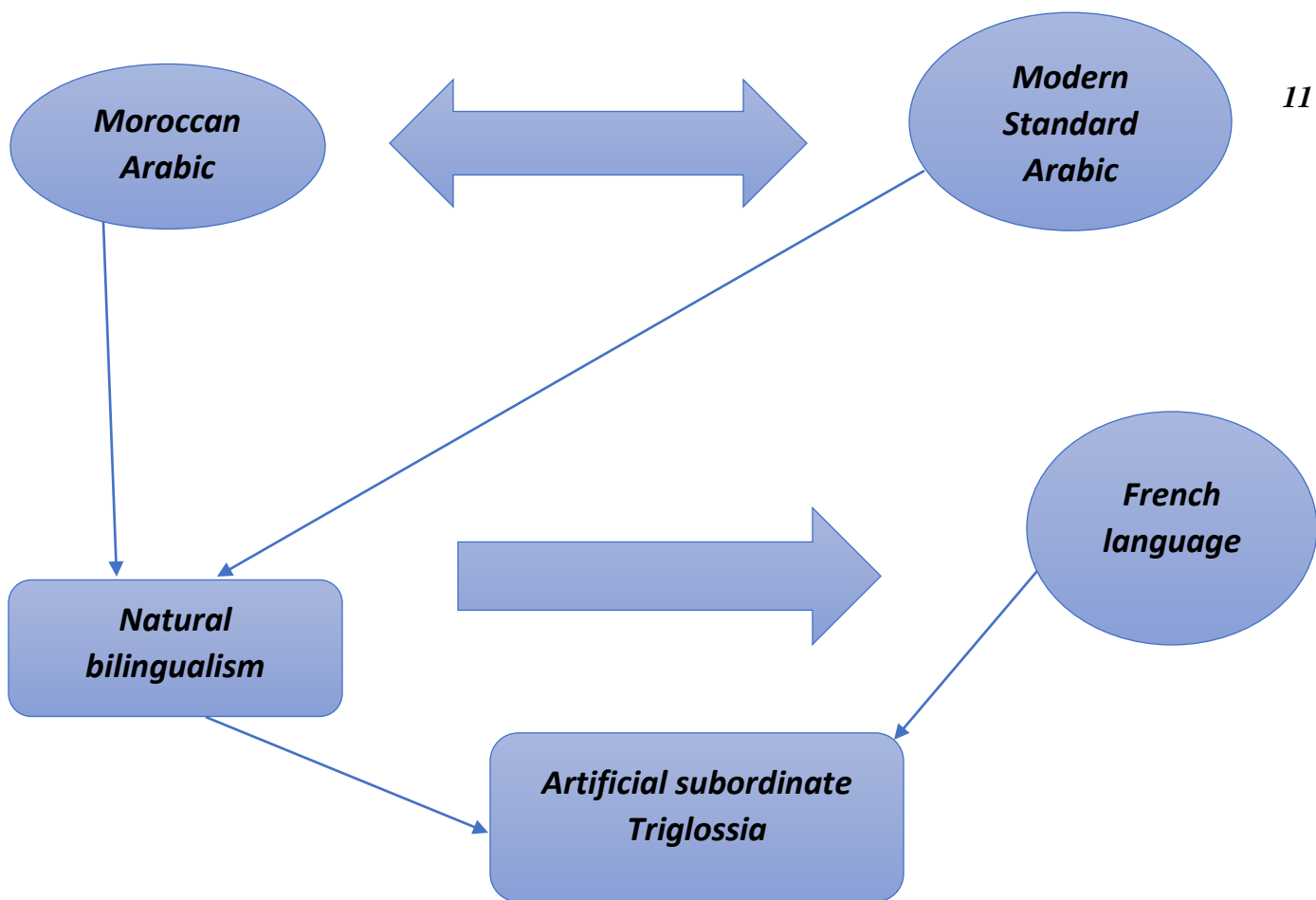
II. What is Triglossia :

We can define triglossia as a person who holds three languages in his or her linguistic field with different degrees of competence in mastering these languages and uses them in various communication situations.

To locate the competence of mastering each language, one resorts to several attributes such as the conditions of language acquisition (Natural / artificial), the age of language acquisition (early/late), the degree of balance of language competence (balanced/unbalanced) since most researchers agree that in each of the three languages, the level of proficiency will differ, and also the frequency of using these languages (more frequency / less frequency) (Tsvietaieva & Pryshchepa, 2019).

Figure: The formation of Triglossia

- The figure below illustrates how Moroccan Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic can be considered natural bilingualism if they exist in a certain area. While
- French could be a result of other factors that will be discussed later on. Therefore, it is named “ Artificial Subordinate Triglossia ”.



Source: student's fieldwork, April, May, 2022

The term “ triglossia ” is modeled on Ferguson’s “ diglossia ” and indicates a language situation whereby three languages are grouped; each of these languages can share in some of their areas, either complementary functional frameworks or overlapping functional frameworks.

An ideal example of a triglossia could be found where regional or vernacular languages exist side-by-side whose basic aim is intragroup communication between people. Besides, the use of the lingua franca is a huge aspect of the education or commerce system of many communities (Mkilifi, 1972).

III. The sociolinguistic situation in Morocco :

Sociolinguistics studies have been extensively expanded in the Maghreb countries, especially in Morocco. There are some studies of different people who went out closely to

analyze language and its relation to society; others define the aspect of multilingualism and Arabization policy since Morocco had acquired its independence.

In recent times, we can discuss the phenomena of globalization that come up with English as a widespread language in the world, particularly in North Africa, and its major impact on education in the Maghreb countries (Moustauoui, 2016).

1.1- Moroccan Arabic existence in the kingdom of Morocco (Darija) :

One of the most special features of making the Arabic language distinctive is Diglossia. The coexistence of colloquial Arabic and modern standard Arabic makes the sociolinguistic situation of the Middle East and North Africa more valuable. Although Arabic represents the most complicated example of diglossia.

The emergence of Arabic varieties is not a new phenomenon. It can be traced back to the pre-Islamic times when different Arabic tribes from Hizaj and Tamim were considered as having pure tongues (lisan fasih). Those tribes have believed that using this variety of language gives them the ability to feel honored and proud among other tribes (Alsahafi, 2016).

Coming back to Morocco, the linguistic richness of Moroccan Arabic (darija) did not come from scratch. It is a mixture of Spaniards, Arabs, Jews, Muslims, and Christians. Morocco was lucky to experience these different cultures and some of them left their linguistic features/functions visible in the country despite their long absence from the Moroccan geography (Ghanami, 2018).

Moroccan Arabic (MA) is said to be derived from classical Arabic and extremely influenced by Berber. It holds a central position in the kingdom wherein you can find it in Mass media, in

people's daily conversations, and even spoken by Berbers as well. Therefore, it can serve as a lingua franca, since Berber dialect varieties are not mutually understandable (Ghanami, 2018).

Moroccan Arabic is relatively limited to daily conversations and informal occasions. Otherwise, that view is not correct severely, with the rise of Modern Standard Arabic as a mediator between Classical Arabic (CA) and Moroccan Arabic (MA).

Modern Standard Arabic is widely used and accepted in many institutions like administrations, education, and media. Whereas Classical Arabic is left for religious matters and traditions since it is the language of the Holy Qur' an.

As we have debated so far, Modern Standard Arabic is used in education, yet students usually come across hard notions that cannot be grasped at ease. This leads teachers to use Moroccan Arabic as an effective way of explaining these notions and concepts (Ghanami, 2018).

As the Arabs arrived in North Africa, there were three existing languages; CA, vernacular or colloquial Arabic, and Berber, which was recently named "Tamazight". Hence, the Arabic language came as a savior to delete the existence of Latin languages in Morocco. While the linguistic situation between Berber-Arab Moroccans is taken as Berbers are still obliged to interact with people in Moroccan Arabic to deal well with their businesses, particularly those living in the cities (Ghanami, 2018).

Nowadays, there is a confusing situation whereby Moroccans encounter difficulty with what to consider their mother tongue. Some of them believe that it is a language; others as a dialect of Modern Standard Arabic. Another side went away to put it as a vernacular of modern Standard Arabic. People have diverged thoughts about MA status. However, we have to scan the issue

from an academic perspective and forget about what people's hearsay ideas can offer. (Ghanami, 2018).

To situate the situation solidly, MSA has a focal interest in the country since it is standardized and codified by the spoken and written form in contrast to MA, which is powerless and used among people just in a spoken form. Hence, if we perceive a language as a formal unit and standard variety wherein dialect is a subordinate dominant category to a certain language. We conclude that Moroccan Arabic is a dialect and not a language (Ghanami, 2018).

1.2- French existence in the kingdom of Morocco :

Morocco has been widely regarded as a road map for languages to get in contact with each other and also due to the proximity of its geography, making it an open window on Europe. After Morocco gained its independence, one could specify French as a lingua franca that assists in breaking down the gaps between people and unifying them inside Moroccan society. On the opposite, French is taken as a major granted tool for the upper classes, since not all Moroccans know how to use it properly. Despite claiming such a statement, it is still evident that the French language has an obvious impact on Moroccan society (Luomala, 2016).

In the colonial era, the French authorities announced that French must be the language used in all domains, particularly education. From that point, the language starts getting an upper priority and maintaining a crucial role in the educational system (Mjahed & Mya, 2020).

Many changes have been superimposed on the educational system in Morocco. As the project of Arabization finally came out to embrace Moroccans' ability to master their official language. Consequently, plans for making a seat for Arabization have failed. Moreover, French stole the

glimpse and became obligatory in education, especially if a student wants to pursue his/her studies at university. This leads Moroccan parents to shift the path to the private sector and boost their children's skills in the French language by joining evening classes since their future studies depend on it (Mjahed & Mya, 2020).

The French language created a big fear for students who do not speak it, causing huge dropouts and making them switch their field of study and enroll in different specializations such as Arabic studies, history, etc. The obstacle made the government think about two choices, whether to depend on standard Arabic and maintain it or shed the light on the French language. Eventually, the government decided to go with the last option as part of fulfilling the gap in higher education by applying and implementing French in scientific subjects such as mathematics, and physics in high schools (Mjahed & Mya, 2020).

The dominance of the french before independence brought about essential strong correlated relationships between the two countries and relied on the french to control the industrial world by conducting business which helped the two sides (France & Morocco) to meet their interests in the economy.

Keeping up in line with the statements of the Ministry of Europe and foreign affairs, the economic partnership between France and Morocco is moving forward every year. This is truly evident with foreign trade in Morocco exceeding more than 75% with France. This powerful link shows exactly that France is a dear supplier to Morocco. It is also worth mentioning the number of French companies is increasing at a good pace bringing multiple job chances in the domains of automotive, and electronics serving those fluent speakers of the French language to be targeted and getting easily involved in the job market (Mjahed & Mya, 2020).

Corresponding to what we have stated so far, Moroccans must use French instead of standard Arabic which did not have any role in the economy of Morocco. In so doing, Morocco will defend its economic position in front of France and Europe.

Moroccans hold a certain positive attitude towards French after its closeness and its establishment of the economic development of Morocco, which is extremely attached to France, as well as the upper class always associates the success of their business with the French language.

The language is highly recommended due to its modernity and the important role that plays in the evolution of Morocco's economy for years. It allows Moroccans to access advanced technology, and experience the Western way of lifestyle because of the geographic nearness of Morocco to the European continent. For instance, young educated girls are keen to use French in different places of society. It hands them respect and privilege in the Moroccan community (Mjahed & Mya, 2020).

1.3- Standard Arabic existence in the kingdom of Morocco :

Arabic was introduced to North Africa by the invasion of Muslims. To begin with, the Arabization policy was likely to happen since Berber, and Arabic share some structural similarities. Nevertheless, the Arabization project did not continue its way as it should have, specifically in Algeria and Morocco. The Berber language lasted over Arabic until today. This is fairly visible according to some non-linguistic factors, such as making a large gap between the Berber and Arabs which was rarely used in cities rather than in the rural and mountain areas. Besides, the demography of Berber-speaking regions helped in raising a higher number of speakers than Arabs that were unable to resist this linguistic situation (Aguade, 2018).

Modern Standard Arabic has been the official language since 1962. It is spoken in over twenty countries as it is considered to have a higher prestige in the country whereby it is used all over the major institutions like education, religion, administrations, and media as well.

We call it Modern Standard Arabic because it is modernized and standardized by a written and spoken form where it is used in communication, literature, and communication between major Arabic-speaking countries. In Morocco, they are 40% of the population is mastering MSA. It is also a lovely language for researchers since it permits them to analyze it throughout its changes and the evolution of its lexicon, as well as syntax and semantics concerning European languages (Anderson, 2013).

MSA does not only offer the opportunity to interact with people, but also to avoid the problem raised by the multiplicity of its varieties or what we call “ Dialects ”. However, if a person wants to enrich his/her knowledge in a given language, the best advice is to learn both SA along with a preferred dialect of his/her own (Durand, 2018).

Now, it is more than clear that Modern Standard Arabic is not a mother tongue for some Arabic countries; although the people of a certain country tend to say they speak it in a pure form, it is impossible as a result of heavy use of their dialect. Thus, using Modern Standard Arabic opens up the doors to be a unified tool by integrating different Arabic races despite all dialects under one organized flag termed “ MSA ” (Wheatley, 2022).

IV. The triglossic status of Moroccan mass media :

1) What do we mean by Mass media?

It is quite normal to think of mass media as a single word “ medium ” that means something in-between something else. Mass media have the goal of reaching a large mass of people. The

message in mass media can be disseminated through various forms to meet a set of goals through multiple platforms including radio, television, newspapers, magazines, and internet-posted materials such as blogs, video creators, and so on. In doing so, the message may be easier and more accessible to the audience (Mc Fadden, 2016).

The term “ mass media ” refers to technologies that allow a small group of individuals to communicate with a larger group. The idea was initially discussed during the era of the 1920s, in reaction to increased options for elites to reach broad audiences through mass media such as newspapers, radio, and film.

Later on, during the same period, the concept of mass media turned out to mean “ Alternative media ” or “ mass self-communication ” as a new form of communication. In other words, mass media points out the uniform consumption, and anonymity of the viewers, rather than the number of people reached by such communication (Hirst, 2018In th).

We cannot mention mass media without shedding the light on its relation with society. Thus, mass media and society are two credible entities that are intricately linked. Their role is to be neutral and not driven by any governmental interference. If the media did so, their statements would influence people’s views not just locally but globally as well.

As a matter of change, print media such as newspapers, and magazines have been transformed recently due to the digitization of mass media to reach the worldwide market to impact political, economic, and social matters (NIMCJ, 2019).

2) The use of Darija in Mass media :

a) 2M:

MA has been a new phenomenon existing in the media in different domains like Radio, Internet, and even TV. During the fall of 2008, a new wave of series appeared called “ dubbed series ” after the announcement of the new director of 2M TV, Salim Cheikh, with his intentions to telecast such programs. However, after the implementation of this new order, a bunch of critics in the press and the web have fallen on the channel from Moroccans. Later on, Al Oula itself broadcast a Mexican series in MA, but that looks quite acceptable because Moroccan spectators used to watch Moroccan series in Moroccan Arabic and Egyptian series in Egyptian Arabic too.

Language use in the media is a substantial aspect of how we perceive the world and reality. So, the media changes its language from time to time to suit its audience (Kouihi, 2015).

2M TV station uses different languages to present its programs depending on the taste of its audience. Although it appears that it serves some political, and economic interests of a small portion of privileged Moroccan society (Abbou, 2016).

According to Zakhir (2018), after conducting a questionnaire which consisted of 63 students in high school by discussing with them their attitudes towards MA and its use in new media of communication, he stated: “ the results reveal that new media of communication have significant effects on the spread of MA in society. Both students and teachers use MA in sending messages, chatting with friends, exchanging emails, and following TV and radio programs. These new functions of MA gave it an advanced role in Moroccan communication. It shifts from an oral low variety to a written non-standard one ”.

b) The Moroccan magazine “ Nichane ” :

The liberation of Darija has been taking place since the early 2000s. Its status has changed in a strange way shifting from awkwardness and mismatching with the education system into centering itself as a language of trends and modernity.

Despite releasing the 2011 constitution, it does not mention Darija as a single entity; rather, it symbolizes the plurality of various linguistic aspects existing in the kingdom. Even though written languages have a higher position than spoken ones. There is a request by many people for reviving Darija in front of MSA presence. In doing so, it would be in a sense eliminating Islam and the Arab nation. However, all of a sudden a new wave appeared after the published article “ Darija langue Nationale ” by the francophone Journal *TelQuel* in 2002. Unfortunately, the article claimed that Darija is the Moroccan language from their everyday talk, but at the same time, it lacks the status of being a formal language. In this context, Moroccans do not show respect to Darija and feel embarrassed when using their mother tongue. Nevertheless, in education, it has a focal role in the instruction process. Though officially it is not allowed, teachers use it to facilitate the comprehension of a given lesson (Hoogland, 2018).

In the media, the situation is a little bit unfamiliar. The mix of Darija and MSA ends with people speaking in an extremely difficult way when standard Arabic gets tackled with the use of a microphone.

The presentation of *Nichane* magazine has paved the way for a new form of Darija by avoiding the previous limits of marginalizing it and giving it a prestige status by marking its transition from spoken system to written system as well (Hoogland, 2018).

Another aspect of Darija is its use for cultural creativity. The landmarks are of good use because they are incredibly high utilized in dubbed programs and also in publicity where you will find

various billboards putting Darija highlighted in their messages to reach the maximum enough clients. This shows exactly the development of Darija at an accelerated pace competing with SA.

Nichane was issued in 2006 and was sharing its content every week until 1 October 2010, when it faced some problems due to the lack of advertisement revenue. After these repetitive problems, it was shut down. It was available in kiosks and on tables in Cafés. People were discussing everything about it, especially the language used in most of its articles, along with people who were hiding the magazine from their parents because of its offensive photos (Hoogland, 2018).

In the year 2010, I interviewed Ahmed Benchemsi, and in response to my question on why Darija was used, he simply said that he was convinced that DA is the natural language of Moroccans; a real street language fitting for a political manner of expression.

Ksikes was not supporting the idea of spreading Darija in each content of the magazine, as he mentioned that it can be used as headings or when journalists write people's speeches when they get interviewed. We cannot wipe out the supported idea by some researchers that Darija is a language of communication in Nichane's Magazine. Morgan, Elinson, et al went so far as to consider Darija as the official language of Nichane, as it is also more lovable than SA because of its popularity and its wide comprehensibility (Hoogland, 2018).

c) Wikipedia :

Situated at a crossroads between Africa, Europe, and the Islamic world, Morocco has historically been a region where different cultures met and mixed with each other. An interesting outcome of this rich history is the emergence of the so-called Moroccan Darija (Sedrati & Ait ali, 2019).

Wikimedia was a community-driven setup by allowing all languages to be available on one platform since it has different pages. Moreover, taking this step will respect people's sub-

languages and avoid discrimination among them. The aim of this project was to create an official MA version of Wikipedia as what occurred with the Egyptian Arabic version which has surpassed more than 20000 articles (Sedrati & Ait ali, 2019).

Compared with the Egyptian version, the reason for bringing Darija into Wikipedia's platform was to disseminate the knowledge in a handy and workable way. Thereby, this will free Moroccans from searching somewhere in CA and western languages as well, which offers poor quality documentation of the local culture and history of Morocco (Sedrati & Ait ali, 2019).

Getting Darija involved in this project led to many issues. Foremost, Wikipedia is a well-established written platform, while Darija has an oral form resulting in different ways Moroccan users present it in written form depending on their specific regional dialect. Hence, this created confusion and raised conflicts between users on which alphabets should be agreed upon. For instance, the word “ say ” can be written in various shapes like qol, 9ol, gol, or by prolonging the vowel in-between to become longer in pronunciation. Furthermore, the issue of choosing the appropriate keyboard seems to manipulate users a little bit. It dates back to the early stages when computers entered Morocco and people were forced to write in Latin letters. For the time being, the situation has been altered and many modern computers are equipped with Arabic keyboards. However, the problem of which keyboard should be utilized as the official one is still a debate among many users. The first reason, some of the users tend to use the Latin alphabet, since it is the first one that was proposed. The second reason, the children of Moroccan immigrants living abroad mainly in Europe do not know the Arabic Alphabet and they use only the Latin alphabet for better communication. Eventually, at the beginning of April 2019, some opponents emerged who absolutely reject the use of a given alphabet, or a certain dialect and even questioned the presence of Darija on Wikipedia pages, leading to the decline of articles published in Darija,

something that frustrates and discourages editors who see the waste of their efforts in front of their eyes (Sedrati & Ait ali, 2019).

3) *Standard Arabic in the national Moroccan media :*

The media scene in Morocco is very rich. Taking several forms like visual, radio, written, and electronic media. At the visual level, there are 9 public Tv channels controlled, owned, and operated by the state. These channels present various programs particularly in SA and French, while at the radio level, there are 14 national radio stations; all of them are state-owned except “ Medi 1 ” and “ Sawa ” (Aljamiei, 2007).

Concerning the existence of SA in Morocco, some people have proposed some individual indicators that MSA is on a decline. However, MSA is hugely used in media, political speeches, and religion. Hence, what people speak about is just the decline of MSA referring to literature, literacy, and the increase in the use of its sub-dialects.

MSA is suffering because Arabs consider it to be limited only to political and religious contexts. The situation truly exists and we find it in the making of different movies and TV shows that are mostly done in the vernaculars (Abouzahr, 2018).

In the light of this talk, Benaser (2014) claimed that people are very thankful for those who support the linguistic variation in the Moroccan press for multiple purposes. But the latter was not fair enough in distributing languages equally. In recent days, western languages and Darija have become a fundamental pillar in the Moroccan satellite channels, whereas SA was left and restricted to play its role as a secondary language or in religious matters.

Additionally, Bou’ali as a member of the national observatory of media languages in Rabat, clarifies that there is a chaotic status in the national media. As an example, SA is rarely to be

found in the Moroccan media except in daily news or religious speeches, as if it is a hidden message from the media domain responsables that SA will not meet the requirement of communication and daily interaction. So, it must be limited to literature, poetry, etc. On the other edge, they attempt to dominate the French language and impose a new form of Darija mixed with French statements which have no link at all with the Moroccan Darija, that Moroccans have excelled with it in different domains (Mehou, 2017).

For instance, 2M, as a channel funded by taxpayer money, has taken a bold step during the holy month by mocking the Arabic language. It presented a comedy series named “ Al khawasser ”. The actors used a mixture of Classical Arabic and Darija in their dialogues. Therefore, this action pushed The national coalition for Arabic to express its sincere refusal and declare that this was done to make fun of the Ara Lang and decrease its use in the national media as well (MWN, 2015).

It seems that the relationship between Arabic and the media is a strongly correlated one. We cannot see the media grow and flourish without the assistance of the language as well. As an illustration, we have different sub-languages and dialects in the Arab world, causing a reduction in the progressing of Ara Lang and resulting in a new concept of language (dialects) to deliver an easily understandable speech (Talal, 2003).

They are some people who say that Arabic must be capable of transmitting knowledge. As we return to the case of Arab scientists, we can assume that they were not able in improving their language as long as they have never participated in improving the sciences and human knowledge (Talal, 2003).

In this context, we can mention the educational backwardness that made Arab Lang odd to its speakers. This pushes concerned people in the TV media to present a convenient formula matching the requirements for spreading illiteracy among peoples. This formula is what made Ara Lang drown in a marginalized reality, taking from the vernacular an easy solution to deal with the audience (Talal, 2003).

Recently, we find the use of Ara Lang in TV incarnate in a linguistic duality leading to laying some problems not obtaining solutions through overgeneralization of the “ blurring ” concept that concerns journalists in delivering the intended message in a precise and clarified form to the recipient. That is to say, the principle of clarity does not devalue the speech or adopt the colloquial instead. Otherwise, it is the easiness in handling the comprehension process of a given discourse.

As we have been following for a whole week, the performing method of Moroccan TV news. We discovered that it takes technical pattern more than the linguistic mode and that is called “ media language ”. Whereas we detected a big presence in employing the nominal sentence than the verbal sentence as a step to solidify the information. Even if it is technically accepted; linguistically, it is prohibited because of the effective role the verbal sentence holds in carrying meaning (Talal, 2003).

4) French in the Moroccan Mass media: To what Extent?

The roots of the French language stem from historical reasons related to French colonization, which was fighting the Ara Lang versus supporting the French language to create an elite people sharing its common interests. Besides, despite the Arabization attempts Morocco had made for its institutions, it all ended in failing results except for the successful operation of Arabizing the judiciary system. While the Moroccan street still compelled in using French, this generated a

division between a category mastering the language and the other having an inferior view towards it. Hence, the outcome was a class disparity among people (Arabic post, 2020).

Based on Belkacem (2018), claimed that the French language swept over both the governmental media sector and the independent, too, in terms of finance and management. Additionally, we see American movies dubbed in French as an alternative to Tamazight and Darija, as most developed countries have dubbed the movies in their native language to make them very accessible to citizens like Spain, Turkey, and Germany. Similarly, and equally important, the echo of French went to a far extent where it was penetrated in the production of cartoons dedicated to children that were mostly cast in French or Classical Arabic. This comes up with an educational generation characterized by a “ Francoarabic ” touch.

During the French occupation and after it, some Moroccan newspapers were published in Fr lang at that time. The nationalist Mohamed Al Ouazzani established “ l’action du peuple ” in 1933. The French weekly magazines concerning Moroccan issues and their raising voices condemning the colonial regime. The nationalists in Morocco were inspired by resistance movements in Egypt, which also were opposing British colonization in their national media (Alaoui, 2012).

The appearance of Radio in Morocco was related to French colonization during the 20th Century in North Africa. The colonizers used it to tickle the emotions of the colonized peoples, to assist and stand with France, as we have to clarify that Radio had a solid relationship a long time ago among peoples. They were using it as a military tool of communication. Subsequently, it changed into a civilian tool whereby Radio stations began to set up in the kingdom starting in Tangier because it was enjoying an international and worldwide commercial position. To give an instance, there was “ Radio Maroc ” which was established in 1928 as a version of “ Radio France ” directly after Mohamed Ben Youssef took his reign. By doing this, French authorities

were delighted considering that its desire to keep in touch with the French residents in Morocco and integrate Moroccans with the French language had proved to be favorable to the colonial regime (Kanbouri, 2014).

The research Gap :

Although there are studies explaining Triglossia in the Moroccan mass media, we have few works dealing with the effectiveness of Darija as a written form in the mass media. Thus, researchers must enhance their studies regarding Moroccan Arabic as one of three important languages in mass media.

B- Methodological Chapter

1- Data collection :

This piece of research opted for a questionnaire and interview as a data collection tool. The type of researching this paper results in Quantitative research, which is based on numerical data.

This would assist us in achieving the aim and research questions of this study. The questionnaire targeted participants from S2, S4, and S6 students male and female aged between 18 to 50 years old. While interview takes place in Ibn tofail university by asking people who study there four questions concerning the triglossic situation in the Moroccan mass media despite their various majors.

2- Findings :

▪ Online questionnaire

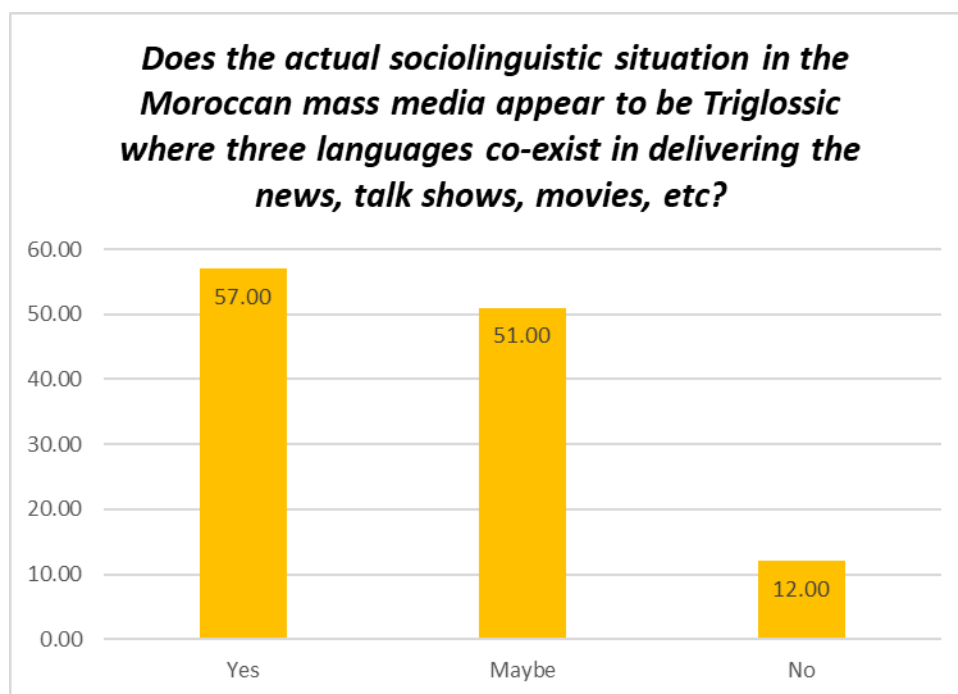


Figure 4: The Column above picks up the opinion of people concerning the Triglossic status in Moroccan mass media. This figure illustrates that 57 people voted for yes that the sociolinguistic situation in the Moroccan mass media seems to be Triglossic. But at the same time we see 51 people who has some confusion as whether to meet the requirement of the question or stay neutral. Whereas only 12 people voted for No.

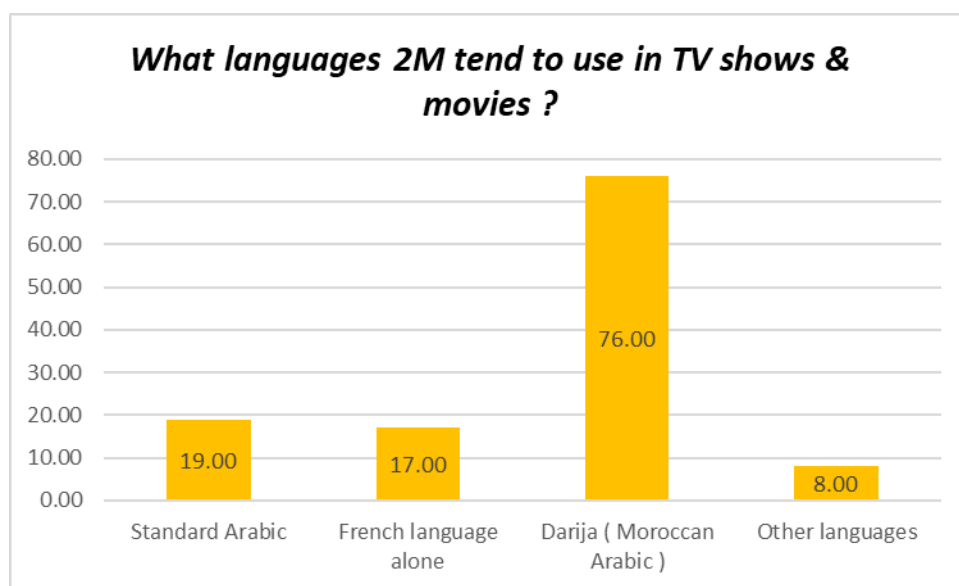


Figure 5: The Column above selects the answers of people about the language used in Tv shows & movies of 2M (Moroccan national TV).This figure claims that 19 respondents answered with Standard Arabic, 17 respondents answered with French language only, 76 respondents answered with Darija (Moroccan Arabic) and only 8 respondents answered with other languages.

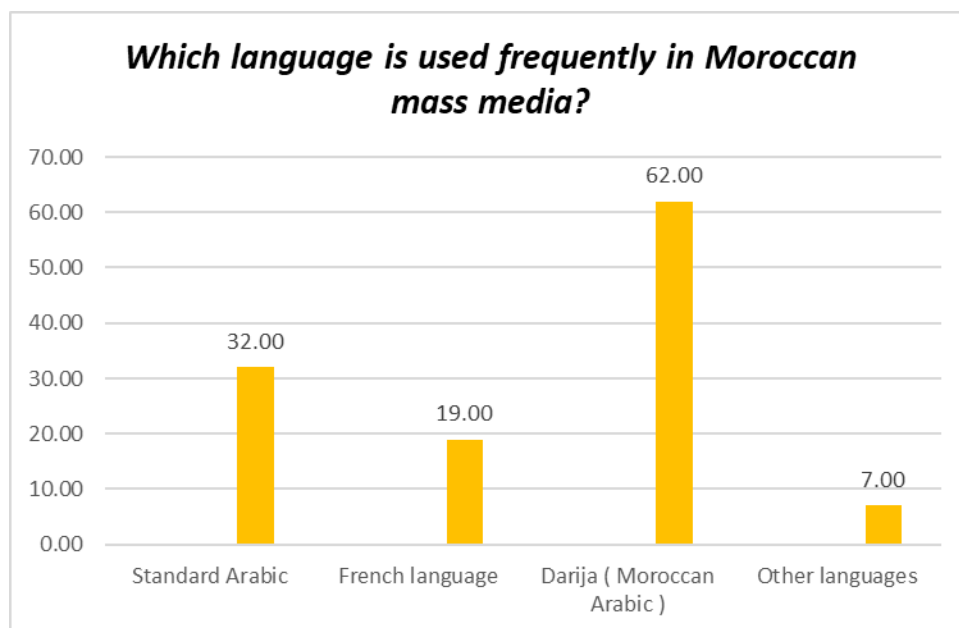


Figure 6: The Column above chooses the answers of people about the language used frequently in Moroccan mass media. This figure states that 32 people chose Standard Arabic as the most used one, 19 people chose the French language, 62 people chose Darija (Moroccan Arabic) and only 7 people chose other languages. The graph indicates that it can be some overrating for the answer “ Darija ” as the most frequently used in Moroccan mass media. As the reader to not get confused, the question is clear. It deals with the most used language in Moroccan mass media in General. Hence, the latter includes various platforms while sharing or telecasting a given programme.

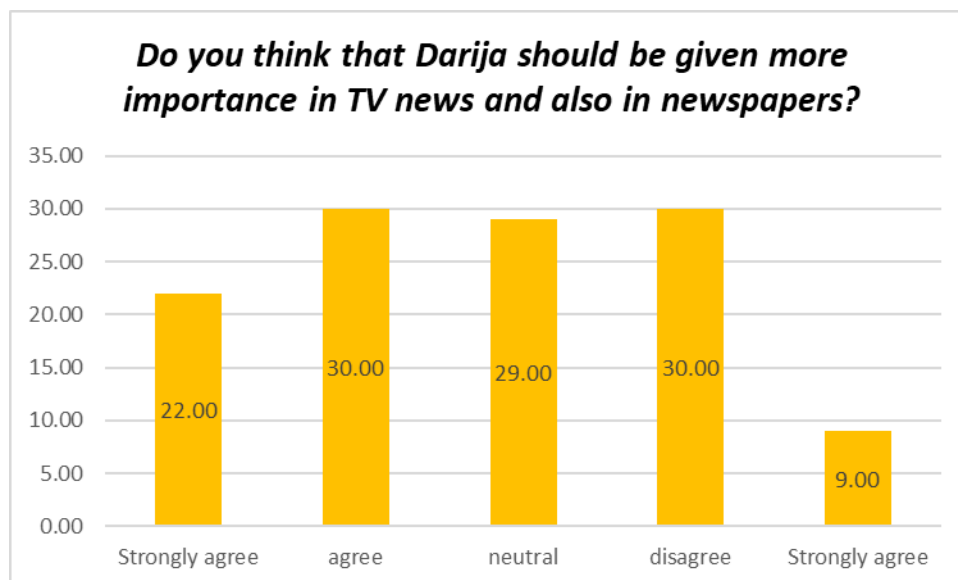


Figure 7: The Column above shows to what extent people can accept Darija to be used in Tv news and also in newspapers. This figure expresses that 22 and 30 people strongly agree/agree on the importance of Darija in TV news and also in newspapers, 29 who are neutral, 30 people who disagree, and only 9 people who strongly disagree. As it can be noted, the numbers are very close, and this may be an index that the Moroccan arabic is debatable and open for discussion regarding its presence or absence from TV news and newspapers.

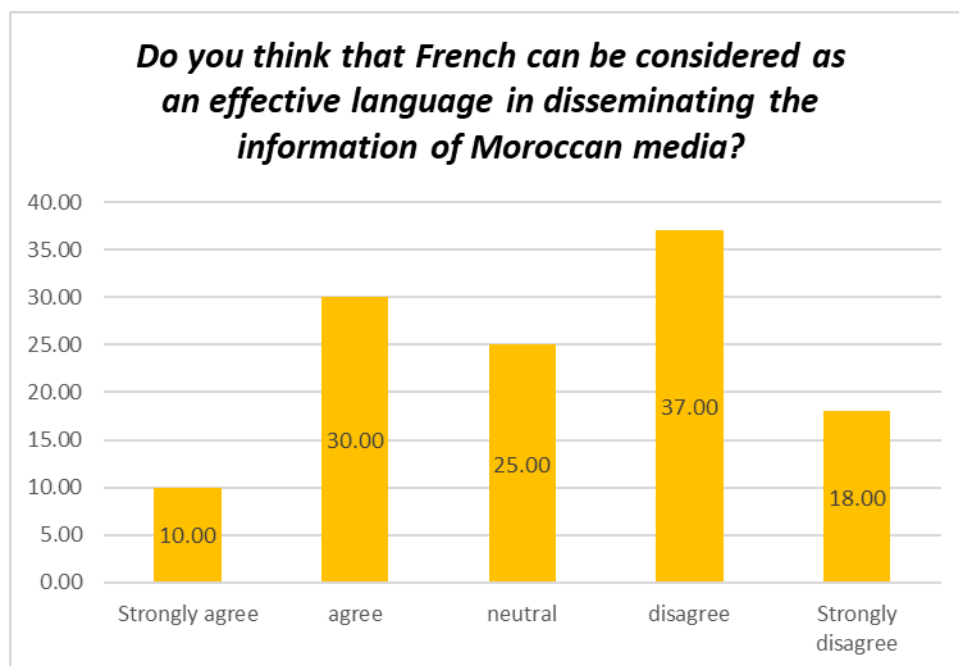


Figure 8: The Column above denotes the answers of people if French can be an effective language in disseminating the information of Moroccan media. This figure reveals that 10 people strongly agreed on the effectiveness of French in Moroccan mass media, 30 people normally agreed, 25 people stayed neutral, 37 people disagreed and only 18 people answered strongly disagree.

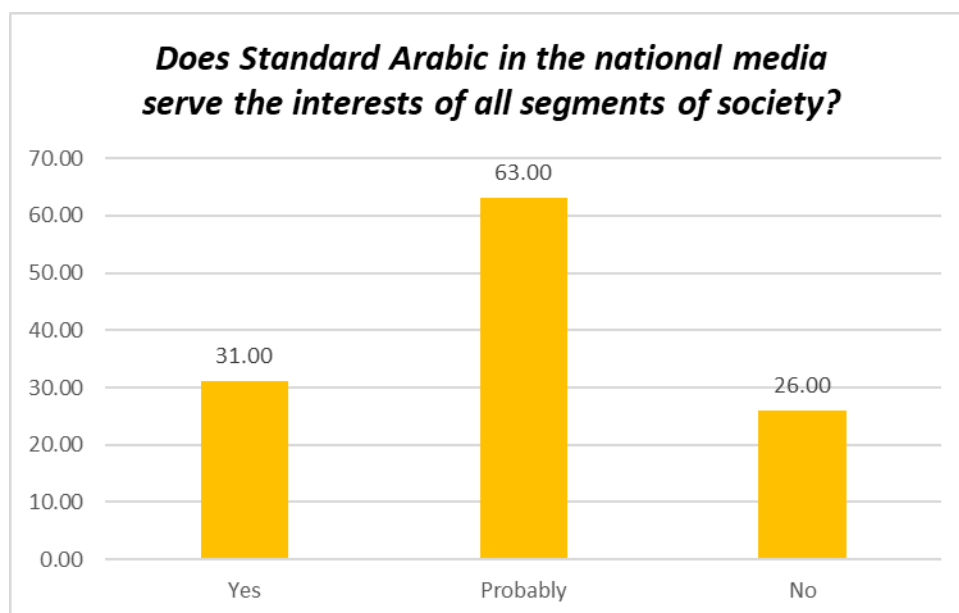


Figure 9: The Column above displays the views of people towards the Applicability of Standard Arabic in serving the interests of all segments of society. This Figure presents 31 people who voted for Yes, 63 voted for Probably and only 26 people voted for No. The same situation happens here as it already occurred in Figure 7. It is apparent that the participants are unclear if SA in the national media serves the needs of Moroccan people in all ways.

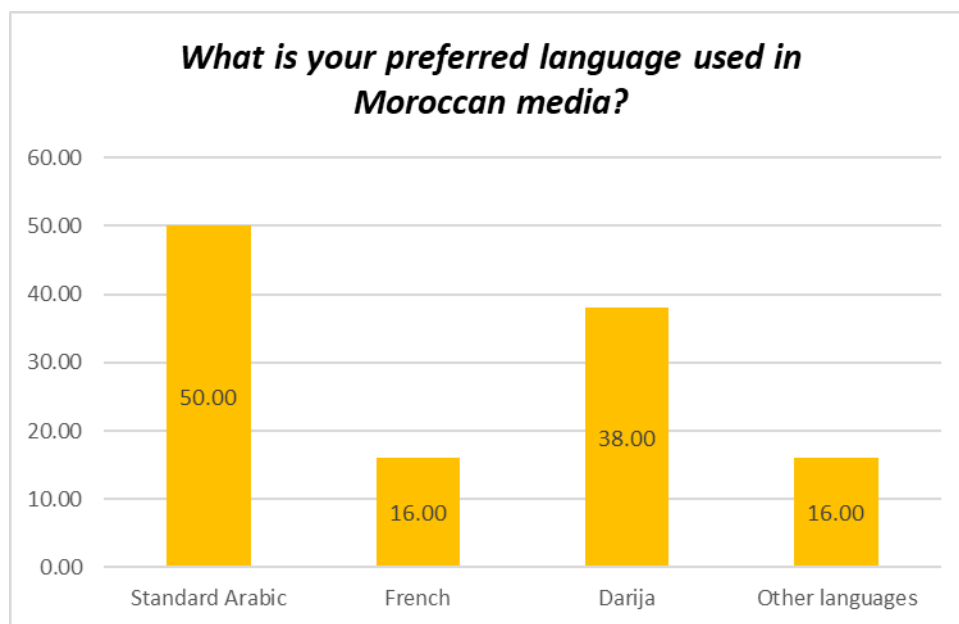


Figure 10: The Column above demonstrates the preferred language used in Moroccan media. This figure clarifies that 50 people went with Standard Arabic, 16 people went with French, 38 people did so with Darija and only 16 people picked up other languages. Most people preferred the Standard Arabic and this goes back to religious and cultural backgrounds of Moroccan people since most of them are muslims. Besides, it can be also the incapability of not understanding french or other foreign languages as well as those who feel embarrassed to hear or watch something in Darija because of its sensitive vernacular vocabulary.

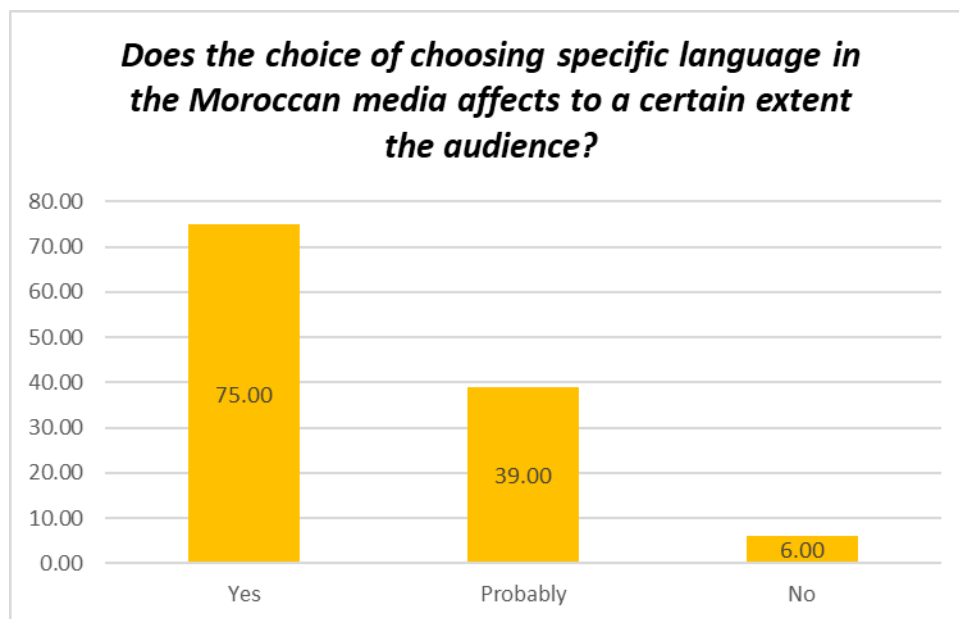


Figure 11: The column above represents the choice of choosing a particular language in the Mass media to affect the Moroccan audience. This figure conveys that 75 people said Yes, 39 people said Probably and only 6 people said No. The figure illustrates that the audience extremely agree that choosing a particular language in the media has the ability to impact the audience and direct it towards a certain path.

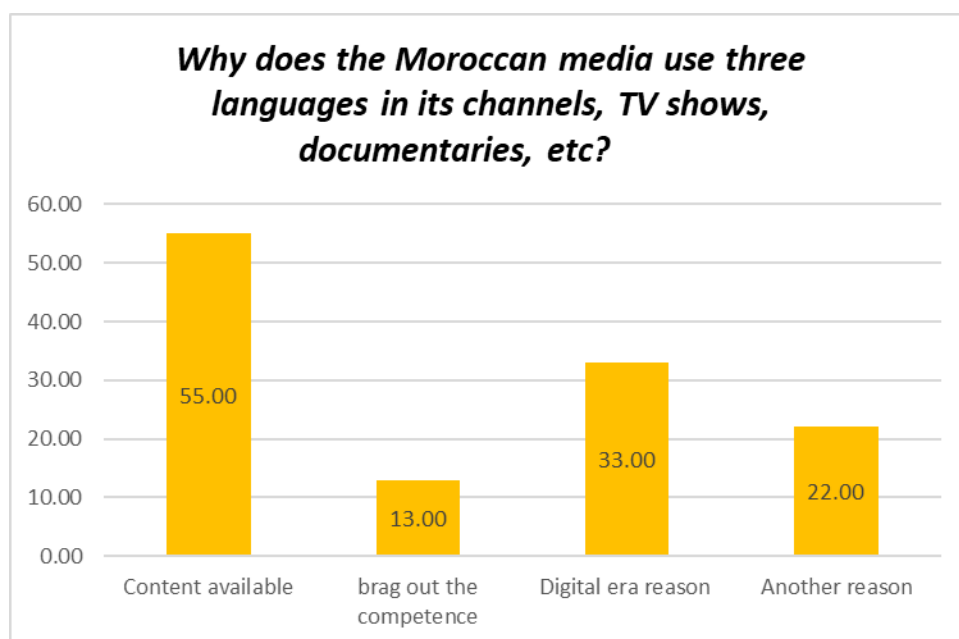


Figure 12: The column above gives clear answers to people about the reasons behind using three languages in the Moroccan mass media. This figure discloses that 55 people adopted the first answer “ To make the Moroccan content available worldwide, particularly in Europe and the Mena region”, and 13 people adopted the second answer “ To brag about its competence in front of other Arab media”, 33 people chose the third answer “ Because the digital era pushes Moroccan media to be obliged in dealing with three languages” and 22 people picked up the fourth answer “ It would be another reason/answer”.

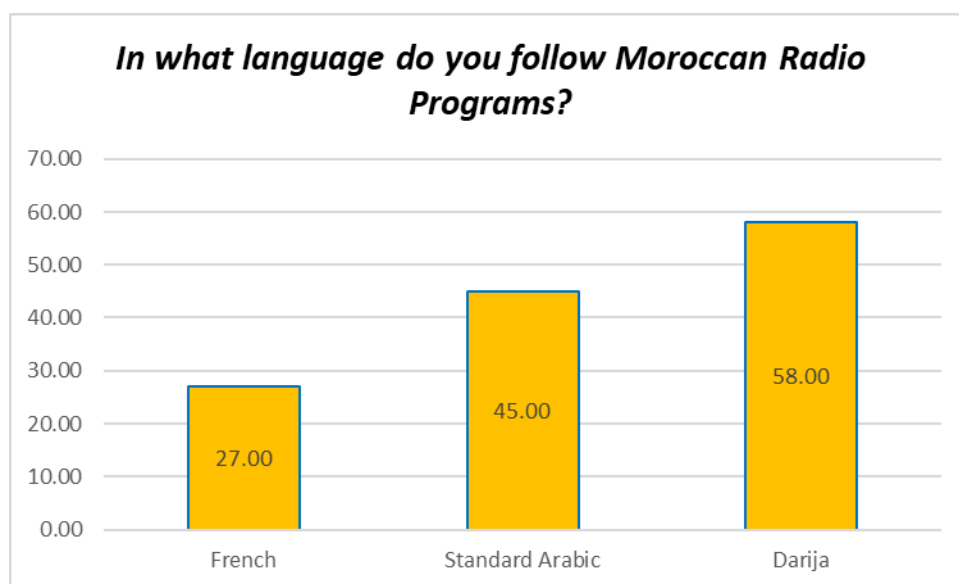


Figure 13: The Column above is about the language that the Moroccan audience follows in their Radio programs. This figure discovers that 27 people listen to Radio programs in the French language, 45 people follow these programs in Standard Arabic and 58 people go along with Darija in attending these programs.

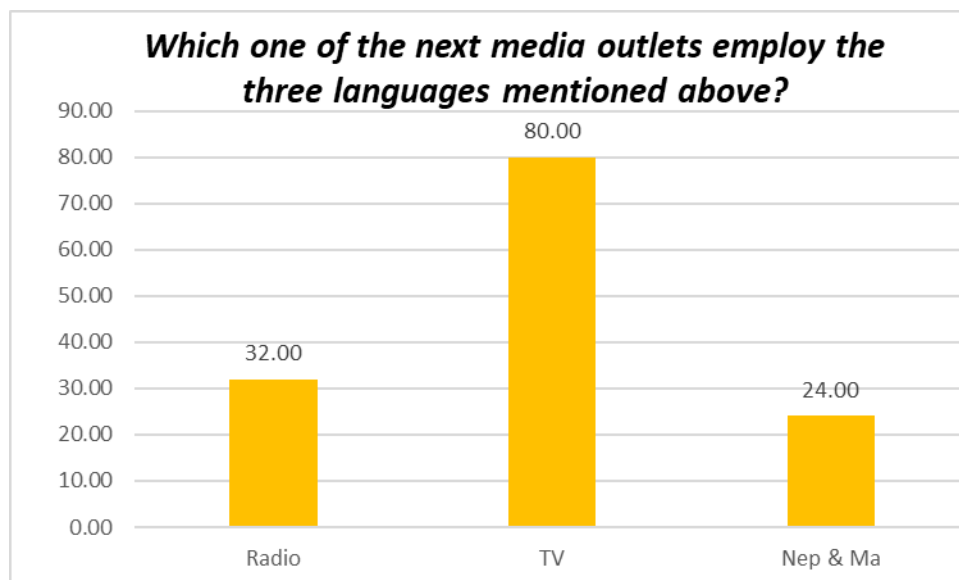


Figure 14: The column above asks the participants to vote for three media outlets (Radio, TV, Newspapers & Magazines) that use the three languages we already talked about in the previous Data. This figure observes that 32 people responded that Radio is the medium outlet that uses the three languages, 80 people responded that TV could be the one using these languages while only 24 responded to the possibility of having these languages in Newspapers and magazines.

■ *Interview*

PERSON 1: Q1 = “Standard Arabic is restricted in Mass media because Moroccan darija is highly diversified and dialects heavily influenced our perception of certain words/concepts. Therefore, Standard Arabic must be used since it is the global language which makes everything less vague and more reliable”.

Q2 = “Yes because a lot of Moroccans would feel comfortable speaking their own dialect and since Moroccans don’t speak standard Arabic in their daily lives. It would only make the conversation awkward and harder for them to communicate effectively”.

Q3 = “I think that the reason is that they think that people who speak french make up the majority of the audience in mass media”.

Q4 = “Probably would go with standard Arabic because it would be the most suitable one since all Moroccans speak it. Therefore, the audience will be a lot larger and the information would reach most people a lot easier”.

PERSON 2: Q1& Q3 = “I think because the first foreign language in Morocco is French I think that’s the reason why mostly french is the most used language in intellectual programs and Darija is obviously the first language used there cause that’s the language most Moroccans would understand / I guess it is used the same so the question doesn’t really work here so I think it’s used from my point of view I feel like it is used enough in Mass media / because French is our first foreign language in Morocco so obviously they would use it more”.

Q2 = “I think it would be highly recommended cuz that’s the language that everyone would understand every person even people who don’t know how to speak other languages like French”.

Q4 = “French is the one affecting me the most because even in our like daily conversations we use some words in French. You can have a conversation in Darija but we use loaned words”.

PERSON 3: Q4 = “The language that affects me in Moroccan mass media is Darija you know and in some regions, they used to speak Amazigh I don’t know. In some other regions they speak Berber, right? And even the french because I have to study French, so I have to learn french for 6 months even though the french is not sufficient for me to learn because 6 months is not enough for a person to learn a language and you know the language has a big vocabulary and everything you know”.

PERSON 4: Q4 = “I would say that the Moroccan media must be more integrated with French than Arabic. It's good to speak Arabic, but Arabic was among the population, but the population must try out in French to be able to do a little more (do more effort to have a seat) on the international level”.

PERSON 5: Q2 = “We speak Darija because it is the habitual language for us. We used to speak it since we were children. It is used to express our thoughts. For instance, when you say easy stuff, the recipient will get the information and receive a better comprehension. Not like if you speak in English or French. Furthermore, one word can take various paths in transmitting its meaning, especially if a person lives in a certain region. That would impart words holding cultural features of his/her culture”.

Q3 = “French is like when you enroll in military training, it took the path of being habitual. For example, if you have an interview, the first thing to do is to prepare yourself that you are going to pass it in French. However, if he came across personal questions, he would simply speak in Darija while another person who speaks French or English and neglects the native language, he is changing his identity. Thus, it's like you're talking to another figure”.

PERSON 6: Q1 = “It is a professional language in delivering the information, and even the TV channels we watch such as Al Jazeera or France 24, are using a language that makes the consumer whether Arabic or Moroccan, grasp a given message in the news programs”.

Q2 = “Morocco targets some countries and categories of society who search for certain information in French, but other information is available in the Arabic media in general”.

Q3 = “Probably, it will because we see its existence in the Electronic Tv channels and we hope to see it also in the official media as well”.

Q4 = “The language that I'd like to hear in the Moroccan mass media is French since it has a relation to the specialty that I'm studying and the economy of the country as well”.

PERSON 7: Q1 = “It would be nice since it is the language understood by Moroccan citizens, or maybe because of other people speaking Standard Arabic in other countries”.

Q2 = “Because the French language is the second language that exists in Morocco”.

Q3 = “Possibly for the reason that it will be the language of communication letting citizens communicate effectively”.

Q4 = “French by virtue of the mass media that motivates you to like it, though you don't understand everything the journalist or television presenter”.

PERSON 8: Q1 = “It does confirm for a few reasons. The French colonization does have a big impact on why standard Arabic is restricted. First of all, we are still working on most of our administration processes; we are still using the french system so which would actually make sense of why we still make use of their language, and for a second reason we are not the ones who create information; we don't create actually. For now, Arabs just buy information, which means it would be hard to translate everything that Westerners make into Arabic, especially a language as hard as Arabic”.

Q2 = “Well! No, that would be actually the worst choice to be ever made in using darija as a language to communicate with people on a daily basis for media, why? We already saw it on chouf TV; the amount of humiliation that is brought upon us is really crazy. After all, it gives access to everyone, to every single person on earth. And not every person actually is qualified to speak on a media platform”.

Q3 = “Well! The first colonization did quite leave a big impact on how people accepted information and how information circulated as a whole in Morocco, and barely anything has changed since 1956. I would say most of the old French systems actually are still being used as it could be. A second reason/alternative is to reach a bigger audience that is more intellectually capable of analyzing and comprehending the information”.

Q4 = “I wouldn’t actually say that a language would affect me in any way, it wouldn’t matter for any language to be used in the Moroccan mass media except for Darija as long as the information reaches the people, it cultivates the mind of people, their sense of criticism, or more precisely speaking their constructive criticism. After all, if using Arabic, French, Spanish, or English. It wouldn’t matter if the people understood it, actually, after all, the role of the media is to let the people know about what’s going on around the globe”.

PERSON 9: Q1 = “Standard Arabic is a language we speak made up of simple words and sentences everybody can understand. So, the messages employed in social media or the official news channels are directed in a simple way reaching all citizens easily without the need to be interpreted by other people or to be searched in a dictionary”.

Q2 = “I don't agree with this idea. Darija shouldn't be recommended in the official media because it will send explicit words like street language. You cannot listen to the news and hear such words. Of course, that's what the unofficial media adopt. The official media must retain its high prestige, enabling us to hear the news with intact language”.

Q3 = “Of course, Morocco has been historically colonized by French occupation. This is an evident reason to hold tight to the French language as a second language in Morocco. Besides,

we have plenty of people who understand French. Therefore, if we wanted to be open worldwide, we would focus on another foreign language to deliver the information equally to all people”.

Q4 = “Standard Arabic since I like its simplicity. I can write it, and express my emotions and everything that hurts me in a normal manner”.

PERSON 10: Q1 = “The first reason is that we are Moroccans; our mother language is Standard Arabic. I think that's the reason why we cannot present French or English news since we have an Arabic cultural background”.

Q2 = “I don't agree because Darija is a language of communication between some members. It is understood only by Moroccans. However, if we want to market our media platforms and culture, we need to do so in Standard Arabic”.

Q3 = “It dates back to historical reasons. France was occupying Morocco and the remains of colonization were still apparent. For instance, in our modern daily life, you have to speak in French in order not to be ignorant in the eyes of people”.

Q4 = “Standard Arabic for the reason that I don't understand English or French. I only grasp SA considering that the fundamental role of a language is to communicate and deliver information”.

PERSON 11: Q1 = “So about the mentality and, uh, the knowledge of the new people in, uh, or just in, in this generation and because of, uh, what, uh, about the old school, old school, uh, the mentality of, uh, the old, old people in Morocco, it will be good in, uh, the mass media to talk just in standard, Arabic to let the most of people, the majority to understand and know what happens. What's, uh, what is in them, what, what are the hot topics? Also because the news intellectual programs, uh, this is what people watch are, what this is, what, what is most relevant and what, what people are interested in. They are not, uh, in my opinion, they are not, uh, aware

of, uh, the other, other, other programs, other television shows and like, yes. So, uh, for this, uh, for this, uh, goal, uh, this, this is why this speak, uh, or they talk in standard Arabic”.

Q2 = “I will say yes. Yes. Because, uh, taking the example in the, uh, pandemic of Corona in 2019, uh, interviewer, what, what was his name? He, he Still, uh, Al something, I don't know. He did, he was talking like this in, in the public. He, he, he takes his, his, uh, freedom. I don't know the word exactly the word, but like His emotions. Yes. His emotions are because Because the Moroccan people, the Of Moroccan people. Yes. All segments of, because he wants that, his message or his idea uh, Arrive to, to the, to the world in Morocco, people in the mountains, people in the villages, because these people are not. So I think next years. Yes. Uh, it will be very good, it'll be a very good thing. Yes. For, for, for sure. Because, uh, we, we, we, we have a problem for, for, for the illiteracy for, uh, yes, yes”.

Q3 = “firstly, uh, as we know that the French it's like the second language in our, our, our country, uh, most of, uh, students and most of the people, they speak Arabic and, uh, French, this is it. And, uh, French, it's just not in the the the news or mass media. It's also in the, in the jobs interviews in it's, it's, uh, it's a professional language to talk in, to talk to, to, to, to speak and make the communication in the, in, in the, in the place of works”.

Q4 = “Now, if you see that most people speak English, try to, to get you the information in English, they visit websites. There are articles just in English. So that, that in my opinion, to, to be good, to adopt English language, just not in the mass media, but other, other, other, other fields of work, other fields of work, other many, other, other, other things, not just the mass media, which will be good too, to, to, to, to make an interview in English”.

PERSON 12: Q1 = “It is the official language of the Moroccan constitution. When there is a national, political, and social agreement. So, everyone will accept it to be used in the administration and specifically in the media. Although we speak in Darija or Tamazight dialects in our daily life. It is obvious that standard Arabic stems its power from the Monarchy system and some political parties such as Justice and Development Party, and the Independence party, for the reason that they all share religious backgrounds”.

Q2 = “Yes, because Darija day after day maintains its place as it is discussed as an alternative for Standard Arabic by Ayouch. In addition, Darija allows all Moroccans to be gathered under one umbrella despite their various religions (Muslim, Jewish, Christian, etc)”.

Q3 = “It relates to historical matters. When a country gets colonized by another country, it simply takes its language and culture. For instance, the middle regions of Morocco have the French language, while the northern and southern regions have Spanish. Furthermore, we cannot deny that French has a prestigious way of speaking it along with your native language”.

Q4 = “French because it has a quality in disseminating the news and the great analysis in intellectual programs. Besides, it is a laic language and free from any religious restrictions. That is to say, you cannot find the use of expressions such as Mashallah, SubhanAllah, etc”.

3- Discussion (online questionnaire) :

We have gathered 120 people from our online questionnaire. This will help us to discuss a little bit the previous given results. Figure (4) clarifies that there is a problem with our data. 57 people said Yes, meaning that there is an evident existence of Triglossia in the Moroccan mass media. However, 51 people said maybe. This word refers to uncertainty and doubts about whether a certain phenomenon exists or not. It is as if these people know that Triglossia is found in Moroccan mass media. But at the same time, they are not sure about it. While only 12 people said No because they know nothing about what Triglossia means. Thus, the question was clear-cut, as we have mentioned in our literature review, that the term “ Triglossia “ indicates a language situation whereby three languages are grouped and attached (Mkilifi, 1972).

Following up on our Discussion, figures (5) and (6) put a large common gap between the respondents where Darija (Moroccan Arabic) is taking most of the votes (76/62 people voted for it). According to our data, this is a clear claim that Darija is the language used frequently in the Moroccan mass media. In which we see SA and French getting the second votes with small numbers, while only a few people say that there are other languages truly used in Moroccan mass media. Figure (7) is a related question to the data in Figures (5) and (6). We can see and feel that there is another issue concerning our findings whereby 22/30 people strongly agree & agree that Darija must be considered a fundamental language in Tv news and newspapers. Meanwhile, there are 29/30 people who are neutral & disagree while there are just 9 people who strongly disagree. It is awkward, is it?.

Well! That's true in accordance with the statistics has been collected. For the first reason that Darija is the mother tongue of Moroccans, they use it in their everyday talk (that's why they agreed). For the second reason, though it is a national language, Moroccans do not give respect to Darija and feel ashamed when they use it (that's why they disagree). For the third reason, 29 people stayed neutral due to the actual status of Darija in Mass media wherein there is an apparent mix between Darija and SA (Hoogland, J, 2018). Therefore, it is a sign that Darija is incapable of standing on its own in the local media as French and Standard Arabic.

Figure (8) reveals that there is a fight (in a sense) between the people providing their answers. Three adjacent numbers seem to be in the chart. 30 people agree that French can be an effective language in disseminating information in Moroccan media. 25 people are neutral; 37 people disagree that French is an effective language in the Moroccan mass media, while only 10/18 people diverged themselves into strongly agree & strongly disagree. To illustrate these results, people who agreed on the effectiveness of French in mass media probably see it from the angle of Education since it became an obligation if a student wants to pursue his future studies at the Moroccan universities (Mjahed & Mya, 2020). Furthermore, people who disagreed on the validity of French in Moroccan mass media because of the fear that the French language creates among students, causing huge dropouts and making them switch their path of study towards enrolling in other Arabic subjects such as Arabic studies, history (Mjahed & Maya, 2020).

Whereas people who preferred to stay neutral are confused to express their opinions or do not see any importance for french in the local mass media. Figure (9) displays the reaction of people on whether Standard Arabic serves the interests of all segments of society in the national media or not. 31 people said Yes, 63 people said Probably while 26 people said No. For those who answered Probably, they might have done so because they consider SA to be limited only to

political and religious context (Abouzahr, 2018) which serves only the interests of a small portion of the population. Besides, the ones who said No, due to the wrong assumption that SA is on a decline which is not true, this decline referred to literature in general and the heavy use of SA sub-dialects (Abouzahr, 2018).

Figure (10) tests the choices of people regarding their preferred language used in the Moroccan mass media. 10 people chose standard Arabic because it is standardized and modernized by a written and spoken form as it is mastered by 40 % of the population (Anderson, 2013). 38 people chose Darija for the reason that TV programs especially in Dubbed series, started in the fall of 2008 (Kouihi, 2015). Which played an important factor in solidifying Darija in the Moroccan mass media. Whereas only 16 people chose French and other languages as their preferred ones. Figure (11) explains that choosing a specific language in the Moroccan mass media affects the audience. Of course, 75 people answered with Yes, while only 39/6 people answered with Probably and No. This is absolutely obvious since language use in the media is a crucial process of how we recognize the world and reality. So, the media changes its language from time to time to meet the interests of its audience (Kouihi, 2015).

Figure (12) offers the reasons behind using three languages in the Moroccan mass media. 55 people voted that the MMM uses three languages to make the Moroccan content available worldwide, especially in Europe and the Mena region. 33 people voted that the MMM use the three languages because the digital era pushes Moroccan media to be forced into utilizing these languages. We think that this is the reason why we need to get more responses. In the past, Morocco experienced various colonizations. After getting its independence and with the advancement of technology in all spectrum. Morocco begins to improve the quality of posting its national information. Therefore, language was one of these improvements. In believing so, we

think that the first option and the third option fit together, wherein only 13 people voted for the answer that Moroccan mass media use these languages just to show off. 22 people went far as to vote for another reason.

4- Discussion (Interview) :

We have added an interview to test the thoughts and opinions of people about the Triglossic situation in the Moroccan mass media. The interview took place at Ibn tofail university. It was simply made by asking 12 participants Four questions :

- 1) - Why do we find Standard Arabic in the local mass media restricted most of the time in the news, and intellectual programs?
- 2) - Do you think that Darija would be highly recommended in the Moroccan mass media?
If yes, why?
- 3) – Why does the Moroccan mass media rely heavily on utilizing French in posting its information?
- 4) – What is the language that affects you in the Moroccan mass media? And why?

To start with, the first question was addressed to see the reactions of people if SA could be limited to intellectual programs, news, etc. The participants provided us with similar, identical answers. They think of Standard Arabic as the official language in Morocco and as a simple language that everybody can understand. Thus, it aims to reach people without being interpreted. That is to say, SA makes everything less vague and more reliable. Furthermore, it holds great power over the monarchy system due to its religious background.

Subsequently, the second Question wanted to know if Moroccans would accept Darija to be used in the Moroccan mass media or not. Most people claim that Darija is the language understood by every Moroccan. It has a rich vocabulary in terms of its expressions. Hence, it allows Moroccans to feel at ease when they speak it in their daily conversation by making communication more effective. Contrary to what we have mentioned above, four people disagree with the recommendation of Darija in Moroccan mass media. They are still suffering from the toxic experience they have been exposed to. For instance, the example presented to us clarifies that there are some platforms on Youtube that use rotten language in delivering the news (ChoufTv) with no credibility for the reason that it lacks formality. Besides, Darija won't promote our culture to other nations. As it is already discussed, an alternative language for SA by Ayouch in the educational system.

The third Question discloses that French is used heavily in the Moroccan mass media due to historical reasons. The remains of French colonization left a big impact on people. It forces them to deal with French in most of their institutions, which is why the language has moved to the media sector as well. According to Juhan Luomala, Morocco was a point where different languages met each other due to the proximity of its geography to the European continent. After the country gained its independence, one could specify French as a lingua franca helping people to be unified and communicate adequately.

Ultimately, the last question is about the language affecting Moroccans in the local mass media. Three participants chose SA by the virtue that all Moroccans speak it and do not understand other languages such as English or French. Three other participants chose French since it has a quality in disseminating the news and it is free from any religious restrictions. Besides, it obliges

students to pursue their studies with it. However, only one participant chose Darija, declaring that it increases people's sense of criticism.

Conclusion :

To recap what we have done in the theoretical and practical chapters. In the first phase, we would say that we have defined the meaning of Sociolinguistics and Triglossia as a phenomenon in the field. We discussed historical indicators such as colonization, and the location of the country that made Morocco wealthy in its sociolinguistic situation. After that, we moved to check the existence of Triglossia in Moroccan mass media. We proved that the phenomenon was affecting the Moroccan mass media a long time ago. Whereas in the second phase, we described and analyzed the Data by conducting charts, and graphs then we made a comparison between the various answers which had been submitted to us. The outcome was that Triglossia truly exists in the Moroccan mass media. Thus, we have answered our research questions :

- 1) What are the effects of Triglossia on Moroccan people?
- 2) How does Triglossia affects the Moroccan mass media?

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