Romano-Arabica Nr. XXIII, 2024, p. 35-47 ISSN 1582-6953, e-ISSN 3044-8670 DOI: 10.62229/roar xxiii/3

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# LINGUISTIC PERFORMANCES IN THE DIALECT OF MOHAMMEDIA: ANALYSIS OF PHONOLOGICAL ASPECTS

**Abstract.** Although the state of the art of dialectological and sociolinguistic research concerning Moroccan dialect is nowadays satisfactory when compared to other areas of Northern Africa, the varieties of some regions still lack a comprehensive description and have never been analyzed from a structural point of view. Consequently, the aim of the present paper is to take a closer look at the variety spoken in one of those areas: Mohammedia. One of the possible reasons that lie behind this variety being not much studied may be its proximity, both dialectologically and geographically, to other mainstream cities, that have been the object of historical and linguistic studies for a long time. Thus, with the awareness that exposure to new socio-economic environments and the expansion of social networks are often responsible for language variation<sup>2</sup>, this research aims at providing a description of the Arabic spoken in Mohammedia, and the way this latter is phonologically evolving, through the adoption of a cross-generational point of view. To this end, fieldwork was conducted in the city in August 2022, and data were collected through audio recordings involving informants, all women, who may represent three different age stages: early, middle and later adulthood, with the oldest informant aged 78 years old, and the youngest one 21.

In this way, I will try to identify some obsolete as well as new emerging traits of the dialect in question, besides making more general considerations about it.

Keywords: Mohammedia dialect, Moroccan Arabic, Phonology, Vowel system, Consonants, Variation

# 1. Introduction

The social changes that a speaking community undergoes over time are the basis of the constant evolution of language practices, which gives an explanation to

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This concept is well expressed by Labov in his *English in New York city* (1964).

the adoption of different linguistic features, according to the age of the speakers. One of the areas that, after the Second World War, went through a demographic growth, and therefore a process of urbanization, is Mohammedia, which will be at the centre of our discussion and conclusions regarding historical and, more consistently, linguistic analysis.

As may be expected, with the concentration of people coming from various areas of the country and having different social and ethnic backgrounds, more language varieties start to interfere and merge, determining phenomena like regional dialect levelling and koineization. In particular, this latter, which consists in the formation of a common language variety, or koine, incorporating features from more dialects spoken in an area, has been investigated in many studies focusing on Morocco and its socio-anthropological linguistics (Caubet 1993, Messaoudi 2003), which tried to demonstrate whether this process is the result of recent converging trends, or it goes back to an earlier, but undefined, stage.

This paper aims at giving a clearer picture of some aspects concerning the phonology of the dialect spoken in Mohammedia, to whose informants I had easy access, being a native speaker of this variety myself. Therefore, I intend to focus on the correlation between language use and age, illustrating, wherever possible, the variation of linguistic performances among the speakers of this community, after providing a general overview of the historical and geographical aspects of the city.

### 2. Historical and geographical data

This area played an important commercial role under the Almoravid dynasty (11<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>3</sup>, but it was especially from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries on that Mohammedia became a popular destination for European merchants who were merely looking for cereals and dried fruits. In particular, there was a great competition between the Germans and the French, whose end was sanctioned by the signing of a treaty (1911) that forced the formers to leave the city and abandon their lands in favour of the French, who understood the importance of developing and transforming Mohammedia into an industrial center.

Its current population, based on the Census published by the website of Morocco's administrative region Casablanca-Settat, is 403,392<sup>4</sup>, distributed over 34 km<sup>2</sup>.

Tourism, especially domestic one, is thriving too in the city, also because Mohammedia, as mentioned before, is well connected to both Casablanca and Rabat, which every year are ranked among the favourite destinations in Africa.

### 3. Linguistic premises

One of the primary concerns of dialectological research in North Africa, and therefore in Morocco, is the classification of Arabic varieties into different categories, i.e., sedentary and Bedouin dialects<sup>5</sup>, also known as pre-Hilali and Hilali types<sup>6</sup>, respectively. More specifically, Moroccan dialects have been divided into four groups - parlers citadins, parlers montagnards, parlers juifs and parlers ruraux - of which only the last one falls within the Hilali type.

Most studies generally agree in considering the dialect of Casablanca as a rural variety, since this latter has been the center of convergence of Arabic speaking families of mainly rural origins, even though in recent years the contrast between urban and rural dialects went through a sort of levelling, in favour of the emergence of a new urban colloquial variety, which incorporates features of different vernaculars. The same concept may also be applied to Mohammedia, where migrants, when moving to new residential areas, started abandoning the regional traits of their dialects, proving their willingness to adapt to the new situation of urban citizens (Messaoudi, 2003: 114-5), and creating thus a sort of "mixed variety", which became the dialect of the city. This explains why, when paying attention to the dialect used by old people, we can detect some variables which are commonly considered typical of Bedouin varieties, while when talking to young people, the insertion of the dialect that

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Although considering the tribe as a linguistic unit may generate conflicting information, "Bedouin" dialects are generally divided into "Hilali", "Sulaymi", and "MaSqili" groups, named after the tribes who settled in North Africa in the 11<sup>th</sup>-century (Benkato, 2019).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Labels referring to the period before and after the arrival of the Hilalians in North Africa.

comes out within a precise category becomes a much more difficult task, even though it remains clear that we are not dealing with a pure "parler citadin", if by this label we only mean sedentary varieties.

Mohammedia is now home to an urban population who migrated from different parts of Morocco, mainly rural areas, where dialects are keener to exhibit conservative linguistic features. Because of that, the language used by old people shows a higher individual difference, which means that it presents more dialectal variation, reflecting the practices each one was accustomed to in their original region. On the contrary, young people tend to show a more homogeneous language, sharing most of the features with the Casablancan dialect. This may be linked not only to the geographical proximity between the two towns, and hence to the contact between their interlocutors, but perhaps also to the phenomenon of koineization, assuming it exists, and to the development of new communication tools which favoured the spread of the mainstream varieties of Moroccan Arabic, i.e., Casablanca-Rabat.

#### 4. Vowels

It is commonly accepted that, except for some north-eastern Hilali dialects, most Moroccan varieties, exhibit a vocalic system consisting of three long and two short vowels (EALL: 288):

$$/\bar{a}/$$
  $/\bar{u}/$ 

### 4.1. Long vowels

Besides the Old Arabic etymological long vowels, which are all preserved in the dialect under investigation, two more vowels occur in the same, i.e.,  $/\bar{e}/$  and  $/\bar{o}/$ . These ones are not unusual within the phonological framework of the Maghreb. Indeed, since the beginning of the first dialectological classifications, it has been remarked that wherever the old Arabic diphthongs \*ay and \*aw were not preserved, they have been respectively reduced to either  $/\bar{1}/$  and  $/\bar{u}/$ , or  $/\bar{e}/$  and  $/\bar{o}/^{\bar{1}}$ . The former trend has been associated to the sedentary dialects of the Maghreb, while the latter to Bedouin ones.

What is worth noting here is that the variety of Mohammedia follows the first pattern among those described above, which means that the abundance of the vowels  $/\bar{e}/$  and  $/\bar{o}/$  cannot be ascribed to the process of diphthongs' reduction, but rather reflects a different realization of old Arabic phonemes  $/\bar{a}/$  and  $/\bar{u}/$ ,

For further reference, see Kaye (1997) and Maamouri (1967).

respectively, signifying that they both function as allophones.  $2im\bar{a}la$ , the raising of  $/\bar{a}/$  towards  $/\bar{e}/$ , seems to be generalised among all speakers, even though the shift is blocked in certain conditions, as will be shown below. Regarding  $/\bar{o}/$ , although not totally avoided by old speakers, it is more frequent in the speech of young informants, which led me to suppose that we may be dealing with an enlargement, not-so recent, of the phonemic inventory of this dialect. Thus, one of the questions my research attempts to answer is whether there are some prosodic or inner phonetic features that encourage the use of  $/\bar{o}/$  or not.

Note that even though all the informants are born and raised in Mohammedia, only the younger ones can be said to have "urban origins". Indeed, the older speakers lived in a totally different environment, which also implied another level of social interaction and networking.

#### $4.1.1./\bar{e}/$

As mentioned before, in the dialect of Mohammedia, the Old Arabic diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ are reduced to / $\bar{\imath}$ / and / $\bar{u}$ /, respectively, which means that the long vowel / $\bar{e}$ / arises from other processes. First, it should be pointed out that the phenomenon of  $2im\bar{a}la$  only occurs in medial position, and this explains why / $\bar{a}$ / shifts to / $\bar{e}$ / in  $b\bar{e}b$ ,  $n\bar{e}s$ , while cases like  $f\bar{s}\bar{a}$  and  $st\bar{a}$  preserve the lower realization of the vowel. This variation is also blocked when / $\bar{a}$ / is adjacent to an emphatic or uvular consonant, as well as to / $\bar{r}$ / ( $s\bar{b}\bar{a}h$ , basla,  $r\bar{a}s$ ,  $nh\bar{a}r$ ).

However, I could remark that the presence of  $/\bar{e}/$  is not always ascribable to  $2im\bar{a}la$ , since it is not totally unusual to find cases in which  $/\bar{e}/$  replaces  $/\bar{\imath}/$  instead of  $/\bar{a}/$ , and it seems that this happens only among younger informants: the same Arabic word gayr ('only'), is pronounced  $g\bar{i}r$  by my oldest informant and, more than once,  $g\bar{e}r$  by my youngest one. The same is true for xayr ('good'), whose two possible outcomes are  $x\bar{i}r$ , and  $x\bar{e}r$ .

If we look at these last examples from a comparative diachronic perspective, we could conclude that  $/\bar{e}/$  is the outcome of the vowel lowering of  $/\bar{i}/$ , rather than a direct realization of the diphthong /ay/. However, given the limited occurrences in my corpus, the proliferation of this tendence is an aspect that, in any case, deserves greater attention and further investigation, which will allow us to make more accurate conclusions as to whether it may be considered as a new phenomenon in expansion among young speakers or not.

### $4.1.2. /\bar{o}/$

The following rows show cases of lowering of the etymological  $/\bar{u}/$  to  $/\bar{o}/$ , which are very widespread in the corpus under investigation. From the following examples it emerges that this phenomenon is nearly always elicited by the contiguity of the same phonemes, among which emphatic (/s/, /d/, t/) and velar (/h/, /x/, /q/) consonants:

- əs-sbāh hna ndīru lə-fţōr [...], əlli (1) f W in DET-morning 1PL do:IPFV.1PL DET-breakfast REL thott əş-şwāni əlli... put:IPFV.3FSG **DET-trays** and REL "In the morning we prepare breakfast [...], and there is one who brings the trays, one who..."
- (2) w wəqt əş-şḥōṛ<sup>8</sup> n-nōḍo n-tṣaḥḥṛo and time DET-suhoor get.up:IPFV.1PL eat.suhoor:IPFV.1PL "And when the time of Suhoor arrives, we get up to eat"
- (3) la ma kān-š əs-sōq ta ykūn if NEG be:PFV.3MSG DET-market until be:IPFV.3MSG əs-sōq Sād yttəksa DET-market then buy.clothes:IPFV.3MSG "If there is no market, then he will wait for the market to buy clothes"

Note that the phenomenon of vowel lowering, generally speaking, is more frequent when the Arabic  $/\bar{u}/$  is adjacent to an emphatic consonant, rather than to a velar one; on the contrary, velar sounds are more likely to elicit this process when they are contiguous to short vowels, that will be dealt with in the next paragraph.

However, it should be considered that  $\langle \bar{o} \rangle$  is strongly encouraged by the proximity of  $r\bar{a}$  ( $\supset$ ) too, in about 80% of cases, which suggest that this phoneme is undergoing a process of pharyngealization due to which it exerts the same phonetic influence as emphatic consonants:

- (4) nxallīw-h hukka **yfōṛ**let:IPFV.1PL=3MSG like.that steam:IPFV.3MSG
  "we let it steam like that"
- (5) ydxol Sadd-ha yšūf **rōst-o** enter:IPFV.3MSG to=3FSG see:IPFV.3MSG wife=3MSG "he enters to see his wife"

Further examples based on the most common occurrences in speakers' speeches are:

Yzōro ('they visit'), əz-zōrān ('the visit'), mən mōr ('after'), ər-rōt'īn<sup>9</sup> ('the routine'), darōri ('necessary').

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Note that in the word  $\sinh \bar{c} < \sinh \bar{c}$ , the sibilant gets pharyngealized in contact with  $\hbar$ ; this word refers to the meal eaten before dawn during the month of Ramadan.

The French loan *routine* undergoes this process too.

### 4.2. Short vowels

Although the prevailing vocalic system of Mohammedia displays two short vowels (/ə/ and /ŭ/), I would not totally exclude the presence of /ă/, since I could find some minimal pairs, although extremely rare, that oppose:

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/\check{a}/ \neq /\Im: dərt 'I did' \neq d\check{a}rt 'I turned around', tmăr 'dates' (Indef. Pl.) \neq tmər 'it has matured'. /\check{a}/ \neq /\check{u}/: qăr 'a 'bottle' \neq qŭr 'a 'draft', \check{s} ăr ba 'one drink' \neq \check{s} ŭr ba 'soup'.
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### 4.2.1./0/

Again, the phenomenon of vowel lowering, which is more common when the etymological vowel /u/ is short, is triggered by the same phonemes that transform  $\bar{\nu}$ /into  $\bar{\nu}$ / (§ 4.1.2).

- (6) tSəžni ta-wwa l-**xobz** knead:IPFV.2SG also=3MSG DET-bread "You knead the bread too"
- (7) kānət əl-\(\frac{1}{2}\)d\(\bar{u}za\) təm\(\frac{s}{i}\)
  be:PFV.3FSG DET-mother-in-law go:IPFV.2FSG
  \(\frac{tx\(\frac{t}{2}\)}{tx\(\frac{t}{2}\)}\)
  ask.for.the.hand:IPFV.2SG
  "The mother-in-law used to go ask for the hand"

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əḍ-ḍhoṛ ('the lunch'), doṛk ('now'), l-boṛma ('the pot'), hoṛṛ ('pure'), tšṛob ('she drinks').
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After the examination of both long and short vowels that undergo this phenomenon, it is worth noting that in most cases the informants tend to preserve, or restore, the high vowel  $\langle \bar{u} \rangle$ , when a verbal element is followed by a suffix, i.e., a negative particle or a possessive pronoun, which lengthens and places the stress on the vowel. This is the reason why we find:

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nḥoṭṭo ('we put') VS nḥoṭṭū-ha ('we put it')
ndīro ('we make') VS ka-ndīrū-ha ('we make it')
ki-ləbso ('they wear') VS ma-ki-ləbsū-š ('they do not wear).
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This is a trend that, however, is not always respected. In fact, especially in the speech of younger informants, we do also find divergent forms: for the first illustrated

verb, there are some recorded cases of **nḥoṭṭō-ha**. The fact that this practice is mostly affecting younger people may suggest that the process of vowel lowering is still being gradually extended to cases where it has been previously avoided, such as those aforementioned.

### 5. Consonants

#### 5.1. Assimilation

This section will focus on sound changes arisen from assimilations that have affected the dialect of Mohammedia, alongside most Moroccan varieties. From my data it emerges that the assimilation of the nasal consonant /n/ is frequent when the same precedes a voiced or voiceless dental stop, i.e., /t/ or /d/.

(1) Bəfd y-kūn mrīḍ yžīw **fadd-u** n-nās when be:IPFV.3MSG sick come:IPFV.3PL to=3MSG DET-people "When he gets sick, people come to visit him".

In this case, *Gand* followed by the possessive pronoun produces the form *Gadd-u*, in which /n/ disappears in favour of a double /d/. The same process happens commonly with personal pronouns in which /n/ precedes /t/, hence the forms *tta*, *tti*, *ttūma* are widespread alongside *nta*, *nti*, *ntūma*. In these cases, in fact, we are dealing with a trend, rather than a phonological law, and this is the reason why the correspondent forms with the nasal preceding the dental are not completely lost in this dialect: they simply coexist with the ones showing assimilation, and the choice of either seems totally random, since both forms are acceptable.

This concept does not apply to the cases in which assimilation is triggered by the presence of two similar sibilants within the same lexical element. Whenever these phonemes are contiguous, it is the second one that affects the former (Ph. Marçais, 1977: 20-21):

(2) ma **nxroš-š** bla byāḍ
NEG go.out:IPFV.1SG-NEG without symbolic.offer
"I don't go out without any symbolic offer"

This example shows the assimilation of the last root of the Arabic verb xaraža, which is adjacent to /\$/, hence  $\check{z} + \check{s} > \check{s}$ . The same phenomenon leads to articulations like  $yt\check{z}^uww\partial\check{z}$  and  $\check{z}\bar{u}\check{z}$  ('he gets married'; 'two'<\* $zawa\check{z}a$ ),  $y\check{z}ah\check{z}o$  ('they prepare'<\* $\check{z}ahaza$ ),  $\check{s}om\check{s}$  ('sun' <\* $\check{s}ams$ ), where the mutation takes place even though the similar segments are separated by other phonetic elements.

## 5.2. Elision of consonants

Strategies of deletion of consonantal elements are widespread in this dialect and concern the etymological fricatives /h/ and /h/ in particular.

(3)	təbšī <sup>10</sup>	ta-yya	l-maḥāl-a	tḥayd	
	go:IPFV.3FSG	also=3FSG	to=house=3FSG	take.off:I	PFV.3FSG
	ḥwayž-a	ddəwwəš		ta	hi
	clothes=3FSG	take.a.sho	ower:IPFV.3FSG	also	3FSG
	"She goes too to	her house, she	takes off her cloth	es and take	es a shower'

This sentence is full of elisions: first, in the segment ta-yya<sup>11</sup> there is the loss of /h/, the initial sound of the Arabic word hta ('also'), which is exactly the same of what happens in the next to last word, and then the elision of the glottal /h/ in the third-person pronoun *hiya* ('she').

Note that the form ta is always the result of the dropping of h-, and can never be the outcome of the second-person personal pronoun losing the initial n-, since, in that case, the dental sound would have been doubled, as seen before.

As for the hi we find at the end of the sentence, this is a reduced form of the feminine personal pronoun hiya which occurs very rarely in my data, and that, in my opinion, can be associated to old speakers, since it is never realised as such by middle age or young informants.

Moreover, in  $mah\bar{a}l$ -a and  $hway\check{z}$ -a, we can recognise the same process, whereby the feminine possessive pronoun suffix /ha/ is reduced to /-a/, after the loss of /h/ in a prevocalic context. This latter is however much more resistant than its male correspondent, which systematically shows the elision of /h/ when following a consonant, so that only /-o/ remains: žīrān-o ('his neighbours'), klām-o ('his words'), mart-o ('his wife').

As my data reveal, this is very similar to what happens when /h/ constitutes the Arabic object pronoun (-hu, -ha, -hum) attached to the verb in a final or pre-vocalic position. However, this elision seems to be more frequent with the plural persons of the final-weak verbs having the desinence  $-\bar{\iota}w^{12}$ , as the following examples show:

Studies of Arabic dialectology have considered this practice as typical of sedentary dialects.

<sup>12</sup> In this dialect, all the Arabic final-weak verbs showcase the reconstruction of the last radical.

shows a continuous alternation between /m/ and /b/, regardless of the phonetic environment.

Other forms too are frequent: ta-wwa, ta-wma, ta-na.

(4) kandīro l-ḥəlba [...] nģəslūha, nṣalqūha PRVB-do:IPFV.1PL DET.fenugreek wash:IPFV.1PL boil:IPFV.1PL nsəddu flīha mfa dž-džāž close:IPFV.1PL on=3FSG with DET-chiken nqallīwa məzyān

**nqallīwa** məzyān brown:IPFV.1PL well

"We add fenugreek, we wash it, we boil it, then we put it with the chicken and brown it well"

(5) ylhag waqt əḍ-ḍhor

arrive:IPFV.3MSG time DET-early.afternoon

**ka-yddīw** l-əž-žāmə\$ bring:PRVB:IPFV.1PL DET-mosque

"When the time arrives for the early afternoon prayer, they bring him to the mosque"

In the last example, the context makes it clear that the verb ka- $ydd\bar{v}$  is supposed to be followed by the objective pronoun referring to someone previously mentioned, although -h is dropped. This premise does not mean that the above illustrated process concerns only the Arabic final-weak verbs, though; in the corpus, in fact, we do also find many cases in which /h/, preceded by a consonant, gets elided: xass-a, y-yaxud-a,  $t\bar{s}u\bar{f}$ -a instead of xass-a, y-yaxud-a and  $t\bar{s}u\bar{f}$ -ba, respectively.

Based on the distributional frequency of the phenomenon, we may hypothesize that this has begun to affect Arabic final-weak verbs in the first instance, and then started spreading slowly even to other types of verbs, although, to date, the elision of the glottal /h/ in the objective pronoun cannot be considered as completely generalized in either verbal category.

This phenomenon is not new to modern Arabic dialects, and, as Yoda (2017: 85-86) points out, it can be observed especially in the pronouns or pronoun suffixes, along with some cases in which /h/ is an initial and pre-vocalic consonant, as happens in some sedentary varieties, i.e., Judeo-Arabic. This tendence generates forms like  $\bar{a}da$  (< CA  $h\bar{a}da$ ),  $ad\bar{a}k$ ,  $ad\bar{a}k$ - $b\bar{s}$ - $b\bar{s}i$  which, in the dialect of Mohammedia, survive beside those who do not showcase the deletion of /h/, being these last ones more frequent.

In addition to /h/ and /h/, there are other cases, although rarer, in which an etymological /l/ does not appear. This only occurs when there is a /t/ between two liquids. In  $g\bar{a}t$  l-ih ('she told him'), in fact, the elision of the first /l/, makes it easier to pronounce this segment. Therefore, it is possible to find the form  $g\bar{a}t$  only in cases where the verb is followed by the preposition /l-/.

# 5.3. /q/ - /g/

One of the main topics that drew the attention of Maghrebi dialectologist since the earliest works has been the variation of /q/, which can be realized as /g/, and more rarely /?/. This oscillation has also been considered important for the identification of sedentary and Bedouin colloquial varieties (Cantineau, 1960). As for the distribution of these variants in Moroccan Arabic, it seems that /q/ and /?/ prevail in the Northern areas and in the historical pre-Hilali varieties of Rabat, Fes and Taza, while /q/ and /g/ are more common in rural varieties and in the Southern regions. In the variety we are describing, indeed, there are no instances of  $\frac{1}{2}$  as a reflex of the Old Arabic  $q\bar{a}f$ , and hence only  $\frac{1}{2}$  alternates with /q/. Although there are some lexemes for which only one variable is preferred, it is easy to perceive that the former prevails among old and middle-aged speakers, who tend to employ /g/ in most cases, and to preserve /q/ chiefly when the same is adjacent to  $\sqrt{a}/(b\bar{a}qa, q\bar{a}bla)$  or to liquid phonemes  $(qr\bar{i}ba, ql\bar{i}l)$ . On the contrary, young informants show a more balanced distribution of the two variables, mainly because /g/ is considered less prestigious, and it is usually associated with rural origins. Moreover, one's linguistic behaviour is also affected by their social activities. Thus, with the transformation of Mohammedia into an urban area, the possibility of meeting and interacting with new people, as well as education, may have favoured the spread of /q/ to a certain extent.

# 5.4. Interdental fricatives

Interdentals have undergone a phonological merger in Moroccan dialect, whereby  $/\underline{t}/->/t/$ ,  $/\underline{d}/->/d/$  and  $\underline{d}->/d/$ , although it is still possible to find exceptions in some areas (Guerrero, 2023). In Mohammedia, these consonants are completely lost, according to the shift described above. However, the speech of my oldest informant contains some few instances of the interdental  $/\underline{t}/$  being realized as the labiodental  $/\underline{f}/$ : in the same sentence she alternates  $f\bar{a}ni$  and  $t\bar{a}ni < *\underline{t}\bar{a}ni$ . This sound was recorded only in three occasions, and always in the same lexeme, which makes it hard to make conclusions about its spread among old speakers. What can be asserted with certainty is that the interdental articulation is never preserved.

### 5.5. Affrication of /t/

The affrication of the dental /t/ in Moroccan dialect, mainly in sedentary varieties, has been attested for a long time, during which many variants of the etymological phoneme have been identified. This phenomenon has often been attributed to the influence of the Berber substratum, and it affects the realization

of the etymological /t/, as well as of the /t/ derived from /t/ (Cantineau 1960: 37). In Mohammedia, affrication is very common, but the alveo-dental /t $^s$ / and the alveo-palatal /t $^a$ / realizations, which are the most recurring alternatives to the /t/ allophone, seem to be more common among young speakers. This may be indicative of the more recent spread of affrication from Moroccan historical urban centers to other regions.

(6) əl-ʔakt³arīya ma ki-bšīw-š l-dyōṛ-hom
DET-most NEG PRVB-go:IPFV.3PL-NEG DET-house=3PL
"Most (of them) don't go home"

Except for the presence of sibilants (/s/ and /š/) that block affrication, my data would suggest that the occurrence of this process is not dependent on the adjacency of some specific phonemes, and this could be an index of its generalisation to several environments among young speakers. However, affrication is conventionally seen as a feature of the dialect spoken in Casablanca and, given the proximity between the same and Mohammedia, it becomes difficult to draw a conclusion about whether this phenomenon has spread from Casablanca to the surrounding cities, or it has simultaneously affected more areas.

#### Conclusion

This paper contributes to the understanding of phonological aspects of the dialect of Mohammedia, which has never been described before, and to the exploration of the way it is evolving from one generation to the next. As it turns out, some linguistic traits, although not completely new to old speakers, are being generalised more and more among young ones, i.e, the lowering of  $/\bar{u}/$  to  $/\bar{o}/$ , the prevalence of /q/ over /g/, the affrication of /t/. However, since most of these phenomena are also to be found in other modern varieties and are not exclusive to the dialect of Mohammedia, we may hypothesize that more recent converging trends, resulting from the process of koineization, are progressively levelling the difference between varieties spoken in the new urban areas.

Thus, besides offering a more general overview of the linguistic practices implemented by the speakers, the present study suggests that some traits, especially those associated to Bedouin dialects and to the old speakers of Mohammedia, are gradually disappearing, and that innovative uses of the language are still taking place in the community under study, generating various linguistic layers which reflect the changes of the physical space.

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