

PRIOR PIDGINIZATION AND CREOLIZATION IN MOROCCAN ARABIC

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This thesis makes a claim about the processes of prior pidginization and creolization, and a process of current decreolization in Moroccan Arabic (a colloquial dialect of Arabic spoken in Morocco). The claim of this thesis is based on the theory of pidginization and creolization in Arabic as posited by Versteegh (1984). A case-study is built for the aforementioned processes having occurred in Moroccan Arabic through fulfillment of Southworth's (1971) two principles for determining the credibility of a pidginization and/or creolization claim: (1) That the required socio-linguistic frameworks are in place, and (2) that the linguistic effects of such processes are evident. Moroccan Arabic is analyzed alongside other languages that have undergone the processes of pidginization and creolization in its socio-diglossic history as well as in the linguistic features that are common to most pidgin and creole languages (e.g. transformed TMA system, SVO word order, analytic genitive, periphrastic interrogative, indefinite article). The conclusions drawn upon by the data presented in this thesis is that claims for the processes of prior pidginization and creolization, and the current process of decreolization in Moroccan Arabic are substantiated.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction to Thesis

This thesis makes a claim about the processes of prior pidginization and creolization, and a process of current decreolization in Moroccan Arabic (a colloquial dialect of Arabic spoken in Morocco). Pidginization is the process through which a pidgin language is created. A pidgin, as defined by Todd (1990: 1), is “a marginal language which arises to fulfill certain restricted communication needs among people who have no common language.” As it is devised in order to serve the immediate communication needs of the people, a pidgin language is restricted in its function. It is a learned (i.e. ‘second’) language created for specific purposes, and is not the native tongue of any person. The term creolization is used to describe the process that a pidgin language undergoes to become a creole. Todd (1990: 2) defines a creole as a language which “arises when a pidgin becomes the mother tongue of a community.” A creole is a comprehensive language that is capable of expressing all communicative needs of the speakers.¹ Its development includes both communicative and developmental processes. Finally, the process of decreolization is the gradual merger of the creole language back towards the standard form of its original language of influence (Romaine, 1988). Any development on the part of the creole towards the standard form of the language is socially motivated and not communicatively determined (like pidgin languages). This claim of pidginization, creolization, and decreolization in Moroccan Arabic (in accordance with the theory of pidginization and creolization in Arabic posited by

¹ Although a creole is a fully capable language, there are contexts in which a creole, in a situation of diglossia, is considered socially inappropriate (see §1.1).

Versteegh (1984)) endeavors to explain the ubiquitous divergences between the standard form of Arabic and the various dialects of Arabic (including the focus of this thesis: Moroccan Arabic) as the result of the aforementioned processes.

In this chapter I first present the current socio-linguistic state of diglossia found in Modern Arabic. I then briefly outline the background of the Arabic dialects and give a socio-linguistic account for the present state of diglossia in Arabic. Section 1.3 introduces the historical question of diglossia in Arabic linguistics which is pivotal to the purposes and significance of this thesis. The next section continues to explore the overall purpose and significance of this thesis primarily within the fields of Linguistics (as well as Sociology, and History). The final section of this chapter gives an outline of the remaining chapters of this thesis.

1.1 Diglossic state of Modern Arabic

Modern Arabic is characterized by a distinctive situation called *diglossia*. Ferguson (1959a) defines *diglossia*, literally "two tongues", as a condition where, in addition to the main spoken dialect(s) of a language, there is a language of high prestige often used in formal situations. The modern Arabic language is split into what constitutes, essentially, two separate languages: Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and the colloquial dialect(s) of Arabic (CD). MSA, also known as Classical Arabic, is used in formal reading, writing, and 'high' register speech situations (often formal ceremonies, political speeches, educational lectures etc.). It is descended from and standardized by the language of the Quran and has high social and political status in the Islamic world among both native and non-native Arabic speakers (Blau, 1977). MSA is most often taught to arabophone children in schools as the formal literary language and throughout

their lives its use and acquisition continues in various prescribed settings (e.g. Quranic School, sermons/prayers in the mosque, TV and radio broadcasts, and newspapers). Yet, MSA (as a form of 'high' register speech) is a language instilled only through instruction later in life: It is not the native language of any Arabic speaker. The fact that MSA is not a native language contributes to the social prestige of the language itself. Speakers that have mastered MSA have the distinction of speaking a language that is not 'common' to all people. While not all native Arabic speakers have the need or opportunity to learn MSA, all native arabophones develop the regional colloquial language as their first language (Versteegh, 1984). The informal dialects (a form of 'low' register speech) of Arabic are generally only spoken languages. Speakers use the CD in most of their daily interactions, but when they encounter a language situation calling for greater formality or prestige, as described above, MSA is often the medium of choice (for those who have learned MSA). This situation of 'diglossia' occurs in every area of the world in which Arabic is spoken natively (Ferguson, 1959). However, many arabophones view the different dialects as either debased forms of the standard language, used only by women, children, and the uneducated, or deny their existence altogether (Ferguson, 1968; Gallagher, 1968). With such an attitude the dialects of Arabic might then be considered inappropriate for most, if not all, situations. MSA would then act as the medium for all contexts (thus making the diglossic state of separation between the 'high' and 'low' forms of the language unstable). This devaluation of the dialects is unsubstantiated (the origin of which perhaps requires careful scientific study) as the regional dialects are the mother tongue of all native Arabic speakers irrespective of social background, education, or intelligence (Fishman, 1968). The value of a language or languages, in these

circumstances, cannot be determined by the prestige that is prescribed to it nor by the status (whether social or economic) of its speakers. Rather, a language's worth (including the 'low' varieties of language(s)) comes from its communicative ability and its unique linguistic features. Therefore, the 'low' varieties of languages are worthwhile for use, study, and preservation.

1.2 Background on Arabic Dialects

Historically, before the birth of Islam in the 7th century A.D., there was one single Arabic language.² With the conquests of that same century, however, the unified language became diversified among the various regions. Numerous spoken CDs arose in the newly conquered territories while the language of prestige, literature, scholarship, and high society conformed to the new religious model of the Quran creating Classical Arabic, the predecessor and equivalent of MSA (Versteegh, 1984). Through the past 1400 years, Classical Arabic has remained standardized and is more or less the same throughout the arabophone world (Blau, 1977). Due to its history and prestige, MSA has, therefore, become the standard to which all other forms of Arabic are compared. To the extent that MSA has remained linguistically consistent (perhaps due to its diglossic position), the various CDs have had the opportunity (due to political and social independence) to grow and change throughout time (Gallagher, 1968). This differentiation between the 'high' variety as an unchanging literary language and the 'low' language being orate and being more subject to change (from other developmental processes) is common in diglossic societies.

² While there is dispute about the pre-Islamic form of Arabic, particularly regarding the diglossic state of Arabic at that time, many Arabic linguists (Blau 1977, Ferguson 1959, etc.) agree that there was one unified Arabic language before the 7th century (Versteegh, 1984).

While the CDs do share many similarities, there are also wide differences among the diverse dialects. It is to be expected that the CDs, being forms under the greater umbrella of the “Arabic Language,” would converge with MSA in multiple linguistic areas (i.e. phonological, morphological, and syntactic formations). However, the linguistic situations in which the assorted dialects diverge from the standard and even from each other are also of interest and are the concentration of this thesis (particularly in the divergences of MA from MSA). Some of the variations between the dialects are so great that they are not even mutually intelligible; they may then be considered autonomous languages. For example, a Moroccan speaking his/her CD in Saudi Arabia would not be understood by the majority of Saudi Arabians. The Moroccan would be obliged to speak MSA in order to be fully understood (Gallagher, 1968). It is also true, in the majority of situations, that the further the geographical distance from the Arab Peninsula (i.e. present day Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Oman, etc.) a dialect is spoken, the greater the linguistic difference between the CD and MSA (Versteegh, 1984). These differences may be phonological, morphological, syntactic, or a combination. A Saudi Arabian would most likely be understood using his/her dialect in many more arabophone countries than a Moroccan. This link between geographical distance and linguistic divergence suggests that the Arabic dialects spoken in North Africa, and particularly the Moroccan dialect of Arabic, are some of the most unlike MSA.³

³ There are also forms of Arabic spoken in Chad, Uzbekistan, and Afghanistan that may be geographically further from Arabian Peninsula. However, these ‘dialects’ are not taken into account due to the extreme divergence of these languages from any other form of Arabic. They are often not held to be true colloquial dialects of MSA by most Arabic linguists (e.g. Ferguson, 1959; Versteegh, 1984; Blau, 1977).

1.3 The Question concerning the Origins of Diglossia in Arabic

The primary question in historical Arabic linguistics has been, how did this situation of Arabic diglossia originate and develop? Diglossia, as a social state, allows for the appropriateness of a particular language form to the degree that it matches the setting. The forms that differentiate the ‘high’ and ‘low’ varieties of a language, or languages, are linguistic. Therefore both communicative and developmental processes must be examined in order to answer the question above. This thesis focuses on the communicative process (as it pertains to the social circumstances of diglossia) without excluding the possibility of developmental processes at work (e.g. “bioprogram” see §5.1.3) It is just such a communicative view that allows linguists to focus on the linguistic forms that are the result of the processes outlined by the claims of this thesis.

Many linguists have studied and compared the CDs from various parts of the arabophone world with Modern Standard Arabic and have found numerous linguistic features in which the dialects parallel each other while diverging from the standard (Ferguson, 1959; Versteegh, 1984; Blau, 1961; Omar, 1974; Bishai, 1960 etc.).⁴ The majority of these commonalities between the various dialects of Arabic will be outlined in §2.2. There are also a number of spheres in which the dialects differ from one another as well as from MSA.⁵ In order to adequately explain these differences and similarities, and to subsequently answer the question above for the purpose of this thesis, I examined

⁴ While Ferguson (1959) and Versteegh (1984) focused on the various CDs as a whole and compared them with MSA, other linguists limited their studies to one or two dialects in comparing them with MSA (see Blau (1961) with Israeli, Syrian, and Iraqi Arabic, Omar (1974) with Maghrebean Arabic, Bishai (1960) with Egyptian Arabic etc.).

⁵ These divergences among the various CDs, and how they differ from MSA, will be discussed in § 2.2 and 2.3.

one of the various CDs of Arabic, Moroccan Arabic (MA), and evaluated it alongside the standard. Due to the broadness of Versteegh's (1984) theory about the dialects of Arabic as a whole (with little attention to study on individual dialects), I put together a case study of just one dialect with the aim of finding pragmatic evidence to support his theory. I analyzed several of the morphological, phonological, and syntactic divergences and parallels between MA and other CDs with relation to MSA, and have found that historically, socially, and linguistically MA follows the patterns of pidginization, creolization, and decreolization. Therefore, this thesis focused primarily on providing social and linguistic evidence for a claim of prior pidginization, creolization, and current decreolization in MA.

1.4 Purpose and Significance of Thesis

The purpose of this thesis is to respond to the question about the evolution of the diglossic state of Modern Arabic with regards to Moroccan Arabic. Equipped with a claim that resolves the question about the genesis of the diglossic state in Morocco, one can explain how the modern socio-linguistic situation of diglossia developed between MA and MSA and one may also be able to predict future changes in the language (based on the diglossic state of MA and the attitude of the speakers). The implications of such knowledge may significantly further historical, linguistic, and sociological studies about the development of the other CDs of Arabic and Arabic language as a whole. Such an understanding may also greatly impact theories concerning language genesis, development, and even language acquisition. An accurate understanding of the historical linguistic processes in MA may also advance theories concerning prospective changes and/or direction in MA and, by association, other dialects of Arabic.

1.5 Outline of Thesis

This paper will first expand on the diglossic situation of Arabic and the various theories of its origin. The theories regarding the genesis of the diglossic state of Modern Arabic comprise Chapter 2 of this thesis. I will then describe in Chapter 3, the socio-linguistic framework of attested pidgins and creoles and how MA fits into this model. Chapter 4 exemplifies the linguistic characteristics and patterns in pidgins and creoles. The areas that will be of particular interest in this chapter are the Tense, Mood, and Aspect (TMA) system, word order, periphrastic interrogatives, analytic genitives, and the indefinite article. These five linguistic phenomena are examined in this thesis primarily due to the fact that they are particularly unexplainable by other theories on the origin of Arabic diglossia (see Chapter 2) and pattern the linguistic effects of pidginization and creolization so closely (see Chapter 4). The linguistic characteristics of pidginization and creolization on these particular features are then compared with the linguistic patterns in MA. The final chapter of this thesis examines the current process of decreolization in MA and concludes this thesis with the significance and implications of this thesis and opportunities for further study.

CHAPTER 2: THEORIES ON THE ORIGIN OF ARABIC DIGLOSSIA

2.0 Introduction

This chapter examines four of the major theories on the genesis of the socio-linguistic diglossic state in Modern Arabic, and by extension the diglossic state of Arabic in Morocco. The first section of this chapter elucidates the justification of linguistic differences between MSA and CDs (MA in particular) as being the result of language borrowing from other languages of influence (i.e. Berber, French, and Spanish). Section 2.2 outlines the theory of an Arabic *koine* as laid out by Ferguson (1959) as being the proponent of the current situation of diglossia in Arabic. The third section expounds upon the theory of natural language ‘drift,’ posited by Blau (1961), as the explanation for the socio-linguistic state of Modern Arabic. The final section of this chapter delineates the theory of pidginization and creolization, as advanced by Versteegh (1984). The claim of this thesis is adopted from Versteegh’s theory. Therefore, the explanation and credibility of this particular theory are the foundation for Chapters 3 and 4.

2.1 Language Borrowing

2.1.1 Explanation

At first glance, much of the dissimilarity between the CDs and MSA lies in the divergent lexicon and the phonological structures of the dialect. Each CD has been in recurrent contact with a variety of languages depending on the native peoples and neighbors of the land in which the CD is spoken, as well as colonial and/or other outside influence (Versteegh, 1984). It is to be expected, then, that language borrowing would occur specific to the region in which the CD is spoken. For example, lexical borrowings in Egyptian Arabic are found from English, French, Turkish, and Egyptian/Coptic while

lexical borrowings in Algerian Arabic are mainly derived from French and Berber (Versteegh, 1997). Egyptian Arabic borrowings include the Egyptian/Coptic verb *iddi* ‘give’ and the Turkish word *’od’a* ‘room’.⁶ Algerian borrowings are very similar to MA borrowings with a greater number of French borrowings (e.g. *bisklet* from the French “bicyclette” ‘bicycle’ (Heath, 1989: 189)). Each dialect of Arabic has been individually influenced by its neighboring or indigenous languages. Therefore, much of the lexical and phonological divergences between the CDs themselves, and their disparity from MSA can be attributed to regional variation.

With regard to the lexical discrepancies between MA and MSA, much of the disparity in the vocabulary in MA can be attributed to lexical borrowings from Berber, French, and Spanish (Gallagher, 1968). Examples include MA *mzjæen* (Berber) for MSA *ḍaib* ‘good’; MA *tomobil* (French) for MSA *sejara* ‘car’; and MA *simana* (Spanish) for MSA *sbuaʿ* ‘week’ (Heath, 1989: 13; 232; 243). Another area of divergence in MA that may be attributed to language borrowing is in phonological traits found almost uniquely in MA (and no other dialect of Arabic). Unlike MSA which shows phonemic variation for both the short and long vowels of /a/, /i/, and /u/, the short vowels [a], [i], [u] are not found in MA, but the long vowels [a:], [i:], and [u:] are. This, in turn, often leads to a long string of consonant clusters (which is a feature shared with Berber and very likely derived from it (Heath, 1989)). Another phonological trait found in MA, but not in MSA or many other CDs, is the separation of non-emphatic /r/ and emphatic /r²/ as separate phonemes. This is, yet again, a feature found in Berber languages (Heath, 1989).

⁶ For further examples of the lexical borrowings of Egyptian Arabic see Abdel-Massih (1978).

A full account of the chronological integration and adaptation of borrowings into the lexicon and phonology of the CDs of Arabic is beyond the scope of this thesis. This thesis directs its scope towards the divergences between MA and MSA that are unexplained by such apparent processes. However, lexical and phonological borrowings cannot be ignored as an integral part of what makes each dialect, including MA, so unique. This uniqueness sets MA apart as being dissimilar to MSA and may contribute (as per linguistically diverse forms) to the socio-linguistic state of diglossia found in Arabic today. Without linguistically distinctive features between a ‘high’ form and ‘low’ form of a language there is no opportunity for a state of diglossia to exist.

2.1.2 Problems with Language Borrowing Theory

While linguistic borrowings may account for some of the differences between MA and MSA, there are some morphological and syntactic features in MA that cannot be explained as borrowings or adaptations of neighboring languages. These traits are also found in the majority of Arabic CDs around the world irrespective of neighboring or colonial language contact. These features include, but are not restricted to, a transformed tense, mood, and aspect (TMA) system, the loss of case endings, analytical genitives, periphrastic interrogatives, an indefinite article, and SVO word order, (Versteegh, 1984). All of these features will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 4 (as linguistic evidence for the processes of pidginization and creolization in MA). It would be possible to explain these morphological and syntactic features in the CDs as the result of language borrowing only if *all* of the dialects were similarly influenced by analogous languages with those specific features. What is found, however, is that very few of the CDs have experienced parallel influence from outside languages (Versteegh, 1997). As a result, the

issue of language borrowing does not apply to the claim of this thesis. This thesis examines features that are unexplained by language borrowing or the regionally specific influence on each CD.

It is indisputable that, at both the lexical and phonological levels, borrowings have been very influential in the divergent development of the CDs of Arabic. It is at other levels (i.e. syntax and morpho-syntax) that other developmental processes are needed to explain the disparity between the CDs of Arabic (and, by association, MA) and MSA. Such developmental processes are the development of a *koine*, the process of language ‘drift’, and/or (as this thesis claims) the processes of pidginization, creolization, and decreolization.

2.2 Koine Theory

2.2.1 Explanation

Ferguson (1959) claims that the common characteristics between the dialects and MSA can only be explained if it is assumed that at one point during the Islamic conquests there was an inter-dialectal *koine*⁷. *Koine*, as defined by Ferguson (1959), is a common speech shared by people of different vernaculars. He makes no mention as to whether or not this *koine* is acquired as a native language or if it is restricted as a non-native language learned through formal instruction. In either case, this particular Arabic *koine*, as detailed by Ferguson (1959), is supposed to have developed in the military settlements of Syria and Egypt during the time of the Islamic conquests. The interaction between the members from all the tribes is assumed to have resulted in an intertribal colloquial

⁷ This *koine* described by Ferguson (1959) is analogous to the ‘lingua franca’ as outlined in Todd (1990) which acts as a common language spoken by a multilingual community for communication purposes (such as trade).

language. That intertribal colloquial, or *koine*, would have then served as the source for all the modern dialects. To support this hypothesis, Ferguson lays out fourteen different ‘innovations’ that differ from MSA and are shared by *all* the CDs of Arabic. These fourteen analogous constructions are not grouped in any particular order (by importance or feature).

Table 1 Commonalities among the various CDs of Arabic (Ferguson, 1959)

1. The loss of the dual in the verbs and the pronouns
2. The sound shift $a > i$ in prefixes
3. The merger of the IIIw and IIIy verbs
4. The analogous treatment of the geminate verbs, which made them indistinguishable from the IIInd measure of IIIw/y verbs.
5. The use of *li-* affixed to the verbs for indirect objects
6. The loss of polarity in the cardinal numbers 13-19
7. The velarization of the /t/ in the cardinal numbers 13-19
8. The disappearance of the feminine elative *fu'āl*
9. The suffix for denominal adjectives $-ī < -iy$
10. The use of the verb *ḡāb* < *ḡā'a bi-* “to bring”
11. The use of the verb *šāf* instead of *ra'ā* “to see”
12. The adjective plural *fu'āl* < *fi'āl*
13. The use of the indeclinable relative marker *illī*
14. The merger of /d/ and /ḍ/

These similarities between the dialects include both phonological and morphological divergences from MSA (such as the sound shift $a > i$ in the prefixes and the use of the verb *šāf* instead of *ra'ā* “to see”). To this list, other linguists (see Cohen, 1970 and Versteegh, 1984), have added a few more features that are common to all the dialects of Arabic (see Table 2 and 3). These features include some syntactic similarities in the different CDs (such as SVO word order instead of VSO).

Table 2 Additions by Cohen (1970) - as cited by Versteegh (1984: 20)

15. The occlusive realization of the interdental spirants
16. The partial or complete disappearance of the $-h-$ in the pronominal suffix of the 3rd person masculine after consonants
17. The loss of the gender distinctions in the plural of pronouns and verbs
18. The use of an analytical possessive construction
19. The use of a verbal particle with the imperfect verb to indicate a present durative

Table 3 Additions by Versteegh (1984: 21)

22. The loss of the glottal stop
23. The reduction of short vowels in open syllables
24. The reduction of the opposition /i/ - /u/
25. The assimilation of the feminine endings -at, -ā, -ā' > -a
26. The disappearance of the internal passive
27. The loss of the IVth measure
28. The agreement in number between subject and verbal predicate
29. The nominal periphrasis of interrogative adverbs
30. The word order SVO instead of VSO
31. The tendency to use asyndetic constructions with expressions with a modal meaning.

According to Ferguson, the analogous characteristics between the dialects of Arabic point to a similar origin. Ferguson claims that this similar origin would not have been MSA due to the many divergences from the standard found in the CDs. Therefore, the *koine* would have been a variance of the standard developed in the military settlements and then spread throughout the arabophone world during the Islamic conquests.

2.2.2 Difficulties with Koine Theory

Ferguson (1959) laid out guidelines by which he determined the acceptability of a feature as support for the existence of a *koine*. For any feature to be used as evidence for the *koine* hypothesis it must, first of all, be present in all of the CDs and absent in the language of the Quran. This is due to the fact that the Quran is one of the only written forms of Arabic that has been preserved from that specific time period in which the *koine* is proposed to have developed (Ferguson, 1959). Secondly, they must not be explainable by general language 'drift' (which occurs in all languages irrespective of the socio-linguistic situation (Ferguson, 1959)). Finally, the common features must only be shared by the sedentary dialects of Arabic. The reason why only the sedentary dialects of Arabic are taken into account is because the Bedouin dialects claim a different origin and are exempt from evolving from a *koine* (see Cohen, 1970). Ferguson's features hold up to the first and third conditions with very few difficulties. All fourteen features are

ubiquitous among the various CDs and are not found in the classical language of the Quran (Ferguson, 1959). Furthermore, the fact is that there is not enough historical evidence to determine the length or extent of Bedouin influence on the *koine* (Versteegh, 1984) and so any similarity between the sedentary dialects and the Bedouin dialects would not necessarily exclude any particular feature. There may have also been differences between the *koine* within poetic or literary speech or writing (such as is found in the Quran) and in the colloquial forms of Arabic at the time. Where Ferguson's hypothesis becomes problematic is in the exclusion of features that might be explained by reference to a 'general drift' in the language. One example of this is with the loss of duals in all of the CDs of Arabic (one of Ferguson's fourteen features). Ferguson claims that such a universal tendency in the various dialects of Arabic is evidence of having all stemmed from one *koine*. What he fails to take into account, however, is that the loss of duals is fairly common in languages and could be explained in the CDs as the result of natural 'drift' and change (see §2.3).⁸ Even with the recognition that the loss of duals is a phenomenon found throughout the CDs of Arabic, the acknowledgment of its commonality still fails to explain why the loss of the dual took place at that particular point in history and why its loss was incomplete. While dual forms of adjectives, pronouns, and verbs have disappeared in all the dialects of Arabic there are still traces of the dual in varying degrees in the nouns of the CDs of Arabic (e.g. Moroccan Arabic has dual forms only for nouns of measure while Syrian has a "highly productive" dual of nouns (Ferguson, 1959: 55)).

⁸ The loss of the dual shows itself in other Semitic languages such as Hebrew (Blau, 1977) as well as Indo-European languages.

In addition to the above mentioned difficulty in accounting for the possibility of other developmental processes (i.e. language drift), Ferguson's theory does not sufficiently explain the fact that alongside the similarities, the various dialects show many differences. If all of the CDs developed from one single *koine*, one would expect that the variations between the CDs would be minimal and/or explainable by other external forces (i.e. language contact and borrowing or language drift). What is seen, however, is that the differences are not only isolated divergences that could be explicated by the influence of a neighboring language(s) (like the vocabulary borrowings shown in MA above). There are also many 'related differences' among the CDs. These 'related differences' are instances in which the assorted dialects chose different solutions for the same tendency. An illustration of this is with the various analytical genitive constructions (one of the focal linguistic phenomena in MA that is used to support the claims of this thesis in Chapter 4) in the CDs substituting the 'classical construction' (in which case-endings as well as a special form of the head noun express possession (Cohen, 1970; Versteegh, 1984)). Some examples of these divergent forms of the analytic genitive include Egyptian *māl*, Tunisian *mtā'*, Moroccan *dyał*, Sudanese *hūl*, and Syrian *taba'* (Versteegh, 1984: 92). All of these forms carry the comparable genitive meaning and fill parallel functions despite their apparent dissimilarity.

Due to the above mentioned shortcomings in the *koine* theory, even later proponents of this theory have felt it necessary to concede the possibility of various regional *koines* from which the innovated language(s) spread to surrounding areas as the basis for the various Arabic CDs (Cohen, 1970). Even if one were to suggest that the various dialects began with a *koine* and then diverged due to geographical division and

language drift it would still be necessary to explain the ‘related differences’ in the CDs. The linguistic divergences due to language drift stemming from one *koine* spread throughout the arabophone world would not be expected to share such phonologically and morphologically divergent solutions for similar trends (Versteegh, 1984). This is due to the fact that languages do not radically change in ways that are not expected without drastic circumstances (like the processes of pidginization and creolization).

As will be further discussed in §2.3, the process of language drift shows a general direction of development comprising of various explicit trends that results in a pattern (Ferguson, 1959). These parallel trends are often found throughout the language and even all through the language family as a whole. Therefore, if language drift occurred after the spread of one *koine* through the arabophone world the various CDs would show parallel trends in their development. For example, the loss of the duals in the CDs of Arabic may be assumed to be the product of language drift, but there is still no explanation for the incompleteness and variety in this particular loss among the CDs. The claims of this thesis attempt to fill in this gap by explaining why MA diverges from MSA in ways that are sometimes similar, and sometimes dissimilar to the other CDs of Arabic.

2.3 Language Drift

2.3.1 Explanation of Language Drift Theory

The second prominent hypothesis regarding the development of the different dialects of Arabic, which was introduced in the previous section, is that of general language ‘drift’. With the passing of time a language often goes through an unconscious change, or ‘drift’ (Sapir, 1921). The language undergoes transformation (whether local

or global) during this ‘drift’ which may result in new dialects or even a revolutionized form of the original language. The changes that occur may, at first, appear to be without direction. Yet, upon closer study, there are often patterns that are shown among the changes in related languages that typify language drift phenomena. Language drift may often be the result of a simplification or a development of symmetry in a language. This theory of language drift in relation to the diglossic situation of Arabic (as suggested by Blau (1961)), advances the possibility that the similarities found in the different CDs and their parallel divergences from MSA are the result of natural phonological and morphological changes within Arabic (and perhaps other Semitic languages as well). Examples of the natural loss or change resulting from a phonological drift in Semitic languages, including Arabic, include the loss of the final *-h*, an increase in the symmetry of “emphatic” consonants, *ay > ē* and *aw > ō*, and the loss of unstressed short /i/ and /u/ (Blau, 1961). Some of the phonological trends, in turn, have morphological consequences (e.g. the merger of /a/ and /i/ in MA has led to the disappearance of the active/passive distinction in participles of derivative verbs (Ferguson, 1959)). The ways in which languages experience change or loss are the result of specific trends that can be seen when observing patterns throughout time, not the result of radical innovations.

In his description of the process of language drift in Arabic, Blau concentrates on the ways in which the CDs differ from the standard and compares them with general Semitic or even Proto-Semitic trends. One example of this is in the reduction of the opposition of /i/ - /u/ in the various dialects.⁹ This same tendency is seen in two other Semitic languages: Hebrew and Syriac (Blau, 1961). Sapir (1921) explains that the

⁹ This is one of the common features in the CDs of Arabic posited by Versteegh (1984:21). See Table 3.

underlying point of linguistic drift is that it, much like his analogy of a river, has direction. Only the variations that move in a certain direction are included in the drift of the language. Language drift is comprised of an unconscious selection of features on the part of its speakers. As one observes the language as a whole, it should be evident that the resulting linguistic changes are not radical or arbitrary. Rather, the changes are bound by the communicative ability of the speakers (Sapir, 1921). All linguistic development is within the constraints of communicative facility. Radical and/or arbitrary change hinders, rather than facilitates, communication unless the changes are the result of a dramatic developmental process (such as *koine*, or the processes of pidginization and creolization). The direction of such linguistic changes is also often deduced from the past history of the language. Sapir uses the example of the ‘who’ ‘whom’ distinction in English. He projects that because of the historical trends of simplification in the accusative case in English and the current misuse of the word ‘whom’ that in the future English will no longer make that distinction at all. This simplification is also an example of the minute changes that are within the bounds of communicative ability. In the case of Arabic, there are some earlier trends that began before the division of the Arabic language that, seen in the CDs of Arabic, could be interpreted as part of natural language drift. These trends include the loss of a glottal stop, the reduction of inflectional categories, and an increase of symmetry in the grammar (such as the reforming of non-triconsonantal roots into the triconsonantal patterns (Ferguson, 1959: 52, 54)).

2.3.2 Difficulties with Language Drift Theory

While the changes and/or loss that can be attributed to natural language drift can account for a number of the similarities between the CDs and their subsequent

divergences from the standard, they cannot explain many of the differences between the dialects (e.g. the multiple forms of the analytical genitive in the various CDs of Arabic or the variances in the loss of the dual) nor do they fully account for the unique features of the CDs that are completely unrelated to the Semitic family (e.g. SVO word order, periphrastic interrogatives, verbal auxiliaries, and the merger of /d/ and /ḏ/). The theory of language ‘drift’ itself fails to account for the dissimilarities among the various dialects of Arabic. Due to the patterns and trends of language ‘drift’ one would expect that all of the dialects would ‘drift’ in similar ways. However, there are numerous differences at both phonological and morphological levels that do not pattern other CDs or general Semitic trends (Versteegh, 1984:92). The linguistic changes that occur during language drift are often gradual and predictable. Radical changes to the underlying structure of a language (such as word order, temporal and aspectual marking etc.) are not likely to be the product of a natural change in the language. If language drift attempts to simplify communication, a radical change to the underlying structure of a language would likely hinder an already functioning communicative system. Radical changes that do not follow Semitic trends and diverge from other CDs are seen in the divergences between MA and MSA. These divergences are the basis for the claims of this thesis and will be further examined in Chapter 4.

These radical changes follow patterns which parallel transformations that occur due to specific language contact situations (see Chapter 3). Therefore, one may assume that, following natural linguistic patterns in language, the various CDs of Arabic have undergone and are still undergoing natural language change due to ‘drift’. However, this process fails to explain all of the similarities and divergences from the standard in the

numerous CDs. Therefore, there must be other developmental processes at work to account for such differences and parallels among the CDs of Arabic in their departure from the standard. The processes of reduction and expansion that occur during pidginization and creolization are examples of such developmental processes that can account for the similarities and divergences in MA from MSA, and perhaps the other dialects of Arabic as well.

2.4 Pidginization and Creolization

2.4.1 Explanation of Pidginization and Creolization Theory

The final theory that gives an account for the current state of diglossia in Arabic is the Pidginization and Creolization Theory- as proposed by Versteegh (1984).

Versteegh argues that neither language borrowing, the *koine* hypothesis nor the theory of natural language drift and change sufficiently account for both the similarities and the differences between the CD and MSA. Versteegh concludes that through the processes of pidginization and creolization, as seen in many other languages (e.g. Tok Pisin, Hawaiian Creole English etc.), the dialectal deviations and uniformities in Arabic, alongside their divergence from the standard, are explained. Pidginization is a process of linguistic change, often reduction or simplification, due to a mass process of second language learning. This differs from the *koine* of Ferguson (1959) in that a *koine* is a simplification of the native tongue of the speakers. Pidginization is a simplification of a target language that is being learned. When speakers of the *koine* arrive at a situation in which the *koine* is insufficient they are able to revert back to their native language. When speakers of a pidgin language have communicative difficulty they are forced to rely on native intuition or innate linguistic universals. Creolization, in contrast with both *koine*

and pidginization, is an expansion of the pidginized variety of language as it becomes the mother tongue for a number of speakers (Versteegh, 1984). In both pidginization and creolization the target language, i.e. the language that is to be learned, is acquired from a limited input. In the case of pidginization the exposure to the target language is limited by either social/cultural factors or by limited contact between the learners and the native speakers of the language. This lack of contact, or distance (whether social or physical), creates a linguistic environment in which the input is severely limited. In such situations, most proponents of pidginization and creolization (Bickerton, 1977, 1981; Versteegh, 1984 etc.) agree that the learners are then forced to rely on their innate universal linguistic structures and processes to facilitate communication. In the case of creolization, the input is inherently limited through the acquisition of an already limited pidginized version of the target language. Again, those acquiring the limited, or pidginized, language as their native tongue (as is the case in creolization) are required to access intrinsic linguistic structures and processes in the development and expansion of their language so that it may be grammatically and expressively sufficient for all of their communication needs.

2.4.2 Credibility of Pidginization and Creolization Theory

The progression of pidginization and creolization has been the subject of much study and there have been a number of social and linguistic parallels identified among the various languages that have gone through these processes (Bickerton, 1977). However, in order to make a claim of prior pidginization or creolization credible for any language, it must be shown that the required socio-linguistic circumstances were in place during the conception and maturation of the language, and it must also be shown that the

distinguishing linguistic effects of pidginization and/or creolization are evident in the resulting language (Southworth, 1971). These principles are the basis for the research done for the claims of this thesis.

While Versteegh (1984) has been able to take the CDs as a whole and analyze them using Southworth's principles, he has not studied each dialect individually to determine whether or not they stand up to the test. This thesis attempts to address this shortcoming with a careful examination of MA, as one of the dialects of Arabic. This thesis endeavor to show the credibility of Versteegh's (1984) hypothesis for MA, using Southworth's (1971) principles, by illustrating the historical socio-linguistic circumstances required for the processes of pidginization, creolization, and decreolization to occur (Chapter 3), and by showing the presence of the linguistic effects of pidginization, creolization, and decreolization in MA (Chapter 4).

2.5 Summary

There have most likely been many processes involved in the evolution of the modern socio-linguistic state of Arabic. Most theories about the origin of the Arabic dialects limit themselves to an explanation of either the differences or the similarities between the dialects. The process of language borrowing has been attested in all of the dialects of Arabic (Versteegh, 1997) and can explicate many of the lexical and phonological differences between the dialects. However, language borrowing alone is insufficient to explain many of the ubiquitous divergences of the CDs from the standard. In the same way, both the theories of *koine* and language 'drift' have greatly contributed to the historical study of the Arabic language and can even explain some of the analogous ways in which MA and other CDs deviate from the standard. Yet, neither theory alone

can fully attest for all of the similarities and differences between the dialects and the standard. Only Versteegh's (1984) hypothesis of prior pidginization and creolization sufficiently accounts for *both* the linguistic divergences and parallels of MA with other CDs of Arabic and MSA, and subsequently accounts for the present diglossic situation of Arabic. The social and linguistic circumstances in Morocco are the result of developmental procedures (i.e. rapid language acquisition with limited input) evolving from particular situations of diglossia which parallel the frameworks necessary for the processes of pidginization, creolization, and decreolization.

CHAPTER 3: REQUIRED SOCIO-LINGUISTIC CIRCUMSTANCES FOR PIDGINIZATION, CREOLIZATION, AND DECREOLIZATION

3.0 Introduction

Southworth's (1971) principles state that one cannot expect to see the processes of pidginization, creolization, or decreolization in any language without (1) the existence of a particular socio-linguistic framework, and (2) the linguistic effects of the processes in the language. In other words, a specific situation of language contact and subsequent diglossic environment must be evident in the history of a language in order to claim prior pidginization and/or creolization. This chapter outlines the socio-linguistic frameworks necessary for the processes of pidginization, creolization, and decreolization to occur in an effort to support the claims of this. Once the socio-linguistic frameworks for the various processes have been identified they are subsequently compared with the historical socio-linguistic situations in Morocco in order to exemplify any parallels that are found.

3.1 Diglossic Situation of Language Contact leading to Pidgin

3.1.1 Explanation of Diglossic Situation of Language Contact leading to Pidgin

In a multilingual setting, if the languages share equal prestige and number of speakers, a bilingual or multilingual situation may be the result. However, when there is a diglossic situation in which the speakers of language of lower prestige are unable to communicate with one another (due to differences in their native languages) and have to communicate with the speakers of the language with higher prestige, the result may be the formation of a new and simplified version of the superstrate language: That simplified form is termed pidgin (Lehiste, 1988). However, for a pidgin to develop, there needs to be not only a number of speakers of a language, or languages, in need (most likely for

physical or social reasons) of learning a target language, but also this language learning must take place within a short period of time without formal instruction. Next, the exposure to the target language must be limited because of marginalized or lack of contact. The input from the target language may also be limited due to distance (either physical or social) between the learners of the superstrate language and its native speakers (Todd, 1990).

3.1.2 Evidence in MA

Historically, the unique social situation of language contact and diglossia in Morocco created an archetypal stage for the process of pidginization to occur. Through the military efforts of the Umayyad dynasty, the Islamic conquest of the Maghreb (all North African territory west of Egypt) was completed by the end of the 7th century. During that time the Arab conquerors set up 'client states' for the purposes of taxation and conversion of the indigenous Berber tribes to Islam. The speakers of the various Berber languages were encouraged to quickly learn enough Arabic to facilitate trade, government dealings, and the practice of Islam (Hourani, 1991). The high status of the arabophone conquerors along with the low prestige of the subjugated Berber people exemplified a 'simple binary context' for multilingual diglossia as described in Hamers & Blanc (2000: 295). This 'context' depicts a situation in which there is a high-low linguistic dichotomy. Due to the strong correlation between socio-economic prestige and linguistic dominance, the high language would have been Arabic and the low language(s) would have been the various forms of Berber (Versteegh, 1997). Again, it would have been necessary for the Berber people to communicate with the Arabic speakers for social and economic reasons. This particular situation of diglossia in Morocco describes a

specific language contact environment which would have allowed for the development of a pidgin. The newly formed pidgin would have most likely been a trade language based on the conqueror's Arabic rather than the multiple Berber languages already spoken in the region (Versteegh, 1984). The situation for limited language contact was exacerbated by the fall of the Umayyad dynasty to the Abbasid caliphs of Baghdad in the middle of the 8th century - only about 50 years after the original conquest was complete (Hourani, 1991). Under this new rule, the Maghreb received little attention with very few additions to the arabophone population allowing for a continued state of limited input for the learners of the highly prestigious Arabic language. This a priori new pidginized form of Arabic would have most likely continued in its original form or even disappeared completely if not for the continued social situation of diglossia which followed. The sustained situation of diglossia in MA preserved the pidginized form rather than endanger it. Without the preservation of this pidginized form, there would be little or no linguistic evidence (in Modern MA) tracing back to the process of pidginization having occurred in MA at all.

3.2 Diglossic Situation of Language Contact leading to Creole

3.2.1 Explanation of Diglossic Situation of Language Contact leading to Creole

As Lehiste (1988) claims, once an environment has prompted the development of a pidgin, the continued existence of the pidgin and its potential for further expansion (e.g. into a creole) does not rely on its linguistic structure, but on the socio-linguistic environment in which it exists. For the process of creolization to occur, there must be a continued need for the pidginized language in daily life and greater exposure to the target language (Todd, 1990). The diglossic environment must still be in place with the

superstrate language having higher prestige than either the pidginized form of the target language or the substrate, or less prestigious (most often indigenous), language(s). As previously stated, without increased exposure to the superstrate language and the continued diglossic situation, the environment would not be amenable to the development of a creole. The social situation must encourage the continued use of the pidgin which would then prompt the transfer of the pidgin to all newcomers of the language area as well as the subsequent generations of the current pidgin speakers to be acquired as a native language. Evidence of this relationship between the quality of linguistic input, diglossic pressures, and language development characterizes the continued socio-linguistic history of Morocco. This evidence furthers the claim for the existence of the socio-linguistic frameworks necessary for the process of creolization in the history of MA.

3.2.2 Evidence in MA

When Idris ibn Abdullah, an Arab descendent of the prophet Mohammad escaping the Abbasids, founded the Idrisid Dynasty in 788 (almost a century after the original conquests), he created the continued need for the Berber people to use the pidginized form of Arabic and pass it on to the ensuing generations as well as a continued exposure to the ‘target language’ of MSA. The alleged pidgin would have had the standard form of Arabic as its lexifier language and would have looked to this standard as the language of high prestige. Under Idris ibn Abdullah’s rule, Morocco (particularly the cities of Moulay Idris and later Fes), became the center of Islamic learning in North Africa. He encouraged continued settlement of North Africa by the Arabs and offered a place of refuge for other escaping the Abbasid rule (Hourani, 1991). This dynasty is

credited with the early islamization of the Maghreb. This included setting up formal institutions for the learning of the Quran and, by extension, increased the conquered people's exposure to Classical Arabic (the predecessor of MSA) (Cohen & Hahn, 1966). These formal education institutions along with a major influx of arabophone families with high status immigrating to the Maghreb (anywhere from 200,000 to one million early in the eleventh century) allowed for greater exposure to the more standardized form of Arabic (Cohen & Hahn, 1966). This also created the premium conditions necessary for a diglossic situation paralleling the socio-linguistic frameworks necessary for the development of a creole (Todd, 1990). Under such a unified arabophone government, the Berber people of Morocco would have had continued exposure to the target language and would have likely sought to expand their pidginized Arabic for daily use and to pass on to their children. This diglossic situation, along with the general trend of solidarity between the Berber and Arab people under the flag of Islam (Gallagher, 1968) made clear a pathway for the emergence of a creolized version of Arabic (i.e. Moroccan Arabic)

3.3 Diglossic Situation of Language Contact leading to Decreolization

3.3.1 Explanation of Diglossic Situation of Language Contact leading to Decreolization

Whenever a creole language has prolonged contact with its superstrate language, and the superstrate language continues to hold a position of high prestige, the social situation of diglossia is in place for the process of decreolization (Bickerton, 1980). Decreolization, or progression of the grammatical structure towards that of the lexifier language, often follows a continued situation of diglossia in which the speakers of the low, or substrate, language(s) receive greater exposure to the high, or superstrate, language. This greater exposure (whether physical or social) allows for the development

of the creole towards a greater resemblance of the target language. However, for such a process of decreolization to occur two things must be true of the socio-linguistic circumstances. First of all, the language of high prestige must be the same as the vocabulary base of the creole. This is due to the research that has shown that without similar lexical bases, a creole would most likely continue in its present form or gradually disappear completely (Lehiste, 1988). Secondly, there must be greater social pressures and opportunities for the target language to provide corrective measures (e.g. positive/negative feedback and formal/informal instruction) to the speakers of the creole. Such opportunities for refinement include both formal and informal institutions for education as well as social or political pressure (Lehiste, 1988). These opportunities for refinement increase the amount and quality of input received by the interlocutors which then prompts advanced linguistic development towards the target language.

3.3.2 Evidence in MA

Both of the needed circumstances for the continued development of a creole towards a target language were, and are still, evident in the continued social diglossic situation of Morocco. First of all, the language of high prestige (MSA) was and is the same as the language base of the alleged creole, MA. Secondly, the opportunities for corrective feedback and the social pressure arising from the influence of the target language were and are still evident in the historical and modern circumstances in Morocco. The process of decreolization in MA may have begun as early as the eleventh century of the Idrisid Dynasty with the flood of prestigious Arabic speakers and the establishment of formal education in the standard form of the target language (allowing for the corrective measures mentioned above). This process of decreolization, if it began

that early, would have been a slow progression over the following eight centuries stemming from the gradual increase in the influence of MSA with a possible regression or pause during the Protectorate of 1900s (Versteegh, 1984). Unfortunately, records of the Moroccan dialect during this time are, for the most part, nonexistent due to the doctrine of ‘*arabiyya*’ (Blau, 1981: 7) which stated that the standard, or classical, form of Arabic should be the only one used when writing. While one cannot determine for sure when the process of decreolization may have occurred in MA, there is documentation of the changes in the socio-linguistic situation of Morocco which follow the guidelines given by Bickerton (1980). What is evident is that with the changes instituted by the Idrisid Dynasty and the continued influx of standardized Arabic speakers, both the social and historical situations were in place for the beginnings of the process of decreolization.

The existing socio-linguistic situation in Morocco follows the diglossic situation of Arabic outlined by Ferguson (1959a) and parallels the social framework for the continued process of decreolization. Currently MSA is looked upon as a language of prestige while MA is considered a lower form of Arabic (Versteegh, 1997). What has changed in the last 60 years, as opposed to the past 9 centuries, is an ever increasing exposure to MSA and political and social pressure to learn the standard form of Arabic. Since Moroccan independence from France in 1959 there has been a political push towards the ‘*arabisation*’ of education and media (Versteegh, 1997: 200). Instruction in the Moroccan schools, at the present time, are completely in MSA for the first four years with the next three years being bilingual with the emphasis on French. Secondary and higher education is often divided between French and MSA according to subject matter

(Heath, 1989). This trend differs from the pre-independence education system in which all classes were taught in French (with the exception of Quranic school). Other areas of Moroccan life that are being flooded with MSA are described by Heath (1989) below:

“In government and other bureaucratic settings, MSA is the regular medium for written documents...The broadcast media uses MSA and/or MA depending on programme type. The news is always in formal MSA, and there are many didactic religious programmes and documentaries in MSA...However, local sporting events are broadcast in MA (with heavy MSA borrowings and occasional code switching...Academic panel discussions, which are common on television and radio, oscillate between MSA and classicized MA depending on the mood of the participants...Finally, MSA is the predominant language of Islam and is used in most sermons as well as Koranic recitations.” (Heath, 1989: 9,10)

The advancements in media (i.e. television, radio, movies etc.) and the social linking of MSA with Islam and, by extension, the Islamic Community, have increased the aspirations and opportunities for Moroccans to learn MSA (Versteegh, 1997). This exposure to MSA continues today with increased influence from the media and more widespread education in the standard form of the language. There have also been movements to modernize MSA for better use in formal education systems (particularly through expansion of the vocabulary (Heath, 1989)). The modern state of MA and its linguistic parallels to the process of decreolization will be further discussed in Chapter 5. The issues related here pertain to the first of Southworth’s principles in portraying the *socio-linguistic* frameworks necessary for the processes of pidginization, creolization, and decreolization in MA.

The social and linguistic influences on MA brought about during the colonial period must also be mentioned. During the Protectorate period of Morocco, in the early to mid 1900s, the people were placed in a new diglossic situation in which Spanish (in the north) and French (in the south) became the languages of prestige (Heath, 1989). While the comparison between the social situation of Morocco during the period of

colonial influence and the social demographics of attested pidgins and creoles is not entirely analogous, it must be noted that “the language dynamics in colonial societies reflect systems of social relations not entirely unlike those found in some pidgin/creole zones, particularly some of the Pacific ones where demographic disruptions were less abrupt and drastic than in the Caribbean (Heath, 1989: 204).” While such a claim has merit, this paper will not attempt to lay out an argument for the pidginization or creolization of MA during the colonial periods due to the influence of French and Spanish.

3.4 Summary

The socio-linguistic frameworks that lead to the processes of pidginization, creolization, and decreolization are evident throughout the history of Morocco. There was first a language contact situation where a large group of people speaking multiple languages were “encouraged” to learn a target language within a brief period of time without formal instruction. This social circumstance typifies the context for the development of a pidgin. Next, the socio-linguistic situation allowed for the continued use of such a pidgin and ever increased exposure to the superstrate language which exemplifies the framework for the development of a creole. Finally, with prolonged exposure to the superstrate language and the continued prestige attributed to that language the socio-linguistic circumstances for the process of decreolization have been and are shown in Morocco. With such evidence for the socio-linguistic frameworks required for the processes of pidginization, creolization, and decreolization the first of Southworth’s (1971) two requirements in order for a claim of prior pidginization and creolization to be supported is satisfied. The next chapter outlines the second

requirement given by Southworth (1971): evidence of the linguistic effects of pidginization, creolization, and decreolization. This principle is then compared with the linguistic structures found in MA to demonstrate that the claims of this thesis are supported by the linguistic data.

CHAPTER 4: LINGUISTIC EFFECTS OF PIDGINIZATION, CREOLIZATION, AND DECREOLIZATION

4.0 Introduction

In order for a claim of pidginization, creolization, and decreolization to be substantiated for MA the linguistic effects of such processes must be evident in the language in question (Southworth, 1971). This, the second of Southworth's principles, is adopted to support the claims of prior pidginization, creolization, and current decreolization in MA. The social frameworks that allow for the aforementioned processes were outlined in Chapter 3. The evidence of such frameworks fulfills the first principle delineated by Southworth (1971): That the social frameworks necessary for the processes of pidginization, creolization, and decreolization are evident. These particular frameworks allow for specific language learning development processes. The socio-diglossic interaction, and resulting quality and quantity of target language input, is in direct correlation with the ensuing developmental processes. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the linguistic effects of such processes. I begin with a brief overview of the linguistic patterns that have been identified in currently attested pidgins and creoles and then describes how similar patterns are found in MA (§4.1). Section 4.2 looks at five of these linguistic patterns (a revolutionized TMA system, SVO word order, analytic genitives, periphrastic interrogatives, and an indefinite article derived from "one" or "individual") in attested pidgins and creoles (Tok Pisin, Hawaiian Pidgin English, Hawaiian Creole English, and Haitian Creole) in greater detail, and compares them with MA in order to determine to what degree MA parallels the linguistic effects of those processes. Finally, this chapter looks at the linguistic evidence for the process of

decreolization and examines the linguistic support for such a process in the modern state of MA. The purpose of this chapter is to establish that MA is now a creolized language and that it is currently undergoing the process of decreolization.

4.1 Linguistic Patterns in Pidgins and Creoles

The communicative uses of pidgins and creoles contrast one another, and this functional disparity results in differences between pidgins and creoles in their linguistic structures. Pidgins are so limited in both their vocabulary and grammatical structures that they are only used for specific purposes. They are developed quickly as a communicative survival tool and are therefore simplified in their structure and lexicon. To the extent that pidgins are limited to specific use (i.e. pragmatic roles), the structure and lexicon of creoles are sufficient for all the communication needs of a people. The crucial factors in the pidginization and creolization processes are a reduction and simplification of communicatively redundant features in the early stages (i.e. pidginization) and restructuring and expansion of these features in the later stages (i.e. creolization and, eventually, decreolization). There is a general trend with pidgins and creoles in which the pragmatic approach to speaking gives way to a grammatically based speech pattern (Mühlhäusler, 1986). Yet, creoles continue to preserve a reduction in their grammars for the sake of minimizing communicatively redundant features. There is a connection between form and meaning in the early stages of language development that obviates communicatively redundant features (since they bear little communicative import) thus influencing the development process such that they become pushed aside or discarded altogether. An example of such a redundant linguistic feature in English is the addition of the plural /-s/ morpheme to a noun when the noun has been previously specified as

plural (through contextual clues or modifying adjectives etc.). An example of this is in the morphological difference but semantic similarity between the phrases *three eggs* and *three egg*. Both phrases communicate the plurality of the noun modified although the second phrase does not mark the plural on the noun.

Bickerton (1981), in examining the linguistic effects of the early and late stages of language learning, denotes the following five specific areas in which linguistic patterns in pidgins and creoles are identified:

1. Movement Rules
2. Definite and Indefinite Articles
3. Verbal Auxiliaries (i.e. TMA system)
4. For-to complementization
5. Relativization

To this list, further features in which pidgin and creole universals are delineated have been identified by other linguists (Bickerton, 1977; Versteegh, 1984; Mühlhäusler, 1986; Fischer & Jastrow, 1980; Hall, 1966). While not an exhaustive list, by any means, a few of the most widely recognized features are outlined in (6)-(10) below:

6. Simplification of the phonology
7. Loss of redundancy - loss of morphological (i.e. case endings, dual, asymmetrical distinctions)
8. Analytical Genitives
9. Periphrastic Interrogatives
10. Individual Negation

There is a general trend of phonological simplification that occurs in pidgins and which is carried over into creoles. For the purposes of this thesis, I have chosen not to focus on the phonological patterns of pidgins and creoles in my analysis of MA as a pidginized/creolized language. This is partially due to the fact that a phonological divergence from MSA in MA that patterns other pidginized languages could be argued as the result of other processes (i.e. language drift and change, language borrowing etc.).

However, claims of prior pidginization and creolization based partly on the phonological aspects of the CDs of Arabic have been made and upheld (see Versteegh, 1984). The claims of this thesis are directed at grammatical structures based on morphological and syntactic aspects.

One of the gradual morphological and syntactic transitions that occur in pidgins and creoles is the shift from the substratum word orders to the unmarked SVO word order. Pidgins are often characterized by an unpredictable word order. In his comparisons of Hawaiian Pidgin English and Hawaiian Creole English, Bickerton (1981: 18) demonstrates that the word orders of the pidgin were most often SVO (by all speakers), SOV (by the Japanese speakers), and VS (by the Filipino speakers). In the pidgin language word order was not universally based but a reflection of the natural order of events and/or the origin of the speakers. Later, after the transition into a creole, the dominant unmarked word order for all speakers became SVO. This word order is a characteristic of virtually all contact induced languages (Bickerton, 1981). The SVO word order may, however, be the result of placing the morphemes in their logical order according to the progression of events rather than a true preference for SVO word order. This same phenomenon has been shown in the early stages of second language acquisition by adults (Cook, 1993).¹⁰

Due to the unpredictability in pidgin languages, movement rules for the topicalization of a phrase in pidgins do not exist. For example, there would be no word order difference between sentences like (1) and (2) below:

¹⁰ Such a phenomenon is to be expected if pidginization is, as Bickerton (1977: 49) claims, 'second language learning with restricted input.' Further implications of this claim will be discussed in Chapter 5.

- (1) Mary loaned us a book
 (2) The one who loaned us a book was Mary (Bickerton, 1981: 17)

On the other hand, creoles have rules that move either objects or predicates to the beginning of the phrase for a change in its semantic interpretation. Placing the object at the front of the phrase occurs when the speaker desires to contrast one NP with the other. Predicate fronting, on the other hand, occurs when new information is being introduced by the predicate (Bickerton, 1981).

The next area in which the morphological patterns in pidgins and creoles are evident is in their articles. Determiners in pidgin languages are irregular and sporadic. They may be used in conjunction with a prior referent, they may be unspecific in their use, or they may not be used at all in the pidgin stage. This contrasts greatly from the articles found in creoles. The definite articles of a creolized language are often developed from a “demonstrative which has lost its deictic force” (Versteegh, 1984: 98). This is to say that there is no presupposed referent in the use of the definite article. The indefinite article in creoles, on the other hand, is often derived from a word meaning “one” or “individual” which corresponds to the semantic category of being “presupposed but not known to the speaker” and may be the result of the language learner’s desire for semantically more concrete forms (Bickerton, 1977: 58).

Pidgins and creoles are also defined by a distinctive tense-mood-aspect (TMA) system. As described by Bickerton (1981), during the process of pidginization many languages develop both an ‘earlier’ and a ‘later’ auxiliary marker. These markers, in conjunction with an uninflected form of the verb¹¹, are used to express temporal relations

¹¹ Almost all of the TMA markers in creoles are placed in linear progression before the verb (Bickerton, 1975).

in the newly formed pidgin language. During the later process of creolization, or expansion of the language, these markers develop into a completely new system in which there are three markers which encode both tense and aspect: anterior, durative or nonpunctual, and irrealis (Bickerton, 1981). Finally, during the process of expansion in the creole there are patterns of using multiple auxiliary markers to express more complex tense (Bickerton, 1980; 1981).

Bickerton (1977, 1981) has defined many terms which describe tense, mood, and aspect in pidgins and creoles. I have adopted his terms in this thesis. These terms have become a standard for much of the modern study of the TMA systems of pidgins and creoles. Anteriority describes temporal relations between events occurring prior to some reference point, and that reference point having occurred prior to the moment of speaking. The anterior aspect can have past or future tense marking¹². The irrealis mood refers to 'unreal time' (Bickerton, 1980). The irrealis may occur in the past, present, or future tense. However, irrealis marking in creoles has often been used to describe future and conditional events with little attention to other forms of the irrealis (i.e. subjunctive, jussive, imperative, interrogative). For Bickerton, the imperfective aspect includes both habitual and progressive while the perfective aspect describes a single event as one unit having a specific end point. Bickerton also describes the nonpunctual aspect as combining the progressive with the durative and the habitual with the iterative rather than expressing them as distinct from one another. Also, the punctual:nonpunctual opposition is usually (if not always) a perfective:imperfective opposition.

¹² As Bickerton (1977, 1981) does not define his use of tense, I am taking past tense to refer to an event occurring prior to speech time and future tense to refer to an even occurring after the speech time (in accordance with Comrie (1985)).

Another area in which the morphological patterns in pidgins and creoles are identified is in the combining of clauses. Pidgins are so limited in their use that there are very few cases in which multiple clauses are embedded in a sentence. While clause embedding is still not frequent in creoles, many of them do have patterns for specific types of combination sentences, like sentential complements (such as ‘for to’ in Hawaiian Creole English (Bickerton, 1981: 31)). Creole languages also use pronoun insertion and develop indeclinable markers for relative clauses.

Again, as part of the overall trend of reduction and simplification in pidgins, there is a general loss of redundancy in the morphology. The learners of a pidgin find communicative difficulties with the input not only due to the social distance (or restricted nature of the input), but also because the input that is received is filled with communicatively redundant information. Such information is unnecessary for communication to occur and does not contribute to development and, therefore, is not exhibited by the pidgin or creole speakers. This loss of redundancy includes the loss of case endings, plural marking on the nouns, and dual markers. This loss of case endings, as a form of reduction and simplification, carries on into creoles and often allows analytic forms of the genitive to be developed to replace the case morphology (Versteegh, 1984).

An additional characteristic of pidginized and creolized languages is the replacement of the regular lexical interrogative forms in the target language with nominal paraphrases. Such nominalization is semantically more concrete and easily accessible to learners in the early stages of second language acquisition. Therefore, the communicative importance of the nominal paraphrases makes them a feature that is likely

to be adopted by pidgin and creole languages. This feature is almost universally found in pidgins (Versteegh, 1984) and often carried over into creole languages.

Individual negation is another feature that is widespread in various creoles. While negation in pidgins often mirrors the early second-language acquisition stage by placing the negation morpheme on the left part of the phrase (Cook, 1993), the negation morpheme(s) in creoles must be added to all indefinite NPs as well as the verb in the clause. Such constructions fall under the Negative Concord Rule first introduced by Baker (1970) and are seen in many non-pidgin/creole languages. This is shown by the French example (3) below in which the negation morphemes are added to the indefinite NP *personne* as well as the verb in the clause.

- (3) *personne n'a rien vu*
 no one Neg. has nothing seen¹³
 'No one saw anything' (Corblin et al., 2003: 427).

Such 'negative concord' is considered a linguistic pattern in pidgins and creoles (Bickerton, 1977). An example of this in Hawaiian Creole English in (4) below. The negation marking is on both the NPs and the verb.

- (4) *nonbadi na go du nating*
 nobody won't do nothing¹⁴
 'nobody will do anything' (Bickerton, 1977: 60)

Many of the universal tendencies in pidgins and creoles outlined above are found in Moroccan Arabic. Very few of these features, conversely, are exemplified in Modern Standard Arabic. This grammatical divergence between MA and MSA is to be expected if, as this thesis claims, MA has undergone the processes of pidginization and

¹³ All glosses are taken from the source unless otherwise noted.

¹⁴ Gloss mine.

creolization. Areas in which the features of these processes are evident in MA (and unexplained by language borrowing, *koine*, or language drift) are the TMA system, SVO word order, periphrastic interrogatives, analytic genitives, and the indefinite article based on a morpheme with the semantic meaning of ‘one’. These are, therefore, the areas in which the linguistic patterns of pidgins and creoles are examined in further detail and then compared with the features of MA in this chapter (see §4.2). Evidence of such patterns in MA would fulfill the requirements of Southworth’s (1971) second principle and provide support for the claim of prior pidginization and creolization in MA.

4.2 Evidence of Linguistic Patterns in Pidgins and Creoles in MA

4.2.1 Tense Mood and Aspect System

One area in which the linguistic effects of pidginization and creolization are represented is in a revolutionized TMA system. MA has shown characteristics of both processes in its TMA system. These characteristics parallel other attested pidgins and creoles (e.g. Tok Pisin etc.). There are traces of the pidgin markers for TMA in MA as well as an almost complete representation of the creole markers.

4.2.1.1 ‘Earlier’ and ‘Later’ Markers. During the process of pidginization many languages acquire an ‘earlier’ marker derived from a word meaning “to finish” or “complete”. They also attain a ‘later’ marker derived from a word meaning “soon”, “presently”, “tomorrow”, or another comparable word or phrase (Bickerton, 1981). In the newly formed pidgin language these markers are used to express tense and aspect.¹⁵ Unlike the TMA systems of creoles, pidgins are created out of an immediate necessity to

¹⁵ For the purposes of this paper, all features of tense, mood, and aspect will be employed in accordance with Bickerton’s (1977, 1981) definitions (as outlined in §4.2).

communicate and are, therefore, often unequipped for expressing complex situations of aspect or mood outside of the context of discourse (Bickerton, 1981). This development of a language for an urgent need (without formal instruction) results in a simplified structure in which temporal, aspectual, and modal distinctions are unrealized. The anterior aspect and the past tense are exemplified by one ‘earlier’ marker and the irrealis mood and future tense are portrayed by one ‘later’ marker.

One language in which the ‘earlier’ and ‘later’ markers are clearly exemplified is in Tok Pisin. Tok Pisin (TP) is a Neo-Melanesian language spoken in New Guinea. The past tense in this pidginized language is expressed through the word *pinis* (a derivative of the English word ‘finish’). The future tense is conveyed through the word *bai* (from the English phrase ‘by and by’ (Mühlhäusler, 1985)). The following sentences exemplify the use of *pinis* and *bai* as temporal markers in Tok Pisin. The only difference between (1) and (2) is the addition of the word *pinis*. However, the result in (2) is to express the completion of the act in (1). Again, in (3) and (4) the action denoted by the predicate occurred in the past tense, and in (4) the English translation suggests the possibility of an aspectual ‘perfect’ interpretation. Aside from possible aspectual distinctions, they both fall under the category of past tense. Finally, in (5) and (6) the word *bai* marks the future tense.

- (1) *ol i painim*
‘they are looking for it’
- (2) *ol i painim pinis*
‘they found it’ (Mühlhäusler, 1986: 249)
- (3) *em i tok, se kaikai i redi pinis*
‘he said that the food was ready’ (Wurm & Mühlhäusler, 1985: 95)

- (4) *mi kambek pinis*
'I (have) returned' (Wurm & Mühlhäusler, 1985: 94)
- (5) *ben bai i wok tumora*
'Ben will work tomorrow'
- (6) *em bai ol i go long rum*
'They will go to their rooms now' (Mühlhäusler, 1991: 642)

Hawaiian English also displayed the 'earlier' and 'later' markers for temporal relations in the pre-creole form of the language often defined as Hawaiian Pidgin English (HPE). The marker for some type of past event was *pau* from the Hawaiian word meaning 'finish,' and *baimbai* meaning 'then, later, or afterward' (again, most likely from the English phrase "by and by") was used for the future (Bickerton, 1981). While there are still examples of the creolized form of Hawaiian English (Hawaiian Creole English) having fossilized these markers, they were, for the most part, changed in the later process of expansion, or creolization¹⁶. This change during the process of creolization and its impact on TMA systems (including HPE) is discussed further in section 4.2.1.2.

Moroccan Arabic displays traces of both the 'earlier' marker and the 'later' marker of pidgins. MA has a non-obligatory anterior marker *temm* that is most likely derived from the Classical Arabic *tamma* 'to be completed.' This marker is only used in combination with active participles of verbs of motion and is semantically interchangeable with the simple past tense (Harrell 2004). Its use in the modern, creolized, form of MA is marked and restricted to specific predicates. In the data below, both (7) and (8) show the unmarked form of the simple past tense in MA while (9) and

¹⁶ Carr (1972) states that *baimbai* was most often used as a future marker by HPE speakers with a Chinese background and continued to carry over into early creolized speech.

(10) exemplify the use of *temm*. The example in (7) is also an instance of an active participle of a verb of motion that is not using *temm*. This demonstrates that its use is optional in MA today.

(7) *mša men mši-ti l-bareH*
 with who Perf.go-2Sg yesterday
 ‘With whom did you go yesterday?’ (Omar, 1974: 14)

(8) *šuf-ti-ni*
 Perf. see-2Sg.-1Sg.
 ‘you saw me’ (Omar, 1974: 5)

(9) *temm maži - Ø l - fend - hom*
 complete come up - 3sg. PAST to - - 3 pl. DAT.¹⁷
 ‘He/She came up to them’

(10) *temm tabʕ - Ø- u*
 complete follow - 3sg. PAST -3sg.
 ‘He/She followed him’ (Harrell, 2004: 184)

The pidgin ‘later’ marker is also evident in MA and has developed into a mandatory temporal marker for the future. This marker is *ga* or *gadi* – the difference is regional – and is assumed to be derived from the Classical Arabic *gadan* ‘tomorrow’ (Versteegh, 1984). This particle is often used in conjunction with the imperfective form of the verb¹⁸ and marks events which occur in the future and, at times, other situations which are not fully realized or ‘unreal’ (i.e. irrealis). In the data below, the ‘later’ markers *ga* and *gadi* are shown in conjunction with the imperfective forms of the verb. Both (11) and (13) are examples of the ‘later’ marker depicting a situation in the future while (12) and (14) show the irrealis in the interrogative and the causative respectively.

¹⁷ Glosses for (Harrell, 2004) mine.

¹⁸ While there are examples of *ga* and *gadi* being used with perfective forms of the verb the placement and meaning is changed. See §4.2.1.3.

- (11) *ġa n- kteb er - rissala*
 FUT 1sg. – write.IMP Def. - letter
 ‘I will write the letter’ (Harrell, 2004: 183)
- (12) *weš ġadi t – safir*
 Inter. FUT 3sg F. – travel.IMP
 ‘Will she travel?’ (Harrell, 2004: 184)
- (13) *ġadi n – šufe – k men bašd*
 FUT 1sg – see. IMP– 2pl for after (later)
 ‘I’ll see you later’ (Omar, 1974: 7)
- (14) *kan ġa y-w-kkŋ-ha*
 be.PERF. 3sg.M. FUT. 3sg-CAUS-eat-3sg.F.DAT.
 ‘He was about to/going to make her eat’ (Ouali & Fortin, 2005: 9)

These ‘earlier’ and ‘later’ markers in Moroccan Arabic differ from MSA. The formation of the past tense in Classical Arabic uses specific suffixes attached to the verbal root and determined by the person, gender, number, and verb type (case is marked on the verb as well as the noun in Modern Standard Arabic unlike MA which has lost case morphology). The formation of the future in MSA also differs morphologically from MA in that it requires the presence of the prefix *sa-* before the imperfective form of the verb (e.g. MSA *sa-n-kteb* ‘we will write’ vs. MA *ġa n-kteb* ‘we will write’ (Omar, 1974: 7)).

These deviations (in the past and future tense) between the Classical form of Arabic and the dialect of Morocco are not likely to be the result of simple language drift or change. The unlikelihood of language drift or change as an account for the data is due to the fact that there is no evidence of such a progression into the use of auxiliary markers in other Semitic languages (Versteegh, 1984). There is also the fact that some of the other dialects of Arabic have chosen very similar constructions for TMA expression while others have no trace of such markers. Some dialects, such as Najdi Arabic (Spoken in Saudi Arabic) show no trace of either of the pidginized markers (Versteegh, 1997).

Other dialects show these traces with various results. For example, Chadian Arabic has an anterior marker *halaş* from the Classical *halaşa* ‘to finish’ and Tunisian Arabic uses a future marker *taw* from the Classical *tawwan* ‘directly’ which both parallel the markers in MA (Versteegh, 1984: 86). It seems that MA closely parallels other pidgin languages in these markers. Evidence of such similarities advances the claim for prior pidginization and creolization in MA. When one takes into account the exemplary linguistic effects of the process of creolization that are shown in MA alongside other attested creoles, the second principle of Southworth (1971) is satisfied and a case for prior pidginization and creolization in the TMA system of MA is further substantiated.

4.2.1.2 Progression of TMA Markers in Creoles. Often during the later process of creolization the ‘earlier’ and ‘later’ markers develop into a completely new system in which there are three auxiliary markers: anterior, durative or nonpunctual, and irrealis (Bickerton, 1981). While the presence of *temm* ‘completed’ in the simple past tense is strong support for prior pidginization in MA, many creoles lose this ‘earlier’ marker in place of a new obligatory marker with the meaning [+past] derived from the verb ‘to be’ or ‘to go’ (Singler, 1990). There are also cases in which the creolized language forgoes the anterior marker completely and marks the past with a zero marker (Versteegh, 1984). With the emergence of new anterior markers the ‘earlier’ marker from the pidginized form of the language disappears or, at times, remains fossilized in the creole in a grammatical or social niche of the language (Bickerton, 1981). This situation has already been exemplified in Moroccan Arabic with the fossilization of the marker *temm*. Traces of this ‘earlier’ marker’s development is also evident in Hawaiian Creole English (HCE) with the progression of the particle *pau* ‘finished/done’ to *wen* from the verb ‘to go’ or

been from ‘to be.’ The Hawaiian word *pau* is still used to mark past tense but it is the more marked form – most often used by those of Filipino origin (Bickerton & Odo, 1976). Examples of these anterior particles in HCE are shown in (15)-(18) below. The data in (15) shows the use of *pau* in HCE as a fossilization of the ‘earlier’ marker of HPE signifying the completion of the activity. The marking on (16)-(18) exemplify the use of both *wen* and *been* as anterior markers denoting that the predicate action of ‘going’, ‘running’, and ‘graduating’ all occurred prior to the reference time.

(15) *yu pau islip, an den yu wek at, yu kaukau agen*
 2sg finish sleep, and then you wake up, you eat again
 ‘When you have slept and wake up, you can eat again.’

(16) *She wen run right to her mother and she jus holdin on*
 3sg ANT run right up to her mother and 3sg just holding on
 ‘She ran right up to her mother and was just holding on’
 (Bickerton & Odo, 1976: 1)¹⁹

(17) *I wen go from Kaiser Hospital wid da ambulance*
 ‘I went from Kaiser Hospital in an ambulance’ (Carr, 1972: 156)

(18) *After I been graduate high school, I wen down Honolulu*
 ‘After I graduated high school I went to Honolulu’ (Carr, 1972: 123)

Similarly, in Tok Pisin, there has been a gradual evolution from the ‘earlier’ marker *pinis* to the creolized marker *bin* from the past form of the verb ‘to be’. This is shown in (19) and (20) below with the identical anterior meaning of the two phrases. Tok Pisin also has cases in which anteriority exemplified by a zero marker (or unmarked form of the verb). The data in (21) shows the anterior interpretation of the zero, or unmarked, form of the verb *tok* ‘to say’.

(19) *em i go long maket pinis*
 ‘she has (just) gone to market’

¹⁹ Gloss mine.

(20) *em i bin go long maket*
 ‘she has (just) gone to market’ (Mühlhäusler, 1986: 186)

(21) *em i tok se em i laik kam*
 ‘he said that he’d like to come’ (Mühlhäusler, 1986: 189)

In a similar fashion as HCE and TP, Moroccan Arabic exhibits the progression of the ‘earlier’ marker into a creolized aspectual anterior marker. The pidginized ‘earlier’ marker *temm* manifests itself only in specific situations with verbs of motion as a marked form (as shown in (9) and (10) above) while the new unmarked form for the simple past is a zero marker. The perfective form of the verb is the unmarked form of the anterior in MA (This is exemplified in (22) below).

(22) *šuf-ti-ni*
 Perf. see-2Sg.-1Sg.
 ‘you saw me’ (Omar, 1974: 5)

There is, however, another anterior marker in MA derived from the verb *kan* ‘to be’ whose presence and use parallels the anterior marker of many other creoles. The auxiliary *kan* carries no semantic information and is not inflected for number (Versteegh, 1984). Example (23) below shows *kan* acting as an anterior marker. The use of *kan* as a verbal auxiliary allows for the semantic meaning of the past perfect while the main verb *lešb-u* carries the number and predicate function of the clause. This anterior marker *kan* is most often used as an anterior marker in more complex forms of MA— as will be further discussed in section 4.2.1.3.

(23) *kan-u* *lešb-u*
 be.PERF.3P play.PERF.3Pl
 ‘they had played’ (Ouali & Fortin, 2005: 8)

The second feature of the revised TMA patterns in creole languages is a particle that marks the nonpunctual. This marker often stems from a word referring to a temporary state or location such as ‘stop’ or ‘stay’. The nonpunctual, following Bickerton’s (1977, 1981) definitions, combines the durative with the progressive and the habitual with the iterative. Examples of these nonpunctual markers can be seen in both TP and HCE. Tok Pisin (24) uses the word *stap* ‘stop’ to mark progressive, and in Hawaiian Creole English (25-26) the nonpunctual is shown by the use of the auxiliary *stei* ‘stay.’ These markers are used along with the uninflected form of the verb to signal an action that is continuous, or without a fixed end point (as is the case with (24-26)). These markers may also denote action that is habitual, or repeated over a undetermined period of time (as is shown by (27)).

(24) *Em i slip i stap*
 3Sg. pred.mark. sleep pred.mark. PROG
 ‘He/She is sleeping’ (Ecklund, 2000: 50)

(25) *john them stei cockroach da kaukau*
 John 3Pl PROG steal Det. Food
 ‘John and his friends are stealing the food’

(26) *Da cat stei it da fish*
 Det. cat PROG eat Det. Fish
 ‘The cat is eating the fish’ (Carr, 1972: 36, 37)²⁰

(27) *yu no waet dei stei kawl mi, dakaiin – kawl mi gad*
 ‘You know what they call me, that bunch? They call me God’
 (Bickerton, 1981: 29)

Much like TP and HCE, MA has an auxiliary *ka*²¹ that is used for nonpunctual aspects. This particle is most likely a shortened form of the stressed *qa* of the MSA

²⁰ Gloss mine.

²¹ In some regions the nonpunctual marker for MA is *ta* (Harrell, 2000).

active participle *waqafa* ‘to stop, to stand up’ (Versteegh, 1984). It is used as an obligatory aspectual marker when expressing nonpunctual action. This is shown in the ungrammatical meaning of progressive for (28) below (which is the more marked form in MA (Harrell, 2000)) and the nonpunctual readings of both (29) and (30).

(28) *y-leɬb-u*
 3Pl.play.3Pl
 ‘They play (something)’/ *‘They are playing’ (Ouali & Fortin, 2005: 4)

(29) *ka yfhem*
 ‘He understands’ (Omar, 1974: 6)

(30) *huwa ka yemši leɟ-dar*
 ‘He is going to the house’ (Omar, 1974: 6)

The third pattern in creoles is the development of an irrealis marker. This marker is often used for all ‘unreal’ situations and frequently differs from the pidgin ‘later’ marker both morphologically and semantically. The pidgin marker was used to simply describe an action or situation occurring after the point of utterance, while the irrealis marker of the creole has a more diverse role which often includes not only future situations, but interrogatives, causatives, and conditionals as well (Bickerton, 1981). Morphologically, this irrealis marker is most often formed in creoles from the verb ‘to go’, as shown in HCE (31) below with *gon* ‘gone.’ However, there are cases in which the resulting creole keeps the ‘later’ pidgin marker. This is shown again in Tok Pisin (32) with the continued use of the particle *bai* to represent actions in the future.²²

(31) *ai no kea hu stei hant insai dea, ai gon hunt*
 ‘I don’t care who’s hunting in there, I’m going to hunt’
 (Bickerton, 1981: 28)

²² The *bai* in Tok Pisin is claimed to have stemmed from the phrase *baimbai* which was shortened in the later process of creolization (Bickerton, 1981).

- (32) *tumora bai mi kam kis-im*
 tomorrow Fut 1Sg come get-3Sg
 ‘tomorrow I’ll come and get it’ (Ecklund, 2000: 49)

MA uses the pidgin ‘later’ marker *ga* for future tense contexts as well as some other ‘unreal’ situations (e.g. future in the past, see § 4.3.1.3). Much like *bai* in Tok Pisin, the creolized future marker in MA is most likely a carry over from the earlier pidginized marker (Versteegh, 1984). It is not, however, used as a true irrealis marker – in accordance with Bickerton’s definition – due to the fact that it is not used for conditionals (as seen in (33) below).

- (33) *ila ŝežb-u-ni n-ŝeyyeŝ l-kom*
 if please-3Pl.Perf-1sg 1sg-call.Imp Dat-2Pl.
 ‘If I like them, I’ll call you’ (Harrell, 2004: 170)

Due to the variances in the superstratum of the creoles, as well as the numerous supplementary processes occurring alongside the processes of pidginization and creolization in each language (e.g. language drift, borrowing etc.), it is not uncommon to find pidgins and creoles that diverge from the ‘universal’ linguistic patterns outlined by Bickerton (1981). The fact that the future marker in MA does not carry ‘true irrealis’ meaning (like many other creoles) is not problematic for the claims of this thesis. The use of the marker *ga* could be explained in a number of ways.

The fact that *ga* does not act as the irrealis marker in all MA constructions could be rationalized as having remained a part of the language from the earlier pidgin or even through the process of decreolization, as discussed in §4.4 below, later in the language. Another likely explanation is that the difficulty with the irrealis marker is simply a consequence of the categorization of the MA particle *ka* with the inclusive meaning of habitual, progressive, and general aspect. This inclusive meaning of the particle *ka* could

then override the non-present or irrealis meaning of *ga* and force it into the temporal meaning of ‘future’ (Versteegh, 1984). Nevertheless, even with minor deviations in the semantic use of the temporal auxiliaries in MA (Particularly when observing the linguistic effects of creolization) the parallels between MA and other creolized languages are evident. MA corresponds with other creoles following Bickerton’s (1977) studies on the TMA systems of creoles. This linguistic evidence supports the claim that MA has undergone the process of creolization at some point in its history.

4.2.1.3 Combined Forms in Creoles. Another development in the TMA system which occurs during the process of creolization is the creation of a specific aspectual system in which the predicate particles are fixed in a number of ways to express more complex tense and aspect. However, many of these more intricate forms are lost in the process of restructuring during decreolization (Bickerton, 1981; Romaine, 1988). This process of restructuring and its subsequent linguistic effects will be discussed in further detail in §4.3. What is found, however, is that due to the effects of decreolization in the progression of creole language(s), there are very few existing creoles in which these auxiliary patterns of complex tense and aspect are completely represented. Haitian Creole (HC) and Sranan are two of the only documented cases in which the full set of combinations is attested (Bickerton, 1981). These combined forms are shown in Table 4 below:

Table 4 **particle + particle = meaning**

1. anterior + nonpunctual = past progressive
2. irrealis + nonpunctual = future progressive
3. anterior + irrealis = past irrealis
4. anterior + irrealis + nonpunctual = past progressive irrealis

While there are few creoles in which all the forms of compound particles are displayed for complex tense, it is still possible, and valuable (for historical and linguistic studies on the development of creoles) to find remnants of these patterns in existing creoles.

Considering that HC is one of the most attested examples of the creolized aspectual system, I chose to evaluate the patterns of complex tense in HC and weigh them against MA to see if any parallels are evident that could further the claim of prior pidginization and/or creolization in the CDs of Arabic.

The first pattern is the combination of the anterior and the nonpunctual auxiliaries to form the past progressive. The past progressive is defined by Bickerton (1977: 59) as a “durative action or series of non durative actions taking place either before some other event under discussion, or during a period of time understood to be definitely closed.” An example of this combination is shown in HC (34) below. The anterior marker *t* is a shortened form of the French word “*été* ‘to be’, and the nonpunctual marker *ap* is believed to stem from the French word *après* ‘after.’ (Singler, 1990) The resulting form is a phrase with a ‘past progressive’ interpretation which parallels Bickerton’s (1977) definition.

- (34) *m t ap rich*
 1sg Ant NonP rich
 ‘I was becoming/getting rich’ (Singler, 1990: 136)

Moroccan Arabic has a very similar construction with the anterior marker *kan* ‘to be’ and the nonpunctual marker *ka*. The resulting phrase, much like the HC data, marks an action in the past that was continuous as shown in (35) below. Semantically, the act of ‘playing’ is an event that was durative in nature and took place prior to the point of utterance. As

This ambiguity in the temporal understanding of (40) below contrasts the interpretive certainty found in MA and other creole languages.

- (40) *sa-y-ajrii*
 Fut-3sg-run
 ‘He will run’/ ‘He will be running’ (Harrell, 2004: 183)

The third construction is the combination of an anterior marker with an irrealis marker to express the past irrealis, or “an unrealized condition in the past” (Bickerton, 1977: 59). In HC this combination is shown in (41) below as a semantically conditional construction. This phrase implies that the ‘leaving’ is a situation that did not actually occur in the past even if it had been the intention of the speaker.

- (41) *m te di m te a pati*
 1sg Ant say 1sg Ant Irr leave
 ‘I said that I would leave’ (Singler, 1990: 124)

This same pattern is found in Moroccan Arabic despite the questionability of *ga* as a future tense marker or an aspectual irrealis marker (see §4.3.1.1). The resulting combination also carries the semantic interpretation of a ‘past irrealis’ laid out by Bickerton (1977). The MA data in (42) exhibits a situation in which the action of the predicate ‘play’ did not actually occur during a specified time prior to the point of utterance.

- (42) *kan-u ga y-leb-u*
 be.Ant.3Pl Fut. 3-play.Imp-Pl.
 ‘They were going to play’ (Ouali & Fortin, 2005: 8)

- (43) *kan gadi ixellis-ni*
 be.Ant Fut. 3-pay-1Sg.Poss.
 ‘He was going to pay me’ (Harrell, 2004: 183)

Once more, the parallels between MA and the patterns found in creole languages are exemplified by the data. Such parallels continue to contribute to the evidence supporting a theory of prior pidginization and creolization in MA.

The fourth pattern with complex tense in creoles is the amalgamation of an anterior marker, an irrealis marker, and a nonpunctual marker to convey a ‘durative past irrealis’, or, “an unrealized condition in the past, of a nonpunctual nature” (Bickerton, 1977: 59). Haitian Creole displays this pattern in (44) below. The data describes a situation in which the unrealized condition of ‘eating’ was to be nonpunctual in nature and it was to have taken place in a time prior to the reference point.

- (44) *m te di m t av ap mange*
 1sg Ant say 1sg Ant Irr NonP eat
 ‘I said that I would be eating’ (Singler, 1990: 131)

Unfortunately, this particular pattern does not seem to be possible in MA. This is shown in (45) and (46) below with the ungrammatical readings for MA data that follows this pattern. Even when MAs preference for using a copula to combine multiple clauses (see Ouali & Fortin, 2005) is taken into account – as shown by (46) below – the reading by native MA speakers is still ungrammatical.

- (45) **kan-u ga ka y-leŋb-u*
 Ant.be Fut. NonP. Imp. 3sg. - play
- (46) **kan-u ga y-kun-u ka y-leŋb-u*
 Ant.be Fut. Imp. 3sg. -be NonP. Imp. 3sg. -play
 (Appendix A)²³

Again, this is not particularly problematic, and is even to be expected, due to the fact that so few creoles display all the compound patterns to form more complex tense. Rather,

²³ Glosses for (45) & (46) mine.

the fact that MA parallels other creoles so often in the combined forms furthers the case for the processes of pidginization and creolization to have occurred in the language.

4.2.2 Word Order

The next area in which the linguistic effects of pidginization and creolization are shown in MA is in the word order. As pidgins begin with the process of relexification, or replacement of native vocabulary with target forms, of the superstrate language without changing the underlying grammar, pidgins often carry on the native word order of the substrate language(s) (Bickerton, 1981). One example of this relexification is in Hawaiian Pidgin English with the use of Korean SOV word order by native Korean speakers (as shown in (47) below). Japanese also has an underlying SOV word order and native Japanese speakers of HPE use that word order for the majority of phrases as well. This is shown in (48) with an example of SV word order in HPE by a native Japanese speaker. For the speakers of HPE coming from a Filipino origin the word order VS, following the unmarked form of their native syntax, is common (Bickerton, 1981). This is shown in (49) below with an example of the predicate preceding the subject in HPE.

(47) *oñi koriəl skul stədi*
 only korean school study
 ‘I only studied in Korean school’ (Carr, 1972: 17)

(48) *da pua pipl awl poteito it*
 the poor people only potatoes eat
 ‘The poor people ate only potatoes’ (Bickerton, 1981: 11)

(49) *wok had dis pipl*
 work hard these people
 ‘These people work hard’ (Bickerton, 1981: 11)

These varying word orders are used by native Korean, Japanese, and Filipino speakers of HPE, but are never found in the later Hawaiian Creole English. In fact, HCE has an

While word order can be varied in MA, the integral point is that MA has an unmarked SVO word order which parallels other pidgins and is unlike the unmarked VSO word order of MSA. This word order is unlikely to be due to simple language borrowing because only one of the main languages of influence on MA uses such a word order. Nor is the word order likely to be the cause of language drift due to the fact that there are no other trends towards SVO word order in the history of Arabic or other semitic languages (Versteegh, 1984). Therefore, the presence of SVO word order in MA and the other dialects of Arabic (see Table C in §2.2.1) may be due to a developmental process resulting from early stage language learning or language acquisition with severely limited input (much like the processes of pidginization and creolization identified in other languages).

4.2.3 Periphrastic Interrogatives

Another area in which the linguistic effects of pidginization and creolization are seen in MA is with the use of periphrastic interrogatives. Both pidgins and creoles often use nominal periphrases to express interrogatives (Versteegh, 1984). This replacement of the normal monomorphemic pronoun or adverb with nominal periphrases is likely determined by a desire for more ‘concrete content’ (Versteegh, 1984: 96). The lexical form of the original interrogatives becomes almost semantically vacuous or inexpressive to the pidgin and creole speakers. Therefore, there is a need to replace the target language forms with content that is easily understood. The semantic import, and usefulness, of a form is then based on its comprehensibility. An example of this is shown in the phrase (56) below with the use of the HCE *wətam* (Lit. ‘what time’) for ‘when’.

- (56) *nao hija, wətam dai, ai don no*
 ‘now I’m here, I don’t know when I will die’ (Carr, 1972: 20)

MA also uses periphrases as interrogatives as a replacement of the Classical interrogative pronouns and adverbs. Some examples of these include *weqt-aš* (Lit. ‘time what’) and *fuq-aš* (Lit. ‘date what’) for ‘when.’ These are shown in (57) and (58) below. The use of periphrases to express interrogatives in MA contrasts the superstrate language. In MSA, the interrogatives are expressed by one morpheme (as shown in (59) below).

- (57) **weqt-aš** mšiti le-s-suq?
 ‘when did you (sg.) go to the market?’ Lit.: what time?
- (58) **fuq-aš** xlaqiti
 ‘when were you born’ Lit.: what date? (Harrell, 2004: 214)
- (59) **māðā** ta-ffal-u hunā-ka
 what 2P-do-SgM. there²⁵
 ‘what are you doing there’ (Heath, 1989: 29)

A more complete table outlining the similarities between MA and another creole, Tok Pisin, is shown in Table 5 below. This table is also significant in that it displays the differences between the periphrastic interrogatives of MA and the monomorphemic interrogatives of MSA.

²⁵ Gloss mine.

Table 5

Tok Pisin (Woolford, 1979: 47) (Wurm & Mühlhäusler, 1985: 344, 397)	MA (Versteegh, 1984: 97)	MSA (Wightwick & Gaafar, 1998: 122)	Interrogative
<i>wataim</i> (Lit. 'what time')	<i>weqt-aš</i> (Lit. 'what time') <i>fuq-aš</i> (Lit. 'what date')	<i>andma mata</i>	When
<i>watpo</i> (Lit. 'what for')	<i>'laš</i> (Lit. 'for what')	<i>Limađa</i>	Why
<i>westap</i> (Lit. 'where stop')	<i>fayn</i> (Lit. 'in where')	<i>Ayna</i>	Where
<i>husat</i> (Lit. 'who's that') <i>women</i> (Lit. 'what name')	<i>škun</i> (Lit. 'what be')	<i>Man</i>	Who
<i>haumas</i> (Lit. 'how much')	<i>be-šħal</i> (Lit. 'with what is')	<i>Bikam</i>	How much?

This use of periphrastic interrogatives in MA which so closely parallels the linguistic effects of pidginization and creolization is yet further evidence for such processes to have occurred in MA. This process is unlikely to be explained by any of the previous theories due to the fact that periphrastic interrogatives are not found in the substrate languages of MA (hence language borrowing is unlikely) and because many of the other CDs of Arabic show a similar process but to varying degrees (Versteegh, 1984). The fact that MA exhibits these features to such an wide-ranging degree is further support for the claim of this thesis (as the linguistic effects of social distance would have been propagated in Morocco for a longer period of time due to the greater geographical distance). Some of the similarities and differences between MA, other dialects, and MSA are shown in Table 6 below. There are instances in which Egyptian and Syrian Arabic parallel the periphrastic interrogatives of MA (e.g. 'where' in Egyptian and 'why' in Syrian). There are also examples of similarities between Egyptian, Syrian, and MSA that differ from MA (e.g. 'who' and 'when').

Table 6 (Versteegh, 1984: 97, Wightwick & Gaafar, 1998: 122)

Interrogative	MA	Egyptian	Syrian	MSA
who	<i>škun</i> (Lit. 'what be')	mīn	mīn	<i>Man</i>
when	<i>weqt-aš</i> (Lit. 'what time') <i>fuq-aš</i> (Lit. 'what date')	'imta	'ēmta	<i>andma mata</i>
why	' <i>laš</i> (Lit. 'for what')	lēh	lēš	<i>limaḏa</i>
where	<i>fayn</i> (Lit. 'in where')	fēn	wēn	<i>ayna</i>
how much	<i>be-šḥal</i> (Lit. 'with what is')	'addī'ēh	'addēš	<i>bikam</i>

If all of the dialects resulted from one common form of Arabic (such as a *koine*) the linguistic features in which the dialects parallel one other and those in which the dialects parallel and/or diverge from MSA would be expected to be similar. However, as shown above, there are situations in which the other dialects parallel MSA and diverge from MA (e.g. 'who' with Egyptian and Syrian) and situations in which the dialects parallel MA in their divergence from the standard (e.g. 'why' with Syrian and MA). Therefore, much like the TMA system and the word order, a claim for the process of prior pidginization and creolization in MA is substantiated by the linguistic data concerning the periphrastic interrogatives. The parallels found between the interrogatives of attested pidgins and creoles and MA furthers the claim for similar developmental processes having occurred at some point in the history of MA.

4.2.4 Analytic Genitive

Through the general process of reduction and simplification in pidgins and creoles there is often a loss of case marking morphology. This loss of case marking results in numerous changes in the pidginized or creolized language. One result of the loss of case marking in pidgins and creoles is in expressions of possession. Both pidgins and creoles show partiality towards analytic genitive constructions irrespective of their target

language. One example of this tendency can be seen in Tok Pisin with the expression of possession by the analytic morpheme *bilong* rather than case morphology. These genitive phrases are shown in (60) and (61) below. The superstrate language of TP is English, and despite the use of case morphology in English to express possession, TP does not use anything other than the analytic construction (Romaine, 1988).

(60) *mipela ting em tok bilong waitman*
 ‘We thought it was the white man’s language’ (Romaine, 1988: 122)

(61) *mipela mas go bot bilong mipela*
 ‘We must go to our boat’ (Mühlhäusler, 1986: 109)

Much like the analytic expressions of TP, MA uses the morpheme *dyal* ‘belong to’ in expressing possession. In the data below, (62) shows the use of *dyal* in MA as a verbal predicate. However, in (63) the same morpheme is used to express the genitive.

(62) *ma- hiya- š dyal -i*
 Neg.-3Sg.F.-Neg belong-1Sg.
 ‘It (Fem.) doesn’t belong to me’ (Harrell, 2004: 209)

(63) *huwa fe-l-biru dyal- u daba*
 3Sg.M in-Det.-office belong-3Sg.M now
 ‘he is in his office now’ Lit.: He is in the office that belongs to him now
 (Harrell, 2004: 176)

While MA shows the use of an analytical genitive in many expressions of possession, there is still the option in MA to use a more classical construction. These more classical constructions are similar to the genitive expressions used in MSA where case endings and a special form of the head noun are used to relate possession (Versteegh, 1984).

Examples of these can be seen in examples (64)-(66) below. The first example demonstrates the genitive construction in MSA. The following two examples, (65) and (66) are MA examples of the classical construction.

- (64) *sa-ʃa-ðhab-u ġad-a-n li-d-dār-i*
 Fut-1Sg-go-1Sg tomorrow to-Det.-home-1Sg.Poss.
 ‘I will go tomorrow to my home’ (Heath, 1989: 29)
- (65) *ħanut baba-ha*
 shop father-3Sg.F. Poss.
 ‘her father’s shop’ (Harrell, 2004: 191)
- (66) *bab dar ʃ-ʃeħtan*
 door palace DET-sultan
 ‘the door of the sultan’s palace’ (Harrell, 2004: 194)

While MA retains both analytical genitives and genitives stemming from case morphology, the fact that MA follows the linguistic patterns of pidgins and creoles in its divergence from MSA in expressing possession is continued evidence for prior pidginization and/or creolization to have occurred in MA. The areas in which MA mirrors MSA in the genitive constructions may be attributed to a number of different factors (i.e. language borrowing/carrying over from original language etc.), but attributing such discrepancies to the process of decreolization accounts for the data presented that was not accounted for in other models, and holds with the theory of prior pidginization and creolization in MA. It would not be unexpected for a creolized language to adopt some features of the target language as the state of diglossia continues with greater exposure to the superstrate language. In such a situation the linguistic properties reflecting early stage language development (i.e. the loss of communicatively redundant features, pragmatic forms of speech etc.) are lost in the progression of the language towards its standard form. This progression is indicative of the process of decreolization (which will be further discussed in §4.4).

4.2.5 Indefinite Article

The final area in which the linguistic effects of prior pidginization and/or creolization may be seen in MA is with the indefinite article. While the use of articles in pidgin languages is highly irregular, there are clear patterns in the use of articles in creole languages. As stated in §4.1, the indefinite article in creoles is often derived from a word meaning “one” or “individual” (Bickerton, 1977: 58). This system of developing new articles may be the result of the creole speaker’s desire to distinguish between specific and non-specific using more concrete content. Such semantically concrete forms in the context of input are candidates for simplification as a general progression towards a central tendency occurs. If the learner can’t get the standard form from the input, then it gets it from the concrete content available. In English based creoles, the derivative of the word “one” may have greater deictic force, or context of communication, than a derivative of the morpheme “a”. Examples of the use of an indefinite article based on a word meaning “one” are shown in the HCE data below. Both (67) and (68) show the use of the morpheme *wan* or *one* to express indefiniteness.

- (67) *wi gom hæ wan pa:ti*
 ‘we are going to have a party’ (Carr, 1972: 47)
- (68) *I thirsty, an’ I drink jus’ like one horse*
 ‘I was thirsty, and I drank just like a horse’ (Carr, 1972: 142)

Similarly, MA uses the morpheme *wahed*, meaning ‘one’, as an indefinite article.

Examples of this are shown in (69) and (70) below.

- (69) *wahed r-ražel*
 ‘a man’ (Harrell, 2004: 189)
- (70) *dexlet wahed l-xadem*
 ‘a maid came in’ (Harrell, 2004: 186)

The use of *waḥed* as an indefinite article is in contrast with MSA where there is no morpheme, or a zero marker, to represent an indefinite noun (Versteegh 1984). This is shown in the difference between (71) and (72) below where the absence of a definite article gives an indefinite meaning.

(71) *madīn-a kabīr-a*
‘a big city’

(72) *I- madīn-a kabīr-a*
Det.-city-Fem. Big-Fem.
‘the big city’

(Heath, 1989: 26,27)

The native people of Morocco (i.e. Berbers) learning Arabic, at the time of initial input, would not have heard the speakers of the target language using *waḥed* as an indefinite article. However, much like other creoles, the communicative needs of the people led to the ultimate development of such an article based on a semantically concrete word easily recognized and understood from the limited input they received. Bickerton (1981: 297) would claim that learners in this type of situation must rely on an innate ‘bioprogram’ that all learners have in order to make up for insufficient input (see §5.1.3). The emergence of an indefinite article in MA (much like the indefinite articles of other creoles) is yet another feature which gives strength to the principal claim of this thesis - as it exemplifies additional linguistic effects of the processes of pidginization and creolization on MA. The next part of the process that is reviewed for linguistic evidence is the process of decreolization.

4.3 Linguistic Patterns of Decreolization

Section 3.3 demonstrated how socio-linguistic situation of diglossia in Morocco had, and continues to have, the markings for the process of decreolization to occur. This process, which has also been referred to as a ‘post-creole continuum’ (Bickerton, 1980: 109), describes a progression in which the creole is gradually brought back closer to the ‘lexifier’, or superstrate, language (Bickerton, 1980: 109). The various forms along this continuum are known among creolists as the ‘basilect,’ the ‘mesolect,’ and the ‘acrolect’ (Romaine, 1988: 158). The ‘basilect’ refers to the creole language, the ‘acrolect’ is the lexifier language, and the ‘mesolect’ refers to the various forms between these two. The main argument in this process of decreolization is that as the speakers of the creole receive continued exposure to the prestigious superstrate language the creole gradually moves along the continuum closer to the acrolect (Bickerton, 1975).

Post-Creole Continuum:



The general progression that occurs stems from a reduced socio-linguistic distance. This narrowing of the diglossic state allows for greater opportunity to learn the target language and a changed attitude towards the language in general. The opportunities and attitudes that result instigate developmental changes that bring the creole linguistically closer to the lexifier language (much like the late stages in second language learning as one progresses from the pre-emergence stage to emergence and then beyond emergence (see McLaughlin, 1987)).

The linguistic effects of this process of moving closer to the acrolect are difficult to define due to the variances between the superstratum. Bickerton (1975) revealed some of the linguistic effects of decreolization on one particular creole, Guyanese Creole (spoken in Guyana). Bickerton found that two of the main evolutions from the basilect, Guyanese Creole, towards the acrolect, English, are the development of a copula in equational sentences, and a distinction between strong and weak past-tense forms in which the strong forms show resistance to regularization. Neither the presence of a copula nor the strong/weak verbal distinction were present in the basilect. Both of these developments in the later forms of Guyanese Creole show a progression along the continuum closer to Standard English (Bickerton, 1975). Unfortunately, neither of these linguistic effects are useful in describing the process of decreolization in MA. MSA does not use a copula in equational sentences and it does not make a distinction between strong and weak past-tense verbs in the same way as English does. The past tense of verbs in MSA is determined by the root of the verb which follows specific patterns (Wightwick & Gaafar, 1998). Consequently, one would not expect MA to adopt such linguistic traits during a process of decreolization. Therefore, in order for a claim of decreolization in modern MA to be substantiated there has to be linguistic support for the progression of MA moving along the continuum away from the basilect and towards the acrolect.

4.4 Evidence of Linguistic Patterns of Decreeolization in MA

Like all living languages, the linguistic condition of modern MA is in a state of continual evolution. However, with the continued socio-linguistic state of diglossia in Morocco (e.g. the modern ‘arabisation’ movement as described in §3.3), it seems that

modern MA can be more specifically identified as a process of evolution away from the dialectally divergent forms of MA towards the standard form of Arabic (MSA). This progression parallels the process of a creole language from the basilect towards the acrolect. Much of the change in MA towards MSA can be seen in the prolific instances of borrowings from MSA and the acceptance of code-switching into MSA in increasingly more common settings. While a completely thorough study of the impact of MSA on MA is beyond the scope of this paper, the following examples illustrate a general movement, in both the social (i.e. diglossic) and language learning developmental processes, of MA away from its status quo towards MSA.

There are numerous instances of code-switching and borrowing from MSA that would not have occurred prior to Moroccan Independence (Heath, 1989). In a recent study of the patterns of code-switching and borrowing of MSA in MA, Heath (1989) notes that the number of “[MSA] intrusions is so high that in some passages we can no longer be sure the text is basically in MA.” (Heath, 1989: 31) Leading such a progression towards the standard form of Arabic are well educated people in positions of high prestige (Versteegh, 1997). In a ministerial interview taken from Heath (1989) one can see both the lexical and phonological influence of MSA on the MA core.

(73) *f^cl-an ġadi *bi-ħawl lla, n-twżżəh had l-yom lə-žənev,*
 in fact will by the power of God, I head for this the day to Geneva,
l-ħuḍur d-dawr-a xams-a w-sitt-in, dyal munəḍḍam-at l-ʿamal
 to attend the session five and sixty, of organization (of) labor
d-dawl-iy- a.
 international.

‘Indeed I will, by the grace of God, be heading today to Geneva, to attend the session number sixty-five of the International Labor Organization.’
 (Heath, 1989: 31)

The typical characteristics of MA are still evident in this text (e.g. the use of *dyal* and *gadi*) but the influences of MSA cannot be ignored. First of all, the expression *bi-ḥawl lla* ‘by the power of God’ in the first line is only a slight modification of the MSA form *bi-ḥawl-i llāh*. There is not even the characteristic MA shortening of /bi-/ to /b-/. Such an instance of MSA in MA may be looked upon as a simple borrowing if not for the continued presence of MSA both morphologically and phonologically in the passage. Often lexical borrowings preserve the phonology of the language doing the borrowing. What is seen here is a progression in adopting even the phonological aspects of the target language. This shows that changes in the language development of speakers of MA are allowing the learners to relate to MSA data in ways that had not occurred before. The learners are able to process data that was unattainable in the past. There is, in a sense, new data for observation and study.

The next example of the ‘arabisation’ of MA is with the phrase *had l-yom* ‘this day’. Morphologically, this phrase is much closer to the MSA form *hāḏā l-yawm* than the typical MA form *had n-nhaṛ*. While the first part of the phrase *had* ‘this’ is completely MA, the lexical choice for ‘day’ *l-yom* is much closer to MSA than to MA. Another example of the progression towards the MSA acrolect in MA is with the number ‘sixty-five’ *xams-a w-sitt-in*. The insertion of the vowels in this phrase makes it closer to the MSA *xams-a wa-sitt-īn* than the regular MA form *xms-a w-stt-in*. However, the reduced MA form /w-/ is used instead of the MSA /wa-/ so the progression is incomplete. The final

example of the influence of MSA on MA is with the word *munəððam* ‘organization’. The presence of the interdental fricative /ð/ is characteristic of MSA, not MA. There is also an adaptation of the vowels making the word much more similar to MSA *mu-naððam* than MA *munðdam* (Heath, 1989: 32). The data of this passage that demonstrates the influence of MSA on MA adds to the claim that MA is in a progression away from its earlier form towards MSA. There is a progression of historical linguistic change over time that is due to social and even psychological, or attitude, change (such as in the current diglossic situation of MA compared to the diglossic situations of MA throughout history). This recent change in attitude in Morocco has created an unstable diglossic situation in which the ‘low’ variety of Arabic (i.e. MA) is being viewed as unacceptable in most, if not all, contexts. This attitude, along with increased opportunities for exposure to MSA and even corrective measures to be in place, is allowing for decreolization in MA. The result of this attitude, exposure, and education is a linguistic change along the continuum closer to MSA.

The progression towards MSA is incomplete as can be seen from the passage above in which many morphological, phonological, and syntactic forms are still clearly MA. What is shown, however, is that both morphological and phonological borrowings and code-switching is becoming more and more apparent (and accepted) particularly in specific language areas (e.g. religious and political vocabulary). While there are obvious examples of the influence of MSA in MA the presence and use of MSA in MA varies greatly depending on age, degree of education, and the context of the discourse (Heath, 1989). This

variation parallels the situation of many creoles in the progression from the basilect towards the acrolect. Yet, even with such variation, the general trend of the speakers is away from the creole and towards the lexifier language.

The variation(s) of MA spoken by people in different contexts would be placed somewhere along the continuum between the basilect and the acrolect. The placement, in relation to the acrolect, would depend on the frequency and degree of MSA influence on that form of MA. This variation along the continuum is typical of all languages during the decreolization stage (Bickerton, 1975). Such variation and progression in MA is not be unexpected as this thesis claims that MA has already undergone the processes of pidginization and creolization and is currently in a process of decreolization.

4.5 Summary

While Chapter 3 outlined the social situations which must be in place for the processes of pidginization, creolization, and decreolization to occur and the existence of such circumstances in Morocco, this chapter has taken into account the linguistic effects of these processes on language and the linguistic evidence in MA that parallels other languages that have undergone such processes. The resulting linguistic effects are a product of the diglossic situations described in Chapter 3. The degree of social distance impacts the input. With reduced input (and communicatively redundant features that are difficult to process) the learner of the target language adopts new ways of expression to fulfill his/her communication needs (much like the early stages of second language learning). On the other hand, with less social distance and greater access to input (in both quality and quantity) the learner is able to eventually develop language analogous to the

target language (much like the later stages of second language learning). These developmental processes parallel the processes involved in pidginization, creolization, and decreolization.

MA has linguistic evidence of both the early stages (reduction and simplification) and the late stages (restructuring and expansion) of language learning typical of the processes of pidginization, creolization, and decreolization. Not only does it track the linguistic patterns of pidgins in its traces of the pidginization process (e.g. TMA 'earlier' marker) but it also exemplifies an almost complete likeness of other creoles in its TMA system, word order, interrogatives, genitives, and articles. There is also overwhelming evidence of the process of decreolization, or a progression towards MSA, occurring in MA today. With the evidence provided in Chapters 3 and 4, both of Southworth's (1971) principles required for a claim of pidginization and/or creolization have been satisfied for MA. The verification of both the socio-linguistic frameworks and the linguistic effects of such processes suggest that the claims of this thesis, prior pidginization and creolization, along with a current state of decreolization in MA, are substantiated.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

5.0 Summary

The development of the diglossic situation of Modern Arabic has been the topic of many studies, and the theories accounting for its existence abound. In this thesis I have discussed a few of the most prominent theories: Ferguson's (1959) *Koine* Theory, Blau's (1961) theory on natural drift, Language Borrowing, and Versteegh's (1984) theory on the pidginization and creolization of Arabic. All of these theories have merit and may even be able to account for some of the parallel divergences of the CDs of Arabic from the standard and/or the divergences among the CDs themselves – particularly at the phonological and lexical level (see Chapter 2). However, with regard to MA, I have found that Versteegh's theory of prior pidginization and creolization is able to account for much of the historical and modern socio-diglossic situation in Morocco (determined by both social/communicative and developmental processes), the dialectal deviations and uniformities between MA and the CDs of Arabic, and their parallel divergences from the standard. This thesis has demonstrated how attitude and linguistic development are tied together. Neither communicative interaction (i.e. input) nor internal development processes (e.g. second language learning) are sufficient explanations on their own. This thesis has also provided a supplementation to Versteegh's theory with a developmental component that was not present before.

While Versteegh (1984) theorized the processes of pidginization and creolization for all of the dialects of Arabic, there was little done in developing a case-study for each of the individual dialects in support of his theory. Therefore, I chose to focus only on the dialect of MA and attempt to substantiate Versteegh's theory in that particular language

(as the start of such a case-study). At the end of Chapter 2 I elucidated that, according to Southworth's (1971) principles, in order to make a claim for prior pidginization and creolization in MA, the required socio-linguistic circumstances for such processes must be historically evident. The resulting linguistic effects of pidginization, creolization, and decreolization must be seen in MA. What was revealed in Chapter 3 was that the progression, throughout the history of North Africa, of the social and diglossic situation in Morocco paralleled (and continues to parallel) the socio-linguistic environments necessary for the processes of pidginization, creolization, and decreolization to occur. Chapter 4 also delineated the overwhelming evidence of the linguistic effects of pidginization, creolization, and decreolization in MA. The results and continuing change of this process of pidginization and creolization in the TMA system, word order, interrogative constructions, genitive constructions, and the indefinite articles are overwhelmingly supported in the morphology and syntax of MA. The use and encoding of verbal auxiliaries in MA mirrors the TMA universals found in pidgins and creoles. Evidence gathered from my empirical research (see Appendix A) supports the claim that MA acts as a creole in its lack of embedded clauses. MA has an unmarked SVO word order and polymorphemic interrogatives. MA also uses analytic genitives and has an indefinite article derived from a lexical item meaning 'one'. These are all features which are identified as the resulting linguistic effects of the processes of pidginization and creolization. Just as importantly, all of these linguistic features are specific areas in which MA differs from MSA.

Finally, at the end of Chapter 4 linguistic evidence for the process of decreolization in MA was outlined in accordance with the natural progression of creoles

in certain socio-linguistic situations. Much of the claims of this thesis rely on the belief that the existence of both social and linguistic evidence of the processes of pidginization, creolization, and decreolization in MA today predicates the existence of these processes in the past of MA. The communicative and developmental processes which were conditioned by diglossia can be traced by observing the change in language attitude throughout Morocco's history. Without linguistic documentation of MA prior to the colonization of North Africa by the French one must rely on such reasoning in order to substantiate any claim on the historical processes occurring in MA. What one can do now, however, is observe the progression of decreolization in MA in the future and, based on its evolution and knowledge of the developmental processes occurring, make further claims as to its past.

5.1 Significance and Implications

5.1.1 Language Endangerment

The proposals put forth in this thesis have implications for the endangerment of MA as a distinct language. With a continued social and economic stigma associated with MA and the glorification of MSA by the government, the education system, and the media (Versteegh, 1997), one would expect the Moroccan people, on the whole, to be looking favorably on a gradual shift in MA towards the standard form of the language. This shift, which has up until this point been referred to as decreolization (as far as MA is concerned), is another way of describing a process that leads to language endangerment and death. Such language endangerment is decreolization brought about by the instability of the diglossic situation. The instability of the diglossic situation is propagated by social attitudes which assert the inappropriateness of the 'low' variety of

language in all situations rather than distinct contexts for the 'high' or 'low' register. This leads to the diminishment of the former 'low prestige' register language.

In his work on reversing such language shifts, Fishman (1991: 59) has labeled a situation of 'social dislocation' as one of the primary instigators of language endangerment. This condition of 'social dislocation' describes a situation in which the speakers of the less prestigious language (such as MA) are often disadvantaged (in opportunities for education, economic prosperity, social positions etc.). Such is the case in modern day Morocco. The majority of the literate economically prosperous people in respected occupations speak either MSA or French in place of MA (Versteegh, 1997). It has been noted by several prominent MA linguists (see Harrell, 2000; Heath, 1989; Versteegh, 1997) that Moroccans are often surprised that an educated person would want to study and speak MA instead of MSA. They claim that MA is valueless (for social prestige) and a waste of time. I, too, have experienced similar sentiments during my time living in Morocco as a student (having already studied MSA) and desiring to learn MA. In fact, a number of my fellow students at the University of Al Akhawayn in Morocco refused to speak MA at all opting for the languages of higher prestige; French and/or MSA. They look at MA as merely a coarse dialect or a poor reflection of MSA (Gallagher, 1968). Such attitudes of devaluation play a significant role in the endangerment of a language. Fishman (1991) explains below where much of this belief originates in speakers of threatened or endangered languages.

Most of the constantly shrinking number of mother tongue speakers of threatened languages do very little reading and almost no writing whatsoever in these languages. This functional characterization leaves these languages almost entirely restricted to informal and intimate conversational functions, functions which pertain to life on a small scale. However, this is precisely the functional characterization which corresponds to dialectal language use. Accordingly, many languages that are in need of and are the recipients of RLS [Reversing Language Shift] efforts are designated as 'mere dialects' (with the implication that they are not full fledged 'languages' at all). Fishman (1991: 339)

This view is the product of years of comparison concerning the political power, educational and economic advantages, and perceived prestige of the higher language speakers - whoever they may be (Fishman, 1991). What is lost in such a negative view of a language by its speakers is a value and appreciation for the distinctiveness of their language (even if it is considered a 'mere dialect'). Such attitude often instigates a language endangerment situation.

As such trends continue, much of the beauty and uniqueness of MA (including the divergent forms studied in Chapter 4) will be lost and replaced with the standard form of Arabic (i.e. MSA). Predictions concerning the future of MA can be made by looking at the stages in Fishman's (1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS). This scale looks at the status of a language by determining its position and use in society and then makes predictions about its threatened level based on historical and current trends. The higher the stage in which a language scores on the scale, the more endangered the language. The stages in Fishman's scale are shown in Table 7 below:

Table 7: GIDS (Fishman, 1991: 88-108)

STAGE	DESCRIPTION
Stage 8	Most users of the language are the isolated elderly.
Stage 7	Most users of the language are an integrated and active population but are beyond child-bearing years.
Stage 6	The language in question is used in informal spoken interactions between all three generations but not used for matters of greater formality and technicality.
Stage 5	There is literacy in the language and it is used in the home, the community, and the school for communication.
Stage 4	Early education uses the language in meeting compulsory education laws.
Stage 3	The language is used in the lower work sphere (outside of the neighborhood/community)
Stage 2	The language is prominent in lower governmental services and mass media but not in the higher spheres of either.
Stage 1	The language is used in higher level educational, occupational, government and media efforts.

Characterizing MA as an endangered language (brought about by the process of decreolization) relates directly to the claims of this thesis. However, looking at Fishman's stages it seems that MA does not completely fit in any one specific category (which is not unlike many endangered languages (Fishman, 1991)).

However, possibilities can be inferred about the future of MA by looking at general trends and categories within these stages. Due to the lack of literacy, MA would most likely fit in between stages 5 and 6. MA is used by the common population in all three generations at the home, the community, and even in the school (for informal interactions). However, there are traces of the lower stages in MA as well. MA is used in some areas of the lower work sphere (particularly in non-urban areas (Heath, 1989)) and some areas of the media (e.g. radio broadcasts and songs) may still be in MA (Harrell, 2000). Unfortunately, many of the higher occupational positions, education,

media, and government dealings are in either MSA or French (Gallagher, 1968).

Morocco is distinct in the fact that the majority of the people are bi/multi-lingual in MA, MSA, French, and/or a form of Berber (Heath, 1989). Such examples of bilingualism may be indicative of the second stage in cultural assimilation as outlined by Crystal (2000: 78,79).

The changing of a culture, such as cultural assimilation (in which one culture is greatly influenced by a more dominant culture), is another major factor in language endangerment and death. The first stage in cultural assimilation is an immense pressure on a people to speak a dominant language. This is indicative of the entire history of Morocco after the spread of Islam with the imposition of both Arabic and, later, French (see Chapter 3). The next stage, stage two, is a period of time in which bilingualism emerges due to the increased need for the new language. This adoption of the new language occurs while still holding on to the old language. Each language variety is deemed appropriate for specific contexts. Often the 'high' register is used in formal settings and the 'low' register is used in informal contexts. Such a situation of bilingualism with diglossia acts to preserve the languages. This is very likely the case in the bilingualism exemplified by the Berber people who speak both MA and Berber, or the bilingual state between MA and MSA in Morocco. Eventually the number of contexts in which the old language (often the 'low' variety) is used decreases and the third stage of cultural assimilation occurs. This stage is exemplified by an increased use of the new language by younger generations and greater identity found in the new language (Crystal, 2000). The attitude towards the suitability of the new, or 'high', language in all situations suggests the inappropriateness of the 'low' register in all contexts.

This situation of connecting language and identity may very well be seen in Morocco even with the numerous languages spoken. The new, and prestigious, languages are French and MSA while both MA and Berber are looked upon as being inferior (Versteegh, 1997). It is the attitude of the people, not the opportunities for and/or use of the language itself, which deems Berber and MA as inappropriate languages. The younger generations also find identity in the two new languages depending on social and/or religious desires. For those wanting to identify themselves with Islam and the Arab world, MSA is the language, and identity, of choice. French, on the other hand, is the language for those desiring to be identified with Europe and Western ideologies (Gallagher, 1968).

What is evident is that the social attitude towards a language may prompt language shift and/or endangerment. As the attitude of the Moroccan people towards MA changes so may the developmental process of decreolization change. The more uses for and prestige attributed to MA the less likely it will be replaced by MSA. This connection between the diglossic state and language preservation is the first implication of the claims of this thesis.

5.1.2 Pidgin and Creole Studies & Language Universals

As discussed above, the stability of the diglossic state establishes the need for, and preservation of, distinct language varieties. Conversely the instability of the diglossic state propogates the language shift that may result in the social inappropriateness of the 'low' register language in all contexts. It is within these communicative processes that the developmental processes (e.g. second language learning) are fed. The social factors which drive the communicative processes are

external while the developmental processes are internally driven. It is the internal processes that motivate the implications of this thesis on the fields of Pidgin and Creole studies and Language Universals.

There are linguistic implications in the field of Pidgin and Creole studies for MA having gone through the processes of pidginization, creolization, and currently undergoing the process of decreolization. Much of the study done on pidgins and creoles thus far has been limited to the pidgins and creoles of European ancestry (Todd, 1990). There has been some research done on the pidginization of some Sub-Saharan African languages such as Dyola (spoken in Senegal and The Gambia) or Swahili (spoken in Kenya and Tanzania (see Mannessy, 1977)). However, apart from the research conducted by Versteegh (1984) I am unaware of any studies done on the pidginization and creolization of Semitic languages (which are languages of Africa and the Middle East). A claim for pidginization and creolization in MA may expand the research done on pidgins and creoles into new areas of the world in which the possibility of such processes has not been thoroughly examined. Also, having examples of such processes in a Semitic language (e.g. Arabic) strengthens the claim of pidgin and creole universals. If the processes of pidginization and creolization have the same linguistic results irrespective of the target language, universals in the field of Pidgin and Creole studies, and perhaps further, can be outlined with greater depth and accuracy. The more diverse and numerous the examples for language universals are, the stronger the claim.

Research concerning a 'universal grammar' has been a major component in studies on language acquisition. Likewise, the pidginization and creolization processes have long been identified with the processes of first and second language acquisition.

One such theory, as argued by Bickerton (1977), is that the various pidgins and creoles share universal tendencies because they stem from a similar procedure. The procedures of pidginization and creolization, and their subsequent effects on language, have been identified by looking at pidginization as “second-language learning with restricted input” and creolization as “first-language learning with restricted input” (Bickerton, 1977: 49). The pidginization process begins with the gradual relexification of the native language(s) with vocabulary from the target language. This relexification of the native language parallels the early stages of the second language acquisition process (Bickerton, 1977). Second language learners often use the target language vocabulary with the native language structure in the early stages. Only when relexification has been completed does the language learner move on to restructuring the grammatical parts of the language. Such patterns are believed to be irrespective of the input. Bickerton (1977: 50) points out that “there is good reason to suppose that pidgins would turn out the way they do irrespective of whether their speakers were offered ‘simplified’ or ‘non-simplified’ models.” Such a claim points to the developmental processes of language learning, rather than the quality or quantity of input, as being a primary determiner in the resulting language. The claims of this thesis take both the social distance and the language learning processes into account (see Chapter 3 and 4).

Schumann (1979) claims that the language learning process (whether first or second language acquisition) is, at first, mainly to provide for the survival needs of the learner. Language learning for the sake of survival requires an initial pidginization of the target language for the sake of simplicity. In other words, the learner is required to rely on his/her “positive formal linguistic universals” to adequately communicate (Schumann,

1979: 59). These ‘universals’ are the products of innate linguistic knowledge that is unlearned and native to all humans. This principle of an innate linguistic knowledge is where the idea of a ‘universal grammar’ emerges. Much like the ‘positive formal linguistic universals’ described by Schumann, Pinker (1987: 417) describes “an innate universal grammar, parts of which are underspecified and plastic.” The fact that they are ‘plastic’ means that they are shapeable based on input. With the learners of pidgins and creoles receiving limited input with communicatively redundant features, they are forced to rely on such ‘underspecified’ knowledge of language. The lack of specificity would explain the learners reliance on lexical forms with more concrete content (as discussed in Chapter 4).

According to Pinker, language learners often make mistakes (when compared to the standard) in the language acquired that are not due to the irregularities in the structure of the target language but due to a regression towards a “central tendency” (which would be the default ‘universal grammar’). Pinker uses the condition of creoles to further his proposal of a regression towards a ‘central tendency’, or linguistic mean. Creoles are able to develop working grammars to satisfy the communication needs of the people when the pidgin is insufficient (Mühlhäusler, 1986). They are able to do this in spite of the limited input that they receive. Aside from innate linguistic universals, one may expect the result of such limited input to be no output at all or a ‘degenerate’ output of the target language (Pinker, 1987: 417)²⁶. Rather, what is seen is that all pidgins and creoles develop similar patterns in their grammatical structure (reduction, simplification, and

²⁶ This is assuming that language learning is according to Pinker (1987) by ‘language-acquisition algorithms’ (i.e. innate procedures that create grammar rules).

transfer) and these patterns are also often found in the early stages of the second language acquisition process (McLaughlin, 1987).

Bickerton (1981) labels this core structure for human language that allows for the development of a fully functional language (even with limited input) a 'bioprogram.' These analogous grammatical structures found in the creoles of the world, and in the stages of first and second language learning, may be derived from an innate language faculty that, when un- or underspecified, reverts back to a central linguistic form (i.e. universal grammar or forms with a primary deictic force). If MA has gone through the processes of pidginization and creolization with similar linguistic results as other pidgins and creoles, the claim for a 'universal grammar' (in the language acquisition process) is strengthened. It is notable for a language like Arabic to parallel linguistically different languages (e.g. languages of a different family - such as French or English) in the reduction and restructuring of its language (without the presence of outside influence). Such a close parallel between the language learners of the world, irrespective of superstratum or substratum influence, is remarkable support for an innate, or universal, language structure.²⁷ With such radically different exposure to language one would expect creoles of varied language families and structures to vary in the resulting grammatical structure. What is found, however, is that almost all creoles have developed similar features for the un- or underspecified linguistic gaps (due to communicatively redundant forms and restricted input) in TMA systems, interrogatives, genitives, word order etc. Such similarities point to a universal grammar of some sort. Investigating the

²⁷ The processes attributed to Language Borrowing, *Koine*, or Language Drift are also insufficient to explain such universals across language.

presence of an innate ‘bioprogram’ in all language learners may aid in the explanation as to why MA parallels other creoles in these ways.

5.2 Further Research

This thesis focused primarily on providing evidence for a claim of prior pidginization, creolization, and current decreolization in MA. The claims of this thesis have supplemented Versteegh’s (1984) theory by beginning a case-study. However, Versteegh has posited that such a theory should hold true to all dialects of Arabic outside the Arabian Peninsula.²⁸ Therefore, it would be beneficial (for social, historical, and linguistic purposes) to do a more detailed study of the other dialects of Arabic to complete Versteegh’s broad survey and determine whether or not the other CDs hold true to his theory. The socio-linguistic history of much of the arabophone world parallels that of Morocco. The claim of this thesis has demonstrated how attitude and linguistic development are tied together. Looking at the developmental processes without allowing for the communicative processes results in a study second language learning not pidginization and creolization. The extant state of diglossia along with linguistic input (i.e. communicative interaction) and/or education (informal or formal) determines the developmental processes that a language is likely to undergo. The greater the interaction in communication and availability for corrective feedback (i.e. education) the greater the specificity of the language faculty regarding the target language. This increase in specified areas of the ‘bioprogram’ leaves less need for reliance on a central tendency, or universal grammar. If the other CDs of Arabic have followed the socio-linguistic history of MA so closely (in both input and education), one may expect similar developmental

²⁸ This is due to the fact that only the conquered territories would have had the required socio-linguistic history needed for pidginization and/or creolization to occur (Versteegh 1984).

processes to have occurred. Consequently, much more detailed research is needed to provide evidence of the linguistic effects of pidginization, creolization, and decreolization on the other CDs of Arabic.

Further research guided by this thesis is in the resulting linguistic state of MA today in comparison with other CDs. Although many linguistic similarities have already been found among the various CDs of Arabic (see §2.2.1) which parallel MA and the patterns of pidginization and creolization, the degree and situations in which the CDs compare to MA and other pidgins and creoles varies. An example of this was shown in §4.2.3 (Table 6) with the differences in the interrogatives between MA, Syrian, and Egyptian Arabic in relation to MSA. Is this variation due to differences in language contact, or greater or lesser social distance? Is it possible that Syrian and Egyptian are simply farther along on the decreolization continuum? Perhaps Syrian and Egyptian Arabic have had increased interaction with the target language from the beginning prompting development being shaped by input forms rather than a central tendency (as in MA). Are these trends consistent across the dialects of Arabic in relation to geographical distance from the Arabian Peninsula? These are all questions that merit further consideration and study. Arabophone studies may also benefit from a better understanding of both the developmental and communicative processes involved in pidginization, creolization, and decreolization. Such an understanding aids both modern and historical socio-linguistic studies and facilitates making future predictions about the dialects of Arabic.

Another area for continued research is in the linguistic differentiations found in the people of present day Morocco due to age, education, and contextual situation.

Bentahila (1983: 68) conducted research on the language preferences of Moroccans regarding various mediums of media (i.e. newspapers, books, radio, television, and film). All of the subjects in the study were bi- or multilingual and were asked about their language preference (between French and Arabic) for each of the different mediums. However, this study joined both MA and MSA together under the general heading of 'Arabic'. Further research should be done on the connection between language attitude and language endangerment. Therefore, a longitudinal linguistic study of language preference in Moroccans at various ages, stages of education, and contexts of dialogue would be beneficial in determining social attitudes towards the assorted languages of Morocco (i.e. MA, MSA, French, Berber) and the extent to which the process of decreolization (which would eventually lead to language death) is occurring in MA. Forms that may be of interest for such a longitudinal study include (but are not limited to) periphrastic interrogatives and indefinite articles. Both of these features are frequently used and any resulting changes (stemming from decreolization) would have little effect on the overall structure of MA due to the fact that they are primarily lexical changes. I would expect radical feature changes (e.g. TMA system) to take longer to adopt in the progression of MA towards MSA.

As has been previously stated, this thesis demonstrates the connection between the attitude towards a language and its subsequent development. In other words, the diglossic state prompts the developmental processes. Therefore, future endeavors in this field of study must take into account the changing attitude (whether favorably or not) towards all of the languages of Morocco. Even if a language is not looked upon as being the high variety, its survival depends on its use in prescribed settings. It is only when the

'high' register (e.g. MSA or French) becomes appropriate for all settings and the 'low' registers (e.g. MA and Berber) become inappropriate that there is a language shift resulting in the death of the 'low' varieties. The rapidity and severity of such a shift may depend on the language(s) spoken by each individual. In the case of MA, the shift towards the 'high' variety of MSA may be relatively simple (due to the close relation between MA and MSA). Speakers of Berber, on the other hand, must (in order to have an appropriate language for all settings) learn either MSA or French. As such attitudes continue, language development for the 'high' varieties (MSA and French) acts more like first and second language learning and less like pidginization or creolization. The developmental processes which occur for the 'low' varieties (MA and Berber) are decreolization and language death. Further research into these developmental processes and the motivations behind such processes may then lead to a solution for reversing language endangerment and death for the 'low' registers.

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Appendix A : Grammaticality Judgments on MA by Native Speakers

Objective:

To determine whether or not it is possible to combine auxiliary markers within one clause in MA to express more complex tense, mood, and aspect²⁹ following Bickerton's (1981) patterns of complex tense and aspect in creole languages. A reluctance towards clause embedding is a common feature found in creoles. The existence of this feature in MA is further linguistic evidence for the process of creolization having occurred in MA.

Process:

Due to the fact that MA is only a spoken language, I chose to have all of my grammaticality judgments done with the help of a native speaker. I explained my project to a native speaker of MA and asked her to record herself saying the various phrases below. Each of my Moroccan subjects was asked to listen to the data twice and then give each phrase a rating of one to ten. I chose to have a large scaling so that the Moroccans would be able to express degrees of grammaticality. Having all experienced the French school system they are already familiar with the 10 point scale (with 10 signifying perfection). I explained that anything above five would indicate that (even if it wasn't really great) it was a comprehensible construction and a score of 10 would be the best of the acceptable MA. On the contrary phrases scoring below five would be considered unacceptable MA. This would mean that the construction is also semantically indiscernible. A rating above five meant that it was comprehensible and at least partially acceptable. A rating below five meant that it was neither comprehensible nor acceptable.

Data for Grammaticality Judgments:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. <i>y-leʃb-u</i> | 'They go' ³⁰ |
| 2. <i>ka y-leʃb-u</i> | 'They are going' |
| 3. <i>ka ġa y-leʃb-u</i> | '?' |
| 4. <i>ġa y-leʃb-u</i> | 'They will go' |
| 5. <i>ġa ka y-leʃb-u</i> | '?' |
| 6. <i>kan-u ka y-leʃb-u</i> | 'They were going' |
| 7. <i>ka kan-u y-leʃb-u</i> | '?' |
| 8. <i>kan-u ġa y-leʃb-u</i> | 'They were going to go' |
| 9. <i>ġa y-kun-u ka y-leʃb-u</i> | 'They will be going' |

²⁹ The expression of complex tense and aspect in MA is examined in §4.2.1.3 in order to find linguistic support for a process of prior creolization to have occurred in the history of MA. In creole languages temporal, aspectual, and modal relations are expressed by three auxiliary markers: anterior, nonpunctual, and irrealis.

³⁰ All glosses of the grammatically correct forms are from Ouali & Fortin (2005).

10. *ka y-kun-u ġa y-leŋb-u* ‘?’
 11. *kan-u ġa ka y-leŋb-u* ‘?’
 12. *kan-u ġa y-kun-u ka y-leŋb-u* ‘?’

Results:

Phrase #	Subject 1	Subject 2	Subject 3	Subject 4	Mean
1	10	10	10	10	10
2	10	9	10	9	9.5
3	2	1	4	3	2.5*
4	10	9	10	10	9.75
5	5	2	6	4	4.25*
6	10	9	10	10	9.75
7	4	3	1	2	2.5*
8	9	9	10	10	9.5
9	10	10	9	10	9.75
10	5	2	4	2	3.25*
11	2	3	2	4	2.75*
12	1	2	1	1	1.25*

* ungrammatical constructions

Conclusion:

My findings were in accordance with the hypothesis of Ouali & Fortin (2005) that MA is unable to express more complex tense (i.e. past perfective, past progressive, future progressive etc.) without the use of a copula along with the main verb³¹. This suggests that MA exists in a creolized state (much like the attested creoles studied by Bickerton (1981)). The ungrammatical readings of phrases 3, 5, and 11 are most likely due to the omission of the copula in the phrase. The omission of the copula forces an embedded clause. The existence of an embedded clause is ungrammatical in MA (much like other creole languages). The ungrammatical readings of phrases 7 and 10, then, likely stem from a change in the morphemic order. This change in the order is the only difference between phrases 6 & 7, or 9 & 10. It appears that the irrealis, or future, marker *ġa* must come in linear order before the non-punctual marker *ka*. Finally, the ungrammatical reading in phrase 12 may be due to the information overload preceding the main verb. While this construction has been shown to convey a ‘durative past irrealis’ in a few creole languages (see Singler, 1990), there is no evidence of this construction being acceptable in MA.

The data collected in this grammaticality judgment support the claim of this thesis. The linguistic effects of creolization are seen in the complex tense, mood, and aspect constructions in MA. These linguistic effects (in conjunction with the other

³¹ Ouali & Fortin (2005) argue that tense and aspect are separate heads in MA and therefore cannot be combined into one head.

linguistic effects outlined in Chapter 4) predicate the occurrence of the process of creolization in MA's history.