The Evolution of Urban Arabic Vernaculars: The Effects of Migration and Social Change

Convened by
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Date and Location
October 20th-23th 2004, Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, 5 Av du Château de l’Horloge, BP 647 13094 Aix en Provence, France

The Participants
The workshop included 43 participants + The ESF representative, Rüdiger Klein. Participants came from 6 European countries (Germany, France, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain and UK) and from 11 Middle Eastern Countries (Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Israel-Palestine, Lebanon, Morocco, Mauritania, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen). They were either young researchers or confirmed specialists in the field.
Executive Summary

The workshop focused on the impact of migration and of new forms of urbanization upon the development of Arabic urban vernaculars. It aimed at a better understanding of the history, development, evolution and transformation of the various Arabic urban linguistic settings. Relying on the presentation of various city-cases, the workshop intended to analyze the degree of correlation between social structures and language change. The first goal of the workshop was to assess the state of the field through the presentation of various cases of urbanization. The second goal was to strengthen communication and collaboration by building up an international network of researchers.

Arabic urban sociolinguistics remains a marginal field in both general urban sociolinguistics and Arabic linguistics. Although migration and urbanization have been some of the major developments in the Arabic speaking societies during the late 20th century, little is known currently about the linguistic impact of urbanization in this part of the world. Few collaborative links exist at present between researchers working in/on the various Arabic cities, and there is a need to bring together the various research studies in order to reach a more comprehensive and global understanding of the linguistic dynamics of urbanization in the Arab world for comparative and cross-cultural purposes. The major theoretical streams in urban sociolinguistics have been elaborated mainly on the bases of European and North American urban contexts. In the last three decades, Arabic dialectal studies have developed quite considerably, especially in Europe. This new set of data will contribute to a better understanding of dialect contact in urban environments. A number of sociolinguistic studies on Arab cities has also been published. A review of the existing literature shows that the time has come to bring together sociolinguistic and dialectal urban studies and to confront them with the theoretical frameworks developed by general urban sociolinguistics.

This workshop represented the first attempt to bring together researchers from many different European and Middle Eastern countries. The ESF funding, as well as additional funding from various French Institutions (CNRS, University of Aix en Provence, PACA Region, Department, etc.), facilitated the participation of both senior academics and young researchers, as well as researchers from North Africa and Middle Eastern countries. The workshop demonstrated the importance of exchanging ideas for both European and Middle Eastern researchers and the need to increase collaborative links. 42 participants from 17 countries attended the workshop with presentations covering 13 Arabic-speaking countries or communities (Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Lebanon, Lybia, Mauritania, Morocco, Nigeria,
Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen). Of the participants originally invited, a few could not attend for health reasons or work duties (Jordi Aguade from Spain, Paola Gandolfi from Italy, Niloofar Haeri and Keith Walters from US).

The schedule of the workshop was very tight and intensive. 28 communications were presented in 8 sessions distributed over 11 panels during the three days. All presentations had been written and sent in advance, and then photocopied and distributed in conference folders given to all participants. All sessions were tape-recorded. Each panel included 3 presentations. In each panel, an appointed discussant summarized and discussed the main points of the paper in 10/15 minutes. The author of the paper was then allowed to react for a further 10 minutes and then 10 minutes were allocated for general discussion. The 8 sessions were organized on a thematic or geographic base (see final program enclosed). The first day (Thursday 21 October) started with a general introduction by the convenor and by a first session presenting some general national trends. The second session occupied the remainder of the day and was dedicated to North Africa with the presentation of a number of Algerian, Libyan, Mauritanian and Moroccan city-cases. It ended with a brief presentation by the ESF representative, Rüdiger Klein, on ESF funding opportunities and facilities. Friday’s sessions were dedicated to Middle Eastern cities and to thematic issues such as youth languages, urbanization, gender and religion. Saturday’s morning sessions focused on code switching and on the impact of new technologies upon urban vernaculars. Discussions were lively during the sessions and continued at meal times and in the evenings. A Ramadan meal was held within the Maison des Sciences de l’Homme on Thursday evening and a Vin d’Honneur was offered by the City of Aix on Friday evening. The workshop concluded with a final panel on Saturday afternoon during which Clive Holes and David Britain were invited to summarize the main points raised in the workshop. All participants reacted very actively and gave their personal feedback. We also discussed future collaboration in matters such as publication, meetings, funding opportunities. Discussions are presently going on through emails.
Scientific Content

The Arab world presents very different types and degrees of urbanization, from well established old capital-cities such as Cairo to new emerging capital-cities such as Amman or Nouakchott, these in turn embedded in different types of national construction. This urban setting raises questions concerning the dynamics of homogenization/differentiation and the processes of standardization due to the coexistence of competing linguistic prestige models (Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, foreign languages, urban vernaculars, Bedouin/rural vernaculars) that reflect different sources of legitimacy (religion, education, urban status, tribal prestige, etc.). Because in certain respects the sociolinguistic situation of Middle Eastern cities is more complex than that found in many Western metropolises, Middle Eastern cities are places of particular interest not only for Arabicists, but for linguists in general.

One problem in understanding the urban linguistic situation is the lack of a synthesizing perspective regarding the linguistic impact of urbanization in Middle Eastern cities. For many cities we just find relatively old dialectal descriptions, which usually did not take variation into account. For others, we may have more focused sociolinguistic studies, that usually stick to a limited number of phonological variables. One of the main aims of the workshop was to assess the degree of correlation between types of urban settings on the one hand, and types of linguistic change in the urban vernaculars on the other. This is why a number of cities representing various types of urban settings and national contexts were selected. The cities covered were Aden, Algiers, Amman, Beni Mellal, Beirut, Bethlehem, Fes, Cairo, Casablanca, Damascus, East Jerusalem, Ksar al Kbir, Maiduguri, Marrakech, Meknes, Nazareth, Nouakchott, Oran, Riyadh and a few other Saudi towns, Sale, Sanaa, Sebta, Tripoli.

The selected cities included old urban centers and new urban centers, expanding capitals and provincial cities, stable cities and cities that went through dramatic transformation or events, cities with well-known communal varietal differences and those with a more homogeneous profile, cities within a rural environment and cities within a former Bedouin environment, etc. The comparison between these various urban settings was intended to help to re-contextualize previous studies, to build various models for urbanization and group formation and to inter-connect the cultural impact of migration with processes of urban development.

The workshop also intended to compare the impact of migration with other trends of urbanization like age, gender, class and religious differentiation, importance of code switching, emergence and impact of youth language and new cultural models (rap), as well as the influence of media and new technologies (internet, mobile phone).
Many different types of urban language changes were therefore presented, sometimes representing different points of view. Participants did not always agree on the direction of change, especially concerning the issue of homogenization versus differentiation, the emergence of an urban koine, the process of standardization and the influence of MSA features.

The presentations reflected different theoretical and methodological trends. French, Spanish and North African researchers tend to maintain a dialectal tradition inherited from historical dialectology while British, North European and Middle Eastern researchers are more familiar with the variationist approach. Needless to say that the diversity of approaches raised vigorous debate concerning the methodology (data collection, data presentation, reliability of statistics) and typology (choice of categories and terminology such as the distinction drawn between parler urbain and parler citadin in North Africa, rural or Bedouin varieties, standardization, koineization).

Among the main points of debate, the following can be mentioned the following:
1. The conceptualization of urbanization and of “Arabic urban varieties”. Does it refer to a specific type of Arabic vernacular or to any linguistic variety spoken in a geographical space considered to be urban? Where does the border of a city lie, in its administrative boundaries or in the symbolic representation of the speakers, for instance? Historically, specific Arabic urban varieties are said to have developed in old urban centers, different from neighborhood rural or Bedouin varieties. But a number of participants cast doubt about the possibility of drawing direct correlation between social changes and language changes. There is nothing like a typology of Arabic urban features that will suit the various Arabic urban vernaculars. Living in a city does not necessarily entail speaking a specific urban variety. Inhabitants of the same city do not necessarily share the same linguistic models. Linguistic processes recorded in urban setting are not always necessarily radically distinct from processes recorded in non-urban settings. However, most participants considered that in the Arab world, distinction between urban and rural still makes sense, unlike some European countries. Old Arab cities share a number of common linguistic features in spite of their dispersion over a very wide area. Urbanization fosters a number of linguistic processes due to language contact like koineization, borrowing, interference, multilingualism and code-switching. Urbanization fosters the emergence of new types of sociolects or registers, such as youth languages. It also fosters the feminization of the public sphere and engenders the use of public languages. How
far urbanization accelerates the rupture between generations in Middle Arab cities remains to be investigated.

2. The risk of an essentialist and culturalist conception of categories. Terms like urban, rural or Bedouin are inherited from a typology established in the late 19th-early 20th dialect studies. The urban-Bedouin linguistic distinction goes back to early Arab grammarians who considered that Bedouin dialects to be more conservative and more “pure” than the urban dialects. Today the same terms are used to refer to speakers and to varieties that underwent important changes and mixing. These changes narrowed the gap between urban and rural speech. The debate concerning the relevance of Bedouin/rural/urban categories stressed the difficult task of a comparative approach and the need to distinguish between synchronic and diachronic levels. The term urban may have a very different connotation in North Africa and in the Middle East. The term Bedouin covers extremely different linguistic varieties which share only one common phonetic feature, the phoneme /g/. Therefore the same terms may describe very different dynamics. In the meantime these categories still function as symbolic categories within the societies concerned and may reflect different types of social organization. They therefore need to be investigated carefully. A number of participants pointed out the fact that changes were not particularly fast and radical. Varieties labeled as pre-hilali or Andalusian in North Africa still maintain a number of specific features. The relevance of Bedouin conservatism and Bedouin prestige was also discussed, particularly regarding the case of Mauritania, where sedentarization and urbanization are very recent dynamics. In Saudi Arabia or Yemen, Bedouin affiliation is a very strong mode of affiliation and symbolic categorization.

3. The issue of koine and koineization processes in relation to urbanization. The term urban koine is particularly frequent in studies dealing with North Africa. However the geographical and social expansion of the urban koines is not always clearly established. In Morocco for example, the distinction between the so-called Moroccan national koine and Casablanca Arabic needs to be clarified. In many Moroccan cities, a distinction has been made between the old urban vernacular (parler citadin) and the new urban vernacular (parler urbain), which emerged following the settlement of large segments of the former rural population. The new urban vernaculars are characterized by a high degree of dialect mixing and koineization. It is not yet clear if each city develops its own new urban vernacular or if Casablanca Arabic or whether the so-called Moroccan koine is spreading to all Moroccan urban centers. The
emergence or lack thereof of a public, common urban language in cities like Aden, Algiers, Oran, Beirut, Sanaa was also vigorously discussed. Homogenization trends in these cities are far from being achieved and many different varieties coexist. Moreover koineization processes can occur at some linguistic levels (morphology, syntax) but not at other linguistic levels (the case of glottalization in Sana’i Arabic). This point raises the well known debate about the importance of markedness and salience in leveling and koineization processes. Therefore comparisons between the various linguistic levels is essential to account for the koineization process. More generally there was an agreement that studies on language change should give more attention to syntax.

4. The relationship between urbanization, education and the growing influence of Classical or Modern Standard Arabic. For a number of participants, urbanization means also greater influence of education and mass-media and therefore a greater exposure to Classical or MSA norms. Other participants, on the opposite side of the debate consider that urbanization leads to the growing prestige of urban vernaculars and does not necessarily entail greater influence of MSA. It has to be mentioned that linguistic features can have a multiple identity and can be interpreted as both MSA and pan-dialectal features. Urbanization also leads to an increase in the use of foreign languages, and it appears that at some points French or English are used to introduce new attitudes and new discourses within the society. This point illustrates the need to distinguish between koineization, standardization and modernization as separate processes, which are not necessarily interconnected. It indicates also that the processes labeled under the umbrella of urbanization can vary considerably from one place to another and even within one place. Urbanization usually introduces a number of competing and divergent trends and cannot be reduced to a unique direction of change.

5. The link between education and social status. The relevance of social stratification within Arab urban settings. The identification of the groups that introduced linguistic innovation. All these questions investigate the relevance of the theoretical frame of variationist sociolinguistics when applied to the Arab world. In Arabic sociolinguistics the relationship between education and high social status is often wrongly taken for granted. Social stratification is difficult to establish due to the fact that wealth, occupation and education are not the sole factors of social stratification. It has often been assumed that the youth, and particularly young women were the leading innovative groups.
6. Universal processes versus idiosyncratic processes. One of the universal features of urbanization is that cities are *per se* places of contact between different languages or different varieties of the same language. How far do urban dynamics in the Arab world echo universal dynamics or reflect specific trends. Some participants worried about an Orientalist approach: why should the Arab world form a unity, why should it be characterized by specific trends?

Many other points were presented and discussed as will be apparent in the brief summary of each presentation presented in Appendix 1. An important point is that all presentations relied on first hand research and data collection. It showed that, although Arabic urban sociolinguistics is still a marginalized field in both European and Arab Academic Institutions, it started to raise a considerable interest in many Arab countries and can be considered a promising and innovative field of research.
Assessment of the Results and Contribution to future research

As already mentioned, the main purpose of the workshop was to bring together researchers who share a common interest in a rather innovative field (Arabic urban sociolinguistics) but many of whom have not previously had an opportunity to meet one another and to exchange their findings and ideas. There was also the implicit aim to establish stronger collaborative links in order to strengthen research in this field.

The idea to set up a collaborative network in Arabic urban sociolinguistics originated within the framework of another network, AIDA (International Association of Arabic Dialectology) which convenes regular biennial meetings. Within the Aida network it became progressively evident that sociolinguistic studies on Arab cities was a very promising field, albeit very disperse. As it was stated in the original proposal, we first intended to organize a pluridisciplinary meeting in order to open a dialogue on the issue of urbanization in the Arabic-speaking world. However, it became evident that the time was not yet ripe for such a pluridisciplinary meeting and that, as a first step, linguists needed to meet together and to join forces in order to reach a more global understanding of the linguistic aspects of urbanization.

If urban studies pay little attention to the language dimension of urbanization, it must be due partly to the poor visibility of many urban sociolinguistic studies. The workshop succeeded in bringing researchers from 6 European countries and from 11 North African and Middle Eastern countries. It was a first step in the establishment of a wider network. One of the difficulties lies in the fact that Arabic urban sociolinguistic is a very marginal field in both European Academic milieu and Arab Academic milieu. It was not always easy to identify European scholars working in this field. A number of Arab countries were not, or were poorly covered (Tunisia, Lybia, and the Gulf countries). This point raises the question of whether research has been conducted in these countries or whether we simply failed to locate such studies. The workshop clearly illustrated the need to maintain and enlarge the network.

The workshop was clearly exploratory and succeeded in reaching an important comparative dimension, firstly, at the geographical level between North Africa and Middle East, and between the Arab world and the non Arab world, and secondly at the theoretical level by bringing together sociolinguists and dialectologists. The presence of David Britain, a British sociolinguist opened the door for a fruitful and challenging debate about the universality versus specificity of Arabic urban sociolinguistics. Under the umbrella of sociolinguistics, the workshop brought researchers with very different theoretical and methodological approaches.
French and Spanish scholars, for example, are more oriented toward historical urban dialectology and North Africa. British and North European scholars are more oriented towards the Middle East and the Gulf countries. They are also more familiar with urban sociolinguistics and variationist theories. German linguists have a strong tradition in dialect geography. Each European country has also developed privileged relationship with particular Arab countries, due to former Colonial relationships and language affinity (English versus French, basically). Therefore, North African linguists usually come to study in France or Morocco while Middle Eastern linguists will go to Great Britain or the United States. Ironically, language remains an important barrier between the French-speaking researchers and the English-speaking researchers. The last session illustrated the challenge of bringing together researchers with such different approaches and the need to strengthen a comparative dimension. A comparative approach, however, necessitates a certain degree of unity in the methodology and the concepts. This dimension is certainly one which requires the most important investment in the future. It raises the issue of whether or not to widen the network to include all researchers working on Arabic dialectology.

A very positive outcome of the workshop was the fact that it succeeded in including new research on cities/countries about which very little known, namely Nouakchott, Aden, and Saudia Arabia, and in raising innovative topics, such as youth language and rapp songs, languages of msn, etc.). It gave young researchers the opportunity to present their work and to discuss it with senior researchers. This is an extremely important point since the inclusion of younger researchers helps in building new research capacities in both European and Middle Eastern countries and thus contributes to the future of the field. Here, the dimension of North-South cooperation fundamental. In this respect, the workshop went beyond being a purely scientific meeting.

The reactions from participants were very positive and encouraging. They all welcomed this unique opportunity to learn about research in the field. As pointed out by Clive Holes, Arabic urban sociolinguistics is not a minor field and must succeed in establishing itself within the general stream of urban sociolinguistics.

More concretely, the workshop achieved the following:

1. Preparations are underway for publication of a number of selected papers in a book which will be the first of its kind to provide a general overview of linguistic urbanization in the Arab world. Contact and discussions are in progress with a number of publishing house
including Routledge Press (Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies), Brill (Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistic), l’Harmattan (Collection Espaces Discursifs). The main editorial problem is the bilingual aspect of the publication.

2. The decision to continue our collaborative network by proposing follow-up meetings. Several propositions were made. Angeles Vicente proposed to host another meeting in two years time in Zaragossa, Spain. Other participants suggested not to separate the urban workshop from the Aida network and meeting, and rather to organize specific panels within the Aida biennial meetings (the next one will take place in Vienna in 2007). Whatever the case, the organization of a follow-up meeting will need financial support. Up to the present time, Aida has been a non-sponsored Association and participants bear their own expenses. This restricts the opportunity of participation for many researchers. We are presently discussing the possibilities of applying to ESF (a COST program for example).

3. The establishment of a Sociolinguistic Research Program[see my note above on spelling] covering South and North Mediterranean countries and more specifically North Africa, France, Spain and the Netherlands. This Research Program is progressively building up from the contact established between several teams and researchers: J. Billiez (Lidilem, Grenoble), D. Caubet (Créam-Inalco Paris), L. Messaoudi (Kenitra, Morocco), Hajj Miliani (Oran, Algeria), Catherine Miller (Iremam Aix en Provence), Jan Jan de Ruiter, (Tilburg), A. Vicente (University of Zaragossa). We hope that such a program could be enlarged to include Middle Eastern Countries.

In Conclusion: The workshop responded to the intended preliminary goals and can be considered as an important step for the development of further studies in the field of Arabic urban sociolinguistics. It showed however that the task is enormous and that there are still many difficulties to overcome in order to reach a pluridisciplinary approach of Arab cities. The prospects of developing omit building capacities in both Europe and Middle Eastern countries are important but have to face the institutional and political realities of the concerned countries. The dimension of North/South cooperation is an essential one, which would require increasing collaboration at the levels of both research and teaching.
Summary of Presentations

1. Moha Ennaji presented the case of Casablanca Arabic (CA), a typical example of a mixed speech, which has been little described. He briefly presented the dialectal situation of Morocco and the main established dialectal groups. He summarized the history of Casablanca and the diversity of its population that includes people from all Morocco. The first inhabitants were originally from the surrounding Shaouia tribes and CA was first classified as a Rural-Bedouin dialect (’rub). Following the development of the city it became a mixed urbanized speech. Ennaji presented a number of typical CA features and discuss the internal CA variation between + urban variables versus + rural variables. The presentation raised a number of questions concerning the relationship between CA and the so called Moroccan Arabic and the concept of standardization. What is standard CA? Who speak this standard CA? Where is exactly the border between urban and rural CA? Casablanca deserves more sociolinguistic studies.

2. Farouk Bouhadiba investigated the linguistic situation of Oran, Algeria. As a Mediterranean port established in 902-903 in a dominant Berber environment, Oran witnessed a number of foreign occupation (Spanish, Ottoman, French). Impact of these foreign occupations is reflected by the presence of many lexical borrowings from Spanish, Turkish and French. The Arabic Vernacular of Oran has been classified as “rural” by Ph. Marçais, J. Cantineau and D. Cohen on the bases of a number of phonological, morphological and lexical features. Today the linguistic situation is characterized by the coexistence of various Arabic varieties including mixing with Berber, Turkish, French and Spanish. The population of Oran has witnessed considerable changes in the last decades and numerous dialects coexist as can be seen in the lexicon. Following, Cadora’s model, (the ecology of language), the paper presented cases of lexical changes.

3. Catherine Taine Cheikh analyzed the impact of urbanization on the Mauritanian Arabic vernacular, Hassaniya. Hassaniya appears as a typical Bedouin dialect and one of its most salient characteristic is its remarkable dialectal unity in spite of its large geographical expansion. C. Taine Cheikh explains the unity of Hassaniya by the Nomadic way of life of its speakers, by the hierarchic organization of the society, by the religious unity of the society and by the conservatism of the society. The paper discussed the interaction between the city and the tribal organization. Most of the urban citizens were keeping a Bedouin way of life. Therefore old cities in Mauritania did not develop specific urban vernaculars. Urbanization in Mauritania started in the second part of 20th century and is linked with the massive sedentarization of the Nomadic population (90%) following the catastrophic drought of the late 1960s. The main linguistic impacts of urbanization are: a) the diversity of the language spoken in Nouakchott, (Hassaniyya, Fulfulde, Wolof, Soninke, French); b) the emergence and spread of a “Median Arabic” (arabiyya al wusTa) influenced by Modern Standard Arabic, c) increasing borrowings of French lexical items. Therefore two trends coexist : spread of Arabic and French and spread of codes mixing especially among the youth, including codes mixing with African languages among the non-Arab population.

4. Aziza Boucherit described the evolution of the Algerian capital, Algiers. Algiers had witnessed important migration movements (intra-urban, inter-urban and rural-urban) in the last decades. Therefore population with various linguistic backgrounds coexist (various Algerian Arabic dialects, Berber, French + spread of Standard Arabic). According to each individual’s history, process of convergence and divergence are more or less important. The paper presents the demographic history of Algiers. In the 1950s the city (315 000 inhabitants) was an “European city”, the French representing 60% of its population and each European community settling in a specific district. In 1998 the population is 2.5 million inhabitants and is no more distributed according to “ethnic origin” but according to socio-economic levels. The paper raises the question of the delimitation of Algiers as both an administrative-geographical entity and a linguistic entity. Algiers is more an “imaginary construction” than a legal construction. The paper postulates that a common Algiers’ koine is emerging and that this koine will maybe become the national standard of the country. This koine is based on the existing linguistic features used in Algiers. The paper presents a number of linguistic features considered as isoglosses in Arabic dialectology. Those linguistic variants plays a considerable role in the establishment of linguistic norms. MSA plays an important role in the emergence of the koine of Algiers but with various impact according to the linguistic levels.

5. Christophe Pereira presented the historical evolution of the Arabic vernacular of Tripoli, Lybia, through a review of the existing literature. He describes the history of Arabization in Lybia with the two historical waves (7 & 11th centuries) which brought two different types of Arabic dialects. Tripoli was Arabized as soon as 669 (pre-hilali sedentary dialect). Little is known about the old Arabic vernacular of Tripoli. The description of Stumme (1898) already presents a Bedouinized variety. Movements of population during the 20th c. led to the
Bedouinization of Tripoli Arabic, which is now a mix dialect. Today the old-pre Hilaly sedentary dialect is mainly spoken by old women. The papers reviewed many linguistic features: phonetics, morphology, syntax and lexicon. This detailed and careful study showed that at each level there are a mixture of Bedouinized and sedentary features. At the phonological levels, the Bedouinized features are the realization of /q/ as [g], realization of former diphthongs as ē and ō, while absence of interdentals is a sedentary feature. At the morphological level, the Bedouin features are the distinction of gender in 2cd pers. sg., the treatment of CCV verbs, diminutive forms of the type CČČC, CČČČ, the colour pattern of the type ĲČČvČ. At the syntactic level, Bedouin influence is less important with the use of an analytical construction with mtā to express possessive/genitive structures. Lexicon is characterized by coexistence of Bedouin and sedentary lexical items.

6. Mohamed Embarki investigated the issue of dialectal accommodation and leveling in Ksar al Kebir, an old town in the north west of Morocco city, that knew different influxes of migration. The Arabic of Ksar al Kebir was classified as a pre-hilali dialect in contact with other Moroccan dialects (jebli dialects, ārabi dialects, northern dialects, Andalousian and Jewish dialects) and Berber. The last massive migration in the mid-seventies has consequently modified the social, the economical and the urbanistic structures of the town. Its linguistic characteristics have inevitably evolved, people still have distinguish accents whether they live in old or new districts. The study investigated the durational properties of the vowel [a] and its variation. It examined firstly the Standard Modern influence (through schooling) on the production and perception of the vowel [a] and secondly the correlation of this variation with social factors such as gender and degree of urbanization (old districts versus new districts). Variation for vowel length shows a difference between male/female, between old and new districts. Students from new districts realized more long vowel and seem more influenced by the norms of MSA. The study shows that prosody and vocalic quantity can be social markers. The former prestigious hadari dialect of Ksar al Kebir is now in competition with new models, spreading from the new districts to the older ones particularly among the young male population. The results of the investigation show a trend toward ruralization as it has been observed in other cities in Morocco (Rabat, Fes). These results are exploratory and have to be confirmed by wider investigation.

7. Ángeles Vicente presented two cases of linguistic adaptation of Moroccan migrants in two Spanish cities and two contexts of migration: Sebta located in a Spanish enclave of Morocco and Zaragossa in Spain. The Moroccan population in Sebta originates from the regional surrounding area as well as from other Moroccan areas. It goes back to 1860. The Muslim Moroccan population of Sebta is characterized by its bilingualism Spanish/Arabic. The old Arabic vernacular of Sebta was a pre Hilali Rural Mountainous dialect close to Jbala dialects. Today the Arabic dialect of Ceuta is changing. It is loosing a number of rural features and it acquires a number of more prestigious Moroccan Arabic features (Moroccan koine). This is due to the close geographical contact between the population of Sebta and the rest of Morocco. The situation of Zaragossa is extremely different. Moroccan migrants occurred in the last years of the 20th c. Migrants are mainly young males coming from various areas of Morocco. They speak between themselves the Moroccan Arabic koine. Vicente presented linguistic examples (verbal system) of the influence of the Moroccan Arabic koine upon the Moroccan Diaspora and showed the difference between Sebta and Zaragossa. It has often been observed that the sociolinguistic situation of a population in Diaspora does not reflect the sociolinguistic situation of the country of origin. This fact has to be qualified according to the type of migration. In most European countries, the lingua franca among the various Moroccan communities is the European language (French, or Deutch or..). In Zaragossa, the lingua franca of the new established migrants is the Moroccan koine.

8. Khadija Bnoussima focused on language change among the youth population of Marrakech. She briefly presented the Arabic vernacular of Marrakech (MA), characterized by specific phonological features, which could be due to the influence of Berber. At the lexical level, MA shows a high degree of borrowing from Berber and European languages. At the stylistic level, metaphors and rhetoric figures used to be considered as essential stylistic devices and a native speaker of MA was to be proficient in such a skill. The research indicated that many youth could no more understand a number of typical MA words as well as a number of idiomatic expressions. They have also forgotten many proverbs, which use to be frequently used in MA. She pointed to the fact that Marrakech had become a fashionable tourist destination and that youth were adapting their language very quickly, acquiring foreign words, Casablancian Arabic words as well as creating many lexical innovation. The influence of Casablancian Arabic is effective at all linguistic levels. The question was to determine if urbanization foster cultural and linguistic gap between generation and if age was the main factor of linguistic differentiation in the city.
9. Said Bennis investigated the various ways of identification in the city of Beni Mellal, in the Center of Morocco. The population of Beni Mellal is composed of four linguistic groups: the Arabic-speaking Arabs, the Arabic-speaking Chleuh (former Berber), the Berber speaking Chleuh and the Berber speaking Arabs. The author has identified 4 main ways of categorization: administrative, geographical, national and mix. The main difference seems to be between rural versus urban identification. Rural is more towards the tribe, douar, section while urban is mainly towards the city but can also include the tribe. The author defended a contextual and situational vision of identity. Each individual adapts his identification to the context and audience and have a plural identification. Many examples were provided in the paper.

10. Mohammed El Himer presented the spatial, social and linguistic transformation of the city of Sale in Morocco. Once an Imperial city, Sale was characterized by its famous old city, medina and by its Andalusian-based vernacular. The city witnessed very strong social and demographic changes since the 1960s but more particularly starting with the 1970s, 1980s. M. El Himer distinguishes between three types of urban districts: a) the old medina, b) the new official middle and upper class settlements, c) the popular informal settlements. This urban spatial distribution is reflected in the coexistence of three linguistic varieties. The old Andalusian city vernacular is linked to the medina and is labeled (PCS = Parler Citadin de Sale). The new emerging urban vernacular is associated with the new settlements and is becoming the common koine or langue franca. It is labeled PUS (Parler Urbain de Sale). The semi-rural vernaculars of the newcomers are labeled PAR (Parlers à Aspects Ruraux) and are associated with the popular informal settlement. Before the 1970s, migrants and newcomers tends to acquire the City vernacular, which was the prestige form. Now they are more in contact with the inhabitants of the new settlements and acquire the PUS. M. El Himer presented the main linguistic features of the three varieties. He concluded that the PUS is an intermediate variety between PCS and the PAR. It helps to feel the gap between two antagonistic groups the old Slouci citizens and the migrants. He considers that the old city culture and civilization is no more the dominant model and is no more acquired by the newcomer. The PUS is the reflect of a new urban culture. It is rather close to the new urban variety of other imperial cities like Rabat and Fes.

11 Munira Al-Azraqi investigated the evolution of 2 specific phonological features known as Kahskasha and Kaskasa in Arabic. These terms refers to the use of /h/ or /s/ as suffixes to signal the 2nd feminine singular object pronoun (instead of Classical –ki). These two features are still widely used in some dialects of the Arabian Peninsula. But due to the influence of urbanization and education, speakers tend to replace these features by the more neutral /k/ or /ki/ or to avoid the use of the 2nd fem. Sg. object. The papers provides a number of examples of such avoidance strategies. The study analyzed the realization of these variables within the speech of 67 speakers from both sexes aged 24 to 48 and living in 5 Saudi cities: Riadh, Damman, Buraidah, Abha, Skaka. It indicated that the realization of the variables vary according to city and to sex. Al Azraqi analyses these results as showing the growing influence of Classical Arabic among urban educated speakers. She considers that education has played a central role in urbanization in Saudi Arabia.

12 Hanadi Ismail presented a study on Damascus, applying the variationist methodological approach. She focused on the realization of two variables (/h/ and /r/) among speakers of two different neighborhoods: an old urban popular neighborhood, Shaghoor and a newer suburban middle class neighborhood Dummar. Each neighborhood has its own specific culture but includes people from various socio-economic levels. Concerning the variable /h/ it concerns the presence or absence of /h/ in the third person singular feminine suffix /-ha/ “her, it, its” and the third person plural masculine and feminine suffix /-hon/ “them, their”. The absence or presence of /h/ in these contexts have been noted by many previous authors but yet it is not clear if Damascus Arabic (DA) used to be a h-full or h-less dialect. Relying on various data, Ismail hypothesizes that DA was a h-less dialect and that the presence of /h/ is an innovation. However this innovation is not introduced by young speakers as could be expected but by older speakers. The realization of /r/ as an alveolar approximant [ɹ] is a recent innovation introduced by young middle class speakers. The presentation of Ismail raises the issue of which class of speakers introduces innovation in Arabic speaking cities. It also raises the question of how to interpret direction of change when there is a lack of diachronic studies.

13. Mohamed Al-Sharkaw presented a very dense historical paper retracing the historical context of urban Arabization in the first centuries following the Arab conquest. This point had been debated in previous studies dealing with historical koinenization. M. Al-Sharkaw discussed it in a new theoretical perspective, applying the input of studies on second language acquisition. Urbanization was critical in the development of New Arabic vernaculars. The garrison towns established by the Arabs remained Arab cores. Non-Arabs, who remained at the periphery of the garrison towns, were obliged to use the Arabic language, due to prestige, power and the majority status the Arabs enjoyed in their garrisons. Those garrison towns developed rapidly into
booming cities. It is very probable that during this phase of urbanization and demographic shift that some of the differences between Old Arabic of the peninsula and New Arabic urban vernaculars emerged and started to develop. Al Sharkawi refutes the pidginization model and considers that New urban Arabic emerges through a simplified Foreign Talk register used by the Arabic Native speakers. The papers presented some of the features of Modern Arabic Foreigner Talk for comparison with the universal features.

14. Aline Tauzin’s contribution dealt with the emergence of Rap Music in the Mauritanian Arabic vernacular, Hassaniya,. Based on an anthropological research studies, her paper shows that rap songs in Hasaneyyya are a very recent phenomenon. Hasaneyyya rap is influenced by American, French and African rap music, particularly from neighbor Senegal. Rap is the privileged expression of youth living in the popular suburbs of Nouakchott. It contests the social order and reflects a radical social and cultural rupture. Rap singers want to be the voice of all the poor members of the Mauritanian society, irrespectively of their ethnic origin. They are all multilinguals. They originate from the low status-class members known as Haratins. Haratins were not allowed to become singers (griot) in the traditional Maure society. The themes of their songs is also radically different from traditional themes and rap singers militate for the social amelioration of the Mauritanian society. Their songs convey an important moral religious tone, as it has been also observed in Senegal . At the linguistic level it is very interesting to note the recycling of old Hassaniya expressions, proverbs and rhetoric figures. Rap singers introduce many can terms, crude expressions and lexical innovations when they use French. But they tend to use a more traditional register when they sing in Hassaniyya, in order to be accepted by the surrounding society. Each language seems therefore to be invested with different social and stylistic roles. The paper provides long samples of Hasaeniyya rap songs.

15. Alassane Dia studied the language uses and attitudes of Black-African Mauritanian speakers living in Nouakchott. It has to be reminded that Mauritania had witnessed tense relationship between its Arab (Maure) population and its Black-African (négro-africaine) population. Hassaniya appears to be the first lingua franca but most speakers are multilingual. Wolof and Fulfulde are also used in inter-ethnic communication. Hassaneya is mainly spoken by speakers from urban origin. The Hassaneya variety spoken as an urban lingua franca among the Black-Africans is characterized by a number of simplification and transformation (absence of interdental and pharyngeal consonant, lack of gender agreement, irregular use of verbal conjugation, etc.). These types of transformation have been recorded in a number of urban African vehicular languages such as Wolof in Senegal. It has also been recorded in various Arabic varieties spoken by non-native Arab speakers. The attitudes towards Hassaniyya are ambivalent. Hassaneya is perceived as the symbol of a Mauritanian and urban identity. But it is also perceived as a dominant language, that the State tries to impose over all other languages. African speakers stick to the vehicular level of Hassaniyya and mix it with many borrowings from African languages. It appears therefore that the spread of Hassaniyya as the common language of all Mauritians, irrespectively of their ethnic origin is limited by a number of attitudinal factors. For the time being African Mauritians do not share the same level of Hassaniyya than Arab Mauritians.

16. Sherin Rizq presented a study about the youth language in Cairo focusing on the register spoken by University students in Cairo. She described the public image of Cairo “youth language” (lughat ash-shabab) as reported by the Media. “Youth language”, which was negatively perceived up to the mid 1990s started to gain a more positive connotation following a number of movies and TV serials. She described a number of lexical and morphophonological processes which characterized this type of speech. Lexical creation and metaphoric expressions contribute to reinforce the joyful function (function ludique) of this register. Unlike French-based youth language, truncation, suffixation and syllabic inversion are not used. A number of lexical and semantic devices used by the Cairene youth are not radically different from those used in popular Colloquial. The paper concludes with an attitudinal study, which indicated that attitudes and practices were not always in agreement and that girls were more reluctant toward this type of speech. Although, youth language have attracted considerable interest among Western sociolinguistics in the last two decades, it must be noted that Rizq’s paper deals with an innovative topic concerning Arabic sociolinguistics.

17 Marie-Aimée Germanos analyzed the sociolinguistic evolution of Beirut through an ethnomethodological study of the uses of salutation formulae. Following Calvet, she advocates a dynamic perspective and defines the city as a “space creating new variation”. The civil war of 1975 had dramatic effects on the communal distribution of present-day Beirut and restricted communal mixing within the districts. She described the social uses of 16 salutation formulae and indicated that salutations are sociolinguistics and identity markers. In Beirut they can mark religious identity, age, sex, social or spatial affiliation. The paper illustrates the complexity of the sociolinguistic situation of Beirut and raises many questions concerning the absence/presence of a common Beirut Arabic variety.
18. **Raghda Haidar**'s paper dealt also with the sociolinguistic situation of Beirut, albeit from a different perspective. Retracing the history of the city, she shows the demographic weight of the recent migrant population; following the civil war. The migrants keep their original vernacular which function as markers of regional and religious identity. They did not acquire the native Beirut vernacular but develop a new “neutral” vernacular free of any regional or religious markers. She also mentioned the Institutional multilingualism of Beirut due to the presence of many different ethnic and religious communities, each of whom having their own private schooling system. Bi or trilingualism is therefore widespread. French-Arabic mixed speech used to be the marker of the Christian elite. It is now challenged by an English-French-Arabic mixed speech dominantly used by the youth belonging to the Beirutine middle classes, irrespective of their religious or ethnic origin.

19. **Naguib Saleh** presented the complex situation of Aden, the city-port of South Yemen. The population of Aden has always encompasses a great number of foreigners (including Europeans in the first part of 20th century, Indians and Somalis) as well as many immigrants from the various parts of the country. The paper tries to investigate the presence or absence of a common Adeni Arabic vernacular. It indicates the close relationship between the neighboring Lahji dialect and the old Adeni dialect and he presents some evolution trends within the Adeni dialect. At the lexical level, he points to the decline of foreign loanwords and increase of Cairene, Gulf or Classical Arabic words. At the phonological and morphosyntactic level, he points to the withdrawal of a number of Lahji feature and to the increasing influence of Gabali features + koineization and leveling processes. Although Adeni dialect is far to be spoken by all inhabitants of Aden, it nevertheless has a rather important prestige outside Aden and is spoken among intellectuals from various Yemeni cities like Taiz or among the Yemeni diaspora of Djibouti.

20. **Muhammad Amara** examined the formation of a new sociolinguistic pattern in Bethlehem, preserving evidence of religious distinctions and of the effect on former villagers of developing urban status. During the second part of the 20th century, Bethlehem, which was a large Christian Arab village grew into a major Palestinian town in which Christians are now a minority. Applying a variationist approach, the paper explored some phonological, morphological and lexical features of the complex Bethlehemite case. Whereas most residents formerly used a variety of Arabic similar to that spoken in Palestinian villages, emerging social identity issues seem to have produced new distinctions. Younger women and some Christian men are tending to adopt an urban variety like that of nearby Jerusalem, at the same time as the speech of younger educated Moslems is showing the growing influence of the standard variety of Arabic. These different patterns of use associated to gender and religious affiliation have to be correlated also to the various types of schooling and education. Christians tend to study in private bilingual schools while Muslims tend to study in Arabic public school. The different curricula produce different language loyalties.

21. **Fatima Sadiqi** investigated how gender interfaces with language in the multilingual urban centers of Morocco. The interaction between language and gender intermingles with social variables like class, level of education, job opportunity and marital status and is more attested in urban than in rural areas. This interaction is manifested in various aspects of everyday conversations such as code-switching, a typically gender-related urban phenomenon. The data show that Standard Arabic may be termed a ‘male’ language, Berber is a ‘female’ language, French is a ‘female’ language in urban areas and Moroccan Arabic is more complex in this respect. The qualifications ‘male’ or ‘female’ are related to the contexts where the languages are used. The gender-language interface in general and in urban areas in particular is a new but flourishing subject in North Africa. The main discussions of the topic have been couched within traditional views where women were shown as passive users of language. In her paper, F. Sadiqi shows that Moroccan women are indeed active users of language, even when they are illiterate. The use of powerful urban languages by women has considerably changed the public sphere in Morocco.

22. **Judith Rosenhouse and Nisreen Dbayyat** investigated a case of gender switch, i.e. the use of certain masculine forms instead of feminine forms in women’s speech. This phenomenon occurs in the “urban” speech of women in the Northern (or Small) Triangle, in the center of the country, and is compared with an urban dialect in the Galilee in the north of the country. Random evidence has attracted the attention to a topic, which is special to the Arabic dialects in Israel and has not been described elsewhere. The study is based on the sample of sixty women in three age groups interviewed in two localities in the Triangle and four locations in the Galilee. Several points are worth noting: 1. Differences were found between age groups in the Galilee, but hardly in the Triangle. 2. Differences exist between women’s attitudes to this feature in the Galilee and the Triangle. 3. In each of these two areas the occurrence or non-occurrence of gender switch is shared by both urban and rural locations. This is unlike other features (e.g., phonology and morphology), which distinguish between rural and
urban dialects in the country. 4. Concerning this phenomenon, urbanization in the Triangle takes a character that differs from other urbanization processes in the Arabic world. The sociolinguistic background of this phenomenon seems to be a major force in the spread of this specific feature in the Triangle area.

23 Jonathan Owens presented a study of language contact in the case of a minority linguistic group in a complex linguistic society, namely Nigerian Arabic in the city of Maiduguri in northeastern Nigeria. Maiduguri, is the largest city in Borno (c. 500,000) and Arabs form 10% of the population. Nigerian Arabs of Maiduguri generally use up to four other languages or varieties, besides their own native Arabic: Hausa, English, Kanuri and Standard Arabic (SA). Speakers frequently use the languages in a code switching mode. In this mode, the languages are functionally differentiated in that native Nigerian Arabic (NA) and Hausa establish matrices while Standard Arabic and English largely provide lexical insertions. Owens' paper examines insertions into NA from the two lexical donor languages, English and SA. Insertions from the two languages are compared in four structural positions whose matrix is defined by NA: (1) possessive constructions, (2) descriptive adjective, (3) verbal predicates, (4) formal marking of definiteness on nouns. In each of these positions the English and SA insertions exhibit considerable differences. Relating the findings to language change, one could contrast the two outcomes of lexical insertion in terms of borrowing (the SA case) vs. new code formation (the English insertions). The SA case largely, though not completely, meets the conditions for borrowing, as understood by Poplack in that SA insertions mimic native NA categories. The English insertions, on the other hand, define grammatical domains which are over-proportionally occupied by English insertions. This could be related to the idea of a third mode grammar, as expounded by Auer. Rather than look at the findings in terms of outcomes of contact, however, Owens prefers to concentrate on real-time processing constraints which might lead multilinguals to treat the languages differently. Factors relevant include the structural proximity of SA to NA vs. the distance of English to NA, individual competence in the second languages, and pan-northern (-eastern) Nigerian norms as seen in the treatment of comparable phenomena in other sets of languages.

24 Rachid Benali-Mohamed presented the case of Berber-Arabic contact within the city of Oran (Algeria). The migration of Berbers and mainly Kabyles from the mountains to the Algerian urban centres started long before the independence of the country. The linguistic contact between Kabyle and Algerian Arabic led to a number of borrowings and interferences in the two senses. The case under study concerns the way Kabyle speakers in Oran are influenced by the city vernacular and sometimes even by Modern Standard Arabic when speaking Kabyle and the way Oranians came to borrow various words from Kabyle. The paper discussed instances of Arabic/Berber code-switching, a phenomenon which has never been dealt with in the case of Algeria. The paper discusses also instance of borrowing in both Kabyle and Oran Arabic. The mutual impact does not function only at the lexical level but also at the syntactic one.

25 Karima Ziamari investigated the change and evolution that affected French-Moroccan Arabic code switching, as practised by the youth student population of Meknes. French-MA code switching is a major social and linguistic phenomenon in Morocco, practised by all levels of the society. It can be considered as the favourite mode of communication among the urban youth. One of its main characteristics is its perpetual change and evolution. Discussing Myers Scotton’s Matrix Language Frame model, Ziamari shows that her data reveals new phenomena not recorded in previous studies. Examples of Code-switching evolution are provided concerning insertion of French verbs, use of a French auxiliary to introduce an inflected MA verb, mixed morphological constituent in nominal insertions (f waHed la publicité), synthetic genitive construction, etc. Ziamari concluded that her CS data, as an instance of “parler jeune/youth language” is evidence of great linguistic mobility, creativity and innovation.

26 Ahmad Sakarna investigated the increasing use of English words in Jordanian urban centers. Many English terms like download, chat, and Talk Show have spread rapidly as a result of using new technologies, namely the internet, mobile phones, and TV satellites. The impact of these technologies includes three main domains: word borrowing, use of special characters and abbreviations and integration of such borrowings into the phonological and morphological systems of Arabic. The study is based on an investigation among 500 students from Mu’tah University and provides numerous linguistic examples. The students reside in different urban Jordanian centers like Amman, Zarqa, Irbid, Karak, and Aqaba. Their ages range from 18-22 years. A. Sakarna argues that a new type of language (Englo-Arabic, EA) is emerging in the major urban Jordanian centers. This new language is a mixture of both English and Arabic and has its own features that distinguish it from the daily Arabic vernacular.

27: Wael Abdeen investigated the sociolinguistic change in Silwan, an Arab village adjacent to the city of Jerusalem. It analyzed sound variation and change and its underlying causes in the speech repertoire of Silvan.
The hypothesis is that the Sivani dialect is undergoing changes as a result of urbanization and modernization the village is experiencing. The range of language variation correlates with extra linguistic factors like origin, age, gender, education, occupation. Today, Silwan is considered as the largest Arab village geographically and demographically. The growing urban population in the city of Jerusalem and Silwan's proximity to the city made it a preferred residential area for urbanites who live in Jerusalem. Many Urbanites of Hebron origin who already live in Jerusalem purchased land, migrated and settled in Silvan. The population of those who come from native Silwani origin and non-native urban origin is more or less evenly divided, 50 percent each. Such demographic and societal backgrounds transformed the village into an interrelationships between the inhabitants of the village. The mixture also reflects the interaction between theses inhabitants has yielded many changes and new norms that have influenced the sociolinguistic behavior of the Silwani community.

Janet Watson examined the language used in popular Yemeni radio series (Mus’id wa Mus’idih) and analyzed to which degree this language reflects the linguistic leveling occurring in San’a, the capital of the Yemen. The radio series is the best-loved radio program in central Yemen and is listened by all types of people. The listeners express conflicting opinions concerning the language employed in the series. Some consider the language to be San’ani Arabic, others consider it to be Classical Arabic. The author of the series himself says that he writes in a simplified form of San’ani. The paper presents the main linguistic characteristics of San’ani Arabic compared to surroundings dialects and investigates the actors’ social background. The actors of the series have lived in San’a since childhood and command San’ani syntax, morphology and phonology. They lack however some of the phonetic features of speakers from well-established San’ani families. The paper presents the result of an analysis of 3 episodes. It shows that the morphology used in the episode is San’ani. Lexically there is a mixture between SA and pan-Yemeni/pan-Arabic. But the accent is not entirely San’ani, it lacks pause glottalisation. It is probably the mixture between a San’ani linguistic system and a not entirely San’ani accent which arouses different assessments from native speaker listeners.
4. Final Program

Wednesday 20 October 2004

Opening of the Workshop
Catherine MILLER

Session N°1: Migration/Urbanization and Language Change: Historical/National Trends
President: Yasir Suleiman
Rapporteur: K. Versteegh, Nijmegen University, The Netherlands
Mohaa ENNAJI, Un. de Fez, Morocco "Urbanisation in Morocco and Changes in Arabic: The case of Casablanca"
Farouk BOUHADIBA, Un. de Mostaganem, Algeria "Le parler d’Oran: de la ruralité vers l’urbanité"
Catherine TAINÉ-CHEIKH, (Lacito - CNRS, Villejuif) "L'arabe en Mauritanie: langue maternelle, langue officielle et langue véhiculaire"

Coffee Break

Thursday 21 October 2004

09.00-09.30 Opening of the Workshop
Catherine MILLER

09.30-11.00 Session N°1: Migration/Urbanization and Language Change: Historical/National Trends
President: Yasir Suleiman
Rapporteur: K. Versteegh, Nijmegen University, The Netherlands
Mohaa ENNAJI, Un. de Fez, Morocco "Urbanisation in Morocco and Changes in Arabic: The case of Casablanca"
Farouk BOUHADIBA, Un. de Mostaganem, Algeria "Le parler d’Oran: de la ruralité vers l’urbanité"
Catherine TAINÉ-CHEIKH, (Lacito - CNRS, Villejuif) "L'arabe en Mauritanie: langue maternelle, langue officielle et langue véhiculaire"

11.00-11.15 Coffee Break

11.15-12.45 Session N°2: Migration/Urbanization and Language change: City cases (I)
President: Judith Rosenhouse
Rapporteur: L. Messaoudi, University of Kénitra, Morocco
Aziza BOUCHERIT, Un. Paris V, Paris, France "Evolution des parlers urbains arabes: le cas d’Alger"
Christophe PEREIRA, Créam, Inalco, paris "L’évolution du parler de Tripoli, Lybie"
Mohammed EMBARKI, UMR CNRS 5475, Un. Montpellier III, France "Organisation temporelle de la parole et degré de citadinisation à Ksar el Kebir, Morocco"

12.45-14.00 Lunch

14.00-15.30 Session N°2: Migration/Urbanization and Language change: City cases (II)
President: Mohaa Ennaji
Rapporteur: Dominique Caubet, Inalco
Angeles VICENTE, IOIEP, Un. de Zaragossa, Spain "Le dialecte marocain parlé à Saragosse et à Ceuta: deux contextes sociolinguistiques différents pour deux stades d’intégration distincts"
Khadija BNOUSSINA, Un. Marrakech, Morocco "Changement du parler de Marrakech et impact de nouveaux modèles culturels"

15.30-16.00 Break
16.00-17.30  
**Session N°2: Migration/Urbanization and Language change: City cases (III)**  
President **Arlette Roth**  
*Rapporteur: Catherine Miller, Iremam*  
**Said BENNIS,** Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines, Beni Mellal, Maroc « Dynamique urbaine et stratégie du cloisonnement identitaire : Cas de la ville de Béni Mellal (Centre du Maroc)  
**Mohammed EL Himer,** Un. Ibn Tofail, Kenitra, Morocco " Ville de Salé: transformation spatiale, sociale et linguistique "

17.30  
**Presentation of the European Science Foundation (ESF)**  
**Rudiger KLEIN** (Standing Committee for the Humanities)

18.00  
Ramadan Break

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**Friday 22 October 2004**

09.00-10.30  
**Session N° 3: Old Urban Centers versus emerging urban centres in the Middle East**  
President **Janet Watson**  
*Rapporteur: Jérôme Lentin,** Inalco, Paris  
**Munira AL-AZRAQI,** King Faisal Un., Saudi Arabia "The common attitude toward using kashkashah or kaskasah among urban Saudi speakers"  
**Hanadi ISMAIL,** Un. of Essex, U.K. " The sociolinguistic situation of Damascus: an investigation into the linguistic and social structures of two neighbourhoods in the city "  
**Mohamed El-SHARKAWI,** American University in Cairo, “Arabization as a function of Urbanization”

10.30-10.45  
Coffee Break

10.45-12.45  
**Session N°4: Youth languages and new culturals Models in North Africa and M.E**  
President: **Farouk Bouhadiba**  
*Rapporteur: Louis Jean Calvet,** Université d’Aix en Provence,  
**Aline TAUZIN,** CNRS UMR 6053, Paris, " Rap et rappeurs à Nouakchott, Mauritanie "  
**Alassane DIA,** Un. de la Manouba " La pratique du hassaniyya chez les négro-mauritaniens en milieu urbain à travers l’exemple de Nouakchott "  
**Sherin RIZK,** Un. of Helwan « Le langage des jeunes universitaires cairotés»

12.45-14.00  
Lunch

14.00-15.30  
**Session N° 5: War, political change and Identity in Middle Eastern cities**  
President: **Clive Holes**  
*Rapporteur: Samia Naim,** CNRS, Lacito, Paris
Marie-Aimée GERMANOS, Université de Paris III « Réalités et représentations sociales et identitaire de l’usage des formules de salutation à Beyrouth »
Raghda HAIDAR, Un. Saint Joseph, Beyrouth, Liban " Impact des guerres et des changements politiques dans les villes du Moyen Orient: le cas de Beyrouth "
Nagib SALEH, Un. of Aden Yemen, " Aden au cours du 20ème siècle Evolution socio-politique et identification linguistique "

15.30-16.00 Coffee Break
16.00-17.30 Session N° 6: Urbanization Gender and Religion
President: Jonathan Owens
Rapporteur: Enam Al Wer, Essex University, UK
Muhammad AMARA, Un. of Bar Ilan, Israel: " Reflexes of Arabic Sociolinguistic Aspects in Bethlehem "
Fatima SADIQUI, Un. de Fes, Morocco " Urban Dialects and Gender in Morocco "
Judith ROSENHOUSE and Nisreen DEBAYYAT, Un. Haifa, Israel " Effects of Sociolinguistic factors in Arabic Dialects in Israel: Masculine instead of Female Forms in Female Speech"

19.00 Cocktail offered by the City of Aix, Hotel de Ville
Saturday 23 October 2004

09.00-10.30  Session N°7: Multilingualism and Code Switching
President: Angeles Vicente
Rapporteur: Gunvor MEJDELL, University of Oslo, Norway
Jonathan OWENS, Un. de Bayreuth (Germany) "Close encounters of a different kind: two types of insertion in Nigerian Arabic codeswitching"
Rachid BENALI-MOHAMED, Un. of Oran, Algeria "Some implications of the contact between Berber and Arabic in the Algerian urban centres: the case of Oran"
Karima ZIAMARI, E.N.S. Meknès, "Le code switching arabe marocain/français des étudiants: quelle évolution et quel changement linguistiques ?"

10.30-11.00  Coffee Break

President Enam Al Wer
Rapporteur: Yasir SULEIMAN, University of Edinburgh, U.K.
Ahmad SAKARNA, Mutah University, Jordan "The Englo-Arabic language of young urban Jordanian: the influence of mobile phones, and Internet"
Wael ABDEEN, East-Jérusalem, Palestine: "Urbanization and Language Uses in a Jerusalem Neighborhood"
Janet WATSON, Un. of Durham (U.K) "To what extent does the language of Yemeni radio plays reflect language levelling in the community?"

12.30-13.30  Lunch

President: Pierre Larcher
Round Table directed by David Britain, (University of Essex), and C. Holes (University of Oxford)

16.00  End of the Workshop, Departure.
5. Final List of Participants

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Information on participants

1. Age bracket

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2. Sexe distribution
21 women and 22 men

3. Countries of origin
Participants were coming or originating from 17 European and Middle Eastern countries.
From European Countries:
- Germany: 1 (from US origin);
- France: 9;
- The Netherlands: 1
- Norway: 2 (1 from UK origin)
- Spain: 1
- UK: 4

Middle Eastern Countries: 23
- Algeria: 2
- Egypt: 2
- Jordan: 1
- Israel/Palestine: 4
- Lebanon: 2 (1 studying in France)
- Mauritania: 1
- Morocco: 7
- Oman: 1 (studying in UK)
- Saudi Arabia: 1
- Syria: 1 (studying in UK)
- Yemen: 1 (studying in France)