



Articles

Laymen's Narratives in Amouddou's Eco-documentary: An Ecolinguistic Analysis

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A B S T R A C T

Documentary films, generally of short or medium-length, have informative and educational purposes. They present authentic reports on areas of life, human activities, and the natural world. Particularly, eco-documentaries aim to raise environmental awareness towards the degradation of natural elements; they present alternatives for environmental issues such as pollution, global warming, and deforestation. To reinforce the argumentative process of environmental documentaries, laymen discourse contributes a lot to the meaning-making of productions. Within the framework of discourse analysis and ecolinguistics, this work examines fear and threat expressions used by ordinary witnesses to reinforce argumentation in Lahoucine Faouzi's eco-documentary entitled "Whining of the Blue Lagoon". In this vein, the 'perceived severity and perceived susceptibility' model was used to investigate the implication of fear and threat appeals in laymen's testimonies. The results show that these expressions are common among laymen's narratives. This study has many implications for eco-documentary makers, governmental and non-governmental organs, and future research to explore other linguistic features in eco-documentaries on man's perpetrated damages to the environmental resources.

I. INTRODUCTION

The Anthropocene has been affecting the environment for thousands of years. Man's activity on earth has modified the environment through agriculture, travel and urbanization, and industrialization. At this moment, people's impact on nature is so destructive that scientists believe that untouched nature by human's collision no longer exists. Over the years, there has been much discussion about the discourse adopted in environmental documentaries and how different actors use language to portray environmental degradation. Actually, the tenets of ecolinguistics underpin that the study of linguistic structures through the perspective of macro-linguistics, including pragmatics and cognitive implications, brings into light the role of ecolinguistics in the environment.

Linguistic research on documentary productions has always centered on human issues and their living context. In this sense, research maintains that the focus has always been on macro levels of discourse structures, concentrating mainly on the factual genres rather than content (Bell, 1995). The use of fear and threat expressions by laymen actors in eco-documentary has not yet been clarified, so it is not clear how ordinary witnesses use these patterns to report about environmental degradation. To bridge this gap, this study attempts to determine the extent to which eco-documentary actors, especially laymen participants, adopt these linguistic patterns to back up the argumentative process of documentaries about environmental issues in Morocco.

Being a challenging topic in eco-documentary and discourse studies, this study will treat laymen's

discourse from discourse analysis and ecolinguistic. Within these theoretical frameworks, the present work examines fear and threat expressions used by five ordinary witnesses whose participation in the film reinforces the argumentative flow in Faouzi's eco-documentary "*Whining of the Blue Lagoon: الزرقاء المرجة انين*". In this vein, the model of 'perceived severity and 'perceived susceptibility is used to investigate the implication of fear and threat appeals in participants' narratives (Witte, et al., 1996). Much effort is needed to consider its language as one of the modalities of informing and conscious rising. Reflecting on laymen's narrative requires reflection on the linguistic features. The current study will help to consider eco-documentaries' discourse as it is constructed and implemented. Particularly, the research aims to examine the use of fear and threat structures in a Moroccan eco-documentary. For this aim, a review of the literature will center on some existing literature on concepts of eco-documentary, approaches to eco-documentary film, discourse analysis, and ecolinguistics.

In Morocco, eco-documentary production is very limited, and research on its discourse is rare. As an exception, many studies have dealt with Amouddou's eco-documentary series from different perspectives (Saidi, 2018; Mliless, 2020; Mliless and Azzouzi 2020). For instance, the study by Saidi (2018) did not account for the way discourse was constructed to raise environmental awareness. Still, her study is outstanding in that it paves the way for other researchers to explore the challenges and perspectives of documentary films in Morocco. However, the study by Saidi is more informative in that it provides theoretical information on the way thoughts and images are linked in Moroccan documentary films, particularly those produced by Amouddou agency. Furthermore, a book by Mohamed Mliless, on environmental discourse in Amouddou eco-documentary, investigated the linguistic features used among all characters' narratives (voice-over narrator, the scientific experts, and the witnesses) (Mliless, 2020). In fact, the book was so general and highlights all actors' narratives. Similarly, the study by Mliless and Azzouzi examined fear and threat expressions used by scientist experts whose erudite discourse was meant to reinforce the reasoning process in Faouzi's documentary assuming that expressions of fear and threat are preponderant in scientists' narrative. It is

important to highlight that when encapsulated in discourse, fear and threat expressions might have a profound impact on the audience (Mliless and Azzouzi 2020).

The interpretation of fear and threat patterns in laymen's narratives is important to comprehend how actors' testimonies are used to support the theme of the eco-documentary. The deconstruction of ordinary peoples' discourse depends on what is explicitly and implicitly represented in the text since language constructions may have social and psychosocial purposes (Fairclough, 2003). Studies have shown that texts have different linguistic characteristics, representing systematic patterns of variation that can be investigated under the rubric of the register (Schiffrin, et al., 2001; Biber, et al.; 2007; Biber, 2012; Zheni, 2020). This entails understanding various linguistic performances that range from words, sentences, and even long texts. The environmental discourse is highly 'intertextual' and 'interdiscursive' (Danesi, 2015) because it is a part of social discourse that people use daily in various ways and to various degrees to talk about environmental issues (Mliless, and Azzouzi, 2020). The essentiality of discourse analysis to this topic is to situate laymen's language within the social and the cultural context given the fact that texts do not have given meanings, but are assigned meanings (Wodak, 1988; Van Dijk, 1991; Wodak, 2015). In this case, the adoption of critical discourse analysis (CDA) will help us demystify how language exerts power on viewers. Suppose analysts have focused their interest on the social, cultural, and political context. In that case, this research will localize discourse within an environmental context in which critical situation has affected man's social, economic, and linguistic performances (Wodak and Busch, 2004).

Talking about the environmental disaster in a documentary film is a form of communication that filmmakers do through scientific data and laymen stories and testimonies to report about impacts and solutions with which environmental crises can be treated. Of great importance, this study examines the use of fear and threat expressions by laymen in the film as speech acts of communication (Feldman, et al., 2004; Basa, 2009; Rider, 2014). The research focuses on laymen's narrative and the extent to which laymen's linguistic constructions support the argumentative flow of the film. It is mentioned

in a study by Susan Clayton that narratives about complex environmental hazards and proposed solutions require knowledge of local contexts, target audience concerns and values, and psychological principles (Clayton, 2012). Environmental discourse's most frequently mentioned functions include informing, communicating scientific reality and consensus, portraying science accurately, and creating awareness among a non-technical audience (Paige Brown, et al., 2015).

Frequently, eco-documentaries, which balance between the complexity of environmental issues and discourse, are built around a simplified language articulated by local residents. In relation to the natural world, the study uses the typology of environmental discourses that tackle issues related to a) unrestrained economic and population growth, b) damages perpetrated to earth because of the overuse of resources, c) the impacts of human collusion are, and d) achievement of economic prosperity and growth (Dryzek, 2013). Based on this typology, the study by Dryzek opines that the environmental discourse is prosaic (environmental problems are troubling the economy and have to be solved), imaginative (environmental issues can be viewed as opportunities, and reformist (environmental discourse can bring changes to environmental problems) (Dryzek, 2013). Last but not least, the semiotic approach identifies and analyses language, images, and symbols in documentary productions; it relies on the way linguistic and visual messages in media are constructed to complementarily achieve the argumentative aim of the film (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006; Wildfeuer, 2014).

Many studies have been conducted on the role of language in society, particularly when language is connected to ecology (Trim, 1959). Following Haugen's notion of 'language ecology', other linguists, (Haugen, 1971; Mühlhäusler, 1996; 2000; 2002; 2003; Fill, 1998; Mühlhäusler, and Fill, 2001; Halliday, 2001; Mühlhäusler and Peace, 2006) have examined the relations between language, ecology, and society. They have established the principles of ecolinguistics as a new branch in linguistics. Ecolinguistics, now, embraces environmental discourse analysis, often known as eco-critical discourse analysis, and the language of ecology and environmentalism (Nash, 2015). Recent concerns of ecolinguistics are too

wide. Today, ecolinguistics studies language in relation to the environment through the perspective of macro linguistics, including pragmatics and cognitive implications. It aims to bring into light the importance of the field as a new perspective from which stories and narratives could be explored in environmental discourses. In the Moroccan context, a body of research has emerged among researchers from the English Department in Moulay Ismail University of Meknes; the studies reflected on environmental narratives in English textbooks (Mliless and Larouz, 2018), green public service advertising (Mliless, et al., 2019), environmental discourse in Moroccan eco-documentaries (Mliless, 2020), and experts' discourse in eco-documentaries (Mliless and Azzouzi, 2020). Concerning laymen's narrative in the documentary understudy, ecolinguistics exposes and questions the testimonies and stories, and examines frames and linguistic structures. As a matter of fact, discourse contributes not only to the denunciation of ecological destruction, but it helps in the search for new forms of language that inspires people to protect the natural world (Stibbe, 2015). In line with Stibbe's claim, this study will examine the communicative connections between laymen's language, the natural element, and the expressions of fear in ordinary people's narratives.

In this direction, the power of actors' narratives have a role in shaping people's opinion and expectations. Obviously, eco-documentaries are impactful when expressions of fear and threat portray despair and preoccupations that the participants face when the natural environment is seriously affected (Lovell, 1971; Nichols, 1991; Sztompka, 2008; Chapman, 2009; Pauwels, 2010; Nathansohn and Zuev, 2013; Zuev and Krase, 2017). In this framework, watching a documentary film becomes a sociologically significant event as its experience affects us emotionally, psychologically, and pedagogically (Chapman, 2009).

II. METHODS

Data Collection

This research examines patterns of fear and threat in laymen's narratives in a Moroccan eco-documentary, a film of 52 minutes basically narrated in Standard Arabic (Faouzi, 2012). Given the multiplicity of meanings in laymen's narratives, and the difficulties related to the analysis of verbal

data, an adequate analytical framework is needed. A verbatim of actors' verbal communication was transformed into written texts to restore the chronology of events aligned with the visual sequences. The research indicates that the patterns of fear and threat are performative and proactive acts used in laymen's language to influence the public. Hence, the context of use is decisive to understand based on the idea that fears and threat expressions must be relocated in their contexts of enunciation. Practically, the research followed Gilliane Rose's steps to retrieve, identify social contexts, and code fear structures used by witnesses in the whole documentary (Rose, 2001). Then, the data was identified based on 'perceived severity' and 'perceived susceptibility' categories according to the model developed by Witte et al. (1996). The goal here is to link the discourse to the film's aim that seeks to make the viewer more committed to its point of view; it is assumed that fear can consolidate laymen's narratives, whose presence in the film is meant to plead for the preservation of the environmental setting.

Characters in Ecodocumentary Films

The eco-documentary understudy "*Whining of the Blue Lagoon: الزرقاء المرجة انين*" reports about a natural degradation of a lagoon in the northeast of Morocco. The theme is commented on by many laymen, two scientists and a voice-over. This research aims to decrypt the language of the many ordinary people whose testimonies are to back up the argumentative flow, achieve public immersion, serve the plot, and perpetuate the remembrance of the film (Mliless and Azzouzi, 2020). The film's story is told by many witnesses in many different ways. The laymen participants have different experiences, ages, social status, and gender. So, each actor would have a different point of view to express. The study hopped through the film and identified sequences of everyone's narrative through focused point of views (POV). All laymen actors are first-person POVs, a common technic used in documentaries through which characters talk in terms of 'I'. Laymen's opinions are expressed through Moroccan Arabic (a vernacular variety) that the voiceover simultaneously translates to standard Arabic. The characters are featured on screen in interviews, performing talks as part of events while sometimes their voice can be featured as part of the soundtrack while the visuals can

relate to what they are saying. In many instances, the documentary switches between different POVs of characters (laymen to expert and vice versa) to get a profound view of the story and give the audience a broad perspective. This article then aims to account for the way knowledge is produced within different discourses and the performances, linguistic styles, and rhetorical devices used in particular accounts (Snape and Spencer, 2003). The method used to analyze the structure of texts longer than the sentence is instilled in the principles of ecolinguistics and discourse analysis to account for the linguistic content and the social context.

Laymen's Language in Eco-documentary Films

By eco-documentary, actors refer to the people who appear speaking in front of the camera (ordinary witnesses and scientific experts) or those who are off (voice-over narrators). In this section, the researchers focus on laymen's language, the time they took to speak, and the frequency of their appearance. All the ordinary actors of the film speak Moroccan Arabic (MA) to testify about the environmental status of the lagoon. Moroccan Arabic, which took shape in the 7th century AD in Roman cities in which Latin was spoken (Heath, 2015), is the lingua franca used by most Moroccans in their daily communication, be they Arabs or Amazigh (Zakhir and O'Brien, 2019). Other existing languages impact this variety in Morocco, such as Standard Arabic, French, Amazigh and Spanish; it has different variations depending on regions, social class, and gender. Though Morocco is a multilingual country where many languages, dialects, and accents coexist, the linguistic choice made by Amouddou has made it a respected documentary experience that Moroccans appreciate to see. The explicit use of MA in the documentary gives the film authenticity and originality, a patriotic and nationalist tendency to portray environmental, social, or cultural issues. One should recognize that the role of language in Amouddou's eco-documentary is maturing (Mliless and Azzouzi, 2020). Hopefully, this study will provide ample answers to the social and environmental contexts in which the documentary develops, the way Amouddou uses language descriptions to document the damaged natural setting, the position taken by characters towards the issue, and finally to demystify hidden modes of narration in the discourse.

In the documentary, ordinary witnesses bear an important role in the film; their testimonies count a lot when they invoke the prosperous past of the setting. Their hope is to see the area restored and protected. Laymen's narratives contain positive alternatives they bring to coerce man's devastating behaviors exerted on the natural setting. The segmentation of their narratives indicates that the rhetoric they use is rife with PSV and PSP patterns that overshadow the population's responsibility towards the deterioration of the lake.

Fear and Threat Appeals in Eco-documentary

While visual expressions are shot with greater precision, language may carry a considerable force of persuasion. The mixture of the two components requires a sophisticated method to identify and interpret fear and threat structures the deconstruction of which needs a multifaceted approach. In this direction, fear patterns of language can trigger relatively immediate and/or long-term attitudinal behavioral change (Sufi, 2014). He specifies that the impact of the script is firmly attached to the use of fear patterns through which the film seeks to shake the audience's responses. Similarly, another study posits that argumentation through fear is recognized within the social sciences as a type of argument format used [...] to mold public opinion and attitudes through the mass media (Walton, 2007). For example, fear is detected in the discourse of cancer, an enemy (cancer) that poses immediate threats (Cap, 2017). The analysis of fear structures in ordinary people's stories will interpret testimonies that constantly oscillate between laymen's deep preoccupation about the tragic environmental crisis and their calls to rescue the lagoon from an imminent collapse.

Extended Parallel Processing Model

Since the second half of the twentieth century, scholars have theoretically and practically explained the processing and consequences of fear and threat patterns in discourse. The extended parallel process (EPPM) is one of the practices which account for fear expressions to clarify how linguistic constructs can achieve persuasive aims (Witte, 1992). The model determines the degree to which a person feels threatened by an issue and his or her motivation to act, while one's confidence to effectively reduce or prevent the threat determines the action itself. To explain more, Witte et al. argue

that EPPM is summarized in the elements of fear, threat, efficacy, danger control, and fear control (Witte, et.al, 1996). Regarding the element of fear, Witte et al. define it as "an internal reaction comprising psychological and physiological dimensions that may be aroused when a serious and personally relevant threat is perceived" (p.320). In the same direction, the threat is presented by Witte et al. as a danger or harm that exists in the environment whether people experience it or not; threats could be cognitions or thoughts about the dangers or harms which comprise two dimensions: severity and susceptibility. As for efficacy, Witte et al. (1996) define it as "the effectiveness, feasibility, and ease with which a recommended response impedes or averts a threat" (p. 320). In addition to the definition provided by Witte et al, EPPM can be used to identify four distinct audience segments (see table 1 below) with different combinations of efficacy and threat beliefs (Health Communication Capacity Collaborative, 2014). The report of the Health Communication Capacity Collaborative [HCCC] shows that each segment responds differently to a particular health issue and, so, would need to be addressed with different health message strategies that increase threat perceptions or increase efficacy beliefs. According to HCCC (2014), the model is useful when a health issue poses a real or perceived threat to personal health. For instance, the model is used in HIV or malaria campaigns where there is a more obvious and immediate disease threat. Nevertheless, the model is less used in child nutrition campaigns where the threat of malnutrition is less immediately obvious (Cho and Witte, 2005; Rimal and Morrison, 2006).

In compliance with Witte's model, Mohammed Sufi (2014) decoded factors of fear appeals in three documentaries: *The 11th Hour* (Conners and Conners, 2007), *The Age of Stupidity* (Armstrong, 2010), and *The Cave* (Fisher, 2009). The study by Sufi reveals that fear and threat expressions shock viewers, encourage greater environmental awareness, and convince the public to relinquish their attitudes and to inspire or encourage change. The EPPM can help this study to handle threat messaging and the extent to which laymen actors of the documentary create motivation to act. If their narratives show that threats are higher than their perceived ability to do something about it, then behavior change is unlikely to occur (Health Communication Capacity Collaborative, 2014).

Thus, it is important to highlight fear expressions to accurately evaluate their level of fear that may serve to empower them to overcome or avoid the risk to see the lagoon ruined.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Man's intervention in the lagoon is increasing and becomes predatory. This brings destruction to species and affects the continuity of animals and the quality of fauna and flora in the lagoon. The eco-documentary reports that man's extensive uncontrolled behaviors (grazing, hunting, and fishing) require urgent interventions of officials to limit the degradation of the setting. For this aim, laymen's testimonies speak out their preoccupations and fears about the future of the natural setting and the wellbeing of the community living by the lagoon. To curve the crisis, the witnesses explicitly order that man's illegal activity should be quelled and their socio-economical should be improved through real sustainable programs other than those related to the lagoon's resources. The scan of witnesses' narratives shows that PSV and PSP patterns are employed to reconsider man's relationships with the lagoon, a primary source of life that is doomed to extinction.

Laymen's Narratives

Having established a clear method of laymen's narrative and demonstrated its critical significance for eco-documentaries, particularly the use of fear and threat expressions, it is now necessary to explain key elements of narrative, particularly those invoked by Hinchman and Hinchman (1997) including the temporal, causal, meaningful, and social aspects of eco-narrative. Inherent to the temporal aspect of the narrative is the concept of plot, an important feature of narrative that rearranges the narrative events, typically results in a change of meaning (Labov and Waletzky, 1967; 1997; Labov, 1972; Franzosi, 1998a; 1998b; . Elliott, 2005;). In the film, the stories invoked by lay participants rely on the assumption that time is a linear flow that stretches from past to present to future. The laymen's eco-narrative within the film relates events to each other by linking the whole to one major happening, the degradation of the lagoon. The eco-documentary's theme demonstrates a real change in the normal flow of life. The narrative operation in the film is a way to transmit knowing into telling. The environmental

decay reported in the film tells about the disruption of an initial state of natural equilibrium and mirrors an environmental dysfunction of many natural components. Importantly, eco-documentary makers should engage voices that do not exhibit shrillness; an impairment that leads viewers to tune out. These days, eco-documentaries about all kinds of topics, from global warming, massive pollutions, forest degradation adopt laymen actors to report about these crises. In the eco-documentary under investigation, five laymen witnesses have been chosen to testify about the environmental disaster. All the witnesses in the documentary detain no scientific or intellectual knowledge, they are people who have common sense but their testimonies and experiences have great social and cultural implications. To analyze the data, this article followed a process of segmentation through which the linguistic was separated from the visual. Then, everything that actors uttered was transcribed into a written document. The humming sounds like 'ehh', 'ooh', and 'mmh' among others which are heard as part of the narratives were removed. Technically, laymen participants are overtly shown to the camera for about 15 minutes, 43% of the film's time, and appeared in 10 scenes (See table 1 below).

Table 1. Witnesses' Language Time and Appearance in the Film

Characters	Language	Time	Appearances in Film	Appearances In Scenes
Hide	MA	2:12	2 Scenes	2
Hour	MA	6:14	4 Scenes	4
Houda	MA	2:07	2 Scenes	2
Faraji	MA	1:12	1 Scene	1
Abdelali	MA	3:03	1 Scene	1

Witnesses' argumentative process depends on the amount of fear and threat patterns they use to influence viewers and stakeholders to make them improve the environmental situation of the lagoon. The use of fear and threat expressions by laymen actors in the ecodocumentary understudy is to communicate important environmental information to the audience. The function is to raise pro-environmental, empathetic behaviors from the viewer. In fact, it is difficult to elicit environmental empathy from others while being demonstrably aggressive. Indeed, expression of fear and threat expressed by the laymen actors is associated with pro-environmental responses from

Table 2. Witnesses' PSV and PSP Assigned to the Community the Lagoon and Species

	PSV Patterns				PSP Patterns			
	Community	Lagoon	Species	Total	Community	Lagoon	Species	Total
Hide	1	-	12	13	1	1	13	15
Hour	1	1	13	15	7	1	19	27
Houda	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	3
Faraji	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	6
Abdelali	5	-	-	5	4	-	-	4
Total	7	1	2	10	21	2	2	25
Frequency	70%	10%	20%	100%	84%	8%	8%	100%

others, and emotions such as fear and threat are often successful in eliciting care-giving actions. The choices that the ordinary actors make about how much detail to include in the testimonies carry a considerable amount of linguistic features of fear and threat. The results related to the analysis of witnesses' discourse show 10 PSV expressions and 25 PSP patterns (See table 2 below). Precisely, the analysis shows that most fear and threat patterns are attributed to the community while those reserved for the lagoon and species show fewer occurrences. Basically, the witnesses are using the media production as a conversational space to tell their experiences to viewers. In a simple language, participants have been assigned turns at talking. Reciprocally, the audience immediately becomes active co-participants in the narrative process.

H'mida's PSV and PSP Patterns

The analysis of PSV and PSP patterns in laymen's eco-narratives is to understand meaning-making in the eco-documentary. The environmental crisis is a contingent of human uncontrolled activities. The visual report alone can never properly achieve real depiction, therefore, since there is always the possibility that narrative adds more to the persuasive process and can change people's comprehension of the environmental issue. Laymen's narrative renders the film's theme meaningful through explicit evaluation of the problem, by imposing their fear and preoccupation on what might be thought of as continuous environmental disaster, has implications for the reason why actors use fear and threat expressions with temporal and causal dimensions. The documentary, "Whining of the Blue Lagoon: الزرقاء المرجة انين", used five ordinary people who perform the narratives in the film. Hide the watchman is the first person to embark on the documentary's story. The narrative

he uses is more oriented to PSP structures rather than PSVs. He uses four PSP patterns to prove that the magnitude of the environmental crisis of the lagoon is observed in three cases: the lagoon, the species, and the community. In many sequences, the watchman says that he is the only person who assures the protection of the lagoon, a task that was assigned to seven guards in previous decades.



Figure 1. Hide the Watchman

The narratives of *H'mida* the watchman allude to significant threats menacing the lagoon. He mentions that birds are not safe to incubate and hatch. To give much impetus to his words, *H'mida* takes the filmmaker, Lahoucine Faouzi, in a boat ride across the lagoon to make him see and feel: "look how the lagoon looks today, I don't think that after two or three years it will look like this if illegal hunting, firearms, and shooting do not stop", says the watchman. To explain the extent to which his mission is rendered difficult by fishers and hunters, *H'mida* talks about the strategies that hunters adapt to hunt and kill birds "when there is no watching after they locate me and communicate my place through mobile phones". To reinforce his denial, the watchman uses two PSV expressions to talk about the community and species saying that he "warned the population over the overexploitation they perpetrate to the lagoon". Additionally, the

Table 3. PSV and PSP Patterns in H'mida's Narrative

	PSV Patterns	PSP Patterns
Species	- Every day, cattle and dogs destroy and eat eggs and newly born birds.	- The lagoon was well protected in the past. - Birds have decreased because they don't find enough places for incubation and hatching.
Lagoon	-----	- Look how the lagoon is today, I don't think that after two or three years it will look like this.
Community	- I warned the population over that; I have seen that exploitation happening every day.	- Hunting, firearms, and shooting do not stop mainly In dawn time when there is no watching. Hunters locate me and communicate my place through mobile ones

watchman adds other features of externalities related to human intervention that impact the lagoon. He let us know that “cattle trample nests” and “dogs nurture on eggs and newly born birds”. The manner through which he portrays deleterious consequences of human interventions and what serious environmental outcomes have resulted over, the watchman’s narrative is nostalgic and emotional. His nostalgic feelings about the past of the lagoon is crystallized when he says that “the lagoon was well protected in the past”. To show feelings of fear and despair, the watchman let know that the future of the place is no longer the same when he used to look after it “Look how the lagoon is today, I don't think that after two or three years it will look like this”. This amalgamation of feelings is an attempt to make the audience, the residents, and tutelage institutions show real engagement.

Hirour's PSV and PSP Patterns

Among the narratives, *Hirour's* is holistic and dramatic. In fact, his testimony is a means to understand the film's theme better. His narrative obviously provides an account through which the audience can learn about the environmental truth, the narrative he presents is closer to the environmental events. His narrative reflects a language full of expressions that portray the critical situation of the lagoon. Given the number of PSP expressions (9) he mentions, it is assumed that the witness's critical illustration and testimonies are serious: “something must be done before it too late”.

The witness appears four times for more than six minutes. Being in Moroccan Arabic, *Hirour* narratives are oriented towards the community whose living conditions primarily depend on the collection of oysters, a work that women and girls do. More seriously, the layman articulates that most girls are forced to abandon school for that activity



Figure 2. Hirour the Layman



Figure 3. Oysters' Collection Conditions

“children are pushed and obliged by their parents to bring money to help their families earn their living”. Though it is very hard work, the participant says that no working alternatives are provided for the population to abandon the collection of oysters. His narrative reports about the harsh conditions in which little girls perform the activity; he fears that hard climate conditions may have negative impacts on girls’ health: “you can see the water is about their necks, barefoot, and wounded”.

In the course of his speech, *Hirour* says that oyster collection does not only affect girls’ health but it has serious impacts on the lagoon itself. He stresses that the activity is a perpetual threat to the reserve of oysters and other fish. He shows fear when he says that excessive collection causes much drain to the soil. Importantly, he draws on two PSP structures to signal that the lagoon is an important place for humans and animals: “the place is shared by animals and humans”. In a dichotomy, he tells about the richness and availability of the natural resources

of the lagoon and the population’s mismanagement of these supplies through permanent uncontrolled fishing and illegal hunting. In relation to this unparalleled situation, the layman shows fearful reactions about the future of the lagoon. To crystalize his fears, *Hirour* adopts PSV expressions to illustrate a serious situation that the lagoon is confronted with. For example, he mentions that birds are caught even in forbidden periods when they are in production and breeding periods. In fact, not only human behavior threaten the existence of the lagoon, but also natural circumstances are endangering the lagoon. For instance, irregular rainfall impacts the lagoon’s reserve on water, a resource that has not been revived for many years. In front of this deficiency, the actor says that rain scarcity has pushed the population to use the lagoons to irrigate farms and agricultural products. Besides, people are putting the place more at risk as they use fertilizers and pesticides to make the products more competitive.

Table 4. PSV and PSP patterns in *Hirour*’s Narrative

	PSV Patterns	PSP Patterns
Species	- Species are caught in forbidden periods when they are breeding.	- All species living in this lagoon look after their living.
Lagoon	- Rain used to fall regularly. There is not enough rain for many years to revive the place.	- It is a place shared by animals and humans; humans are deeply related to land and farming.
Community	- Framers use fertilizers and pesticides to make their products more competitive.	- The collection of oysters is the work of everybody in this era. Oyster’s collection is a work that is basically done by women. - No alternative, though it is hard work their teeth vibrate from cold. - They do this activity even in high tide you can see that water is about their necks; their feet are bare and wounded. - It is an activity that causes much drain to the soil. - They are obliged to do that, help their families earn more money - Little girls are among the crowd they don’t go to school. Some even have abandoned school for that activity. - Children are pushed by their parents to bring money.

Houda’s PSV and PSP Patterns

The emergence of a teenage girl (*Houda*) in the documentary generates a positive effect to gain the trust of the audience on the dramatic reality of the lagoon. It is highly recommended among media producers that children are perceived as a powerful and effective medium to create rational and emotional appeals for different targeted audiences (Kinsey, 2015). The speech of *Houda* gives voice to a handicapped youth. Her moralistic testimonies reveal the exploitation of both a natural setting and misery of poor children who recognize that

the ambiguity of their future has been reinforced by the decision of parents to leave school and help the families. Her narrative adds to the eco-documentary’s heterogeneous vision, which allows many people of different ages and gender to speak out openly about their fears. In fact, *Houda*’s point of view intends to widen the spectrum of the audience as she assumes that the environmental issue of the lagoon is a matter that concerns every human being devoid of age and gender. Her narrative is not as long as she appears to speak to the camera in Moroccan Arabic for two minutes.



Figure 4. Houda the Girl Collector



Figure 5. Oysters' Collection Activity

Without any doubt, the choice given to *Houda* to unfold her narrative is a strategy from the documentary maker to support the film's theme and to strengthen narrative connections with other witnesses. By doing this, the documentary permits many angles of seeing and hearing, giving the impression that the viewer sees one issue through many actors. The narrative of the girl contains much information and adds credibility to the objectives of the film. Interestingly, this shows that the situation of the lagoon is also a matter that concerns children too. The girl is present in two scenes, speaks out her fears, and tells the audience her preoccupations about the present and the future of her generation, a generation that is forced to hard labor and the exploitation of the lagoon. Though not much, the PSP structures used by *Houda* are explicitly directed to the population whom she holds responsible for her misery and hardships. She mentions that she is no longer in school for a long time now that her parents are forcing her to collect oysters. While talking, the documentary plays very appealing images of a group of girls bare feet, submerged in mud, and water to their hips while collecting oysters. Even, the camera caught a wounded foot of a girl in action. The girl's

discourse reports a daily activity and speaks about the case of many other girls whose childhood has been stolen and forced to work under inhuman conditions instead of being at school or enjoying their childhood.

Table 5. PSV and PSP patterns in Houda's Narrative

PSV Patterns	PSP Patterns
Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - She has collected a small quantity since the morning. - No school degree. - Barefoot

As was discussed in this section, the girls' narrative, as those of the other participants, reflects a dramatic increase in the exploitation of the lagoon. In particular, allowing *Houda* to present her experience of the situation can help to redress some of the population's uncontrolled activities inherent in the film and can also provide empathic evidence about the everyday life that little girls endure and the hardships they suffer due to oyster collection. Her testimony embodies what the researchers want to examine: the relation between her particular life experience and the world she shares with others; the ways in which the natural environment shapes her identity; and the ways in which she makes use of linguistic features to declare her denial of the socio-economic context.

Faraji's PSV and PSP Patterns

Among the witnesses, there is *Faraji*, a young fisherman, whose testimony carries outstanding judgments regarding the environmental degradation of the lake. Talking to the camera, this actor gave us insight into the extent to which the natural catastrophe has impacted his life. *Faraji* uses many fear expressions in the development of his testimony and tells the viewer about the situation of a generation caught between dire social and environmental conditions. The fisherman is allotted one minute to report his fears about the lagoon. In simple words, he brings about a hopeful testimony to block the many threats facing the lagoon. In this context, the researchers invoke fear and threat patterns he associates with the exploitation of the lagoon and the alternatives he projects to save the setting. His narrative, after all, is a story of apparently an ordinary man whose discourse seems to be of a committed character of them all.

Faraji's voice is that of hope in the documentary as it advances issues showing personal engagements to save the lagoon.



Figure 6. Faraji the Fisherman

The fisherman's discourse demonstrates the power to act. He explicitly voices his hope and predisposition to procure solutions that might render the place safer and welcoming for humans and species. All the linguistic structures identified in *Faraji's* narrative are PSP patterns that he directs to the community. In this sense, he mentions that all the community's activities are inherited from ancestors who taught them how to fish and collect oysters. Today, this work is done by women and girls more than men. In this situation, the fisherman adds his voice to that of the girl (*Houda*) when he mentions that parents frequently force their children, mainly girls, to abandon school and help them given the fact that most of their parents are jobless and cannot afford living necessities. To cope with this situation, the fisherman cites some alternatives to improve the social situation of the community and the environmental situation of the lagoon. The hopeful mode that he uses depicts some suggestions that he can implement "*if [I am] elected a member of the local council*". For

example, he can make rules and regulations to organize the collection of oysters. This activity, he says, should be limited to specific periods of the year and that collectors should be identified and receive permanent payments for that: "*I will ban irregular fishing and I will limit the collection oysters that must be banned in the summertime. The population should collect oysters between November and March, this way I can guarantee the breeding period for species so when collection time comes there will be abundance for us all*".

The film characterizes the fisherman's voice as emphasizing the vision of youth and its desire. *Faraji* proposes alternatives and solutions for the environmental issue in terms of implementing regulations that might restore the natural order. His narrative emphasizes both man's responsibility and the solution to restore a forsaken past through a series of alternatives that involve projected solutions to reduce the population's illegal activities through the restriction of hunting and fishing. In fact, *Faraji's* testimony contrasts two specific narratives that portray his fear about the lagoon's presence and his preoccupation about youth wellbeing. In his talk, the narrative is outstanding in that it allows the filmmaker to adopt different angles and viewpoints across the documentary that have all appeared to impact so many individuals who might view the production. Eventually, *Faraji's* statements are future-oriented propositions; he is the voice of hope in the documentary despite his common sense knowledge.

Abdelali's PSV and PSP Patterns

Another important witness in the documentary is *Abdelali* the craftsman. His narrative informs us about the nature of his social life. It shows his work, Moroccan culture and the values it embraces, and

Table 6. PSV and PSP Patterns in the Fisherman's Narratives

PSV Patterns	PSP Patterns
Community -----	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - This activity is what we inherited from our parents; we are fishermen and collectors of oysters. - It is a work that women do more than men. - Little girls of five and six years have been forced to leave school. - We do not have other activities, no work. - If I am elected representative of this locality, I will make rules to organize and regulate the collection of shells. This activity should be limited to specific periods of the year and that collectors should be identified and receive payments for that. - The collection of oysters should take place between November and March and banned in summer, we have to respect the breeding period so when collection time comes oysters and fish will be abundant.

about the nature of his social life. It shows his work, Moroccan culture and the values it embraces, and the challenges he confronts as a simple craftsman. Through his participation about his experience, the meanings he brings to his words. It can be seen about all the environmental disaster, from destruction through exploitation, which together constitute the present of the lagoon. His presence in the film is crystallized through an interview supervised by the director himself and reported by the voiceover. For instance, *Abdelali* is caught talking in front of the camera for more than three minutes in Moroccan Arabic. Most of the narratives he articulates are directed to the audience while he nests a mast.



Figure 7. Abdelali the Craftsman

The craftsman's discourse is important because it effectively communicates his profound preoccupations about the consequences of uncontrolled human behaviors that harm the lagoon. The segmentation of his narrative shows that he has used five PSV expressions he directs to the community to describe human's unfair activities. In most of his talk, *Abdelali* focuses on the *Juncus acutus* plant that the community massively destroys to gain more land for farming. In this direction, he says that the plant is threatened by humans who fell and incinerate vast portions of the lagoon by "setting vast portions of land on fire to gain more land for framing without paying attention to birds and eggs".

In a nostalgic mode, *Abdelali* enumerates the importance of *Juncus Acutus* as a "haven for birds to make their nests and breed, we always waited to see the birds spawn their eggs then we harvest the plant". However, he shows no objections to the garnering of the plant. He hopes to see the community harvesting this plant in July after birds' incubation and breeding periods. Unfortunately,



Figure 8. Juncus Acutus



Figure 9. Burning of Juncus Acutus for Farming

the language used by the craftsman to express his despair carries instances of fear when he mentions that "nets and eggs are destroyed and devastated to give much space to agricultural activities and farming".

Differently, *Abdelali* the craftsman uses four PSP expressions to react to the inability of the community to balance sustainable development and the preservation of the environment. For instance, he says that "the profession is abandoned by the community" and people no longer practice it though they used to earn their living. The craftsman language, like that of the fisherman, contains a glimpse of light and hope among the narratives of the other witnesses in the film. When listening to his discourse, people can feel that he bears the burden of the environmental disaster. It is assumed that the role of the craftsman in the documentary shows that among all this mess some people care and abide by the law of morality.

What is important about laymen's discourse is the variety of modes deployed in their language. The common denominator among their narratives is that they all show environmental nostalgia towards the setting. On many occasions, they have

Table 7. PSV and PSP Patterns in the Craftsman's Narrative

	PSV Patterns	PSP Patterns
Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - People's unfair behaviors contribute to the destruction and loss of the lagoon. - Today, no one respects this truce or respect <i>Juncus acutus</i> either; they set vast portions of land on fire to obtain more land for farming without considering birds and eggs. - The plant is a shelter for birds to nest and breed, we always waited to see the birds spawn their eggs. Then, we pick the plant. - People cut the plant in a period when eggs are not hatched; they destroy nests and the eggs. - Unfortunately, the plant is destroyed and ravaged to supply many places to farming. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I use <i>Juncus acutus</i> plant to weave mats, I do this activity since I was young, it is my only source of living. - Today, this profession is abandoned by the community. - We collect the plant to make mats in July and start working it in September. - I abide by the law of nature and I cut the plant in July, this plant is our source of life.

demonstrated emotive responses to report about the perdition of an ecological equalizer. Undoubtedly, witnesses' discourses reflect a sublime narrative that is full of images that celebrate the magnificent particularity of the lagoon, species and plants, and the desire to develop positive connections with the place. Interestingly, the discourse of *H'mida* the watchman contains a mode that is apocalyptic when he evokes the trespassing of the lagoon by humans to hunt, fish, and confiscate portions of land for farming. Not only that, the watchman discourse is dramatic when he talks about roaming cattle and dogs destroy nests and eat eggs. On a different scale, the fisherman's narrative mode is hopeful when he speaks about social and political alternatives to save the lagoon in the future. He evokes that laws and regulations, if implemented could curb illegal hunting and irregular fishing.

In this research, it can be inferred that spontaneous consciousness of laymen's participation gives the film much viability in denouncing man's uncontrolled activities perpetrated to the lagoon. The actors, as does the filmmaker, know that the exploitation goes on, and they have never admitted that this situation should pursue. Laymen's fear and threat structures are not a reaction based on ignorance but a response that arises from concern and reality they experienced every day. These expressions are logical since they are based on reasoning. The narratives tend to persuade the audience that there are alternatives that should be implemented to stop the environmental crisis. From an ecolinguistic perspective, the narratives explain the extent to which the actors have used fear and threat expressions to report the reality of the lagoon. In fact, laymen's testimonies about the environmental crisis are a real opportunity

through which the filmmaker highlighted threats, showed characters' preoccupations, and provided specific recommendations and solutions. Though the narratives are in Moroccan Arabic, the voice-off (Hassan Boufous), who is always kept behind the camera, permits the viewer to get comments by translating actors' testimonies and experiences into Standard Arabic. Eventually, PSV and PSP patterns are present in laymen's narratives; they were used by all participants with different variations and frequencies. Obviously, fear and threat patterns are related to the severity of destructive acts perpetrated by the community on the lagoon. Besides, many of those patterns have fearfully depicted the dramatic situation of the lagoon and species living or transiting by the place. In fact, many linguistic structures depict the existence of fear and threat expressions that illustrate the environmental deterioration of the lagoon regarding bird colonies, fish over-exploitation, and bush incineration. Overall, the narratives pertaining to laymen witnesses show different tendencies. For some actors, *Faraji* and *Abdelali*, their narratives are progressive and advance many alternatives and choices to reduce man's destruction of the lagoon. In a regressive way, the narratives of *H'mida* and *Hirour* are regressive focusing on the deterioration and decline of the natural resources without presenting any solution. Differently, *Houda's* talk in the film is stable as she offers no evidence of either progression or decline.

IV. CONCLUSION

To examine the many discourses in the eco-documentary "*Whining of the Blue Lagoon: الزرقاء المرجة انين*", the narrative string was analyzed in terms of fear and threat indicators. By the same

token, the study focused on the environmental discourse and discarded visuals though their combination to sound effects and music bring about the power of argumentation. Paying attention to the narratives that laymen participants tell leads us to question other practices adopted in the stories. In this sense, the study emphasizes the quest to understand that layman's linguistic contributions are jointly constructed by both the participants and

the filmmaker; it is an attempt to draw attention to the ubiquity of narratives in Moroccan eco-documentary production. Although telling stories is common in everyday communication, laymen's narrative in environmental documentaries, as in the case of the film *understudy*, should be examined from other facets to give succinct answers to relatively unexplained postulates.

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