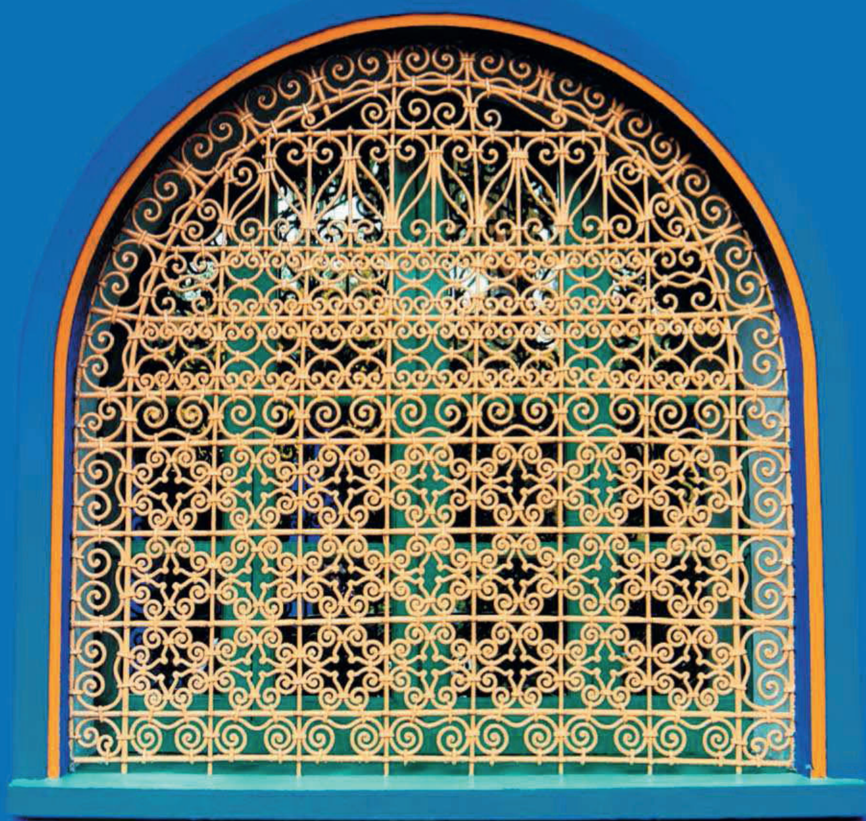
MULTILINGUALISM, CULTURAL IDENTITY, AND EDUCATION IN MOROCCO

Moha Ennaji



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To my dear wife Fatima Sadiqi,
who has always been a source of support and inspiration

CONTENTS

Note on Transliterations	ix
Preface	xi
General Introduction	1
Chapter 1. Historical Background	9
Chapter 2. Language, Culture, and Identity	19
Chapter 3. Arabic	47
Chapter 4. Berber	71
Chapter 5. French	97
Chapter 6. Foreign Languages	111
Chapter 7. Bilingualism	123
Chapter 8. Code Switching and its Social Significance	139
Chapter 9. Language Use and Language Attitudes	157
Chapter 10. Language Policy, Literacy, and Education	199
Conclusion	229
References	233
Index	249
Map	253

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATIONS

The transliterations used in this book are broadly based on the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Transliterations of Berber and Moroccan Arabic are based on pronunciation and those of Standard Arabic are based on spelling.

Consonants

t: ت
d: د
ṭ: ط
d̲: ض
k: ك
g: گ
ʔ: أ
b: ب
s: س
z: ز
s̲: ص
z̲: ژ
ʃ: ش
x: خ
ç: ك̲

ɣ: غ
f: ف
h: هـ
ħ: ح
ʕ: ع
ʒ: ج
j: ي
w: و
m: م
n: ن
l: ل
r: ر
ð: ذ
θ: ث

Vowels

/a/: front open spread
/u/: back close rounded
/i/: front close unrounded
/o/: back half-close rounded
/ɔ/: back half-open rounded
/e/: front half-close unrounded
/ə/: central close unrounded

Vowels in Arabic are superscripts which appear above or below consonants:

a: َ
u: ُ
i: ِ

Gemination and vowel length are shown by consonant and vowel doubling.

PREFACE

In this book, I attempt to show how colonial and postcolonial political forces have endeavoured to reconstruct the national identity of Morocco, on the basis of cultural representations and ideological constructions closely related to nationalist and ethnolinguistic trends. I discuss how the issue of language is at the centre of the current cultural and political debates in Morocco.

The present book is an investigation of the ramifications of multilingualism for language choice patterns and attitudes among Moroccans. More importantly, the book assesses the roles played by linguistic and cultural factors in the development and evolution of Moroccan society. It also focuses on the impact of multilingualism on cultural authenticity and national identity.

Having been involved in research on language and culture for many years, I am particularly interested in linguistic and cultural assimilation or alienation, and under what conditions it takes place, especially today that more and more Moroccans speak French and are influenced by Western social behaviour more than ever before. In the process, I provide the reader with an updated description of the different facets of language use, language maintenance and shift, and language attitudes, focusing on the linguistic situation whose analysis is often blurred by emotional reactions, ideological discourses, political biases, simplistic assessments, and ethnolinguistic identities.

My objective is not to provide answers to the intricate and complex issues of language planning, language policy, identity, literacy, and education, but to deconstruct the dominant discourses on the linguistic, cultural, and political issues that present important challenges to the Moroccan ruling elite and the population as a whole. My ambition is to invite the reader to become acquainted with the different facets and perspectives of Moroccan languages and cultures, and to consider this sensitive issue from wider horizons and a more comprehensive viewpoint.

In an attempt to describe the existing languages and their functions and domains of use, I have addressed the following questions. What are the mechanisms governing the inequality between the different languages? What are the consequences of the unequal distribution of languages in terms of status, functions, and domains? Through an investigation of language attitudes, the book attempts to reveal the attitudes of the different groups of Moroccans toward multilingualism and its impact on cultural awareness and identity. These attitudes are often ignored by language policy-makers.

The book consists of an examination of sociolinguistic variables, such as culture contact and language attitudes which foster language shift and

maintenance as well as language change. My contention is that a sober consideration of multilingualism requires a detailed knowledge of the cultural environment in which the multilingual individual evolves. In the case of Morocco, which was under French domination for over four decades, it is necessary to study the phenomenon of culture contact, how it historically took place, and how it has evolved to its present state.

As education is part and parcel of the strategies used to implement language policies, the book equally includes a debate on education and language planning policies in Morocco since independence. The evolution of the educational system and language policies adopted over the years and their impact on the present-day situation are at the heart of this debate.

The book is designed to address three kinds of audiences. First, students and researchers of sociolinguistics, cultural and gender studies who may find this book relevant to their research interests. Second, the book addresses the general reader, who would like to know more about the language situation in Morocco. The third type of audience is that of decision-makers and education experts who may want to consult this work prior to taking decisions regarding education or language-planning matters.

Several people contributed to the realisation of this book. I benefited from the judicious comments and suggestions of several scholars and students. I would like to thank them all for their help and remarks.

I am particularly grateful to Linda Stump Rashidi (Mansfield University of Pennsylvania), Katherine Dunn (Emory University), Nancy Hottel (Al Akhawayn University at Ifrane), Jan Jaap de Ruiter (University of Tilburg) and Fatima Sadiqi (Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University at Fès) and two anonymous reviewers from Kluwer Publishing Company. Special thanks must go to Joshua Fishman (Stanford University), Marie Sheldon and Mary Panarelli (Kluwer) for their help and encouragement.

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Moha Ennaji

September 9th, 2004

Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fès

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Morocco is characterised by language and culture complexity. The language situation is full of paradoxes and contrasts in the sense that nothing is what it seems to be. There are many paradoxes at the levels of language attitudes and language policy. Moroccan society has had a long tradition of multilingualism and multiculturalism, which have become more prominent since the beginning of the twentieth century, as a consequence of colonisation and international processes, notably globalisation. Multilingualism is a major characteristic of Morocco, and for many Moroccans language loyalty constitutes a core value of their ethnocultural identity. These issues are highlighted from sociolinguistic and educational perspectives. The book aims to investigate language contact, cultural identity, language use, language attitudes, and the impact on education and power relations in Morocco.

The Moroccan Cultural Context

The relationship between multiculturalism and multilingualism is a strong one. The process of readjustment to a second or a third culture entails the use of new knowledge, rules of communication, and inferential strategies. It is generally coupled with the learning of new languages, in which case multiculturalism implies multilingualism. Acculturation may result when one cultural model is imposed on another through some kind of assimilation, particularly when the dominant culture, which often has a strong influence on the subordinate one, manages to introduce transformations into the subordinate social structure.

The Moroccan cultural context is characterised by two main kinds of discourse. The first one is traditional and conservative in nature and the second is modernist and progressive. According to the first trend, modern culture should be discarded simply because it disseminates Western values and thought. The modernists think, on the opposite, that it is the traditional ideas that perpetuate 'backward' and 'irrational' thinking in the country. In the 1960s and the 1970s, there was a tentative consensus or balance between the two trends, but with the recent increase of Muslim fundamentalism and the revival of local cultures and search for ethnic identity, there tends to be a conflict between the two tendencies.

Moroccan society is socially and linguistically diverse, and its cultural makeup is one of the richest in the Maghreb.[1] Different speech communities in Morocco attempt, in different ways, to resist Westernisation by raising their

cultural, ethnic, and linguistic awareness. To achieve this, the use of language is paramount; it is well known that language loyalty and maintenance are possible when favourable conditions prevail, namely, ethnic consciousness, size of the community, intra-group communication, and a common religion. The fact that Arabic and Islam are closely related favours the revival of Muslim values and cultural identity.

Being fervently nationalistic, Moroccan political parties, pressure groups, and cultural associations have been eager to maintain and revitalise their linguistic and cultural heritage. Their incessant efforts are geared towards linguistic and cultural awareness, which reflects their eagerness to maintain cultural identity. For instance, Standard Arabic has been revived through the Arabisation process, which has led to the strengthening of the Muslim faith and to the revival of Islamic convictions. In addition, Berber cultural associations, on their part, have increased in number; their objective is to revitalise the Berber language through its recognition as an official language and through its standardisation and introduction in schools.

The revitalisation of this cultural legacy depends greatly on the extent to which Standard Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, and Berber are successful in fulfilling all the functions associated with them as symbols of cultural authenticity and ethnolinguistic harmony that mirror a rich linguistic and cultural tradition. This success in turn depends on the number of sociolinguistic domains in which Standard Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, and Berber are used.

These languages do not fulfil all the linguistic functions, since each one covers only a limited number of domains. For instance, Moroccan Arabic and Berber cover the domains of home and street, while Standard Arabic is used in education, public administration, and the media. French is utilised to complement the picture, as it has functions and domains which overlap with those of Standard Arabic, in addition to covering the private sector, science, and technology.

Thus, the sociolinguistic context in Morocco is bound to be characterised by both sociocultural plurality and language tension or conflict. This tension varies in degree and intensity along the scale of tolerance and dialogue between cultures. Given its geographical position, Morocco has historically always been open to other civilisations, and Moroccans have largely been able to embrace other cultures while preserving their identity.

Although Morocco is a multilingual society, it should be pointed out that not all Moroccans are multilingual. There are important differences among individuals as concerns their mastery of languages and their ability to speak or

write more than one language. In fact, there are individual differences in language proficiency: the range is from monolingual Moroccan Arabic or Berber speakers to those who can use written Arabic as well as one or two foreign languages for special purposes or for everyday conversation.

Review of the Literature

Multilingualism has been a major area of research within the field of sociolinguistics ever since the publication of Fishman et al's important volume *Language Loyalty in the United States* (1966), which discussed aspects of language maintenance and shift as significant sociolinguistic issues which are directly linked to multilingual contexts.

Research on language contact goes back to the nineteenth century when the comparative and historical tradition was predominant. Thus, Whitney (1901) revealed the impact of borrowing on language change, while Rubin (1968) discussed extensively various language contact situations. Along the same path, Turner (1969) contributed immensely to Creole studies. Research on language contact made remarkable headway with the publication of seminal works like Lado's (1950) *Linguistics Across Cultures*, Weinreich's (1953) *Languages in Contact*, and Haugen's (1953) study, *The Norwegian Languages in America*. Cohen's (1956) work *Pour une Sociologie du Langage* and Calvet's (1974) *Linguistique et Colonialisme* came later to consolidate the sociology of languages in contact as a major area of research. These are among the major pioneers who have established sociolinguistics as a discipline.

Sapir (1921) developed the notion of "language drift", which is a well-known phenomenon in multilingual societies. (Lieberson 1980) was also a pioneer in discussing the concept of language maintenance in bilingual and multilingual countries. A strong case of language maintenance is French in Quebec, which is enhanced by the concentration of French-speaking Canadians in one area. Similarly, the research carried out on German language maintenance in the USA (Kloss 1966) and in Australia (Rigsby and Romaine 1988; Kouzmin 1988) has been a great contribution to the field. Catalan, a Romance language, is also quoted as a example of language maintenance (see McNair 1980, Siguan 1984 and Posner 1966). Another case of language maintenance is Swahili, which has been maintained and established by Tanzania as the official language (Scotton 1988). In Sweden, the government took several measures to maintain minority languages; the Home language Reform in 1977 granted Balochi, Turkish, Greek, and Yugoslavian immigrants the main rights of equality, cultural freedom, cooperation, and solidarity. However, the children of these immigrants tend to speak Swedish at home,

which means that in two generations language shift will be generalised in this case (see Hyltenstam and Arnberg 1988, and Jahani 2000).

Concerning language shift and loss, a great deal of research has been undertaken on the regression, decay, or death of several languages. For instance, (Dorian 1999) has reported the death of Gaelic, since it is spoken only by about one hundred people. Paulston (1992) studied the regression of Galician and considered Occitan, a dying language, although both languages have been adopted as official languages. In France, Breton has also been described as a dying language. Likewise, Moroccan children in Germany and the Netherlands have been reported to have lost their mother tongue (Berber or Moroccan Arabic) for Dutch or German (see De Ruiter 1997, Bos 1997 and Asserraji 2001).

Related to the theory of language maintenance, shift and loss, Bourdieu (1982) proposes that the knowledge of language(s) that one has represents one's linguistic capital which is traded on the linguistic market. For Tandefelt (1992:149), a language that does not sell well is doomed "to lose its market share". Studying language maintenance, shift, and loss is of paramount importance because it contributes to understanding specific linguistic situations and future language policies. Edwards (1992) argues that there are four main reasons for carrying out such studies: a) they are useful in studying languages in contact; b) they permit cross-linguistic and comparative approaches; c) they underline the sociological and political facets of multilingual societies; and d) they allow a predictive analysis of language shift and maintenance.

Various theories have been adopted to study language shift, maintenance, and loss. One of the first approaches was put forward by Fishman (1965, 1972a), who argues that social factors trigger the use of one language rather than another within a multilingual context. Fishman's (1961) theory was based on his well-known pertinent question: "who speaks what language to whom and when" (1965). According to Sankoff (1972), certain situational factors such as ethnic identity, style, context, and attitude determine language choice. However, this approach does not account for situations where more than one language may be used at the same time, as in the case of code switching (see Chapter Eight).

The Interpersonal Speech Accommodation Theory (Giles 1973) is another theory which is based on the socio-psychological dichotomy of "similarity-attraction"; it develops the concepts of adjustment and non-adjustment of speakers toward each other. The principle of accommodation itself is based on the factor of "convergence" (the speaker's use of the language best liked by the addressee) and on the factor of "divergence" (the speaker's deliberate use of a different language or register to distance the addressee).

The sociological approach, which relates language to culture, has been adopted by other researchers like Prujiner et al 1984). These researchers argue that demography, economy, politics, and culture are determining factors of the ethnolinguistic dynamism of a speech community. Allard and Landry (1986) later developed this approach to include the beliefs, values, and feelings that a given speech community nurtures toward the mother tongue or the second language.

The cultural approach, referred to as "the core value theory", is adopted by Smolicz (1992: 279). This approach argues that language is recognised by its native speakers as the core value of their ethnic group's culture. Cultural facets like language, music, religion, family structure, traditions, etc. are so important that their preservation implies the survival of the speech community concerned, and their loss means the disintegration of this group.

The study of language in Morocco has for the most part been the concern of European and American linguists since the beginning of the twentieth century. A large portion of this literature has been devoted to linguistic descriptions and reference grammars of Berber dialects (Laoust 1920, Applegate 1958, Basset 1959, Abdelmassih 1971, Penchoen 1973), and of Moroccan Arabic (cf. Marçais 1911, Harrell 1962, Abdelmassih 1968, Caubet 1993, De Ruiter 2002). A few studies on multilingualism and sociolinguistics in Morocco and the Maghreb, most of which are doctoral dissertations, have been conducted by Westerners (cf. Gravel 1979, Grandguillaume 1983). Much of the work by Moroccan nationals has been produced since independence in 1956 (Saib 1976, Abbassi 1977, Boukous 1977, Chtatou 1982, Ennaji 1985, Elbiad 1985, Sadiqi 1986,Youssi 1992, among others). A few studies have concerned themselves with sociolinguistic phenomena like multilingualism, language attitudes, code switching, language contact between Arabic and Berber or between Arabic and French (see Bentahila 1983a and Ennaji 1997).

The Scope of this Book

The present research is undertaken in the light of studies on language in society by Bourdieu (1977, 1982, 1991, 1994), Fairclough (1989) and Fishman (1999), which are applied to investigate the relationship between multilingualism, multiculturalism, cultural identity, and education in Morocco. It also draws theoretically on a number of sociolinguistic and cultural studies by national and international authors, namely Fishman (1965, 1966), Abbassi (1977), Fitouri (1983), Elbiad (1985), Ruiter (1989), Nortier (1990), Boukous (1995), Al Jabri (1995), Sadiqi (1997a), Boumans (1998), Ennaji (1999),

Calvet (2002), to cite but a few. This book is based on direct observation, an assessment of the literature, and data collection through tape recordings, questionnaires, and interviews. Multilingual speakers have been observed, questioned, and interviewed. Tape recordings were used in the summers of 2000, 2001, and 2002; they were meant to collect samples of speech behaviour and of language contact or interference. Questionnaires were devised to elicit speakers' attitudes and to confirm or disconfirm the findings yielded from direct observation. A few interviews were also organised for additional information and for comparison of the consultants' answers with those of the questionnaires. The generalisations made in this book are at times drawn from investigations carried out by other researchers. Being myself multilingual and being a linguist by training, I rely on my experience concerning the various stages and difficulties encountered by multilingual speakers in Morocco. I sometimes cite my own impressions and make observations based on my experience as an individual living in multilingual and multicultural Morocco.

The theoretical hypothesis of this book is that there is a dialectic link between power relations and the symbolic interaction between languages in Moroccan society. The specificity of Moroccan multilingualism and multiculturalism can be grasped if we understand the various aspects of power and the multifarious ingredients of the socio-cultural context in this country. There is an important interaction between the languages in use and the cultural components, namely the historical background of Morocco, its socio-ethnic make up, Islam, the oral tradition, and political power. Bearing in mind this language-power relation, factors like ethnicity, cultural identity, education, literacy, gender, social stratification, and Westernisation intermingle in the everyday life and transactions of Moroccans.

Using an interdisciplinary approach, the book addresses the question of identity as a historical and sociological construct derived from changing sociopolitical and economic environments. This approach is contrary to the traditional sociolinguistic view that considers a language and its speaking community in isolation from constantly emerging forces such as power relations, education, religion, and new communication technology.

This book deals with topics requiring a question-oriented approach and that are directly relevant to the ways in which the cultural ingredients mentioned above determine language use, language choice, language shift and maintenance, and attitudes.

I assume that the sociolinguistic situation in Morocco is different not only from the West, but also from the rest of the Arab world. It is clear throughout this book that there is linguistic and cultural variation between

Morocco and the other Arab countries, on the one hand, and within Morocco, on the other hand. I also hypothesise that tension exists not only between the Moroccan languages and cultures and the Western languages and lifestyle, but also within the sociolinguistic context of Morocco itself.

The general Western reader may wrongly think that North Africa, or the Arab-Muslim world, have similar linguistic and cultural components. The Western mental picture of Morocco is often too general and simplistic, as it overlooks the existing variation within Morocco which determines people's verbal and non-verbal behaviour. This book is an attempt to show that Morocco has its own linguistic and cultural specificity whose ramifications affect education, literacy, gender roles, and language choice.

The major contribution of this book to the field of language contact in general and multilingualism in Morocco in particular is the presentation of a systematic taxonomy of the languages in use (their statuses, domains of use, and functions), and the portrayal of Moroccans' language patterns and attitudes, in addition to the discussion of the interesting interaction between language, cultural identity, education, gender and power, and the cross-linguistic aspects of maintenance and shift, as significant sociolinguistic phenomena characterising language contact situations. This book includes important facts and significant empirical data brought in for illustration or to support the argumentation.

The book is organised as follows. Chapter One provides a historical background. Chapter Two is concerned with the issues of language, culture, and identity with evidence from the Moroccan context. Chapter Three deals with Arabic varieties, i.e., Classical, Standard, and Moroccan Arabic, their statuses, functions, and domains of use. Chapter Four is concerned with Berber, its linguistic properties and functions. Chapter Five deals with the status of French, its functions and domains. Chapter Six presents the evolution of the foreign languages in use in the country, namely Spanish, English, and German. Chapter Seven discusses the various types of bilingualism and focuses on the most productive type, Moroccan Arabic-French bilingualism. Chapter Eight deals with Moroccan Arabic-French code switching among educated people, and its social significance. Chapter Nine deals with language use and language attitudes and with how attitudes determine language choice. Chapter Ten is concerned with language and education, focusing on language planning, literacy, and the school system. These chapters show that multilingualism in Morocco is a complex sociolinguistic phenomenon which entails cultural diversity, engendering language conflict, split loyalties, cultural identity awareness, and a dichotomy between tradition and modernity, all having ramifications for language, attitudes, gender, and education policies.

Note

(1) The Maghreb includes Morocco, Mauritania, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya.

CHAPTER ONE: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Introduction

This chapter provides a historical background of Morocco. It sheds light on the Arab conquest, which led to the extension of the Arab-Islamic empire from Persia to North Africa in the eighth century. The chapter also deals with the European invasions which affected Moroccan history and culture. It shows that multilingualism and multiculturalism are not recent phenomena in the region. Another purpose of this chapter is to argue that Islam and Arabic, which are historically related, are important to understand the social structure and language situation in Morocco today.

For many authors, the Maghreb as a region emerged with the Arab-Islamic era (647 AD), and developed later on with the French colonisation (1830 AD). However, I andendorse Fitouri's (1983) assumption that the Maghreb as a cultural and political community appeared during the Berber era prior to 215 BC. After that the Maghreb became Roman until 440 AD, with the arrival of the Vandals. The Romans established colonies to export grains to Italy. They brought with them the Latin language; however, as the Romans were not interested in imposing their linguistic dominance, they did not leave behind a remarkable cultural or linguistic legacy, except for a few inscriptions which can still be seen in the ruins of Volubilis near Meknès. In 534 AD, the Maghreb became Byzantine until 647 AD when the Arab-Islamic phase began (see Laroui 1980, Julien 1986, Agnouche 1987, and Chafik 1989).

In the tenth and early eleventh centuries, groups of Jewish settlers arrived in the south of Morocco, precisely between the Anti-Atlas and the Middle Atlas mountains. Laroui (1977:75) states that these groups came from Yemen, which had an important Jewish community. The Jewish population became so integrated that they acquired Berber and adopted the Berber traditions, while they retained Hebrew for prayers. The Berber and Jewish populations lived in peaceful harmony for centuries after the Arab conquest. In the early 1960s, most Jewish Moroccans, more than 550,000 people, left for Israel; consequently, only about 5,000 Jews are established in Morocco today. There are Jewish saints all over Morocco, namely David Ben Baroukh in Taroudant, Rabai Ben Bahrouch in Zagora, Daoud Imouchi in Ouarzazate, Sidi Daniel on the southern coast of Morocco, Ben Zmiro and Sidi Boudhab in Safi, Sidi Ali Bousarghine in Sefrou and Sidi Yahya in Oujda.

Overall, Islamic culture has impacted the Maghreb for more than fourteen centuries, in the sense that it has marked the social behaviour of the population. This culture has itself been influenced by the different traditions practiced in the region and elsewhere in the Islamic world, particularly in Asia, Africa, Europe and America. Thus, Islam has assimilated whole populations and their cultures. However, Islam alone cannot be the only marker of identity, as other variables, such as the local culture, nationalism, gender, and class, enter into play.[1]

In the following section, I provide a brief historical survey of Islam and Arabic in Morocco.

Islam and Arabic in Morocco : a Historical Background

The Arab conquest led to the extension of the Arab-Islamic empire from Persia to Morocco in the early eighth century. The Arab conquest put an end to the Christian Byzantine power in North Africa, and as a result converted most of the Jewish and Christian natives to Islam.

The spread of Islam in the region was not accompanied by Arabisation at the beginning. The Berbers, who constituted the major population, continued to speak their language. In fact, the Arabs who first arrived in the region were generally sedentary urban people; according to Laroui (1970:136), they were about 20 000 people. The second wave of Arab conquerors were tribes that had been expelled from Egypt in 1050 CE, namely the Banu Hilal, the Banu Maaqil and the Banu Suleim (Laroui 1977:139; Julien 1986:72). Because these tribes were nomads like Berbers, they were accepted by the Berber community, and this engendered the assimilation of Berbers to Arab culture. [2]

Islam was established in Morocco in the eighth century, following the vast Islamic conquest which spread as far as Spain in the ninth and tenth centuries. Subsequently, Moroccans adopted Islam as their religion. Later on, Arabic became the main language used in the coastal areas, while Berber was limited to the mountainous and rural regions.

The Arab-Muslim conquerors adopted a language policy that enabled them to spread Arabic and Islamic cultural values. The remarkable relation between Arabic and Islam, as mentioned in the Qur'an itself, made this spread and dominance of Arabic unavoidable. In fact, to understand the Qur'an, one has to be literate in Arabic. Qur'anic schools were opened to train prospective religious and political leaders. These facts led gradually to the domination of Arabic over Berber.

In fact, with the advent of Islam, many non-Arab countries adopted this religion. In contrast with the pre-Islamic period, which was full of tribal and civil wars, the Islamic period was characterised by the integration and assimilation of many nations into Islam. This golden age of Arab-Islamic culture lasted until the invasion of Baghdad in 1258 by the Ottoman empire, and the isolation of the Islamic world, characterised by religious conservatism and dogmatism. In that period, Arab-Islamic culture suffered a deep stagnation which was followed by a real regression, represented by a closed society with no innovation in its cultural production. Even technical and scientific production regressed between the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries (cf. Fitouri 1983:21).

We are dealing with Arab-Islamic culture, and not Arab culture, because the most important remnant of the pre-Islamic culture is the Arabic language; with the advent of Islam, the important thing is the Qur'an, not Arabic. The Arab-Islamic culture is relatively vigorous to the extent that it has been open to the influences of Greek, Persian, Hindu, Judaic and Christian cultures.

Subsequently, due to religious dogmatism and conservatism, this culture suffered a serious decline. Its re-birth took place after the campaign of Bonaparte in Egypt in 1798 and the openness of the Arab-Islamic culture to the modern world (Fitouri 1983:22). The *Nahda* period (renaissance) started in Syria and Lebanon before it gained Egypt, as a result of the occupation of the Ottoman empire (of the Middle East and North Africa, except for Morocco) and of the influence of Bonaparte. The *Nahda* movement, which is based on mythical and religious funadamentals, is equivalent to the Western re-naissance, which is a literary, artistic and scientific movement which marked the revival and renewal of European civilisation in the 16th century. During the *Nahda* period, intellectuals like Mohamed Abdou in Egypt established schools for the army, encouraged translation, created newspapers to the extent that Egypt became like a part of Europe because of the re-birth of arts and science and because of the presence of Europeans in Egypt.

The *Nahda* period, which lasted from 1845 to 1905, sought to modernise Islam and society, and started with the generalisation of education. Thus, thinkers and religious reformers like Mohamed Abou, Jamal Eddine El Afghani and Mohamed Iqbal rejected backward views and traditions and encouraged the modernisation of the Arab-Islamic society through *al-ijtihad* (a re-interpretation of Islam taking into account modernity and social change).

The second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century were marked by colonisation and the struggle for independence and by a social revolution against decline. After independence, a

new *Nahda* was launched as the ruling elite endeavoured to upgrade arts, sciences, and education and to develop the economy and modernise society.

Starting from 1574, Tunisia and Algeria, unlike Morocco, were occupied by the Ottoman empire and stayed so until the French colonisation era. Note that the predominance of Islam has been a fact since 647AD, hence the adoption of the Muslim lifestyle by the majority of the population. The expansion of Muslim fundamentalism today in the region is only a reminder of the vitality and dynamism of this religion.[3]

Despite many European invasions, Morocco has succeeded throughout history in assimilating other cultures without losing its own authenticity.

European Invasions and Moroccan Nationalism

In the fourteenth century, El Jadida, Essaouira, Ceuta, Melila and other coastal towns were occupied by Portugal. In 1860, the Spanish invaded Morocco, notably the northern cities of Ceuta, Melila, Tetouan, Nador, Elhoceima and the Sahara. Apart from Ceuta and Melila, which are still occupied by Spain, Morocco recovered all the northern cities and the Sahara between 1962 and 1975.[4]

French colonization lasted from 1912 until 1956. It introduced the French language into the educational system and administration, while allowing the teaching of Arabic in Qur'anic schools and Berber in rural areas. French was predominant in all active modern economic sectors as well as in education and government.

Both French and Spanish languages and cultures were imposed by colonisation, which led to a setback of the Arab-Islamic culture. The Arab-Islamic community had an aggressive and violent attitude toward these foreign cultures for fear of being culturally alienated. Thus, Arab-Islamic solidarity gained momentum as the nationalist movement exploited this reaction, awakening feelings of cultural identity. The theme of returning to the Arab-Islamic roots and to the Arabic language and culture became fashionable for nationalist thinkers like Allal Al Fassi, Abdelkrim Ghallab, Lahcen Youssi and Mokhtar Soussi.

Their Arab-Islamic cultural identity drove the nationalists to oppose the disintegrative influence of particularly French culture. The nationalists had recourse to traditional Islamic principles like the *Jihad* (martyrdom or struggle in the name of Allah for the land). Islam has been strongly used by the Moroccan nationalist leaders in their struggle against the French occupation;

for instance, mosques were revitalised and politically exploited. Similarly, many free schools were created where Arabic and Islamic thought were taught. The nationalist leader Allal Al Fassi used the difference between the Islamic culture and Western culture, in an attempt to affirm the important place of Moroccan cultural identity as a first move in the fight against colonialism.

The French colonisers adopted the policy of educating and training an elite who would become culturally and linguistically alien to their own people, that is, who would be "pseudo-Europeans" (Bidwell 1973). This elite received the kind of training that would be appropriate for lowly administrative jobs, and the sort of education where Classical Arabic was secondary, and only French was taught as a medium of instruction.

The colonial power justified its occupation of Morocco and the Maghreb in the name of its "civilising mission" (*mission civilisatrice*) in order to modernise and develop the region; this colonial ideology assumes the superiority of Europeans over the colonised natives. However, the real aim was to extend the French influence to the region and protect the French interests in the area. This paradigm was spread by the educational system adopted, which also aimed to perpetuate economic and political dependence. This dependence was politically obvious in administration, which excluded any form of local autonomy. Economically, the colonised countries were a sort of "reserve" of raw materials and a market for French products, as well as a "reserve" of cheap labour.

During the colonial period, the nationalist movement managed to adopt many French cultural ingredients and aspects. It borrowed a number of principles and values from the Western model. In fact, many nationalist leaders were French-educated. Most of them mastered French and had a good knowledge of French/Western culture as they held high degrees from French universities. They studied French literature, law, political science, engineering, and commerce.

As part of the Islamic educational tradition, Classical Arabic was taught in the religious schools, and in the old University of Qarawiyyine in Fès, which was set up in the Middle Ages.[5] The French administration did not allow these learning centres to flourish because they propagated Arabic and Islamic culture. In 1930, this educational system was nearly destroyed by the colonial power (see Maamouri 1973, Micaud 1974 and Versteegh 1997).

The French colonists taught Moroccan pupils that they were French, although they were denied French citizenship, and did not have the same rights as French citizens (see Murphy 1977). The colonial authorities opened up Franco-Arab and Franco-Berber schools to prepare selected pupils for minor jobs in the colonial service. Not many parents welcomed the French style of

education, and as a result only a few of them sent their children to French schools. In 1930, the French colonists introduced the "Dahir Berbère" (*Berber Dahir* or Decree), whereby the Berbers would be submitted to tribal law ("droit coutumier"), and *shariaa* (Islamic law) would be kept in Arabophone cities. This divide-and-rule policy had, nonetheless, the opposite effect since it led to the strengthening of the solidarity between Arabs and Berbers and to the consolidation of the fight for independence (see Laroui 1980).

The French policy in education had many consequences. For the academic year 1931-1932, there were 11 Moroccans studying at French universities.[6] By the 1940s, many Moroccan people acquired a knowledge of French, however elementary, which they used for different purposes in their daily activities because the language in question was the vehicle of the French power hegemony. Learning French was necessary in order to communicate with the colonial authorities, to ease bureaucratic procedures and open doors for social mobility. Thus, French became the dominant language in the educational system in Morocco at that time. It was not only the language of science, but the language of arts and humanities as well. By contrast, Classical Arabic was regarded as the first "foreign language" or second language (see Maamouri 1973, Abbassi 1977, Murphy 1977, El biad 1985 and the references cited there).

The nationalist movement in Morocco struggled for the revival of Arabic and the re-birth of traditional Islamic culture and national identity. It used French deliberately and extensively to make the cause of independence known not only to the French rulers, but also to the world at large. As Murphy (1977:4) puts it, "it was an assertion, a challenge, a way into the enemy's stronghold". In fact, the most well-known nationalist Maghreb leaders, who fought for independence from the French, were Francophone; one can cite, Lahbib Bourguiba (Tunisia), Mohamed V (Morocco) and Ahmed Ben Bella (Algeria). Despite the current falsifications of Maghreb contemporary history, Muslim religious leaders and eminent Arabophone intellectuals at that time did not initially question colonialism as long as it respected Islam (see Gafaïti 2002). This is the case of *Zawiyas* or local religious centers, like *Qadiriya* and *Tijania*, whose main concern was offering alternative routes to spirituality.

Classical Arabic was used to influence the masses in the fight for independence and was a unifying factor of the different political forces of the country. As the language of nationalism and Arab patriotism, it was used to rally the efforts of Moroccan people in their struggle for independence.[7]

With the proclamation of independence in 1956, Morocco chose Arabic as the official national language, and Islam as the religion of the State. Morocco implemented a French-Arabic bilingual system of education in which French

had the lion's share in the high school and university curricula. However, in the 1970s the government decided to Arabise the sciences in primary and secondary levels of education due to pressure from the purists and the opposition parties (see Chapter three).

The Arabisation policy which has been adopted in Morocco since independence is, according to Gallagher (1968:139), a re-affirmation of a national identity which had been obscured for years by the French Protectorate (see also Hammoud 1982, Grandguillaume 1983, El biad 1985 and Ennaji 1988).

Morocco chose to Arabise mainly education and administration, but at the same time emphasis was put on the need to establish a bilingual system of education during an indefinite period of transition. This meant the continuation of French, and the inclusion of enough Arabic language and culture to help safeguard Moroccan authenticity and cultural identity.

The historical background given above highlights the fact that the sociolinguistic situation in Morocco today is characterised by widespread multilingualism since many languages serve different purposes. For that reason, many Moroccans have a knowledge of at least two languages, a mother tongue (Berber and/or Moroccan Arabic) plus a written variety of Arabic, French, English or Spanish. However, monolingualism, either in Berber or in Moroccan Arabic, is still important for about half of the population is illiterate.

Social Structure and Language in Moroccan Society

Historically, Arabs were generally craftsmen, while Berbers were usually cattle raisers and nomads (see Laroui 1980). Islam brought a new type of administration and organisation, which led to the birth of a community of faith and brotherhood in which solidarity and Islamic fundamental laws were enforced.

Today, three major social classes may be distinguished. First, there is the upper class people, which enjoy economic and political power; they are usually the urban bourgeoisie, and the rich peasantry and landowners.

Second, there is the middle class, which comprises doctors, industrialists, administrators, university teachers, lawyers, etc. Third, we have the lower class, which includes workers, miners, small merchants and peasants.

Social class interacts with language and literacy in many ways. It is noticeable that, while illiteracy is very high among the lower class, the majority of middle and upper class people are literate, bilingual or multilingual.

However, with the expansion of education and urbanisation, many working class people have become literate.

As mentioned earlier, multilingualism is not a recent phenomenon in Morocco. Before the French colonisation began in 1912, there were already three languages in use, viz. Classical Arabic, Moroccan Arabic and Berber. Classical Arabic was the language of religion and government. Moroccan Arabic and Berber were the mother tongues of the population.

Nowadays, more languages are in use. A variety of Arabic, called Standard Arabic, has emerged to serve as the intermediate language between Classical (which is mostly written and archaic) and Moroccan Arabic (the spoken colloquial Arabic variety); it is used essentially in education, administration and the mass media. In addition, French has been introduced as a result of the French Protectorate; it is used especially in the domains of the media, finance, government, science and technology. There is also Spanish, which is widespread in the north and south of Morocco, areas formerly occupied by Spain. Finally, we have English, which was initially introduced by American soldiers when Morocco harboured American bases in the 1940s and the 1950s; English is today popular in secondary and higher education. This linguistic diversity is ascribed to the infiltration and settlement of foreign powers in Morocco, namely the French and the Spanish.

In the following chapters, I consider the languages used, their statuses, functions, domains of use, as well as the attitudes toward each one of them. The languages I propose to deal with are: (i) Classical Arabic, (ii) Standard Arabic, (iii) Moroccan Arabic, (iv) Berber, (v) French, (vi) Spanish and (vii) English. The phenomenon of Arabic-French code-switching is tackled in a separate chapter. Three chapters are devoted to French-Arabic bilingualism as a linguistic option, language attitudes and to language planning, education and literacy.

Notes

(1) Because of the cultural diversity of the Islamic world, we can state that there are many kinds of Islam. The type of Islam practiced in North Africa is different from Islam in South Africa, or in Asia or America. For instance, while abortion is forbidden in Morocco, it is legally tolerated in South Africa and Turkey. In this context, Moatassim (2002) states:

> *On peut dire, sans doute, qu'il y a autant d'expressions islamiques qu'il y a de peuples, de pays ou d'Etats, voire de strates sociales*

ou d'espaces géographiques ou culturels, si ce n'est d'individus musulmans.

[one can state, with no doubt, that there are as many expressions of Islam as there are people, countries, states, social strata, geographic and cultural spaces, or even Muslim individuals]

This quote means that the Islamic world is characterised by cultural complexity, in the sense that Islam is influenced by the various traditions and values that map this world, and that there are many types of Islam and various forms of its expression and implementation. One can state that there are as many forms of Islam as there are different peoples, countries, social strata, cultural identities or even as there are Muslim individuals.

(2) Berber is spoken as a mother tongue in the Maghreb, although with the implementation of the Arabisation policy, it has come under pressure from Standard Arabic which, like French, is used in education, administration and media (see Wagner 1993:18) . Arabic was introduced in North Africa through Islam. Unlike in Pakistan, Iran and Malaysia, for instance, Islam in North Africa led to the Arabisation of the population over many centuries, because Islam brought with it a strong language, a great literacy culture and a relatively advanced system of administration and education.

(3) The revival of Islam in the whole region testifies that people are strongly attached to their religion as a sign of their cultural identity. More people today than in the 1960s go the mosque for prayers and are keen on fasting during Ramadan, and more girls and women wear the veil as a symbol of their Muslim culture. Additionally, there are many Islamist associations and at least one party the *Parti de la Justice et du Développement* which attempt to propagate Islamist ideology in their fight for power.

(4) The interaction of these European cultures with Arab-Islamic culture created a conflicting situation which lasted until after independence. On the other hand, the most important wars that Morocco fought against European invasions was the war of independence from France, the war against the Romans and the war of the three kings against Spain (Oued El Makhazin war).

(5) In addition to Qarawiyyine University in Fès (founded by Fatima El Fihriya in the 8th century), there is also the Zaytuna University in Tunis, where Islamic and Arabic studies were taught. In Algeria, there has not been an equivalent of such Arabic language institutions of higher learning.

(6) At that time, there were 21 Algerians and 119 Tunisians studying at French universities, for the same academic year.

(7) There is common failure to specify what is meant by "Arabic"; is it Classical Arabic, Standard Arabic or Moroccan (Dialectal) Arabic? It is surely not the last one, given the official negative attitude to this 'low' Arabic variety.

CHAPTER TWO: LANGUAGE, CULTURE, AND IDENTITY

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the issues of language, culture and identity with evidence from the Moroccan context. It highlights the language-culture interface and stresses that mother tongues are essentially important for identity-building. I argue that the experience of colonisation was dramatic because it highlighted a strong conflict between the values and beliefs of two different cultures, Muslim and Western. By Muslim culture I mean the social behaviour, beliefs, and traditional way of life which are connected to Islam, and by Western culture I mean the modern way of life, values and way of thinking of Westerners in Europe particularly and North America.

Since independence, Morocco has been wavering between modernity and conservatism. In the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, Morocco was inclined to the first in view of the fact that Morocco was still under the strong influence of the French culture, but since the 1990s, the pendulum has swung to conservatism under the rise of Muslim fundamentalism.

In post-independence years, the Moroccan ruling elite adopted French-Arabic bilingualism as a political option in their efforts to modernise the country. Today, tension exists not only between French-Western values and Arabic-Islamic beliefs, but also within the Moroccan context, between Berber and Arabic languages and cultures. This language situation highlights a clash of interests and ideological tensions which themselves mirror the struggle for power at various levels. I should point out from the outset that, in many issues, the interaction between the languages and cultures of Morocco is characterised by contrasts and paradoxes.

Culture

Definitions of the term "culture" naturally abound. Some are sociological, psychological, or philosophical; others are political, or historical. Culture, as a concept, is difficult to define. Many anthropologists and sociolinguists have attempted to define culture. For Goodenough (1957) quoted in Hudson (1980),

> *a society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members.*

Brown (1980:122) also states

> *culture is a way of life. It is the content within which we exist, think, feel and relate to others. It is the glue that binds a group of people together.*

Modern anthropologists are concerned with the relationship between language and culture, and have for the most part developed their theories through the Whorf hypothesis, which stipulates that the various forms of meanings created in the patterns of language reflect a view of the world and a culture. Thus, speakers of different languages would have different world views and cultures (see Whorf 1956). This implies that for cultural anthropologists, "culture is something that everybody has" (Hudson 1980: 73).

> *In anthropology a culture is the learned and shared behavior patterns characteristics of a group of people. Your culture is learned from relatives and other members of your community as well as from various material forms such as books and television programs. You are not born with culture but with the ability to acquire it by such means as observation, imitation, and trial and error.* Oswalt 1986: 25

Culture can also be regarded as an important part of one's knowledge of the world. Duranti (1997: 27) notes:

> *If language is learned, then much of it can be thought of in terms of knowledge of the world. This does not only mean that members of a culture must know certain facts or be able to recognize objects, places, and people. It also means that they must share certain patterns of thought, ways of understanding the world, making inferences and predictions.*

Thus, culture may be defined as a complex whole which includes many components such as traditions, customs, the system of beliefs, values, arts, knowledge and other habits acquired by people in a specific society.

People generally confuse "culture" and "civilisation"; a person who is "cultured" is considered "civilised" as that person's behaviour and knowledge are sophisticated as a result of education and training. In the Oxford Dictionary, culture is defined as "the training and refinement of mind, tastes, and manners; the condition of being thus trained and refined; the intellectual side of civilisation".

The two terms "culture" and "civilisation" are closely linked. An individual is said to be cultured when s/he is "civilised"; culture also presupposes a kind of learned and refined behaviour. This enables the individual to acquire any form of culture through education, exposure and training. By contrast, civilisation may be defined as "a system or stage of social development" (Oxford Dictionary); Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary defines it as "the culture characteristic of a particular time or place " or as "a relatively high level of cultural and technological development".

Culture is strongly linked to development because of its function in society. According to Mazrui (2002), culture has several functions: it influences people and how they perceive themselves and the world. For instance, the African conception of immortality implies having many children, which has negative consequence on development, as this affects family size, employment, education, economic and population growth. Traditional gender stratification is also governed by cultural patterns. In many Muslim societies, women stay at home to raise their children, and the outside world is men's space. Culture allocates women and men different roles. Culture also has a communicative function in the sense that it is largely transmitted by language (mother tongue or foreign language). Finally, culture is a basis of identity, as it distinguishes between the "us" and the "others", and limits the borders of national solidarity. Thus, what constitutes an Arab, a Berber, a French or an Igbo is fundamentally a function of culture as a system of beliefs and values. A pertinent question to ask is: how can identity contribute to development and how do gender differences affect problems of identity?

To avoid confusion amidst this plethora, I adopt Ralph Linton's definition: "culture is the configuration of learned behaviours and their results, whose elements are shared and transmitted by the members of a given society" (Linton 1965:33). In this definition, there is the word "learn" which means that any culture can be learned, and different people can have access to different cultures if they are willing to learn them.

The strength of a culture resides in its power to assimilate other cultures. A strong culture is less likely to be invaded by a foreign culture than a weak culture. When a culture is weak, it tends to be less flexible and less tolerant towards other cultures. The people evolving in this sort of culture become dogmatic and hostile to foreign cultures. The strength of a culture may be measured by the degree of tolerance of and openness to other cultures.

Linton (idem) states that there is a distinction between social and biological heritage. The culture in which the individual is brought up is his or her social heritage, which is distinct from biological heritage. Culture involves

the shared mentality of a given society. There exist strictly regional, national and even tribal cultures, as well as universal cultures.

Identity

As to "identity", its definitions and formulations do vary according to different disciplinary affiliations, yet identity as "process" within specific power constellations is a recurrent image. Thus, according to psychologist Josselson,

> *[...] identity is neither a structure nor a context but a property of the ego that organizes experience. It is an amalgam [...] of constitutional givens, idiosyncratic libidinal needs, psychological defenses against inner conflict, significant identifications with important others, interests and social roles. In a sense, we might think of identity formation as the assembling of jigsaw puzzle in which each person has somewhat different pieces to fit together* (cited in Jansen, 1998: 75).

Identity has been a persistent problem for sociolinguistic theory, although the terms of debate seem to have changed: from identity as a problem to the kind of problem that identity is. Theory has moved towards the recognition of the diversity of identities that such a vast term obscures, and towards the recognition that identity is far less static than previously conceived, and is more of a construct than structure. As Saadawi sates:

> *"Identity" is a discourse, and it is essential to know who is using it, who decides, who labels me, what all this interest in "cultural identity" means, where does it lead [...] I have tried to tell you about my identity [...] But we are so engrossed in defining our identities when they are changing all the time* (Saadawi, 1997: 118,126).

A few authors have dealt with the ambiguities and fluidities of "identity". What concerns us here is social identity, which Tajfel describes as

> *"that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups), together with the values and emotional significance attached to that membership.* Tajfel (1978: 63)

To this interesting definition, Woodward has recently added the idea that

> *[social] identities in the contemporary world derive from a multiplicity of sources -- from nationality, ethnicity, social class, community, gender [...It] gives us a location in the world and presents the link between us and the society in which we live [...] Often [it] is most clearly defined by differences, i.e., by what it is not (Woodward, 1997:1-2).*

This multiplicity of identities entails that people have many social and cultural identities, which they in a way merge together. For this reason, there are several joint identities which are often smoothly combined (e.g. Afro-American, Franco-German, Swedo-Austrian, etc.). This sort of combined identities reveal, as Hall points out, that

> *Far from being grounded in a mere 'recovery' of the past [...] identities are the different ways we are positioned by and position ourselves within the narratives of the past* (Hall, 1990: 223).

Identity conflict may arise if a person has many different identities which compete and sometimes contradict each other. This is the case of many Moroccan French-educated intellectuals, who feel guilty because they are more immersed in the French culture than in their own, and they are excellent in French while they hardly master standard Arabic. As a result, identity conflict hampers their creativity.

Fishman has recently added the observation that cultural identity cuts across many fields,

> *extending to all the ramifications [...] for the social, psychological, economic, political, and cultural interactions within and between groups of human beings* (Fishman, 1999:3).

Identity is, according to Fishman (1999), the dynamic relationship between the ancestral heritage, with all its components (oral tradition, literature, beliefs, etc.), and the language(s) which give birth to a specific cultural identity.

The language and identity link has itself been subjected to a great deal of analysis and scrutiny throughout the history of scholarship. The topic is, however, still a controversial one today. As stated in Ennaji (1999), there

are two major trends in the scientific inquiry in this domain. The first one argues that race, political affiliation, social class, nationality are more important factors than language in the determination of one's identity (cf. Appel and Muysken (1987:15). The second trend asserts that language has a direct link with identity, along with cultural heritage and values. For Fishman (1977), for example, language and identity are closely related, especially when the members of a linguistic community have a favourable attitude toward their own group.

I, for one, would stress the important link between language and identity; however, I should add that other factors like race, nationality, religion, social class, cultural heritage, gender, and attitude do determine the formation of identity (see Ennaji 1999 for details). At any rate, research has shown that language is intimately linked to cultural identity, and both interact daily in many interesting ways, as we shall see in the following section..

The Language-Culture Interface

The interface between language and culture is remarkable. What is ambiguous is the fact that language is at the same time a vehicle of culture and one of its components. In this chapter, I make a distinction between language and culture in the sense that language is the means of expression of culture (cf. Fitouri 1983:83). As mentioned earlier, the two terms "language" and "culture" are pervasive notions which resist comprehensive definitions. Culture is what basically characterises a society as an identifiable community; it encompasses language, history, geography, religion, the political system, literature, architecture, folklore, traditions, and beliefs.

Languages, and more particularly mother tongues, are important for identity-building. They have a symbolic role as they represent cultural elements that affect the first identity of individuals. They are used by the child for early socialisation. Mother tongues help to define persons and groups in their specificity, culture, and ideology; they also shape people's personalities and way of thinking (see Milner 1978, Boukous 1997). Mother tongues have social functions that are basically related to identity, everyday life, family, and friends because hey express people's feelings, values, aspirations, and beliefs. It is the mother tongue who is the vehicle of a rich oral literature in all its facets (songs, poems, anecdotes, proverbs, riddles, etc.) and the voice of many forms of art and culture.

However, in some situations, bilingual shift to a second language may not lead to the absolute erosion of language identity. For instance, Moroccan

immigrants in Europe may maintain their original languages and cultures and develop, thus, a sense of cultural boundaries between their native language and the European language. In this regard, Trudgill (1974:57) state that a person or group may give up their language without necessarily losing their original sense of identity, as we have discussed above. This is the case of many Berbers in Morocco and of many Indians in North America, who still feel Berber and Indian respectively, although they do not speak their native language any more (De Ruiter: personal communication).

In some bilingual situations, the second language is so powerful that it provokes loss of the mother tongue. Loss of language identity may result from adopting the ex-coloniser's language in vital sectors of life, or in a diaspora context where the mass communication language is not the bilingual's native language. This is the case of many Moroccans born in France, who constantly French, but not their mother tongue. Loss of language identity involves the diffusion of identity by adopting a different language and culture through the adoption of new social membership, cultural habits and ethnic practices. Many terms are used in the literature to depict this language problem: some people speak of language shift, while others refer to language obsolescence or attrition or even language death. The author prefers the expression 'language loss' because this kind of language shift is done willingly in the sense that shifting to L2 may provoke killing L1 which is carried out by oneself and, thus, it provokes a loss of language identity.

As a consequence, culture is closely related to variables like nation, nationalism, identity, and the individual. It overlaps with context, geography, gender, class and ideology. Attitudes in this regard are crucial. A positive attitude toward a language would create a positive cultural identity, and this contributes to the maintenance and promotion of the language. On the other hand, a negative attitude would inhibit and crush identity, and eventually leads to language loss. In short, identity is closely related to individuals' linguistic, cultural and historical backgrounds. Several studies have confirmed the relationship between language and cultural identity. As a case in point, Mercer et al (1979) state that their informants underline the function of the mother tongue to maintain the link with cultural identity.

Today, experts in conflict resolution think that cultural understanding is a prerequisite to dialogue and tolerance. Accepting the culture of the other can lead to the promotion of understanding among nations. Cultural differences have to be taken into account and to be respected in order to reinforce peace and understanding among nations.

Morocco has over the centuries been marked by Islam, the Arab influence and Berber culture. To these, we may add the Hispano-Moorish and Jewish cultures, which have immensely enriched dialogue between different communities. Pluralism is both a historical tradition and a way of life in this region of the world. This is one of the reasons why most Moroccans do not view multilingualism and multiculturalism as a danger for national unity. Morocco is a complex country in the sense that it is linguistically and culturally diverse. Islam, Arabic, Berber and French are pillars on which national identity is built.

In the following section, I will focus on how Islamic culture has interacted with Western culture over the centuries and on the relationship between these two important cultures and civilisations.

The Interaction Between Arab-Berber-Islamic and Western Cultures

The recent interaction between Arab-Berber-Islamic and Western cultures goes back to the French colonial period. It can also be traced further back to the conquests of Morocco by other foreign powers (the Phoenicians, the Byzantines, the Romans, the Portuguese, and the Spanish).

As mentioned earlier, in the re-birth period (1798-1905), the Muslim-Western culture interactions were enriching and progressive. But during the period of decline (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the period of colonisation in the twentieth century), these contacts were antagonistic, and hence biculturalism was imposed.

The experience of colonisation was dramatic because it highlighted the discrepancy between the values and beliefs of two different cultures (Arab-Muslim and Franco-Western). The French colonisers sought to marginalise the Arab-Muslim culture through the assimilation and alienation of the Maghrebi peoples. This assimilation policy was criticised by Islamic institutions like the Qarawiyyine University in Morocco, nationalists leaders like Allal Al Fassi (who created the "Istiqlal (independence) party", Mohamed Al Fassi, Mohamed Ben El Hassan El Ouazzani, Mohamed Mokhtar Soussi, and Lahcen Youssi, all of whom fought for independence by their writings, and also by Berber leaders like Moha Ou Hammou Ezzayani in the Middle Atlas and Abdelkrim El Khattabi in the Rif, who both organised armed resistance against the French and Spanish troops. Among female nationalists, we can cite Malika El Fassi in Fès, who was the only woman among fifty men to have signed the petition for independence in 1944, and also Fama in Tetouan and Khaddouk bent Ahmed n'ait Oufkir in the south, who bravely struggled for independence

by providing the logistics and moral support to armed resistance against the French.

The birth of the Moroccan nationalist movement is also associated with the Berber Decree in 1930, which sought to divide Berbers and Arabs. In the 1940s, the nationalist movement began to develop in Morocco and the Arab world at large. One of the aims of the struggle against the colonisers was to protect the indigenous cultural identity. Nationalist thinkers and leaders like Jamal Eddine Al Afghani, Muhamed Abdu, Rachid Ridha, (in Egypt), Ibn Badis (in Algeria), and Allal Al Fassi (in Morocco) contributed to the spread of nationalist feelings and to the struggle against colonisation across the Arab-Muslim world.

Pan-Arab and Pan-African cultural nationalisms were a response to colonialism and its cultural domination. European colonisers wrongly accused Arabs, and Africans in general, of being lazy, unsophisticated, unskilled, and unproductive. Colonisers also made the negative value judgement that those who were unskilled and non-creative were uncivilised.

The fact that the Maghreb countries share the same Arab-Muslim background explains their generally hostile reactions to the phenomenon of acculturation or cultural domination. It is possible that in the future, the pan-Africanism of political integration will be led by post-independent Maghreb. There is already cooperation and fraternity agreement between fives countries: Morocco, Algeria, Mauritania, Tunisia, and Libya. Egypt has expressed its intention to join this movement towards greater integration. Although it is still a long way from political integration and unity, the Maghreb is likely to become unified in the near future, since it shares many historical and cultural aspects: Islam as a religion, Arabic language, Arab-Berber culture and a common history.

The Maghreb is also characterised by biculturalism, since it has adopted French culture in addition to the local culture. According to Fitouri (1983:26), there are two kinds of biculturalism: the negative type, which is imposed by colonialism, occurs in the period of decline and regression; in this case, the culture contact is painful and is a source of conflict. The positive kind of biculturalism is generally adopted by the community, which chooses to enrich its own culture by opening up to other cultures. Positive biculturalism is the result of language and culture contacts during periods of progress and enlightenment. Thus, to the development phase corresponds openness and culture diversification, and to the period of decline corresponds withdrawal and lack of contact with other nations and cultures.

The contemporary period is characterised by a relative balance between modernity and tradition. Modernity is a complex notion for it is linked with the transfer of ideas of the European Enlightenment, in which science and progress were adopted as the bases of a more rational and civilised world. Modernity is often contrasted with tradition, which is closely associated with a conservative system of beliefs and archaic cultural values, like the supremacy of religion which often restricted individuals' freedom and self-expression.

Modernisation, on the other hand, involves the pursuit of scientific, technological, economic, sociocultural and constitutional change that is in conformity with the present level of human development and knowledge. Skills and values are, therefore, at the core of modernisation, which is linked to development and takes into consideration society's needs and its global environment. (cf. Mazrui 2002).

However, in the modern period, modernity has been equated with Western values, and this led to the devaluation of other cultures, which are considered unsophisticated and backward. Unfortunately, this idea of modernity degenerated during the colonial era, when colonialism justified itself by pretending to have a "civilising mission". Liberation movements challenged the assumed superiority of the West and demanded respect for cultural diversity which has been, until recently, under attack.

Historically speaking, Moroccans have always sought contacts with other cultures, i.e., Berber and Arabic languages and cultures have never shunned or feared interactions with European languages and cultures, notably Latin in the past and French today (cf. Ayache 1956; Fitouri 1983:83).

In post-independence Morocco, French is widely used in education, science and technology, and it is a means of social promotion and upward mobility. It is impossible not to notice the increasing number of French-Arabic bilinguals in the country. By contrast, Classical Arabic, in this context, is strongly associated with cultural independence and the affirmation of Arab-Islamic identity, "the only identity recognised as legitimate in the postcolonial era" (Gill 1999). This polarisation system bestowed a "sacred" status on Classical Arabic, which is used by the traditionalists and the nationalists as the sign of religion, authenticity and nationalism. Many researchers argue that this attitude reflects the existing tension between tradition and modernity, and the fact that the modernising movement coming from the West finds resistance among traditionalists.

In bicultural Morocco, that Islamic values and Western lifestyle usually cohabitate. Thus, a person might do the Friday prayers in a mosque or go to a bar for a drink on Saturday evening. Although it is forbidden for Muslims to drink alcohol in the open, the latter is purchased in towns and cities and served

in bars and hotels behind closed doors. In an interview with Touria Souaf on the Moroccan second TV channel on January 7th, 2001, the eminent Moroccan writer, Abdellatif Lâabi, stated:

> *Les marocains n'ont pas de problème d'identité. Leur identité est plurielle caractérisée par la diversité des langues et cultures.*
>
> *[Moroccans have no identity problem. They have a multiple identity characterised by the diversity of languages and cultures.]*

In other terms, for Lâabi, Moroccans have no identity problem. They are happy with their multiple identity characterised by linguistic and cultural diversity.

However, it seems difficult to ignore the fact that there is a crisis of identity in Morocco today, and the situation is more complex than what it seems to be. On the one hand, Morocco witnesses the rise of Islamic fundamentalism, which is attested through the existence of dozens of Islamist associations (*Al-Islah wa At-tawhid, Al-Adl wa Al-Ihsan, Shabiba Al-Islamiya* are the most important ones) and the creation of an Islamist party ("Le parti de Justice et de Développement") which won 44 seats in Parliament after the elections of September 27th, 2002.. Linked to Islamism is Arabism, which claims that Morocco, as an Arab country, should align with the Arab world to realise Arab unity. On the other hand, there is Berberism, which purports to revive the Berber language and culture in view of unifying the Berber land across the Maghreb. Thus, one can observe that Moroccans do not seem to agree on the kind of societal project they want to realise, and that the sociocultural situation is more paradoxical than it seems. Thus, while Berber activists and Islamists fervently defend the Berber cultural identity and the Muslim and Arabic roots respectively in order to reduce the effects of Western hegemony, most of them send their children to French-style schools to acquire a modern type of education. By contrast, Francophone urban intellectuals argue openly that French and Western values are good for the future of Morocco (see Chapters Nine and Ten).

By contrast, in the preamble of the Moroccan constitution, it is mentioned that Arabic is the official language of Morocco, and Islam the State religion; likewise, Article 9 states that the constitution "guarantees all its citizens freedom of expression in all its forms...". This article provides the right for any group of citizens to conserve their language and culture. Nonetheless, the constitution does not allude to Berber, Moroccan Arabic or even to French. But in reality, French prevails in the media, administration, higher education, science and technology.

Since independence, Morocco has chosen what Fishman (1971) refers to as Policy B, which is adopted when there is a national consensus that a local language with a "great tradition" exists. This is the case of Classical Arabic, which is a codified language with a huge body of literature and scientific tradition. The policy of Arabisation has been launched to modernise and standardise this language to express new concepts and ideas in the areas of science, technology, and modern culture. The aim of this policy, as outlined in Chapter Nine, has been to achieve national unity and efficiency in all modern domains. (Cf. Ennaji and Sadiqi 1994, 2003 and Ennaji 2002a).

Morocco has a language approach included in the National Charter on Education (1999) based on the principles of democracy, pluralism and social justice. (This Charter will be extensively discussed below.) Language is the most powerful factor that brings together the masses and the intelligentsia; it may be used to resolve regional disparities and to consolidate social and national development. It facilitates people's access to general knowledge, science and technology and, thus, helps in the creation of opportunities and in economic growth.

The expansion of free education in independent Morocco implied that more and more people would confront and experience the contact between the Arabic and French languages and cultures. It also meant the increase of feelings of acculturation.

The youth, in general, suffer from alienation due to the gap between modernity and tradition. Three attitudes are observed: 1) the attitude of the middle and upper class urban youth who advocate a total immersion in Western culture, which is considered the sole model and means of progress, 2) lower middle class educated young people favour a possible marriage of Arab-Islamic and Western cultures; and 3) urban working class young people support the total embracement of Arab-Islamic culture. This is the case of young fundamentalists who consider Arab-Islamic beliefs and values as the solution to the social and economic problems of the country (see Laroui 1997).

Muslim Fundamentalist groups have different interpretations of Islam and hold different views of modernity and Western culture. There are moderate, less moderate and extremist fundamentalists. Whereas the moderate ones accept modernity and are open to Western values, the extremists totally reject any interaction with modern thinking and lifestyle.

Fundamentalists generally reject the Western culture, folk culture and modernity in the name of authenticity and Islam, and argue that. only Islam can lead the nation to social stability and economic well-being (see Burgat 1988). Being conscious of the gap existing between the Arab-Muslim culture and the

French/Western culture, the youth are particularly torn between these two modes of life. They waver between a strong attachment to local traditions and a favourable attitude to the Western way of life, which is considered by many educated people a means of progress and development. At any rate, there is a feeling of uneasiness among the youth which is amplified by economic difficulties such as unemployment. According to official statistics, over 15% of people in Morocco are unemployed (see newspaper *Al Alam* of 16 September 2000). Thus, the way to development and modernisation seems far ahead.

Mernissi (1987) argues that there is failure of development in the Arab world in general. The youth are unhappy and frustrated because they cannot realise their dreams; as a consequence, some take refuge in Muslim fundamentalism while others take the risks of illegal emigration to Western Europe.

Moroccan rulers have always favoured modernity over tradition. The ruling elite underline the need to modernise the country as a prerequisite to development. However, there is no clear model of modernity that Moroccans want to attain. Pragmatism characterises the policies adopted since independence, in the sense that socio-economic development and the fight against poverty and illiteracy have been among the priorities of the post-independent governments. Nevertheless, the country has not yet adopted a well-defined project of a modern society capable of mobilising the youth.

For over forty years after independence, Morocco has known various changes on the political, economic and social levels, which have lead to a constant change of attitudes and ideas. This period has known a psychological setback and ambivalent attitudes toward modernity and tradition. The whole generation of independence is torn between the Western way of life and Islamic conservatism.

This wavering between modernism and tradition is a characteristic of independent Morocco. The conservative forces in this country feel more secure with the traditional Islamic values than with the modern values of the new world, i.e., they cling more to the Muslim tradition and identity than to Western thoughts and values. Moroccans feel more comfortable with the old traditions and somehow fear the new changes that may be brought up by the West (see interview of Hassan Esmili in the Moroccan daily *Al-Ittihad Al-Ishtiraki* of January 11, 2001). With the growth of Muslim fundamentalism in the region, the pendulum seems to have swung to the side of tradition, i.e., the side of Arabic, Islam, cultural identity and authenticity.

Since independence, schools have been an efficient instrument of modernisation. Teachers have played a positive role in the reshaping of

education and administration. They have fostered the acquisition of Western culture and the adoption of modern values, including openness to the advanced societies in Europe and North America. Many highly educated people and nationalist leaders like Allal Al Fassi, Abderrahim Bouabid, and Mohamed Ben El Hassan El Ouazzani, Mahjoubi Aherdane, and Mohamed Chafik, encouraged their daughters to go to school unveiled and to pursue their higher education in science and technology at home and abroad. Through political parties and education, in general, these enlightened Moroccan intellectuals actively participated in the struggle for democracy and the rule of law and have succeeded in establishing the bases of a democratic society (see Mernissi 2003).

However, schools today have become the target of Islamists whose aim is to disseminate religious fundamentalism. Many Islamist teachers have indeed turned their back to modernity, and thus propagate radical Islamist ideologies among school children and university students in an attempt to go back to the Muslim religious precepts and to the Arab-Islamic roots (see Ali Oumlil in *Al-Ittihad Al-Ishtiraaki* of January 3rd, 2001.

These contradictory attitudes toward modernity and tradition have had an impact on family, school, and various institutions (cf. Suleiman 1999). The ambivalence in attitudes increases uneasiness especially among the youth. School consolidates this uneasiness, as it accentuates acculturation and a sense of insecurity. This does not mean that there is incompatibility between the two cultures; what is needed is a favourable social and educational context where educators are capable of decreasing this feeling of acculturation by presenting the two cultures in a fair way, without any prejudice or falsification. To reduce the feelings of tension and profound frustration, students should not be introduced to Western culture without having first a good knowledge of the Arab-Muslim culture.

Pedagogical reforms must take into account the sociolinguistic and cultural backgrounds of pupils and students. These reforms encourage tolerance, mutual acceptance and co-habitation of the traditional and Western values. Social reforms, on the other hand, will ensure social justice and equity; schools should allow pupils and students of different social backgrounds to deepen their education and improve their social positions.

Having discussed the importance of the culture contact between Arab-Islamic and Western values, it is worth investigating the phenomenon of Westernisation, its origins and impact on present-day Morocco; this is the subject of the following section.

Westernisation: Causes and Effects

It follows from the above discussion that Morocco is characterised by culture contact which has led to its Westernisation. The contact between the Arab-Berber-Islamic cultures has originally been forced and imposed on the population by the different Western powers, the most recent of which is French colonisation. The aim of the latter was to assimilate the indigenous population to French culture. Today, after so many years of independence, French culture is still predominant in education, administration and other dynamic sectors. On the personal and psychological levels, Westernisation led to a dislocation of the Moroccan (also Maghrebi) personality and to alienation (cf. Moatassime 1974, Fitouri 1983: 34).

Historically, the contact between the Arab world and the West developed due to (i) the invasion of Egypt by the French leader Bonaparte (1798-1801), and (ii) the advent of the *Nahda* (renaissance) movement. Westernisation reached its peak with British, French and Italian occupations of North Africa and the Middle East.

As mentioned in Chapter One, the *Nahda* movement attempted to borrow from Western cultural values and principles related to science, technology, administration, and education. This modernist project was the basis of reforms effected in the Maghreb and the Middle East. In Morocco, French high schools (such as Lycée Moulay Youssef in Rabat, Lycée Moulay Idriss in Fès and the French-Berber lycée in Azrou) offered modern education, while the Qarawiyyine University offered a traditional type of education. However, according to researchers, the renaissance movement in the Arab world borrowed many Western values and ideologies without the necessary critical mind (Fitouri 1983: Chapter II). The modernisation efforts made by Morocco after independence reinforced acculturation and dependence on the Western culture. This is almost the inevitable consequence of modernisation, which partly implies borrowing from modern societies and cultures.

Westernisation in this means the adoption of a set of borrowed Western cultural strategies to achieve socio-economic development at the cost of losing the traditional Arab-Islamic identity. One way of limiting cultural and scientific dependence on the West is indigenisation, which means greater use of native languages, techniques, personnel and approaches to purposeful change. Indigenous languages, thus, are adapted to the new needs of society by making them purposefully more scientific. Moroccan and African cultures continue to be affected by the hegemony of Western civilisation and by the power of Western languages. A sociocultural change in Africa is a prerequisite to the

reduction of the linguistic and cultural gap which separates Africa from the West.

This great change will be consolidated by a revolution in gender roles. Because, in almost every society, women are the protectors and saviours of native languages, mothers transmit the mother tongue to their children through generations. The promotion of indigenous languages consequently leads to the emancipation of women and ultimately to development (see Ennaji 2001). Conversely, the empowerment of women is concomitant with the promotion of native languages and sustainable development.

Another strategy for transcending dependency on the West is to adopt projects that are relevant to the needs of developing societies. Thus, it is important to make European languages more relevant to African needs. For instance, instead of using French and English to promote Western civilisation, it would be more relevant to make these languages serve Moroccan (or African) culture and civilisation. Great novels in French by novelists like Tahar Ben Jelloun or Kateb Yacine are achievements in domesticating Euro-colonial languages. Similarly, there is need to make such cultural achievements accessible to the other (also through translation).

In this context, Arabic is linked to the assertion of Arab-Islamic identity, while French is a symbol of modernity and Western lifestyle. According to Elbiad (1985), Moroccan respondents labelled Arabic as 'archaic', 'romantic' and 'difficult', and described French as 'modern', 'educated', 'technical' and 'useful'. The two cultures will continue to co-exist in harmony, as one does not exclude the other. In fact, full development cannot be realized without the full integration of modernity in Moroccan traditions.

One wonders to whom, and to what social group, is Westernisation beneficial? The problem is that the majority of the people are traditional and have reservations about the way Westernisation has been processed and applied since independence.[1]

In general, during colonisation, Westernisation was less fruitful to the local population than to the colonisers. The dominant-dominated relationship aimed in fact to weaken and disintegrate the national culture. However, colonialism failed to achieve its goal, as it led to the nationalist struggle for independence despite the strong impact of the French presence.[2]

Today, the process of Westernisation is still under way after four decades of independence; its influence is presumably even greater than it was during colonisation. For example, French has never been so widespread as nowadays. However, Westernisation has been chosen by decision-makers, with the aim of modernising the country, for the simple reason that the ruling elite wish to achieve efficiency using Western methods and ideologies which are

thought by this elite to be adequate for development. The resistance of the conservatives to the modernising process is levelled not only against Western values, but also against the way these values have been introduced. The speed with which the modernising reforms had been implemented did not take into account the conservative forces. The modernising reforms were led by enlightened political leaders who themselves had educated in the West (mainly in France), namely the late Kings Mohammed V and Hassan II.

During the first decade following independence, the attitudes of the youth toward Arabic were ambivalent. Although they generally appreciated Arabic as the language of Islam and of Arabic scholarship, they tended to favour French, which they considered the language of modernity. The fact that the youth had a limited knowledge of the Arab-Islamic culture facilitated their Westernisation, which made them alien to both their own culture and to the French/Western culture.

It is a fact that the ruling class today is a modern elite which itself largely takes advantage of Westernisation. The impact of Westernisation on the intelligentsia is so great that most intellectuals are divorced from illiterate and conservative masses. This odd situation reflects their ambivalent attitudes toward the Arabic culture (cf. Fitouri 1983: 57). Although modernist intellectuals abide by the constitution, which specifies that Morocco is a Muslim country whose official language is Arabic, they think that the latter is unfit to modernise education and administration. As a way out, they opt for French-Arabic bilingualism, which consolidates the supremacy of French in the name of modernisation. Educated women have also been Westernised as a result of their schooling and of their mastery of French, which they use to assert themselves as emancipated women (see Sadiqi 2003).

The post-independence governments have adopted a dual policy, advocating Standard Arabic/French bilingualism in education and administration in the name of modernisation and progress, while at the same time implementing the Arabisation policy as a marker of cultural identity and national unity. The expansion of free education since independence fostered Westernisation among the youth. This led to the debate over cultural identity and subsequently to attempts of reviving Arab-Islamic cultural authenticity.

To strike a balance between the Western and the Arab-Islamic cultures, education policy makers have endeavoured to implement a bilingual and bicultural type of education in schools. This is discussed in the following section.

Bilingual and Bicultural Education

As mentioned above, the French colonial presence in Morocco provoked two different reactions: first, the spread of French/Western culture and the acculturation or alienation of the indigenous masses, and second the struggle of the nationalists who rejected this alienation and cultural dominance. The latter reaction, which was based on religious motives, took violent forms in the fight for independence.

After independence, almost the opposite tendency resulted, as many young people and intellectuals insisted on learning French language and culture for pragmatic reasons (i.e. for social progress and openness to the West).

In post-independence Morocco, the French-educated ruling elite set out to modernise the country along ambiguous lines. In their speeches, they endlessly repeated the necessity of French-Standard Arabic bilingualism in education and administration, and the importance of French in technical domains like finance, science and technology. This bilingual system had modernist goals like socio-economic development and progress to partake of Western modernity and progress. The highly centralised educational system was much influenced by the French system and heavily relied on French teachers in high schools and universities. Gradually, the latter were replaced by Moroccan teachers, in concordance with the government's policy of the Moroccanisation of professionals and staff (*la marocanisation des cadres*), but the same conception and orientations were kept.

This bilingual and bicultural system of education provoked a feeling of antagonism expressed by the adoption of two different cultures (Islamic and Western), and two languages (Arabic and French), with each language striving to dominate the educational system.

To reduce the continued reliance on the language of the coloniser, the State embarked on an Arabisation policy which set out to gradually replace French by Standard Arabic in many active sectors like education and administration. To speed up the Arabisation process, the government hired teachers from the Middle East to teach mainly human and social sciences in Standard Arabic (see Gill 1999).

Countless official speeches insisted that French was used for purely instrumental purposes, while Arabic was the symbol of national identity and Arab-Muslim authenticity, which was the only identity to be recognised as legitimate until the 1990s (Gill 1999). However, the general public was conscious of the crucial role of French in education and in socio-economic

development. They associated French with modernity and progress and Arabic with literature and Arab-Islamic tradition.

Today, French schools are still very popular and prestigious, especially in urban areas and among the wealthy and the educated elite, who believe that Standard Arabic is still unfit to be used in the domains of science and technology (see Fitouri 1983:57, Grandguillaume 1983, Elbiad 1991, Ennaji 2002a).

The fact that French and Standard Arabic have different roles is the source of learning difficulties that are encountered in schools and universities. The number of repeaters and school drop-outs testifies to the dramatic situation in Moroccan education. Only 1% of primary school pupils reach and finish university studies. As a case in point, in the English Department at the Faculty of Letters, Fès, 16.3% of students dropped out in the academic year 1999-2000.

The Arabisation process has led to a decrease in the students' command of French, although quantitatively, more Moroccan people (at least 25%) speak French today (see Chapter Five and Ennaji 1988). Nevertheless, French has gained more prestige and influence in the country because of its utility in economic and technical sectors and its role in social promotion. Thus, modernity, social success, prestige, economic and scientific matters are associated with French, whereas Arabic is associated with identity, roots, cultural authenticity and tradition.

Pedagogically and psychologically, one cannot open up to a new culture without having full knowledge of one's own culture. Most Moroccans are eager to learn about Western culture, although they have only a superficial knowledge of their Berber-Islamic-Arab culture, which accounts for the uneasy and ambivalent attitudes toward the linguistic and cultural situation in Morocco.

As discussed above, many modernists question the adequacy of Standard Arabic as a language of science and technology. The question that ought to be asked, however, is whether Moroccans are ready to develop their own authenticity while being open to other cultures, with the perspective of actively participating in the production of new cultural values.

Although it is officially stated in the Constitution that Arabic is the official language, Morocco has not Arabised higher education. The sciences are still taught in French, and one of the most popular departments at the Faculties of Letters is the Department of French. In fact many science students obtain a transfer from the Faculty of Science to the Faculty of Letters to study French because they cannot follow scientific courses in French. Cf Mouhssine (1995) and Ennaji (2001).

In this state of affairs, it is the Francophone elite and the ruling class that are favoured because they have economic and political interests to protect. The opposition nationalist parties, on behalf of the dominated classes, use Arabisation as a means of gaining power and achieving equality of opportunities. They seek to reduce the strong place of French in employment and social promotion. Thus, different groups have different attitudes toward Arabic and French, depending on their interests and the ideological or political choice they have made.

According to Grandguillaume (1977a), the bilingual situation in the Maghreb hides a class struggle, group competition, a clash of interests of the different socio-cultural categories, as well as ideological tensions. The bilingual situation itself is the mirror of the bicultural context. These tensions also mirror the fight for power at various levels.

The difference between speeches and actual practices adds to the ambiguous discourse on Arabic and French. This reveals that there exists an underlying cultural rivalry at the group and individual levels. For instance, many intellectuals from the conservative *Istiqlal* party militate for the use of Standard Arabic in all sectors, but paradoxically, they send their children to French and American schools (cf. Ennaji 2003b). This is the result of an underestimation of the possibilities of Standard Arabic, which reflects a negative attitude toward this language (see Chapter Ten for more details).

Given the complex multilingual situation in Morocco and Africa by extension, it is often hard to decide which of the existing languages can be used as the language of the media, and as the vehicle of instruction, but this attitude is wrong because multilingualism has also its positive side. For instance, hundreds of languages and dialects are spoken in the African continent, as the following table shows:

Country	*Population (million)*	*Number of Languages*
Angola	8.75	29
Cameroon	9.87	183
Congo	1.74	31
Cote d'Ivoire	9.81	58
Ethiopia	43.35	92
Ghana	13.5	57
Kenya	20.6	35
Morocco	30	05
Nigeria	95.19	400
Sudan	21.55	133
Tanzania	22.49	113
Zaire	9.93	206

Source: Bamgbose (1991: 2)

Thus, even small countries with small populations have a great many languages and dialects. As a case in point, the population of Ghana is 13.5 million, but the languages spoken there total 57.

The use of several languages may imply the existence of many cultures which are an important asset and an enrichment of the multilingual country concerned. Societal multilingualism also brings about individual multilingualism. The multilingual individual is an advantage to the society, particularly if at the same time s/he is multicultural.[3] In fact, a person who masters many languages and knows about other cultures is likely to be more open-minded, more sociable, more knowledgeable and more sophisticated than a monolingual.

A general tendency is that speakers of small group languages learn large community languages, but the opposite is rather scarce (see Bamgbose 1991:2).[4] For example, in Morocco, Berber native speakers tend to learn Arabic, while very few Arabic speakers learn Berber.[5]

Thus, the bilingual and bicultural option in Morocco is more political than pedagogical; it is certainly a pragmatic solution, but it encompasses a dichotomy between tradition and modernity. Rather than being chosen, this option is imposed by historical, political and economic factors. For the Moroccan lexicographer Lakhdar Ghazal (1976), bilingualism is necessary as it

helps keep in touch with industrialised societies. He argues that Morocco needs to move from an imposed type of bilingualism to a chosen type that is essential to promote Arabic language and Arabisation:

> *Nous devons passer d'un bilinguisme subi à un bilinguisme consenti et même cultivé ;car il n'y a pas, selon nous, d'arabisation efficace sans bilinguisme* (1974:156).
>
> *[We must move from an imposed type of bilingualism to an acceptable and even cultured one, because, according to me, there is no efficient Arabisation without bilingualism.]*

Politically, this situation is disturbing, hence the adoption of the Arabisation policy whose aim is to reduce the number of drop-outs and the failure rate at school. The political leaders' stand on Arabisation and bilingualism has evolved since independence. While the enthusiasm for Arabisation was very strong after independence, nowadays it is reduced as more and more intellectuals, parents, and youth, are in favour of reinforcing the place of French in schools (see Ennaji 2002a). This change in attitude is due mainly to the relatively poor results of Arabising education and administration.

However, the expansion of bilingual and bicultural education to masses of pupils and students from different sociological backgrounds after independence has gradually led to their alienation and has had more ramifications for the quality of education and for social behaviour as a whole. In fact, this system of education consolidates acculturation and widens the gap between these two cultures, i.e., between tradition and modernity. An adequate system of education normally contributes to reducing the social gap and the tension between the Arab-Muslim and the Western cultures by giving each culture its due position in society.

Thus, the choice between Arabisation and bilingualism is neither simple nor innocent. It is a political option which can have a serious impact on education, the local politics and on communication with the West and the rest of the world (see Fitouri 1983 and Grandguillaume 1983).

As a result of the ambivalent and contradictory views on Standard Arabic and French, the degree of mastery of French has dwindled; nonetheless, the prestige of French has not diminished, given that attitudes toward it remain for the most part favourable (cf. Ennaji 1991, Elbiad 1991, Boukous 1995 among others). Forty-seven years after independence, French is still as prestigious as it was in the fifties and the sixties. The various faculties and higher institutions have not indulged in any training or re-training of their teaching staff in Arabic. Worse, the faculties of science still offer degrees taught in French to graduates who, without any sufficient training in Arabic, will at the end of the training teach sciences in Standard Arabic in high schools.

My view is that Morocco and the rest of the Maghreb cannot attain modernity before the people are immersed profoundly in their own culture; that is, modernity presupposes first accepting one's own culture before indulging in or embracing a foreign one. As long as this idea is not fully adopted, bilingualism and biculturalism will continue to be a hot issue (cf. Fitouri 1983:78).

Grandguillaume (1977a) states that Arabisation is a good policy if it entails cultural identity, cultural differences, or expressing in Arabic what cannot be expressed in French. The question to be asked is: does authenticity mean going back to the past, the period before colonialism, or can it be developed in the present?

The debate about Arabisation and language policy in the region implies a larger debate on government policy, ideology, politics, religion, culture, and identity. Bilingualism, as it is conceived and applied, entails that Classical Arabic is the language of the glorious past, religion and tradition, while French is the language of modernity and progress (cf. Fitouri 1983:80). The fact that French is used in education, technology, business, and administration implies that French is the language of social success (*bread language*, as Grandguillaume (ibid) puts it.

Recent studies have stressed the importance of learners' attitudes toward the culture of the target language in second and foreign language learning (see Wenden and Rubin 1987, Baker 1992, and Swann 1992). To learn a foreign language effectively, a student must ideally have a favourable attitude toward the target language and culture. This entails that an individual who speaks a second or foreign language is also immersed in the culture of that language. It also implies that the bilingual speaker knows both cultures and enjoys a greater experience than the monolingual speaker. Intellectually, the bilingual's intellect is richer and has more readiness to conceptualise and adapt to new situations (see Haugen 1956:159, Peal and Lambert 1962: 8-20, and McDonough 1981), who dealt with bilingualism within a multidisciplinary approach. McDonough (1981) states that cultural, sociological and psychological factors have a great weight in bilingual problems. They determine school achievement, attitudes toward language learning and motivation for acquiring the four language skills.

Two questions ought to be asked: does mastery of a language provide access to its culture? Does knowing the culture lead to mastering the language? Authors like Mackey (1972) think that bilingualism generally implies in a way biculturalism; however, learning a language through school does not necessarily mean immersing in its culture or knowing it; i.e., knowing a second or a foreign language does not mean awareness of its culture or having access to it. Mastering two languages early in life leads to

knowing two systems of communication in that the two languages are simultaneously used as the vehicles of thoughts and means of conceiving the world. This kind of bilingual knowledge evolves psychologically and linguistically at an equal pace in both languages and cultures.

As language is an inextricable component of culture, it is essential to include culture in the educational system. Culture is not a superficial or a supplementary phenomenon superimposed on the material activities. It is a way of life and a vivid factor to be seriously taken into account in linguistic, educational, and social matters (see Chapter Ten). Given the cultural diversity of Morocco, the selection of cultural teaching materials should be relatively straightforward. Elements of Moroccan, Arab-Muslim and Western cultures need to be introduced. Neutral comparisons between cultures can be a good way of enriching students' experience and knowledge of the world. According to Sadiqi (1992):

> *It is not enough to expose the target culture to students; a full understanding of both the target and the native cultures, together with constructive comparisons, are sorely needed.*

Thus, during the selection of teaching material, issues relating to cultural identity and imported cultural paradigms crop up.

Students need to be introduced to their own cultures, as well as to other cultures, by focusing the debate on cultural similarities and differences, and on the role of culture in sustainable development. It is plausible to teach culture because it determines social behaviour and it reflects people's views of the world; for instance, modern societies have developed new mentalities and cultures which are different from traditional ones (Laroui 1997:21).

On another level, tension exists not only between French-Western values and Arab-Islamic beliefs, but also within the Moroccan context between Berber and Arabic languages and cultures. In fact, it is Islam that imposed the unity of religion and language on the Maghreb, a concept based on the principle of the unity between the sacred text and Classical Arabic. Historically, Berber translations of the Qur'an were burnt out as they were viewed as a transgression of the unity between the holy book and Arabic (cf. Khatibi 1983b). As mentioned above, up until the early 1990s, the only cultural identity that was officially recognised was Arab-Islamic identity. Berber identity and ethnicity were not acknowledged, and multilingualism and multiculturalism were not part of the official policies. In their concern to preserve Moroccan unity, officials in post-independence Morocco neglected Berber. Yet, the sociolinguistic situation of the country reveals a rich and fascinating multilingual dimension, as the following overview of Berber culture reveals.

Berber Culture

Moroccan cultural identity is shaped by three main characteristics, its Berber origin, its Arab-Islamic tradition and its aspiration to modernity. Of the three, the Berber element has suffered most, for Berber language and culture have never been on the agendas of the ruling elite until the royal speech of 20 August 1994, when the king recognised Berber language and culture for the first time since independence. While the regime spent billions of Dirhams to modernise and teach Standard Arabic, and to revive the Arab-Islamic culture across the country, and while it had a huge budget destined to improve students' and employees' standards in French, it never spent one Dirham to standardise, codify or teach Berber, nor did it ever think to preserve Berber culture (see Ennaji 2003a). According to Faik (1999), "the state uses Arabic and French to the exclusion of Berber, and no serious attempts have been made to rectify the situation."

Since independence, successive governments have overlooked the Berber cultural specificity, and attempted to construct a modern nation-state, which is based on three major factors: an independent Moroccan nation, Classical Arabic as the official national language, and Islam as the religion of the State. These factors are linked to ideological orientations such as the struggle against the cultural domination of French along with the close alliance with the Arab-Muslim world. In this context, two immediate targets were Berber and, to a lesser extent, French. This is accounted for by the "veneration of Classical Arabic as a superior and even sacred language." (Gafaiti 2002). The situation can become dangerous if policy-makers continue to marginalise Berber language and culture, to deny Berbers their linguistic rights, and not take any significant measures to preserve their cultural authenticity (cf Faik 1999 and Boukous 2002).

Officials justified their marginalisation of Berber by the fact that it includes three different dialects (Tarifit, Tamazight and Tashelhit), which make it hard to introduce Berber, as one language, in schools. Berber intellectuals and activists argue in response that Morocco was Berber before it endorsed Arabic and Islam, and that if Berbers willingly learn Arabic, Arabophones should not refrain from learning Berber (see Chapter Five).

Despite the discontinuity of the Berber zones, Berbers through the centuries have maintained the following distinguishing traits: (i) they have set up an opposition between themselves, as the first inhabitants of Morocco, and the Arabophone Moroccans or the French, (ii) they are conscious of the borders between the different Berber groups and dialects, and (iii) they have

managed to preserve their language and culture, as a marker of their identity, by means of the oral transmission of their values, literature, music, dance, and lifestyle.

For native Berber-speakers, language is linked to the assertion of their Berber cultural identity. It is the most important indicator of their existence as an ethnic group within a country which is officially Arab and Muslim. The Berber language is the symbol of their identity and the indicator of Morocco's cultural and linguistic specificity. In fact, what distinguishes Morocco and North Africa from the rest of the Arab world is the Berber ingredient. Thus, Berber gives Morocco its pluralism, a fact which has been used by the authorities to reduce the impact of Arabisation and of Islamic fundamentalism. However, the Berber language and population are an important dimension of the national identity and belong to the Islamic cultural identity. This argument has been used by progressive intellectuals and Berber activists to gain the official recognition of Berber in the constitution.

Lately, the king has asserted the place of Berber language and culture as formative components of Moroccan identity by deciding, on 17 October 2001, to create the Royal Institute of Berber Culture (IRCAM) in Rabat. This is an important step to satisfy the demands for the State's recognition of Berber after long years of neglect and marginalisation of Berber language and culture by previous governments since independence.

With this long-expected move, Morocco will eventually concreticise so many hopes expressed by the large numbers of Berber speakers who would like to see their mother tongue and their culture valorized at the national level.

Thus, language and cultural identity in Morocco are marked by four important ingredients: Berber, Arabic, French, and Islam. Berber and colloquial Arabic embody popular culture, while Classical Arabic, French and Islam represent learned culture. In this multilingual and multicultural context, the legitimacy of the State is broadly based on written culture which is closely linked to and dependent on power.

When one speaks of multilingualism, the role of mother tongues comes to mind. Mother tongue (or language in general) is one of the most important tools for efficient communication and for the development of individuals and groups, because through language, people have access to education and may enjoy equal opportunities, and thus, improve their conditions of life. Mother tongue is the means by which cultural, social, political and economic norms are transmitted. The development of an entire country at the socio-cultural level depends on the efficiency with which

language is used. According to the UNESCO Working Document (1997:13), the prestige and value of a language is determined by its usefulness in different walks of life. Denison (1977) states that languages in contact are subject to interference from one another. In this context, the language that is most threatened is the one which lacks social prestige. On the other hand, the main reason for selecting a language in important areas of activity is function. For example, the key factor in the modernisation of Arabic, Berber, Hebrew, Bahasa Indonesia, or Kiswahili is their wider use by native speakers. Function may be further enhanced if the mother tongues have access to scientific communication and modern technology, and if their speakers hold favourable attitudes toward them.

In the following chapters, focus will be on the statuses, domains of use, and functions of the five major languages (Berber, Arabic (Classical, Standard, Moroccan), French, English and Spanish) used by the Moroccan speech community. The issues of Arabic-French bilingualism, code switching, language choice and attitudes and their implications for education are addressed.

Notes

(1) Needless to recall that before its contact with the West in the 19th and 20th centuries, the Arab-Islamic culture was predominant and had a great influence on the Persian, Hindu, Greek and Roman cultures.

(2) In the case of Algeria, the French occupation lasted longer (1830-1962) and was more aggressive. The reaction of the Algerian masses was more violent than in the other Maghreb countries. Today, the Arab-Muslim national culture is stronger than ever before. This accounts for the rise of fundamentalism in Algeria, which is also a political movement in retaliation against the post-colonial governments that did little for the development of Algeria.

(3) In fact, so many languages are spoken in the African continent that it is hard for a country to decide which one is to be elevated to the level of an official language. In Nigeria for example, there are 400 languages and dialects, and 206 in Zaire. The questions to be asked are: which of these languages can be used as official languages, languages of the media, vehicles of instruction and which ones should be standardised and codified or taught as subjects? What are the criteria to be taken into account in the recognition of the 'approved languages '? (see Bamgbose 1991 :2).

(4) The colonial experience has shown that the French, the Spanish, the Portuguese and the Italians imposed their own languages as media of instruction and as important subjects in schools, but marginalised African languages. The British and the Belgians developed a policy of separate systems for the indigenous populations and for the colonisers, while permitting the teaching of African languages. The Germans preferred

to impose German in education, but in East Africa they allowed the teaching of Swahili, which was already used as a lingua franca.

(5) It is implausible to associate multilingualism with divisiveness because language itself is neutral, depending on how one decides to use it. Multilingual nations are assumed to be socio-economically poor and culturally dependent, whereas monolingual ones are thought to be developed. However, these assumptions are wrong. Fishman (1968) has shown that there is no correlation between multilingualism and the degree of economic well being. He examined 114 countries, 52 of which are multilingual and 62 monolingual. About 50% of the linguistically homogeneous states have a low level rate of economic development, whereas 75% of the linguistically heterogeneous ones have a weak per capita income (see also Bamgbose 1991, chapter 1). At any rate, there are very few monolingual states. Connor (1972 :320)'s survey showed that of 132 countries examined, only 9 could be defined as linguistically and ethnically homogeneous. Most countries are in fact multilingual and have a diversity of ethnic groups. Thus, linguistic and ethnic homogeneity is merely a myth (see Ennaji 1999).

CHAPTER THREE: ARABIC

Introduction

This chapter deals with the varieties of Arabic, namely Classical, Standard, and Moroccan Arabic. It presents their statuses, functions, and domains of use. I argue that, despite the considerable prestige of Classical and Standard Arabic, Moroccan Arabic is the predominant spoken language, as it is used in everyday conversation and in informal settings. The phenomenon of diglossia is discussed at length with evidence from the Moroccan context. Each Arabic variety has its own status, functions, and domains of use. Moroccan Arabic is the "low" variety associated with informal settings, illiteracy, and day-to-day activities. Classical Arabic, which is the "high" variety, is associated with Islamic religion, classical poetry, and erudition. Standard Arabic, the middle variety, is associated with the media, education, and literacy. Educated Spoken Arabic, which is an emerging middle variety, is an intermediate variety between Standard and Moroccan Arabic; it is spoken by intellectuals in informal settings. Each one of these Arabic varieties is described and highlighted in a section in its own right.

Because Classical Arabic has religious connotations, it is established as the official language of the nation. For this reason and also because it is associated with written history, Standard Arabic is venerated by both Moroccan Arabic speakers and native Berber speakers, although very few people are fluent in it.

Despite the considerable prestige of Classical and Standard Arabic, Moroccan Arabic is the predominant spoken language. Standard and Classical Arabic are two written varieties which differ linguistically and functionally. Linguistically, Standard Arabic is a simplified and modernised form of Classical Arabic; for instance, Standard Arabic does not include many inflectional endings and uses fewer foreign loans and lexical innovations compared to Moroccan Arabic. Classical Arabic is the variety used in formal religious sermons and in the Qur'an, whereas Standard Arabic is mostly associated with modern written culture, as we shall see in detail shortly.

Diglossia, Triglossia or Quadriglossia?

The term diglossia was first referred to by Marçais (1930-1931) to depict the Arabic language. He defines diglossia as:

> *La concurrence entre une langue savante écrite et une langue vulgaire, parfois exclusivement parlée.*
> *[The competition between a learned codified language and a vernacular, which is at times spoken only.]*

Ferguson (1959) states that the Arab world, in general, is characterised by diglossia in the sense that two varieties of Arabic (one high and the other low) co-exist, namely Classical Arabic and Dialectal Arabic. The first is a high variety because it is codified, standardised, associated with the Holy Qur'an, and it embodies a great literary tradition. Dialectal Arabic (in our case Moroccan Arabic) is the low variety because it is the language of everyday conversation, which is neither codified nor standardised.

In the Maghreb, diglossia predates French colonisation, and according to Khatibi (1983b) and Berger (2002), bilingualism and multilingualism are not the outcome of French colonialism, since they existed well before colonisation. Two varieties of Arabic (Classical and Dialectal Arabic) and Berber co-existed for centuries, as was mentioned earlier.

One of the consequences of diglossia is the "mental block" it causes for children in school, as Abbassi (1977: 93) mentions. When Moroccan children wish to express themselves orally, they usually do it in their colloquial dialect, Moroccan Arabic or Berber. But when they want to express their feelings or ideas in writing, they resort to Classical Arabic or French (see Ennaji 2002a). Like adults, children in the long run develop "a mental block" which is apparent when they have to switch from the spoken variety to the written form of Arabic (Classical/Standard Arabic). This may lead to "schizoglossia" to use Haugen's (1972) terms.

People in a diglossic context take on a certain personality when they engage in a conversation in Moroccan Arabic with family or friends, and transfer to a different personality when they have to express their ideas in a formal situation requiring writing or speaking Classical Arabic (cf. Abbassi 1975: 93). In diglossic contexts, the spoken variety used varies considerably according to region, social class, and gender.

Ferguson's (1959) classification of Arabic varieties into high and low does not really correspond to the linguistic situation in Morocco and the Maghreb at large, for we have three Arabic varieties which are in a triglossic relation: Classical Arabic, Standard Arabic and Moroccan Arabic. Classical Arabic is used in the mosque, in the Ministries of Justice, of Islamic Affairs, in official speeches, in classical poetry, and literature. Instead of Classical Arabic, as Ferguson claims, it is what is called Standard Arabic, that is employed in writing a personal letter, in political or scientific discourse, in the media and administration. Moroccan Arabic is used in informal settings,

at home, in the street, with friends, etc. Thus, three distinct varieties co-exist so that we have today triglossia, as mentioned in Ennaji (1991, 2001):

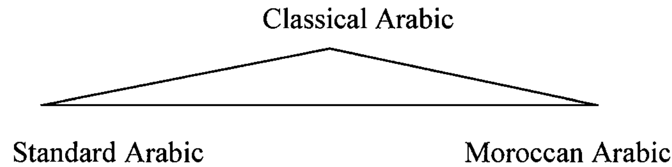

Figure l: *Triglossia in Morocco*

Following, Ennaji and Sadiqi (1994:86) and Ennaji (2001), one may argue for the existence of quadriglossia in Morocco and the Arab world, in the sense that, in addition to the three varieties above, a fourth variety, Educated Spoken Arabic (or Modern Moroccan Arabic), is used in the everyday colloquial style of learned people. Educated Spoken Arabic is an elevated form of colloquial Arabic that is much influenced by the vocabulary and expressions of Standard Arabic. Here are a few examples of Educated Spoken Arabic:

Educated Spoken Arabic	*Moroccan Arabic*
1)a. ktəb-t risala l mudir l-maħṯṯa.	b. ktəbt bra l mudir d la gare.
wrote-I letter to director of station	
'I wrote a letter to the director of the station.'	'I wrote a letter to the director of the station.'
2)a. stamarrat d-dirasa ila ttamina.	b. bqina kanqraw ħtta l tmənya.
continued the-study till eight	
'School went on until eight.'	'School went on until eight.'

However, Educated Spoken Arabic is, like Moroccan Arabic, essentially spoken as it is not used in writing; Educated Spoken Arabic is generally used on radio and television debates and interviews.

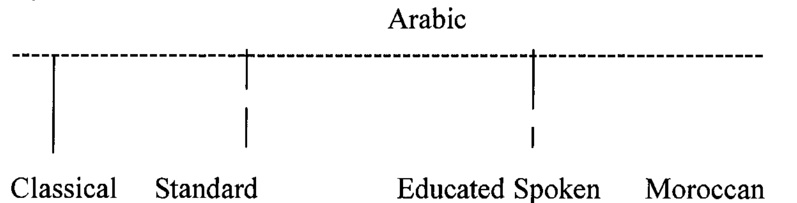

Figure 2: Quadriglossia in Morocco

Like Moroccan Arabic, Educated Spoken Arabic is neither codified nor standardised; in addition, it is not widely used by the Moroccan speech community. This fourth variety, which is used by educated people in their everyday speech, is not yet fully developed and widespread. It is a `polished' and polite form of Moroccan Arabic whose lexicon is affected by that of Standard Arabic. Youssi (1983) refers to it as "l'arabe marocain moderne" (Modern Moroccan Arabic). Educated Spoken Arabic is usually heard on radio, television and in academic circles. At times, lectures, talks, plays, and discussions are given in this variety. Thus, Educated Spoken Arabic adds a fourth dimension to yield a form of `quadriglossia' (see Ennaji and Sadiqi 1994:86); that is four varieties of Arabic are actually in use, with each variety having a set of functions and situations which it fulfils. However, given the high illiteracy rate (48% according to the Department of Statistics 2000), it can be stated that Educated Spoken Arabic is not that popular and widespread, as it is reserved to learned people. Because Educated Spoken Arabic is not yet a full-fledged and vigorous variety, I will not deal with it separately.

In this chapter, I investigate the three major Arabic varieties: Classical, Standard and Moroccan Arabic. Let us start with Classical Arabic.

Classical Arabic

Classical Arabic is a learned language, which is written from right to left; it is called in Arabic *al-fusħa,* that is the eloquent literary language. Being the language of the Qur'an, it is a prestigious high variety and the vehicle of a large body of classical literature, classical poetry, and grammar books which reflect ancient periods of glory in the history of Arabs and Muslims. In the following quote Sanneh (1989) describes one of the important characteristics of Classical Arabic:

> *Muslims ascribe to Arabic the status of a revealed language, for it is the medium in which the Qur'an, the sacred Scripture of Islam, was revealed. In several passages the Qur'an bears testimony to its own Arabic uniqueness, what the authorities call its i'jaz or "immediate eloquence" [...] The author of the Qur'an, which is God, thus came to be associated with its speech, so that the very sounds of the language are believed to originate in heaven...Consequently, Muslims have instituted the sacred Arabic for the canonical devotions [...]The active participation of lay Muslims in the ritual acts of worship (salat), fasting (sawm), and, less*

> *frequently, the pilgrimage (hajj) to Mecca means that Arabic phrases, however imperfectly understood, remain on the lips of the believers wherever and whoever they happen to be.*[1]

The Qur'an itself was revealed in Classical Arabic, and both the Qur'an and Classical Arabic are in fact part of the same revelation. The Qur'an is preserved in Classical Arabic, and according to Inayatullah (1949:242), "Without Arabic, Islam would be only imperfectly intelligible". The Qur'an mentions "These are the verses of the Glorious Book, we have revealed the Qur' an in the Arabic tongue so that you may understand it." (Qur'an 12:1-2, Dawood 1975:38). Furthermore, Classical Arabic is the language of prayers for Muslims the world over, whatever their mother tongue may be. Thus, Berbers, Pakistanis, Iranians, for instance, recite their prayers in Classical Arabic. The Qur'an mentions Arabic several times, especially when stressing the communicative function of Arabic to convey the message of Islam to the people (cf. De Ruiter 2004).

The Arabic language is intimately linked to Arab culture, and is associated with Islam as the dominant religion of this culture. Eisele (2002) has identified four major traits of the Arab cultural tradition. First, the trait of unity, which has always characterised the Arabic language since the pre-Islamic period, reflects the fact that Arabic is a unifying language which unites Arabs in their culture. This unity of the Arabic language and culture contributes to the valorisation of the language, and to the construction of Arab nationalism and Arab unity. Classical Arabic is indeed the language shared by Arabs and is the symbol of their common political future (cf. Holes 1995).

Second, the feature of purity is associated with Classical Arabic, the Arabic of the Qur'an, or the dialect of the prophet's tribe, Quraish, hence the need to preserve the purity of Classical Arabic from the influence of other languages and ethnic groups. This concern brought about the tradition of Arab grammar, and of religious and literary studies. In the modern period, the purity of the language is relatively maintained thanks to the prescriptive Arabic grammar books and dictionaries which attempt to develop the modern variety of Arabic via education and academic research on Arabic and Arabisation.

The third trait of Classical Arabic is continuity, which is reflected in the long written tradition of this language, which has been handed down from generation to generation. It encompasses the revival of Arabic in the postcolonial era through education and the projection of the Arab-Islamic dimension in modern times. This continuity has led to the marginalisation of the Arabic dialects and to the stigmatising of non-Arab languages and

ethnicities, particularly Kurdish in Iraq and Berber in the Maghreb (see Chapters Two and Nine).

The fourth characteristic is competition which exists between Classical Arabic and other languages and varieties, mainly Turkish, Persian, Urdu, Kurdish and Berber. The contact with these Islamic languages favours Classical Arabic as an instrument of the transmission of general knowledge and culture, especially after the interaction of Classical Arabic with Western languages since the early nineteenth century.

Today, the main competition is with European languages especially English, French and Spanish, which were formerly colonial languages, and which today symbolise Western economic and cultural hegemony. As can be noticed, the traditional notions of competition and purity clash with the modernist ideas which valorise linguistic variation and cultural diversity.

Classical Arabic is a sign of erudition and Arabic scholarship. It is commonly used by religious scholars to debate Islamic topics or to undertake Islamic studies. As mentioned in the previous chapter, religion and nationalism have played a great role in the selection of Classical Arabic as the official language in Morocco and in the Maghreb as a whole.

Before independence, Classical Arabic was used to sensitise the population in the fight for independence, being the language of Islam and Arab nationalism. Classical Arabic and religion had a great place as instruments in the struggle for independence. Arabic language and Islamic schools were established by the nationalists across the country to rally their efforts in the struggle for independence. Mosques used nationalist sermons to appeal to the population to continue fighting for their right to exist as an independent nation. The aim was to preserve and glorify the Arabic language and Arab-Islamic culture. Classical Arabic was used in Friday speeches, historical documents, articles, official letters, etc. The solidarity of Arab and Muslim countries also consolidated the fight for independence.

After independence, massive free education and literacy programmes were set up, which led to the conscious feeling that Arabic language embodies the people's authenticity and self. This, indeed, reveals that, as we have seen in the previous chapter, language is intimately related to cultural identity and ethnicity.

Given the multilingual dimension of Morocco, Classical Arabic is considered a crucial factor for national unity and solidarity. This is due to the fact that it is the language of Islam, the religion of nearly all Moroccans[2] Further, Classical Arabic is both codified and standardised and enjoys a great deal of prestige, given its historical background as the language of the great Arabic literature.

Today, despite the implementation of the Arabisation policy, the aim of which is to restore the validity of Classical Arabic as the language of

instruction in education, many Moroccans are still illiterate in Classical Arabic, given the high illiteracy rate. The majority of schooled people have only a passive knowledge of Classical Arabic in the sense that they understand Classical Arabic speeches and texts, but they can neither speak it nor write it without making pronunciation and grammar errors or without making mistakes of interpretation. According to Elbiad (1991), 62% of his respondents find Classical Arabic archaic, and only 36.5% can speak it fluently.

Classical Arabic may be difficult to learn or use because (i) vowels are usually absent in writing, (ii) Classical Arabic is a learned language used mainly in prayers and in formal government or religious ceremonies, and (iii) Classical Arabic has a rigid morphology and structure characterised by various case inflections. In fact, for the average non-educated Moroccan, Classical Arabic functions rather as Latin once did for uneducated Europeans. (For elaboration, see the section on Standard and Moroccan Arabic below.)

After independence, Classical Arabic has also functioned as the language of unity and Islamic solidarity. It has solidified sociocultural and political unity because it is the mother tongue of neither Berbers nor Arabs; additionally, everybody has to learn it at school in order to master it or achieve a degree of competence in it. However, Classical Arabic is easier to learn for Arabs than for Berbers (see Chapter Ten).

Standard Arabic

Standard Arabic is historically related to Classical Arabic in the sense that it is a simplified form of it. Like Classical Arabic, it enjoys the prestige of a written language and is no one's mother tongue. Similarly, Standard Arabic is codified and standardised to the degree that it is practically the *lingua franca* of the Arab world, given the fact that there is a great lexical and phonological discrepancy between the various Arabic dialects of the Maghreb and the Machreq. Standard Arabic also functions as a modern language serving as the vehicle of a universal culture (see Holes 1995).

Like Classical Arabic, Standard Arabic is called *al-fusħa* ; however, Classical Arabic is superior to it because it is more prestigious and it is the official language and the language of religion.

Standard Arabic is intimately linked to the policy of Arabisation, which seeks to develop and modernise this variety. As soon as independence was obtained in 1956, the problem of Arabisation was posed. The press started to underline the necessity of Arabisation. The latter policy was

launched with the creation in 1960 of the "Bureau of coordination of Arabisation" in Rabat.

Nationalism has called for the implementation of the process of Arabisation, which has required a great deal of effort from both government and people. The government has provided models of how to use Standard Arabic by subsidising works on Standard Arabic grammar, lexicon, teaching methodology, etc. It has also initiated and supported the translation of scientific and literary books written in French into Standard Arabic.

Standard Arabic is widely used in the media and education to the extent that it has become less archaic than Classical Arabic and accessible to the majority of schooled people. Standard Arabic is also less sacred because it is not the language of the Qur'an. Although they are not identical, Classical and Standard Arabic are historically and linguistically related. Standard Arabic is different from Classical Arabic on the phonological, lexical, morphological and syntactic levels. Classical Arabic is a fossilised language which admits neither linguistic change nor new lexical items.

Standard Arabic is used for journalistic purposes; this style involves a wide range of new lexical items generally borrowed or adapted from French (cf. Ennaji 1995):

	Standard Arabic	*French*	*Gloss*
3)	faatura	facture	bill
	tilifuun	téléphone	telephone
	vidju	vidéo	video
	radaar	radar	radar

On the morphological level, case endings in Standard Arabic are generally dropped while they are predominant in Classical Arabic, as in:

	Classical Arabic	*Standard Arabic*	*Gloss*
4)	mudarris-un	mudarris	a teacher
	fii l-masʒid-i	fi-lmasʒid	in the mosque
	kaatiba-tun	katiba	a secretary

On the syntactic level, for instance, a new word order, namely Subject-Verb-Object, has emerged as a consequence of the influence of French or English. This order is today used alternatively with the basic word order, Verb-Subject-Object (see Ennaji 1988). The traditional Classical

Arabic construct state *(al-idaafa)* is gradually used hand in hand with the less common *li*-construction, as in

5)a. al-kitaabu li l-mudiir. (*li*-construction)
the-book to the-director
'The book of the director"

b. kitabu l-mudiir. (construct state)
book the-director
'The director's book.'

The preposition *li* is equivalent to French *de* and to the Moroccan Arabic possessive preposition *dyal.* A few French syntactic structures have infiltrated into Standard Arabic, such as the passive agent phrase *min ṯarafi* or *min qibali,* which is equivalent to the French expression *de la part de.*

6) kussira az-zuʒaaʒu min ṯarafi al-muđribiin.
Broken the-glass agent phrase the-strikers
'The glass was broken by the strikers.'

As a matter of fact, Classical Arabic drops the agent phrase in passive sentences. Standard Arabic also differs by the use of punctuation which is basically absent in Classical Arabic.

Overall, the most commonly known characteristics of Standard Arabic in Morocco are: (i) a new lexicon enriched by a wide variety of French loans and borrowed idiomatic expressions, (ii) syntactic and stylistic change patterned on the French paradigm, and (iii) a phonological system that is heavily influenced by the Moroccan Arabic sound pattern (see Ennaji 2002d, Sadiqi 2002b).

Standard Arabic is subject to important changes especially at the lexical level. Many words which have been created in Standard Arabic refer to new semantic fields. This is why French loans are at times given between brackets to show that the meaning of the newly created word is defined in French rather than in Arabic (cf. Benabdi 1986).

The Arabisation process has led to the creation of new words derived from the Standard Arabic patterns. In this way, new words are deliberately created using Standard Arabic morphological patterns. The roots and affixes of the coined words generally belong to Standard Arabic (see Ennaji 1991). There is a tendency among Standard Arabic purists to revive the Classical Arabic terminology and shun the use of foreign loans. Thus, Arabisation has resulted in the coining of new terms that are essentially derived from Classical Arabic roots:

7) taʔʃiira (visa)
   ʒarraaħ (surgeon)
   mutanaqqil (mobile)
   ħaasuub (computer)
   ʃabakat (network)

This kind of coinage is undertaken and diffused basically by the "Institute for Studies and Research on Arabisation", and also by the mass media and academics. Efforts are made to coordinate attempts of coinage and lexical innovation, and chiefly to standardise the current scientific terms so that the same scientific terminology is used across the Arab world. This matter is dealt with in many issues of the publications of the above-mentioned institute, namely *Allisaan Al-Arabi* and *Linguistic Research.* See for instance, Lakhdar-Ghazal (1976:137), Fassi Fihri (1986), Kacimi (1986), Elhamzaoui (1986), Ennaji (1991), and Lachhab (1997),.

Similarly, the Arabisation process has encouraged the adaptation of many French loan words to the Classical Arabic phonological patterns, as in the following examples:

	French	*Arabic*	*Gloss*
8)	dynamique	dinaamiikii	(dynamic)
	automatique	utumatiikii	(automatic)
	technologie	at-tiknuluʒia	(technology)
	olympique	ulampii	(olympic)
	reportage	rupurtaʒ	(report)

In such cases, word borrowing is somewhat moulded in the morphophonological system of Classical Arabic; in other terms, the pronunciation of French loans is altered to fit the Arabic sound and morphological patterns.

On the morphological level, the plural formation of some French borrowed words includes the affixation of the Classical Arabic plural suffix *-aat* to the singular noun:

	French	*Standard Arabic*		*Gloss*
		Singular	Plural	
9)	télévision	tilifizjun	tilifizjunaat	television
	protocole	prutukul	prutukulaat	protocole
	médaille	midaalija	midaalijaat	medallion

Here, the French loans have been adapted to the morphophonological paradigms of Classical Arabic; for example, the suffixation of the plural form *-aat* is accompanied by a lengthening of vowels and vowel change: /e/ changes to /i/; /o/ changes to /u/.

Syntactially, French-like expressions are moulded in the Classical Arabic morphological patterns:

10)a.satulqaa al-mudaaxala ʕalaa as-saaʕa al-xaamisa.(French pattern)
'The presentation will be given at five.'
b.satulqaa al-mudaaxalatu fii as- saaʕa al-xaamisa.
(Classical Arabicpattern)
c. akkada al-waziiru ʕalaa daruurati xalq furas ʃʃuɣl.
(French pattern)
'The Minister insisted on the necessity to create jobs'.
d.akkada al-waziiru daruurata xalq furas ʃʃuɣl.
(Classical Arabic pattern)

Examples (a) and (c) are cases of the influence of French syntax on the patterns of Classical Arabic; their French equivalents would be:

e. La présentation aura lieu à cinq heures.
f. Le ministre a insisté sur la nécessité de créer l'emploi.

Some purists consider sentences (10a) and (10c) as grammatically ill-formed because they involve the interference of French syntactic elements; however, such structures are today commonly used even by educated people. In fact, according to Arab grammarians, the expressions *fii as-saaʕa al-xaamisa* and *ʔakkada* + Noun are more well-formed and idiomatic than their counterparts in (10a) and (10c).

Standard Arabic differs from Classical Arabic at the lexical, morphophonological, and syntactic levels. Lexically, we have seen that Standard Arabic is very much influenced by French and English loans; it allows a wide use of word-borrowing and lexical innovations. Many lexical items have been coined to satisfy the modern needs of communication.

Thus, Standard Arabic is closer to Classical Arabic rather than to Moroccan Arabic. Like Classical Arabic, Standard Arabic is used across the Arab world, with a difference on the phonological level because in each region in the Arab world, Standard Arabic is pronounced with a different accent.

Standard Arabic is less complex than Classical Arabic on the levels of phonology, morphology and syntax, and more flexible concerning the lexicon and word borrowing. As we have seen above, Standard Arabic has borrowed a great deal from French and English. As a case in point, scientific and technical terms like *internet, visa, computer, satellite* are integrated in the Standard Arabic paradigm. The mass media also make use of a great deal of coinage and word borrowing to enrich this variety.

As mentioned earlier, Standard Arabic is associated with the policy of Arabisation which seeks to promote this variety. The major function of Standard Arabic in Morocco is to express aspects of modern culture for which French has traditionally been the vehicle. To achieve its goal, which is to gradually replace French in all modern sectors, Standard Arabic relies heavily on French loans and translations. The situation is different from the Machreq where Middle East Arabic speakers borrow heavily from English to express facts of modern culture. This would indicate that there are regional Standard Arabic varieties across the Arab world. Standard Arabic is, in a sense, less sacred than Classical Arabic because it is not the language of the Qur'an; nonetheless, it has an Islamic connotation for – unlike Moroccan Arabic - it is formally similar, though not identical, to Classical Arabic.

Moroccan Arabic

Moroccan Arabic is spoken by the Arabophone population and by nearly 50% of the Berbers as a second language. Moroccan Arabic is essentially a spoken language although informal letters, plays, or texts may be written in this variety using the Arabic script. It is referred to as *dariʒa* or *ʕammija,* that is the language of the people. Historically, Moroccan Arabic can be divided into non-Bedouin, Bedouin and Andalusian dialects.

The non-Bedouin dialect was brought in by the first group of Arab settlers in Morocco in the seventh century. These conquerors who spoke urban Arabic dialects were religious and military people from urban centres in the Islamised Middle East.

The Bedouin variety was spoken originally by the subsequent massive immigrants from Arab Bedouin tribes that came from the Arab Peninsula, to settle in Moroccan plains. Unlike the first wave of immigration, the second one, who settled basically in the plains, provoked a linguistic and cultural

assimilation that later resulted in the Islamisation of the country (cf. Julien 1956 :72).

The Andalusian Arabic variety was the dialect brought in by the Moorish Andalusian refugees who emigrated from Spain to Morocco in the thirteenth century. These Andalusian refugees spoke a variety of Arabic that originated in the cities of the early Islamic era, but had acquired Andalusian pronunciation. They settled in the coastal area and in the cities of Fès and Meknès (cf. Abbassi 1977, Chapter One).

Moroccan Arabic today can be divided into urban ('mdini') and rural ('ʕrubi) Arabic. The latter is spoken in rural areas, small towns and agglomerations. Urban Arabic is used in the cities. Until recently there was not much contact between speakers of the rural variety and those of the urban variety. But today, with the help of transportation facilities and the relative industrialization of the cities, many rural people have taken to the cities for a better life. In the 1960s, 70% of the population was rural; today only 50% is rural (see 1994 census); as a result, rural Moroccan Arabic speakers can be encountered even in big cities.

Rural and urban varieties can be further subdivided into other varieties. For instance, the urban dialect of Moroccan Arabic has its own regional varieties: in the north, the northern dialect is spoken in Tangiers, Tétouan, and Larache. In central Morocco, there is the Fassi variety spoken in Fès. There is also the Moroccan dialect of Rabat and Casablanca. In the south, the Marrakeshi and Agadiri dialect is much influenced by Tashelhit Berber; it is spoken in Marrakesh, Essaouira and Agadir. In the Moroccan Sahara, the dialect of Hassaniya is used. These regional dialects are mutually intelligible to Moroccans.

The gender dimension cuts across the Moroccan Arabic varieties. Innovations are used more by males than by females. For example, men would use the newly-created word *lqəs* instead of *makla* for "eating". Diminutives are more common among women than men; for instance, *ħlilu* instead of *ħlu* for *"sweet"*, and *ṭwiwəl* instead of *ṭwil.* Furthermore, in the city of Fès, girls tend to use the consonant /q/ more than boys, and to produce more tag questions than their male counterparts. The fact that females use fewer lexical innovations may indicate that they are more conservative and more attached to the linguistic norms. Diminutives are associated with feminine language, while tag questions refer to the idea that Moroccan women are indirect in their speech, hence they use polite forms more than men (see Sadiqi 1995, 2003).

Linguistic Features of Moroccan Arabic

Moroccan Arabic has a regular phonology, a simple morphology, an abundant lexicon, and a great variety of styles. Most of the Moroccan Arabic textbooks and grammars have been developed lately by Western scholars for foreigners. Arabic grammarians, who are usually also Arabic purists, in general avoid working on Moroccan Arabic, which they consider corrupt and unworthy of linguistic study (cf. Fassi Fehri in the newspaper *Al Ahdath al maghribiya* of 24 February 1999). However, poets, playwrights, comedians and other artists have a positive attitude toward Moroccan Arabic, which they use to address the masses.

There are linguistic features that we will consider as dialect markers, namely the /q/ phoneme, because of its importance as a major distinctive linguistic variable among Moroccan Arabic dialects. There are three main varieties that present different realisations of this phoneme. In one case, it is realized as a voiced velar stop /g/, notably in the urban dialect of Casablanca and parts of southern speech in the area of Settat, Béni Mellal and Marrakech (cf. Abbassi 1977, Ennaji 1988). It is realized as a glottal stop / ʔ/ in most of the northern dialects, especially in Tétouan and Tangiers. In the third instance, it is an emphatic glottal stop, as in the dialect of Fès and some northern sub-varieties.

For the past four decades, with the development of means of communication and transportation, speakers of the different varieties of Moroccan Arabic have extensively interacted with each other, which has led to further dialect contact.

Linguistic Differences between Moroccan Arabic and Standard Arabic

The Sound System

The sound system of Standard Arabic comprises three short vowels /a/, /i/, /u/ and three long ones /aa, /ii/, /uu/; the short vowels may be emphatic when they occur close to a pharyngealised consonant, as in /d̲amiir/ (conscience), /s̲aabuun/ (soap); when the vowels are emphasized, they carry the feature /+tense/. By contrast, Moroccan Arabic has five short vowels /a, i, e, ɔ, u/ and three long ones, /aa/, /ii/, /uu/. The vowels /a, i, u/ may also become emphatic when they appear near an emphatic consonant, as in /ţubis/ (bus), /ţaħuna/ (mill). Moroccan Arabic phonology basically differs from that of Standard Arabic in that the two vowels /e/ and ɔ/ appear only in Moroccan Arabic, especially in French loan words such as /militeR/ (military), /gɔme/ (erase).

Moroccan Arabic also has the consonants /p, v, g/, which Standard Arabic lacks. The two consonants /p, v/ occur basically in loan words, e.g., /lviza/ (the visa), /tilivizjun/ (television), /paspɔr/ (passport), and /paraplwi/ (umbrella). The consonant /g/ is used either as a substitute for the Standard Arabic consonant /q/, as in /qal/ vs /gal/ (say), or as a substitute for the consonant /ʒ/, as in /ʒamus/ vs /gamus/ (deer), /ʒazzar/ vs /gəzzar/ (butcher). On the other hand, Standard Arabic includes the consonants /θ, ð, ð̲ /, (as in /θawb/(tissue), /miθa:1/ (example), /tilmi:ða/ (pupil), /ðanb/ (guilt), ð̲ulm (injustice), /ð̲il/ (shade), which Moroccan Arabic does not have. Similarly, the glottal stop /ʔ/ which exists in Standard Arabic, is substituted in Moroccan Arabic for the vowel /i/, /a/ or the semi-vowel /j/ depending on the phonological context. For instance,

	Standard Arabic	*Moroccan Arabic*	*Gloss*
11)	faʔr	far	(mouse)
	faaʔid	fajd	(inundated)
	xalaaʔ	xla	(jungle)
	ðiʔb	diib	(wolf)

Overall, Standard Arabic and Moroccan Arabic have generally the same inventory of phonemes and distinctive features.

Morphology

Vowel change in Standard Arabic may express different tense or aspect forms. Standard Arabic is more complex in inflection than Moroccan Arabic for it contains the dual and the feminine dual and plural forms, whereas the latter lacks these forms.

	Standard Arabic	*Moroccan Arabic*	*Gloss*
12)	waqaf-tu	wqef-t	(I stood up)
	waqaf-ta	wqef-ti	(you stood up m.s.)
	waqaf -tu-maa	wqef-tu	(you stood up m.d.)
	waqaf -tu-nna	wqef-tu	(you stood up f.p.)
	waqaf uu	weqf-u	(they stood up m.p.)

Note that in Moroccan Arabic the same form *wqef-ti* is used to indicate the second person feminine singular and the second person

masculine, and the form *wqef-tu* is generalised to both the feminine and masculine plural or dual.

Similarly, Standard Arabic is richer than Moroccan Arabic as far as the inflection of pronouns is concerned. For instance, Standard Arabic demonstrative pronouns inflect for singular, dual, masculine dual, feminine dual and for plural, while Moroccan Arabic demonstrative pronouns inflect only for singular and plural.

	Standard Arabic	*Moroccan Arabic*	*Gloss*
13)	haaðaa	hada	(this masc sing)
	haaðihi	hadi	(this fem sing)
	haaðaa:ni	had	(these masc dual,nom)
	haaðajni		(masc dual, acc/gen)
	haataani		(these fem dual nom)
	haatajni		(these fem dual acc/gen)
	haaʔulaaʔi	hadu	(these plural general)

Note that Moroccan Arabic demonstratives inflect only for gender and plural, whereas in Standard Arabic, they inflect also for person, dual, and case.

Syntax

Word order variation is among the syntactic features of Moroccan Arabic. While Standard Arabic is basically a Verb-Subject-Object (VSO) order language, Moroccan Arabic has a dominant Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) order, with alternative word orders like VSO and OVS orders (see Ennaji 1985: 14). In Standard Arabic, word order is more restricted; for instance, when the subject is indefinite, the order must be VSO, not SVO. For example:

14) a.kataba tilmiiðun ar-risaalata.
wrote pupil the-letter
'A pupil wrote the letter.'

b.*tilmiiðun kataba ar-risaalata
'A pupil wrote the letter.'

By contrast, SVO order is more commonly used in Moroccan Arabic than in Standard Arabic. Unlike French and English, which are SVO languages, Moroccan Arabic has two basic word orders, an unmarked VSO

order used in any context, and a marked SVO order used only under specific discourse conditions, as at the beginning of a sentence or when the subject is focused. [3]

15) a. qra wañd 1-wld ktab.
read one the-boy book
'A boy read a book.'

b. wañd 1-lwld qra ktab
one the-boy read book
'A boy read a book.'

Another difference between Moroccan Arabic and Standard Arabic is related to case-ending. Moroccan Arabic noun phrases do not inflect for case, while Standard Arabic exhibits case marking for nominative, accusative, and genitive. Consider the following examples:

Standard Arabic

16) a. naama-t al-bint-u.
slept-she the girl-nom
'The girl slept.'

b.kataba al-waladu ar-risaalat-a.
wrote the-boy the-letter-acc
'The boy wrote the letter.'

c. kitaab-u al-walad-i
book the-boy
'The boy's book'

Moroccan Arabic

17) a. faq 1-wld.
woke the-boy
'The boy woke up.'
b. kla 1-wld banana.
ate the-boy banana
'The boy ate a banana.'

c. ktəb 1-wld.
wrote the-boy
'The boy wrote.'

Concerning passives, agent phrases are optional in Standard Arabic, unlike in Moroccan Arabic, where they are disallowed.

Standard Arabic

18) a. kataba l-walad-u ad-dars-a.
'The boy wrote the lesson.'

b. kutiba ad-darsu (min qibali l-walad-i).
'The lesson was written (by the boy).'

Moroccan Arabic

19) a.ktəb l-wld l-bra.
'The boy wrote the letter.'

b. t-ktbə-t l-bra (*min qibal l-wld).
'The letter was written (by the boy)'

In Moroccan Arabic, when it is necessary to mention the agent, the active voice is used.

There also exist dissimilarities between Standard and Moroccan Arabic concerning relative clauses. Relative pronouns in Standard Arabic inflect for person, number, and gender, whereas in Moroccan Arabic they do not. There is only one relative form, *lli*, which is invariably used for all relative clause contexts.

Standard Arabic

20) llaðii (who masculine, singular, third person)
llatii (who feminine, singular, third person)
llaðaani (who masculine, dual, first and second persons)
llataani (who feminine, dual, first and second persons)
llaðiina (who masculine, plural, third person)
llaaʔii / llawaatii (who feminine, plural third person)

Moroccan Arabic

21) lli (that, who)
aʃ (what)
men (whom)

In both Standard Arabic and Moroccan Arabic, relative pronouns do not inflect for animacy, i.e., the same relative forms are used irrespective of whether they refer to animate or inanimate heads:

Standard Arabic

22) a. ar-ra ʒulu llaðii iltaqaj-ta bi-hi
the-man who met-you with-him
'The man who you met'

b. al-farasu llaðii rakiba -hu ʔab-ii
the-horse that rode-it father-my
'The horse that my father rode'

Moroccan Arabic

23) a. l-mra lli tlaqi-t
the-woman who met-I
'The woman who I met'

b. l-kelb lli maat
the-dog that died
'The dog thad died'

However, Moroccan Arabic *aʃ* (what) and *men* (whom) are used solely to identify inanimate and animate antecedents respectively:

24) a. l-kursi fuq-*aʃ*/**men* gles-t
the-chair on-what sat-I
'The chair on which I sat.'

b. l-mra mʕa *men/*-aʃ* tlaqi-t
the-woman with whom met-I
'The woman with whom I met.'

So far as their functions are concerned, relative pronouns in both languages exhibit certain differences as the following diagram shows:

Relative Pronoun	Subject	Direct Object	Indirect Object	Genitive
llaðii	+	+	+	+
lli	+	+	+	+
aʃ	-	-	+	-
men	-	-	+	-

Figure 3: Relative pronouns and their grammatical functions

Several remarks can be made in relation to the above figure: first, in Standard Arabic, the relative pronoun *llaðii* and its morphological variants, like Moroccan Arabic *lli,* can function as subject, direct object, indirect object as well as genitive, whereas Moroccan Arabic bound morphemes can function only as indirect objects or prepositional objects given that they cannot stand by themselves:

Standard Arabic

25) a. al-waladu llaðii ʒaaʔa (*hu)
the-boy who came
'The boy who came'

b. al-waladu llaðii raʔajta-(hu)
the-boy who saw-you
'The boy who you saw'

c. al-waladu llaðii ʔa ʕta jta-*(hu) al-kitaaba
the-boy who gave-you -him the-book
'The boy to whom you gave the book'

d. al-waladu llaðii saafara ʔabuu-*(hu)
the-boy who travelled father-his
'The boy whose father travelled'

Moroccan Arabic

26) a. l-mra lli maatat sɣira (*ha)
the-woman who died young
'The woman who died young'

b. l-mra lli ʃf-ti- (ha)
the-woman who saw-you-her
'The woman who you saw'

c. l-mra lli t-kllem-ti mʕ a-*(ha)
the-woman who you-talked with-her
'The woman with whom you talked'

d. l-mra lli raʒl-*(ha) ħmaq
the-woman who husband-her fool
The woman whose husband is a fool'

e. I-mra mʕa-men *(ʃf-t-k)
the-woman with-whom saw-I-you
'The woman with whom I saw you'

f. l-kursi f-aʃ kun-ti gals
the-chair in-which were-you sitting
'The chair on which you were sitting'

Note that *–men* is used to refer back to the animate head noun phrase *l-mra,* while *–aʃ* refers back to the inanimate head noun phrase *l-kursi.*

Standard Arabic and Moroccan Arabic exhibit important similarities in the sense that anaphoric pronouns are optional when *llaðii* and *lli* relativise direct objects, as in examples (25b) and 26b) above, and obligatory when they relativise indirect objects, as in (25c) and (26c), whereas their deletion is obligatory when they relativise subjects, as shown in (25a) and (26a).

Lexicon

Moroccan Arabic is much influenced by Standard Arabic lexicon. Most of the Standard Arabic borrowings are linked to Islamic rituals and

traditions. These religious loan words are used only for religious functions and do occur in other contexts:

27) sijam (fasting), ʕiqab (punishment), qurʔan (Qur'an), ʕiid (feast), diin (religion)

Standard Arabic lexicon is generally used by Arabic-educated people since, as already mentioned, it is the official language taught in schools and universities. Basic Standard Arabic vocabulary is commonly used in formal and informal settings:

28) sijaara (car), ʒaamiʕa (university), funduq (hotel), ʒariida (paper), nataaʔiʒ (results), kullija (faculty), tarbija (education)

However, a great number of vocabulary items with similar derived forms in both systems reveal semantic differences from one form to the other. These differences consist of meaning reductions, meaning extensions or meaning shifts.

	Standard Arabic	*Moroccan* Arabic	*Gloss*
29)	faqiih	fqih	(Qur'anic teacher)
	ħaliib	ħlib	(milk)
	ṭajr	ṭir	(bird)
	qaaʕid	qajd	(Caid or Sheriff)
	jawm	jum	(day)
	ṭaaʔira	ṭajjara	(airplane)

In these words, the shift from Standard Arabic to Moroccan Arabic leads to meaning restriction, or meaning reduction. The converse happens when meanings in Standard Arabic are expanded in Moroccan Arabic:

	Standard Arabic	*Moroccan Arabic*
30)	ħaṣala (to happen)	ħṣəl (to be trapped)
	xaatam (stamp)	xatəm (ring)
	xaaʔib (disappointed)	xajb (ugly)

In Standard Arabic, meanings may furthermore be shifted:

	Standard Arabic	*Moroccan Arabic*
31)	ʃaʔn (affair)	ʃan (importance)
	saʕaa (to aim)	sʕa (to beg)

Another distinction between Standard Arabic and Moroccan Arabic is cultural, not linguistic; Standard Arabic has a Holy book, the Qur'an to support it, whereas Moroccan Arabic has no religious connotation because the Qur'an was not revealed in it. The above contrastive analysis of Standard Arabic and Moroccan Arabic linguistic systems is not sufficient to describe Arabic diglossia. There are also religious, political and educational reasons that make Standard and Moroccan Arabic two different varieties of Arabic (cf. Abbassi 1977).

Moroccans (and Arabs on the whole) consider Standard Arabic a prestigious language and the only form worth learning in schools, and colloquial Arabic a corrupt and vulgar dialect (see Ferguson 1959, Ennaji 1991, Elbiad 1991, De Ruiter 2002). As mentioned earlier, Standard Arabic is generally associated with literacy and learnedness, and Moroccan Arabic with illiteracy and orality (see Chapter Ten).

At the political level, the struggle for independence evolved around Islam. During the colonial period, Standard Arabic was used by the nationalists as a unifying and distinctive language, as was stated in Chapter Two. It was also used to underline the sociocultural difference between the Moroccan people and the French rulers, on the other hand. The nationalists wanted, in addition, to achieve independence and acquire a sense of cultural identity across the Arab world, which contributed to create pan-Arab feelings essentially based on the Arabic language bond.

Standard Arabic is the essential medium of instruction in the Arab system of education (Chejne 1969 :21). The dialects are viewed by Arabists as divisive because they would encourage regional and political separation, which is against the cause of Arab unity *(al-waħda al-arabiya).* Thus, Classical Arabic would serve as a means to achieve the reunification of the Arab countries by replacing the European languages in use, i.e., French and English. This is why Moroccan Arabic and other regional Arabic varieties have been disparaged and relegated to an inferior role in the presupposed linguistic hierarchy.

At the educational level, Moroccan children face the dilemma of speaking one Arabic variety at home with their parents, or in the street with their peers, but when it comes to writing, they turn to Standard Arabic. The case of Berber children, who speak Berber as their native language and

Moroccan Arabic as their second language, are in a much more complex situation because they have to learn a language that is different from the native language (cf. Penchoen 1968 cited in Payne 1982). The transition is hard for them, as well as for the adult learners to the extent that many of them drop out of school and develop a negative attitude toward the written form of Arabic and Arabic literature in general (cf. Moatassime 1974:642 and Abbassi 1977:93).

At an advanced stage, students of Standard Arabic suffer from the conflict between style and content material and, hence, fail to express their reality. This is an important difference between Standard Arabic and Moroccan Arabic; in the former, people tend to pay more attention to style than to content, whereas Moroccan Arabic is used for pragmatic purposes, and thus, both style and content are crucial. For instance, many Arabic newspapers are criticised by intellectuals for lack of quality topics and publications. The problem is amplified by the traditional and outdated methods used for teaching Standard Arabic. In general, teachers are not adequately trained, and the teaching methods are based on memorisation and an over-emphasis on grammar. The problem is also caused by the rigidity of the Arabic structure and inflection. Added to this are the effects of diglossia which is widespread among the literate and the elite. Because there are three varieties of Arabic, literate people tend to confuse these varieties, mixing or using them in the different domains (cf. Ennaji 2001).

Notes

(1) My grand mother, who was illiterate, used to recite the Qur'an and do her prayers in Classical Arabic, although she, of course did not understand a word, because she spoke only Berber, her mother tongue.

(2) Today, there are about 5000 Jewish people and 40 000 Christian Europeans living in Morocco.

(3) Ignoring details, OVS may be used in both Moroccan and Standard Arabic simplex sentences for contrastive purposes or for reasons of focus.

a. l-ktab qra-h Ahmed.
the-book read-it Ahmed
'Ahmed read the book.'
b. ar-risaalata kataba-haa al-waladu.
the-letter wrote-it the-boy
'The boy wrote the letter.'

When OVS is derived, an object pronoun or a clitic *–h or -ha* is suffixed to the main verb.

Chapter Four: Berber

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with Berber, its history, sociology, population, and dialectal variation. It deals with the linguistic properties, social functions and domains of use of Berber. Following the demands of the Berber academics, who have been undertaking ample research on the language and its culture since the 1960s, and the struggle of Berber NGOs for the revitalisation of their language, Berber has recently been officially recognised as a basic component of Moroccan (North African) culture. Efforts have been made to promote it to a standard language, hence the current endeavours to codify and standardise it, before its introduction in the educational system.

Historically, the word "Berber" has a pejorative (derogatory) meaning; it is etymologically derived from Latin "barbaros", which the Greek first used to name anybody who was a foreigner or had a different language and culture. It is for this reason that many Berber people and intellectuals prefer to use the Berber term *Amazigh* or *Tamazight,* which refers at the same time to the language and identity of Berbers. In this chapter, however, I will retain the term "Berber" because (i) it is commonly used in the Anglo-Saxon and French circles, (ii) it is today employed neutrally without the pejorative connotation, (iii) the term "Berber" is so general that it covers all the Berber dialects that are spoken inside and outside Morocco (see Boukous 1995, Sadiqi 1997b).

The majority of Berber speakers (55%) are bilingual since they also speak Moroccan Arabic. Most of the Berber monolinguals are children or old people living on the Rif and Atlas mountains or in the desert (see Abbassi 1977). Bilinguals learn Moroccan Arabic as a result of schooling, migration, contact with the media and contact with the administration. Because of the immense impact of rural exodus, many intellectuals fear Berber language shift or regression (see Ennaji 1991, Sadiqi 1997b, Boukous 1997).

As most rural Berber children are monolingual, they feel ill at ease when they first attend primary school because their teachers usually speak Moroccan and Standard Arabic but not Berber. School is a challenge because Berber-speaking children have to learn two new languages (Arabic and French) together with other school subjects. Thus,for Berber native speakers, multilingualism and multiculturalism are the norm for the rest of their lives.

The sociology of Berber language and culture, namely its history, the nature of its major population groups, and the variation of the dialects are of paramount importance in order the understand the evolution of the language

and the concerns of its native speakers. This is the focus of the following section.

The Sociology of Berber

The origin of Berber goes back thousands of years. There are three major hypotheses about the origin of the Berber language. The first hypothesis assumes that Berber stems from ancient Egyptian. The second stipulates that it belongs to the Afro-Asiatic language family. The third hypothesis affiliates Berber to Indo-European and Amerindian languages. However, the most plausible theory is to state that Berber is an Afro-Asiatic language, which is mainly spoken in the north of the Great Sahara and in North-West Africa. Berber is the mother tongue of the first inhabitants of North Africa. It is spoken in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Mauritania, Canary Islands, Mali, Niger, and Chad. It has been influenced chiefly by Arabic and African languages like Chadic, Kushitic, and Wolof.

Four major population groups may be distinguished. The first population group is in Morocco, where the Berber-speaking population totals about 15 million people. The second group is represented by Algeria, in which more than 6 million people speak Berber. Third, the Berber population in Libya and the Tuareg populations in the sub-Saharan countries, namely Mali and Niger are estimated to be about 1 million people. Fourth, there exist approximately 140,000 Berber speaking people scattered in isolated areas in Siwa (Egypt, about 30 000), Tunisia (nearly 100 000) and Mauritania (about 10 000). The regions where Berber is spoken are discontinuous, as they are usually surrounded by populations speaking other languages like Arabic. Berber populations are concentrated in mountainous regions whose isolation partially accounts for the incomplete penetration of Arabic (cf. Chaker 1983, Mustapha 1993 and Sadiqi 1997b, Berger 2002).

Thus, it is in Morocco that the Berber-speaking population is most important, followed by Algeria. The above estimates are only tentative, as exact figures are impossible to provide given that the previous censuses in Morocco and in Algeria did not take into account the linguistic situation.

Moroccan Arabic is the second language of most Berber speakers. They learn it and speak it in informal settings, i.e., at home, in the market, or in the street. By contrast, Moroccan Arabic native speakers do not normally learn or know Berber, unless they live in a Berber-speaking community. Thus, the majority of Berberophones are ipso facto bilingual or multilingual.

Today, the proportion of monolingual Berberophones has stagnated because of rural exodus and Arabisation. According to Abbassi (1977), 45% of Berberophones are monolingual. They are considered illiterate because

Berber is unwritten; thus, it is only when they begin to learn Standard Arabic and/or French that they are taught a writing system. A Berber native speaker is considered literate if s/he can write Arabic or French. This is why literacy is associated with the latter languages rather than with Berber or Moroccan Arabic.

Rural women have less contact with Moroccan and Standard Arabic than men because the situations that require communicating in Arabic are relatively rare for women. There are other factors which restrict rural women's use of Arabic. First, according to the 1999 official statistics, 89% of rural women are illiterate. Second, the latter are generally uninvolved in economic activities outside home or the village. Third, their chances to travel to urban areas are usually slim because they have to take care of their families and of their farms (see Taifi 1997, Sadiqi 2003).

Berber has officially been recognised as a language since the creation of the Royal Institute of Amazigh (Berber) Culture in 2001. Although it is neither standardised nor codified, its domains of use are varied but restricted to informal situations. As a result, Berber seems to be reduced to a minority language that is regarded by urban people as both "archaic" and "inferior". This has also resulted in the linguistic assimilation of Berbers, who day by day lose competence in their language, as we shall see below.

Despite all these unfavourable conditions, Berber is still a vital and living language, and there is a strong feeling among Berber native speakers and the progressive forces in the region that, to be preserved, Berber ought to be codified and standardised (cf. Sadiqi 1997b, Ennaji 1997). There are over thirty Berber associations in Morocco alone, the most active of which are: *Tilelli, Association Marocaine pour l'Echange Culturel, Ilmas, Fazaz, Bni-Nsar, Tamaynut, Numidya, Tamesna, Tafsut* (see the Berber journal *Tifinagh* of December 1995). The role of these associations consists of organising seminars, round tables, conferences, and making publications that serve to promote Berber language and culture in Morocco. Their ultimate aim is to preserve the Berber culture and to revive the language by codifying and standardising it before introducing it in schools.

The available Berber contemporary texts are transcribed in Arabic script, at times in the phonetic alphabet or in Latin script. Although Latin and Arabic scripts have been adopted to write Berber, *Tifinagh* is the major Berber alphabet that has been used historically for writing Berber. Today very few people make use of this alphabet in North Africa (see Ennaji 1999 and Elmedlaoui 1999). However, King Mohammed VI decided on February 11th, 2003 to adopt *Tifinagh* as the official alphabet for writing Berber, following a suggestion by The Royal Institute of the Amazigh Culture. In 2003, this institute has lately adapted *Tifinagh* to modern technology, especially for word processing and computer use.

Furthermore, *Tifinagh* is based on a 'neo-*Tifinagh*' alphabet, which has been used by the Berber Academy in Paris since the 1960's, and has been spread across the region through the media, namely by magazines like *Amazigh* and *Tifinagh* in Morocco (cf. Cadi 1991, Bounfour 2003). Berber has been written in Latin script since the nineteenth century. Contemporary linguists and anthropologists have used the phonetic alphabet to write Berber.

Berber has also been written in the Arabic script since the sixteenth century. Today, the Arabic script is often used by Berber authors and ordinary people for creating writing and for writing personal letters. Although they do not usually master Classical Arabic, Berber speakers tend to use Arabic script to write Berber. The creative writings published by the "Association Marocaine pour la Culture et l'Echange Culturel (AMREC)" are in the Arabic script. This association of cultural exchange publishes a periodical in Berber entitled *Amud,* where Berber is written in the Arabic writing alphabet (see section below). On the internet, Berbers use Latin to help spread their language.

As mentioned before, Berber is a basic component of Moroccan (and North African) culture which provides an element of enrichment to Moroccan multilingualism and multiculturalism. It is a vital language for it is spoken as a mother tongue by approximately half of the population, and thus, it is used for everyday communication, particularly in rural areas. In their contact with administration agents, Berberophones in these areas generally speak Berber, or Moroccan Arabic if the administrator is a non-Berber. Yet, if both interlocutors speak Berber, communication is carried out in Berber. In rural areas, the domains of use of Berber include the public market or *souk,* fields, rural administration, and home. Moroccan Arabic is predominant, for it is a majority language used in both rural and urban areas, in addition to being historically related to Classical Arabic, the language of Islam. In urban areas, Berber is spoken when both interactants are Berber; it is often used by the administration agent to show some familiarity with the addressee.

Even though it is neither codified nor standardised, Berber is a living language used in oral literature, poetry, and songs. Most of the themes dealt with by this oral literature are related to rural life, love, death, etc. However, nowadays, Western influence seems to be remarkable in all forms of Berber art, poetry, handicrafts, architecture, design, etc. (cf. Asserraji 2001).

Berber also enjoys autonomy because it is different from Arabic. It has kept its own specificity and intrinsic structure despite the influence of many languages such as Arabic and French (see Boukous 1995).

Tifinagh Alphabet (adapted by the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture since January 2003)

	Tifinagh	Latin Equivalent	Arabic Equivalent	Examples
1	ⴱ	B	ب	ⴰⴱⵔⵉⴷ (road)
2	ⵎ	M	م	ⴰⵛⴰⵍ (ground)
3	ⴼ	F	ف	ⴰⴼⵓⵙ (hand)
4	ⵜ	T	ت	ⵜⵓⵙⵙⵏⴰ(knowledge)
5	ⴷ	D	د	ⴰⴼⵓⴷ (knee)
6	ⵟ	ṭ	ط	ⵜⵉ ⵟ (eye)
7	ⴹ	Ḍ	ض	ⴰ ⴹ ⴰⵔ (foot)
8	ⵙ	S	س	ⵉⵍⵙ (tongue)
9	ⵣ	Z	ز	ⴰⵎⴰⵣⵉⵖ (Amazigh)
10	ⵚ	Ṣ	ص	ⵚ ⵓⴹ (blow)
11	ⵥ	Ẓ	ژ	ⵉⵥⵉ (bile)
12	ⵏ	N	ن	ⵉⵔⴷⵏ (wheat)
13	ⵍ	L	ل	ⴰⵎⵍⵍⴰⵍ (white)
14	ⵔ	R	ر	ⵓⵔⴰⵔ (play)
15	ⵕ	Ṛ	ر..	ⴱⵕⵕⴰ (outside)
16	ⵛ	C	ش	ⴰⵛⴰⴱⴰⵔ (crowd)
17	ⵊ	j	ج	ⴰⵎⵊⵊⵓⴹ (bald)
18	ⴽ	k	ک	ⵜⵉⴽⵉⵏⵜ (pot)
19	ⴽⵯ	kº	‘ک	ⴰⵎⴷⴷⴰ ⴽⵯⵍ (friend)
20	ⴳ	g	گ	ⴳⵎⴰ (my borther)
21	ⴳⵯ	gº	‘گ	ⴰⵣⴳⵯⴳⵯⵖ (red)
22	ⵅ	x	خ	ⵜⵉⵅⵙⵉ (goat)
23	ⵇ	q	ق	ⴰⵇⵔⴰⴱ (bag)
24	ⵖ	ɣ	غ	ⴰⵖⵔⵓⵎ (bread)
25	ⵃ	ḥ	ح	ⴰⵃⵉⴷⵓⵙ (dance)
26	ⵄ	ʕ	ع	ⴰⵄⴱⴰⵏ (cloth)
27	ⵀ	h	هـ	ⴰⵀⴷⴷⵓⵏ (blanket)
28	ⵢ	y	ي	ⴰⵢⵢⵉⵙ (horse)
29	ⵡ	w	و	ⴰⵡⴰⵍ (water)
30	ⴰ	a	ا	ⴰⴷⵔⴰⵔ (mountain)
31	ⵉ	i	ي	ⵉⵎⵉ (mouth)
32	ⵓ	u	و	ⵓⴷⵎ (face)
33	ⴻ	e		ⴰⴷ ⵖⵔⴻⵖ (I read)

Similarly, Berber has historicity in the sense that it is one of the oldest languages in Africa. It is the mother tongue of the first inhabitants of North Africa. Many Berber dynasties *(Al-Mourabitin, Al-Mouahhidin, Al-Berghouata, Al-Mariniyyin)*, whose rule in the past extended from Siwa in Egypt to the south of Morocco, used Berber for everyday transactions, and Arabic or a European language such as Greek or Latin for writing purposes. Trade helped Berbers to interact with various peoples around the Mediterranean Sea. Many civilisations had a great influence on Berber, among which we might cite the Phoenicians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Vandals, the Byzantines, and the Arabs (see Chafik 1989, Sadiqi 1997b).

The sociolinguistic situation of Berber is characterised by a paradox. On the one hand, Berber has recently benefited from national and regional campaigns seeking its revival and promotion. As we shall see in Chapter Nine, many cultural associations and political parties strive for its revitalisation and introduction in education and in the media. It has lately been officially recognised, and efforts are being made by the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture and the by the Ministry of Education and Youth to codify and standardise it, before it is fully integrated into the educational system. On the other hand, Berber experiences a significant regression, especially in urban areas where Moroccan Arabic and French are predominant. Today, it is hard to provide exact figures and statistics because the previous census overlooked the linguistic situation in the country. At this stage of the Berber language shift, there is not only a drop in the number of competent fluent speakers, but also a regression in the domains of use in which these speakers use the language. Moroccan Arabic, which for Berberophones is reserved for public spheres and urban centers, begins to encroach on intimate spheres of interaction which have been until recently the domain of Berber. Berberophones speak Moroccan Arabic at home, especially if an Arabophone is present (a guest, a friend, a family member's spouse, etc.).

This situation obliges children to acquire only basic Berber. Because of their sporadic exposition to their mother language, young Berberophones' mastery of this language is less perfect than that of older native speakers. This is attested through the high proficiency level of the old generation compared to the lower proficiency of young native speakers (cf.Boukous 1997).

Nonetheless, given the overall population growth, one can safely state that the number of Berberophones has consequently increased although to a lesser degree than the total population of the country. Given the remarkable population growth (29 million in 1994 against 14 million in 1964 and 4 million in 1914), the Berber-speaking population has in absolute terms also increased. Thus, the Berber population has never been so important in

Moroccan history because of the demographic explosion in rural areas (see Ennaji 1997).

Four major reasons lie behind the regression of Berber. First, there is the phenomenon of rapid urbanisation largely caused by heavy migration from rural to urban areas. According to recent government statistics, rural population has decreased from 75% in 1956 to 51% in 1999 (see Department of Statistics 1999). Thousands of Moroccan Berberophones have left their homes and villages in the last four decades to settle down in cities like Casablanca, Agadir, Rabat, Nador, ElHoceima, Fès and Marrakesh in order to improve their lives Koucha (1994). Thus, the impact of urbanisation on Berber is dramatic. This reality supports Brunot's statement that *[...] l'homme berbère ne pouvait échapper [...] à l'influence économique de la ville[...],* i.e. that *Berbers could not escape the economic impact of the city.* Brunot 1950: 15

Second, there is the exclusion of Berber from education since independence. The schooling of Berber-speaking children led to their Arabisation and to their gradual incompetence in Berber. Arabisation led to the Berber language shift in the sense that native Berber speakers give more importance to Arabic than to Berber for transactional and educational reasons (see Boukous 1997). Thus, Arabisation in education provoked the assimilation of Berberophone children and youth to Arab culture (see Elbiad 1991 and Ennaji 1997).

This is a problem which may be resolved if Berber is modernised, codified, standardised, and introduced in public schools. The way State education systems respond to the languages of minority groups is often a key test of how far the education system and, by inference, the State, responds to the general needs of minorities.

This can only be achieved through the native language of that society, not by another language. The fact that Berber is until now, neither fully codified, nor standardised, nor seriously taught denies its native speakers the right to promote their language and culture. For these reasons, Berber has the lowest and weakest status of all the languages in use in Morocco. One way of helping Berber out of this awkward situation is to preserve it through its codification and use for written purposes. As Mateene (1999) states, it is legitimate for any society to project itself into the future by preserving and transmitting its culture and values to its younger generations.

Third, many Moroccans consider Berber a minority language, associated with the Berber ethnic group; they are fully aware that, unlike Standard Arabic or French, it is not a language of wider communication because it is not used in finance, science, technology, and international affairs. Its role is limited to the cultural and social domains (cf. Ennaji 1991).

Finally, the fact that Berber has been, until recently, officially treated as "a dialect" discourages people from using it in all walks of life. Many Berberophone parents no longer interact with their own children in Berber, simply because they feel that Berber lacks prestige (see Boukous 1997).

One way of verifying the regression of Berber is to examine the domains in which it is normally used. While in the 1940s and 1950s Berber was widely spoken at home, in public administration and in political circles, nowadays Berber is virtually limited to home and to conversation among close friends. Moroccan Arabic is rapidly gaining ground to the detriment of Berber even in homes of Berberophones and in rural areas where Berber was until then the predominant language of communication. For instance, Berber is not granted any status in education, justice, or in any official institutions. Whereas Standard Arabic explicitly enjoys official status, Berber is simply denied such a privilege (cf. Koucha 1994, and Boukous 1997).

For all these reasons, Berber native speakers in urban zones tend to speak more Moroccan Arabic than their mother tongue for integrative purposes. In big cities, particularly Casablanca, Rabat, Fès, and Marrakech, Berber is used mainly at home and among friends, but seldom in public administration, schools or in markets. In these big cities, children whose parents are Berberophones, do not master Berber well or have only a passive knowledge of the language, for most parents hardly address their offspring in Berber. This situation can be accounted for by the fact that Berber is dependent on Moroccan Arabic, Standard Arabic and French, which are respectively the languages of everyday transactions, public institutions, modern culture and modern economy. Berber is excluded from these domains of use for the reasons outlined above.

Berber competes with Moroccan Arabic rather than with the other languages because both share the same domains of use and the same functions. They are both used in family, street, and informal settings. On the other hand, Berber is not in competition with Standard Arabic, which Berberophones learn at school as the language of the holy Qur'an and the language of erudition. Berber and Standard Arabic are in complementary distribution because they have different functions: the former is reserved to orality and informal contexts whereas the latter is used exclusively for writing purposes and in formal settings.

Similarly, Berber does not compete with French because the latter is reserved to domains of use such as universal culture, science, technology, and modernity. Thus, unlike what is often suggested, Berber is not in conflict with other languages like Standard Arabic and French, because they have complementary sociolinguistic functions. Thus, the adoption of Standard or Classical Arabic as the official language of the country does not in any way jeopardise Berber language and culture. The regression of Berber in my view

is also due to modernity, the desire to attain efficiency, and to the strong rural exodus in addition to the impact of the Arabisation policy.

Because of this rapid decline, intellectuals and authorities in Morocco have recently begun a campaign for the revitalisation of the Berber language and culture. On 17 October 2001, King Mohammed VI announced the creation of the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture in Rabat (see the Moroccan daily *Le Matin* of 18 October 2001). Today, there are over 30 Berber cultural associations in Morocco (and more than 130 the world over), which aim to revive and upgrade Berber language and culture. However, these associations are not unanimous about which variety to teach. Even progressive forces are divided as to whether Berber should be recognised as an official language in the Constitution side by side with Classical Arabic or not. The "Mouvement National Populaire" of Mahjoubi Aherdane and the "Parti Pour Le Progrès et le Socialisme" of Moulay Ismail Alaoui argue that Berber should be considered an official or at least a national language. The other political parties are silent about this (*Al-Ittihad Al-Ishtiraki*), or oppose the idea altogether, as in the case of *Al-Istiqlal* Party. The campaign launched by the Berber associations and newspapers has resulted in positive changes in officials' and people's attitudes toward Berber, as we will see in Chapter Nine.

Varieties of Berber

There are altogether ten major varieties of Berber in the Maghreb. (i) Tashelhit spoken in southern Morocco, (ii) Tamazight in the Middle Atlas in Morocco, (iii) Tarifit in northern Morocco, (iv) Kabyle in Tizi-Ouzou (Algeria), (v) Mzab in Ghardaia (Algeria), (vi) Shawiya in Aures (Algeria), (vii) Tuareg in the extreme south of Algeria, Niger and Mali, (viii) Tamashek in Niger, Mali and Nigeria and (ix) Tamahaq in Libya and Nigeria; (x) Tunisian Berber spoken in the West of Matmata and in the east of Gafsa (cf. Payne 1983). The lack of mutual intelligibility between all these varieties may be ascribed chiefly to the inexistence of an efficient writing system, which also accounts for its practical exclusion from the educational system (see Boukous 1979, Chaker 1983).

Depending on how detailed one wants to be, there are between three to a dozen Berber variteties in Morocco. As mentioned above, three major varieties are predominant: Tamazight, Tashelhit, and Tarifit. The fact that Berber populations are for the most part grouped on the Rif and Atlas mountains can be ascribed to the Arab conquest during which Berbers fled the plains of Abda, Doukkala, Shawiya, Gharb and Sais. This geographical seclusion of the Berbers helped their language survive and keep its cultural vitality. Despite disadvantageous historical factors linked to the many

invasions (by the Romans, the Visigoths, the Phoenicians, the Byzantines, the Portuguese, the Spanish and the French) Berber managed to survive. Today, it is used on a large scale in the Berber rural areas and overall by about half of the population. It has a legacy of oral literature (poems, songs, proverbs, stories, anecdotes, etc.). Berbers love their language, but because of the religious overtones of Classical Arabic, they venerate the latter.

The Berber varieties spoken in Morocco are generally mutually intelligible unless they are situated at extreme geographical points. For example, a native speaker of Tarifit in the north can hardly understand or communicate with a speaker of Tashelhit in the south. Additionally, the Berber dialects used in Morocco and Algeria are usually mutually incomprehensible (see Sadiqi 1999)[1].

The traditional segmentation of Berberophone regions into zones does not genuinely reflect the considerable effect of rural exodus that the Maghreb has witnessed since independence. As a result, there are nowadays vast Berberophone populations in the urban centres of the Maghreb. Thus, Berber is also spoken in the cities of Algiers, Oran, Tizi-Ouzou, Agadir, Casablanca, Rabat, Fès, Nador, Tangiers and, in fact, in most large cities (see Chaker 1990, Ennaji 1991).[2]

Despite its numerous varieties, Berber is fundamentally one language: most Berber varieties share similarities at the phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical levels, as will be seen below (cf. Basset 1959, Applegate 1970, and Chaker 1984 for details).

The varieties spoken in Morocco share many linguistic properties, and the variations that occur are chiefly lexical and phonological; syntactic variations are rarely encountered. Different sub-dialects also have different sub-variations. Here is a brief sample of such variations:

Phonological Variations

1)

Ayt Hassane variety	*Ayt Bouzid variety*	*Ayt Ayache variety*[3]	*Gloss*
argaz	aryaz	aryaz	(man)
kərz	çərz	ʃərz	(plough)
gabl	qabl	ʕlu	(watch)
amxxar	amaçr	amaʃr	(thief)
da	ida	nna	(that)
is	id	is	(whether)
nɣəd	nɣəd	mad	(or)
f	ɣif	xf	(on/above)

Lexical variations

2)

Ayt Hassane dialect	*Ayt Bouzid dialect*	*Ayt Ayache dialect*	*Gloss*
aʕjjal	arba	lʕil	(boy)
l-qum	ifərgasn	lwaʃun	(children)
abxxan	ismx	aħərdan	(black)
ʒugga	tigmmi	axam	(house)
amʕdor	aħjod	aħjod	(foolish)
nnif	dartt	tfir	(behind)

In general, the more two varieties are geographically close to each other, the fewer variations they exhibit. However, the speaker of a variety in the North would have difficulty understanding a Berber speaker from the South.

On the basis of the works on Berber languages, it is possible to establish the general pattern of the basic structure. Although there are variations in the phonology and lexicon, the patterns of syntax and morphology are relatively similar; that is, the features of morphology and syntax are more or less constant whereas the phonological and lexical aspects serve to determine the number of varieties involved.

Linguistic Properties of Berber

In this section, I summarize some of the most salient linguistic features of Berber, which it shares with other African languages. These involve a three-vowel pattern (/a/, /u/, /i/) and the following syllable types: CVCC, CV VC, CVC, VCC, V VC, CV V, CV, VC, V (cf. Chtatou 1991). Berber is also characterized by a rich morphology witnessed in the use of affixes to mark person, number, gender, tense, aspect, voice, negation etc.; different agglutinated elements are incorporated in the verbal form which is highly inflected.

The Sound System

Generally speaking, Berber has the following phonemic consonants: /b t d k g q ʔ ʃ ʒ ɣ ħ ʕ f s z x h m n l r y w / and the following vowels / a u i /. Consonants may be labialised when produced with added lip rounding, e.g., /k^w/. Voiceless stops may also be pharyngealised when produced with the blade of the tongue pressing against the palate, e.g. /ʈ/ as in /ʈarro/ (bucket), /s̲/, as in /s̲bar/ (be patient).

Berber vowels have allophones. For instance, /i/ can be realized as [ɨ] when it is final or initial in a word, e.g. /ɨswa/ (he drank) and /tddɨd/ (you came), respectively. The vowel /u/ can be realized as [o] when it occurs medially or finally in a word, e.g. /taɤori/ (study), /bdo/ (share), /lxodrt/ (vegetables). On the other hand, the vowel /a/ may also be pronounced as [ɑ] when preceding a pharyngeal consonant, e.g., / s̱ɑbun/ (soap), /ṭɑs/ (bucket). Note that vowel length is not phonemic in Berber.

The Morphosyntax

In contrast with English, for example, Berber morphology is very rich; Berber is a highly inflected language since the verb inflects for person, number, gender, and tense, as mentioned above. The complexity of the verb system attests to the fact that the verb is expected to carry much semantic information. This implies that the verb occupies a central syntactic and morphological position and is the governing element in a structure. A sentence in Berber usually includes an initial verb nucleus containing the necessary markers for expressing subject and tense plus an optional subject. In actual fact, the Berber syntactic system makes available sentence constituents which may not be expressed, but in any event the subject and the object may be expressed by the inflectional markers. Thus, an inflected verb may stand as a complete sentence on its own:

3) t-tʃa Mina ta-lbanant.
   ate-she Mina banana
   'Mina ate a banana.'

4) t-tʃa-t.
   ate-she-it
   'She ate it.'

Notice that the subject markers are omni-present irrespective of whether a lexical subject is overtly used or not.

In Berber, the sentence may be analysed as consisting of two successive constituents: an initial phrase and one or more complements. In general, two major types of sentence are attested, namely verbal and nominal sentences, which is incidentally in line with traditional Arabic analysis (see Ennaji 1985). The first type is characterised by the fact that the verb stem plus the subject and tense markers attached to it constitute the initial phrase, as in the example above. In the second type, the initial phrase is a noun stem

functioning as head and the complement is the second noun phrase which may or may not be accompanied by a verb, as in

5) Ahmed adbib.
Ahmed doctor
'Ahmed is a doctor.'

In addition to tense, Berber also exhibits the perfective and the imperfective aspects; the perfective aspect is involved when the action is finished, as in the verbal sentence above, while the imperfective aspect indicates that the action is unfinished or relevant to the present time, as in the afore-cited verbless sentence.

Berber sentences exhibit three major word orders: VSO, SVO, and OVS. However, the VSO order is the most commonly used.

Word Boundaries

The main pitfall of the work undertaken by colonial intellectuals on Berber was their tendency to compare the morphophonology of Berber with that of French or English instead of comparing it with that of Arabic or other African languages which share similarities with it. For instance, Berber has been treated as an isolating language, while it is an agglutinating language in which affixes are attached to the lexemes to form words, phrases, and at times even sentences. In this case, Berber is similar to Kiswahili (see King'el 1999, from which the following Kiswahili examples have been taken):

6)

English	*Berber*	*Kiswahili*
My father	babanu	babangu
He has come	iddad	amekuja
He has not come yet	urtadiddi	hajakuja
They did not speak to us	uraɣsawiln	hawakutusemesha
I will not go	urmadduɣ	siendi

Linguistically, most Berber varieties share similarities in their morphophonology, syntax, and lexicon, as we have seen above (see Basset 1959, Applegate 1970, Cadi 1987 and Sadiqi 1997a).

The Lexicon

Berber is characterised by heavy word borrowing; the language is full of loans that can be traced back to Latin, Arabic, and French. Latin loan words are limited in number. As a case in point, the Latin words *asinus* (little donkey), *burrhus* (coat), *tussis* (cough) are pronounced *asnus, abernus* and *tusut* in Tamazight; however, the most common loans stem from Moroccan Arabic and French. These borrowings are completely adapted to the phonological and morphological patterns of Berber. Arabic words like *saaʕa* (watch) and *ṭbib* (doctor) become *tassaʕt* and *aḏbib,* respectively in Berber. French loans such as *veste* (vest) and *automobile* (car) become *lfista* and *ṭomobil,* respectively in Tamazight Berber (see Ennaji 1985, 1991, 1997).

The Arabic loans are either borrowed as wholes, i.e., with their accompanying affixes, agreement markers and articles, or incorporated in the Berber paradigm by having their morphophonology modified. For example, these loans will be turned into feminine by attaching the element /t/ at the end of the word:

7) l-fraža → l-fraž-t (show)
   l-xdma → l-xdem-t (work)
   l-qrʕa → l-qreʕ-t (bottle)

Since Berber does not mark definiteness, all nouns with the Arabic definite article *al-* are clearly of Arabic origin. However, the verb system does not seem to be sensitive to Arabic influence. All the borrowed verbs are incorporated in the Berber verb inflection and paradigm without affecting in any way the behaviour of the verb group. For example,

8) xdm → i-xdm (he worked)
   xalṭ → i-xald (he is familiar with…)

This rigidity may be accounted for by the fact that the verb nucleus is crucial for the syntax and semantics of the sentence, and it is at the level of the verb system that many morphological and syntactic processes are at work.

Moroccan Arabic and Berber heavily influence each other because both are used as daily oral mediums. Moroccan Arabic loans have infiltrated Berber: for example, nouns are borrowed from Moroccan Arabic while retaining the Arabic definite article *l-* which is absent in Berber, but which generally accompanies the Arabic borrowed noun, as in *l-uzir* (the minister), *l-ʒamʕ* (the mosque), *l-uqt* (the time) etc. (See Taifi 1979 and Ennaji 1991.)

Some Berber lexical terms have been replaced by, or used interchangeably with, Moroccan Arabic loans. This may be due to the following facts: (a) the equivalent of the Arabic loan is often obsolete in Berber, (b) the Berber speaker has a weak linguistic competence in Berber, or (c) Moroccan Arabic loans are more familiar to the speaker because they are very common in Moroccan Arabic. Consider the following examples of lexical replacement in the Berber variety of Azilal:

9)

Berber lexical item	*Moroccan Arabic loan used*	*Gloss*
tawwuri	lexdmet	travail
tazduɣt	ssukna	home
timdit	nʃəbt	trap
tissi	nnamusija	bed
tuzlin	ləmqəss	scissors
tisila	ləbləɣt	slippers
əṯṯas	əsṯal	bucket
ləmʒarib	druʒ	stairs
aħffaf	aħʒʒam	barber
talfṯṯat	lqərʕa	bottle
iduça	ssebbaṯ	shoes
tasɣunt	lkurda	rope

Thus, Moroccan Arabic words like *lbab* (door), *tarʒlit* (manhood), *tafffart* (stealing) have supplanted the Berber terms *tiflut* or *taggurt* , *tirrugza*, and *tamafrt*, respectively.

Despite the fact that Berber and Moroccan Arabic share many similarities, especially at the level of the lexicon, Berber is distinct from Arabic in phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical terms. In other words, the two languages are mutually unintelligible.

Linguistically, Berber has the following intrinsic features. First, phonologically, it resembles Moroccan Arabic in that most of the consonants and vowels existing in Moroccan Arabic do exist in Berber. One exception to this is the voiceless palatal-fricative consonant /ç/ which is non-existent in Arabic.

Nevertheless, there is a difference so far as the verb system is concerned. Berber morphosyntax is not much affected by Moroccan Arabic. For example, most of the loan verbs are integrated in the Berber verb

morphology with no consequence on the verb group pattern. By way of illustration: *xdm* (work) --> *i-xdm* (he worked); *ʒawb* (answer) ---> *t-ʒawb* (she answered). This shows that the Berber verb inflection is essential for sentence formation and meaning, a fact which accounts for the verb system's resistance to Arabic influence.

Berber has in certain respects influenced Moroccan Arabic. For instance, Berber intonation has infiltrated the Moroccan Arabic sound pattern, especially in big cities (like Marrakesh) surrounded by Berber villages (see Chtatou 1997). Likewise, a number of Moroccan Arabic nouns take the Berber feminine discontinuous affix *t------t or ta------t*, as in *taxddart* 'being a greengrocer', *tabqqalt* 'being a grocer', *taħddadt* 'being a blacksmith'; these terms generally express a state, an action or an occupation (see Ennaji 1997).

Additionally, Moroccan Arabic uses many Berber loan words; for example, *bellarʒ* 'stork', *timiʒʒa* 'a wild herb', *mæzgur* 'corn', *telɣunʒa* 'prayer for rain', *tiwizi* 'collective land plowing'. Most of these loans are related to agriculture and rural life as Berberophones are usually rural people living by agriculture; Berber loans, which are adopted by most Moroccan Arabic speakers today, are fully integrated into the Moroccan Arabic inflectional system.

The influence of Berber on Moroccan Arabic can be accounted for by two main reasons. First, many Berber speakers have moved from rural areas to urban centers and, although they have learnt Moroccan Arabic, they speak it with a Berber accent. Second, Berber is strongly used in small towns that surround Berber zones, and in rural public markets, where native Moroccan Arabic speakers learn Berber to trade with Berberophones; this leads to the infiltration of Berber lexical items and sound system into Moroccan Arabic.

However, the heavy borrowings from other languages testify to the dependence of Berber on these languages. On examining the available Berber dictionaries, it is noticeable that loans, which are most widely used in Tarifit, are important in Tamazight and are the least used in Tashelhit (see Taifi 1991, Boukous 1997). Public administration, religion, and technology are the domains in which borrowings are common. Needless to add that these loans are subjected to the Berber morphophonology in the sense that they are fully adapted to the sound pattern and the affixation system of the target language. For instance:

10)

Moroccan Arabic /l/	→ */r/ in Tarifit*	*Gloss*
ʕli	ʕri	Ali (proper name)
lmalik	rmarik	the king

lħukuma	rħukuma	the government
lmalajka	rmarajka	angels

11)

Standard Arabic /ʔ/ →	*Berber /ø/*	*Gloss*
lʔamr	lamr	the order/destiny
lʔislam	lislam	Islam
lkaʔs	lças	the glass
lqurʔan	lquran	the Qur'an

12)

French /e/ →	*Berber /i/*	*Gloss*
toilette	ṭwalit	toilet
coincé	kwansi	stuck
chèque	ʃik	cheque
télévision	tilivizjun	television
vidéo	vidju	video

13)

French /o/ →	*Berber /u/*	*Gloss*
bureau	biru	office
police	bulis	police
lavabo	lababu	wash-basin
cachot	kaʃu	jail

The above examples show that Arabic and French loans may undergo consonantal, vocalic substitution, or elision in their adaptation to the phonological and morphological patterns of Berber (see Taifi 1979, Ennaji 1988, Boukous 1997).

Berber's heavy borrowings from Arabic are due to Arabic-Berber bilingualism which characterises the speech of Berberophones. Borrowing takes place in many different contexts (Taifi 1997):

a- Religious vocabulary from Arabic is widespread due to the fact that Berbers are Muslims; for instance, prayers reinforce the use of Arabic terms like *ludu* (ablutions), *ttesbiħ* (recitation of beads), *lʕibada* (prayers).

b- Commercial terms are also used to facilitate trade exchange between Arabophones and Berberophones. For example: *ttiʒara* (commerce), *lbiʕuʃra* (commerce), *ddariba (tax)*

c- Political terminology is used in political contexts or to refer to political events, such as : *lintixab* (elections), *llaʒna* (the committee), *ddustur* (the constitution), *lħizb* (the party), *lbarlaman* (parliament).

d- Legal terms are also borrowed from Arabic when referring to a legal affair or when the topic is juridical: ddaʕwa (the case), *lħukm* (the sentence), *lqadi* (the judge), *lmuħami* (the lawyer), *lqanun* (the law), *ttuhma* (the accusation), *lmistara* (the legal procedure).

e- Administrative terms are equally borrowed from Arabic, such as: *lʒamaʕa* (the commune), *lmuħasib* (the accountant), *lwizara* (the ministry), *lbaladija* (the municipality), *ttuqiʕ* (the signature), *ttalab* (the application form), *rruxsa* (the authorization).

However, for historical and socio-economic reasons, Berber actually borrows more from Moroccan Arabic. More particularly, Tamazight and Tarifit borrow extensively from Moroccan Arabic far more than Tashelhit. Nonetheless, the more a Berber dialect is geographically remote from urban centers, the less it is influenced by Moroccan Arabic. This can be accounted for by the fact that Berberophones, who move to towns and big cities, use more Moroccan Arabic than Berber in business and in daily public conversations.

Berberophones in urban centres tend to have more linguistic competence in Moroccan Arabic than in Berber because the latter is by far the language of the city. They speak Moroccan Arabic in public space: in the street, in the office, at school, etc. Thus, language choice and language shift are engendered by social factors. Dialects of the same language also interact in different contexts. Generally, as Suleiman (1999) notes, the unequal statuses of languages in society usually brings about "patterns of dominance and subordination". He adds that

> *Language is [...] a symbol of power and a boundary setting device by means of which fission and fusion in group identification are signalled and maintained in a relational manner.* (Suleiman 1999:27)

Following Bourdieu (1982), the unequal linguistic capital reflects the unequal distribution of power in society, with the consequence that patterns of language choice, language shift, borrowing and speech accommodation begin to shape up to the detriment of the subordinate language or minority.

To gain an enhanced understanding of Berber in Morocco, an attempt is made below to highlight previous research on Berber. Most of the studies on Berber go back to the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. The major works consisted of descriptions of the language, reference grammars, dictionaries, or sample texts with translations, in addition to cultural and anthropological studies.

Historical and comparative studies were produced to show the general and common pattern of the Berber languages. Some of this type of work was published by Laoust (1918, 1921) and Basset (1929, 1932, 1952, 1959), who made significant contributions to Berber linguistics.

More recently, with the expansion of free education and the development of linguistic science, many interesting publications on Berber language and culture, mostly by educated Berber native speakers, have appeared; they cover the different linguistic levels of phonology, morphology, syntax, dialectology, literature and culture (see Taifi 1991, Boukous 1995, El Medlaoui 1999, Ennaji 1997, Sadiqi 1997b, and El Moujahid 1997, among others).

The Codification and Standardisation of Berber

It is a well-known fact that the codification of a spoken language allows it to become prestigious and valuable. Three major problems hinder the codification of Berber: (a) its official status as a regional dialect, (b) the fact that it is only spoken, and (c) the dilemma of the Berber script. In this section, it is suggested that the codification and standardisation of Berber is possible following the linguistics conventions. Attitudes toward codifying Berber can gain favour if peoples and governments are sensitised to the crucial role of language in preserving culture and identity. The codification of Berber will, in the final analysis, contribute to linguistic and cultural pluralism, and its success depends on the readiness of the State and the Berber population to seriously promote Berber language and culture in all walks of life (cf. Camps 1987 and Galand 1989).

The issue of codifying Berber is closely related to historical and social phenomena; it is not a mere technical matter. The questions which have to be raised are: (a) should Berber be codified? Can the oral and the graphic traditions co-exist? To what extent do the two traditions constitute the basis of cultural identity?

On the Distinction between Oral and Graphic Traditions

Berber has not formally been a written language since antiquity; however, it developed and evolved in the Islamic era. As mentioned above, co-existing

with Arabic and French in North Africa, Berber has been informally codified in Arabic and Latin scripts, hence its partial relation with the written form.[4] On the other hand, Berber has also been used in the rural areas as a language that helped introduce Islam to Berbers: many lectures and religious sermons were produced in Berber; additionally, in the tenth century, the Bourghwata (Berber) dynasty translated the Qur'an into Berber. However, the Bourghwatas were defeated by Sunni puritans, who denounced them as apostates and burnt their copies of the Berber translation of the Qur'an. Fragments of this translation survive in Western museums. Thus, writing is not only related to power, but it is also the symbolic foundation of the State. Being reserved for the elite and learned society, writing directs and supports the sense of communication. Written culture is official, while oral culture is unofficial and local. The former is favoured and recognised by the State, whereas the latter is generally overlooked or simply tolerated.

One of the aims of the Arabisation policy, launched since Independence, is to integrate Berber speaking people in the written Arabic culture. However, for many Berber activists, this policy has led to the marginalisation of Berber language and culture (see Chapter Nine).

Oral culture, represented by spoken Arabic and Berber, is used in everyday life in informal settings or in folkloric situations and ceremonies. This culture, which expresses real life and social dynamics, is also the culture of the youth who aspire to become literate.

Put within this framework of a global societal project of North Africa, the codification of Berber is a must, according to Berber activists. Today, the writing of Berber is relatively widespread in Algeria and Morocco (cf. Chaker 1983) in unofficial non-governmental circles. This means that so far only non-governmental organisations and associations have attempted to codify Berber. In Algeria, the tendency is to codify Berber using the Latin script in Kabylie area, *Tifinagh* in the Aures and Arabic script in the Mzab region, while in Morocco, prior to the royal decision to adopt *Tifinagh* for writing Berber, the general tendency has been to write Berber using the Arabic alphabet. Through these efforts, a large body of documents, dictionaries, grammar textbooks, linguistic studies have been published.

Orthographic Conventions of Berber

Most African languages are threatened by extinction if they do not equip themselves with an alphabet in the near future. As Silué (1999) states,

> *major languages (ki-Swahili, Bambara, Yoruba, Igbo to name but few) could have become powerful if they were, long ago, empowered with writing systems.*

Thus, setting up a writing system is part of language development and promotion.

A writing system aims to identify the speech-sounds of a language and to ensure their permanent use. For languages without any written tradition, the issue is whether the writing system should be a representation of the phonemic or phonetic level. For African languages like Berber, I would suggest a phonemic representation of the speech-sounds. Simplicity is preferred to complexity because orthographic systems are designed for the use of the general public. Simplicity can be attained by adopting universally accepted characters and symbols such as the international phonetic alphabet. Literacy is a helpful means of reinforcing and spreading the writing system. A writing system is similarly crucial for revitalising and modernising a language for the purposes of science and technology.

Berber literature is fundamentally oral. According to Abdel-Massih (1971xii), "it is this lack of written documents that makes the tracing of the history of the language somewhat difficult". Thus, if the Berber language and culture are to be kept alive and developing, oral and written traditions should be fully integrated so that one can inspire the other. Given the recent official recognition of the language in Morocco and Algeria, Berber is expected to play a great role in literacy and basic education in the future (see Ennaji 1997, Sadiqi 1997b). In this case, Berber is an interesting tool for preserving and disseminating popular culture in the region.

The oldest script, *Tifinagh,* which is over 2000 years old, uses a consonantal and vocalic system; "it is made of strokes, arcs and dots, as well as a combination of these" Abdel-Massih (idem). In *Tifinagh,* there is no separation between words, and the language can be written from left to right or from right to left. The North African region has virtually no old manuscripts in *Tifinagh*; they have merely short notes on bracelets, pots, carpets, etc. The only available ancient texts are in Arabic script, usually religious documents. Although *Tifinagh* has never been officially used to record history, today it is employed in some parts of Algeria, Mali and Niger.

As mentioned earlier, in Algeria *Tifinagh* is used sporadically. The most commonly utilised alphabet is the Latin one combined with the phonetic alphabet and diacritics. As a case in point, the writings of the well-known Kabyle writer, the late Mouloud Mammeri, and those of contemporary Kabyle writers are in Latin script supported by diacritics and phonetic symbols.

In Morocco, some writers use the Latin alphabet, while others use the Arabic script. The autumn of 2002 saw a hot media debate over the alphabet issue. Proponents of the Latin alphabet justify their choice by claiming that it is practical and close to the phonetic system which itself derives from the Roman alphabet. Many Berber NGOs argue that the Latin script is better because it

can be used on the internet, and in word processing on the computer (cf. the Berber monthly *Le Monde Amazigh* of 30 October 2002). They also prefer the Latin alphabet to the Arabic one, which lacks vocalization (cf. De Ruiter 2001, Benhakia 2000, Erramdani and Raha 2000). Those who prefer the Arabic alphabet, like Islamists, claim that it is the closest to the Berber language roots, and historically both Arabic and Berber belong to the Chamito-semitic family. Proponents of the Arabic script also argue that, since most Berbers are Muslims who read Arabic, they will accept to write/read Berber in Arabic script more readily than in Latin script (see the Islamist newspaper *At-tajdid* of October 25, 2002).

To avoid the conflict between the Islamist fundamentalists and the Berber activists, *Tifinagh* has been chosen as a medium solution, discussed above (see *Attajdid* of Februrary 3rd, 2003). This royal decision has been welcome by the majority of Berberophones and Arabophones as a good political solution to the dilemma of which script to use for Berber (see Ennaji 2003c). In general, for Berber native-speakers, *Tifinagh* is a good choice because it strengthens Berber identity, consolidates the language autonomy, and shows that Berber culture is one of the oldest in the region, as it goes back over two thousand years. For others, although *Tifinagh* is politically a good solution in the present context, as it has prevented a confrontation between the Islamists and the Berber activists, it is pedagogically impractical because it has the huge drawback of being an obscure system and a third script for Moroccans to learn. They argue that it is useless to codify Berber in a script that people do not know and may find hard to grasp, and in which literature and written materials are lacking (see Bentolila 2003). Similar situations occur in other parts of Africa. According to Nyombe (1999),

> *the considerable difficulty encountered in reading and comprehending materials written in the local languages due to bad orthography is what led to the lack of interest among the populace and the elite in anything written in the local languages.*

Additionally, lack of political will, and lack of cultural and educational motivation are other negative factors that did not contribute towards the improvement of the script of many African languages.

During the colonial period, the French colonial intellectuals and missionaries wrote Berber in the Roman alphabet, i.e., it was the French orthographic system that was doggedly imposed on Berber. For ideological reasons, the colonial intellectuals used translations from French and resorted to the French orthography whenever writing Berber was doomed necessary.

Attempts have been made by the UNESCO to devise orthographic systems that served to be a sort of database for African languages.

In Mali, Keita (1999) informs us that *Tifinagh* is widely used to write Tamasheq; however, in the UNESCO meeting of 28 February 1966, held in Bamako, on the unification of the alphabets of the national languages, no one mentioned the use of *Tifinagh*, and instead the Latin alphabet was proposed. The Latin script together with the international phonetic alphabet were adopted for Tamasheq (see the Decree No 85/PGRM of May 26, 1967). Another meeting of experts took place in Bamako on 18 June 1979 on the use of African languages as regional languages. The meeting recommended to the UNESCO and the African Unity Organisation (AUO) the following:

-the promotion of African languages
-the use of African languages in national and international activities
-the organisation of a conference on the theoretical and practical issues of adapting African languages to modern knowledge

In post-colonial North Africa, as well as in the Sahel (Mali, Niger), there exist no legal text that mentions or suggests any orthographic system for Berber. It is this gap that some cultural associations wish to fill. Even though various transcriptions have been used, Berber remains essentially an oral language. The competition between these alphabets is tied to ideological and political orientations. While the Arabic script subjugates Berber to the Arabic language and culture, the Latin script ties it to a colonial past. The International Phonetic Alphabet is not a solution for it is too technical (full of diacritics and symbols) to be understood by ordinary people.

El Medlaoui (1999) discusses the problems encountered in attempts to codify Berber using either the Arabic script or the Latin alphabet. He argues that, since the codification and the use of an orthography is meant for the reader, the orthography must be simple and practical in such a way that it can facilitate reading and writing.

This implies that the reader should be regarded as a consumer who is sufficiently motivated to learn and use the designated orthography. Because orthography is normative, as it is based on two normative values "false" and "true", the learner must conform to the script adopted and acquire the idiosyncracies and generalisations that orthography puts at his or her disposal to distinguish correct from incorrect forms.

As is the case for many African languages, no consideration has been accorded to the writing of Berber by post-independence governments. At the beginning of the twentieth century, most of the work written in Berber has been produced by missionaries and colonial administrators generally in poor orthographies, for they were not trained linguists and had no adequate

knowledge of the language. Colonialists preferred the Latin alphabet because they had their own agenda (see Banda 1999, Ennaji 1999).

In his work on Dhuluo of Kenya, Owino (1999) quotes Sheikh Al-Amin bin Ali Mazuui (1931), who rejected the use of the Latin orthography for Kiswahili on the grounds that this script is inappropriate since it does not properly represent Kiswahili speech-sounds, especially Arabic loan words. Researchers like Youssi (1993), Stroomer (1993), and Boogert (1998) have dealt with the issue of the codification of Berber, and overviewed the different orthographic traditions associated with this language. Algerian scholars living in Europe suggest the use of two alphabets depending on the audience: the Arabic alphabet for the Berberophones living in the Maghreb, and the Latin script for those in the diaspora (Tilmatine 1997, Chaker 1997).

At any rate, the alphabet adopted should be adjusted to Berber and standardised before it is approved and used by all the speakers. The process of standardising Berber necessitates (a) a deep sociolinguistic investigation to determine the number of existing varieties and their degree of mutual intelligibility, (b) a careful comparative study of the various structures underlining those shared by most varieties, (c) the selection of a standard variety, which is acceptable to all Berber speakers, (d) the codification and standardisation of the selected variety and the expansion of the lexicon (cf. Capo (1999) for a similar approach).

In any case, an agreement must be reached over the orthographic conventions to be adopted; this is necessary for the harmonisation process and for the success of the overall project. Depicting speech-sounds and their orthographic equivalents is a simple technical matter, but reaching an agreement on the alphabet and orthographic conventions is indeed crucial for the spread of this alphabet and for the preservation and development of the Berber language and culture.

Concluding Remarks

To conclude, the following remarks and suggestions concerning Berber (Amazigh) are in order. First, the interdependence between spoken and written forms must be taken into account, without overlooking the fact that the written system has its own constraints and norms. For instance, the same grapheme ought to be used to represent one and the same speech-sound, after which the graphemes need to be harmonised.

Second, a good alphabet is simple, distinctive, flexible and readable. It must be easy to learn/write and easy to understand by the community at large. One should adhere to the spelling that is easiest to pronounce, write and incorporate in the computer software.

Third, a general systematic phonological description of the Berber language is crucial; the dialects are to be encompassed in the overall phonology and morphology of the language. The language should be represented by one and the same alphabet. Diacritics will be used only when necessary, for instance to avoid ambiguity between two speech-sounds.

Codifying Berber is a way of fostering literacy and cultural pluralism in the region. Literacy should not be limited to Standard Arabic, French or English; it can also be achieved through the mother tongues. Today, illiteracy is so high in Morocco partly because of the large number of Berber school drop-outs and because many Berber parents are discouraged by the educational system where their mother tongue is not recognised (see Chapter Ten and Ennaji 2002c).

Education in the mother tongue is a means of facilitating learning for the native population and a means of promoting and standardising the mother tongue. Teaching the mother tongue is a way of reviving the language and reversing language shift. This position is, however, not shared by all specialists. Fishman (1991:368) argues that mother tongue education by itself is not enough for reversing language shift; it must be reinforced by active language use. It follows that the teaching of Berber would provide a very important support to the codification, standardisation and promotion of Berber.

Indeed for a long time ever since the UNESCO meeting in 1951, the mother tongue has been considered as the best medium for teaching a child; the UNESCO report on the use of vernacular languages in education asserts that:

> *On educational grounds we recommend that the use of the mother tongue be extended to as late a stage in education as possible. In particular, pupils should begin their schooling through the medium of the mother tongue* (1953:3). (The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education (UNESCO) Monographs on Fundamental Education, VIII (1953)).

Mother tongue education should be seen as an essential part of the move toward ensuring that education in Africa really plays its primary role of enculturation, by starting with the learner's native tongue and opening up progressively to the official language and to the foreign languages, which are no doubt needed for understanding today's unfolding world.

A language is like a human being; it adapts, develops and innovates to meet new challenges. To ensure its technical development, a language must be introduced in education. Before the language is taught in schools, an

orthography is established to meet the needs of literacy and to cope with teaching-learning needs in a variety of formal school disciplines.

However, the introduction of the mother tongue in schools must be accompanied by publications of literature intended for young children so as to stimulate the desire to read and write in the foundational years. Achieving the ability to read in the mother tongue is futile if there is little or nothing to read in that language.

Notes

(1) In Tunisia, the Berber population is of little importance. Berber is spoken only in the extreme south of the country. There exist a handful Berberophone villages, chiefly situated in Djerba, in the west of Matmata, and in the east of Gafsa (cf. Payne 1983 and Chaker 1984).

(2) In Algeria, there exist four major Berber dialects. First, there is 'Kabyle', which is spoken in the area of Kabylie, near Algiers and Bougie. Second, there is the Shawia dialect spoken by the populations of Aures, north of Constantine. Third, there is the Tuareg dialect, which is a variety that is largely used in the extreme south of Algeria. Fourth, there is the Mzab dialect in the Ibadhits, notably in Ghardaia.

(3) Ayt Hassane variety is spoken in the south of Morocco, at about 80 miles north of Marrakesh; Ayt Bouzid variety is spoken in the region of Beni Mellal, about 120 miles east of Casablanca, and Ayt Ayache variety is spoken in the area of Midelt and Errachidia, which are about 150 miles east of the city of Fès.

Chapter Five: French

Introduction

This chapter deals with the sociolinguistic situation of French. It describes the main varieties of French in Morocco and their linguistic properties. Subsequently, the chapter discusses the functions and domains of use of French, namely its prestigious place in the media, education and administration. The chapter reveals that French is omni-present in cultural, social, economic, commercial, and industrial areas. In education and public administration, French is used alongside Standard Arabic, which has been reinforced by the Arabisation policy, which seeks to foster the use of Arabic in all walks of life.

France occupied Morocco in 1912 after a compromise with the other European countries whereby Britain colonised Egypt, Spain occupied the northern and southern part of Morocco, and Germany colonised part of the Congo (see Ayache 1956 :57, Laroui 1970 : 273).

When the French colonised Morocco, they declared French the official language, brought their own administrators and trained Moroccan nationals to take low-level jobs to serve the French colonial power. Thus, the French introduced their language and culture and implemented an educational system akin to the one established in France.

During the Protectorate, French was the only language of government and education. It was the medium of instruction in schools of Universal Jewish Alliance and in French schools which were open to European and wealthy Moroccan students (Boukous 1995: 70). The colonial educational system was exclusive in the sense that French schools were accessible only to wealthy Moroccans, French, and Jewish people.

After independence in 1956, the Moroccan Constitution made Classical Arabic the official language, but French continued to be predominant since most of the institutions adhered to the colonial rule. Arabic was not linguistically fully advanced to take over and express the needs of modern society. Thus, the newly independent country chose Classical Arabic as the official language, and French the second language. The latter is prevalent in education, administration, business, and the media domains. French has a special status in Morocco in the sense that it is neither a foreign language as English, Spanish, or German, nor a national language, but a second language. Until 1995, approximately 10 million Moroccans spoke French but only about half of them could read and write it (see Ennaji 1997).

Major Varieties of French in Morocco

Moroccan French can be divided into three varieties: (i) Highly Educated French, an educated type of French, used by highly educated people, most of whom are high-level civil servants who were educated in French schools or in France. This variety is slightly different from Parisian Standard French, especially in pronunciation. For instance, the dorsal or uvular /r/ may be realised as an alveolar flap or trill in Moroccan High Standard French. (ii) Standard Educated French is the variety spoken by people who master French and have been educated in bilingual or Francophone schools. Their French is functional, characterised by morphological, syntactic and stylistic simplicity. This variety is marked by a Moroccan accent, the pronunciation of French /R/ and the frequent use of "le" instead of "lui" in indirect transitive constructions

(iii) Uneducated French is a kind of sub-standard French, spoken by uneducated Moroccans or by people with primary school level. Their command of French is rather poor and has the following features: interference of Moroccan Arabic and Berber pronunciation (French vowels are often dropped or replaced by Arabic or Berber vowels), grammatical errors, telegraphic style, short and unfinished sentences.

Uneducated French is acquired by non-educated Moroccans working with French-speaking foreigners in private French companies. Others may be retired from the French army, unofficial tourist guides or families of Moroccan immigrants in France and Belgium, who have acquired some basic knowledge of French to communicate with their children, grand-children, or nephews. Besides, uneducated French is used by Arabic-educated people or by students who have not finished public school and, thus, have a poor mastery of French. Uneducated Moroccan French is also spoken by illiterate people, who had contacts with French technicians and administrators during colonisation. They generally worked as clerks and manual workers in the French administration. Uneducated Moroccan French has recently been reinforced by the Moroccan immigrants in France.

Linguistically, this variety is marked by some phonetic features which are due to the interference of Berber or Arabic, for instance, the confusion between /a/ and /o/, /i/ and /e/, confusion between genders, Arabic pronunciation of /t/ as /ṭ/ (as in "thèse" pronounced as /ṭez/ instead of French /tez/), or the pronunciation of /R/ as /r/ (as in "renfort" pronounced as /ronfor/ instead of the correct pronunciation /RõnfoR/. This variety of French is also characterised by the overuse of the present tense – in comparison to Standard French - to express past or future, and the use of double subjects (e.g. "mon ami, il vient"). This variety is a mixture of Arabic and French expressions and structures, exhibiting a phonetic system which is more

similar to Arabic than to French. In this variety, the morphology is different from Educated French, and the syntax and lexicon are much simple and influenced by Arabic and Berber forms and patterns, as we shall see in detail in the following section (cf. also Lanly 1962 :209 and Abbassi 1975:30).[2]

Morphosyntactic Simplicity

As mentioned above, unlike Highly Educated French, Standard Educated French is characterised by simplicity at the levels of morphology and syntax. By way of illustration, consider:

1)

Standard Educated French :

Je l'ai appelé au téléphone.
Speaker meaning: 'I had to phone him.'

instead of

2)

Highly Educated French :

Il a fallu que je l'appelle au téléphone.
Speaker meaning: 'I had to phone him. '

The last sentence "Je l'ai appelé au téléphone" is syntactically less complex and stylistically less sophisticated than "Il a fallu que je l'appelle au téléphone". Here both tense complexity and stylistic variation are absent. Educated French does not contain the complex morphological derivations found in Highly Educated French.

In the sentences below, for example, the conditional rules are not respected, and the subjunctive mood is discarded:

3)

Standard Educated French:

Il faut que tu comprends ma situation.
'You must understand my situation.'

Instead of

4)

Highly Educated French:

'Il faut que tu comprennes ma situation'.
'You must understand my situation.'

5)

Highly Educated French:

Si nous avions de l'argent nous achèterions une voiture.
'If we had money, we would buy a car.'

6)

Standard Educated French:

Si nous avions de l'argent, nous achèterons une voiture.
' If we had money, we would buy a car. '

Uneducated French, spoken by Arabic-educated or illiterate people, is replete with phonological interferences from Moroccan Arabic and Berber, as illustrated in the section below.

Phonological Interference

There are many interferences from Berber and Moroccan Arabic phonology in the type of French spoken by illitrate and uneducated people (see Ennaji 1988). For example, flapped /r/ at times replaces Educated Standard French dorsal /R/.

Because Moroccan Arabic and Berber lack vowels such as /y/, /ø/, and /œ/, as well as nasalised vowels and the half-open vowel /e/, Moroccan speakers of Uneducated French tend to replace front rounded vowels /y/, /ø/, and /œ/ by the back rounded vowels /u/ and /o/, and nasalised vowels by oral ones.

7)

Standard French	*Moroccan Arabic and Berber*	*Gloss*
lyzin (l'usine)	luzin	factory
stydio (studio)	studju	studio
doktœr (docteur)	doktor	doctor
pnø (pneu)	pnu	wheel
videjo (vidéo)	vidju	video
beRe (béret)	biri	beret

Given the above data, the borrowing of French words has not resulted in the insertion of French vowels as well. Moroccan speakers of undeducated French adapt the foreign vowels to the sound patterns of their vernaculars. The borrowing of French lexical items has only increased the frequency and function of some phonemes, as in

8)

Uneducated French	*Standard French*	*Gloss*
lkamiyu (le camion)	kamjõ	lorry
ţobis (autobus)	otobys	bus
ţoʒor (toujours)	tuʒuR	always
kasiţ (cassette)	kaset	cassette

Note here that the nasal vowel of Standard French /õ/ is replaced by /u/ in *lkamiyu,* and French y is replaced by /i/ in ţobis, and /u/ is substituted for /o/ in /ţoʒor/ and /e/ is replaced by /i/ in kasiţ (for more examples, see Ennaji 1991).

In the following section, focus is on the functions and domains of use of French.

Functions and Domains of Use of French

French still plays a great part in the social and cultural activities of Moroccans despite the Arabisation process launched since the 1960s. It is officially used in education and administration as a second language. French, which is obligatory in schools, is the medium of teaching scientific and technical disciplines in higher education. As such, French is considered an important tool for socio-economic development and an invaluable window on modern culture and technology, and an important means of communication with the rest of the world. French is also used in informal situations in daily life, at home, in the street, at work in discussions and conversations among friends and colleagues, or with French-speaking tourists.

Furthermore, French is the vehicle of a large body of literature produced by Moroccan Francophone thinkers and writers. Like Classical Arabic, French is learnt by means of schooling. The extent to which both languages are used depends on the rate of literacy and the development of education. But as 48% of the population is still illiterate, the use of French and Classical Arabic is restricted to literate people.

There is a strong competition between Classical Arabic and French, for they are interchangeably used to fulfill grossly similar functions. However, while French prevails as a language of science, Classical Arabic is regarded, by officials and non-officials alike, as a language of religion and ancient literature.

The Francophone policy, which has been continued by postcolonial governments, created a two-sided country with often contradictory ideological, cultural, and political orientations. Arabisation has aimed to establish Modern Standard Arabic as the national official language by means of state-controlled sectors like education, administration, and the media. As a consequence, the educational system has been turning out more Arabic-educated than French-educated graduates, who could not be recruited by the private sector which is still Francophone, as it largely deals with Western clients. As a matter of fact, there are few jobs for the "Arabisants" even in the public administration. This is one of the main reasons why the unemployment rate has reached 15%. A great majority of these Arabic-only speakers originate from rural or modest families which have migrated to the urban zones in post-independence. In migrating from the rural areas, they have kept their religious and conservative mentalities, and thus, have become naturally sympathetic to Muslim fundamentalism and activism. By contrast, the middle and upper class urban groups have retained their Francophone and modernist ideas. Because of their unbalanced job opportunities, important socio-economic differences between the two groups have resulted, creating social tension. With an Arabised Baccalaureat certificate, students generally choose to transfer to Arabic or Islamic studies at university instead of attempting to study science or medicine in French. As mentioned above, this situation did not help them to do better in the job market than the many Arabised school-drop outs.

It is believed by officials that total Arabisation will lead to linguistic and political isolation of the country, which will have devastating outcomes for socio-economic development. Thus, French has been kept as a means to remain in contact with Europe and the external world.

Today, French and Classical Arabic are used either simultaneously or alternatively in education, government, the public sector and the media. French is widespread in modern and scientific fields like industry, finance, medicine, telecommunications, transports, international trade and the like. French "Coopération" (assistance) in education, science, and technology is still very strong given that more than 75% of foreign trade is established with France.

French in the Media

At the level of the mass-media, there exist a multitude of Moroccan newspapers published in French. During colonisation, there were two important daily newspapers initially created by the French colonisers, "Le Petit Marocain" and "La Vigie Marocaine". The Moroccan press of French expression continued to exist and to develop even after the colonial press had vanished. Today, the most popular newspapers of French expression are *Le Matin, l'Opinion, Libération, L'Economiste, Al-Bayane*.

The following figures give an idea about the strong presence of French in the media. According to Benzakour and Gaadi (2000), in 1999, 130,000 copies of French newspapers were published and distributed across the country against 62,000 copies in 1981. Nowadays, these figures have more than doubled because of the decreasing illiteracy rate, the impact of education, the remarkable evolution of the Moroccan press, and the growing need for information and analysis of events and issues.

However, contrary to the sixties and seventies, today the number of people who read French newspapers has decreased, as a result of the impact of Arabisation and of the increasing number of Arabic newspapers.

The Moroccan press publishes daily and weekly newspapers and magazines that are of a general nature or focused on areas like sports, economics, politics, tourism, finance, management, education, literature, etc. Most political parties offer double publications (in French and in Standard Arabic). For instance, the "Union Socialiste des Forces Populaires" publishes *Al-Ittihad Al-Ishtiraki* and *Libération*; the "Istiqlal Party" publishes *Al-Alam* and *L'Opinion*; "Le Parti du Progrès et du Socialisme" publishes *Al-Bayane* in French and *Bayane Al-Yawm* in Arabic; "Le Mouvement Populaire" publishes *Al-Haraka* (in Arabic) and *La Tribune Populaire*. Additionally, there is a flourishing independent press which has a wide range of readers who prefer non-partisan and neutral newspapers like *Le journal, Demain, l'Economiste, La Vie Economique, Le Quotidien*, etc. All this stands as clear evidence of the strong presence of the French language in the Moroccan media.

The number of newspapers and magazines in French attest to the multicultural aspect of Moroccan society and to the plurality that characterises the country on the political, social, economic, cultural, and linguistic levels. Thus, while the newspaper *Le Matin* is the voice of the government, *AL-Alam* and *L'Opinion* express the viewpoint of the "Istiqlal party" since their creation in 1946 and 1965 respectively; likewise, *Al-Ittihad Al-Ishtiraki* and *Libération* vehicle the thoughts and attitudes of the "Union Socialiste des Froces Populaires", while *Attajammoû* (in Arabic) expresses the views of the "Rassemblement National des Indépendants".

According to official figures of 1997, in all there are approximately 547 newspapers, magazines and periodicals, 386 of which are in Arabic and 160 in French, 1 in Spanish and 1 in English. Newspapers total 11 in French and 11 in Arabic. The number of weekly papers has reached 118, 28 of which are in French, while monthly magazines total 206, 56 of which are in French (see the Moroccan daily *Assabah* of November 15, 2002). Today, with the liberalisation of the media, these numbers have risen considerably. Overall, Morocco nowadays has over seven hundred titles of newspapers, magazines and periodicals in both French and Arabic. But despite this important number of newspaper publications and their reasonable prices, the quantity of copies that are distributed varies from one newspaper to another. The least important newspapers publish less than a thousand copies; the first ten biggest newspapers print about 400 000 copies altogether, while the first ten magazines print 200 000 copies in all (*Al-Ittihad Al-Ishtiraki*, 15 July 2001).

French newspapers are read more by the French-educated intelligentsia than Arabic ones because they often master French better than Standard Arabic. Although Arabic-French bilinguals read both French and Arabic newspapers, it is interesting to note that they tend to prefer newspapers written in French. This is probably due to (i) the fact that the media in French focus on Europe, while Arabic media focus on the Arab world; (ii) the Francophone media also deal with lively topics that have social, political, or economic appeal (see Gravel 1979:124, Elbiad 1985: 345).

French is also present on radio and television. There exists a national radio station (RTM), created in Rabat in 1956, that broadcasts its programmes exclusively in French. The Arabic-French bilingual radio station (Medi 1), which was launched in 1980 in Tangiers, broadcasts programmes in Standard Arabic and French twenty-three hours a day. The French news bulletin is presented on television in the evening, and English and American films are dubbed in French (see Ennaji 1995). The French radio station broadcasts its programmes on a twelve-hour basis.

The television programmes are bilingual. The TVM has 25% of programmes in French and 75% in Arabic, whereas the second channel, 2M, broadcasts more than 75% of its programmes in French; most of the films are foreign and dubbed in French (see Poindexter 1991).

TVM, which was created in 1960, is government-owned; 2M was launched in 1989 as a private channel with a subscription system. Today, 2M has a semi-private status as the government has bought more than 50% of shares to help it survive the fierce competition with satellite television (cf. Grandguillaume 1983:81).

Most Arabic-French bilingual Moroccans prefer the Standard

Arabic-French bilingual programmes on Medi 1, and 2M because they have more interesting and better quality programmes than RTM and TVM, which are often criticized in the press for their monotonous and poor programmes. The Francophone channels deal with current and relevant political, socio-economic and cultural topics in an objective and scientific way (see Elbiad 1991, Ennaji 1991).

Since French enjoys a great deal of prestige in the media and in education, Moroccans have improved their command of it to the extent that they have contributed to the spread of French across the whole country. Although French is more commonly used today than ever before, its quality (both spoken and written) is diverging from Standard French. The kind of French used is characterised by extensive word borrowing from Arabic (see section above, Lanly 1970, and Ennaji 1988).

French in Education

As discussed above, French was the language of education during the Protectorate, and after independence, the Moroccan authorities promoted the continued use of French in education. However, the French government seldom provided Morocco with qualified French teachers; rather, they usually sent young and unexperienced teachers who wanted to escape military service in France by becoming low-paid teachers in Morocco or Algeria. At any rate, the successive independence governmens promoted a pro-French policy in education, with the result that French is still very much present in the Moroccan system of education, especially in private schools, where it is often the language of instruction. In public primary schools, French is introduced in the third year at a rate of ten hours per week (Santucci 1986). In secondary schools, French is taught to science students on a basis of four hours per week in the first year, and six hours a week in second and third years. For humanities students ("lettres modernes"), the time allotted to French is five hours per week in the first year, and six hours per week in the second and third years.

According to the new educational reform, French is to be taught from the second grade in primary education until university. The reform plans to reinforce the place of French in primary, secondary and tertiary education. The new reform does not plan to modify the status of French in higher education; sciences will remain in French in public universities. In public primary and high schools, French is taught earlier, but only as a second language, not as a medium of instruction. All subjects, including the sciences, are taught in Standard Arabic. However, there exist Standard Arabic-French sections ("Option langue française") in high shcools, where mathematics is taught in French. Note that nowhere in the National Charter

of Education is French mentioned; reference is made only to the foreign language "langue etrangère" (see De Ruiter 2001).

French schools ("la mission", "l'école des soeurs", etc.), which are indeed very prestigious, are sought after by most well-to-do Moroccan families. Since the period of French colonisation, these schools have always existed in the main cities of Morocco like Rabat, Casablanca, Marrakesh, Fès, Meknès and Oujda. They teach all courses in French, while Standard Arabic is introduced only as a second language. These schools basically adopt the same courses as in France, and prepare Moroccan pupils to obtain the French Baccalaureate, which enjoys a great deal of prestige in Moroccan schools of engineering, medicine, business, as well as in French universities.

Children of the elite are usually educated in private schools and French institutions; as a matter of fact, 60% of pupils at the "Mission Culturelle Française" are Moroccans whose parents are French or who belong to the high Moroccan social stratum. These pupils usually adopt the French way of life and speak utterly in French in both formal and informal situations.

However, the urban working class is often excluded from this Francophone domain except when their children are Arabic-French bilingual. Similarly, in rural areas, on the other hand, children learn French at school but hardly use it outside classrooms. In sum, French is essentially used by middle and upper social classes, educated people, and by a few individuals in the working class who happen to have contacts with French-speaking people.

Although humanities have been fully Arabised in primary and secondary schools, French remains the medium of instruction in technical disciplines in high schools and universities. The Arabisation process has been slowed down in favour of French since 1980 to avoid lower learning achievements (*Lamalif* 1987, July-August, No. 190). French is widely used in postgraduate studies in which research is undertaken in both Standard Arabic and French. Scientific research in the sciences at university level is mainly produced and published in French (see Ennaji 1991).

To my knowledge, there are no official statistics concerning the number of people who speak and read French in Morocco. According to Santucci (1986: 139), the number of people aged ten and older who have learned French at school has increased remarkably since independence, and thus, over 25% of the population speak French. Nonetheless, the number of Moroccans who have a good mastery of French, that is, who have completed their secondary education (Baccalaureate level), is much smaller, viz. about 5% of the overall population. On the other hand, there are many students with a Baccalaureate certificate who do not master French. The mastery of French may also be related to the students' milieu; the more a student speaks

French at home or with friends, the better his or her mastery of this language is. As most Moroccan families do not practice French due to the high illiteracy rate, relatively few young students actually show a good command of this language.

In the following section, we will briefly look at the place of Moroccan Francophone literature and how it evolved in the postcolonial era.

Moroccan Francophone Literature

Moroccan literature written in French is popular thanks to the great writings of internationally well-known authors like Driss Chraibi ("Le passé simple", 1954), Mohamed Khair-Eddine ("Agadir, 1967), Abdellatif Laâbi ("L'Oeil et la Nuit", 1970), and Abdelhak Serhane ("Massaouda", 1984), and Tahar Ben Jelloun ("La nuit sacrée", 1998). There are many other literary productions in French, which for lack of space we will not cite. Feminist literature is, for the most part, written in French; it has gained much impact since the publication of Halima Benhaddou's "Aicha la révoltée" in 1982. One of the recent feminine publications in French is Fatima Mernissi's "Rêves de femmes" translated into English in 2000.

Francophone literary publications have recently known an important increase; for instance, in 1999, 200 literary books were published. This is a remarkable development compared to the 1980s when only dozens of such books were published per year (see the Moroccan daily *Al-Ittihad Al-Ishtiraki,* 15 July 2001).

To encourage Moroccan literature of 'French expression', the French embassy in Morocco has been giving prizes ("Prix Atlas") to the best works each year since the 1980s. However, as of 2000 the embassy also encourages French translations of Moroccan literary works written in Arabic. Francopohone literature, like Arabic literature in general, deals with new ideas, and Moroccan issues such as poverty, illiteracy, migration, youth problems, women's issues, marginalised childhood, etc. Francophone literature also aims to fight against traditional thinking and reactionary ideologies, and calls for social justice, more openness and tolerance within society.

The obvious question to ask is: why do these authors write in the language of the oppressor? There are at least three reasons: first, a Moroccan Francophone literature developed long before independence, when French was the only official language of the country, and the vehicle of an old literary tradition. Second, this Francophone literature has always expressed Moroccan issues and way of life, and has nothing to do with French colonialism; rather, authors used French to combat the colonial power, in the fight for the freedom of the Moroccan population. Third, after

independence, given the official status of Standard Arabic, and because the mother tongues are repressed, French is constructed as a medium of writing to give vent to feelings and reactions which could have otherwise been expressed by the oppressed Dialectal Arabic or Berber (cf. Berger 2002).

On another level, French transforms the mother tongues of Francophone writers who feel a rupture between themselves and their native language. The Moroccan writer Abdelkbir Khatibi (1983b:201) states:

> *When I write in French, my entire effort consists of separating myself from my native language, of relegating it to my deepest self. I am thus divided from myself within myself, which is the condition for all writing inured to the destiny of languages. Henceforth, little by little, my native tongue becomes foreign to me.*

The Algerian writer Kateb Yacine – who gave up writing in French in 1970 to switch to Algerian colloquial Arabic - also speaks of his suffering as a Francopone author which he describes as a kind of "internal exile". Additionally, Maghrebi literature written in French is an interesting experience and an "experiment of autobiography", as Khatibi (ibid) puts it, because the Maghrebi writer speaks of the self, and expresses his or her loss of identity, his or her unhappiness and guilt for losing a secret - the mother tongue - shared with their own people. Khatibi (ibid) adds "when I write in French, I am taken hostage" (see Bensmaia 2002). Thus, after decolonisation, internal and external tensions have never ceased to haunt Maghrebi and African authors' consciousness.

Let us now look in a nutshell at the place of French in the private sector, namely private education, businesses, finance, and commerce.

French in the Private Sector

French has a strong position in the private sector. In schools, it is introduced in kindergartens and reinforced in primary, secondary, and higher education. An average of fourteen hours a week is allotted to the teaching of French in primary education. French is more popular than Standard Arabic in private schools. In institutes of higher education, French is the vehicle of instruction for science, engineering, business, management, computer science, etc., while Standard Arabic is taught only in the first two years to complement students' general knowledge. Because French has a strong place in the curriculum, students give it due importance to the detriment of Standard Arabic and English.

French is regarded as the language of social prestige and success. It is spoken and written by educated technicians, secretaries, managers and directors of companies. French is usually associated with social promotion, wealth, sophistication, modernity, quality, reliability and similar Western values.

According to a survey by Tebbaa (1990:42-43), a good mastery of French and a good knowledge of the world are among the qualities that a graduate should have in order to meet the needs of the private sector. While 47% of his respondents state that a command of Standard Arabic is desirable, 72% say that a good command of French is needed. Tebbaa (idem) cites the following as the most required qualities in the job market in order of importance: a) professionalism, b) ability to analyse situations, c) dynamism, d) self-confidence, e) scientific rigour, and f) a good mastery of French (see Ennaji1996:222).

In the following section, we will consider the important place of French in the Moroccan public administration.

French in the Administration

The Moroccan public administration is basically bilingual. French is used hand in hand with Standard Arabic, as most administrative paperwork is done in Standard Arabic and/or French. In early independence, French was predominant in Moroccan offices, but today, given the impact of the Arabisation policy, the pendulum has swung in favour of Standard Arabic. Since the 1960s, the "Bureau d'arabisation" (Arabisation Office) has published a huge number of Arabic and Arabic-French dictionaries for the benefit of administrators across the country in order to encourage them to use Standard Arabic in correspendence, reports, publications, etc.

In public and private administration, interlocutors may opt for French if the topic is technical or if they have been to bilingual or French schools. In other situations, communication can be channeled through what is called code switching, especially when the themes under discussion contain French concepts, which are not always easy to translate.

Although most administrative offices use both French and Arabic, French prevails in Ministries of Finance, Transport, Tourism, Higher Education, Industry, Commerce, Interior, Defense, etc. There are two reasons for this. First, the subjects dealt with by these Ministries are usually technical; Standard Arabic generally lacks the appropriate equivalent terminology for such topics. For instance, the translations used are often so artificial that nobody uses them in practice. Second, the administrators involved have for the most part been trained in French rather than Standard Arabic, and are, thus, often incompetent in the latter.

Four main factors contribute to the spread of French. First, Moroccan immigrants in France and Belgium contribute to promote French through their social and economic relations with their country. Second, the popularity of satellite television has made it possible for Moroccans to watch French channels, which are much favoured across the country. Third, the publication and circulation of books and print materials in French consolidate the already strong position of French in Morocco, which is the third-largest Francophone country, after France and Canada. Fourth, the educational system in post-independence has, despite Arabisation, contributed to the expansion of French more widely than during colonisation. In fact, French is the language in which knowledge is transmitted for more than 65% of university students, while Arabic is used as the language of Arabic literature, ideology, and Islam.

The socialist government in power from 1998 to 2002 solidified Arabisation in administration. Thus, the ex-Prime Minister, Abderrahman Youssfi, sent a circular, in March 1999, to all heads of administrations urging them to use Standard Arabic in addressing Moroccan nationals; according to this note, French can be utilised only when addressing foreign people or agencies. Over two years after this circular, very few administrators have implemented this decision.

All in all, French has the lion's share in the Moroccan linguistic "market". It dominates Arabic and Berber in the sense that it is omni-present and widespread in cultural, social, economic, commercial, and industrial areas. French is predominant even in places and administrations where Arabic-French bilingualism is a requirement. This situation contrasts with the growing importance of English at the international level (see the Moroccan daily *Al-Ittihad Al-Ishtiraki*, 11 January 2001, and also Chapter Six below).

Notes

(1) Benzakour and Gaadi (2000) distinguish between three types of Moroccan French: "basilectal" French, (which is further divided into the variety of non-educated and the variety of Arabic-educated people), and "mésolectal" French and "acrolectal" French. "Basilectal" French is acquired by non-educated and by Arabic-educated Moroccans. The variety of "mésolectal" is used by the French-educated elite ("les françisants"). The third variety distinguished by Benzakour and Gaadi (idem) is "acrolectal" French. It is a variety of a "Frenchified" urban elite which is constituted of mainly high-level civil servants. This variety is considered high French and bestows on its speakers prestige and social power.

(2) Abbassi (1977:30) distinguished three dialects of French in Morocco: (i) High Standard French, (ii) Standard Moroccan French, and (iii) Uneducated Moroccan French.

CHAPTER SIX: FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Introduction

This chapter presents the status of the foreign languages in use in Morocco, namely Spanish, English and German. It documents their historical background and their evolution after independence. These foreign languages share the common characteristic of being taught in high school and university. Although Spanish has, for historical and geographical reasons, a special place particularly in the north and south of Morocco, which were formerly colonised by Spain, it is less popular than English because the latter is the first international language with no colonial connotations for Moroccans. On the other hand, German is learnt optionally by university students as an academic subject, or by tourist guides to establish communication with German tourists.

Moroccans are generally well aware of the important role of foreign languages in education, and in society in general. History teaches us that Moroccans (and Maghrebis by extension) are generally in favour of European languages, namely Spanish, French, English, German, Italian, and Portuguese. The previous chapters have shown that Arabic and Berber have for centuries interacted in interesting ways with some of these European languages. In this chapter, we will focus our attention on Spanish, English, and German. Let us first consider Spanish.

Spanish

In the mid-sixteenth century, Spain occupied Ceuta and Melilia in the North, and the Zaffarin Islands off the shores. In 1884, Spain took over Rio de Oro (Oued Eddahab or Saqiya El-hamra) in the Moroccan Sahara, and in agreement with France, it occupied the northern cities of Nador, El Houceima, Tetouan and Larache (see Brignon et al 1967 :331). During the Spanish colonisation, Spanish was the language of administration and education in the Spanish zone. Spanish was thus acquired by Moroccans over the years, given their daily interaction with the Spanish. Today, Spanish is spoken by over one million Moroccans living in the ex-Spanish region.

The Spanish influence can be felt in the north (Tangiers, Tetouan, Nador, Al-Houceima, etc) and in the south of Morocco (Ifni, Laayoune, Dakhla, etc.), where Spanish is widely spoken by Rifian Berbers and the Sahraouis respectively for daily purposes in the streets and shops. The Spanish occupation gained momentum in 1921, when many Spanish settlers

occupied the coastal areas in the extreme north and deep south of the country. Although linguistically Spanish has affected Moroccan Arabic in these regions, which still includes many Spanish loan words, it is not as powerful as French since it is limited to the zones formerly occupied by Spain (see Ennaji 1991).

Since Morocco's independence in 1956, Spanish has lost its official status and prestige as the language of administration and education in what was formerly the Spanish Protectorate and has gradually been replaced by French. Moreover, unlike French, Spanish is not taught in primary schools. As it has been accorded the status of a foreign language like English and German, Spanish is taught only at secondary and university levels.

Spanish radio and television programmes are broadcast in the areas formerly occupied by Spain because of their proximity to Spain and the Canary Islands. Spanish has greatly impacted Tarifit Berber and the varieties of Moroccan Arabic spoken in the northern and southern cities, mainly at the level of word borrowing.

People's attitudes toward Spanish are generally favourable. The government has promoted the teaching of Spanish as a foreign language in high schools. Spanish may be chosen instead of English and German by sixteen-year-olds at the first year of high school. Hundreds of Moroccan pupils choose to learn Spanish because of the (i) the geographical proximity and the vital economic relations with Spain, (ii) the importance of Spanish investments in Morocco, (iii) the historical and cultural relations between the two countries, and (iv) the desire of many young people to travel to, work or further their studies in Spain.

At the university level, there are eight departments of Spanish language and literature. These departments teach history, civilisation, and literature in addition to Spanish language courses. Overall, there are over 4,000 people studying Spanish in Moroccan universities, lycées and private schools. The Spanish Cultural Centres in Tétouan, Fès, Tangier, Rabat and Casablanca also offer Spanish classes to interested Moroccans. The Faculty of Letters in Agadir first opened a Department of Spanish in 1992 with a total of 56 students which increased to 187 in 1995. Thus, according to these figures, students of Spanish have increased in number especially in Tétouan, given its proximity to Spain.

Faculty of Letters	*1990-91*	*1994-95*
Rabat	320	259
Dhar ElMehraz, Fès	588	444
Tétouan	287	402
Agadir	---	187

Table 1: Numbers of students in Spanish Departments, based on "Guide de l'Université Marocaine",1995, Ministry of Higher Education

Many Moroccan city-dwellers from wealthy families learn Spanish in the Spanish Cultural Centres and in private schools for communicative purposes to help them spend their holidays in the Spanish land, mainly Costa del Sol. Recently, many students from well-off families have started to choose to study in Spain because it is cheaper and geographically closer to Morocco than North America, for example. To be accepted in Spanish universities, they have to prepare a Spanish language proficiency level ("Certifidad"). Spanish language centres ("Cervantes" Centres) are very popular places where Moroccans prepare this certificate. Spanish is also useful for tourism; it is learned by tourist guides, hotel receptionists, airport staff, etc.

English

English is a relatively newcomer in Morocco. The most important historical link between Moroccans and English goes back to World War II when American bases were established in Tangiers and Kenitra (see Gallagher 1963 :236). The Moroccans who had contacts with the Americans had to learn English for communicative purposes. Those who spoke English had, nonetheless, heavy accents and hardly managed to write it (Abbassi 1977). In the past four decades, education, new information technology, American and Western tourists impacted the spread of English.

The fact that English is taught in high schools and universities has likewise contributed to its spread. Moroccans start learning English at the age of 16 in public schools and at the age of 5 in private schools. Today, English is the most popular foreign language in Morocco (see Sadiqi 1991). Many Moroccans learn English for instrumental reasons, i.e., to have access to modern technology, apply for studies abroad, or communicate with English-speaking visitors and business people.

Not only is English favoured by students, educationalists and policy-makers, but it is also gradually becoming a serious rival of French in higher education. A good number of university students and researchers learn English to be able to read the English references relevant to their speciality. Additionally, more and more scientific research carried out by native Moroccan academics is nowadays published in English.

In all likelihood, English will become more important in the future and may fiercely compete with French as a means of communication with the outside world and as a vehicle of Western values and norms. It is equally possible that globalisation, through international exchange via business life, satellite television and the internet, will make English both accessible and necessary for Moroccans (cf. Gill,1999).

Two sorts of English can be distinguished: (i) educated English, spoken by people who have a university degree in English, and (ii), a low-level English, commonly used by taxi-drivers, waiters, bank staff, travel agents, airport personnel, etc.

English in Morocco serves the national goals for communicating with the English-speaking world, chiefly Great Britain, the Commonwealth countries, and the USA. English is gaining ground in comparison with Spanish, especially in the fields of education, academic research, diplomacy, mass media, tourism and finance.

Two major domains are affected by the spread of English in Morocco: education and the mass media.

English in Education

In Morocco, there is an important link between English and education, both public and private. In public education, high schools and universities have been affected by the spread of English, which is taught as a foreign language. In the pre-independence era, English was taught following the norms of the French educational system; translation from French to English, or vice versa, was the method used to teach English. Because French was the official language, Moroccan students had to take two "foreign" languages, English and Standard Arabic. English was introduced in the first grade of junior high school, and the second one was introduced in the third grade of high school. Most Moroccan students chose Standard Arabic as the first foreign language and English as their second foreign language.

In the post-independence era, among the foreign languages that are taught optionally in high schools are English, Spanish and German. English is often chosen by students as their favourite foreign language. The number of teaching hours allotted to English is three hours a week for the scientific

disciplines, six for the literary subjects and eight for the English “Préformation”. "Préformation" classes are geared toward the pupils who are particularly brilliant in English and who have the best marks in English in the first and second grades of senior high school (cf. Sadiqi 1991).

The main aims of teaching English in secondary and higher education are both socio-economic and educational. English is taught for communicative, cultural and research purposes (cf. Plan Quinquennal 1981-1985, Ministry of National Education 1984:1).

To achieve these aims, students are trained in different skills which are meant to develop their language proficiency and eventually prepare them for a professional occupation. However, with the high rate of unemployment among university graduates, this aim is difficult to attain. The remaining aims of English language teaching are practically socio-cultural. English studies participate in the process of enlightenment, promotion of the intellect, and knowledge of the world in addition to facilitating socio-cultural exchanges with English-speaking countries.

At the university level, English is taught for general and academic purposes. It is studied in order to facilitate the acquisition and transfer of scientific and academic knowledge. English Departments have actively participated in the training of teachers at secondary and university levels (cf. Ennaji and Sadiqi 1994: Chapter 2).

According to an investigation I carried out on the objectives of English at the university and students’ needs, 81% of students agree that they study English to become familiar with the cultures and institutions of English-speaking countries like Britain, the United States and Canada (see Ennaji (1990). Concerning its utilitarian goal, 79% of respondents state that they study English to be in a position to find a good job. The majority (80%) think that English can help them to further their studies abroad. Only 23% state that their main purpose for studying English is to be able to write or do scientific research in this language (see Ennaji 1990).

English has lately become even more popular due to the growing importance of information technology, namely satellite television and the internet. Wealthy Moroccans prefer to study in North America or England, in order to have access to the latest knowledge and technology, and later eventually gain the best paid jobs in the labour market. The opening of Al-Akhawayn University in Ifrane in 1995, where the medium of instruction is English, gave a big boost to English at the national level. The number of American and English schools has increased across the country, mainly in Casablanca, Rabat, Marrakech, Meknès, Fès, Ifrane, etc. (see Sadiqi 1991). This is one of the effects of globalisation which led Morocco to diversify its

interests and relations at the international level. The number of students majoring in English has increased over the years (see Table 2 below). English departments increased from one department at the Faculty of Letters in Rabat in 1959 to 14 departments in 1992 (see Dahbi 2003). The overall population of English teachers has increased from 25 Moroccan teachers in 1967 to 276 in 1977 to over three thousand in 1999. Statistically, in 1975 Moroccan teachers of English represented 32% of English teachers in secondary schools; the rest of the English teachers were foreign (mainly American and English). Nonetheless in 1982, this percentage jumped to 80%, and since 2000 the job market for English teachers has become utterly saturated. Today, in fact, only very few BA holders manage to enter teacher training schools, and most of them are unemployed for a few years before finding a non-teaching job, one usually irrelevant to their English degree.

Faculty of letters	*1990 - 1991*	*1994 - 1995*
Rabat	913	955
Ain Chok, Casablanca	1135	1220
Ben Msik, Casablanca	818	447
Mohammedia	514	408
Dhar ElMehraz, Fès	1390	867
Sais, Fès	215	348
Eljadida	611	862
Kénitra	32	60
Agadir	923	1292
Oujda	1307	1255
Marrakesh	1331	844
Meknès	610	539
Tétouan	578	514

Table2: Numbers of students in English Departments, "Guide de l'Université Marocaine", 1995, Ministry of Higher Education

The above table shows the huge numbers of students studying English as their major. Although some departments have witnessed a decrease in the number of enrolled students, which is sometimes due to the opening of a second department at the same university (the cases of Fès and Casablanca),

the total number has relatively increased. Despite the fact that reference here is made to the past, today the numbers have either slightly increased or remained more or less stable, and English remains the most popular foreign language at university and high school levels (see Dahbi 2003). At any rate, the overall number of Moroccan students of English departments is by far larger than it was the case in the last three decades.

The main achievement of English departments is their contribution to the spread of English. Colleagues from Europe and North America usually recognise the good quality of teaching and of the pedagogical syllabus of departments of English. Graduates of departments of English have traditionally served in teaching and in many other jobs. In the academic year 1999, the overall number of English graduates has increased to 12,893 (see Table 3 below), and in 1997, the total number of Moroccan teachers of English in high schools reached 3,271, and if we take into consideration, the number of Moroccan university teachers of English, the overall number of English teachers will reach less than 4,000 people (see "Annuaire Statistique du Maroc" 1998, and Dahbi 2003).

Faculty of letters	*Annual Registration*	*Number of Graduates*
Rabat	948	1023
Ain Chok, Casablanca	1441	2228
Ben Msik, Casablanca	---	487
Mohammedia	420	267
Dhar ElMehraz, Fès	1233	2136
Sais, Fès	396	173
Eljadida	764	570
Kénitra	32	60
Agadir	584	744
Oujda	1075	1466
Marrakesh	956	916
Meknès	556	590
Tétouan	516	406
Béni Mellal	---	483

Table 3: Average numbers of English students between 1980 and 1999 (source: Dahbi 2003).

As concerns teacher training, there are institutions like, the "Ecole Normale Supèrieure" in Rabat and Meknès, and the the "Centre Pédagogique Régional" in Fès. These institutions provide one-year training for BA holders to help them integrate the teaching profession with a good pedagogical training. Further, a large number of Moroccan graduates have been trained in Morocco and abroad (namely in England, the USA, France and Belgium) to teach at the university level.

In universities, teaching vacancies have been rapidly filled by Moroccans since the 1980s, which has led to the departure of many native English speakers, especially the "French coopérants" who represented the largest foreign contingent of English teachers in Moroccan universities. In the English Department at the University of Fès, for instance, there were 34 non-Moroccan teachers for the year 1981-1982; however, their number decreased to two in the academic year 1988-1989, and to naught in the academic year 2003-2004.

In private institutions, like business schools, engineering, and computer science schools, English is a compulsory subject. The teaching hours allotted to English vary from two to five hours a week depending on the orientation of each institution. The aim of these schools is to provide their graduates with a good command of English to allow them to communicate well with English interlocutors or correspondents and to help them pursue their doctoral studies or MBAs in American, Canadian and English universities later on. Among these, we may cite the International Institute of Higher Education (IIHEM), "Ecole Supérieure Internationale de Gestion" (ESIG), and "Hautes Etudes en Management" (HEM).

At least two major foreign institutions are active in the teaching of English in Morocco, namely, the American Language Centre, and the British Council. Over the years, these two institutions have developed their positions as promoters of the English language in this country. In addition, there exist dozens of English language schools in the private sector, which teach general English as well as English for specific purposes. Courses are continuously taught day and night and throughout the whole year. These courses are taught to children and adult learners, and to learners of various levels.

The Media

In addition to education, English is also slowly gaining importance in the media. Most of the Anglophone press is actually foreign, and the most well-known imported newspapers and magazines are *Herald Tribune, Finanicial Times, The Guardian, The Times, The Sun, USA Today, Time Magazine* and *Saudi Gazette*. These newspapers and magazines are accessible in the market in big cities. Anglophone academic journals are also available in most university libraries. The local press in English is rather

rare. For example, the Moroccan daily *Morocco Today* is poorly distributed and its readership is restricted. A number of publications like *The Messenger of Morocco* have appeared for a a few years and then vanished for lack of readers and because of weak financial support.

A few academic journals in English have recently appeared, viz. *Offshoot* (interested in translation), *Chalk Face* (English language teaching) and *Languages and Linguistics* (interested in linguistic issues), which are destined to English students and language departments at the university. Further, The Moroccan Association of Teachers of English (MATE) issues a newsletter and has produced publications which are basically proceedings of MATE annual conferences. These publications have the pedagogical aim of improving the quality of English language teaching in the country.

In terms of books, the British Council and the American bookstore in Rabat, Casablanca and Marrakesh, as well as other privately owned bookshops in Rabat and Meknès, have been active in making English books accessible to the Moroccan readers and students. These books range from pedagogical, technical, political, economic, and literary to children's books.

Moreover, English is allotted two hours of broadcasting from 10 a.m. to 12 p.m. on the Moroccan radio. The programmes include news bulletins, songs, interviews with artists, academics and politicians, sports and literature readings. The most well-known foreign radio stations that are appreciated by English-speaking educated people are BBC World Service and Voice of America.

English is absent from Moroccan television channels, and most English and American films are dubbed in French. But many people watch English channels on satellite television, namely SKY, CNN, EURONEWS, and BBC WORLD, for they have interesting informative programmes and help them polish their English.

The Spread of English

Four major factors have helped the spread of English in Morocco. First, the policy of education adopted since independence has been favourable to English. The Ministry of Education organises pedagogical meetings regularly, summer schools and in-service training for the benefit of English teachers. The creation of Al-Akhawayn University in Ifrane in 1995 has been a good impetus for the status of English in Morocco. English is the second foreign language after French because, as pointed out by Sadiqi (1991: 106),

> *Policy makers in Morocco have certainly realised that international communication between Morocco and the rest of the world could not be achieved by French alone; they know that English is the key to communication in a very tangible sense.*

The educational policy adopted by the government has a positive impact on the spread of English in the country. English is encouraged for international communication. Through the help of the Moroccan-American Commission, the British Council and The United States Public Affairs (ex-USIS), many Moroccan professors, engineers and businessmen have been trained in Britain or America. Likewise, many British and American visiting scholars have taught or lectured in Moroccan universities.

Second, English is widely used internationally in such vital sectors and activities as trade, diplomacy, aviation and finance. Similarly, unlike Chinese, French, Portuguese, Spanish or German, which are associated with particular countries and cultures, English is not necessarily associated with one specific country or culture. English is used as a mother tongue or as an official language in Britain, America, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, Namibia, Ghana, Lesotho, Botswana and other Anglophone countries. Thus, English belongs to the whole world for it functions as a lingua franca (see Fishman 1988).

Third, the fact that Moroccans in general hold favourable attitudes toward English also enhances its position in the country. According to field work undertaken by Elbiad (1985), as many as 72% of his respondents think that English is better and more useful than French for the future of Morocco.

Fourth, English is not associated with Morocco's colonial history. Moroccan high school pupils tend to prefer English over French because the former has no colonial overtones for them (see Sadiqi 1991).

German

German has been introduced in Moroccan high schools as an optional subject since the 1970s. It is taught as a foreign language in selected lycées in big cities like Casablanca, Rabat, Marrakesh, Fès and Tangiers. A few students choose German at university level where there exist three departments of German across the country. Recently, however, many Moroccan young people have developed an interest in the language, which they study to prepare the qualification certificate (ZDAF), which is the proficiency level required to enter German universities. Goethe Institute,

American language centres and many private schools offer intensive courses in German to Moroccans. Other people study German before travelling to Germany to pay visits to their families or look for jobs, as around 125,000 Moroccan emigrants, generally from the Rif, have settled there.

Overall, given the degree of globalisation, the motivation behind learning the above-discussed languages may well be regarded as a gesture that expands the possibilities available to Moroccans. In other terms, the cultural and political orientations of Morocco would be irrelevant if they restricted Moroccans' access to technological, economic, and social development, and if they limited their opening up to the wider world.

CHAPTER SEVEN: BILINGUALISM

Introduction

This chapter discusses the various types of biligualism attested in the Moroccan context. It deals with Berber-Moroccan Arabic bilingualism, Moroccan Arabic-French bilingualism, Standard Arabic-French bilingualism, as well as the linguistic interferences caused by bilingualism. The chapter focuses on the most productive type, Standard Arabic-French bilingualism, and shows that this kind of bilingualism is accompanied with a sociocultural dualism. Despite much ciriticism against this bilingualism which is widespread in education and administration, research has shown that most Moroccans find it useful and enriching.

An individual is bilingual if he or she speaks two different languages, and is multilingual if he or she speaks more than two different languages. Similarly, a country is bilingual if it makes use of two official languages, be they national, regional or foreign. For instance, Canada is a bilingual country, for it uses French and English as official languages. Morocco and Algeria are examples of multilingual countries because they use Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, Dialectal Arabic, Berber, French, and even Spanish on a small scale (Hassaine, 1984). India is also a multilingual country for it has several languages, namely Hindi, Punjabi, Dravidian languages, and English.

Most nations are actually bilingual or multilingual although it is not stated officially; however, one cannot claim that every individual speaker in those nations is necessarily bilingual or multilingual. *Perfect bilingualism* is generally rare because full mastery of two languages is hard to achieve. As Spolsky (1988) states:

> *[...] if we count as a bilingal only someone with equal and native command of two or more languages, we exclude the vast majority of cases and are left with the least interesting. In practice, then, scholars in the field treat bilingualism as a relative rather than an absolute phenomenon, and consider anyone able to produce (or even understand) sentences in more than one language as the proper object of their study; the explanation of different levels of control of the two or more languages (or varieties) then becomes an issue of central theoretical concern.* Spolsky (1988: 100-101)

A bilingual usually masters one language better than another, and not many bilinguals have native-speaker competence and fluency in two languages. This is due to the fact that it is extremely difficult for an individual to be fully competent in two different languages to the extent that he or she can accurately use either of them in various contexts and domains. Nonetheless, many people are quasi perfect bilinguals because they are able to use the two languages appropriately in a number of situations, and because they have almost native-speaker command of both languages.

In bilingual and multilingual countries, each language has its own functions usually referred to as 'configurational domains'. It was discussed in Chapters Three through Five, that, for example, Moroccan or Dialectal Arabic is the language of the street and home; Berber is the language of home and friends; Standard Arabic is the language used in education, administration, and the media; Classical Arabic is the language of the mosque, and French is the language of science and technology.

Fishman (1970) has outlined three kinds of relationships between diglossia and bilingualism (for a discussion of Arabic diglossia, see Chapter Three). First, there is bilingualism without diglossia which means basically that a country can be bilingual without being necessarily diglossic. In Canada, where both French and English are used side by side, each language has its own functions and domains where it is usually employed, and neither of these languages is High (H) or Low (L) because, both being official languages, they have an equal status. Second, there is diglossia without bilingualism which occurs when a country is diglossic but not bilingual. This is illustrated by Greece, where Katharevusa (H) is in diglossic relation with Dimotiki (L); but apart from Katharevusa and Dimotiki, there is no second or additional language that is widely used in the country. Another example comes from the Middle Ages in Europe, where Latin was the H variety used in diglossic relation with the rising Romance languages. Third, there is diglossia and bilingualism which is found when a country makes use of a H and a L variety together with another language system. The Arabic-speaking world is a good example: for instance, in the Maghreb countries, the H variety of Arabic (Classical Arabic or Standard Arabic) is used hand in hand with the L variety (dialectal Arabic); in addition, French and Berber are widespread, with each language and variety having its own domains where it is ordinarily used (cf. Section below). Thus, although diglossia and bilingualism are different, they "can occur separately or together in a speech community" (Bell, 1976: 135).

There are many definitions of bilingualism. Haugen (1956:9) defines bilingualism as "a cover term for people with a number of different language skills, having in common only that they are not monolinguals". Haugen's definition refers to both bilingualism and multilingualism. The contact of

different languages and cultures may bring about a bilingual or a multilingual situation.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the Arab conquest of North Africa in the eighth century brought Arabic into contact with Berber. The French occupation brought French, which became in contact with Berber and Arabic. As a result, multilingualism emerged. The most common pairs of languages that Moroccans know are Berber and Moroccan or Standard Arabic, Berber and French, French and Moroccan or Standard Arabic, Moroccan and Standard Arabic, Spanish and Moroccan Arabic, and Spanish and Berber. In the sections below, we will overview three types of bilingualism: Berber-Moroccan Arabic, Moroccan Arabic-French bilingualism, and Standard Arabic-French.

Berber-Moroccan Arabic Bilingualism

This is the most common type of bilingualism in Morocco. Berbers are generally bilinguals whereas Arabophones almost never learn Berber; the reason for this one-way bilingualism may be geographical, religious, sociocultural, or educational.

Monolingual Berbers are usually children, old men and women living on the mountains or in the desert. The largest population of bilingual Berbers live in or around the big cities where contact with Moroccan Arabic is strong and necessary. Berbers learn Moroccan Arabic to do business and for transactions in cities; children acquire Moroccan Arabic at school and in the streets.

Today, more and more Berbers are bilingual because of the frequent contacts with Arabic at school, at work, in the media, in the administration, etc. Their number is expected to increase due to urbanisation and rural exodus (see Chapter Four). Many Berber families emigrate to cities like Casablanca, Marrakech, Béni Mellal, Agadir, Fès, Meknès, Tangiers and Tetouan in search for work and a better life (see Abbassi 1977, Boukous 1997, Ennaji 1997 among others).

Berber-Moroccan Arabic bilingualism, as used in cities, is 'compound bilingualism' (involved when two different languages form a "merged system") because both languages are used hand in hand for the same socio-economic purposes, while Berber-Moroccan Arabic bilingualism in rural areas is a case of 'coordinate bilingualism' (when two different languages are kept apart in the mind of the individual) because Arabic is predominant in the public sphere, in schools, courts, mosques, public offices, while

Berber prevails in the rural areas and at home. Notice that "bilingualism here is viewed as a scale running from the compound bilingual, in whom two languages form a merged system to the coordinate bilingual, in whom the two language systems are kept distinct"(Bell 1976: 120).

According to Abbassi (1977:101), 'co-ordinate bilingualism' in this context is more stable than 'compound bilingualism' because a great number of Berberophones speak Moroccan Arabic in rural areas. By contrast, Berber native speakers dwelling in the urban areas tend to be totally Arabised and may in the long run lose their competence in Berber. The general pattern is that in Berber rural speech communities, bilingual Berbers speak Moroccan Arabic as a second language in addition to maintaining their native language. In the cities, Berberophones tend to substitute Berber for Moroccan Arabic, or mix the two languages (see Saib 1990). This is due to the fact that many Berbers also speak Moroccan Arabic in the villages, thus forming a growing co-ordinate bilingual population, while the Berbers in the cities are likely to become completely Arabised and perhaps lose their bilingual ability. As Abbassi notes,

> *[...] it seems that in rural areas, bilingualism is characterised by the acquisition of Arabic as a second language along with maintenance (Fishman 1972) of Berber. In the urban areas, the general tendency is towards the displacement of Berber in favor of a shift (Fishman 1972) to Arabic. »* (Abbassi 1977 :101).

Berber and Moroccan Arabic share a number of characteristics. First, they are both uncodified and unstandardised. Second, they are used in informal situations. Third, they are not taught in schools. Fourth, they have an extremely rich oral literature, with no substantial written records to speak of. Fifth, neither of them enjoys social prestige, with Berber tending to be at the bottom of the prestige scale. Sixth, Berber and Moroccan Arabic have common domains of use; they are both used in the street, market place, family circles, etc. Thus, the shift from Berber to Moroccan Arabic does not necessarily require or entail a complete change in the domains of use (see Abbassi 1977:101 and Boukous 1995:50). The reverse is also true: the change of a domain may lead to a change of the variety or use of a different variety.

Moroccan Arabic-French Bilingualism

This is the most common type of bilingualism among Moroccans who have been educated in French or in Francophone schools since

independence. By and large, all Moroccans learn French at school, and as a result those who finish at least secondary education level achieve a certain command of the French language (see Table 1, Chapter 10). Most of these bilinguals live in urban areas where literacy is high and contact with French is strong. Moroccans learn French for sociocultural, educational and pragmatic reasons; they learn it to pursue their studies in Francophone schools, to do business with French tourists and to have access to information, science, and technology (see Chapters Five and Ten).

As a result, many Moroccans master both Moroccan Arabic and French. They use the latter as a second language in addition to their mother tongue. In big cities, Francophone Moroccans tend to mix both languages or to replace Moroccan Arabic words by French ones in their informal conversations because French has a prestigious status and is present in the public space. The degree of mastery of French depends on the bilingual's level of education and socio-economic background, for the higher the level of education and the wealthier the family background, the bigger the frequency of speaking French and the more frequent the alternative use of French and Moroccan Arabic by a bilingual. These factors determine the bilingual's ability to choose one or the other language in a particular speech situation.

The domains where these bilinguals choose one code rather than the other are determined by the criteria of setting, formality, interlocutor, topic, and mode. Thus, at home, a bilingual uses Moroccan Arabic, while at school or at work, s/he may use French. Formality is associated with French, while informality is linked to Moroccan Arabic. When the interlocutor is French-educated, the tendency is to use French or a mixture of Moroccan Arabic and French. When the topic is science and technology, the bilingual often uses exclusively French. Likewise, for writing purposes, the tendency is to use French only, not Moroccan Arabic, which is limited to casual conversations and spoken discourse.

This act of using one language rather than another is different from the act of switching codes. Moroccan Arabic-French bilinguals commonly code switch between the two languages. The outcome is a production of sentences with some parts in one language and other parts in the second language. We shall deal with this phenomenon in detail in Chapter Eight. A bilingual may switch from one code to another even though s/he is able to express herself/himself in the first language. At times the bilingual is unable to find the right words in one language and feels obliged to switch to the other language.

In the case of Moroccan Arabic-French bilinguals, their language choice is determined also by their attitudes toward their languages. Thus, the more favourable they are toward the two codes, the more they use them interchangeably or alternately in different domains and for various functions. Moroccan Arabic-French bilinguals hold, by and large, positive attitudes to French, which motivates them to switch between the languages according to situations.

In this connection, it is interesting to look at the attitudes of university students, who associate Moroccan Arabic with family, casual conversations, market, street, and orality, on the one hand, and tradition, identity, and authenticity, on the other hand. By contrast, they associate French with work, school, and technology, thinking that it is practically the language of modernity, freedom, and prestige (see Chapter Nine). Thus, attitudes help not only to determine language choice and use, but also to determine the degree of influence of one language over the other (see Bentahila 1983a).

Standard Arabic-French Bilingualism

Almost all previous studies of bilingualism in Morocco were focused on Standard Arabic-French bilingualism, because this type of bilingualism is closely related to education and academia as both languages are taught in schools. Ennaji (1988) stated that Standard Arabic-French bilingualism was the result of the bilingual system of education. Gallagher (1964) also discussed this problem and argued that bilingualism was a case of "institutionalised bilingualism". Mazouni (1969 :29) stated that Standard Arabic-French bilingualism had its psychological and pedagogical consequences on the learner (cf. Chapter Two). Micaud (1974) stressed the role of Standard Arabic-French bilingualism in North Africa as an identification symbol which distinguishes it linguistically and culturally from the Middle East.

Standard Arabic-French bilingualism is intimately linked to education; the two languages are not the mother tongues of Moroccans, as they are learnt only at school. A limited number of Moroccan people are actually Standard Arabic-French bilinguals (25%), basically those who hold a high school certificate or a higher degree, and who speak both languages fluently (see Santucci 1986, Poindexter 1991 and Elbiad 1995). However, the degree of competence in both languages depends on the level of education of every bilingual; in general, the higher the level of schooling, the more proficient the bilingual.

In Moroccan public schools, the number of hours allocated to Standard Arabic, at the primary and secondary levels, are by far more important than those allocated to French. This is why conservative forces complain that this kind of bilingualism is unfair because the two languages involved are not given the same status, since French is predominant:

French

-primary school : 4 years of French, with an average of 10 hours per week

-junior high school (collège): 3 years of French, with an average of 6 hours a week

-senior high school (lycée): 3 years of French, with an average of 5 hours per week (for students of sciences and "letters")

Standard Arabic

-primary school : 6 years of Standard Arabic, with an average of 15 hours per week (and 30 hours per week for the first two grades).

-junior high school (collège): 3 years of Standard Arabic, with an average of 6 hours a week

-senior high school (lycée): 3 years of French, with an average of 6 hours for letters pupils and 2 hours per week for science students.

This means that, globally, one third of the weekly classes are devoted to French. By the end of high school, students are expected to achieve a good mastery of both Standard Arabic and French. But in reality, many teachers, professionals, and decision-makers complain about the low standards of French in public schools. This low level is often ascribed to the impact of Arabisation, which began in the early 1960s, and which emphasised Standard Arabic over French. Arabisation is one among many reasons why many people prefer to send their children to private schools, where French instruction occupies an important place in the curriculum, beginning in kindergarten, as developed in Chapters Nine and Ten.

It is noticeable that, overall, schooled Moroccans with a Baccalaureate level seem to be multilingual, but in practice many of them do not really master Standard Arabic and French very well. Thus, good Standard Arabic-French bilinguals are hard to come by. The main reason for this deficiency has to do with the present-day system of education which suffers from many flaws and shortcomings. It creates inequality and heterogeneity among Moroccans. For instance, those who have attended the French "missions" are generally unable to function in Standard Arabic, and graduates of the Moroccan system usually lack a good command of French. These problems have

negative repercussions on the job market which often seeks graduates who master Standard Arabic, French and at times English (see Ennaji 2003b).

In the following section, we look at the various forms of language interference that are related to the different types of bilingualism. It is noticeable that bilingualism exhibits cases of transfer, borrowing, code switching, and interference. We will focus on the phonology and on word borrowings. These linguistic phenomena appear in 'subordinate bilingualism' where a language is heavily influenced by a dominant language.

Linguistic Interference Caused by Bilingualism

Phonological Influence

Phonological interference is due to the contact between Berber and Moroccan Arabic, on the one hand, and the contact between Arabic and French, on the other hand. The first interference is more common among old people in urban areas than among the young because few children speak Berber.

In Berber-Moroccan Arabic bilingualism, the most salient cases of phonological interference are those of phonological substitution. For instance, the Tashelhit speakers in the Souss substitute Arabic /d/ for the affricate /dz/, as in /dzaba/ (now), /sidzi/ (sir), /sserdzin/ (sardines).

Berber speakers of Moroccan Arabic also palatalise the Moroccan Arabic voiceless velar stop /k/, which becomes a voiceless palatal fricative[ç] in some Berber dialects in the area of Azilal, or a voiceless palato-alveolar [ʃ] in Tamazight variety. For example:

1)

/k/ ----> /ʃ/ in Tamazight

Moroccan Arabic		*Tamazight*	*Tashelhit*	*Gloss*
makla	---->	/maʃla /	makla	food
mknas	---->	/meʃnas/ ,	mknas	Meknès city
ktab	---->	/ʃtab/ ,	ktab	book

In turn, Berber has greatly influenced the suprasegmetal level of Moroccan Arabic, especially intonation and stress (see Chtatou 1997). This accounts for the presence of a Berber accent in the Moroccan Arabic sound pattern.

French-Moroccan Arabic bilingualism is full of phonological interferences. For instance, Moroccan speakers of French tend to replace the French uvular /R/ by the alveolar trill /r/ (see Ennaji 1988, Chtatou 1997). This language contact results also in word borrowing. There are extensive borrowings from French into Moroccan Arabic and from the latter into Berber. Most of these borrowings have been integrated in the recipient language system as loan words. Berber has borrowed a great deal of Moroccan Arabic words, especially those that belong to the domain of religion, agriculture, and politics. To illustrate this, consider these examples:

2)

Berber	*Moroccan Arabic*	*Gloss*
rbbij	rbbi	my God
lustad	l ʔustad	the teacher
lkulija	lkullija	the faculty
ʃhatt	ʃhada	testimony
lfd̲or	lfṭr	breakfast
taz̲allit	s̲la	prayer
lxraif	lxrif	autumn
taħrrat	l-ħart	ploughing

Berber also uses Moroccan Arabic loans for items already existing in Berber. These Moroccan Arabic loans are used interchangeably with Berber terms.

3)

Berber	*Moroccan Arabic loans*	*Gloss*
ajffas	limn	right
azlmad	lisr	left
tawwuri	lxdəmt /lxədma	work
jaggug	ibaʕd /bʕid	far
ʕaħanu	lbit (the room)	the room

Notice that the Moroccan Arabic loans have been adapted to the phonological and morphological patterns of Berber.

At times, Moroccan Arabic loans are preferred to the existing Berber terms because the former are more commonly used and have acquired some prestige. The most significant example is the case of numerals (see Ennaji 1995). While Tashelhit Berber has preserved its numeral system, Tamazight and Tarifit have adopted Arabic numerals starting from number four:

	Morccan Arabic	*Tamazight Berber*	*Tarifit*	*Tashelhit*
1	waħd	jun	waħid	jan
2	ʒuʒ	sin	θnajn	sin
3	tlata	ʃrad	θrata	krad
4	rbʕa	rbʕa	rbʕa	koz
5	xmsa	xmsa	xmsa	smmus
6	stta	stta	stta	sdis
7	sbʕa	sbʕa	sbʕa	sa
8	tmnja	tmnja	tmnja	tam
9	tsʕud	tsʕa	tsʕa	tza
10	ʕaʃra	ʕaʃra	ʕaʃra	mrawt

Table 1 : Numerals in Moroccan Arabic and Berber

Likewise, French has brought into Moroccan Arabic a huge amount of vocabulary relevant to science, technology, and modern culture. It has led to

the introduction of a parallel lexicon for Moroccan Arabic items already in use by virtue of the prestige of French. Consider the following examples:

4)

French loans	*French*	*Gloss*
srt'afika	'certificat	certificate
risʈ'ora	'restaurant	restaurant
ʈ'obis	'autobus'	bus
fakt'ura	'facture	bill
dokʈ'or	'docteur	doctor

For instance, in /risʈora/ the vowel /e/ of *restaurant* has changed to /i/, and the nasalised final vowel has been replaced by the oral vowel /a/. Similarly, the stress has shifted from the first syllable in the French term to the penultimate syllable in *risʈora*. In the French loan word /*ʈobis*/, we notice that the initial vowel /o/ in *autobus* has been deleted, and the vowel /u/ has been substituted for /i/ in *ʈobis*; also the stress has shifted from the initial position to the penultimate syllable.

Notice that this borrowing is accompanied by phonological and morphological changes from one system to another. For instance, stress shift, vowel change, intonation change, deletion are involved in such borrowings, as will be noticed in the examples below.

On the morphological level, some Arabic loans follow Berber verb conjugations and other grammatical paradigms; others obey the original Moroccan Arabic inflectional rules like plural, etc. For example:

5)

Moroccan Arabic /Berber	*Gloss*
lkisan	glasses
lbrard	tea-pots
lktuba	books

Some Moroccan Arabic verbs are adapted to Berber morphological markers for tense, as in:

6)

i-xdm (he worked)

ma-i-xdm (he will work)

t-sllem (greeted)

da-i-t-sellam (he greets)

and to morphological markers for mode, as in:

7)

ur-da-i-t-xdam (he does not work)

ur-da-t-sellam (she does not greet)

In (6) and (7), the Moroccan Arabic verb stems *xdm* and *sllam* undergo the Berber system of affixation: *i*- for first person pronoun, *m*- for future tense, *t*- for second person pronoun, the habitual marker *da*-, and the negative marker *ur*-.

As for nouns in Berber, they usually take the Arabic definite article; all Berber nouns take the definite article *al*-. They take the plural form of Moroccan Arabic as well:

ʃraʒm (windows) - ţbali (tables)- ţbasl (plates)

lkrasa (chairs) - lkisan (glasses) -lfuţat (towels)

Phonological interference is very common due to the contact between French, Moroccan Arabic, and Berber (see Ennaji 1988). The concern here is with the kind of pronunciation of French words that is used by people who hardly know any French. The pronunciation of some French loans is perfectly adapted to the Moroccan Arabic and Berber sound systems to the degree that few people would recognise these words as actually French (see Chapter Five).

Both Moroccan Arabic and Berber lack the voiceless bilabial stop /p/, and the labio-dental voiced fricative /v/. Thus, in the labial series, French includes four oral consonants whereas Berber and Moroccan Arabic include only two, as illustrated below:

8)

French	*Moroccan Arabic/Berber*
p	-
b	b
f	f
v	-

As a result of this discrepancy, /p/ and /v/ are often replaced by /b/ and /f/, respectively in the French loans, as in:

9)

French	*Moroccan Arabic/Berber*	*Gloss*
par-brise	/barbriz/	windshield
pièce	/bjasa/	piece
parabole	/barabul/	satellite-dish
vacances	/fakans/	holidays
veste	/fista/	jacket
télévision	/tilifizjun/	television

Non-educated speakers may use /p/ and /v/ instead of /b/ and /f/ while uttering French loans. At times, /v/ is replaced by /b/, as in:

10)

French	*Moroccan Arabic/Berber*	*Gloss*
la vanille	labani	vanilla
lavabo	lababu	wash basin
valise	baliza	suitcase

Given the above data, we notice that the integration of French words into the Moroccan Arabic and Berber systems is carried out with a slight change in pronunciation.

Moreover, Moroccan Arabic and Berber, unlike French, lack the vowels /e/, /y/, /ø/, /œ/, as well as nasalised vowels like /ɛ̃/, /õ/, and /ã/. As a result, Moroccan speakers of French tend to replace front rounded vowels /y/, /ø/, /œ/ by the back rounded vowels /u/ and /o/ and /e/ by /i/, and nasalised vowels by oral ones, as in:

11)

French	*Moroccan Arabic/Berber*	*Gloss*
l'écurie	lkuri	stable
vidéo	vidju	video
camion	kamju	lorry
pnø	pnu	tire
frein	fran	brakes

The above data reveal that Moroccans with a low standard of French adapt the foreign vowels to the sound patterns of their vernaculars.

Grammatical Interference

These are basically morphological elements that cut across Moroccan Arabic, Berber, and French yielding morphological interferences. For instance, there are words consisting of Moroccan Arabic nouns and Berber affixes which are used to create verbal nouns in Moroccan Arabic, especially names of professions or functions:

12)

Moroccan Arabic

tanʒʒart (being a carpenter)

taxddart (being a greengrocer)

taxjjat (being a tailor)

tarjjast (being a president)

Notice the affixation of the Berber feminine singular markers *ta-* and *-t* to the Moroccan Arabic noun stems *nʒʒar* (carpenter), *xddar* (greengrocer), *xjjat* (tailor), and *rajs* (president), respectively.

Other cases of morphological interference are, for instance, the affixation of the above feminine singular markers to Moroccan Arabic adjectivals yielding new Moroccan Arabic verbal nouns, as in:

13)

ʃffar (thief) ---> taʃffart (theft)

ħmar (donkey) ----> taħimarit (be like a donkey)

drri (kid) ----> tadrrit (be childish)

Similarly, French loans may be incorporated into Moroccan Arabic morphological markers yielding new words carrying new meanings:

14)

Moroccan Arabic	*French*	*Gloss*
t-kwansa	se coincer	to be stuck
t-nirva	s'énerver	to be angry
t-ruda	se roder	to be experienced
t-ranʒa	s'arranger	to made a deal
t-grippa	se gripper	to catch a cold
t-prezonta	se présenter	to attend
t-klassa	se classer	to classify

Here the French loans express either a passive mode (*se coincer:*"to be stuck"), a reflexive value (*s'enerver:* "to be angry"), or reciprocity (*s'arranger:* "to make a deal"); the Moroccan Arabic prefix *t-* marks these semantic values.

The phenomenon of bilingualism seems acute because of the multilingual and multicultural context of the country (see Fitouri 1983:124). It generates code switching, the focus of the following chapter, in which the social facets and linguistic intricacies of code switching among Moroccan Arabic-French bilinguals will be discussed.

Note

(1) Kamal Al Hajj (1976) distinguishes between two types of bilingualism: "integral" and "practical" bilingualism. Integral bilingualism means giving as much weight to the second language as to the mother tongue or perhaps even allowing the second language to be predominant. Practical bilingualism implies keeping the mother tongue as the language of creativity, which expresses aspects of social life, and resorting to the second language to open up to the world and to embrace science and technology. Practical bilingualism entails using the second or foreign language as an auxiliary language without allowing the second language to dominate the mother tongue. For the author, integral bilingualism is contrary to human nature, for human spontaneity can be expressed only by the mother tongue.

According to Al Hajj (ibid), when a Lebanese excels as a creative writer, he generally uses Arabic, and when he writes in French, he uses Lebanese French. However, this idea is perhaps too strong and exaggerated because we know at least one famous Lebanese writer, Amin Maalouf, who won the "Prix Goncourt" in France for his excellent French writings. The Moroccan writer Tahar Ben Jelloun also won the same prize in 1990 for his excellent French novels. Joseph Conrad was Polish and excelled as an English novelist. The world attests such many cases.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CODE SWITCHING AND ITS SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE

Introduction

This chapter discusses Moroccan Arabic-French code switching among educated women and men, with the aim to reveal its social significance. It presents the social functions and the linguistic features of the different types of code switching. I argue that code switching reveals the permanent desire of code switchers to preserve their group or cultural identity, on the one hand, and the need for their socio-economic advancement in society, on the other. The chapter aims to contribute to the debate on code switching, especially at the descriptive and analytical levels.

Code switching may be defined as the use of two different languages or forms of the same language in the same conversation (see Ervin-Tripp (1973) and Myers-Scotton (1993). Hudson (1980: 56) defines code switching as a strategy in which a speaker "uses different varieties at different times".

According to Bell (1976: 110), code switching allows its user

> *[...]to be seen as a chooser amongst codes[...], whether the codes are styles, dialects or what are normally thought of as autonomous languages since any or all of these can be involved in the code switching behaviour of the language user.*

Two types of code switching are referred to in the literature: situational and metaphorical. For Blom and Gumperz (1972:424), situational code switching "assumes a direct relationship between language and the social situation [...] and involves clear changes in the participants' definition of each other's rights and obligations" whereas metaphorical code switching is not related to "change in social situations", rather it is determined by attitudes toward the languages concerned and toward the associations allocated to these languages.

However, Fishman's (1972) definitions of situational and metaphorical code switching slightly differ. For him, situational code switching is involved when speakers switch codes according to the setting, topic, interlocutor, or purpose with which it is usually associated. For instance, a native Berber speaker may speak Berber at home, French at work and Moroccan Arabic in the street. Metaphorical code switching occurs when a particular variety is used for the setting, topic, interlocutor, or purpose, with which it is not normally associated. Two Moroccan doctors,

for example, may switch from Moroccan Arabic to French when they discuss matters relevant to their field. In metaphorical code switching, an individual may code switch as he moves from "...the situation formal to informal, official to personal, serious to humorous, and politeness to solidarity." (see Wernberg-Møller (1999) and Wardhaugh 1986:163.)

It is the present writer's view – following Fishman (ibid) – that although there is a close link between choice of language and change in social situations, language use, and code switching in particular, are more dependent on the associations existing between languages and factors like topic, addressee, situation, and purpose, for a language cannot always be considered in terms of change in social contexts. After an analysis of data collected, it turned out that topic and setting were as important as the way in which the associations of a given language are used to serve the communicative intent of the speaker.

The corpus gathered about Moroccan Arabic-French code switching suggests that the respondents associated certain topics, interlocutors, and situations with Arabic, and associated others with French. For example, topics like family, children, and friends, and settings like home and street were associated with Moroccan Arabic, while topics and situations like computing, medicine, work, and banking were associated with French in the minds of these respondents. One might argue that this individual behaviour would have an impact on the way in which Arabic and French have come to symbolise different cultures and conflicting lifestyles, to the extent that Moroccan Arabic is associated with Moroccan culture and way of life (tradition/identity), while French is linked with modern and Western values (modernity/advancement). To some extent, social and economic progress is in conflict with traditional life and cultural identity, and as a result, the Arabic-French dichotomy can be regarded as conflictual. Wernberg-Møller (1999) has also observed, in his analysis of code switching amongst Moroccan immigrants in Edinburgh, that although Arabic continues to be spoken at home and is highly valued as a symbol of in-group solidarity and identity, children in these groups are encouraged to learn English for integrative and instrumental purposes so as to be successful in school and in the labour market (see Ennaji 2002a, Abd el-Jawad 1986).

Thus, Blom and Gumperz's approach and Fishman's complement each other. While the former approach focuses on the individual speaker, the latter is more concerned with general societal behaviour. At any rate, situational and metaphorical switching are both in the domain of 'face-to-face' conversation (see Werner-Møller 1999). A sufficient knowledge of the culture and beliefs of the interlocutors is also a prerequisite to understanding the various code switching patterns (cf. Gumperz 1977:12).

Besides being situational and metaphorical, code switching can be used in two ways, intersententially or intrasententially. In the former, switching occurs across sentences or phrase boundaries. This is the case in the following sentence:

1) Elle aime le thé, *makatʃrubʃ lqəhwa.*
"She likes tea; she doesn't drink coffee."

On the other hand, intrasentential code switching appears inside a sentence or phrase, as in:

2) duwwəzna nhar *confortable*, wəlla la?
"We had a nice day, haven't we?"

What is referred to in the literature as code mixing is a case of intrasentential switching. This type of switching occurs when interactants speak two languages but in the production of a sentence, they switch from one language to another. For example, it is common to hear utterances like:

3) Aujourd'hui, klina f waħd *le restaurant formidable, la prochaine fois* nrəʒʕu lu.
"Today, we ate in a great restaurant, next time we'll return there."

Gumperz (1977) uses *code mixing* which he defines as "conversational code switching"; it involves a switch from one code to another within a single sentence. This difference in terminology has led some writers to use "code switching" as a general term which refers to a change of language either between two sentences or inside the same sentence. Some sociolinguists acknowledge only the functional distinction between these codes. In this regard, Torres (1989:420) states that

> *In code switching, unlike code mixing, a change in the social situation motivates the alternation of codes.*

Furthermore, sociolinguists like Haugen (1956) believe that the notion "code mixing" has a negative overtone in the sense that it gives the impression that it is corrupt or impure.

Similarly, in the literature, code switching may refer to two different phenomena. For instance, Pfaff (1979) states that "code switching and borrowing are subcategories of the general phenomenon of code mixing".

This confusion in the literature, which is the result of a non-standardised terminology, raises issues more than it resolves problems. Instead of clarifying the phenomenon of code switching, these researchers have blurred it further by introducing new terms.

Thus, Pakir (1989), for instance, introduced the term "code selection"; however, code selection, as the name indicates, involves a deliberate choice of the speaker in his or her use of distinct codes. Another confusing term in the literature is "code swaying" introduced by Gibbson (1983). It refers to variation in code switching according to various sociolinguistic factors.

Given the above reasons, many scholars, among them the present author, opt for the use of "code switching" because it is relatively neutral and bears no negative connotations in the way code mixing and code swaying do. In addition, code switching is the most commonly used term to refer to the use of more than one language or code in a single speech event.

Social Functions of Code Switching

Code switching has several functions. First, it has a referential function in the sense that it can be used to facilitate communication and overcome the lack of some lexical items or expressions in a language. Thus, code switching may compensate for a linguistic deficiency. For instance, some topics are usually discussed in a particular language, and, thus, their introduction may provoke a switch. This is the case when two Moroccan engineers switch from Moroccan Arabic to French to discuss a technical topic, for example.

Second, code switching can serve a directive function when it involves the addressee only. This function aims either at excluding other people from the conversation or at including an individual by using her/his language. This is the case, for example, of a young couple who resort to the use of a foreign language when they do not want their monolingual parents to understand what is being said.

Third, code switching has a phatic function which is called "metaphorical switching" by Gumperz (1977) since it helps the speaker to change his/her tone throughout the conversation.

Fourth, code switching serves a metalinguistic function in the sense that it is used to show one's linguistic skills. This is the case when two conversants switch languages to impress the audience and show their mastery of the languages concerned. Examples of this can be encountered among salespeople, tourist guides, politicians, etc.

Fifth, code switching has an expressive function; when two individuals express themselves in two languages in the same conversation, they express their mixed or multiple identities (see Poplack 1981).

Sixth, code switching may have a solidarity function in that it may express solidarity with a particular group.

Seventh, it can also be used for the sake of clarification, to elucidate and clarify a concept.

Borrowing and Code Switching

Borrowing and code switching are two language contact phenomena which must be kept distinct if a researcher wants to reach any understanding of how languages come in contact.

Borrowing is involved when single vocabulary items, phrases, or frozen expressions from one language are used in the target language. Borrowed words or loans are usually integrated in the grammatical system of the borrowing language in the sense that they are dealt with as if they were part of the lexicon of that language. To illustrate this, consider the following examples from Moroccan Arabic-French:

4) xdina la permission.
"We got the permission."

5) ʕandk une bronchite.
"You have caught a cold (bronchitis)"

In these examples, as may be noticed, the words "la permission" and "une bronchite" are incorporated in the Moroccan Arabic lexicon and morphosyntax since they occupy the grammatical positions of their equivalents in Moroccan Arabic.

On the other hand, code switching occurs when there is a juxtaposition of strings of words formed according to the patterns and grammatical systems of the languages involved.

The linguistic criteria mentioned above for the distinction between code switching and borrowing are not always helpful. For this reason, Scotton (1988:159) states that the distinction between code switching and borrowing can be clarified only "if it is approached in terms of social content, not structure". In other words, loans or borrowed items enjoy a high frequency of use and a great deal of social acceptability. Borrowed words are generally standardised and fully integrated in the target or native language, to the extent that they are not easily recognized as foreign loans. By contrast, switches belong to the individual register of the speaker and meet with only

a small degree of social integration and acceptability.

In Morocco, educated bilinguals code switch regularly between Moroccan Arabic and French. This code switching takes place mainly in informal situations during daily verbal interactions among schooled or highly educated people. In formal settings, however, Moroccan bilinguals use only one of these codes since formal contexts or specialised topics call for the use of one language exclusively.

Studies of Moroccan Arabic-French code switching have been developing since the 1970s. They have dealt with bilinguals' choice to switch between Moroccan Arabic and French from sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, and grammatical perspectives. It is granted today that the grammatical properties of code switching are rule-governed. However, the problem is the nature of these rules and the manner in which they can be adequately described and analysed. In this chapter, I first discuss the social meaning of code switching and then explore its linguistic features.

The Sociocultural Factors Determining Code Switching

Several factors determine the directions and extent of code switching. First, there are geographic and socio-economic factors. Rural areas can be classified into the mountainous Berber-speaking regions, where Berber is predominant, and the plains, including the steppes and the desert, which are the domain of rural Arabic ('ʕrubi' Arabic). The cities are the domain of urban Arabic ('mdini' Arabic). See Abbassi (1977) and El biad (1992). Because of massive rural exodus to big cities, there is a wealth of language variation and instances of language shift. Moroccan Arabic-Berber bilingualism, for example, is productive among Berbers who are obliged to learn Moroccan Arabic to be able to communicate daily with the Moroccan Arabic-speaking community, as a result of their movement to urban areas. It seems that the cities are the context where speakers often shift from one language or variety to another.

Upper and middle class people tend to use urban Arabic and French, while working class people use rural Arabic and Berber. Abbassi (1977) states that cities are often divided into the business area, the industrial area, the old city and the modern part. In the old city, rural Arabic and Berber are usually spoken whereas in the modern part, urban Arabic and French are often spoken. This division is somewhat arbitrary, however, because there are many Berber and Arabic-speaking people who live in the modern city and speak Berber and rural Arabic due to the strong rural exodus that the country has witnessed since independence. Upper and middle class Berberophones may also speak French. Similarly, in urban areas schooled working class people may speak urban Arabic and French, and in rural

regions, they may speak Berber, rural Arabic, or French. Thus, it seems that the level of education of interactants, and their social milieu are more crucial than social class.

A few remarks are in order about the overlap between code switching and social class. Upper class people code switch from French to urban Arabic, but rarely to Berber or rural Arabic because these are outside their geographic and social domains. Likewise, middle class people tend to switch from urban Arabic to French, rural Arabic, or Berber. As for the working class, they tend to code switch more frequently as they get into contact with the middle class, the upper class and the business area.

Code switching tends to be an urban phenomenon (see Caubet 1998) in the sense that code switchers are usually educated city dwellers; however, people who code switch differ in their competence in the two languages concerned. There are different types of code switchers depending on the languages they switch, their gender, their linguistic ability and the topics addressed (see Sadiqi 2003). On the other hand, code switching entails informality, intimacy or solidarity between code switchers. Abbassi (1977) and Myers-Scotton (1997) call this phenomenon "solidarity syndrome".

There are administrative factors which regulate the degree of code switching. Given that the Moroccan administration is bilingual, there is a constant shift from French to Standard Arabic in formal situations. As was stated in Chapter Three, Standard Arabic is used in formal settings (e.g. official speeches, government ceremonies, etc.). In less formal contexts (e.g. administration meetings, social addresses) , there is shift from Moroccan Arabic to French or Standard Arabic. But most of the written work is done in Standard Arabic or French. In tribunals, Moroccan Arabic is used for questionings, hearings, and deliberations; however, the summations and sentences are pronounced in Standard or Classical Arabic. In most of the above situations, code switching between Moroccan Arabic, Standard Arabic and French is commonly used.

Similarly, religious factors may provoke code switching. Most religious topics are dealt with in Moroccan Arabic if the setting is informal (for example, in the mosque after prayer the *Imam* may explain one of the verses of the Qur'an in Moroccan Arabic). However, on formal occasions such as on television, in the Friday prayer and in scholarly religious lectures, Classical Arabic is systematically used. If the *Imam* is simply explaining verses from the Qur'an or the *Hadj* rituals to ordinary Moroccan citizens, he may do it in Moroccan Arabic depending on his audience because he gives religious advice and answers questions asked by the audience or correspondents (as in the popular religious television programme *Rukn al-mufti* "religious advice"). As far as I know, very little research has been done on code switching in religious discourse perhaps because the latter is related

to the Holy Qur'an.

In individual speech behaviour, sociocultural, educational, and psychological factors are at work. Age, gender, and cultural factors, namely the system of beliefs, viz. Islam, local traditions, and customs have a significant impact on individuals' speech. Women tend to code switch more than men, wavering between Moroccan Arabic and French, mainly to assert themselves as women, and to alleviate social oppression and also because they view Standard Arabic and Islam as male domains (see Rashidi 2002, and Sadiqi 2003).

Standard Arabic is considered a male language because it is associated with both religion and erudition. This implies that, historically, more men than women have had expert knowledge in Islamic studies and in written scholarship because of the larger social, economic, and cultural prerogatives men enjoyed. For all these reasons, the male dominance of Standard Arabic has been consolidated.

Unlike Standard Arabic, Berber is associated with female domains. There are four important reasons for this. First, Berber is neither linked to religion, literacy, nor politics. Second, the fact that it is an oral language and a mother tongue makes it closer to women than to men. Third, Berber is spoken by a large population of rural and illiterate women. Fourth, it is women who first speak this language to their children, and who have transmitted it from generation to generation. However, this does not entail that Berber men do not speak their mother tongue; it only entails that they speak it less frequently than women.

By contrast, Moroccan Arabic is both a male and female language. It is spoken as a mother tongue by a large portion of the population in rural and urban contexts. Moroccan Arabic is not limited to home and private situations, for it is widely spoken in public domains as well. Similarly, Moroccan Arabic is the language of daily transactions made by men and women. It is a predominant language also because it is used as a lingua franca by Berberophones from different regions, and it is by far more widespread than Berber (cf. Chapters Three and Four).

Like Moroccan Arabic, French functions both as a female and male language for the following reasons. Firstly, as we saw in Chapter Five, French is associated with modernity and education, which are domains where women are not a majority for Moroccan women are known to be conservative and attached to tradition more than men. In education, there are more men than women; as a result the rate of illiteracy among women (65%) exceeds that among men (50%). Secondly, French is heavily used in business and administration, two domains where women play a great part, but which are predominantly male. Third, Moroccan urban women use the prestige of French, toward which they hold a very favourable attitude. In

middle and upper classes, parents often prefer to speak French to their children given its social prestige and the doors it may open for them in society.

Thus, the features male-female cut across the languages used in Morocco. While Standard Arabic is a male language, Berber is a female language associated with female domains. Moroccan Arabic is both a male and female language because it is a language of mass communication spoken in private and public settings alike. Similarly, French is also both female and male given its association with domains like home, family, friendship, work, and education. As Sadiqi (2003: 218) notes, this gender division is not fixed and absolute because men and women may use different languages and varieties in different contexts. The gender parameter is used merely to stress the crucial place of gender as a determining factor of language choice, in general, and code switching in particular (see also Sadiqi 1995 and Badran et al 2002).

Authors like Labov (1972) and Hymes (1964) argue that male and female languages are interdependent with patterns of speech variation. Other authors like Lakoff (1975), Mills (1991, 1995) and Bucholtz et al (1999) state that the gender differences are basically attributable to the socialisation factor, hence the relevance of the variables above. The language of women in Morocco has scarcely been studied by Moroccan sociolinguists, which may be due to the fact that women in this country are still "culturally invisible", to borrow Sadiqi's (1995 :63) phrase. Research on the language of women is lacking in the rest of the Arab world (cf. Trabelsi 1991 and Sadiqi 2003).

The age factor is also important. According to my observation, young people speak an informal slang of Moroccan Arabic amongst themselves; but, with older educated people, they use a polished form of Arabic. When young people speak to an illiterate person, they use plain informal Moroccan Arabic. When an older man joins them in conversation, the shift is usually to a more polite style of Arabic if the language of interaction is Arabic. However, if the language of conversation is French, then the young peers tend to switch to the native language (Moroccan Arabic or Berber). The intimacy factor is also at play, for the peer group, which is significantly marked by intimacy, speaks in an informal way. Their informal causal speech is replaced by formal speech in the presence of an outsider.

French-Moroccan Arabic Code Switching

French-Moroccan Arabic code switching was first studied by Abbassi (1977), who analysed mixing Moroccan colloquial Arabic and French in sentences and conversations. Later on, other studies followed suit,

namely, Bentahila (1983a, 1983b), Boumans (1999), Lahlou (1991), and Nortier (1990), among others. The distinctive feature of French-Moroccan Arabic code switching is that it involves a prestigious language (French) and a low popular vernacular (Moroccan Arabic).

Insofar as the regularities that characterise code switching are concerned, the most well-known models have been the Insertion Models developed mainly in the work of Myers-Scotton (1993). Insertion Models regard code switching as the introduction of items from the embedded language into sentences or elements which are constructed according to the rules of the matrix language. However, it is important to know how the syntactic frame, or matrix, may be determined, and what kind of constituents may be inserted.

One of the objectives of this section is to contribute to the debate over how code switching may be described and analysed at the grammatical level. A global and systematic study of code switching is crucial for comparing the grammatical patterns using examples from different languages. Thus, an Insertion Model may be the best answer for the study of Moroccan Arabic-French code switching.

A grammatical description and analysis is needed independently of the sociolinguistic investigation. For instance, the matrix and embedded languages should be determined, taking into account morphosyntactic features. Once the main language, from which the predicate is used, is identified, the next step is to study the patterns of embedded insertions. This section aims to provide an inventory of the morphosyntactic rules of code switching.

The data collected and analysed in this chapter have been collected for this specific purpose. For the data to be reliable and valid, I carried out oral recordings of the speech of a number of native speakers using French-Moroccan Arabic code switching without the informants' prior knowledge, but I informed them later on about the recordings and their purpose. The total population investigated was eighty, twenty of whom were females. The informants were in the majority students (51), but there were also teachers (14), doctors (3), nurses (2), engineers (2), administrators (6), and technicians (2). Some conversations involved large groups of participants (five or more); others involved smaller groups (two to three). Overall, I taped twelve hours of conversations. The data were collected in the areas of Fès, Rabat and Casablanca.

As we saw earlier, Moroccan Arabic is characterised by heavy borrowings from French. Many French loans entered Moroccan Arabic to satisfy the needs of the modern society in economic, cultural, scientific, and technological domains. These French loans became gradually Arabised, and increased in number with the development of bilingualism. Some

borrowings are fully integrated in the Moroccan Arabic patterns; others, less commonly used, are kept in their French format. For instance:

Moroccan Arabic format:
6)
a.wqaf fuq t-tabla.
'He stood on the table.'

b. klina les brochettes.
'We ate kebab'

c. mʃa Tariq l l'école.
'Tariq went to school.'

French format:
7)
a. Ils ont pris des crevettes f llil.
'They ate shrimps at night.'

b. Ils viennent d'arriver had nhar.
'They arrived today.'

c. Il est venu le directeur ljum.
'The director came today.'

Note that in the French format examples, the loans are kept in the French form, while in the Moroccan Arabic format ones, the French lexical items are assimilated into Moroccan Arabic rules and paradigms.

Lexical and Morphological Switching

French-Moroccan Arabic code switching is characterised by heavy dependence on Moroccan Arabic syntax, and dependence on French lexicon. This often results in different types of lexical and morphological switching.

First, lexical switching occurs when expressions are shaped within a speech form that basically obeys Moroccan Arabic morphosyntactic patterns, and this yields a blend of Moroccan Arabic and French speech forms, as in:
8)
a.zzebda d Margarine from 'beurre Margarine' (type of Moroccan butter)
b.collège d lbnat from 'collège de filles' (girls' junior high school)

c.l'ordinateur f ddar. from 'l'ordinateur est à la maison.' (the computer is at home).

In these examples, a Moroccan Arabic noun (zzebda/lbnat/ddar) is positioned with a French word, producing either a semantic loan or a lexical switching. These utterances obey Moroccan Arabic morphosyntactic patterns. For instance, *zzebda* (butter) and *collège* (junior high school) occupy noun phrase positions in the Moroccan Arabic paradigm, and the prepositional phrase occurs in its position.

Second, morphological switching is more complex in the sense that it is the outcome of heavy borrowing.

9) a. *rula b waħd la vitesse kbira u t-klata l pnu.*

'He drove at a high speed, then a tyre blew up.'

b. *u huwa i-ʃanʒi l crufi u wlla f l'auto route.*

'Then he changed the flat tyre and took the highway.'

In (9a), the French verb 'éclater' (burst) is used in the passive form in the Moroccan Arabic loan shift *t-klata*. In (9b), the French verb 'changer' (change) is Arabised as *ʃanʒi* and takes the third person masculine singular subject pronoun marker *i-*.

Syntactic Switching

There exist two types of sentence-level switching: inter-sentential switching (between two sentences) and intra-sentential switching (within a sentence). The first type involves a switch that takes place between two independent sentences, with no conjoining. For example:

10) Il n'avait pas mangé *kan ramdan*.
'He didn't eat as it was Ramadan time.'

In this example, there are two clauses, with the first one being in French and the second one in Moroccan Arabic.

The second type, intra-sentential switching, involves a switch that takes place inside a sentence. It can occur in embedded sentences like relatives, complement clauses, coordinate sentences, adverbials, or conditionals:

11) wssat-ni nʃri lha waħd lktab que son professeur lui a demandé.
'She asked me to buy her a book that her teacher required.'

12) Elle veut aller au Canada baʃ tkammel ses études supérieures.
'She would like to go to Canada to finish her university studies.'

13) Si elle n'arrive pas à obtenir le visa, mayamkan l ha-ʃ tmʃi.
'If she doesn't manage to get a visa, she won't be able to go.'

14) ʃəft *les élèves* lli dxlu l qism iqraw.
'I saw the pupils who entered the classroom to study.'

In (11) the switch occurs in the relative clause; in (12), it occurs in the complement clause, and in (13) it occurs in the conditional clause. Example (14) shows that agreement takes place between the noun phrase (NP) *les élèves* and the Moroccan Arabic verb phrase (VP) *dxlu;* gender and number agreement holds between the French nominal and the Moroccan Arabic verb.

The break at which intra-sentential mixing occurs can be one of the following grammatical categories:

- a relative pronoun (as in 1)
- a complementiser (as in 2 above)
- an interrogative (as in: manʕrafʃ *est-ce qu'*il peut dépasser cette crise.'I don't know if he can overcome this crisis.')
- a NP : elle est intelligente *dik lbant*. 'That girl is intelligent.'
- a VP : pour cela *glasna f ddar*. 'Because of that we stayed at home.'
- a prepositional phrase (PP): dans tous les cas, *mʕa tlata* ntlaqaw. 'At any rate, let's meet at three.'
- an adverbial phrase (AdvP): ma ʒab finalement rien. 'In the end, didn't bring anything .'
- a demonstrative: j'ai vu *hadak* xijna lyum. 'I saw that guy today.'
- a possessive : j'ai acheté des souliers *dyal s-ski*. 'I bought ski-shoes.'
- a conditional particle: une directrice *ila* kant katxdm mzian maqbula ɣir tkun compétente.'
  'A director (fem), if she works hard, is acceptable, but she has to be competent.'

Shifting can also occur at the boundary of a single utterance, as in:

15) mʃit l *le théâtre* u ʕʒbatni *la pièce.*
'I went to theatre and I liked the play.'

Here code switching occurs at the matrix clause and at the embedded clause levels (see Boumans 1998).

Some of the salient syntactic constraints observed by both intra- and inter-sentential code switching are in point.

Constraints

First, there exist well-known constraints on relativisation. For example, if a relative pronoun marking the switch is from Moroccan Arabic, then the verb phrase that follows must be in Arabic. If the relative pronoun is French, the VP that follows is also in French. For example:

16) waħd ssadiq que tu aimes bien/lli tatbɣih bzzaf
'A friend who you love very much'

Similarly, there are syntactic constraints on complement clauses. The tendency is that Moroccan Arabic complementisers are followed with Arabic VPs, and French complementisers with French VPs. Consider the following:

17) safarna l Casa pour voir la famille /*pour n-ʃufu l-ʕaʔila.
'We travelled to Casa to visit the family'.

18) Nous sommes allés à Casa baʃ n-ʃufu l-ʕaʔila/*baʃ voir la famille.
'We went to Casablanca to see the family.'

Syntactic constraints on interrogation are also common, but with exceptions. No switching is allowed between an interrogative element and a following VP. If the interrogative element is in Arabic, the following VP must be in Arabic; if the interrogative element is in French, then the following VP must be also in French.

19) maʕraftʃ fuqaʃ mʃat.
'I don't know when she left.'

20) Pourquoi bzzaf d nnass kaysafru f lʕuṭla ?
'Why is it that so many people travel during holidays.'

However, there are a few exceptions to this constraint. For instance, the following is a counterexample of the above-mentioned constraint:

21) maʕraftʃ fuqaʃ elle revient.
'I don't know when she will be back.'

Here the VP after the Arabic question-word is in French, but the outcome is a well-formed indirect question.

Further, I have come across a constraint on VP which is quite productive:

22) When a VP of the type NP-Aux-V, or the type NP-V-V is involved, each element inside that VP is in the same language. For instance, if the initial verb is in Arabic, the auxiliary must also be in Arabic. If on the other hand, the initial verb is French, the other constituents of V must be in French.

This implies that the auxiliary and the verb cannot be mixed, as in:

23) a. *Elle a écrit* waħd tlatin ktab.
'She wrote some thirty books.'

b. * *Elle a ktbat* waħd tlatin ktab.

24) a.* *kunt tanʃuf* au moins une dizaine de pays *f lʕam*.
'I used to see at least a dozen countries per year.'

b. *kunt tanviziti* au moins une dizaine de pays *f lʕam*.

25) a. *bɣit nħdar* pour poser quelques questions.
'I want to attend in order to ask a few questions.'

b. **Je veux nħdar* pour poser quelques questions.

Moreover, there is a constraint on NPs. According to the collected data, many NPs are involved in code switching, more than any other phrasal category. The data confirms Abbassi's constraint that a switch break is disallowed with a French determiner and an Arabic noun. However, a break is possible inside a NP with an Arabic determiner.

26)	waħd l-médecin (a doctor)	*un ṭbib
	ʃi voiture (a car)	*une tomobil
	l-kasit (the cassette)	*le ʃariṭ

The examples on the left-hand side are well-formed, as it is allowed to switch when the determiner is in Arabic and the noun is in French. By contrast, the examples on the right-hand side are ill-formed because a break is impossible inside a NP with a French determiner (hence the asterisk *)[1].

Constraints on prepositional phrases, adjectival phrases, and pronouns are also quite common. Thus, if pronouns, prepositions and adjectives respectively are in Arabic, the following nouns can be in Arabic or French. However, if the pronoun, the preposition, and the adjective are in French, the following nouns must be in French.

27) *klina waħd* le petit pain fourré.
'We ate a small cake.'

28) *je l'ai aperçu dans *hadak nnadi dyal ttinis.*
'I saw him in that club of tennis.'

29) f ttali dyal la semaine xdina l-congé.
'On the weekend, we took our holiday.'

30) le déroulement d l-mtiħan
'the proceeding/event of the exam'

31) la fête *d ħabb lamluk.*
'the cherry'festival'

32) dxal f un petit parti politique
'He joined a small political party.'

33) *Ils se sont mis d'accord *sur l-maʕruʕ.*
'They agreed on the project.'

On the whole, these constraints are flexible, in the sense that there are exceptional cases.[2]

Moroccan Arabic-French code switching is neither a new language, a Creole, nor a pidgin given that the two languages concerned are used in other contexts as two different linguistic systems[3]. Speakers who code switch do not perceive code switching as a single language and have no loyalty toward it. They wish to preserve it as it is closely linked to two cultures, Moroccan and French. This type of code switching (also called 'Franco-Arabic') is regarded as a sociolinguistic blend of two different languages, unrelated both diachronically and culturally (see Lahlou 1991). Moroccan code switchers are thus conscious that they use two different languages. Code switching gives them more freedom, as they can switch from one language to another without any restriction in order to express their

thoughts, desires, and feelings. Pragmatic situations sometimes impose code switching because speakers have to use concepts and lexemes that are available or more handy in the second language but not in their mother tongue. This is largely because, as mentioned above, Moroccan Arabic evokes feelings of identity and home, while French is more associated with sophisticated life and socio-economic advancement.

Thus, the relationship between cultural identity and language is complex, comprising a host of attitudes, social factors and other socio-cultural phenomena. Code switching among Moroccan bilinguals reveals the permanent desire of code switchers to preserve their group or cultural identity on the one hand, and the need for their socio-economic advancement in society on the other.

The comparisons I have made between this research and previous works have shown that code switching is characterised by general patterns across languages and cultures. The idea that code switching can be situational or metaphorical, inter- or intra-sentential, and the formality-informality dichotomy have been largely accepted as important trends in forms of code switching. Moreover, the use of the native language at home and the use of the second language in public are characteristic of bilingual minority communities.

Notes

(1) The examples with an asterisk (*) do not come from the collected corpus, but they have been included for the sake of clarification and illustration.

(2) Algerians tend to code switch more than Moroccans given the strong influence of French on their native language; as a result, code switching is less restricted in Algerian Arabic (cf. Boucherit 1991).

(3) For Moroccan Arabic-French code switchers, French symbolises modernity and progress, whereas Moroccan Arabic symbolises local traditions and cultural authenticity.

CHAPTER NINE: LANGUAGE USE AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

Introduction

This chapter, which deals with language use and language attitudes among educated people in Morocco, is a sort of synthesis of the previous chapters. It explores the different attitudes toward Berber, Arabic, French, English and Spanish. I argue that attitudes determine language choice and represent important indices that may help us understand the nature of language conflict in its multilingual context. There exists indeed a close link between language use, language choice, and attitudes. The languages chosen for communication are generally those that people favour. The more a language is liked or appreciated, the more it is used in different domains. Similarly, a language that is disliked by speakers will be used less frequently. Language attitudes are crucial as they represent important aspects that are helpful in the sociolinguistic description of the language profile of the multilingual individual (cf. Labov 1972; Rubin 1977 and Fishman 1999). This chapter reveals that language attitudes in Morocco, as in many multilingual societies, reflect a complex sociocultural picture of Moroccans at the individual and societal levels, which accounts for hesitation and ambivalence in terms of language choice and attitudes.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data collection

To investigate language use and language attitudes among educated people, I gathered data in the summers of 2000, 2001, and 2002 with the purpose of confirming or disconfirming information offered in previous chapters. Tape recordings were used to collect samples of speech behaviour and of language contact or interference.A questionnaire was distributed to 160 urban and literate participants. However, only 124 were returned.

The questionnaire aimed to elicit information on the languages and varieties used by the respondents, as well as their attitudes. The questionnaire was in both Arabic and French. The questions which totalled 16 were divided into three parts: the first part targeted the elicitation of the linguistic proficiency of informants. The second part concerned itself with the sociolinguistic background, age, sex, and education of the participants, and the third part was meant to elicit responses on attitudes toward the languages at play. The respondents' answers were then added up and tabulated.

In addition to the questionnaire, interviews were held with 28 respondents, half of whom were Berberophones. The interviewees were aged between 21 and 52, and included 5 females. The interviewees were selected on the basis of their representing different social background, ages, and genders. I chose to organise interviews in order to attain objective results and cross-check the responses to the questionnaire.

Data Analysis

The questionnaire. The first part of the questionnaire, which aimed to elicit information on the linguistic competence of the respondents, included 4 questions. It revealed that a majority (74%) of the respondents were Moroccan Arabic native speakers; the other 26% were Moroccan Arabic-Berber bilinguals. About 60% of the bilingual Berbers stated that they acquired Arabic as a second language at home, and 40% of them said they learned it at school. The second part, which contained 4 questions, was about the social background, age, and gender of the respondents. It showed that there were 21 public employees, 35 teachers, 33 private employees, 19 university students and 16 high school students. The age of the respondents ranged from 15 to 48, with 67% males and 33% females. The respondents lived in the cities of Fès, Meknès, Béni-Mellal, Casablanca and Rabat. The third part, which included 8 questions, and which addressed issues related to attitudes toward the languages in use, was the most interesting part of the questionnaire.

Let us look first at the respondents' reactions to the different questions asked. The responses are displayed in percentages in the tables below for ease of exposition. Revealing information was released by respondents when asked to compare ratings between the languages in use in Morocco. Thus, for example, the question on comparative ratings between Berber and Moroccan Arabic yielded the following results :

Question 1: How do you rate the status of Berber in comparison with Moroccan Arabic?

Status of Berber	Rating
Berber is inferior to Moroccan Arabic	49%
Berber is equal to Moroccan Arabic	25%
Berber is superior to Moroccan Arabic	10%
Don't Know	16%

Table 1: Rating of Berber and Moroccan Arabic

Notice that very few respondents (10%) rated Berber as superior to Moroccan Arabic, and that only 25% stated that it was equal to Moroccan Arabic. Less than half of the respondents (49%) stated that Berber was inferior to Moroccan Arabic. These reactions may be accounted for by the fact that Moroccan Arabic is more widespread as a language of communication, and it is linguistically and historically related to the prestigious variety of Standard Arabic.

Question 2: How do you rate the status of Berber in comparison with Standard Arabic?

Status of Berber	Rating
Berber is inferior to Standard Arabic	70%
Berber is equal to Standard Arabic	15%
Berber is superior to Standard Arabic	2%
Don't Know	13%

Table 2: Rating of Berber and Standard Arabic

The results yielded here show that the majority of respondents (70%) considered Berber inferior to Standard Arabic and only 15% considered them equal. This reaction may be due to the status of Berber as a non-codified and non-standard vernacular in comparison with Standard Arabic, which is associated with religion and scholarship.

Question 3: Which of the following are school and/or national languages?

Language	School Language	National Language
Standard Arabic	73%	85%
Moroccan Arabic	2%	28%
Berber	4%	22%
French	51%	4%
No reply	0%	1%

Table 3: School/National language

Thus, for most respondents, Standard Arabic is both a school and a national language. Whereas 28% state that Moroccan Arabic is a national language, only 2% think that it can be a school language. Very few respondents (4%) state that French is a national language, while 51% say it is a school language. Surprisingly, only 22% of consultants state that Berber is a national language, and 4% think it is a school language. Very few respondents think that Moroccan Arabic and Berber are school languages because these two mother tongues are not yet formally taught in schools.

Question 4: What are the 'foreign' languages you prefer?

French	English	Spanish	German	Other
33%	45%	12%	8%	2%

Table 4: 'Foreign' Languages Favoured by Informants

This table shows that English is the most favoured probably because it is the first international language. French is the second most favoured language because it is seen as the language of modernity and social mobility (see Chapter Five), while Spanish and German are less favoured because Spanish is widely used only in the north and south of Morocco (i.e. in the ex-Spanish zones), and German is a foreign language taught optionally in some high schools and universities (see Chapter Six).

Question 5: Which languages do you use in the following Topics?

	SA	MA	B	French	F-MA Code Switching
Home matters	0%	68%	12%	12%	8%
Religion	45%	43%	7%	3%	2%
Intellectual life	49%	7%	3%	35%	6%
Everyday trade	1%	67%	21%	8%	3%

Table 5: Languages Used in Different Topics

SA= Standard Arabic; MA= Moroccan Arabic; B= Berber; F= French

As illustrated by this table, Moroccan Arabic and Berber are the languages of home and everyday life par excellence. For 68% of the respondents, Moroccan Arabic is the language of home matters, and for 67% it is the language of trade and transactions. As for Berber, it is the language of home for 12% of respondents and the language of trade for 21%. Berber is hardly used in religion and academic life. Standard Arabic is considered the language of religion by 45%, the language of intellectual life by 49%, and the language of political debate by 50% of respondents. French is mainly used to discuss intellectual subjects (35%), engage in political debate (14%) and home conversations (12%); French-Moroccan Arabic code switching is used mainly in political debate (9%), informal settings like home (8%) and academic circles (6%). In religion, code switching is relatively scarce (2%).

Question 6: Which languages do you prefer in the mass media?

	SA	MA	B	F	Fr-MA Code Switching	No Reply
Newspapers	44%	2%	3%	39%	0%	12%
Radio	55%	17%	8%	18%	2%	0%
Television	42%	16%	4%	23%	2%	13%

Table 6: Languages favoured in the Media

This table shows that the most favoured languages in the media are Standard Arabic and French. Standard Arabic is more dominant than French in newspapers, radio and television programmes. The space allotted to Berber is more restricted than the one allotted to Moroccan Arabic; however, code switching is hardly allowed in these domains.

Question 7: Which languages do you use in the following domains?

	SA	MA	B	F	Fr-MA Code Switching	No Reply
Office	28%	19%	5%	31%	12%	5%
School	36%	15%	2%	22%	13%	12%
Mosque	68%	24%	3%	1%	2%	2%
Street	1%	67%	14%	8%	10%	0%
Home	0%	70%	16%	4%	8%	2%

Table 7: Languages and their Domains of Use

Table 7 reveals that each language is associated with a number of domains of use. For instance, Standard Arabic is heavily used in mosques, schools, and administrative offices, but it is absent from streets and homes given that it is a learned language. The domains of street and home are reserved to Moroccan Arabic and Berber. French is present in offices and schools. Code switching is commonly used at work, school, and in casual conversations on the street.

In this domain, the study of language choice by individuals has shown how the latter is motivated in everyday life. One such study on Morocco by Marley and Zitouni (1996:184-185) confirms that individual speakers accommodate their speech in accordance with the medium, the available information and the addressee. This study included illiterate, monolingual as well as bilingual informants; to the question whether they were prepared to learn French and why, illiterate respondents answered by the affirmative and the reasons were: to learn about another culture (44%), to find a job (44%), and other reasons like to have access to French media and literature (37%). When asked which language was the best for the future of Morocco, these respondents replied “several languages”. Educated respondents were more sensitive to the language situation and so answered that Standard Arabic was better for emotional and political reasons. Bilingual informants from the west of Morocco stated that they used French at work (42%), with bilingual friends (35%), and in other contexts (44%). Overall, all respondents were aware of the value of French and would learn and use it despite its colonial overtones. This survey confirms the idea that

multilingualism in Morocco is a vivid sociolinguistic phenomenon, which is favoured by many people. Similarly, most Moroccans know that Standard Arabic does not meet all their societal needs and that a European language is necessary for the transfer of ideas and technology, and for communication with the world at large, even if this European language is none but the ex-coloniser's language.[1]

Since the main target of the post-independence period has been the achievement of socio-economic development, the State decided from the outset to strengthen its links with the ex-coloniser, and develop relations with Europe through the French language. Currently, more than 75% of Morocco's foreign trade is with France. In this context, one can understand the important status of French, whose colonial connotations have been erased or at least drastically reduced by independence. Today, the liberalisation of the economy and the privatisation of many sectors have led to the reinforcement of French in many domains. French-Standard Arabic bilingualism has been adopted to meet the needs of sociocultural and economic development. It is the result of the desire to achieve cultural independence, people's well being, and to attain a decent standard of living while being open to exchanges with the West. On the ground, unemployment is high (15%), especially among people with no qualifications, or among graduates with Arabised degrees (see Boukous 2001). Standard Arabic and French, as written idioms, have competing functions and domains of use in the sense that they reproduce "social hierarchy", to use Bourdieu and Passeron's (1970) terms cited in Gill 1999.

Question 8: Do you code switch?

code switch	do not code switch	no reply
70%	26%	4%

Table 8: Code Switching Habit

According to this table, a majority of 70% of French-Arabic bilinguals code switch, while only 26% think that they do not code-switch.

The interviews. The interviews sought to investigate respondent's attitudes toward the multilingual situation and the different languages and varieties used in Morocco. I will quote a few interviewees for the sake of illustration.

Concerning the rating of the languages in use, over half of the interviewees (52%) stressed that Berber was lower in scale than Moroccan Arabic, given its restricted domains, and its non-prestigious status. Thus, one employee mentioned "I think Berber is not equal to Moroccan Arabic because

it is not widely spoken even by the Berber population". Another interviewee said, "Berber is inferior to Moroccan Arabic, because there are many dialects of Berber". The dialectisation of Berber certainly reduces its power of communication and its spread.

Concerning the question of which languages were considered school and/or national languages, there is a general agreement that Standard Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, and Berber are the national languages. The majority (84%) stated that Standard Arabic was the first school language, followed by French. In this respect, a respondent replied, "Standard Arabic is a school language and a national one; it is indeed the official language of the country and it is the language of the Qur'an."

Regarding the foreign languages preferred by the interviewees, it was confirmed that English, for the majority (58%), was their favourite language, because of its prestigious status as the first international language. An interviewee answered, "I prefer English to French and Spanish, for English is most important in science, technology, international travel, etc." Another respondent replied, "both French and English are essential because they can help us understand other cultures and civilisations".

As to the languages used to discuss different topics, almost all interviewees (86%) confirmed the fact that Moroccan Arabic and Berber are spoken at home and in everyday transactions, and that Standard Arabic is commonly used in intellectual and political debate, as well as in religious matters. Many interviewees (55%) said that they used French mostly in intellectual life. Thus, a teacher stated, "speaking Berber and Moroccan Arabic at home, and using French in intellectual matters are facts of life for many multilinguals".

Concerning the place of languages in the media, many interviewees (83%) emphasised that Standard Arabic and French are associated with the press, radio, and television programmes, and that Berber, Moroccan Arabic and code switching are excluded from the media. Thus, a female student remarked, "although Berber and Moroccan Arabic are vital languages, they are not used in newspapers, and they are rarely used on radio and television."

As to the use of languages in different domains, a slight majority of respondents (53%) confirmed the fact that Berber, Moroccan Arabic, and code switching are predominant in the domains of street and home, while Standard Arabic and French are associated with formal settings like work and school. In this respect, a female private employee stated, "I speak Moroccan Arabic and Berber at home, French in my office, and switch from Moroccan Arabic to French in the street."

Regarding the code switching habit, the majority (79%) of interviewees stressed that it is an appalling habit which must be dispensed with. A student stated, "I am against it not because I hate French but because code switching is harmful to both Arabic and French".

In this context, rules of proper usage are violated, leading to a linguistic mixing of the languages in use. Each bilingual or multilingual speaker attempts to transgress the language rules, for lack of competence in all the languages, or to show linguistic creativity or audacity via interference, mixing varieties or code switching. This will be the theme of the following section.

Attitudes toward Moroccan Arabic-French Code Switching

In general, attitudes toward Moroccan Arabic-French code switching are unfavourable. Moroccan Arabic-French code switching is stigmatised, as underlined by Ennaji (1988), Lahlou (1991) and Caubet (1998). It is used in television comedies as a funny form of language (for example, the comedies of the Moroccan popular humourists Bziz, Khadija Assad and Aziz Saad Allah).

In fact, even attitudes toward Moroccan Arabic and French are ambivalent. It was mentioned in Chapter Four that Moroccan Arabic is stigmatised by educated and non-educated native speakers alike. It is often considered a corrupt variety of Classical Arabic. It is usually ignored or completely neglected by policy-makers for only Classical and Standard Arabic are officially recognised. On the other hand, attitudes to French are ambiguous and at times contradictory. French is often viewed negatively as the ex-coloniser's language, sometimes as a secondary language or as a foreign language on a par with English and Spanish. However, it is "undeniably the language of social promotion, as it provides access to job security and to a high social status" (Wagner 1993:22).

Despite being negatively viewed by most Moroccans, code switching is an integral part of the multilinguistic panorama of the country, and the Maghreb in general.

For many intellectuals, code switching is a trace of cultural colonisation and a sign of disloyalty to Arabic language and culture. Moatassime (1974) qualifies code switching as a poor form of expression, and Guessous (1976) states that it is a 'bastard language'. Zaidane (1980) affirms that, according to her respondents, code switching is a 'handicap' for thought and expression, and that it is not a proper language for an educated person. Lahlou (1991) asserts with statistics that code switching is widely disdained in Morocco. Thirteen per cent of his informants consider code switching a deplorable medium which is neither Arabic nor French. Code switchers are regarded as incompetent because code switching reveals their lack of mastery in either or both languages. Nonetheless, we often hear even highly educated people switching codes.

At the gender level, bilingual mothers, who have a great impact on children, often code switch during conversations with their families. Many of them insist on speaking French to their daughters and on raising them in a bilingual milieu because they are fully aware that bilingual education opens up horizons and helps their daughters escape the narrowness of monolingualism and evade the hard life experiences of illiterate and monolingual mothers (cf. Gadant 1995 and Gill 1999).

Attitudes toward Standard Arabic-French Bilingualism

Standard Arabic-French bilingualism is contested by many intellectuals in the region. As a case in point, authors like the Lebanese thinker, Al-Hajj (1976), criticise the Maghreb countries, where Arabic is used as a means of instruction in primary and secondary education, while in higher education, French is used to teach science, management, engineering, and technology. He states that if Arabic is good for teaching the sciences in primary and secondary levels, it should also be good enough for the tertiary level. For him, the national language is closely linked to the pride, sovereignty and prestige of the nation.

> *la langue nationale est toujours un bien pour le peuple; car sans elle, il ne peut jamais atteindre la pureté du sentiment de fierté inhérent à sa souveraineté, à son prestige et à sa totale liberté.*
>
> *[The national language is always an asset for the people, because, without it, they can never achieve the pure feeling of pride that is inherent to their sovereignty, prestige, and overall freedom.]* Al-Hajj (1976 :274)

Al-Hajj (ibid) also states that borrowing a foreign culture can be detrimental to the local or national culture. The indigenous people should preserve their own language and culture before attempting to acquire a new culture.

Whereas in Algeria, French colonialism lasted longer and sought to assimilate the indigenous population to the French culture, in Morocco and Tunisia, colonialism did not last long, and as a consequence, it did not manage to completely dominate and uproot the indigenous people. This may partly explain the rise of fundamentalism and the civil war in Algeria in the 1990s (see Berger 2002, Carlier 2002). The fight for independence was itself perhaps essentially motivated by the conflict of two different cultures, Western and Islamic.

Thus, the dichotomy between the Arabic-educated elite (*Arabisants*) and the French-educated (*Francisants*) in Morocco and Algeria is basically a conflict between two cultures, modern/Western vs. traditional/Muslim. It is a struggle for ethnic identity and cultural authenticity.

For Ahmed Moatassime (1974:619-670), the Moroccan bilingual situation is characterised by wild bilingualism ("bilinguisme sauvage"), which downgrades the mother tongue and the national culture; this represents a real linguistic and cultural hurdle for the masses, as this situation may foster cultural dependence or a sort of cultural colonisation. The fact that African countries like Morocco try hard to learn foreign languages, while industrialised countries have no interest or readiness to learn African languages (such as Arabic, Berber, or Yoruba) causes a sort of cultural intolerance and a breakdown of communication between cultures. The misconceptions that the West has about Arab and Muslim cultures are an example of this misunderstanding and miscommunication between Westerners and Muslims. To eradicate this misunderstanding and miscommunication, the British government has lately considered the possibility of introducing Arabic in British schools (see *Al-Alam* of November 4th, 2002)

Moatassime (ibid) underlines that the cost of bilingualism is very high financially, pedagogically, culturally and socially. The highest cost for him is cultural, because wild bilingualism, as practised in Morocco and the Maghreb, can lead to acculturation, which may have negative psychological repercussions on the individual.

Nevertheless, a well-balanced type of positive bilingualism can be, in my view, profitable for North African countries like Morocco. It is even necessary for reasons of socio-economic development. Bilingualism is helpful in the modernisation of the media, education, administration, and society as a whole. Bilingualism is also crucial for the transfer of technology. It enriches Arabic and constitutes a window on the world. This kind of positive bilingualism is helpful for Standard Arabic in the sense that the latter can be assisted by a second or a foreign language of wider communication like French and English.

Standard Arabic-French bilingualism is accompanied with a cultural and social dualism. As a consequence, selection at school is linked to social selection. As the mother tongues (Moroccan Arabic and Berber) have no role in education, pupils from poor or rural family backgrounds can hardly succeed in an educational system that is alien to their linguistic and cultural background. Thus, only the new elite and middle class are at an advantage (cf. Fitouri 1983:140, Bos 1997: 8, Ennaji 2003b). The planned introduction of Berber in primary schools is expected to help solve this problem (see Chapter Ten). Meanwhile, no one is asking for the promotion of Moroccan Arabic as a

national language, nor for the substitution of Standard or Classical Arabic by Moroccan Arabic in the name of cultural authenticity or modernity.

The criticisms leveled against Standard Arabic-French bilingualism, which are usually emotional rather than factually based, exaggerate somewhat its detrimental effects on the individual and on society as a whole. However, in reality, most educated Moroccans favour Standard Arabic-French bilingualism and find multilingualism enriching, rather than alienating. In this regard, El-biad (1985:363) reveals that 48.8% of his respondents find French necessary for Morocco, 54.5% think that Standard Arabic-French bilingualism is best for the country, and 62% do not think that French should be abolished.

The role of women is substantial in spreading Arabic-French bilingualism. They directly contribute to language shift and language change. Young girls like to speak French because it is useful for their emanciption and liberation, as it helps them make their voices heard. For example, women prefer to marry bilingual young men, who have nice jobs and good future prospects. Educated women from the middle class in particular prefer to study in schools with a large portion of courses in French because this gives them the opportunity to get good degrees, find good jobs and later on marry a young bilingual graduate who is open-minded and leads a modern lifestyle. Likewise, middle class families, and women especially, have to confront a bicultural situation since they tend to lead a modern way of life, while clinging to their religion and culture. Their children are also confronted with contradictory perceptions and values at home, at school, and in the street. As a result, bilingualism and biculturalism affect all social domains, including family, marriage, work, and school (see Moatassime 1992, Burton 1993, Gadant 1995, Gill 1999, and Sadiqi 2003).

In sum, Standard Arabic and French are not considered mutually exclusive since they are both regarded as the basis for sociocultural promotion. Standard Arabic can benefit from this balanced bilingualism by using French as an auxiliary language, or as a reference. It is a well-known fact that, in the mainstream media, Arabic technical lexical items come from French (see Ennaji 1995).

Most segments of the population are, then, attached to the French language and culture, although they overtly support Arabisation as well. This reflects their positive attitude toward Standard Arabic-French bilingualism, which is perceived of as a means of balancing the need for French, as a language of modernisation, and for Standard Arabic, as the language of national culture and identity.

The post-independence State has implemented Standard Arabic-French bilingualism in public administration, education and the media in the name of

progress and modernity, and at the same time has advocated Arabisation to foster cultural identity and authenticity, a way of strengthening the tradition-modernity dichotomy. This contradictory policy has affected the cultural evolution of the country and has resulted in language shift, creating feelings of self-guilt among Moroccan individual speakers vis-à-vis their language loyalties.

Attitudes toward Moroccan Arabic

Moroccan Arabic is stigmatised chiefly because it is associated with illiteracy. A person who speaks only Moroccan Arabic is considered illiterate. Because, for historical and religious reasons, writing was the exclusive domain of Classical Arabic, the average Moroccan would not write in his own mother tongue; thus, a schooled individual who speaks Moroccan Arabic fluently will opt for Standard/Classical Arabic or French to write a letter, or an administrative document. For most Moroccans, Moroccan Arabic is a corrupt form of Arabic which is associated with everyday life and which is useless in formal settings or domains. This is also the attitude of the government authorities which provide no support for this variety. Even literacy is acquired by learning to read and write in Standard, not Moroccan Arabic. In the past, Moroccan Arabic was marginalised to the extent that the Moroccan Arabic daily *Axbar As-suq* was discontinued in the 1980s because it was very close to the concerns of the poor and it provoked their interest in change. But in recent years, with the democratisation process that has been launched since the 1990s, the government has become more flexible than in the past about Moroccan Arabic: two popular newspapers, using Moroccan Arabic, namely *Suq Al-axbar* and *Al-usbuʕ Ad-daħik* are on sale today.

Two major attitudes are to be distinguished. First, the conservative Arabists view Moroccan Arabic as a degenerate variety which is not worth describing or studying linguistically. The majority of the masses support this view for three reasons: i) Moroccan Arabic is neither codified nor standardised; ii) it is not directly associated with religion, as the Qur'an was not revealed in it, and iii) it is not the language of a great literary tradition (cf. Ennaji 1999).

The second major attitude is held by progressive intellectuals, who argue that Moroccan Arabic reflects Moroccan authenticity and cultural identity. They think that Moroccan Arabic reflects the daily life and concerns of Moroccans and expresses their problems, aspirations, and way of life. It is also the vehicle of a rich oral literature. There exists a wealthy legacy of songs, stories, anecdotes, poetry, and theatre in Moroccan Arabic. From experience, these genres are much appreciated in Moroccan Arabic because they are intimately linked to the culture and traditions of

Moroccans. Cf. Abbassi (1977), Ennaji (1985, 1991), Youssi (1983), and Elbiad (1991).

Students' attitudes toward Moroccan Arabic are quite significant in that they reflect the general attitude held by officials and people alike. In his survey, Elbiad (1985:299) reveals that 71.4% of students disagree with the idea that Classical Arabic should be replaced by Moroccan Arabic. This attitude is due to the prestigious status of Classical Arabic, the language of the Qur'an, and to the fact that Moroccan Arabic is associated with illiteracy (see Chapter Ten).

Although Moroccan Arabic is one of the essential distinguishing characteristics of Moroccans, and the mother tongue of more than half of the population, it is excluded from education, official settings and printing. For effective communication to be achieved, many scholars and intellectuals today acknowledge the importance of Moroccan Arabic. The Moroccan eminent actor and dramatist, Tayeb Seddiqi, is one of the fervent defenders of Moroccan Arabic language and culture. On the other hand, Moroccan Arabic is threatened by the new information technology, printing, and the audio-visual representations from which it is generally excluded (cf. Ennaji 2000).

In view of the fact that it is a spoken language with a rich oral tradition, Moroccan Arabic may expand and become more widespread in the future, given its growing place in the mass media and the flow of rural exodus. Many Berber speakers adopt Moroccan Arabic when they move from rural to urban areas because it is the language of transactions in urban areas. Radio and television at times use Moroccan Arabic alternatively with Standard Arabic, which will in the long run reduce the gap between Moroccan and Standard Arabic. The adoption of Moroccan Arabic by the media will eventually lead to its spread across the country.

Although Moroccan Arabic is in competition with the above-mentioned language varieties, it occupies an important position as the language of orality par excellence. It is the dominant colloquial form, used in conversations and informal situations. It is the mother tongue of the majority of the population, and in this capacity it reflects Moroccan cultural authenticity. Hence, it is essential to preserve Moroccan Arabic and reinforce it in formal and informal situations of use (see Ennaji 2000).

Attitudes toward Berber

There exist two main attitudes toward Berber. Firstly, Berber native speakers are generally proud of their native language, while the Arabophones are tolerant or neutral toward the language (cf. Ennaji 1991 and Chtatou 1994). There are exceptions among Berber native speakers, however. Some Arabised Berbers view their language as a "stigma", and

females seem to insist on speaking Moroccan Arabic to their children, as we shall see in due course (cf. El Kirat 2001).

Attitudes of Officials

The officials' attitude toward Berber has evolved over the years. In the seventies, it was either indifferent or negative; but since the 1990s, officials' attitudes have become favourable to Berber. The king took a politically important step by deciding, on August 20, 1994, to introduce Berber in primary schools.

This royal decision was much appreciated by all forces, particularly Berber non-government associations (NGOs) and the intelligentsia. This school year (2003-2004), Berber is taught in many primary schools (as a pilot scheme), and it will eventually be introduced at all primary schools in the following year. Berber is also taught as an optional course in Al-Akhawayn University as of the academic year 1998-1999, and in many NGOs, including the "Centre Tariq Ibd Zyad" in Rabat. Cf. Youssi 1994 and *Le Monde Diplomatique* of January 1995. In declaring the creation of the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture on 17 October 2001, King Mohammed VI stated that

> *L'amazighité appartient à tous les marocains. Elle plonge ses racines au plus profond de l'histoire du peuple marocain et ne peut être mise au service de desseins politiques de quelque nature que ce soit. La promotion de l'amazigh est une responsabilité nationale, car aucune culture nationale ne peut renier ses racines historiques.*
> *[The Amazigh (Berber) cultural identity belongs to all Moroccans. Its roots go back to the depth of Moroccan history, and cannot be put at the service of political aims of whichever nature. The promotion of the Amazigh language is a national responsibility, for no national culture can deny its historical roots.]*

Furthermore, the role of Berber in the media has recently been reinforced. The government lately increased the number of Berber radio programmes. Television news bulletins are for the first time presented in Berber alongside Standard Arabic and French. Although the press in Berber is still embryonic, it is gaining momentum with the recent upsurge of Berber cultural identity. We can cite names of weelkly or monthly newspapers like

Agraw Amazigh, Le Monde Amazigh, Tawiza, and magazines such as *Amazigh, Tifawt,* and *Amud,* which use either the Classical Arabic and/or the Latin script.

In an interview with the daily *Al-Bayane* of 22 September 1994, Mohamed Allal Sinaceur, then Minister of Cultural Affairs declared:

> *Il n'y a pas eu d'exclusion de la culture berbère [...] Nous sommes un pays pluriel et tolérant [...] Nous avons réussi au Maroc à préserver la langue nationale, les langues dialectales qu'elles soient tamazight ou arabe dialectal.*
> *[There is no exclusion of Berber culture[...] We are a multicultural and tolerant country [...] We have managed to preserve the national language, the dialects be they Berber or Moroccan Arabic].*

In this statement, Sinaceur refers to Berber as a "dialect" and wrongly claims that it has never been marginalised. However, because Moroccans are tolerant and have a plural identity, they managed to preserve Classical Arabic side by side with Berber and Moroccan Arabic.

Until the creation of the Royal Institute of Berber Culture, there were no official institutions or public funds designed to encourage research on the Berber language and culture. Berber studies have been voluntarily carried out by Moroccan and non-Moroccan researchers and students. Thus, in Morocco alone, hundreds of BA monographs and dozens of MA and PhD theses have been written on Berber. There exist also publications in and on Berber culture and literature (see Boukous 1995).

In his interview with the French newspaper *Le Figaro* of 4 September 2001, King Mohammed VI stated that the Berber question in Morocco is not a call for separatism, unlike in Algeria, but a call for the integration of Berber and Berbers in the Moroccan society:

> *Les revendications berbères ne sont pas les mêmes que celles des Kabyles. Chez nous, la sensibilité, amazigh plutôt que berbère, est intégrationniste. Je suis marocain avant de dire que je suis berbère ou arabe. Il y a des marocains qui sont berbères, d'autres d'origine arabe, africaine ou andalouse. Mon père était de descendance arabe alors que ma mère est berbère. Cette réalité exprime le génie marocain.*

> *[The demands of Berbers are not the same as those of Kabyles[in Algeria]. In Morocco, the Amazigh, rather than Berber, question is integrative. I am Moroccan before I can say I am Berber or Arab. There are Moroccans who are Berber; others are from an Arab, African or Andalusian origin. My father was of Arab descendence while my mother is Berber. This reality reflects the Moroccan genius].*

This royal quote means that Berber demands in Morocco are different from those in Algeria. In Morocco the Amazigh (or Berber) question has integrative goals in the sense that Moroccan Berbers demand their integration in national economic, social and cultural development. Additionally, Morocco is characterised by cultural and ethnic diversity, as there are Moroccans of Berber, Arab, African or Andalusian origin. The fact that the King's mother is Berber and his father Arab is significant.

To consolidate national unity and revive Berber language and culture, the King named, in His speech of 30 July 2001, the board of trustees of the Royal Institute mentioned above, a decision that has been warmly applauded by Berber civil society and intelligentsia.

Thus, the multilingual and multicultural context of Morocco necessitates the preservation of Moroccan cultures, more particularly Berber language and culture, which have been marginalised since time immemorial. At the level of education and language planning, this reality must be taken into account by decision makers before embarking on a new language policy or reform.

In Algeria, the official attitude toward Berber is rather complex and ambiguous. Until the late 1980s, the nationalist government, which sought mainly to preserve national unity, was sceptical about Berber on the grounds that it might be used by subversive political forces to create divisions in the country. This kind of stern nationalism disfavoured diversity and multiculturalism. Even research on Berber was not allowed at the university level. Only a few theses on Berber were accomplished, and most of the work on Berber was published in Europe, chiefly in France (see Chaker (1990). Thus, up until the Tizi-Ouzou demonstrations of 1988, the government held an anti-Berber attitude and was intolerant to the Berber language and culture.

However, there is a recent recognition of the Berber language and culture. The year 1990 opened a new era marked by the creation of a department of Berber language and culture at the University of Tizi-Ouzou. After the general strike and massive demonstrations organised in Kabylia by the Berber Cultural Movement in September 1994, the government finally responded favourably to the Berber populations' desire to see Berber taught

in schools. Today, Berber is allocated some space on television, especially newscasts in Berber, and in radio programmes. In 2001, Berber was recognised, for the first time in Algerian history, as a national language in the Constitution, a decision taken by President Abdelaziz Bouteflika following demonstrations in the area of Kabylia.

Despite many efforts by the intelligentsia, a national consensus on Berber is lacking in Algeria given the conflicting political forces in the country. The existing tension between the Berberophones and the military regime, on the one hand, and the hostility of the Algerian fundamentalist movement to the promotion of Berber, on the other hand, constitute obstacles to the introduction of Berber in education. The latter justify their attitude by stating that only Classical Arabic can be taught because it is the language of the Qur'an, and it is a "unifying" language, unlike Berber which has no religious connotations and is "divisive" in the sense that it reveals the specificity of the Berber minority group.

Attitudes of Political Parties

Most Moroccan political parties have not taken a clear stand on the issue of Berber. The nationalist movement focused on Arabic and Arabisation, neglecting Berber language and culture, under the effect of the *Berber Dahir,* which was enacted by the the colonial authorities to separate Berbers from Arabs (see Chapter One). The major concern of the nationalists in post-independence was nation-state building and the preservation of the union of Morocco. It was only in the 1990s that political parties started to break their silence and show some timid support to the Berber cultural demands.

The first political party to have asked for the official recognition of Berber language and culture as national components of the Moroccan culture is the "Mouvement Populaire", a rural party led by a Berber poet and politician, Mahjoubi Aherdan. This party publishes a weekly *Agraw Amazigh*, and used to publish two periodicals *Amazigh* and *Tifinagh*, which were discontinued for lack of support.

In 1973, Abdelkrim Khatib, leader of the "Mouvement Populaire Constitutionnel et Démocratique" sent a letter to King Hassan II requesting the introduction of Berber in the educational system. A joint agreement has been signed in 2000 by Abdelkrim Khatib and Mahjoubi Aherdan demanding the recognition of Berber in the Constitution as an official language side by side with Arabic (cf. the Moroccan Weekly *Al-Asr* of 6-12 December 2002).

The rural-based "Mouvement Populaire" party, created in 1958, became "Mouvement National Populaire" in 1985 after a division of the

party. The latter, which has always endeavoured to gain the official recognition of Berber, demanded in the 1970s the creation of a national institute for Berber studies. Although parliament agreed to establish this institute in 1978, it never became a reality, for Berber was considered a "threat" to national unity. However, the above-mentioned parties made their claims while always declaring their allegiance to the establishment; i.e., they demanded the preservation of the Berber language and culture through the benediction of the political system.

The socialists ("Union Socialiste des Forces Populaires" and "Le Parti pour le Progrès et le Socialisme") were indifferent to Berber until King Hassan II announced in 1994 the royal recognition of Berber culture. Today, these socialist parties voice, in their newspapers, their support to the revival and institutionalisation of Berber, namely its official recognition and its introduction in education. However, only the "Parti du Progrès et du Socialisme" publicly stated in its 1995 national convention that Berber language is a national language that is part and parcel of the Moroccan culture. This party devoted weekly pages to Berber (dealing with language, creative writing and Berber literature) in its francophone national newspaper *Al-Bayane.*

Similarly, Mohamed Boucetta, the ex-leader of the conservative *Al-Istiqlal* party, stated in the newspaper *Al-Alam* of May 3, 1994 that "taking interest in Berber is to be considered one of the priorities". However, this party has no clear favourable stand toward Berber, for its leaders advocate full Arabisation (see section below).

The new generation of Berber activists - through dozens of NGOs created especially since the 1990s - have a different strategy toward official policies. Unlike the older generation of Berber militants, they make their demands for the revival of Berber "outside the establishment". For example, the slogans which were brandished during May Day demonstrations in the last few years ('Hebrew is taught but not Berber, Arabs out, no democracy without Berber') were somewhat extremist, and expressed, to say the least, their deep dissatisfaction with the current language policies, and with the official attitude toward Berber (cf. Donnet 1995, Ennaji 1997, and Faik 1999).

As a case in point, Mohamed Bouras, who has written two novellas in Berber, declared in an interview to *Le Matin Magazine* of Sunday 8 May 1994 that "Berber is an integral part of the Moroccan culture and should be taught in schools just like Arabic". During the incarceration of the seven members of the Berber cultural association *Tilelli* in May through July 1994, who demonstrated in Errachidia in favour of Berber culture, several Moroccan human rights associations reiterated the fact that "Berber culture is a fundamental part of our Moroccan cultural heritage that should be preserved" (see the newspaper *Al-Ittihad Al-Ishtiraki* of 13 July 1994, and *AL-Bayane* of May 19, 1994).

Attitudes of Intellectuals

Several progressive intellectuals support the revitalisation and development of the Berber language and culture. For instance, Guessous (1992, 2002) states that Berber is basically a national cultural issue that preoccupies most Moroccans, and that should be officially recognised as a national language.

For Guessous (2002), Morocco has two national languages (Arabic and Berber), one of which is official (Arabic). This is a reality that the political parties and intellectuals have ignored for many years. Arabic and Berber languages and cultures are both a Moroccan legacy. It is impossible to distinguish a Berber from an Arab without looking at their various ethnic origins. Moroccans have Berber, Arab, Sahraoui, Andalusian, and African origins, some of whom have been Arabised, others have been Berberised.

Guessous (ibid) admits that there is ambiguity in the attitudes of the political leaders and intellectuals toward Berber, and that this ambiguity must be avoided by taking clear stands on this topic. The same erosion and marginalisation have affected popular culture in general and Moroccan oral tradition in particular (see Ennaji 2000). There are two main reasons for this neglect. First, during colonisation, Arab nationalism used Islam and Arabic as two symbolic weapons against the colonial rule. Second, after independence, the ruling elite made mostly of nationalist leaders, opposed any kind of cultural diversity, in the sense that pluralism was considered a threat to national unity. Third, there is the security factor: Berber was marginalised for security reasons, because it was believed that it would encourage separatism among the population. This concern for unity was often supported by arguments from Islam and nationalism in the name of nation-state building, or in the name of pan-Arabism (the Arab *Umma* (nation), and of modernisation. As a consequence, the Berber cultural production has remarkably decreased because this heritage has become distant from the domains which contribute to sustainable development, like economy, information technology, education, and research. Gradually, Berber culture has been limited to a few groups or regions, and the Berber language has become confined to rural homes, children, women, and marginalised people (see Guessous 2002). This is the consequence of the dominant Arab-Islamic ideology which considers oral languages and cultures backward and too local to be appealing to the tastes of decision-makers. However, Berber is not a local or regional language, as it is spoken all over the country as well as in large parts of the Maghreb; it is, therefore, a national language which is relevant to all Moroccans, and imposes itself as a cultural issue which needs to be debated by all those concerned.

According to Chafik (1992), Classical Arabic was never imposed on Berbers; rather they accepted it as Classical Arabic was accompanied with Islam, to which Berbers converted. However, some Berber intellectuals would disagree with this opinion because they believe that Arabic and Islam were historically imposed on the native population in North Africa and that the regression of Berber has been caused by Islamisation which was used as an excuse for Arabisation (see Boukous 1995, Asid 2000).

Chafik (ibid) states that there is no danger in teaching Berber, but the real danger lies in invoking the separatist *Berber Dahir* or law every time one mentions the promotion of Berber on the grounds that this might endanger national unity. As mentioned above, the *Berber Dahir* was enacted in 1930 by the French colonisers to divide Morocco into Berber and Arab zones, in application of the divide-and-rule policy. Although this was perhaps the first time in history that Berber and Berbers were officially recognised as different from Arabic and Arabs, the former fought against this colonial policy in protection of the unity of their country, knowing that the aim of the French rulers was to weaken the nation's struggle for independence.

In a recent article, Boukous (2002) stresses the importance of mother tongue education. He states:

> *La légitimité de l'éducation en amazighe [Berber] étant reconnue par les conventions internationales, l'exclusion de l'amazighe de l'éducation est une mesure discriminatoire[...].Pour être efficient, l'enseignement de l'amazighe doit être national, obligatoire, généralisé et unifié.* Boukous (2002), *Le Monde Amazigh* of 30 October 2002, p.15.
> *[Given that the legitimacy of education in Berber has been recognised by international agreements, the exclusion of Berber from education is a discriminatory measure[...]. To be efficient, the teaching of Beber must be national, obligatory, generalised, and unified].*

In this quote, Boukous stresses the importance of introducing Berber in education. Further, he recommends that, to be efficient, the teaching of Berber ought to be compulsory and generalised across the country.

Overall, there is a national consensus that Berber language and culture are basic components of Moroccan identity which are to be promoted and preserved for they express cultural authenticity for Moroccans (see Ennaji 2003d). Berber language and culture can also be used to strengthen national solidarity and communication among the various segments of the Moroccan population.

In the following section, I will concentrate on students' attitudes toward Berber language and cultural identity.

Attitudes of Students

According to an investigation I undertook in 1997, based on interviews and a questionnaire that I administered to students at the University of Fès, it appears that 93% of Berberophones speak Berber mainly at home with family members, and 58% speak it in the street and with friends. Thus, it is safe to affirm that Berber is the language of home and friendship par excellence.

The second part of the questionnaire addressed issues related to attitudes toward Berber and ways of preserving the language. The findings reveal that the introduction of Berber in schools is favoured by almost all Berberophones and by 72% of Arabophones.

However, while 75% of Berberophones consider their language to be rich and beautiful, only a small number of non-native Berbers share this idea. On the other hand, many respondents state that Berber can be taught at all levels of education although most of them are for introducing Berber in primary schools (see Ennaji 1997).

On the whole, 83% of Berberophones and 58% of Arabophones respectively think that teaching is the best way to preserve the language. Over 56% of Berberophones state that writing is crucial for the promotion of the language, whereas, only 16% of Arabophone students think that Berber can be preserved by writing it. An average of 27% of all respondents think that Berber can be revitalised by government decision. A great majority (78%) of all respondents consider that introducing newscasts in Berber will undoubtedly have a major impact on the spread and revival of Berber.

A slight majority of students (58% of Berberophones and 53% of Arabophones) presume that Berber cannot disappear even if it remains uncodified or untaught. Obviously this is because (i) Berber has always shown staunch resistance to various dominant powers, with the latest being the French and Spanish colonial powers, and (ii) Berber is the mother tongue of over 40% of the overall population. By contrast an average of 45% predict that Berber will eventually disappear if it is not codified or taught in schools.

As for the issue whether Berber ought to be considered "a dialect" or "a language", 86% of Arabophones consider it a dialect, as it is not written, whereas 69% of Berberophones state that it is a language. An informant said "I express my solidarity with those who militate for the revival and recognition of Berber, and I wish Berber could have the status of a second language after Classical Arabic". Another respondent stated, "I prefer that Morocco adopt one language, i. e. Arabic, because it is known by everybody, and it is a symbol of national unity".

In fact, most respondents agree that although Berber needs to be preserved, Classical Arabic should unquestionably remain the official language because (i) it is the language of Islam, (ii) it is a language of wider communication in the Arab world, and (iii) it is the language of a great literary tradition with no native speakers but which everybody learns at school. A fundamentalist student remarked that "Berber is a great heritage and a property of the Islamic *Umma* (world). But if it is a national project which seeks to encourage secularisation, this will create division."

Regarding the question of introducing Berber in schools, a slight majority (57%) of interviewees responded that it may be a positive move, provided that the pedagogical tools and the language policy adopted are adequate and suitable. Thus, a student stated that "although I am Berber, I am against teaching Berber in schools because this will have disastrous political consequences". A remark made by another interviewee goes like this: "There is no harm in teaching Berber, but the harm may come from extremists or some Berber fanatics." Another student answered: "I prefer that Berber be taught as an optional course". A further remark made by a student reads: "Because Berber is spoken in many parts of the country, it ought to be taught starting from primary education". Yet another interviewee remarked "the teaching of Berber will be of use at university, especially in the linguistics option; apart from that, it has no big importance". Another student said "Berber could be taught in the areas where it is spoken as a native language". "Although I do not speak Berber, I think that it should be taught in all levels of education; if foreign languages are taught in Morocco, why leave out Berber?", another student remarked.

These contradictory attitudes toward the introduction of Berber in education may be accounted for by the fact that (i) Berber has been marginalised for centuries, (ii) this is the first time in Moroccan contemporary history that Berber may be introduced as a component in the official educational system, and (iii) Berber is not yet codified nor standardised and has many dialects, as already mentioned (cf. Ennaji 1997 for details).

Attitudes of Berber NGOs

For Berber NGOs, the number of which has multiplied since 1994, if the goal of democracy in Morocco is to foster global development through the active participation of all citizens in political, social, and economic institutions, then linguistic rights must be respected as they are an integral part of human rights. Linguistic and cultural pluralism in Morocco is a normal way of life which ought to be considered a rich resource for development. This kind of pluralism enhances national unity and cultural authenticity, and promotes understanding, dialogue, and a sense of common fate.

Berber activists today also use new communication technology (computers, internet) to help spread Berber and to join forces in the struggle for the promotion of Berber language and culture. Through Amazigh-net, an electronic mailing list established in 1992, the Berber cause has taken an international dimension (see Bouzida 1994). Currently, there are several other dozen websites that are concerned with the question of Berber identity and strategies to implement the language into the curriculum and media. Prior to the internet, the Berber identity was an internal question, in the sense that the Berbers of Morocco did not know about other Berbers in Algeria, Tunisia, Lybia, or Mali. Given the fact that the Berber populations are in discontinuous zones and are divided regionally as subgroups, each assumed that their problems were local and did not have any significance to others.

Through Amazigh-net, the different groups log on daily to discuss the urgent issues related to the language and strategies of introducing it in schools. With the internet, Berbers from all over the world have established a Virtual Speech Community through which they have access to the various problems relating to their language and cultural identity. Furthermore, a large number of Berberophone intellectuals have committed their lives to establishing awareness of the Amazigh existence. Academics, linguists, researchers, and artists contributed to the revitalisation of Berber language and culture. They have produced several textbooks, grammars, dictionaries, anthologies, music and art, as well as computer fonts. As a result of such a commitment, the authorities in Morocco (and Algeria) have been pressured to recognise Berber language and culture.With the availability of audio-cassette recorders, the Berber population gained the opportunity to articulate its distinct identity, leading Mohamed Chafik (1992) to express the Amazigh pride and to argue that *Imazighen* are Muslims but not Arabs. Thus, Chafik (idem) helped to resolve a confusion that for decades the State and the nationalist political parties tried to impose on Berbers. Through the internet, the Berbers have identified themselves as a distinct cultural group.

Modern technology has increased cultural safeguards, such as folklore, music, and some print media. This technological progress is an extremely powerful tool for preserving and shaping the identity of minorities. It provides a means for the expression of oppressed voices that is less subject to government control than newspapers, magazines, radio, television, and cinema. Different ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups are using the new technology to reconstruct their identities. Hargreaves (1994: 10) writes,

> *what we are witnessing here is the emergence, in the context of postmodernity, of the voices of those who have previously been unheard, neglected, rejected, ignored – the voices of those who have been marginalized and dispossessed.*

Berbers are among those indigenous peoples who have been neglected and dispossessed.

Until recently, the image of Berbers was associated with folklore, traditional dance, and entertainment. Through the Moroccan National Radio and Television (RTM, TVM), the State had the monopoly over the production of music and all the other media. Alongside Egyptian music and some of the national modern songs, folk dance and music were for a long time the predominant form of entertainment. When cheap portable audio-cassette recorders came on the market, they began to replace the reel to reel tape decks and the record players. Cassette recorders provided Moroccans not only with the option to record and play their favourite music, but also to use them as a form of communication on a mass scale. The illiterate emigrants in Europe found the audio-cassette recorders useful in corresponding with their families in Morocco instead of asking a stranger to write for them a letter. Inside Morocco, cassette recorders facilitated communication between men and women who found themselves locked behind the doors of their homes. Couples who were in love with each other found cassette recorders very useful for the exchange of their secrets. The availability of VCRs also helped increase Berbers' awareness of their distinct culture and group identity (cf. Almasude 1993).

In addition, audio-cassette recorders were powerful forces for the youth who took the opportunity to express their everyday concerns and aspirations. They produced hundreds of songs and poems. The young poets and singers' concerns included values, love, social injustice, poverty, migration, etc. The success of such productions led to the creation of dozens of influential Berber cultural associations interested in promoting Berber language and culture and sensitising the public and the government about the existence of Berbers.

Berber activists have sought to show their people as a unified linguistic and cultural group deserving an important place in society. They criticise the absence of Berber from school and history books and protest the relegation of Berber to second-class status. Berber activists argue that time has now come to shrug off the effects of Arabisation, which they blame for the high illiteracy rate in Morocco because Berber children drop out when confronted with teachers who speak only Arabic. They demand the introduction of Berber in the educational system, more than token time on television, and the recognition of Berber as an official language.

For these reasons, Islamists accuse Berbers of alienation, treachery, and of disseminating the Francophone ideology of the former colonial power. Berber militants are also accused of longing back for the days when French was most predominant in Moroccan schools and administration, and the French rulers worked hard to Westernise Moroccans.

Although Islamists have more political influence than Berber activists, the latter have started to fight back, especially since King Mohammed VI, who ascended the throne in 1999, has loosened the controls on political expression. Asid (2000) states: "in the 1970s all we wanted was parity with Arabic; now, after 30 years without change, the extremists are calling for Tamazight (Berber) supremacy. The battle has begun." Thus, Berber calls to re-examine Moroccan society have grown louder.

However, not all Berbers agree. Some ardently support the Berber cause by funding activists groups , while others are passive. Ahmed Lousoure, a 34 year-old factory manager in Casablanca says: "What good is Berber outside of Morocco? Our king is trying to modernise the country, not take a step back." There are also divisions among Berber activists. Some militants are pushing for a political party exclusively for Berbers, while moderates worry that such a party would be interpreted as separatist.

As mentioned earlier, not all Berbers are proud of their mother tongue. As a consequence of the policy of Arabisation, which sought to assimilate Berbers to Arabic cutural identity, many Berber natives are ashamed to speak Berber in the street or to openly identify as Berber.

According to an investigation by El Kirat (2001) on the Berbers of the Beni Iznassen community in the north-east of Morocco, it seems that this region, like many others, is witnessing severe language loss. Because of Arabisation, Berber in this speech community has been reduced to a minorty language, for most of its native speakers have been Arabised. El Kirat (idem) states that Berber is dying in this region, and the chances of its survival are small. Her respondents, who frequently shift from Berber to Moroccan Arabic, "are aware of their Berber origin but give more importance to Muslim and Arabic identity". Only few Berber-Moroccan Arabic mothers have transmitted Berber to their children, as females emphasise the importance of Arabic and insist on teaching it to their children. In this case, there is no major distinction between male and female, the old and the new generations. Perhaps the main difference is that the old master and speak both Berber and Moroccan Arabic, while the young have a passive knowledge of Berber. Young male and female people hold negative attitudes toward their language and deny their Berber cultural identity because they think Moroccan Arabic is more useful. Most of the children aged fifteen and below speak Moroccan Arabic as their first language and hide their Berber origin. In urban areas, Berber natives often avoid speaking their mother tongue lest they be identified as Berber. "Let's not speak Berber because the Arabs will laugh at us", is a redundant remark that a Berber may make in the street to his Berberophone friend. At the age of four, this author's eldest son, who spoke Berber as his first language, suddenly refused to learn or hear Berber at home, because his mates laughed at him when he spoke Berber at a school in the city of Fès.

The Beni Iznassen situation mentioned above is a clear case of language shift and language loss. Berber bilinguals in this region seem to have collectively chosen to give up their mother tongue in favour of Moroccan Arabic, which is less stigmatised than Berber. This is in accordance with Dressler's (1989) idea of language death which occurs when "the victorious language slowly replaces the dying language". This situation also seems to suggest that bilingualism is "a transitional stage towards Arabic monolingualism" (El Kirat 2001).

However, it is Berber language and culture that give Morocco its specificity and that make it culturally and historically distinct from other Maghreb or Arab countries (Sadiqi 2003). Attitudes toward Berber have known a positive evolution along the scale: neutral (1970s), tolerant (1980s) and favourable (1990s). As a result of this positive change, most officials and non-officials have used Berber as a tool for the democratisation and laicisation of the country, and for sensitising people of the advantages of multilingualism and multiculturalism. The youth have begun to accept their Berber identity and to reconcile with their origins and cultural authenticity.

For native Berber-speakers, the vitality of their language indicates the vitality of their identity as a group within a society that is officially described as monolingual. They are now determined to fight for the national status of their language in the presence of the supremacy of authoritative Arabic. Unlike in many African countries where indiginous minority languages were soon recognised as national languages, Berber is still marginalised, despite its official recognition. The main reason for this marginalisation is the government and political parties' fear that Berber may be politically exploited by secessionists or become a source of political unrest or racial conflicts. At best, as we have already seen, right-wing political parties consider the linguistic claims of Berber activists a controversial issue which may give vent to strong emotional and nationalist feelings. Proponents of Arabisation oppose the official recognition of Berber, a policy which Berber natives refute because it is not founded on Islamic principles nor does it obey universal human rights. Berbers generally align with the modernists who do not support total and rapid Arabisation, and think that French is more useful than Arabic for the development of Morocco. Berber militants argue that Arabic-Berber bilingualism has always existed and is still powerful in the Moroccan linguistic market today, and that despite centuries of the exclusion of their language and culture, Berbers have become Muslim but not Arab. Historically, as freedom-fighters, Berbers resisted many foreign powers, and their presence in North Africa goes back 5,000 years(see Faiq 1999).

What is still demanded by Berber activists is the recognition, by the Moroccan constitution, of Berber as an official language, and the provision of facilities and infrastructure to introduce it in schools, as a prerequisite for the promotion of Berber culture. Perhaps all this will be attained with the efforts of

the newly-created Royal Institute of Berber Culture (IRCAM). The extent to which this will actually be the case would, however, have to await the outcome of the language and education policy adopted. The promotion of Berber to the status of a national language is a matter of state decision, and it has been a major concern and characteristic of nation-states since their creation.

This sociolinguistic situation conforms to the general above-mentioned characterisation of the interface between language and political power. We have considered, albeit very briefly, a number of issues relevant to the interaction between political conflict and language in Morocco, including the institution of a new language policy and a national charter for education which seek, among other things, to accommodate Berber language and culture as a reflex of Morocco's pluralism and nation-state building side by side with Arabic.

Attitudes Toward Arabisation

The policy of Arabisation confirms the Arab-Islamic ideological orientations of the country, which most Moroccans share. It is a fundamental goal and feature of independent Morocco. The new ruling elite have sought to Arabise Morocco and to make Arabic the only national official language because they probably think that the population Morocco is not yet fully an Arabic-speaking nation, much less an Arab country.

The mention of Arabic as the only official language, and the statement that Islam is the State religion in the constitution form only part of the definition of Moroccan identity and citizenship, for one has to add the Berber language and cultural identity.

Grandguillaume (1998) and Berger (2002) draw an interesting parallel between the repression of mother tongues and the marginalisation of women in the Maghreb. Like mother tongues, the status of women is low, and their role is secondary in the postcolonial era, although during the colonial period, they actively participated in the struggle for independence. The family law adopted after independence aimed to restrict women's activities and subjuguate them to the power of men. It prevented them from becoming full citizens in their own right. Today, Islamist fudamentalists encourage women to wear the veil (*hijab*). For Berger (2002), there is a correlation between the mother tongue and the veil, since both symbolise Muslim women's cultural identity. Similarly, there is a relationship between the oppression of women and the marginalisation of mother tongues. When women are veiled, it is the mother tongue which is repressed. Under these conditions, the unveiled woman and the mother tongue are shameful and unappreciated. The mother tongue is then turned into a variety spoken by mothers, women, girls, and children or between adults in their capacity as

old children. The Algerian Francophone writer Kateb Yacine states that by writing in French, "I had lost at once my mother and her language, the only inalienable treasures".

This situation reflects the Muslim fundamentalists' idea that women should be barred from national space unless they are veiled. Arabisation, like veiling, is a return to the past, and as Berger(2002) mentioned, Standard Arabic is symbolically similar to the *hijab*. Like Arabisation, the veil's function is to assert the Muslim identity. Like Islam, Standard Arabic is brandished by nationalists to secure the national symbolic frontiers while indicating its significant place among Arab-Islamic nations.

Sadiqi (2003: Chapter 3) states that Berber is a female language, while Standard Arabic is a male language. The latter is used by educated men in formal settings, whereas French is preferred especially by educated urban women (see Chapter Eight).

The 'phallicisation' of the official language and its users is not a phenomenon that is uniquely Moroccan or Maghrebi. Rather it is a common characteristic of nation-state building (see Berger 2002). During the French revolution at the end of the eighteenth century, for example, French was predominantly a male language, as the objective was to modernise France and build a new French nation based on the 'virilisation' of the national official language.

In post-independent Morocco and the Maghreb, Standard Arabic is presented as having a double role; on the one hand, it has the role of fighting against the domination of French, the colonial language, to attain cultural and linguistic independence. On the other hand, Standard Arabic has the important role of marginalising the mother tongues (Moroccan Arabic and Berber), and rendering them effiminate and weak, in order to achieve unity and subjugation of the people (cf. Berger 2002). The aim also was to confine women to domestic space, thus distancing them from competition or power negotiation with men.

Today, the acquisition of Standard Arabic by Moroccan educated women means that they have freed themselves of French as the colonial language, and that they can go beyond the domestic sphere, escaping the hardships and injustices undergone by their mothers. Thus, we might claim that Arabisation has contributed to introduce significant changes in gender roles and relations.

Arabisation is, therefore, a postcolonial reaction to the French colonial power which considered Arabic a foreign language and denied it any place in education. Arabisation, as alluded to above, is a way of consolidating political independence and social justice, as French-educated Moroccans had access to high positions barred to the majority of the population which was illiterte (see Ennaji 2003b). It fosters the continuity of the nationalist discourse which appeared during the fight for

independendence. Arabisation is seen by nationalists as a way of redistributing wealth after decades of colonial rule, and in the aftermath of independence, when Francophones dominated economic and political life. Arabisation also makes it possible to have an equitable sharing of Moroccan resources. Conservative religious intellectuals believe that the social decline of post-independence is to be ascribed to the "persistence of secular and French influence" (Gafaïti 2002). It is therefore possible that the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in the 1990s is linked to the Arabisation policy, which has been used as an instrument to gain access to powerful positions and to jobs that were exclusively reserved for the French-educated (cf. Willis 1997).

There are two types of Arabisation: "corpus Arabisation" and "Arabisation as a language planning policy" (see Ennaji and Sadiqi 1994: 103). While corpus Arabisation is concerned with the modernisation and standardisation of, for example, Arabic vocabulary and structure, Arabisation as policy aims at introducing Arabic in all active fields including the private sector, science and technology. Its goal is to supplant French by Standard Arabic (see Ennaji 1988, and El biad 1985).

Corpus Arabisation has been relatively successful, for Arabic has been remarkably developed and modernised since independence. The domains in which Standard Arabic is employed have drastically increased in number. Standard Arabic has become so popular that it competes with French in domains such as education and administration.

However, Arabisation as policy has known some difficulties, due to the fact that French still predominates in Higher Education, Ministries of Post and Telecommunications, Health, Transport, Finance, Fishing Industry, Agriculture, Commerce and Industry, Tourism, Planning, Equipment, and the private sector, where science and technology play a crucial role. Arabisation as a language planning policy is favoured by most people, for Standard Arabic is associated with the national identity and culture. As we shall see shortly, Arabisation is favoured by many people because Standard Arabic reflects Islam, national unity and cultural identity.

There are at least two major attitudes toward Arabisation: the attitude of the *Arabisants* (Arabic-educated intellectuals and politicians) and that of the *Françisants* (French-educated elite). The *Arabisants* are composed of people who have had a traditional Arabic-style education either in Morocco or in the Middle East (notably, in Elazhar University in Egypt). They are generally Arabic or Islamic studies teachers, lawyers or administrators. They advocate total Arabisation and the exclusion of French from all the active sectors. This type of discourse goes back to the colonial period when Arabic was used as a crucial weapon, along with Islam, to rally the masses in the fight against colonisation. As we had cause to mention earlier, the strongest advocate of total and rapid Arabisation is the right-wing

Istiqlal party and the Muslim fundamentalists, namely *Al Adl wa Al Ihssane* (Justice and Charity) and "Parti de Justice et Développement" (Party of Justice and Development), who have constantly used their press to denigrate and denounce the dominant place of French in administration and education. As a case in point, the Arabic daily *Al-Alam* (18 August, 1991) states in an editorial that the presence of French is a "colonial linguistic invasion and that a secret war is waged against Arabic, the language of the Holy Qur'an" .

Some Muslim fundamentalists go even further to claim that only Classical Arabic is worth teaching and learning because it reflects Muslim tradition, beliefs and values (see Yassine 1997: 169). Foreign languages are to be banned because they express corrupt Western values, while the local vernaculars, Moroccan Arabic and Berber are to be eradicated because, according to them, they are divisive and perpetuate the danger of ethnic hostilities. Abdessalam Yassine, the leader of the Muslim fundamentalist association *Al Adl wa Al Ihssane* states

> *Quoique étant de descendance berbère, je suis arabe, je parle arabe et je suis arabe de coeur, d'âme et de langue. Ceux qui ne sont pas arabes sentent mieux que ceux qui sont arabes l'importance et l'essentialité de l'arabe, de la langue arabe, de l'arabité.* (cited in Burgat 1988:42).
> *[Even though I am of Berber origin, I am Arab, I speak Arabic and I am Arab at heart, in my soul and by language. Those who are not Arab sense better than those who are Arab the importance of Arabic, and the Arab identity.]*

However, it can be argued that it is the mother tongues (i.e. the vernaculars) that embody authenticity, culture, and identity (see Grandguillaume 1991). Moroccan Arabic and Berber are connected with everyday life, cultural oral tradition, and modernity. They are more subject to change than the learned languages, as they are the source of authentic creativity, essentially in songs and theatre. We may cite *Mohamed Rouicha, Fatima Tihihit* for Berber, and *Nass Elghiwan, Jil Jilala, El Mchaheb,* or the *Raï* singers like *Chab Mimoun* for Moroccan Arabic. These singers associate tradition and modernity in their creative work and have gained fame and popularity, especially among the youth.

The opposite attitude is held by the "Françisants", who have been educated in French (in Morocco or in the West). They hold positions in higher education, public administration, and the private sector; they are

generally decision-makers, government civil servants, engineers, doctors, scientists, architects, military or police officers, foreign language teachers, and the like. They have a moderate and pragmatic attitude toward the Arabisation policy and favour French-Standard Arabic bilingualism. For them, Classical Arabic alone cannot take up all the domains of use of French like science and technology because it is not yet fully prepared and modernised. The late King Hassan II declared:

> *Je demande de ne pas condamner le Maroc à perpétuité en voulant instituer l'arabisation à outrance...je m'opposerai à cette arabisation systématique. Je considère une telle conception comme attentatoire à la dignité et à la liberté des marocains.* Hassan II, 1995.
> *[I demand that Morocco should not be condemned forever to excessive Arabisation...I will oppose systematic Arabisation. I consider this policy a violation of Moroccans' dignity and freedom.]*

Similarly, the king declared in his 1978 speech in Ifrane that "If Arabisation is a duty, bilingualism is a necessity". For the *Françisants* or the modernists, French-Standard Arabic bilingualism will limit the influence and hegemony of Arabic in the linguistic market, and at the same time contribute to the modernisation of Arabic in the sense that it will provide Arabic with new terminology which can then be translated or transferred into Arabic. Lakhdar-Ghazal (1976:64), ex-director of the Institute of Arabisation in Rabat, stated that a foreign language like French will not only contribute to the modernisation of Standard Arabic, but will also lead to more openness and more progress: "la langue étrangère peut non seulement aider la langue arabe dans sa réforme, mais encore maintenir l'ouverture indispensable pour le monde du progrès" (cf. Also Ennaji 1988, 1991, 1999; Mouhssine 1995; El biad 1995, among others).

Thus, Arabisation in Morocco is still a controversial issue as there are disagreements between all groups of protagonists. The traditionalists advocate full Arabisation in education and administration and a return to traditional lifestyle and Arab-Muslim roots. As for the modernists (*Françisants*), they reject systematic Arabisation and favour the consolidation of French to help modernise the educational system. The nationalists broadly agree with the modernists because they believe that Arabic-French bilingualism can contribute to the modernisation of the country and prepare it for a better future. All in all, Arabisation is intimately linked to nationalism, cultural emotions and politics, and its advocates ignore the attitudes of the modernists or of the Berber activists who disfavour systematic Arabisation. Since its implementation in the 1960s,

Arabisation has rekindled Berbers' pride in cultural identity, and subsequently led to their endeavour to secure national status for the Berber language (see Faik 1999).

Successive governments in post-independence needed to muzzle mother tongues, particularly Berber to impose Arabisation on the whole country. Indeed the existence of Berber, which goes back to the pre-Islamic period, is a reminder that there were historical periods when Berber was well and flourishing, and that Morocco was not culturally and linguistically a blank sheet before the Arabs arrived.[2]

The sacredness of Arabic is accounted for by the fact that it is conflated with Islam. This is not only a matter of form, since Arabisation in a way continues the job of acculturation that French started. Given the pedagogical methods used in teaching Arabic, the inadequate textbooks used, and the weight allotted to the teaching of the Islamic religion, the educational system has brought about tension and anxiety among the youth and their parents because it is divorced from the Moroccan sociolinguistic and cultural context.

The results upon which the following discussion is based are taken from a sociolinguistic survey which investigated attitudes toward Arabisation and are reported in detail in Ennaji (2002a). The attitudes were elicited through two questionnaires submitted to 112 university students and 19 teachers at the Institute of Technology in Fès. As in other technical schools of higher education, French is the language of instruction in this institution. In fact, the most crucial problems posed by Arabisation are encountered in scientific and technical schools, where fresh students realize that the medium of instruction is French, not Classical Arabic, unlike in high school (see Mouhssine 1995, Ennaji 2002a). Many students strikes have taken place at the University of Fès since the academic year 1990-1991 when the first Arabised science students reached university level. Today, first year students are slightly better prepared to study sciences in French because at the high school level, they are taught more French and they have a translation course where Arabic terminology is translated into French, and at the Faculty of Science, they take a terminology course in Arabic and French in first year. One way to resolve this problem is to reinforce Standard Arabic-French bilingual education and teach French for specific purposes.

All the students investigated had an Arabised Baccalaureate (high school certificate). Bilingual Berberophones constituted 28% of the targeted student population, half of whom said they acquired Arabic at home and half said they learned it at school. The students' sample included 80 males and 32 females, the ages of whom ranged from 19 to 22 years. As for the teachers, they were 15 males and 4 females, and their age varied from 29 to 48.

The findings show that only 24 % of students consider that they have a good or a very good mastery of spoken Standard Arabic, and 27 % of them

think they can write it well. Teachers' proficiency does not fare any better as 36 % state they have adequate competence in Standard Arabic, and 33% of them claim they can write Arabic well. Less than half of the students and about half of the teachers think they have average proficiency in Standard Arabic. The fact that the majority of students and teachers considered their competence in Standard Arabic to be average leads us to conclude that such a percentage is only indicative and may serve to show signs of uncertainty as to the respondents' proficiency in Standard Arabic. This also indicates that the informants seem to have doubts about their ability to use the language. Students' as well as teachers' competence in French is much better than in Standard Arabic. Students claim that their spoken French is better than their written French: 57% think they can speak French very well or fluently, while 53% state that they can write it well or perfectly well.

According to the survey, teachers' judgement of their students' proficiency in French is alarming: an average of 44% think that the students' written French is worse than their spoken French; Only 11% of teachers state that students' speaking is very fluent and 8% think the same of the students' written performance. This is far from surprising in view of the fact that all these students evolved in an Arabised system of education, since all the science subjects are taught in Arabic in primary and high schools but in French in university.

Students' and teachers' attitudes slightly differ; while 58% of students think that Arabic is not good enough for teaching science, no less than 64% of teachers have the same attitude.

	Arabic isn't a science language	Arabic is a science language	Science textbooks in Arabic are lacking	Arabic is a language of literature
Students	58%	42%	46%	51%
Teachers	64%	36%	75%	83%

Table 9: Students' and teachers' attitudes toward Arabic as a language of science (Source: Ennaji 2002a)

The interpretation one can make regarding the attitudes in Table 9 is twofold: first, respondents' positive attitudes toward Standard Arabic may be expressive of their aspiration to reform the status of Standard Arabic and

develop it as a language of science; second, the priority they give to French as the medium of instruction may be an indication of their belief that Standard Arabic is still unfit to replace French in scientific and technical subjects.

	For Arabisation in Higher Education	Against Arabisation in Higher Education	Arabisation improved learning standards	Arabisation has clear objectives	No answer
Students	39%	61%	38%	21%	1%
Teachers	19%	81%	28%	44%	1%

Table 10: Attitudes toward Arabisation and Education (Source: Ennaji 2002a)

The findings in Table 10 above show that 39% of students are for extending Arabisation to university level; this contrasts with teachers who believe that Arabisation will not serve higher education (81%). These contradictory attitudes may be accounted for by the fact that, having been taught scientific subjects in Standard Arabic in primary and secondary schools, students prefer to continue with Standard Arabic rather than switch to French, in which their competence generally leaves much to be desired. This is all the more confirmed by their claim that Arabisation has somehow improved their learning achievements. However, teachers disagree with this claim, as only 28% state that Arabisation helped to improve school standards. Their teaching/learning experience leads them to conclude that Arabisation has not improved standards, given the shortage of scientific reference books in Arabic. As a result, many students and teachers resort to Moroccan Arabic in the classroom. Thus, most of the respondents think that the Arabisation policy has been implemented in primary and secondary education in an over-hasty way without considering the multilingual context and without taking into account the attitudes of the overall Moroccan population.

Concerning attitudes toward French-Standard Arabic bilingualism, the results reveal that both students and teachers favour French-Standard Arabic bilingualism in education. This reaction could be perceived as a positive attitude toward French. Bilingualism is, thus, viewed by many as having a fundamental role in strengthening the cultural and economic

contacts with Europe and the West.

	Favourable	Unfavourable	No answer
Students	73%	14%	13%
Teachers	78%	19%	3%

Table 11: Attitudes to French- Standard Arabic Bilingualism
(Source: Ennaji 2002a)

Most of the informants prefer bilingualism, which they view as a good basis for the development of the Moroccan system of education. French is to be kept as the medium of instruction for the sciences and Standard Arabic for the humanities. This kind of bicultural aspect will bring about a double culture (Arab-Muslim and Western), which will enable the country as a whole to catch up with the modern world; French is considered an appropriate tool for meeting the modern needs of society and for broadening the cultural horizons of Moroccans.

The data collection and the findings mentioned above reveal ambivalent attitudes toward language contact, Arabisation, bilingualism, and education in Morocco. This ambivalence reflects a great deal of concern among the young for ethnic identity and cultural authenticity. In fact, the answers embody two types of attitude and motivation. The first one, which is integrative, seeks to revive cultural authenticity and national identity (through the revival of the national languages). It seeks to reinforce the unification of the people and their sense of belonging to one nation. The second one, which is instrumental, expresses the desire to achieve development and progress (through the use of foreign languages, namely, French and English).

Therefore, although Arabisation is a popuar national policy, especially among the traditionalists and nationalists who seek to preserve their culture that was partly destroyed by the French colonial power, it is clear that Arabisation in education and administration has been carried out hastily and often in an erratic manner, without consulting the population concerned or taking time to elicit their development needs. Furthermore, the quality of teaching has declined not only because of Arabisation but also because this policy was implemented by young often untrained Moroccan

teachers. Morocco's problems are not to be blamed solely on Arabistion; the quality of both Arabophone and Francophone education suffered from bad management and irrational national politics as well.

Attitudes toward French

Many studies and investigations have been conducted about the attitudes of Moroccans toward French. Among these works, we find Abbassi (1977), Gravel (1979), Bentahila (1983a), El Biad (1991), El Gherbi (1993), Boukous (1995), and Benzakour and Gaadi (2000).

In the minds of Moroccans, French is associated with decision-makers, firm managers, presidents of private companies, military officers, engineers, computer scientists, researchers and the like. For most Moroccans, French is synonymous with the Western way of life and modernity. In fact, as a language of universal culture, modernity and upper/middle class, French continues to attract the attention and interest of most Moroccans. In addition, French allows those who do not belong to a socio-economically rich class to value themselves socially; it can be used to affirm one's socio-cultural status and impress one's interlocutors.

There exist four general types of attitude toward French. First, the ruling elite has always been in favour of French because more than 75% of Morocco's economic relations are with France, given the historical and cultural links between the two countries.

Second, there is the attitude of the progressive forces, which is also favourable because most of the progressive intellectuals are Arabic-French bilinguals since they have studied French and have acquired the French lifestyle and sociocultural manners (see Ennaji 1991).

The third attitude is that of the Arabic purists and Muslim fundamentalists who are rather unfavourable to French. They argue that French should not be adopted as a second language, and that more weight is to be given to Arabic, the language of Islam. For them, French has colonial overtones and is associated with Western corrupt beliefs and values which are unacceptable in a Muslim country (see Mouhssine 1995).

The fourth attitude reflects ordinary people's viewpoints. Most Moroccan people favour the use of French hand in hand with Standard Arabic. They are for a balanced type of bilingualism, for they are aware of the importance of French for achieving a modern education, social promotion, and economic success. They have a pragmatic attitude by adopting Arabic as the language of national unity and cultural authenticity, and French as a window on the Western world and as the language of science and technology. Most Moroccans are keen on finding a balance between these two languages for what they stand for (see Chapter Nine).

On the whole, the majority of recent studies in the field, for example

Boukous (1997), and Benzakour and Gaadi (2000), confirm the positive attitude generally held by people and officials toward French. High-level civil servants are favourable to French, believing that it contributes to the development of Morocco (cf. Elbiad 1991).[3]

On another level, young educated Moroccan women tend to use French speaking skills extensively, particularly in urban zones, as a symbol of modernity and liberation (cf. Ennaji 1991, Ennaji and Sadiqi 1994, and Sadiqi 1995). Moroccan educated women are largely aware of the prestigious place of French in everyday life and transactions; by contrast, Standard Arabic assumes the same function for some politically engaged or Muslim fundamentalist women, as it allows them to convince other women of the political and religious orientations, or to enter the domains of religion and politics, spaces hitherto reserved for men. Like French, Standard Arabic helps them to evade the harsh conditions of women, more precisely the traditional and secluded life of monolingual women and to escape from the authority of their fathers and brothers. This situation is reminiscent of Suleiman's (1999) study of Jordanian women who tend to prefer urban to rural Arabic, as a case of "upward social convergence". To account for this phenomenon, we may state that women have a great awareness of social prestige values in society. In other terms, women are more prestige-and-status conscious than men (cf.Gadant 1995:227-228, Gill 1999, and Sadiqi 2003).

There are three types of discourse that can be distinguished in terms of attitudes: the modernist discourse, the Arab-Islamic disourse and the cultural discourse.

Advocates of the modernist discourse think that access to the modern world is possible mainly through French. For them, French has a crucial role in the evolution and integration of Morocco in the world economy and in the international community. By means of French, Morocco has managed to keep a balance between modernity and tradition. It is one of the reasons why Muslim fundamentalism has less influence in Moroccan society than in the Middle East, for example. The unique geographical position of Morocc is also a factor which enhances a positive and flexible attitude toward French. The latter has, thus, enabled Moroccans to remain open to and tolerant of Western values. Through French, Moroccans have access to modern technology, information, and universal knowledge.

Arab-Islamic discourse is sustained by the Arabised elite and Muslim fundamentalists, who think that the predominance of French after independence is an anachronism and a humiliation to Moroccan society. The presence of French is regarded as a sign of alienation and cultural colonisation (see Ghallab 1999). For the Arabised elite, Arabisation can save national identity from assimilation to the Western culture that was first imposed by colonisation and was later continued through the multiple

asymmetrical economic and cultural exchanges with the Western world. For this group, Classical/Standard Arabic must be used in all domains and sectors to eradicate cultural, political, and economic dependence. Yet, after four decades of Arabisation, their attitude has started to change. Thus, they argue that French must be limited to certain technical domains rather than be rejected. As a matter of fact, most leaders of these right wing political parties send their children to French schools. Arabisation, thus, does not imply the rejection of foreign languages, nor the refusal of technological and cultural progress. Nonetheless, Arabisation implies that Classical/Standard Arabic should be given its due importance in Moroccan society.

This situation has given rise to a heated ideological debate between the left wing parties ("Union Socialiste des Forces Populaires", "Parti du Progrès et du Socialisme", etc.) which favour Arabic-French bilingualism, and the right wing parties (*Istiqlal* Party, "Parti de la Justice et du Développement"), which are fervent advocates of total Arabisation. The Arabic press in particular has lodged many complaints about the strong place of French, which still has the negative connotation of a colonial language (see the daily *Al-Alam* of Jan.3, 1973). But at any rate, many Moroccan intellectuals are attached to French and have no complex using it. The active presence of Morocco in the Francophone countries' organisation is a vivid illustration of its openness and attachment to the French language and culture.

One the other hand, the cultural anthropological discourse specifies that access to a foreign language like French is necessary for the individual's and nation's development. The French-Arabic conflict can be resolved by associating each language with its domains of use. For example, Standard Arabic is reserved for internal communication in domains such as administration and education, whereas French is for external communication and for domains such as science, technology, and modern sectors. In this way, efficiency will be achieved and cultural identity can be preserved.

Attitudes toward English

Officials and the ruling elite favour English in Morocco. Their children learn English starting from an early age in American and British centres. This positive attitude, as already mentioned, is also attested in the National Charter of Education, which plans to introduce English in the fifth grade of primary public education starting from september 2004. The creation of Al-Akhawayn University and the launching of many private English institutes of higher education also show Moroccan officials' clearly positive attitude toward the promotion of English.

Most educated people like English and would like to see their children learn it. Progressive and conservative parties advocate the teaching of English, which has no colonial overtones, as mentioned above. Most intellectuals favour English because they see it as the language of international communication, technology, and economic exchange. They prefer, when they have the opportunity or when they can afford it, to send their children to North American and British universities, which are generally thought to be of high quality, and which are favoured by young Moroccan students.

English is regarded by Moroccan students as being more flexible than French. They think so because they have a background in French which structurally and lexically resembles English. The fact that Moroccan students know French facilitates their learning of English (see Miller 1994). Many Moroccan students tend to turn to English not only because they find it easier to learn, but also because it is an important international language. Additionally, they are less socially penalised when they make mistakes in English than in French.

The aims of teaching English at the national level are cultural, socio-economic and educational. It is taught to develop communication, cultural exchange with the English-speaking countries, and to contribute to the socio-economic development of Morocco in general. To achieve these objectives, students are trained in the different study skills which are meant to solidify their intellectual abilities and prepare them for the job market. However, given the high unemployment among university graduates, this aim is difficult to attain. Thus, it is plausible to state that English studies essentially participate in the process of enlightenment, promotion of the intellect, knowledge of the world, and cultural exchanges with English-speaking countries.

According to a survey I carried out mong university students in Fès in 1990, most of them opt for English for cultural and utilitarian reasons. They study English because they want to learn about other cultures, mainly British and American societies. They also think that knowing English can help them find a job or further their studies abroad. Most of the respondents (76%) agree that studying English will develop their awareness and understanding of the cultures of English-speaking societies; a total of 59% also agree that English may help Morocco develop educational and cultural exchanges with other countries. In addition, 72% of respondents state that they study English to be able to find a good job, while 81% agree that they learn English to be able to pursue their studies abroad. Their parents are generally in favour of English; thus, 83% of respondents state that their parents encourage them to learn English. Similarly, 72% of students hold a

favourable attitude to British and American traditions and cultures, and 89% of them find British and American people nice and friendly (cf. Ennaji 1990).

Implications for Language Policy and Language Planning

It follows from the above sections that when it comes to language use and attitudes in Morocco, a confusion arises because the language policies adopted are impregnated with ideology, politics, nationalist feelings, and emotions. In addition, these policies often ignore the attitudes and needs of people who are likely to be directly affected, i.e., the Arabo-Berber population. As a case in point, the Arabisation policy has been implemented without taking into consideration the Berbers who do not all totally favour it. This is in line with Lewis' (1981:262) argument that

> *[...] no policy will succeed which does not do one of three things: conform to the expressed attitudes of those involved; persuade those who express negative attitudes about the rightness of the policy; or seek to remove the causes of the disagreement. In any case, knowledge about attitudes is fundamental to the formulation of a policy as well as to success in its implementation.*

In Morocco, none of the three strategies offered by Lewis (ibid) has been applied or taken into account in devising the language policies concerned. Neither the attitudes of Moroccans have been explored, nor have officials attempted to convince people of the appropriateness of their policies, nor have they tried to persuade those who are skeptical.

Unlike in other countries where minorities are officially recognised by the State, and attempts are made to meet their language requirements, the Moroccan officials, because of the existence of a large Berber population, have so far not succeeded in formulating and implementing the right language policies that would satisfy all parties concerned, i.e., advocates of Arabisation, the Berbers, and the modernists.

Thus, as in many situations of multilingualism, language shift and maintenance depicts a complex sociocultural image at the individual level, and provokes confusion in language choice and attitudes. This context brings about mixed feelings about the mother tongues, Arabic-French bilingualism and feelings of split loyalties, which show how loyalty to one's

mother tongue or national language can be in conflict with other languages in the linguistic market.

The situation outlined above accounts for the language tensions that link the linguistic issue to nationalism, cultural and identity claims, which often embody conflicting social projects.

Note

(1) A similar situation exists in Algeria, where according to Boucherit (2002), Algerians favour the use of an international language for pragmatic reasons and to satisfy the needs of modern society, despite claims for the reinforcement of Arabic and Berber out of nationalist or ethnic identity feelings. See also Gill (1999) who confirms that in Algeria, despite the Arabisation of the educational system, French is still widely used in active sectors like business and the media. In fact, many African countries need a world language to have access to science and modernity, regardless of what these countries do with the national languages (cf. Bamgbose 1991:2).

(2) Similar surveys carried out in Tunisia and Algeria confirm the general positive attitude held toward French. Respondents show their preference for French materials, courses and media because they are considered of a better quality. The use of French is also vital in securing a job or a service done quickly and in keeping the distance between speaker and addressee, or in preventing familiarity between, for example, teacher and student or between employer and employee. For further discussion, see Riahi (1970:132), Ounali (1970:205), and Gill 1999).

(3) Unlike in Morocco, where the authorities have been tolerant toward Berber, in Algeria, the governments adopted total Arabisation, banning the use of French in public administration. This linguistic war against French also led to the exclusion of Berber, thereby provoking violent protest movements and popular demonstrations (see Saadi-Mokrane 2002, Berger 2002).

CHAPTER TEN: LANGUAGE POLICY, LITERACY, AND EDUCATION

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with language policy, literacy, and education, with the aim of focusing on language planning, literacy and the school system. It shows that multilingualism in Morocco is a complex sociolinguistic phenomenon which entails cultural diversity, engendering language conflict, split loyalties, cultural identity awareness, a dichotomy between tradition and modernity, all having ramifications for language, gender, and education policies.

Multilingualism in Morocco has ramifications for literacy and education. Illiteracy is a major social and pedagogical concern, for it is very high, particularly among rural people and women. Illiteracy contributes to widening the socio-economic gap between lower and upper class people. For this reason, the government, led by the king, launched a vast campaign in 2001 to fight illiteracy by organising literacy courses in mosques all over the country. In November 2002, the newly formed government includes for the first time a national literacy department headed by a Secretary of State, the aim of which is to spread literacy in the country, as one of the priorities of this government.

Language Policy

It is hard to state whether Morocco or the Maghreb has an official language policy. Many researchers have asked this question, which they answered in contradictory terms depending on how one deals with language planning and language policy.

Many African countries adopt what Bamgbose (1991) calls " the Do-Nothing Policy", by declaring that the government is in favour of the mother tongue while doing nothing about it. In Kenya for instance, the government declared Swahili its national official language, while maintaining English and pursuing educational policies where English predominates.

According to Bamgbose, African governments avoid formulating their language policies to escape negative political reactions.

> *Language policies in Africa are characterized by avoidance, vagueness, arbitrariness, fluctuation, and declaration without implementation* (1991:111).

Vagueness is related to the same causes that bring about avoidance. Arbitrariness means that a policy decision is taken without a serious analysis of its feasibility and without any consultation with experts who are in a position to advise on the matter. On the other hand, vagueness refers to the decision-makers' lack of commitment toward a particular language policy.

Fluctuation in language policy is due to such factors as changes in government policies or to new ideas or practices recommended by commissions of inquiry. Declaration without implementation means, for example, that a government declares that it will introduce the mother tongue in education but does nothing to implement it, as the policy does not provide any mechanism of implementation. Avoidance in language policy means that the State avoids dealing with the issue.

The Constitution is the legal document in which the political, social, and economic major rules of conduct are defined, taking into consideration the aspirations of the people. Although a Constitution is subject to change, it includes elements of continuity. In the Moroccan Constitution, the features of sociopolitical continuity are Islam, the linguistic and cultural plurality of the Moroccan society and the monarchy.

Thus, in the case of Morocco, one can state that there exists a language policy although it is not clearly formulated; however, one may also state that there is no language policy, because of a lack of adequate language planning, despite many post-independence endeavours in this sense. Both statements are more or less valid; it all depends on the position one wants to take. As mentioned in Chapter Two, there are many paradoxes and contrasts in the case of Morocco's sociolinguistic situation. The reader must have realised by now that things are not always what they seem to be, especially in relation to language policy and language attitudes. If one adds to this fact the poor facilities and infrastructure available for schools and universities, one can understand why Moroccan education is in a real crisis today (cf. Chtatou 1994:45).

In the National Charter of Education, which outlines the language policy adopted by the State, the mother tongues (Berber and Moroccan Arabic) are marginalised as they are not considered languages of mass communication. Moroccan Arabic is excluded from education, while Berber is tentatively introduced in 300 primary schools for the first time in Moroccan history as of the school year 2003-2004. As mentioned in Chapters Four and Nine, Berber is still not recognised in the Constitution as

either an official language or a national language. Officially, there are current plans to standardise and codify Berber, but not Moroccan Arabic, by the Royal Institute of Berber Culture in Rabat (see Chapter Nine).

For lack of a better language policy, French, tends to dominate the linguistic market and to be imposed *de facto* as the "official language". In this context, French predominates in many vital sectors like administration, education, business, and the media. Most administrative paperwork is done in French despite the 1998 government decision to ban the use of French in administration correspondence. The influence of French is even stronger in the private sector where most dealings are carried out in French.

Unlike in the 1960s, in the aftermath of independence, when the ruling elite advocated the implementation of total Arabisation – which is still one of the demands of the conservative *Istiqlal* party and of the Muslim fundamentalists – today there is emphasis on the advantages of bilingualism and multilingualism, for as the late King Hassan II used to state, a person who masters only one language is illiterate. Thus, there is a remarkable tendency to reinforce French, English, Spanish, and German in school curricula (see Chapters Five and Six). As Chtatou (1994:45) remarks,

> *[...] to understand the language map of Morocco, it is necessary to look at all the languages in use and see how they are viewed and handled at the official and the unofficial levels.*

Today, the language policy adopted is partial Arabisation and Arabic-French bilingualism in education. Arabisation as policy has, however, its own limitations because, as we have had cause to mention, French still predominates as a vector in socio-economic development. Decision-makers have opted for a moderate attitude toward Arabisation, favouring French-Standard Arabic bilingualism. In their view, Standard Arabic alone cannot seriously challenge French in domains like science and technology, for it is not yet entirely modernised and standardised.

The Evolution of Education in Morocco

We may distinguish three major stages of the development of education: before the French occupation, during colonisation, and after independence.

Before the French Occupation

For almost a millennium, Morocco adopted an Islamic type of

education that still has a great impact on a variety of educational, religious, and political institutions. Islamic education started with the advent of Islam and flourished in the country centuries before the colonial rule was imposed. The Qarawiyyine University in Fès, for instance, was built in the eighth century, and its influence exceeds the realm of the modern educational system.

Before the French colonisation, an Islamic traditional system of education was prevalent. Qur'anic and religious schools, namely *medersas* and *zawiyas* (mausoleums), offered an Islamic traditional style of education. They taught mainly the Arabic language and the holy Qur'an for centuries; the University of Qarawiyyine at Fès helped students in this system to pursue and deepen their knowledge of Arabic and Islamic studies (see Grandguillaume 1983:70). Islamic philosophy and jurisprudence were taught, and religious counsels and public notaries were trained in these institutions.

Traditionally, Moroccans (and Maghrebis in general) relied on the oral tradition in the transmission of their culture. However, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the French occupation set out to systematically eradicate this culture by introducing a new language and a Western type of education, as we shall see in the next section.

During the French Occupation

During the French colonisation, French was imposed as the official language in education and public administration. This educational system was to serve the interests of the French rulers and the Moroccan children of the upper class who were trained to take up low-level jobs. Classical Arabic remained restricted to the teaching of Islamic thought.

In the 1930s, the colonial power went so far as to forbid the use of Classical Arabic in official documents and in public administration[1]. In schools, Classical Arabic was taught as a secondary language. The French authorities offered very limited access to education to the extent that the illiteracy rate was 94% among women and 90% among men.

French colonisation created schools for the children of the "indigenous" taking into account the Moroccan social hierarchy. Thus, for the children of the aristocracy, the French authorities created "Les écoles des fils de notables", for the children of the urban working class, they had "les écoles urbaines" and for rural people they created "les écoles rurales". However, these types of schools were very limited in number.

The French administration established French and Franco-Berber schools like *le Lycée Franco-Berbère* in Azrou, in the Middle Atlas mountains and *Lycée Moulay Ismail* in Meknès, which taught French as the first language and Berber as a second language. Other French schools included *Lycée Moulay Youssef* in Rabat, and *Lycée Moulay Idriss* in Fès. In Jewish schools as well, French was the main language of instruction. Moroccan children were not usually accepted in schools reserved for the children of the colonisers.

However, despite the diversity of French schools, as mentioned above, the number of Moroccan children who studied at these schools was rather low, because the aim of the French colonisation was not to generalise education to all Moroccans, but to limit it to children of wealthy families, who collaborated with the colonial authorities, and prepare them to take low-level jobs in the administration (see Drouilh 1948).

Statistically, the number of Moroccan students registered in French schools reached 2387 in 1920, and rose to 9760 in 1929, the majority of whom were from the aristocracy. The budget allocated to the schooling of Moroccan children did not exceed 15 million French Francs in 1934, while the budget for European schools reached 42 million Francs. Thus, in the period 1920-1934, only 50 Moroccans obtained their Baccalaureate (secondary school) certificate, which implies that approximately three students per year accomplished their secondary education out of a population of 5 million Moroccans (see Damis 1970).

Franco-Arab schools helped to spread the modernist and Western views of the world, as well as the mastery of French, particularly among the urban elite. The latter contributed in postcolonial times to develop, through education, Western norms and a modern lifestyle, and to maintain the hegemony of French in the Moroccan linguistic market. As mentioned in Chapter Two, most independence leaders in the Maghreb were French-educated, and spoke French fluently; some could not speak Standard Arabic without making grammar and pronunciation mistakes. A few Algerian leaders mastered French very well, but spoke some kind of "broken Arabic" (see Gill 1999).

The French system of education did not give much weight to Classical Arabic and Islamic thought, which were taught as secondary subjects. The programme was actually very similar to that of ordinary schools in France. The time allotted to the teaching of Arabic represented about 9% of the overall school teaching load (at a rate of 2 hours per week). Arabic was not sanctioned by an examination and most of it focused on grammar and theory. The teaching of the Qur'an, which took place after the basic classes, was

optional, while Islamic thought was taught in French for one hour per week (see Damis 1970).

On the other hand, Moroccan history was taught in French by French teachers. These instructors had a propagandist attitude in the sense that they did not show any respect for Moroccan culture and history, and described Moroccan history as full of bloody wars and chaos. Additionally, they depicted the period of French colonisation - to Moroccan students - as a period of peace, stability and social welfare. The French teachers generally regarded Moroccans with contempt and considered them 'cowardly' and 'ignorant'. In so doing, they incited students to disparage their parents and their society, and to end up having very negative views of their own history, language, and culture (cf. Halstead 1967).

As a reaction to colonial schools, which had hardly any interest in Moroccan civilisation and people, religious and nationalist leaders created free Islamic schools. The first free school was created in 1919, i.e. seven years after the Protectorate established itself in Morocco. These free traditional Arabised schools were called *madaris ħurra* (free schools). They were scattered all over the country, especially in urban areas. We can cite, for example, *Annahda* in Fès, *Al-Abdallawiya* in Casablanca, and *Madaris Muhammed Al-khamis* in Rabat. They were created by nationalists to teach Classical Arabic and Islamic thought in order to safeguard the Arab-Islamic traditions and values, and to compete with the French public schools which were destined to French people or to a few children of the Moroccan aristocracy.

After World War Two, these free schools expanded rapidly and became increasingly important, given their link with Moroccan nationalism. The latter was itself based on religion, for there was a clear relation between Islam and the Moroccan nationalist movement. Later on, these schools led to the Arabisation of the Moroccan system of education after independence. The late king Mohammed V encouraged the creation and support of traditional free schools throughout the country.

These schools had four major aims. First, they were meant to teach Classical Arabic as a subject and to introduce it as a language of instruction. Second, they aimed to teach Islamic thought which was nearly absent in French schools. Third, they were keen on encouraging nationalist feelings among students. Fourth, they contributed to the fight against illiteracy, which was extremely high at that time (90%), by introducing adult education which consisted mainly of evening classes for adult illiterate people.

The number of registered students increased from 5,000 in the 1930s to 25,000 in the 1940s. Likewise, the number of schools reached 121 in the

late 1940s (see Damis 1970).

In the Post-independence Era

The cultural context of education in Morocco is influenced by both the traditional and the modern system of schooling. The European type of education was launched during the colonial period and developed rapidly in the postcolonial era. Thus, Moroccan schools today are characterised by the interaction of a 'traditional' and a 'modern' type of schooling. [2]

During the French occupation, about 10% of boys, and 6% of girls were schooled under the French rule. By contrast, after 47 years of independence, illiteracy has diminished to 50%, and among women it has decreased to 65%. Thus, it is the post-independent governments that launched vast campaigns against illiteracy, by generalising the system of education to reach all children of school age. Paradoxically, it was precisely during independence that the teaching of French developed (see Chami 1987, Benzakour and Gaadi 2000). In the rest of the Maghreb, approximately the same results were noted, as Gafaiti (2002: 23) states for Algeria:

> *During French colonial rule, after 132 years of French colonization, only 6 percent of girls had been schooled. By contrast, after only twenty-five years under an Algerian government, 67 percent of the girls benefited from education.*

After the proclamation of independence, Classical Arabic was declared the official language and French the second language. Since then, French has been used alongside Classical Arabic. The former has been adopted for purposes of modernisation, development and openness to the world. In this respect, Aljabri (1973:45) remarks that the Moroccan elite is in full favour of keeping the essence of the educational system of the French colonisation and developing it on the basis of the French model.

It is not surprising, therefore, that after independence, the nationalist leaders aimed to spread French language and culture as a means to modernise the entire population (cf. Grandguillaume 1983). Post-independence officials endeavoured to spread French in fields like trade, administration, education, and the media. In the name of achieving modernity and preserving cultural identity, the ruling elite opted for Standard

Arabic-French bilingualism in most active sectors.

In the post-independence period, the main reasons for the adoption of French is that (i) in Morocco the shortage of Arabic teachers was so serious that the government had to recruit Qur'anic school teachers in the public primary education, (ii) most of the Moroccan teachers and administrators at that time were educated in French only, (iii) the Moroccan authorities had to modernise the country whose economic and sociocultural structures had been destroyed by the colonial power, and the linguistic means available for the Moroccan elite was French, and (iv) Morocco, like other newly-independent colonies, was still rather economically, socially, and culturally dependent on the former metropolis, which used all means available to perpetuate its domination in the region.

Public education, which is free and bilingual, has developed rapidly. Masses of people send their children to public schools, where Classical Arabic is taught as the official language, and French as the second language. Today, primary and high schools have been totally Arabised: Standard Arabic is the language of instruction for both literary and scientific subjects. In high schools, however, technical studies such as economics, e, mechanics, computing, and accounting are taught in French. At the university level, the basic language of instruction is French, especially for economics, management, science, and technology, as discussed in Chapter Five.

Preschool

-Qur'anic school (*kuttab*): The Qur'an and Standard Arabic are taught

-Modern kindergarten (*rawd al aTfal*): French and Standard Arabic are taught.

Fundamental schooling

Primary school:

-Cours préparatoire (first year, CP): all in Standard Arabic

-Cours élémentaire (second year, CE2): all in Standard Arabic

-" " (third year, CE3): French is introduced

-" " (fourth year, CE4): Standard Arabic and French

-" " (fifth year, CE5): " " " "

-" " (sixth year, CE6, called *shahada*): " " "

Junior High School (college, *Iʕdadi*): language of instruction: Arabic,

-seventh year

-eighth year

-ninth year

Secondary schooling

Senior High school (lycée, *thanawiya*): language of instruction: Arabic

-First year

-Second year

-Third Year (Leading to Baccalauréat, the certificate of end of secondary education)

Table 1: Levels in Primary and Secondary Public Education

As mentioned in Chapter Six, English and Spanish are taught as foreign languages at the high school level, whereas Berber and Moroccan Arabic are as yet still excluded from education. Thirteen new modern universities, which include various social and hard sciences, have been created in addition to the University of Qarawiyyine. The main language of instruction was French until the 1970s when the government decided to gradually Arabise education and administration. In January 1995, Al-Akhawayn University was created with the purpose of becoming a centre of academic excellence. This prestigious university, which was founded jointly by the late King Hassan II and King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, uses English as the main language of instruction.

Private education consists of fee-paying schools which were created after independence to provide schooling for pupils who have repeatedly failed in public schools, or for those who wish to adopt an independent system that avoids the pitfalls of the public educational system. Private schools attract middle and upper class people because they generally include less crowded classrooms, hire hard-working teachers and adopt French as the main language of instruction since preschool.

In addition, there are foreign schools which are run by foreign agencies or foreign cultural centres, viz. the French Mission, the American School, the American Language Centre, the British Council, Goethe Institute, Cervantes Institute, etc.

In the 1960s and 1970s the government's educational focus was on primary and secondary education. But in the 1980s and the 1990s, the government policy favoured the development of higher education. Thus, spending on primary education reached 37.1% and 34.4% of the global budget of the Ministry of National Education in 1975 and 1988, respectively. Spending on secondary education dropped from 50% to 45.1% in the same period. However, expenditure on higher education increased from 13.9% in 1975 to about 20% in 1988. In the year 2002, the authorities devised a plan to reform and modernise the whole system of education, from primary to tertiary education. More efforts have been made to generalise education by extending the length of foundational education from primary school until the end of junior high school (collège level).

As for education indicators, in 1988 government statistics show that adult illiteracy reached 82% in rural areas and 44% in urban zones. In 1988, 69% of rural boys and only 35% of rural girls joined the first grade in primary education, in contrast with 89% of boys and 85% of girls in urban areas. With regard to the overall enrolment in primary education, in urban zones the stated government goals have been reached, whereas in rural areas only 50% of these goals have been attained because rural enrolments remained low. Additionally, lower attendance and high percentages of drop-outs are witnessed in rural areas more than in urban zones mainly because of the sizeable distance between schools and children's homes, lack of transportation, lack of motivation among parents who are often illiterate, and lack of follow-up education, namely absence of junior and senior high schools.

Many rural househoulds are reluctant to send their offspring to school for the following reasons: (i) they often do not realize the value of education, (ii) Berberophone children find it difficult to assimilate material taught in Standard Arabic or French, especially when their parents are illiterate

(Wagner 1983). Although many Berber rural children catch up in their school achievement later on in their education, they are disadvantaged compared to Arabopohone urban pupils who benefit from much more exposure to Arabic and French outside the classroom (Penchoen 1968). (iii) Another reason may be the fact that towns and cities offer people many opportunities given the diverse economic activities involved, whereas in rural areas, the main activity is agriculture; that is why city dwellers are usually more qualified, better educated and more competitive than country dwellers. (iv) Another factor has to do with the infrastructure; in rural areas the infrastructure in roads, transportation, water, electricity, and hygiene is low, sometimes inexistent, compared to the facilities in urban centres. As mentioned above, in rural areas, children sometimes have to walk for five kilometers to and from school.

Since independence, the policy of education has been characterised by four criteria: unification of the system all over the country, Arabisation, generalisation of education to all segments of the population, and free education for all.

Schools have usually been the main medium for introducing modernity and Western thought. Teachers have been pioneers of modernity since independence. They have encouraged free and critical thinking, as well as opening to the rest of the world. Today, however, with the recent emergence of Muslim fundamentalism, it appears that schools are used by many conservative and Islamist teachers to preach Islamic values and conservatism, especially in public schools, which have limited links with Western institutes and universities, and which generally rely heavily on poor and biased translations of Western thought and studies.

Many educators today question the efficiency of this educational system. They argue that the diversification of the school programmes is preferable to unification, which seeks to impose the same curriculum across the country without taking into account the sociolinguistic and geographical characteristics of each region. Thus, slightly different programmes can be applied in different regions of the country. According to the newly adopted National Charter of Education, about 30% of the programmes must be adapted to each region in order to better respond to its needs. It is also stipulated in the National Charter that "les langues étrangères", particularly French and English, are to be reinforced in primary and secondary education. Strangely enough, nowhere does this Charter mention the languages French and English, but speaks of foreign languages (De Ruiter 2001).

Free education is also argued to be a cause of the system's failure. In this regard, King Mohammed VI declared in 1999 that secondary and higher education would no longer be free for all students in a maximum of five

years; thus, in all likelyhood, well-to-do families will have to pay tuition fees for their children's education.

Today, two types of educational systems can be distinguished: public and private education. The former is characterised by over-crowdedness, traditional programmes, Arabised syllabi, poor facilities, and low-salaried teachers. As a consequence, graduates of this system are often jobless, as they are unable to meet the requirements of the job market. On the other hand, private education is developing fast from preschool to higher education level. Private schools are usually so expensive that they are affordable only by middle and upper class families. They are characterised by the heavy use of French and English, modern syllabi, and equipment facilities, and chiefly the use of modern information technology. Degrees from these schools are often in demand in the job market, which is the reason why many of these graduates manage to find work after graduation.

Arabisation in Education

Arabisation contributes to the eradication of illiteracy and to fostering sentiments of unity and solidarity among Moroccans. It also enhances the training of natives and encourages the universality of schooling.

Although French colonisation lasted only forty-four years, it has had a great impact on Moroccan education and literacy. Until recently, most publications (newspapers, magazines, books, literary works) have been in French. However, since the Arabisation policy was launched in the 1960s, Standard Arabic, the official language of the State, started to gradually replace French, which is still considered the "secondary official language " (Wagner 1993:22).

The language of literacy in Morocco is Standard Arabic, irrespective of whether learners come from an Arabic-speaking or a Berber-speaking community. French is introduced in the third year of primary school through the sixth year and high school, with an average of eight hours of reading and writing instruction. In rural areas, French is basically learnt at school since most parents do not speak French. In higher education, French is still predominant, especially in faculties of science, engineering, management, and medicine. As we explained in Chapter 8, the government has opted for Standard Arabic-French bilingualism, where Standard Arabic serves to preserve cultural identity and authenticity, and French functions as the language of modernity, science and technology, and as the language of communication with Europe and Africa. Standard Arabic-French

bilingualism is in fact considered a window on the world (Grandguillaume 1983). This situation has, nonetheless, been unsatisfactory for, according to students, teachers and officials, this type of bilingualism favours quantity over quality, and as a result many students practically master neither Standard Arabic nor French (Ennaji 2002a).

Today, Arabisation is almost complete in primary and secondary public schools. All scientific subjects are taught in Arabic in primary and secondary levels. However, Arabisation is still an issue because, as we have seen in Chapter Nine, many educators and decision-makers are not yet utterly convinced to adopt total Arabisation at all levels. For example, Arabisation has not fully been implemented in higher education. The reason, according to the government, is that references and books on advanced science, technology, and medicine are lacking in Standard Arabic. In fact, most of the publications available worldwide are in English or French (see Mouhssine 1995).

Nonetheless, in private and French schools ("la Mission"), French is predominant. The middle and upper class families, who are dissatisfied with the public educational system, enrol their children in private schools or in the French "Mission" to guarantee them good mastery of the French language and better job prospects. As stated above, students with a Baccalaureate from the French "Mission" stand a better chance in the job market than students with a similar certificate from public schools; they have easy access to the faculties of medicine, science, technology, management, agriculture, engineering, etc., unlike the Arabised candidates.

This means that Arabisation does not open wide horizons, as there exist few job openings for Arabised graduates. Even Arabised students with a higher degree are more unlikely to find a job than their French-educated peers. According to an investigation undertaken among employers in the private sector by Tebbaa (1990), a good command of French, Standard Arabic and English is a prerequisite to insertion in active life. Forty-seven per cent of the respondents state that a command of Standard Arabic is desirable as a quality, while 65% think that a mastery of English is necessary, and 72% say that a good command of French is needed. Further, 59% of his respondents think that general knowledge and culture are desirable qualities among graduates.

Thus, the present-day educational system has a double standard (or as they say in French "un enseignement à deux vitesses") in the sense that it disfavours Arabised graduates while it benefits, both pedagogically and socio-economically, French-educated ones. If Arabisation is judged necessary by decision-makers, it should be implemented across the board, or alternatively, the whole educational system must be adapted to the needs of

modern society by implementing a well-balanced French-Standard Arabic bilingualism for all Moroccans.

The opposition of monolingual vs. bilingual education is an ongoing issue in public debate. Monolingually educated graduates generally obtain teaching or administration jobs that are less lucrative, while bilingually educated graduates often hold good positions in administration or technical areas. This is up to the early 1990s before the plight of unemployment hit the majority of graduates, be they Arabic- or French-educated. In 2002, according to official statistics, unemployed graduates were estimated at nearly 200, 000 people.

Literacy and Mother Tongue Education

Literacy may be broadly defined as the acquisition of reading, writing, mathematics, and other basic skills. A literate individual knows how to read, write, and perform basic arithmetic. This general definition allows us to include unschooled or religiously schooled people as literate individuals because they have some of the literacy skills required for socio-economic development. In a wider sense, literacy may refer to professional, technological literacy, for instance, computer literacy. Being a cultural phenomenon, literacy definitions naturally abound, as literacy may have different implications within each culture.

Literacy and mass communication are two major domains in which the role of language is central to national socio-economic development. According to research, there is a strong link between illiteracy and poverty on the one hand, and literacy and economic growth, on the other. Poor populations are usually illiterate while rich ones tend to be literate, because literacy enables individuals to acquire important skills and to adopt the appropriate strategies and attitudes. The UNESCO has revealed since the Tehran conference in 1965 that illiteracy generates poverty and high population growth. By contrast, the economically developed and industrialised countries in Western Europe and North America enjoy the lowest illiteracy rates. In Africa, the overall illiteracy rate is approximately 70% (see Bamgbose 1991:2). It is obvious that African countries cannot develop with increasing illiteracy among populations. Recall that in Morocco today, despite the expansion of free education, nearly half of the population is still illiterate (Department of Statistics 1999). These illiterate people are also the least fortunate, economically speaking (see Wagner 1993:22, Meziani 1995, and Ennaji 1999).

Literacy is necessary and beneficial for everyone: women, men, children, farmers, workers, etc. With the help of literacy, attitudes can be changed favourably toward education, birth control, women's rights, the environment, etc. For instance, women have a strategic role in society and have a great impact on population growth and development; when they are literate and educated, they adopt birth control, as evidenced by the following figures:

No education	7 births
Primary education	6
Junior high school	4.6
Senior high school	3.3
University level	2.8

Table 2: Fertility Rate for Moroccan Women (1986)

Source CERD 1988, cited in Meziani (1995).

Literate women also acquire new skills to earn a living and improve their family living standard, nutrition, household management, as they are able to indulge in health programmes, and are socially active, which is profitable for families and society as a whole.

By means of literacy, farmers have access to reading and writing, as well as to the new technology of modern agriculture and new fertilisers, which definitely improve production which itself leads to economic development. Literacy also contributes to the circulation of information and better communication among individuals and groups in society. To this end, the media can be used to encourage literacy programmes, inform people on different facets of socio-economic life, spread civic education, and disseminate general knowledge among the people. Literacy and information are closely related to growth: a society that is better informed is more developed than one that is illiterate and badly informed.

The languages to be used in social and political mobilisation are the local languages, given that they are usually the most widespread among the population, and that the goal of any developmental effort is to improve people's life standards. Local languages can reach the majority of the population. In the 1960s and 1970s, foreign languages such as English and French were used in literacy programmes in Africa. For example, French was employed in Mali and English in West Africa; however, these

programmes failed partly because very few Africans could use these European languages.

Native African languages should be made use of to eradicate illiteracy; they ought to be modernised, standardised and codified, for implementing literacy programmes in the mother tongue is the best way to eradicate illiteracy, according to UNESCO research[3]. A UNESCO (1953) report stresses that, educationally, the mother tongue is the best vehicle for the acquisition of reading, writing, and arithmetic.

The most successful literacy programmes have been conducted in mother tongues in African countries like Niger, Zambia, Tanzania, Togo, Nigeria, and Mali. The good side of such programmes is that culture, values, and new skills are best transmitted in the mother tongue. Unfortunately, the media and the ruling elite look down upon mother tongues and in fact discourage their use; for instance, most of the publications made by the African intelligentsia are in the colonial languages. The dominant role of French in North Africa or of English in South Africa is remarkable in the media (television programmes, newspapers) government activities, political debate, academic publications, education, administration and the private sector (see Poindexter 1982, Maartens 1998, and Ennaji 1999).

In many parts of Africa, mother tongues are marginalised to the extent that the populations are divided into two: the elite who can speak and write the coloniser's language and the rest of the people who are either illiterate or literate only in the local language (see Bamgbose 1991:2 and Maartens 1998). It seems as though education were used to suppress the mother tongues and to perpetuate the hegemony of French and English. This policy is subject to severe criticism among African nationalists.

Linguistic rights can be divided into individual and collective rights (Boutaleb 2003). Individuals have the right to use their mother tongue in their private lives and in their social and cultural activities, and to transmit the mother tongue to their children through education. Collective linguistic rights are related to cultural and group identity, which must be valorised and preserved. It is in education that linguistic human rights are generally violated. In article two of the universal declaration of human rights (1948), it is mentioned that "every person has the right to enjoy human rights regardless of their race, colour, sex, language, religion, or opinion". In article 26.1, it is mentioned that "every person has the right to education; the latter must be free; at least fundamental education (primary and secondary), and primary education must be compulsory". In fact, the education policy of a country reflects its political options, its beliefs, values, traditions, and its prospects of the future.

For Moroccan individual speakers, language choice is motivated by socio-economic needs and by the desire for social mobility and for improved living conditions. As a result, many Moroccans and North Africans give little importance to their mother tongues (Moroccan Arabic and Berber), which they believe to be useless for employment. This attitude is reinforced by the prestigious statuses of Standard Arabic and French.

Bourdieu (1991) has argued that language use and language choice are determined by the linguistic market, which like the public market obeys the laws of supply and demand. For him, demand is dictated by the desire to obtain economic interest, social gain and a valuable self-image (Gill 1999).

Regarding demand, for many Moroccans, French retains its important role as the language of modernisation, because it can bring about an individual's social promotion and a valorised social well-being. In terms of supply, French has been widely used and made accessible through education and the media in the post-independence period more than during the colonial rule, to satisfy socio-economic needs.

At the cultural level, French is associated with laicisation and secularism whereas Arabic is closely linked to Muslim traditions and values. Thus, in school, as Moatassim (2002) puts it,

> *Culturellement, la morale musulmane apprend à l'enfant à «baisser les yeux» en parlant à son maître, tandis que l'instruction civique laïque demande à l'enfant presque dans la même journée, à « regarder les gens en face ». Quant au signe de respect appris dans la famille musulmane, c'et se coiffer et enlever ses chaussures avant d'entrer dans une mosquée ou une école, tandis que l'institution laïque impose le contraire.*
>
> *[the Muslim morality teaches the child to lower his or her gaze when talking to the teacher, whereas civic and secular education teaches the child almost during the same day to "look at people in the face". One sign of respect learnt in the family context, is to teach the child to have his/her hair cut and to take off shoes when entering a mosque or a school, while secular education imposes the opposite.]*

These cultural differences between the Islamic and secular cultures may have negative psychological repercussions on pupils and on their school achievement. One has to apprehend, as a result, the social behaviours of bilingual children before attempting to analyse them in their complexity. In addition, we know that out of Moroccan pupils who enter primary education,

only 1% finish university partly because of this intercultural and pedagogical complexity and because of the conflict between school curricula and the social reality. Thus, very few students are capable of interiorising and appreciating the dynamic of the Arab-Islamic and the French-Western cultures.

In Morocco, basic literacy has historically been associated with the ability to read and write the Qur'an. Thus, traditionally a literate person was someone who could memorise the Qur'an and read and write Arabic. In Moroccan Arabic, a literate is someone who is *qari*, i.e., who is able to read and write. Memorisation is essential in this kind of literacy; for example, a person who has memorised the Qur'an is literate, although this person may not understand the verses of the Qur'an. Qur'anic schooling is usually implemented in mosques, although today a room in a house or a garage or any other available space may be transformed into a Qur'anic school called also *jaamaʕ* or *msid*.

The royal decree of 1968 emphasised the importance of Qur'anic schools now considered preschools *(kuttab)* in urban areas. These schools use memorisation as a basic tool in learning the Arabic alphabet and the Qur'an. Most parents and even teachers associate memorisation with effective learning (Wagner 1993:25). The teacher in Qur'anic schools is a *fqih* who himself has memorised the Qur'an by heart, who is knowledgeable about religion and who gets his wages from the pupils' parents.

Characterised by the central role of the *fqih*, Qur'anic schools have no form of government regulation: their pedagogy relies mainly on rote memory, recitation, and at times corporal punishment. Qur'anic schools impose a mechanical and monotonous form of learning on the child whose interest is not aroused by such a form of study, which reduces the learner's intellectual and cognitive motivation.

However, in urban areas there is a shift to the modern secular preschools *rawd al-atfal* which curb memorisation by trying to include a variety of activities such as games, songs, drawing and so on. These modern preschools use modern programmes and hire female instructors who teach children Standard Arabic, French, art activities, and very little or no Qur'an at all.

Of particular interest to the reader are the fundamental changes that literacy and schooling have brought to Moroccan family life. The old pattern parent-child authority is challenged as the younger literate generation gains access to information. In addition, gender roles are affected as literacy becomes accessible to men and women of Morocco's lower classes. Parents, especially in urban areas, have become increasingly aware of the great role

of school achievement and of the new skills which are badly needed in the job market.

Today, with the expansion of free education, many women are doctors, engineers, lawyers, judges, teachers, etc. Some women have acquired top jobs and decision-making positions. Today, Moroccan women have also access to the political sphere, as there are 35 women members of parliament and two ministers in the current government, following the legislative elections of 27 September 2002.

Berber and Moroccan Arabic Native Speakers' Learning Achievements

Little research has been undertaken to examine the learning achievement of Berber children in school and to see the impact of second language instruction on the literacy skills and on the basic school subjects. Penchoen (1968), who studied the difference in learning achievement between Arabic-speaking and Berber-speaking children in Tunisia, found out that there was no real discrepancy between the two groups. This result is due to the high motivation of Berberophone children to learn Arabic. Similarly, in Wagner (1993:175) Berber children had globally the same ability to read Arabic as their Arabic-speaking classmates. Wagner (1993:176) states "there appears to be some advantage to speaking dialectal Arabic as a mother tongue when first beginning to read, but any advantage diminishes substantially over subsequent years of schooling" (see also Chapter Four).

Schools, as agents of the State, have dedicated their efforts to assimilating the Berber population through the promotion of Islam and the policy of Arabisation. School curricula usually stress that Morocco has one religion, Islam, and one language, Arabic. To turn this slogan into a reality, teachers who are mostly non-Berberophone at times express their negative attitude toward Berber language and population. In this regard, a Berber author recalls his primary school teacher:

> *You are not even able to speak Arabic, he told us... "You are savages. How will I ever manage to civilize you when I have to start from scratch?" His words made us go cold and we suddenly felt lower than earthworms... Only a few days after classes had started, he smiled and seemed to have found a solution to our problems. "Come what may", he declared, "from now on I forbid you to speak even one word of Berber, either among yourselves or with your families..." We Berber*

> *children greeted his lofty decision with the frozen silence he loved so much, with our heads bent, hands folded, eyes red and bright with sadness and humiliation. I was already considering how I was going to tell my parents who were unable to understand the teacher's language. Should my parents see me suddenly deny the patrimony of my ancestors and my mother tongue? It would be far better to disappear along with that language* (Oussaid 1989: 48-49).

The National Charter of Education, adopted in 2000, has been criticised by Berber activists, who claim that only two of its hundred articles deal with the question of Berber in education. The first article states that Berber can be used in primary school only "to facilitate the learning of the official language", Standard Arabic. The second article mentions that in the near future some universities can teach Berber language and culture. For Berber activists, the charter's provisions are insufficient because, for them, the teaching of Berber must be obligatory and generalised in the educational system.

As far as reading achievements are concerned, Wagner (1993:178) observes that Berber and Arabic-speaking children's performance is the same. Berberophone and Arabophone children who attended Qur'anic schools did better in reading achievement than those who did not go to preschool. However, urban children who were sent to private preschools outperformed their non-preschooled or Qur'anic preschooled counterparts in French literacy. As for the methodology used in teaching Arabic and French, it is grossly similar since it is usually based on memorisation.

As discussed above, children whose mother tongue is Moroccan Arabic lightly outperform Berber-speaking children who had no preschooling experience, especially in the first years of school. This is due to the linguistic similarity between Moroccan and Standard Arabic and the possibility of positive transfer from the former to the latter. But after a few years of learning, both groups have similar competence in Arabic reading and writing achievements. Berberophone children catch up with their Arabic-speaking counterparts after four to five years of progress toward Berber-Moroccan Arabic bilingualism. The more the Berberophone children's competence in Moroccan Arabic increases, the more their Standard Arabic learning achievements progress.

There are three major reasons for this. Firstly, Berber is still largely an unwritten language which does not compete with Standard Arabic as far as literacy is concerned; for Berber parents, it is a must for their children to acquire literacy in Standard Arabic, which is the official medium of

instruction and the major language in primary education. Secondly, Berber-speaking children are usually highly motivated to learn Standard Arabic for integrative and instrumental reasons. To integrate the school community and the labour market, they aspire to acquire high skills in Standard Arabic and in other school subjects.

Thirdly, Berber children are keen on learning Standard Arabic to have access to the Holy book and to do their religious duties as Muslims.

A few scholars suggest using Moroccan Arabic for first literacy (cf. Zaki 2001), but again there exist very little published material that could ever be used for reading purposes. Similarly, as we have seen in Chapter Three, attitudes to Moroccan Arabic often tend to be negative among scholars although there are few newspapers published in this dialect (S*ouq Al akhbar* (The News Market), *Al-usbuu' Ad-daahik* (The Laughing Week); in addition, Arabic purists fear the corruption of the Arabic alphabet and language, or the replacement of Standard by Moroccan Arabic in the long run (see Loulidi 1998).

Concerning the acquisition of French literacy, it is largely facilitated by Arabic literacy. This is backed by research on other languages; thus, for Bhola (1984), the acquisition of first literacy is crucial for the acquisition of literacy in a second or third language given that the linguistic and cognitive skills are underlyingly similar.

Literacy Needs and Objectives

Literacy needs may differ from one individual or group to another and depending on the setting. For instance, a peasant may need literacy when he goes to town or when he has to get a birth or marriage certificate from the administration, but an administrator needs literacy skills every day to accomplish daily tasks. At any rate, most Moroccans accomplish their literacy needs when they deal with the Moroccan administration. Indeed, since independence, literacy needs of Moroccan citizens have increased with the development of public services. The government's attempts to practise greater control over legal, taxation, economic and political matters have led to the proliferation of government forms which require some level of literacy. In addition, most jobs today require a good degree of literacy; even low-level occupations like clerks, secretaries, and shop-assistants demand literacy.

In various formal and informal situations, illiterate people resort to literate mediators. Many illiterate people ask help from literate friends,

relatives, and neighbours, or resort to the "public writers" who sell their "literacy service" , or ask the *fqih* (the religious teacher) for assistance (Wagner 1993: 27). On other occasions, to get documents concerning property transactions, inheritance, legal undertakings, illiterate people seek the service of notaries called *Adul*, who are educated in traditional Islamic law (*shariâa*).

Newspapers and television have contributed to the development of literacy in Morocco. Newspapers today include information not only about domestic political affairs, but also about international, cultural and sports affairs. With the decrease of illiteracy since independence, many people have access to newspapers. The impact of television is obvious in the campaigns against illiteracy and in the spread of Standard Arabic lexicon among literate people.

There is a difference between "restricted literacy" (Goody 1986) and "complete literacy"; the former is involved when a person barely knows how to read and write; that person is at an advantage compared to someone who is utterly illiterate. For instance, most rural fathers exemplify a case of restricted literacy, whereas the vast majority of rural mothers are completely illiterate. Complete literacy is involved when a person enjoys a high degree of literacy (for instance, someone with a BA or a Baccalaureate certificate). Today, illiteracy is stigmatised in the sense that illiterate people are considered handicapped citizens because they are usually marginalized segments of the population (Wagner 1993:37).

Since independence, with the expansion of modern schools, attitudes toward literacy and education have undergone a remarkable change; more people than ever before recognise the important role of literacy in modern society. Education and literacy are essential for national development, people's participation, women's emancipation and social promotion.

The rate of schooling has increased remarkably since independence. By way of example, according to the Department of Statistics (1995), in 1970 about 46% of children joined primary school, while in 1994, this figure jumped to 72% (see the tables below for more statistics). Comparatively, the percentage of schooled females is rather low; it is 50% less than that of males. Similarly, only 30% of those who enrol in primary school reach Baccalaureate level, and only 1% of them graduate from university. Thus, the number of drop-outs is huge particularly in lycée and university levels. In primary schools, the rate of drop-outs is 3%. See the interview of Moulay Ismail Alaoui, the ex-Minister of National Education in the Moroccan Weekly *Al-Ayyam* of 5-11 December 2002).

The Moroccan government devotes nearly a quarter of its national budget to education. As a result, the illiteracy rate has fallen from 87% in 1988 to 48% in 2000. Today, Moroccan society is gradually moving from societal to individual and generalised literacy, as millions of pupils attend school. A great number of skilled workers, engineers, civil servants, doctors, teachers, and lawyers have been trained and educated in Moroccan schools and universities. However, education is still inaccessible to the poorest segments of the rural and semi-urban population.

Illiteracy, Poverty, and Gender

In Morocco, a person is considered poor if s/he earns the minimum wage, i.e. 1800 Dh (about US$180) per month or less and is, as a consequence, unable to have the necessaries of life. Poverty and illiteracy are higher in rural areas than in urban areas: 42.3% of people are poor in urban areas and 48.3% in rural areas (see the Moroccan daily *Al-Alam* of 26 December 1999). As mentioned earlier, the discrepancy in literacy is also remarkable, and the quality of education in rural areas is less satisfactory than in urban centers; as a consequence, the standards tend to be lower in rural zones. The academic performance on examinations like the *shahada* (end of primary school level) and the Baccalaureate (end of secondary school certificate) is higher in urban centres than in the countryside. Similarly, the rate of certified and qualified teachers is greater in urban than in rural zones (98% vs. 89% in 1988); see Wagner 1993:248 and Boukous and Agnaou 2001, Agnaou 2004).

Rural areas are at a disadvantage since poverty and illiteracy are prevalent among rural people, which incites many of them to move to towns and cities looking for a better life. Some illiterate parents are resentful to send their children to school because they see little value in it, as they know many jobless graduates; that is, they consider schooling a non-profitable activity. Others, because poor, cannot afford to buy books and school utilities for their children even if they are conscious of the value and necessity of schooling.

Moreover, children of poor and illiterate parents do not always benefit from any family follow-up or support for their studies, and thus are likely to repeat grades several times or eventually drop out of school. Illiterate families also tend to live under poor health and hygienic circumstances, and as a result remain unproductive and marginalised in the Moroccan society.

Official statistics published by the Department of Statistics (Direction de la Statistique 2000) show that poverty has increased in the last decade: for

illustration, while in 1984 there were 4.6 million poor people, this number increased to 5.3 million in 1999. In rural zones, poor people total 3.5 million against 1.8 million in urban centers. Families in which the bread-winner is illiterate represent 23.2% of the poor population, whereas families in which the bread-winner has benefited from primary education represent 14.2%, and families whose bread-winner has had a secondary or higher education represent 2.8% of the poor population.

According to the World Bank report in 1998, illiteracy reached an average of 50%, (40% male and 60% female). Thus, illiteracy has been reduced from 87% in 1960 (78% male and 96% female) to 60% in 1988 to 55% in 1994, according to the 1994 Moroccan census. The census also showed a huge discrepancy between rural and urban adult illiteracy, as shown in the tables below.

Year	% Female		% Male		National %
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	
1960	88	99	58	85	87
1971	68	98	39	76	75
1982	57	95	30	68	65
1994	48.6	98.1	24.7	61.2	54.9

Table 3: Illiteracy Rate according to gender and zone of residence

(Source: Official Statistics of the Ministry of Housing, 1995, cited by Laraki 2000)

Zone	% Male		% Female		Total %	
	1982	1994	1982	1994	1982	1994
urban	82	87.7	74.1	80.7	87.1	84.2
rural	49.4	58.4	32.2	25.9	36.8	42.5
total	62.4	71.9	44.3	51.5	53.5	61.8

Table 4: Literacy Rate of eight-to-thirteen-year-old schooled children according to gender and zone of residence (1982-1994)

(Source: Official Statistics of Ministry of Housing, 1995, cited by Laraki 2000)

On the other hand, the 2001 population council report states that the number of enrolments in primary schools has reached 5 million and 369 063 pupils. Concerning adult literacy, 301488 persons benefited from literacy classes, 70% of whom were women. In higher education, out of the total of 308770 students, 43.8% were girls (see the Moroccan daily *Al-Ahdath Al-maghribia* of 19 December 2002). Among the few women who finally find their way to higher education, only 28% study science and technology. Girls often shun engineering and the hard sciences, because they are traditionally regarded as men's careers. Indeed some highly educated women are keeping pace with men in computer skills; others may outclass men in technological and scientific domains, as well as in education in general. However, the number of women scientists or technicians is still very limited if we take into account the overall schooled population.

Illiterate people rely on the oral tradition (speaking and listening), which embodies songs, proverbs, dance, etc. They are excluded from literate society, and feel an inferiority complex toward the educated. The socio-economic gap between the literate and the illiterate is enormous. As the figures above show, there are more illiterate women (61.9%) than men (33.8%), and illiteracy among rural people is higher (66.9%) than among the urban population (33.7%). See the Moroccan weekly magazine *Tel Quel* of 30 November to 6 December 2002).

Although Morocco spends a quarter of its Gross National Product (GNP) on education, its performance level is rather weak in the sense that the registration rates are lower, particularly among women and children in rural areas, compared with similar developing countries like the Philippines,

Yemen, Algeria, or Tunisia: 30% of Moroccan children are not schooled while in Tunisia 99% of children have access to schools. Similarly, while illiteracy in Tunisia reached 67.9% in 1966, it decreased to 24.7% in 2001. In Algeria, illiteracy has decreased from 85% after independence to 30% in 2000. In Morocco, illiteracy among people aged 15 and above is estimated to be 52.6%. The rate of schooling has increased from 77.1% in 1994 to 95.9% in 2000 (see Alioua 2000).

An interview published by the Moroccan weekly magazine *Tel Quel* (issue 54 of 30 November to 6 December 2002) with a number of illiterate people in the urban area of Fès resulted in the following reactions. Hmad, about 60 years old, a doorman said: "if I knew how to read and write, I would not be doing this job for 500 DH ($50) per month. Life is very hard for me...How is life in Morocco? I don't know. As I told you I can neither read nor write. This country isn't interested in our problems. For example, I have no retirement benefits, no rights...'

Another interviewee, Hlima, fifty years old, mint saleswoman, answered: "I have six children who all go to school. It's very important. I don't want them to have the same hard life I am leading. If I had gone to school, I would have been in a better situation...I never go out alone. I am afraid of being lost. One of my children always accompanies me.'

Salah, aged 34, is a merchant of vegetables. He says: 'being illiterate is a real handicap for me. I don't know how to count; I have always to ask someone. I rarely go to the city centre, for I rely on others. I have to ask people to show me the way or I take a taxi. I can't read the street names or numbers. That's why I don't travel far; otherwise, I would have liked to see the world.'

Fadma, 32 years old, is a maid. She says, 'I don't even know how to dial a telephone number, nor read the bus numbers. I am always ashamed to have to ask people for help. I can't express myself correctly. Even if I had wanted to go to school, my father would not have let me work outside.'

The following table and figures reveal that illiteracy is high, particularly in rural areas among old people.

Age	Urban	Rural	Average
10-14	8.6%	47.6%	28.1%
15-24	16.3%	57.3%	66.9%
25-44	34%	74.6%	36.8%
45-59	58.3%	83.4%	70.85%
60 & more	85.8%	93.6%	89.7%

Table 5: Illiteracy rate according to the factor of age

Source: Direction des Statistiques (2000)

In addition to government efforts to curb illiteracy, non-government organisations are active in the fight against this social predicament. In all, there are 43 associations involved, which have attracted 100.422 school drop-outs in 2000 and 2001, 25% of whom were integrated in the labour force (see the Moroccan weekly magazine *Tel Quel* of 6 December 2002). Literacy programmes organised by the government authorities and civil society attract many women, a fact which can reduce the gender gap in adult education (Wagner 1993:242, Boukous and Agnaou 2000).

In the following section, focus will be on the hurdles to education and on the problems facing Moroccan educational planners.

Hurdles to Education

Given the economic difficulties lately encountered by the country, as a result of the Structural Readjustment imposed by the World Bank, government budgetary allocations to education have been steadily decreasing, as stated earlier. To alleviate expenditures on education, the government has, since the 1980s, decided to encourage the private sector to

invest in all levels of education. Today, private education is flourishing steadily, as more and more urban and well-to-do parents send their children to private schools.

Moroccan educational planners generally face many obstacles. The first major problem has to do with the ambivalence and the indecisiveness of decision-makers. Although a lot of headway has been made since independence in education, the rate of schooling among the poor remains low. There are thus class, gender, and geographical gaps concerning education and illiteracy. In the planned reform, the government seeks to prioritise the poor, girls, and rural areas.

Second, lack of coordination between schools and the job market prevents planners from overcoming the problem of unemployed educated young people. As stated earlier, more than 200, 000 university graduates suffer from unemployment.

Third, there is the number of repeaters and drop-outs which keeps growing year after year. The high rate of drop-outs in all levels of education can be partly ascribed to the difficulties encountered by students to adjust to the conflicting functions of Berber, Arabic, and French This problem is translated in reality by the high rate of failure and drop-outs in primary, secondary and higher education (cf. Chami 1987, Guessous 2002).

Fourth, there exists a large discrepancy between rural and urban zones in the sense that rural areas are, as we have had cause to mention, disadvantaged at the literacy, educational, and developmental levels. As a result, the largest illiteracy and poverty rates are among rural people.

Fifth, the infrastructure of schools leaves much to be desired, particularly in rural areas. Most countrysides and villages lack electricity, drinking water, sanitation, let alone the audio-visual amenities in schools such as video, television, and computer which are a rare commodity (Ennaji 1999).

Thus, the hurdles facing education and literacy programmes ought to be minimised, especially among the poor and the ultra-poor. Given the numerous barriers, some of which are mentioned above, campaigns sensitising parents to the value of education should be organised, and incentives (free books, free lunches, family allowances, etc.) must be provided to women, needy parents, and children. The future of Morocco's development depends on the government's action to eradicate illiteracy and poverty.

In 1998, the Ministry of National Education decided to make fundamental education (primary through high school) compulsory for all

children at school age. Such important decisions can help to reduce the illiteracy rate, improve the level of education and eventually curb poverty.

With the implementation of the new reform in education, other changes will be introduced in the areas of literacy and education to help Morocco become socially and economically developed.

Notes

1) Similarly, Algerian and Tunisian languages and cultures were trampled by the French colonial power, which provided French education, only to sons and daughters of a few privileged aristocracts.

2) The colonial power has imposed the importation of European languages which have a dominant role in education, administration and media. They enjoy a prestigious status in post-independent Africa; they are used either as official or second languages. For instance, while in North Africa French is used as a second language, in Côte d'Ivoire, Congo and Senegal, French is the official language, and in Kenya, Cameroon, Ghana, South Africa English functions as the official language.

3) UNESCO research emphasizes that education has many advantages. First, it guarantees literacy, and enables one to acquire new skills. Second, it may help one find a paid job. Third, improved health care and preventive health measures are offered. Fourth, education gives one cultural benefits and a decent social status. Fifth, knowledge about the world is available to an educated person.

Conclusion

Language use, attitudes, and linguistic change, we have seen, are determined by a multitude of sociological, cultural, political, and psychological factors peculiar to Moroccan society. The data consistently confirm the pattern that linguistic variation is essentially impacted by the status of the languages and varieties involved. The findings from other studies also show that the educated are instigators of linguistic change; in other terms, the higher the level of education of the speaker, the more linguistic variation (bilingualism, multilingualism, code switching) there is, and the more advanced the innovative forms. This can be accounted for by the fact that speakers in the highest educational group generally have various external contacts and language interactions (cf. Al Wer 2002).

The contradictory, often conflictual, attitudes toward the languages in contact and toward language policy and education reveal the complexity of postcolonial Moroccan society. On the whole, there seems to be a compromise as to the best linguistic option for the country and its future. Field work has shown that most Moroccans today would favour French-Standard Arabic bilingualism for pragmatic reasons: French in technical/ scientific settings, international communication, and Arabic in cultural, literary, religious and political domains (see Ennaji 1991, Elbiad 1985). Despite all criticisms levelled against it, French is "undeniably the language of social promotion, as it provides access to job security and to a high social status" (Wagner 1993: 22). Moroccan Arabic and Berber are the languages of change, which reflect the uniqueness of Morocco and the dynamism of its people. They deserve to be revitalised and preserved as they express the daily life of Moroccans.

Since independence, the debate has centred on two major oppositions: the first opposition is between Arabophones and Francophones. The former think that Standard Arabic represents Moroccan identity and cultural authenticity, and that French is the language of the coloniser, and the expression of corrupt Western culture. For the Francophones, Standard Arabic is inadequate for modern needs, and French is more adequate in science and technology. This opposition reflects a controversy that has often characterised two different visions of the world (Arab-Muslim and Western cultures). The second opposition is between Arabophones and Berberophones. The Berberist discourse treats Standard Arabic as an archaic language which does not satisfy the exigencies of modernity, and as a reminiscence of the Arab conquest. For Berberophones, Berber and Moroccan Arabic are the mother tongues which express authenticity and people's daily life, while French is associated with modernity, democratic thinking and rationality.

As to the gender dimension of language, we can state that the mother tongue is associated with the mother (or woman in general). Language is experienced as "motherly" or "mothering", the medium through which the individual is brought to identity. Mother tongue is in fact ambiguous, as it can mean the language of the mother or language as mother. We have seen in the previous chapters that mother tongues in the Moroccan linguistic situation are marginalised as they are not treated as full-fledged languages, and their status is reminiscent of woman's social status, which is kept inferior by the patriarchical society (see Sadiqi 2003). The recent official recognition of Berber culture has sensitised people in general, and the intelligentsia in particular, to the benefits of multilingualism and multiculturalism in the building of a tolerant, democratic, open, and civilised society (Ennaji 2003d).

On another level, the Arabisation policy has in a way failed to attain its objectives because it has not been well-planned and has not taken into consideration the multilingual and multicultural context of Morocco and the necessity to modernise its system of education. A positive approach to Arabisation would mean the use, alongside Standard Arabic, of foreign languages such as French, Spanish, and English, as well as the promotion of mother tongues, viz. Moroccan Arabic and Berber. A scientific debate on the languages in contact, Arabisation, bilingualism, and identity is in order so as to gauge the achievements, the challenges and the various attitudes held toward this language situation. Language policy in education is required to: (i) open up to the sociocultural context, (ii) attempt to fulfil the needs of society, and (iii) take into consideration people's attitudes.

To change the current unbalanced system of education, the National Charter of Education and Training, which was ratified by the government in 2000, stresses the important place of Standard Arabic and foreign languages and their utility for development. This Charter, which advocates the reinforcement of French, may, if implemented cautiously and rightly, surmount the difficulties and problems underlined above.

A judicious reform of education is badly needed in order to achieve sustainable development, tolerance, social cohesion, and the preservation of Moroccan cultural identity. If the system of education is not reformed and the high illiteracy rate is not reduced, poverty will hit more people, particularly the ultra-poor: rural people, women, and children.

Thus, we can state that the greatest dilemma for the post-independent Moroccan society is not the tension or opposition between Arabic and Berber, but the dominance of French language and culture. It is wrong to think, as some upper class Moroccans would argue, that development cannot be attained without adopting French as the language of science and technology. To transcend dependency on French, linguistic

diversification is important, which explains why Morocco has recently attempted to open up to other European languages like English and Spanish.

Considerable funds would also need to be invested in the indigenous languages (Arabic and Berber) to enable them to become valid vehicles of education, administration, media and technology. Needless to add that, it is high time Morocco looked eastward towards the Japanese model, as well as northwards towards Europe and westward towards North America to learn from their rich experiences of development. At any rate, Morocco can diversify the foreign cultures and experiences from which it seeks to learn.

Therefore, a national consensus about the language issue must be reached to avoid the total dominance of French and Western culture. Overall, language in post-independence has continued to be an important tool of social stratification and a crucial element of political struggles. The tension between languages has, thus, always played an important role in nation-state building. A language policy, whether declared or undeclared, is usually present in this moment of building.

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Index

A

Accommodation theory 4
alienation 26, 29
Amazigh 71, 177, 181, 183
Amazigh-net 180, 182
Arab culture 26-32
Arabic 2, 10, 21, 27, 30, 47
Arabic-educated intellectuals 145, 186
Arabic-French bilingualism 128
Arabic literacy 210
Arabic varieties 47-71
Arabic purists 190
Arabisation 14, 30, 32, 39, 105, 184
Arabisation in education 213
Arabophones 181, 183
Arab-muslim culture 10, 12, 207
Attitudes toward Arabisation 197
attitudes toward Berber 170-184
attitudes toward code switching 166
attitudes toward English 195
attitudes toward French 193
attitudes toward Moroccan Arabic 169
attitudes toward Westernisation 33
autonomy of Berber 68

B

background 9
Berber 2, 9, 38, 71-96
Berber activists 183, 192, 198, 225
Berber associations 73
Berber culture 43
Berber Dahir 185
Berber native-speakers 91
Berber NGOs 180
Berber zones 44
Berber-Arabic bilingualism 130, 133
Berberism 30
Berberophones 186, 187, 204
Berber population 72
Berber varieties 80
biculturalism 28, 35
bicultural education 35
bilinguals 177
bilingual education 35
bilingualism, 35, 36, 39, 123-138
borrowing 143

C

Classical Arabic 10, 15, 51, 58
Civilizing mission 14
code switching 139-156
codification 90, 95
coinage 58
communication 129
constraints on code switching 152
colonisation 112, 204
coordinate bilingualism 126
corpus Arabisation 186
culture 1, 18, 21, 28
cultural approaches 5
cultural differences 215
cultural domination 5
cultural identity 20, 139, 187

D

data collection 6, 140
data analysis 141
development 30
dialectal variation of Berber 80
diglossia 48, 137
domains of French 111
domains of use 144

E

education 28, 33,32, 39, 200
education indicators 208
educated French 108
educated bilinguals 115, 159
English 113-126
English in education 115
English departments 118
English in the media 120
European invasions 12

F

female languages 185-186
fertility rate 214
foreign languages 111-122
Franco-Arab schools 205
Francophone literature 117
free schools 206, 207
French 14, 35, 97-110,193-195
French-Arabic bilingualism 127-130
French-Arabic code switching 147
French colonisation 17, 207, 209
French in education 115
French in the media 117
French-educated intellectuals 173, 174, 187
French loans 133, 135
French newspapers 103
French policy in education 13
French schools 116
French varieties 108
functions of French 111
fundamentalists 29, 31,

G

gender 61, 221-224
German 120-121
globalisation 2, 110
grammatical interference 134
graphic tradition 114

H

highly educated French 110
history 8, 9, 109
historicity of Berber 76
hurdles to education 227

I

identity 20, 36, 42, 43
identity conflict 42
illiteracy 52, 212-221
immigrants 120
independence 38, 51
information technology 119, 120
intellectuals' attitudes 177-178
Islam 6, 9
Islamic culture 25, 217
Islamists 182
integral bilingualism 136

L

language attitudes 157-198
language conflict 192
language tension 208
language contact 3, 8, 208
language-culture interface 25
language choice 91, 141
language competition 83
language use 157-118
language loss 4, 41
language policy 199
language shift 4, 91, 92
languages and media 160

Latin alphabet 100
learning achievements 217
lexicon 68-71
lexical and morphological switching 134
linguistic features of Moroccan Arabic 58
linguistic interference 126
linguistic properties of Berber 87
literacy 212
literacy needs 219
literacy and education 215

M

metaphorical code switching 53
modernism 34, 36, 38
modernist discourse 221
modernity 1, 25, 37
Moroccan Arabic 67
Moroccan Arabic lexicon 70
Moroccan Arabic-French bilingualism 122
Moroccan literature 106
Moroccan press 102
morphological level 54, 70
morphological interference 130
morphosyntactic simplicity 97
mother tongues 46, 91, 110
multilingualism 2, 17, 38, 119
multiculturalism 6, 27
Muslim fundamentalists 197

N

nationalism 12, 13, 14, 54
nationalist movement 28
native Berber-speakers 40
newspapers 117

O

officials'attitudes toward Berber 171
oral tradition 95
orality 96
orthographic conventions 97

P

Pedagogical complexity 218
pedagogical reforms 33
pan-Arab nationalism 26
perfect bilingualism 119
phonological influence 126
phonological interference 99
phonological variation 78
political parties 174
population growth 77
positive bilingualism 129
post-independence 37, 122, 127
poverty 221
practical bilingualism 154
pre-independence 124
preschool 207
private education 207, 208
private sector 119
public education 207, 208

Q

quadriglossia 48 - 50
Qur'anic schools 212, 213

R

rating languages 158 - 160
re-birth 11, 31, 34
recognition of Berber 73
regression of Berber 78
religious conservatism 11

review of the literature 3
Romans 9
ruling elite 39
rural Arabic 59
rural households 204
rural women 73

S

school achievement 41, 219
script of Berber 75
situational code switching 138
social classes 16
social functions 140
social structure 16
socialist government 107
sociology of Berber 72
sociocultural factors 121
sound system 49, 66
Spanish 111 - 113
Spanish influence 112
spread of English 114
Standard Arabic 2, 15, 35, 58, 59
Standard Arabic-French
bilingualism 123-138
standardisation of Berber 75, 77
students attitudes 178
syntactic switching 148
syntax of Moroccan Arabic 62-67

T

teachers' attitudes 190
Tifinagh 73, 75, 11, 134
tradition 29, 30, 39
triglossia 48-50

U

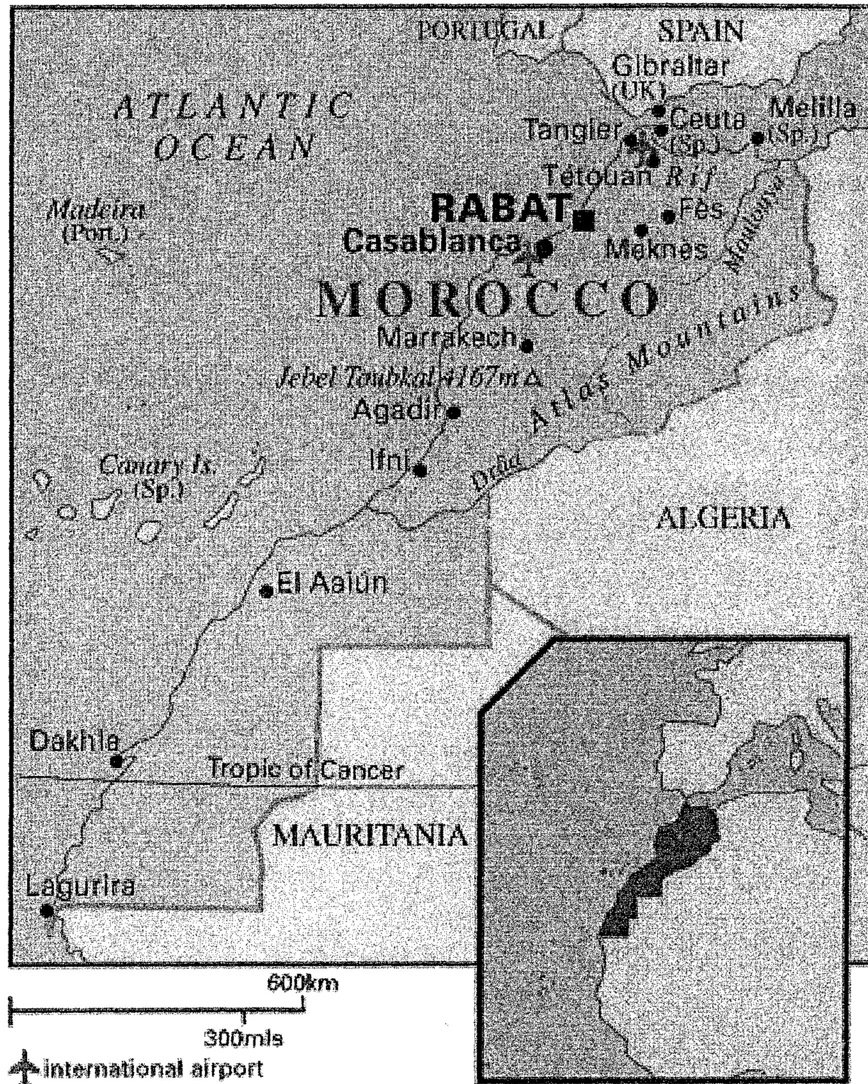
university departments 122, 125
urban Moroccan Arabic 121
urbanisation 81

V

varieties of Arabic 47-70
varieties of Berber 80
varieties of French 97-110
vowel change 70

W

Western culture 25, 29
Westernisation 7, 30, 33, 35
women 61, 221-224
word borrowing 65, 134
word boundaries 80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